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Stigmatized Melodies:
Comparative Analysis of Turkish and
Greek Policies Regarding
"National Music"

Avi Mizrahi

Master of Arts MIREES
Interdisciplinary Research and Studies on Eastern Europe

AWARDED MASTER THESIS

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FOREWORD

The International Master in Interdisciplinary Research and Studies on Easter Europe (MIREES) was launched in 2004 at the School of Political Sciences-Forlì Campus in cooperation with Europe and the Balkans International Network (EBIN). In 2008 it developed as a second cycle degree program, which currently delivers a joint MA awarded by the four full partner Universities of Bologna, Vytautas Magnus at Kaunas, Corvinus of Budapest and St. Petersburg State University, together with the universities of Ljubljana and Zagreb. The program is carried out with the additional support of the associate partners, as the MIREES International Alumni Association (MAiA), the Institute of East-Central and Balkan Europe (IECOB) in Forlì, the NATO Centre of Excellence for Energy Security in Vilnius, and the Institute for Democracy 'Societas Civilis'- IDSCS - in Skopje, and more recently enjoys the cooperation with the Visegrad Fund.

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Remarkable and diverse academic works, truly representative of MIREES' intrinsic interdisciplinary and multifaceted approach are made available through such cooperation. These innovative, in-depth and insightfully drafted analyses testify the authors' dedication and MIREES' competence in training outstanding researchers and analysts.

All members of the MIREES, MAiA and IECOB network congratulate the authors on their achievements.

Prof. Francesco Privitera	**Adriano Remiddi**	**Giovanni Cadioli**
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Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

Abstract

Modern idea of nationalism narrates us similar stories with different actors in diverse geographies. Even though each case has its own particularities and it is really hard to generalize any social reality, such narratives mainly point out the power relations between certain groups, institutions and nations. This time, the story of nationalism recites us a harsh chapter from Turkey and Greece. As there is an adequate research on comparing and contrasting the nationalist movements in Turkey and in Greece, it is effectual to focus on a more particular case which aims to discover the commonalities and contrasts between these two neighboring states: national musical policies. Adopting historical analysis as the methodological technique, this research is developed on the question of "How Turkish and Greek scholars and law makers constructed cultural continuity and applied such a thesis on musical policies, in defense of their national identities between 1923 and 1945?"

First chapter of the thesis gives us structural information regarding our exploration such as the research questions, working hypothesis and methodology. Following this a theoretical discussion regarding modernity, state and culture as well as a historical discussion noting the 1923 Lausanne Treaty and its demographic outcomes are marked. In the second chapter, ideological grounds of the Turkish national identity is focused with specifically analyzing ideologue Ziya Gökalp's conceptualization of culture (*hars*) and civilization (*medeniyet*), and the characteristics of the Turkish Theory Culture are explained. In the third chapter of the thesis, diverse approaches in reading the Modern Greek history are noted, while a specific attention is given to the cultural continuity thesis of the "Hellenochristian Civilization Thesis" coined by Spyridon Zambelios and Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos. In the fourth chapter of this work, in light of the theoretical discussion noting the modernization approach, we will be focusing on the intellectual approaches regarding folklore and national music. Following such discussions, we will be observing the practical outcomes of such "modernizing policies", such as censorship on radio stigmatizing Ottoman art music as well as promotions of ethnomusicological research, glorifying the rearrangement of the folkloric tunes in Turkey. In the fifth chapter, we will be identifying the Greek case, reading the intellectual discussions on folklore and music as well as the practical outcomes of a specific period of the Modern Greek history, with the creation of a censorship committee and regulations of the cultural institutions. Particularly, 4th of August Regime of Ioannis Metaxas, promoting the "3rd Hellenic Civilization" of the cultural continuity thesis mentioned in the second chapter, will be highlighted. Finally, in the sixth chapter, conclusions will be pointed out, with a comparative approach, showing us the ideological and practical similarities and contrasts in these two countries.

1. Introduction

> *"Culture and social organization are universal and perennial.*
> *States and nationalism are not."*
> (Gellner 1997, 5)

In light of the quotation above, this research aims to focus on culture and its relation with the political project of nationalism in Turkish Republic and Hellenic Republic during the first half of the twentieth century. Specifically, the meaning attribution skills to and the transformation of the musical productions in relation with states' national modernization policies are focused on.

In this chapter of the thesis, firstly we will be analyzing the structural development of our inquiry: research questions, working hypothesis, methodology, theoretical and the historical background will be noted respectively. Literature regarding this research is based on general theoretical works on nationalism and culture as well as specific pieces on Turkish and Neo-Hellenic nationalism experiences. Regarding the Turkish case, Ziya Gökalp (1923) and studies on his thought give us a brief understanding of the mainstream nationalist mindset which influences the policy makers of the Turkish Republic during the first 20 years of its foundation. When we look at the Greek case of the phenomenon we see two names being highlighted: Spyridon Zambelios and Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos. Studies referring to their conceptualization of the Neo-Hellenic nationalist idea are enlightening to understand the theoretical foundation, cultural continuity thesis (Ancient Greece, Byzantine and Modern Greece) as well as the ideological motivations of cultural policies adopted by the Greek state during period matter.

Following these discussions on the nationalist thoughts in these countries, we will be looking at the particular cases of conceptualizing the national culture and the policies aiming its cultivation. Stokes (1992), O'Connell (2000; 2003) , Özbek (1994) well found the points regarding the cultural policies of the Turkish state and music in particular during the 1st half of the twentieth century. Regarding the Greek case we see researchers like M.Herzfeld (1986; 1993) , Pennanen (2004) and Tragaki (2005; 2007).

Comparative methodology of this work marks its key and innovative point, which is a rising approach in the literature regarding nationalism and cultural studies. However, sources mentioned above are exclusively focusing on national histories or particular state's cultural ideology. This research aims to embrace these two approaches in an interdisciplinary perspective within a comparative study regarding the two neighboring states: Turkey and Greece, underlining both similar and unique historical experiences of these countries.

1.1.Research Questions and the Working Hypothesis

1.1.1. Research Questions

Seeing above mentioned political movements related to the grand narrative of modernization, I find it useful to develop a problematic which questions the "linear-progress-approach" embraced by the modernizing elites in both of our cases, with a Western-centered project of reformation. In a case when a society experiences to be "trapped" in the "transitional" phase such as the Turkish and the Greek examples of modernization; they may experience a crisis of national identity and culture which may lead to diverse outcomes. In our cases, firstly we should ask; why both of these states did treat Westernization model as the unique model to solve such crisis of national identity? Starting from the modernist conceptualization of gradual modernization -focusing on traditional, transitional and modern societies- (Özbek 1994, 32) this research outlines the mental map of these two nationalist projects and their aims on "Westernizing" their social norms and institutions.

Why did the Turkish and Hellenic states follow the path of the Western-centered "homogeneous cultural nationalism" principle in their modernization projects?

Practical outcomes of the westernizing, nationalist political projects of the Turkish and Hellenic states show us that these states adopted diverse cultural policies for nation-building. These were in a range from educational policies regarding the promotion of several cultural products or censorship enforcing media organs to limit diverse cultural products as well as their reproduction by the society in general. Therefore, this research aims to analyze the cultural political decisions made in these countries during the first half of the 20th century, focusing on which kind of "promotion" and "censorship" policies did they employ to achieve the creation of the "homogeneous national folk culture."

Which institutional apparatus and what kind of cultural policies did Turkish and the Hellenic state employ to achieve their goals of national-culture building?

As it may be foreseen several strict cultural policies would face resistance as well as compliance from the society, including artistic and intellectual circles. Focusing on the Greek case of the phenomenon, Holst argues that the upcoming generation of Rebetika musicians in Greece following the strict musical bans of Metaxas bared to produce songs with less social contents, but more romantic and individual concerns such as love. Vassilis Tsitsanis can be shown as an example of this kind. (Holst 1994, 74) This work aims to

discover the reactions to the cultural policies employed in Turkey and in Greece during the first half of the 20th century.

What were the outcomes (embracing the change or creating a dissent) of the state-promoted intellectual discussions and strict cultural policies governed by the Turkish and Hellenic states?

1.1.2.Working Hypothesis

This research aims to test the following working hypothesis: Turkish and Greek states, during 1923 and 1945, in light of the nationalist modernization principles applied cultural reforms and restrictions with aim promoting "Western" and "modern" national identities, while consciously stigmatizing "Ottoman" and "Oriental" cultural practices.

1.2.Methodology

Motivations and the outcomes of "modernizing" musical policies in Turkey and in Greece during the first half of the 20th century, forms the mark of this research. Exploration of such an objective requires a path that not only describes the intellectual and theoretical discussions on nationalism and culture but also the experiences of the artists and the other producers of the musical scene of the period. Therefore, research consists of the following four components:

Firstly studying the discussions of both states' intellectuals, ideologues, developing particular narratives on cultural formation of the nation-state is functional. Inspiring actors of the time include Ziya Gökalp, with his conceptualization of culture (*hars*) and civilization (*medeniyet*), and Yusuf Akçura on the case of Turkish nationalist thought and Spyridon Zambelios, Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos regarding the Neo-Hellenic nationalism. Well developed discourse analysis of their works which are open to access would serve to uncover the ideological motivations behind certain restrictive policies on musical practices of the concerned period.

Secondly, collection of practical measures adopted by both of the states such as censorship, institutional closures, educational reforms on culture, banning specific musical pieces, would make us identify clearly the outcomes of such policies based on the motivation of cultivating a national identity. (O'Connell, 2000; Petrakis, 2005) Outcomes of these acts influenced highly the atmosphere of the musical production sector. Therefore, accessible archival material of the production houses such as Columbia and Odeon Recordings let us uncover the characteristics of the musical productions of the time and discover how ethnic back-

ground of the musicians has changed as well as their musical genre with time. (Columbia 1933 and 1946; Odeon, 1942/3.)

Thirdly, testimonies of the actors of the change, namely musicians, producers and politicians are essential for this research. Study of Saygun on M.Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938) and music (Saygun, 1965) can be considered one of this kind. Letters sent by Lambropulos Recording Company of Athens, during the formation of the censorship committee of the Ioannis Metaxas' regime in Greece, as well remain an important resource giving us an idea on the difficulties faced by the musical production sector during the time matter.

Fourthly, analyzing the documents related to folklorists, ethnomusicologists and cultural institutions of the time let us discover the "official" aims behind certain decisions. One of the key names of this kind is Bela Bartok, a Hungarian ethnomusicologist, who was invited to Turkey by the national government to document the "Turkish folk music" tunes by conducting a research in Southeastern Anatolia in 1930s. As Bartok documented his experience in a diary, such written documents as well as audio material form the basic sources of this research. (Bartok, 1991) Turkish Historical Society founded in 1930, is another institutional source with its open-access material, reflecting the folklore research and the "official approach" in Turkey. On the Greek side of the phenomenon we see attempts of folkloric research by the Greek regime, in Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Fener in Istanbul, aiming to conserve the products of the "national heritage", proves of the cultural continuity thesis bridging the Ancient Greek, Byzantine and Modern Greek civilizations. Cultural approaches of the folklorists and thinkers such as Georgios Lambelet (1875-1945) and Manolis Kalomiris (1883-1962) which are open to access form another important source of this research, giving an idea how intellectuals as well as institutional actors were also highly engaged in ideological goals such as implementation of the unified national identity in Greece and in Turkey.

Following this brief introduction on the structural organization of the thesis, let's have a complete picture of the sociopolitical theoretical background regarding the phenomenons of modernity, nationalism, state, culture and music; in which my following arguments on this specific historical period will be based on.

1.3. Theoretical Background

In this analysis, music will be taken as a cultural product which is in relation with different social and political institutions. As "the cultural reproduction process cannot be envisaged outside power relations" (Değirmenci, 2006: 47), it is clear that the state organization may be highly concerned on the cultural practices of its population. This part of the thesis aims to focus on the theoretical background of the phenomenon, and it will be developed under three sections which are like the following: **1.3.1 Sociological Approach: Cultural Products and Music, 1.3.2 Modernization and the Nation-State 1.3.3 Bride & Groom: State and Culture.**

1.3.1. Sociological Approach: Cultural Products and Music

Regarding the study of culture and music as a form of culture, it can be said that musical practices should not be seen as isolated artistic actions but they also transform certain kinds of messages between actors and institutions in a society. Therefore we can identify the music as a medium, a medium which carries, reproduces certain texts. According to this conceptualization we can see that the musical practices have an important social side. As Turley paraphrases Theodor W.Adorno's argument on this issue, "a musical sociology should take its bearings from the social structures that leave their imprint on music and musical life." (Turley 2001, 636) Therefore, the approach of this thesis will aim to analyze the relation between the social structures which "leave their imprint on music and musical life" for the sake of realizing certain ideological goals.

Concerning the study of music, sociologist Max Weber introduces the analysis of music in two different ways. Turley points them out like the following: "On one level, music was an artifact of the historical rationalization process that brought on the development of capitalism in the West. On another level, music was a deeply meaningful part of a society's culture that touched Weber personally." (ibidem, 635) From this position we can identify the musical practices as a branch of culture, which would be in relation with the historical rationalization process similar to the other cultural branches. Therefore to understand this change, it is essential to capture the role of the rationalization of the social institutions (such as the formation of the state organization and the bureaucracy) and the modernization movement in the social sphere.

1.3.2. Modernization and the Nation-State

1.3.2.1. Modernization

As Meral Özbek underlines it in her book on modernization and the popular culture, the ideal of "modern society" is actually in a dialectic relation with the "traditional society." The modern idea posits itself as an opposition trend against the traditional way of social practices. Here she describes the characteristics of a modern society as, "economic development (meaning, being industrialized and relatively equitable distribution of income); cultural pluralism which perceives human as an independent individual; and institutionalized representational democracy on the bases of freedom of expression and organization." (Özbek 1994, 32)

After this brief description, let's focus how the such theorists conceptualize the "evolution to the modern society." According to the orthodox modernist theorists' conceptualization, the

modernization signifies a process in which the non-Western societies pass in three stages: "traditional society", "transitional society" and "modern society." (ibidem, 32) Surely, this connotes an evolutionary explanation of the social reality from a traditional one to the modern one, which signifies the "progress" on the values and the changes in the traditional habits of the society.1 It can be easily interpreted with an Euro-centric point of view or an Orientalist one.

As Özbek paraphrases Gendzier, the two phases of the "traditional society" and the "transitional society" has a strong contradiction between them. This signifies that social relations which are shaped by the traditional values and the social forms, relations of the transitional society which are "expanded" or "exported" from the Western societies are in a conflict. (ibidem, 33)

This is the reason why in certain transitional societies we may notice that there may be a grand accepted narrative on the traditional values and institutions and how these values and institutions resist to the modern change, how do they function as a barrier against the modernization movement. Afterward, this situation triggers the next one: identification of the traditional values and institutions as "backwards." Of course this meaning attribution skill connotes that the modern substitutes of the traditional values and institutions are the real "innovative" ones. As it is underlined by Özbek, the relation between these "backward" and "innovative" values and institutions are the relationship of "taking each others' place", of "conflict" and "mutual exclusion." (ibidem, 33) Therefore it is important to capture that the base of the progressive discourse which is embraced by the modernized actors of the transitional societies lies on the distinction of "backwardness" and the "innovativeness" in the ideological sense.

At this point it is essential to understand such an approach on development of the modern values and institutions in the transitional societies, because especially when we will be discussing about the Turkish case of modernization of the musical institutions, we will be seeing that many factors which are mentioned above such as the "backwardness-innovativeness" discourse and the self-identification of *a transitional society*, are adopted by the political actors of the Turkish Republic during the first decades of its establishment.

As a last argument on the modernization thesis, I would like to remark the importance of analyzing this modern paradigm which is described above with a critical eye: It is clear that this evolutionary discourse is influenced by such an orientalist approach, but it is sense to treat this orientalist approach carefully, because in the following chapters of the thesis, we will be analyzing similar orientalist discourses on the musical practices of Turkish and Greek societies, which are embraced by their own "native politicians."

1.3.2.2.Characteristics of the Nationalist Narrative

1.3.2.2.1.General Outline of the Nationalist Idea and Culture

The concept of nation is discussed many times among the social scientists who are studying in this field; as Keely paraphrases Max Weber, according to him "a nation exists

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1   One of the social thinkers of this positivist movement can be coined as August Comte. In the following chapter of the thesis, we will be reffering Comte again, when we'll be discussing the Turkish case and the ideas of Ziya Gökalp.

when the idea is accepted by the members that they are a group, that they are unique, that the group has a continuity and value worth preserving because of its presumed shared characteristics, however the group conceives of such ties." (Keely 1996, 1049)

As one can imagine in several settings, the concept of "uniqueness" which Weber coins out also can turns into "oneness", meaning practicing a unison way of life, with the consciousness shaped by the national distinctions. Let's check how Ernest Gellner posits culture in this discussion:

"Men have always been endowed with culture: a shared style of expression in words, facial expression, body language, style of clothing, preparation and consumption of food, and so forth. Culture is not identical among all men: cultural diversity is one of the central features of human life." (Gellner 1997, 1)

As Ernest Gellner underlines in his work "Nationalism", one may argue that men have always practiced several cultural traits such as body language, such as consumption of food, living habits, meaning attribution habits were practiced always diversely. When one thinks about these cultural traits we should be able to imagine the largeness of this conceptual world. This complex entity may include language, musical practices, eating habits, clothing, economic and political attitudes, sheltering, gender relations and so on.

In this part let us correlate the concept of "culture" with the idea of "nationalism." At this point, Gellner makes an imperative identification like the following: "Nationalism is a political principle which maintains that similarity of culture is the basic social bond." (ibidem, 3) It is also important to note that in some cases, similarity of culture plays a sufficient role in legitimization of membership in a national community, because the national community determines the membership in which "*only* members of the appropriate culture may join the unit in question, and *all of them* must do so." (ibidem, 4) Therefore, if we consider the nation as an imagined community (Anderson, 2006), it can be said that the argument of sharing the same cultural traits strengthens the sense of being a community. In this case, a nation-state which promotes the unique national culture of the society would clearly aim to strengthen the "basic social bonds" between its nationals.

Continuing with the state's imperative role on cultural traits and how it may instrumentalize it for the "social bonds" of the national community, it is also important to see how the nation-state builds its national discourse on the "naturalness of having a nationality" and on how an embraced national identity fulfills the human being. In the next part of this section, I will focus on "national awakening" point of this grand narrative, leading to the spiritual awakening of a national subject, that is ideology's human fulfillment function.

1.3.2.2.2. "Awakening" Discourse of Nationalism

In this part of the nationalist discourse, we can see that there is a grand pre-acceptation of the existence of the nation in the history, even before the nation-state organizations. The awakening of the nation connotes that during the hundreds of years before the establishment of a particular nation-state, the nation was there; but it was in a passive form: "asleep." The verbal sign of sleeping makes us see the only top part of the iceberg. Actually, the grand nar-

rative of this iceberg is like the following: "Our nation was ever there; it is an eternal entity, imperishable, transcending the ephemeral beings and generations in which it is transiently incarnated." (Gellner 1997, 8)

Gellner coins this factor of the national myth as "the dormission of nationalism." But it is clear that, in the material sense the "awakening" narrative of the nationalist ideology serves to legitimize the national idea's existence. In some forms of the nationalist discourse it can be also seen that the national awakening would be easily correlated to the spiritual awakening of the individual and the society. Gellner describes the close relation between the national awakening and the spiritual awakening, which is necessary for the human fulfillment according to the nationalist narrative:

"For those, for whom human fulfillment is linked to the attainment of national consciousness, and its successful political expression, national awakening is more important than spiritual awakening; indeed, it is a form of spiritual awakening, perhaps its highest form." (ibidem, 8)

Before passing to the next point, I want to remind you now that it is important to capture the human fulfillment function of the nationalist idea, to be able to understand the legitimizing speeches which are given by the nationalist leaders on the need of national reforms within the Turkish and the Greek circles, which I will be explaining in the fourth and the fifth chapters of this thesis.

1.3.2.2.3. "Purely Ours": Protection of the National Culture

Following this factor of the nationalist mindset, arises another role for the nationalist actors: the protection of the awakened nation itself and the national culture. Therefore we can observe that "innovative" awakening narrative can easily prepare a base for the conservative, protective attitude against the cultural practices of the nation. As it is mentioned above, the nationalist discourse posits its actor as the "national actor" which must be included in the national community and within the practices of the national culture. This is how the myth of the national culture arises within the nationalist ideology.

At this point, I find it important to stress that in a case in which the national culture is not perceived as "concrete, unison, homogeneous", the state organism may interfere the spontaneous process of culture and try to shape the national culture with restrictive methods. This action may be supported with the idea that man needs to be awakened to his national identity and the political imperatives implicit in it.

 "[This may be] …the need to protect the national culture by endowing it with its own state-protector, the need to unmask. Neutralize and drive out the foreigners who wish to destroy and debase that culture." (Gellner 1997, 8) As it is quoted by Gellner, in some cases the national culture myth may trigger certain movements on the way for the "purity" of the national culture and this may lead to the state's restrictive role on introducing certain "native" cultural practices and putting censorship on the "foreign" contents.

Therefore it can be said that the nationalist ideology reproduces the discourse of "purity" of the national culture. Now, in light of Roland Barthes' theory on myths, let's analyze how this perception on culture is justified by the mythical reading of the "national history."

1.3.2.2.4. Roland Barthes, Myth and Structuring a Metalanguage

Regarding the structure of the national myth, I find it useful to underline that for Roland Barthes, myth is a system of communication; this means that it is the message. But, one should not confuse this term with the classical cycle of communication: the sender and the receiver. More deeply, we can call myth as a mode of signification, a form. Barthes mainly adopts a semiological approach, trying to develop an idea over the previous semiological theory of signifier and significant. At this point he coins out the term *sign*, regarding the study of the myth. In this chart, he compares the language's semiological structure with myth's. One may argue that the sign in the structure of the language is being objected as a signifier for the mythical structure. This may be useful for us to grasp the transformative motive of the myth itself, how it absorbs the sign of the language and uses its primary tool on creating its "naturalized story". (Barthes 1988)

In light of such a theory developed by Barthes, regarding the semiological structure of a narrative, I would describe myth as a semiological machine which absorbs the historical reality and transforms it into a natural image. This would support Barthes' argument as well that the myth does not hide the historical reality, but actually it distorts it. At the final phase,the myth meets the society, offering a "natural story", waiting to be placed by them deep into their consciousness on the way to construct their reality. One may call myth as a game, a game which has the power to change the historical message to something else, transforming the reality into natural images. (ibidem 1988)

Therefore, in our analysis of the sociological phenomenon of our current history we can also observe certain kinds of myths. In this position I believe that Barthes' explanation is important in our analysis. Specifically, with his theoretical language, we can analyze the "nationalist myths" which are continuously emphasized during the formation of the modern nation-states in such familiar cases in Turkey and Greece.

In the Greek case, we encounter the narrative which highlights the continuity between the Ancient Greek, Byzantine and the Modern Greek civilizations. Such an understanding which will be noted in the following chapters of this thesis as "Hellenochristian Civilization" thesis, distorts the reality and creates a new metalanguage, based on its own semiological system. For example, we can see the dictatorial regime of Ioannis Metaxas in Greece and its "civilization", identified by the regime's institutions as the "3rd Hellenic Civilization." Such a mythical reading of the history, simply skips the hundreds of years of the Ottoman rule in the territory, while reproduces the narrative of the "Hellenic survival" of the centuries.

In the Turkish case of the narrative, we see a similar approach on mythification of the history as well. This time, the nationalist discourse looks towards east, and highlights the civilizations of the Central Asia and the Mesopotamia. Such a mindset, similar to its Greek counterpart stigmatizes the hundreds of years rule of the territory by the Ottoman Empire. As it will be mentioned in the next chapters of this thesis, such an understanding develops its own semiological system of mythical terms, signs and symbols, underlining a cultural continuity of the Turkic people among thousands of years. Decisions such as changing the names

of the two state banks of the country as "Hittite Bank" and "Sumerian Bank" should be read under the light of such a theory of Barthes, pointing out the mythical metalanguage creation.

In light of this mythical reading of the history, let's see how the state as an institution engage with the phenomenon of culture, and perceive it as an instrument to accomplish the resurrection of the national myth.

1.3.3. Bride & Groom: State and Culture

In the seventh chapter of his book, Ernest Gellner's points out an interesting conceptualization: "the marriage of state and culture". (Gellner 1997) With his theory, he also analysis the East European case, the state organisms and their relation to the cultural practices. As the main aim of this thesis is to compare and contrast the attitudes of the Turkish and the Greek states during the first decades of the 20th century, towards musical culture, I find it essential to consider taking a look at Gellner's conceptualization adapted to the Eastern Europe.

Gellner argues that in Eastern Europe, all in all, there were neither state organisms which were based on the principal of nationality nor cultural practices which were considered as national culture. If the nationalist imperative which was based on the principle of one nation and one culture had to be satisfied, then both state and the culture had to be created. Therefore, both political engineering such as the creation of the state organism based on the principle of nationality and the cultural engineering, meaning the construction of the national cultural practices (such as the national folklore and the national language) were required. (ibidem, 54)

Actually, this was a project of a marriage of the culture and the state. The problem in this case was that both the bride and the groom were missing; therefore the social engineers of the "awakened nations" had to organize the nation-states and introduce the national cultural practices to the people of these states. I find it adequate capturing the conceptualization of Gellner's marriage and culture. I would like to remind you that in the last part of my thesis in which I will be comparing the two cases of Turkey and Greece, I will remark Gellner's thesis on political and cultural engineering in Eastern Europe

1.3.3.1. Louis Althusser and the "Ideological and Repressive State Apparatus"

In this part, to have an understanding of the regulative role of the state institutions, I find it important to have a brief analysis of the thoughts of Louis Althusser as well on ideology, its characteristics and particular state institutions' function in defending such ideology in society in general.

Althusser starts his work with making a distinction between these two concepts: the ideological state apparatuses (ISA) and the (repressive) state apparatuses (RSA). He argues that actually there is one RSA, but instead of that there are plurality of ISA. Another point in

which he distinguishes these two is that, "RSA belongs entirely to the public domain", but on the contrary, ISA are mainly in private domain. For RSA we can give government, police, courts and the army and to give an example to ISA, we can point out the churches, parties, trade unions, families and some school etc. as private institutions. Actually these two mechanism are both affected by the dominant ideology in the society. (Althusser 1971)

Later on, he makes it clear that, actually it is not that important if the institutions mentioned are "public" or "private", but it matters how do they function. Therefore he points out another distinction between RSA and ISA: RSA function "by violence", where as the ISA function "by ideology". There is his concern: the imaginary relationship of the individual with the ideology itself, and how he/she is being shaped, under the effect of the ideology, in his experience of existence.

At this point, it is important to see that an "ideology" perceives each individual as a subject. Althusser gives the example of a police man hailing: When a police man hails to a crowd saying "Hey you there!". One person turns back and responds. Following this, Althusser argues that the individual recognizes the police (which is the metaphor of an ideology) and he/she turns into a subject with the recognition of the ideology, because the hail was "really" addressed to him/her. Therefore it attributes the meaning of "consciousness" to the individual, who believes in his/her ideas and acts in this way. This brings the "responsibility" on the subject. Here, there is an important focus also on the concept of the "free subject". Even though the ideology reproduces this meaning of freedom, if an individual does not act in this way, he/she would be also considered as the "wicked" one. (ibidem 1971)

Thus, he argues that we as subjects can not recognize ourselves outside of the ideology. For him, subjects adopt their identities by seeing their selves in the mirror of the ideology, that is to say that for example, the social roles such as being a "daughter", a "father", a "clockmaker" or a "steelworker" are all introduced to us by the dominant ideology which is clearly inspired by the infrastructure, that is to say the relations of production, speaking in the Marxist terms.

Finally, I would declare that Althusser's view is vitally important for us when we are studying the social reality around us. His terminology, which introduces us some concepts such as the ideological state apparatus, is also useful for us to recognize the social role of certain institutions such as the religious ones (church, mosque exc.), schools, political parties or even families around us. The only problematic that I would argue in his way of study is a similar critic that I have towards the Marxist way of social analysis. Althusser underlines the importance and the role of the ideology as a macro phenomenon which introduces the "subject" how to behave and how to live, actually. Even though it might be true in many cases, I believe that it can be useful for a social scientist to recognize the Althusser's way but also consider the Weberian way of studying the social phenomenon which is more micro than him and which places the "individual" at the center of the study. For example it can be useful for us to understand the importance of ISA and their roles on shaping the religious identities of the subjects (from an outside look), but it is also vital to capture the subjects' ideas, their feelings, their attributions to their social actions (in Weberian terms) to see the wide picture of the social reality.

Let's relate this theoretical explanation on the role of the particular state institutions in introducing and defending the dominant ideology in modern nation-states. In our cases of

Turkey and Greece, during the years of 1923 and 1945, state institutions engaged in education and research activities had such a functional role. Being more specifically, historical research institutions aiming to write the "national histories", folklore and culture institutions in promoting the collection and performance of the "national folkloric forms" can be seen as the organs of the Ideological and Repressive State Apparatus. We can see such organization as the channels which played important roles on reproduction of the nationalist discourse in issues such as history, society, education and culture. Therefore, in studying the mediums and institutions realizing the diffusion of the nationalist and modernist understanding on cultural identity and music, a theoretical explanation of "Ideological and Repressive State Apparatus" remain fundamental.

Now, let's take a look at the historical background in which the above mentioned sociopolitical decisions on institutional nation-building are strictly applied. We travel back in time, to the first decades of the 20th century, to the Aegean cities of Salonica and Izmir, settings in which the particular waves of nationalism are heated.

1.4. Historical Background

1.4.1. Aegean Burning History: The Great Fires of Salonica and Izmir, 1917-1922

During the 19th century, Salonica /Thessaloniki /Solun /Selanik was a city populated by diverse communities: Jews, Muslims, Orthodox and Catholic Christians, exc. Following the fire that started on a heating summer day, 18th of August 1917, the city's demographic as well as architectural structures were destined to taste the bitter flavor of loss, forced departures and implementations. As it is well described by the historian Mark Mazower, Salonica was destined to be the "city of ghosts." (Mazower 2006)

During the 20th century, following the Great Fire the city experienced the touch of Modern Greek nationalism, with its re-baptized street names, squares, its theaters, its own name, as well as its people, Thessaloniki was a burning city, an actor of the burning history. As if being two brothers separated by the Aegean Sea, but destined to walk together the stony path of the modern history, few years following the fire of Thessaloniki, another urban center experienced the burning heat of the new century: On 13rd of September 1922, waves of the Aegean Sea, one more time met the burning history, at the long sea shore of a cosmopolitan city, Izmir/ Smyrna. Marking a failure of the Greek military forces and the irredentist Minor Asia campaign. After the its capture/liberation, the city was destined to be restructured by the military and the political activists of the Turkish national independence movement.

During the following decades, Thessaloniki and Izmir were to be resurrected from the ashes of synagogues, mosques, churches, hospitals, graveyards, theaters, tavernas, shops

and houses. These were the resurrection of national myths, reproduced by new meaning systems and new languages in these cities. Statues of the "national heroes", shining at the newly built squares of these cities, were aimed to introduce their "national origins" to the masses. Narrow streets of *Anopoli* in Thessaloniki and the Port Area in Izmir, as well as the market places still echoed the unique language of the Babel. A massive demographical project forcing to silence these cities' tones as well as two countries which they were to belong, was soon to be applied by the consensus made between the political figures of these two countries, at the Lausanne Peace Conference, opened on 20th of November 1922. (Clark 2009)

1.4.2. Aftermath: Seeking a Reconciliation at the Lausanne Conference

Following the 1st World War, Greco-Turkish war occurred in western Anatolia for the next three years (1919-1922), with leaving thousands of inhabitants of the region homeless. Regardless of their ethnic background, war only brought the death silence to the cities and the villages of the region. Actors of the war developed their own discourses on framing the violent acts occurred at the burned cities and towns. Some named the events as the "Catastrophe", even resounds today in the Greek official discourse on Great Fire of Izmir. Across the boundary line, the Turkish side named the war as the "Independence War" led by the general Mustafa Kemal, and framing the 9th of September 1922 as the "liberation" of Izmir, from the Greeks, who were "thrown to the Mediterranean Sea."

In such a background, the war left a cold atmosphere of tension. Two months following the Izmir catastrophe/ liberation, at the Lausanne Peace Conference, officials coming from both sides of the war line, were set ready, to realize their expectations. For the Greek republicans, led by the political leader Eleftherios Venizelos, supporter of the geographically expanding, irredentist project of *Megali Idea* (the Great Idea), Lausanne was the place to face the diplomatic outcomes of the Greek Minor Asian campaign, the "catastrophe." For the Turkish part, represented by the ex-general Ismet Inönü at the conference, Lausanne had the fundamental importance in gaining an international recognition to the new-born Turkish state, as an independent and united entity, a nation-state. (ibidem, 91) In attendance of many actor states of the 1st World War, as well as the United States of America around the table as an observer, political decisions taken in Lausenne were about to change the demographical picture of the region, until today.

Continuing the discussions on diverse topics such as the territorial issues of the Turkish Republic, the problem of the Mosul region (today, in Iraq), economical privileges given to European regimes to have commercial activities in Anatolia (capitulations, a term inherited from the Ottoman Empire vocabulary). One of the discussions receiving international attention was the issues related to minority questions in Turkey. On 1st of December 1922, Lord Curzon, representing the British Commission, developed an argument, positioning Turkey as the main responsible of the removal by forced expulsion or killing of 1 million ethnic Greek subjects from its territories. Curzon came up with the following statistical data to strengthen its case. According to him, in 1914, the 1.6 million of Ottoman Greek

subjects used to be present in Anatolia. However, in 1918, that is the end of the First World War, some 300,000 of Greeks had died or flee. (ibidem, 93) Following the Turkish victory of the Greco-Turkish war, currently, he argued that there were only around 5-600,000 Greek subjects present in Anatolia. According to this data, Curzon blamed Turkey, participating in a conscious forced expulsion of its Greek subjects.

1.4.3. A Demographic Knot: 1923 Exchange of Populations

Breaking point of this discussion was marked by a demographic engineering plan proposed by Fridtjof Nansen – a Nobel price winner, Norwegian political scientists - as a solution to such a humanitarian nightmare, caused by the expulsion of the Greeks from Anatolia. Therefore, his plan previewed an exchange of populations, agreed by both of the states, Turkey and Greece, which would finally finish the unstabilizing sociopolitical outcomes of an unregularized, forced movement of people. According to his point of view, such an agreement would solve the demographic problems, as well as helping the nation-building process of the two Mediterranean states. Such an agreed exchange of populations, consequently would be a plan "to unmix the populations of the Near East will... secure the pacification of the Near East." (ibidem, 93)

Regularizing such a population exchange would form the basic problematic of this plan. Who would be included in the list for the departure? How such newly born nation-states would identify the "foreign subjects" within their own territory? And one of the hardest questions of all, which communities deserved the right to stay?

Almost a century ago, most probably such questions were the formulations of the hardest problems of the modern times. They were to be answered together by two states opposing each other, but similarly engaged in a harsh nation-building process. It was the moment when the pre-modern, Ottoman demographic and cultural heritage was seen as the "problematic component of the region" by both of the modernist political projects.

So-called modern solution to such a pre-modern problem was forced to use the language of the latter one: On 30th of January, Ismet Inönü, representative of the Turkish delegation in Lausenne, and Eleftherios Venizelos, representing the Hellenic Republic, signed the agreement confirming the exchange of prisoners and populations between two countries. Subjects included in this compulsory exchange were the Greek Orthodox Christians of Anatolia and the Muslims of the Greek peninsula and the islands. Apparently, language, mother toungue or ethnic background was not recognized as an excuse to be excluded from the obligation of departure in two weeks of time. (Mazower 2004)

Turkish speaking Orthodox Christian communities, inhabitants of the central Anatolian Capadoccia region were forced to depart from the western coasts of Anatolia, to the Hellenic Republic. While, Greek speaking Muslim communities of Crete and other islanders were obliged to leave their territories and embark for a new land, most probably many of them have never seen before, the Turkish Republic. According to Bruce Clark, just before the departure, 1000 Cretan Muslims asked the Orthodox Church for reconversion for Christiani-

ty. However their requests were refused by the Archbishop of Athens and they were forced to leave the island with other Muslims. (Clark 2009, 31)

Illustration I- A Map showing the main ports of departure in Modern Turkey and Greece which the exchanged population used: Mytiline, Kavala, Ayvalik, Rethymnon and exc.. (Clark 2009 ,vii)

There were only two exceptions, naming the two communities which were not included in the compulsory exchange of the populations. They were the Orthodox Christians of Istanbul, who were settled in the city before the year 1912 and the Muslim communities which inhabited in the Western Thrace region of the Modern Greece. However, the rest of the population included in the exchange were forced to leave from their cities and villages, sailing the Aegean Sea, to a new country, to a new "homeland", in which most of them did not even know its language. As a result, more than one million Greek Orthodox Christians left Ana-

tolia within the two weeks of time, while five hundred thousand Muslim subjects of the Hellenic Republic migrated to the Turkish Republic.

Following the exchange of populations, both of these states experienced the demographic problems of their nation-building processes. Meeting their new "homeland", propertyless surely the migrants created the problem of integration within these countries. In the Turkish part of this narration, the Muslims coming from the Greek mainland and the islands were to be named quickly as "*Yarı Gavur*" (half infidel). While the Anatolian Orthodox Christians faced the common xenophobic discrimination, being named as "*Tourkosporoi*" (seeds of Turks). (ibidem 2009, 32) Sailing across the sea with their particular cultural baggage, the Anatolian Orthodox Christians brought a diverse musical tradition to the Greek suburbs, *Rebetika*, being in correlation with the "Ottoman past" of such subjects. *Rebetika* practice in Greece will be explained specifically in the fifth chapter of this thesis.

Following the Lausanne Congress, political elites in both of the countries developed the language of nationalism. National integration and sociopolitical stability remained as unique goals of both of the regimes. However, such nationalist mindsets based their political rhetoric of regarding national identities, reproduced the modern dichotomies. Both of the states saw their selves as the progressive protagonists of the history and came out to imagine a modern national identity based on its "other."

As we will be seeing in the following chapters of this thesis, both of the countries' ideologies created the "oriental others" in their political discourses. Being proud of forming the modern nation-states, such actors were in a position of implementing the modern values to their respective national communities. According to such modernist imagination, as it is quoted by Özkırımlı and Sofos, "both Greek and Turkish nations had to be forged against all odds: reluctant populations not readily able to comprehend what it meant to be 'Greek' and 'Turkish', the challenges of expansionism or national consolidation, the potential divisiveness inherent in existence of various national minorities were just a few of the problems that Greek and Turkish nation builders had to confront." (Özkırımlı & Sofos 2008, 2)

Now, let's continue with the second chapter of the thesis, focusing on the ideological conceptualization of the Turkish national identity, in light of its grand narrative: progressive modernization.

2. Ideological Grounds of the Turkish National Identity

Second chapter of this thesis covers the Turkish nation-building experience with a special focus on discussions regarding the cultural identity formation of the new-born state. It gives us the main theoretical background to understand the ideological motivations of Turkish Republic's cultural policy approach, which is focused in the 4th chapter of this thesis. This chapter is mainly divided into two sections, which are like the following: **2.1.Discussions on National Culture** and **2.2.Solving the Musical Question: Synthesis.**

Departing from such a theoretical analysis regarding modernization and the nationalist ideology, first part of this chapter introduces us a particular nation-building experience from Turkish Republic. Following its foundation in 1923, we see that Turkish military and civil bureaucrats of the new republic were engaged within a nationalist imagination, in search of consistent nationalist narrative, giving an ideological meaning to the existence to the socio-political reality of the country. At this point, ideas of Ziya Gökalp (1875-1924) puts light on Turkish national identity discussion and its relation with the modernity.

Gökalp is seen by many analysts as an influential name in Turkish nationalist thought, and even in some cases "the only systematic thinker of stature that Turkey has produced in the twentieth century" (Parla 1985, 1), while "for others as a spiritual guide, an inspirer." (Özkırımlı & Sofos, 2008, 31) Therefore, particularly we will be focusing on Gökalp's conceptualization of (*hars*) "culture" and (*medeniyet*) "civilization" which create the ideological base for the nationalist, modernizing narrative which condition the social reforms introduced in the state following 20 years of its foundation.

Following Gökalp's general explanation, final part of this chapter focuses exclusively on his thoughts on national culture and music in particular, which will be helping us to analyze the motivations of certain cultural policies, restrictions and promotions applied in Turkish Republic during 1923 and 1945.

2.1. Discussions on National Identity

During the first years of its foundation in 1923, Turkish Republic's military and civil bureaucrats were highly influenced by the modern idea of nation-building. Apart from implementing several structural reforms in diverse fields such as on clothing, alphabet, state

structure, they also made several discussions on valuing a "national culture" which would be in correlation with the construction of a new "modern" identity.

Within the conceptualization of a "national culture", they also adopted certain restricting and organizing attitudes especially on music aiming to reference certain products as "folkloric" and "innovative" while stigmatizing the rest as "foreigner", "invader" or "backwards". Particularly the thoughts of a Turkish ideologue, Ziya Gökalp on building the "Turkish national identity", based on conceptual synthesis of culture (*hars*) connoting "national origins" and civilization (*medeniyet*) signifying "Western skills and techniques" influenced such reforms. (Gökalp, 1923)

Following such a plan of cultural identity formation, exclusion of certain kinds of musical practices turned out to be necessary. In 1927, stigmatizing the monophonic musical tradition of the "Ottoman times", formation of this musical genre was banned in public and private schools of the Turkish Republic. (Tekelioğlu 2001, 95) Following this, *tekke* music (based on Ottoman musical modes), practiced at the lodges and cloisters *(tekke ve zaviyeler),* was abolished with the closure of the such informal institutions. As a cultural campaign, promoting the folk music in Turkey, in 1934, art music, was banned from the Turkish radio stations for two years. (Stokes 1992, 36) We will be focusing on such reforms more deeply in the 4th chapter of this thesis, while here we will be analyzing the basic characteristics of Turkish national identity formation, ideological motivations laying behind such decisions.

In this sense, it is useful to search for the intellectual base of this constructive approach. Therefore let us focus on one of the important figures who influenced the Republican reformists with his nationalist theory: Ziya Gökalp. As it is quoted by Martin Stokes also, Ziya Gökalp's own work The *Principles of Turkism* was actually really influential for Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. For Stokes "[The Principles of Turkism] it may be described as a blueprint for the entire revolution." (ibidem, 26)

Reading Ilhan Başgöz in this regard, he as well sees Gökalp as the "father of the Turkish nationalism", formulating the basic principles of such a political approach. (Başgöz 1972, 165) Gökalp's important role was also related to the sociopolitical setting in which he developed his theory. During the first decades of the 20th century, as the Ottoman Empire's territorial integrity was under question, by the nationalist the independentist movements in the Balkans, among the intellectual circles of the empire's cities, new political approaches were being discussed. Political projects which were designed to let the imperial system survive such as Ottomanism or Islamism, as well as projections which would preview the foundation of a new nation-state, Turkism, nationalism were on intellectual agendas. During these years, we see different intellectuals, highlighting diverse components of a unifying identity. For example, Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935), glorified the religious component of such an identity. He saw Islam as "a powerful melting pot in which peoples of various ethnicities and beliefs, produce Muslims who believe they are a body with the same equal rights." (Akçura 1998, 56 cited in Özkırımlı and Sofos 2008, 56) In such a political setting, the nationalist arguments developed by the Turkist circles-similar to the other nationalist movements in the Balkans, Greek as well as Serbian nationalism- stigmatized the Ottoman political institutions and identified them as non-progressive, problematic.

Therefore such an understanding developed a discourse based on binary oppositions in diverse categories, such as language, folklore and politics. Başgöz's argument on Gökalp

helps us to see the stigmatizing characteristics of this anti-Ottoman, nationalist discourse: "Gökalp searched for Turkish identity in national history, literature, and language. In his system, history, literature, and language are viewed as the main sources to unify the Turkic people and to replace Ottoman culture with an unspoiled national culture of the Turks." (Başgöz 1972, 165)

In order to enter the mindset of Gökalp and his "Turkish Theory of Culture", firstly let's take a look at his precedents, who already had several discussions on ideology of Turkism.

2.1.1. Ideology of Turkism

Regarding the ideology of Turkism, we can see its development in two district stands. These may be classified as the academic products of the Western orientalism and the products of the indigenous scholarships before Gökalp.

If we would look at the former one, we may point out Joseph de Giugnes and his *Historie generele des huns, des turcs, des mogols et des autres tartars occidentaux*, etc. (1759). Another work of this kind may be shown as Turkish Grammar of Lumley Davis, which also includes a part focusing on the Turkish ethnography and history. These two works were considered as influential on the history of Western Turkism and Turanism by Ziya Gökalp, himself. (Gökalp 1923, 9)

For the products of the latter strand; the indigenous scholars, we can point out the inspiring consciousness of the Committee of Union and Progress, a centralist, Muslim and Turkish bureaucratic community. It is important to underline the manipulative character of their ideas on language and the symbols of culture. Their works were also strongly influenced by the authors Lumley Davids, Joseph de Guignes and also Vambery and Calvan. (Stokes 1992, 23)

As an example to this strand, we can see Ahmet Vefik Paşa, a professor of Philosophy at the Darülfunun and an influential politician, who translated the work *Secere-i Türki* of Abul Gazi Bahadır Chan from Çağatay to modern Turkish, on the way to analyze the Central Asian History. Also, it should be noted that in this period, Süleyman Paşa who was the Minister of Military Schools who prepared his work *Tarih-i Alem*, History of the World (1876) was the first writer systematically analyzing the Chinese resources, on the way to develop the Turkish studies as back as the pre-Islamist periods, searching for the ethnic and cultural origins of the Anatolian society. These products may be seen as certain examples to the movement of Turkism in the academic field.

2.1.2. Ziya Gökalp and the Turkish Theory of Culture

Importance of Ziya Gökalp at this moment, lies in his approach on studying the society from a modernist, nationalist point of view. It can be said that Gökalp's sociological thought

was based on the distinction of the following concepts: "Culture*" (Hars)* and "Civilization*" (Medeniyet)*. Before interpreting Gökalp's ideas, firstly let's read him from his words on culture and civilization:

"Civilization is the sum of the concepts and techniques which are built in forms and are transferred from one nation to another. Culture is the emotions which cannot be created with forms and which cannot be taken from other nations by the method of imitation..." (Gökalp 1923, 30)

As Stokes reads Gökalp, culture would be signified as the language and the education; factors which hold the nations together. Civilization actually would be described as the technology, the science, philosophy, theology and the "artificial product of the individual will." At this point it is important to stress that, contrasting to the concept of culture, civilization is considered as an international phenomenon, freely floating, in movement and it can be shared by several nations of a continent. On this base, here comes the vital argument of Gökalp: according to this view, the health of the society was depending on the relation, the certain rapport between these two concepts. (Stokes 1992, 26) This can be described as a relation in which, when one of the sides (civilization) experiences a progressive change among other societies, then it would be an important achievement for the Turkish society, to adopt the values of that innovated civilization in question, for the sake of the social progress.

As it can be seen in this relation, the concepts of innovation and progress had important places, which may easily build the path of the social engineering for the enlightened thinkers and bureaucrats. In this sense, it can be said that Gökalp's ideas are influenced by the French sociologists August Comte and Emile Durkheim, in its positivist way, emphasizing the evolution of the society. Gökalp also cites another French psychologist Ribor, on the similar relation between Ribor's concepts mind and character with culture and civilization. (Gökalp 1923)

After this conceptualization, one can guess how his discussion evolves. According to Gökalp, "the Turks had simply outgrown the Arab civilization which has fostered them from the tenth to the early twentieth century" (ibidem, 27- 37) As the duality within the Ottoman society was increasing, he argued that the cultural distances between "high culture" and the "Turkish folk" were enlarging too. Moreover, he stressed that the manifestations of the high culture even reached to a state of "unhealthy degeneration" and "ugliness". (ibidem, 37) Remembering the nationalist imagination and the characteristic of "purity on culture" outlined by Gellner above, Gökalp's explanation on basic distinction of "national" and "pure" and its antithesis "cosmopolite" and "foreigner" shows us his protective mindset. Such practices are even seemed as problematic, because of their non-national characteristics. On this issue, Gökalp clearly takes his stand and argues that "As Turkism cannot accord with any system not accepting the nationality principle, Turkism cannot include cosmpolites in itself." (ibidem, 94)

At this moment, for Gökalp, adaptation of a new civilization was urgent and even justifiable for the social, economic, political and cultural progress of the society. He was against to the adaptation of the Arab civilization, with emphasizing the importance of leaving the Arab civilization apart, sending it away from the Turkish cultural practices in several categories. (Stokes 1992, 27) He was also picturing the Byzantine influence on the Ottoman practices as cultural handicaps to be left apart such as the cultural phenomenon of *haremlik*, the domestic segregation of women, which Gökalp argued that was totally alien to the cultural roots of the

Turkish society. On this specific issue, he even supported gender equality, framing it as a "natural value" of the ancient Turkic societies of the Central Asia. (Gökalp 1923)

Remembering Özbek's point on orthodox interpretation of modernization and evolutionary stages, Gökalp embraces such a view in understanding the social reality of Turkey. In this framework he makes the following diagnosis of the problem: "We do not admit that we are far back than the European nations regarding civilization, knowledge, economy, and cultivation and we are going to work with all our force to keep up them in civilization. However, we cannot see any nation superior than us regarding *[hars]* culture." (ibidem, 98)

In this position, Gökalp introduced his cure: embracing the Western civilization. According to him, there was no problem for the nation to transform, to "evolve" its civilization. Thanks to this adaptation, he argued that the healthy synthesis of the national culture would be realized. Gökalp also mentioned that the "roots of the nation" was planted in its culture, therefore this radical change on the civilization would not create a problem for the Turks, because in the history they were already involved in changing civilization all the time. In his writing, he even gives the Japanese example, which followed a similar pattern in leaving the "Far Eastern" civilization and adopting the Western one, to the extent that they were even elected to the League of Nations. (ibidem, 48)

It is important to remember that, it was not the pure Westernization that he supported, with his distinctive approach on the culture (*hars*) and civilization (*medeniyet*), he argued to adopt the Western civilization for the Turkish culture; that is synthesis.

2.2. Solving the Musical Question: Synthesis

After this brief discussion on culture and civilization, let's analyze Gökalp's ideas on a more particular field of culture: music. Let's start with a quote in which he explains the musical situation of the country and relates this reality to his abstraction of culture and civilization:

"In our land apart from these, there are two music types which live side by side. One of them the Turkish music which is cultivated from the folk, from the people, the other one is the Ottoman music which is translated and imitated by Farabi from the Byzantines. Turkish music is created by inspiration; it is not imported from outside. Instead of this, Ottoman music is taken from exterior sources and was only practiced with the form *[usul]*. First one of these two is the music of our culture *[hars]* and the latter one is the music of our civilization *[medeniyet]*." (ibidem, 30)

As Saygun paraphrases Mustafa Kemal, we can see that a similar approach was also adopted by him, such as the following argument: "[Eastern music] is inherited from the Byzantines. Our genuine music can be heard among the Anatolian people." (Saygun 1987, 9) This quote may symbolize the will of the bureaucratic elite in problematizing the "Eastern sounds" influenced from the purist national musical characteristics of the Turkish nation.

However, as it is said above, this action was not just a detachment, but also a reform based on introducing the Western style of music, its instruments and other components to the Anatolian folk music; for the sake of the artistic and the social progress. In the same interview Mustafa Kemal also quotes that the Turkish people did not have time to wait for four hundred years for their music to reach to the level of Western music. (ibidem, 43) We can see that the bureaucratic elite of this period adopted such an idea to shape the cultural phenomenon, introducing the western techniques to the population.

Turning back to Ziya Gökalp, with the following quote, let's see his problematization of the national music and his solution to this problematic, the synthesis:

"I wonder which one is the national one for us? We have seen that the Eastern music is sick and also non-national *[gayri milli]*. Folk music is our culture, and the Western music is the music of our new civilization, therefore neither of them is alien to us. Therefore, our national music will give birth from the meeting of the folk music of our land and the Western music. Our folk music gave us plenty melodies. If we gather them and harmonize them within the Western musical form we would have a national and a European music. The ones who will accomplish this goal include the Turkish Clubs' [Türk Ocakları] music commissions. The idea of Turkism in the musical field is based on this, and the rest will belong to our national musicians." (Gökalp 1923, 131)

Therefore, in light of the quotations mentioned above, we can see that intellectual and diplomatic discourse regarding music developed the tome of the "synthesis", that is meeting of the "Turkish folk" with the "Western musical forms." Among the bureaucratic elite and the intellectuals of the time, there were also declines concerning the alaturka[2] music. There was a belief that actually it was a result of the exterior cultural influences to the Turkish culture.

It is interesting to see how the idea of cultural synthesis, at the same time stigmatized particular Ottoman musical traditions. In the fourth chapter of the thesis, we will be seeing the practical acts of this glorified synthesis and its stigmatizing tendencies. Also it is an important attitude on understanding the ideology of this movement, to be able to interpret the cultural reforms introduced between 1923 and 1945 in Turkish Republic, with the ultimate aim of accomplishing a "civilizational" modernization with a "cultural purity."

On the other hand it is fundamental to grasp such a modernizing approach to be able to compare and contrast it with the Greek example of nation-building, which do experience a similar identity crisis, developing a binary oppositional model, praising the innovative national identities while stigmatizing the "Ottoman" and "Oriental" elements as well as so-called sociocultural practices.

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2   Classical Turkish music. For a brief description of terminology regarding musical kinds, alaturka vs. alafranga debate and their ideological connnotations see O'Connell (2000).

3. Highlighting the Historical Pillars of the Modern Greek Identity

Before analyzing the cultural policies employed by the Modern Greek state during the interwar years, it is important firstly to comprehend how Greek politicians and intellectuals of the late 19th and early 20th centuries conceptualized the "Modern Greek" identity and culture. Influenced by the modern idea of nationalism, they particularly made discussions on the appropriate language and culture of the Modern Greek nationals. As one can guess, this signified different ways of reading the history of the region and discovering diverse historical paths which are connected to the modern political situation.

In order to discover how did these actors framed the "appropriate history" for their nation-state, the following chapter will be problematizing the following questions: In such a sociopolitical background of the 19th century, how did the Greek intellectuals relate to the problematic of the so-called "Modern Greek" identity? How did they come to conceptualize historical events, which historical period did they focus on, glorify or ignore, reject? Finally, how did they conclude their discussions? Did the "cultural continuity" thesis supported by the nationalist ideologues receive any international critics from intellectual circles, if so how did the Greek historians react such critics? In light of these questions, in the following chapter firstly I will be focusing on the **3.1. Appropriate Language, History and Culture: Hellenist and Romeic Approaches,** which will be noting the two different camps on reading the Modern Greek history during the first half of the 19th century. In this part, I will be showing how did the Hellenist historical model underline the Ancient Greek civilization while the Romeic historical model specifically related the Modern Greek cultural identity with the religious affiliation by highlighting a particular period of the history. Following that, in the second part of this chapter titled as **3.2. Fallmerayer "Breaking the History" and the Hellenochristian Civilization**, firstly I will be explaining a controversial tone in reading Greek history, developed by Jakop Philipp Fallmerayer negating the so-called "Ancient Greek Heritage" supported by the official discourse in the country. Finally, in this part I will be analyzing the characteristics of a particular approach in reading Greek history, "Hellenochristian Civilization" thesis, developed by Spyridon Zambelios and Konstantinos Paparrigiopoulos in 19th century, which influenced the 20th century nationalist discourse in Greece**.**

3.1. Appropriate Language, History and Culture: Hellenist and Romeic Approaches

During the first half of the 19th century, we see two different approaches aiming to explain the cultural attachment of the "Modern Greeks" to two different pasts. These are: 1-Romeic thesis and 2-Hellenist thesis. These two approaches signified two fundamentally differentiating methods in constructing the Modern Greek history. It was a clear contrast which these two schools connoted: "That contrast pitted against each other two cultural ideologies, two Greek languages, two readings of Greek history, two concepts of the Greeks' place in the world and of the Greek scholars' place among their people." (Herzfeld 1986, 38)

In light of this quote, before analyzing the cultural discussions on the Hellenochristian civilization thesis, it is important to take into account the polarization between these two theories in explaining the Modern Greek history and culture.

3.1.1. Hellenist Approach: Resurrection of an Ancient Civilization

As early as the first decades of the independent Greece in 1830s and on, we see that within the intellectual circles there were discussions regarding the "national identity" of the inhabitants of the newly-born Greek state. Idea of the Hellenist thesis was based on the argument that the Modern Greeks inhabiting in the peninsula were the contemporary the heirs of the Ancient Greek civilization. Within this approach in explaining the Greek history, we encounter a nationalist scholar and ideologue Adamantios Koraes (1743-1833). Koraes was one of the important figures in developing the social and literary research in Greece and more importantly correlating such findings with the Ancient Greeks, emphasizing the superior existence of such a civilization and its contemporary representatives.

In one of his works, Koraes develops such a discourse of superiority like following:

"It is France which had the glory of seeing in her own bosom that meeting of philosophers who were the first, in the middle of the past century, to lay the foundations of that vast edifice known by the name of the *Encyclopedie*. The light which rebounded from that literary revolution, following the same laws as physical light, had necessarily to spread clarity far beyond its own environment, in any place where it encountered no obstacles. We have already seen that, for the Greek nation, these obstacles had to be large indeed but we should also have observed that they were counterbalanced by the sentiments on which a considerable part of the nation is nourished. The Greeks, proud of their origin, far from closing their eyes to the light of Europe, considered the Europeans as mere debtors who would repay

with very great interest a capital sum received by them from the Greeks' ancestors." (Koraes 1803, 20 cited in Herzfeld 1986, 15-16)

Such an argument, positioning the contemporary Greeks as the Neo-Hellene subjects in relation with the "European Civilization" had also a literary dimension. During the second half of the 19th century, Greek rural reality was different than the expectations of the Hellenist ideology's narrative. Villagers of the peninsula were speaking local dialects which contained diverse expressions from different languages such as Turkish and Albanian. As one could guess, the Hellenist narrative would dismiss such a language and emphasize the usage of the Greek language, relating it to their "enlightened ancestors." In light of this argument, Koraes invested his time in developing "katharevousa", the neo-Classical form of the modern Greek language. "Katharevousa was always something of a cultural appeal to the West for recognition, an attempt to demonstrate that the ordinary Greeks of today could speak a tongue which was undeniably their own yet no less clearly Hellenic." (Herzfeld 1986, 17)

It is important to underline that the Hellenistic approach in this discussion, basically does not defend the resurrection of everything Classical, as it is noted by Herzfeld (ibidem, 20), but it is a collaborative reaction of the Greek nationalist imagination to the European image of Classical Greece. This Hellenist approach to the sociopolitical reality of the country would orient cultural traits such as music and language to architecture and literature in a particular way. Therefore, the supporters of this thesis continuously defended the use of the *katharevousa* language, which would ideologically connote the "purified" Greek language, complex, ancient version of the Greek language. However, it was not commonly used in the Greek peninsula and the islands, opposing to the dialectal, *romeika*.

3.1.2. Romeic Thesis

As it is mentioned above, we see two different approaches in explaining the Modern Greek history and culture, during the first half of the 19th century. These are the Romeic approach and Hellenist approach which propose two different ways of reading historical events and on their evidences justify certain contemporary cultural acts, such as languages.

According to the Romeic argument Modern Greeks were actually identifying themselves with the *Romii*, which is a name "echoes the Byzantine (East Roman) Empire and hence also the Orthodox Christian tradition". (ibidem, 19) As the Orthodox Christianity was commonly practiced in the Greek territory during the 19th and the 20th centuries, it naturally had an important sociopolitical value, regarding power. These Orthodox Christian subjects of the Greek peninsula called the language with they spoke as "Romeic" *romeika*. This concept was not just used by these Orthodox Christian subjects but it was also used by the Turks even in formal encounters.

Apart from its connotation with the Orthodox Christianity and the Byzantine Empire, *romeika* language also contained several Turkish words and expressions which proved its "alien" significance from an Hellenic point of view. For example, the shadow-theater play Karagiozis, which can also be found in Turkish speaking Muslim communities of the time,

used to be performed in Romeic language in Greece. From a critical point of view, oriented by the Hellenist approach in explaining the Greek history, Romeic language would connote the ills of the society as well as the history of the "Turkish yoke".

Contrasting to this lowering point of view, intellectuals such as Andonis Manousos expressed the problematics of abandoning this demotic language, *romeika* and adopting the *katharevousa*, as it is proposed by the Hellenist thinkers: "But all those who babble that the Greek (*grekiki)* language becomes better the more it approaches the Hellenic (*elleniki*) seem to me to be doing the same as though they were scheming to correct a naturally beautiful and pretty young woman to fix her face like that of an old dame so that she might appear to have beauty she had enjoyed in her youth and no longer possesses." (Manousos 1850, 14 cited in Herzfeld 1986, 38)

In this argument Manousos, a folksong collector, which his collection was published in Corfu in 1852, attacks to the dysfunction of the Hellenistic approach in over-exploiting the ideological function of the Classical Greek language and aiming its adoption to the daily life of the ordinary folk.

Therefore, briefly in this part of the chapter, we have seen the different schools in explaining the Greek culture with underlining diverse periods of the history of this geography: Hellenist and Romeic schools. We have seen that the Hellenist view glorified the Ancient Greek civilization of Athens as well as pointing out the importance of *katharevousa*, a Neo-Classical lingual approach in regenerating the "Hellenic civilization." Opposing to this as it is mentioned above, we have seen the Romeic approach in acknowledging the Byzantine history and culture, as well as the important place of the Orthodox Christian institutions in explaining the Modern Greek culture and history.

In such an intellectual background, in the following part of this section we are going to see a critical tone voiced from Bavaria to the Hellenist view of explaining the Greek history, by Jakop Philipp Fallmerayer and the development of the Hellenochristian Civilization thesis by Spyridon Zambelios and Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos as an opposition to the Fallmerayer's rejection.

3.2. Fallmerayer "Breaking the History" and the Hellenochristian Civilization

According to the first "American minister resident to Greece" Charles Tuckerman, who was highly interested in observing the involvement of the modern Greek society during the mid 19th century, the easiest way to create anxiety in an Athenian history professor would be pronouncing the name of Jakop Philipp Fallmerayer to him. (Clogg 1992, 2) In the first section of this part, Fallmerayer's radical historical approach will be studied. Fallmerayer's groundbreaking theory on the racial origins of the inhabitants of the Modern Greece, came out to the public in 1835, arguing that the Modern Greeks were actually Albanized Slavs. As

one might can guess, his theory received many critics among the intellectual circles of the newly built Greek state. One of them was Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, which will be noted in the second part of this section. Together with Spyridon Zambelios, they have developed a counterargument in reading the history of the Modern Greeks, with an approach not based on "racial continuity" but on "cultural continuity", bridging the link of Ancient, Byzantine and Modern civilizations; which was even embraced by the modern Greek politicians of the following century.

3.2.1. Reading the "Historical Break": Jakop Philipp Fallmerayer

The name of "Fallmerayer" even today connotes a negative sentiment in Greece, symbolizing the opposition to the thesis of Hellenic cultural continuity of the peninsula. Jakop Philipp Fallmerayer (1790-1861) as a pan-German nationalist and a Tyrolean historian developed an argument on denying the Greek nationalist claim of "Ancient Hellenic descending." Going even further, he also questioned the very notions of the Greeks as Europeans. "He not only regarded them as mere chattels of an oriental dominion but argued that their claims to Hellenic identity had completely missed the gullible intelligentsia of 'true' Europe." (Fallmerayer 1845, 462, cited in Herzfeld 1986, 76)

Fallmerayer's argument was as clear hit against the continuity thesis and its ideological mindset. Within this ideology, Ancient Greeks, "Hellenes" were the ancestors of the Modern Greeks, "Neo-Hellenes", gathering the latter in an independent political organization would accomplish the goal of freedom and let the Modern Greeks enjoy and witness the "Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment". An argument breaking this central "historical bond" would basically damage such an ideology's main pillars.

Fallmerayer's thesis argues that "Modern Greeks had nothing to do with the ancient inhabitants of the peninsula and Asia Minor, and indeed a lot to do with the Slavic and Albanian tribes that populated the region during the Byzantine decline." (Özkırımlı&Sofos 2008 ,83). Such a change in explaining the history of the peninsula and its people would transform and annule the "subjects" of the nationalist movement and this would mean a total failure of this nationalist movement.

As it's mentioned briefly in the theoretical part of the thesis' first chapter, in order to form and justify the existence of a national community, the idea of nationalism needs desperately a thesis which clearly marks its subjects to be included in this national union. An argument against the founding principle of the membership in this community, would not just dismember few of its subjects, but put in question the existential principle of this "imagined community." Remembering Benedict Anderson, with using this term, his following quote underlines the importance of the functional historical, appropriate past which the nationalist thought and its political organization the nation-state seeks for:

"If nation-states are widely conceded to be 'new' and 'historical,' the nations which they give political expression always loom out of an immemorial past, and, still important, glide into a limitless future. It is the magic of nationalism to turn chance into destiny. With

Debray [Regis Debray], we might say, 'Yes, it is quite accidental that I am born French; but after all, France is eternal." (Anderson 1991,12) Putting it to the practice, in light of such a quotation, including a local subject of the Morean Peninsula, speaking a Greek dialect in the 1850s, would be seen as suitable to be included in the national community within the narrative of the Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment. He would be the contemporary Neo-Hellen subject, son of the Ancient Greek civilization and its "immemorial past", looking forward into the "limitless future" of its progressive national community.

It is argued by Michael Herzfeld that such an attitude also contained ideological and political orientation. He argues that Fallmerayer's claims on rejecting the Hellenic-descendent thesis was correlated to the refusal of the Greek independence in the region. The reason hindered behind this situation was the fear of Russian expansionism. Ending the Ottoman Empire's rule in this South Eastern European territory would give a chance to the Russian state to influence internal and external affairs of the newly born Greek state. (Herzfeld 1986, 77)

As its affiliation to the region, Eastern Orthodoxy of the newly born Greek state would be ideologically instrumentalized by the Russian authorities, Fallmerayer's position in refusal of the Hellenic descent, a principle component of the Greek nationalist thought would contain political motivation towards the stability in the region. Actually, Fallmerayer was not the first intellectual in developing such an argument, refusing the continuity of the Hellenes. Previously, a British aristocrat F.S.N.Douglas also formulated such an argument. Importance of Fallmerayer's thesis was his methodology, based on so-called ethnographic evidence. (ibidem, 77)

Briefly, before passing to the next part, in analyzing the founding concepts and threats of the Hellenochristian Civilization thesis, it's important to remember that such approaches in explaining the Modern Greek history were not simply uncontested. Actually, in many cases they were developed in a competitive intellectual arena with full recognition of the oppositional arguments. Therefore, while Fallmerayer's thesis is related to the previous discussions on cultural continuity in Romeic and Hellenist thesis, it is important to read the following section in a binary relation with Fallmerayer's argument on "historical break."

3.2.2. Conceptualizing the Hellenochristian Civilization

"'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual of symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by reception, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past." (Hobsbawm 1997, 1)

Therefore, the path of the traditions that the nationalist movement need was about to be introduced by the following two names of the Greek intellectual platform: Spyridon Zambelios and Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos. In light of the discussions made above regarding the Romeic and Hellenic approaches in explaining the Greek history, Zambelios' synthesizing point of view opens a new intellectual phase in conceptualizing the "national history" and legitimizing the "right tradition" to be embraced by the nationalist of this newly-born move-

ment. In his reactionary work to Fallmerayer's bitter approach, he has written the masterpiece "History of the Hellenic Nation", pointing out the thousand-years of cultural heritage of the Modern Greek population. (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2010, 2)

In this part, we will be focusing on this ideological, historical-correlative aim of the Hellenochristian Civilization theory and how did it specifically use the history of ancient Greece and the Byzantium on the way to justify its "European" and "Westernized" existence.

The Hellenochristian civilization approach coined out by Zambelios and Paparrigopoulos, defended the synthesis of the Hellenist understanding of the Greek nation with acknowledging the important role of the Orthodox Christian church in the Greek society. Therefore, such a national imagination underlined the importance Orthodox religion as a fundamental component of the Greek national identity. Together with this, the Ancient Greek history and culture occupied an important role in creating the heroic myths of the nationalist imagination, serving as the ideological base in introducing anachronistically the history and culture of Modern Greece.

As Özkırımlı and Sofos define it well, "Modern Greece has been a complex construct that has attempted to straddle two competing universes, that if its putative ancient pagan progenitors and that of its medieval Orthodox Christian ones. In doing so, it had to reconcile their mutually exclusive ideologies and worldviews, and integrate them into a viable and more or less coherent image of Greekness." (Özkırımlı&Sofos 2008, 55)

These two diverse worldviews actually live in coexistence in the Hellenochristian mindset. Even though, it is important to notice that during the Ottoman regime at the Balkan peninsula, society was organized according to the *millet* classification system. This sociopolitical attitude was stratifying the society into different religious groups. These were, the Muslim *millet*, the Jewish *millet*, the Gregorian Armenian *millet*, the Catholic *millet* and finally the Orthodox *millet*. Under the bureaucratic actor of milletbasi, non-Muslim millets used to have certain autonomy in legal affairs within the community. In the case of the *millet-i Rum*, the Patriarch of Constantinople was recognized as the *milletbasi*, as the highest political and religious power within the community, exercising legal authority as well as missions such as collecting taxes. It is important to remind that with his senior officials Patriarch of this Orthodox church unchangeable a Greek-speaker. (Özkırımlı&Sofos 2008, 52; Clogg 1992, 10)

In such a sociopolitical background, incorporated with the nationalist imagination, "resurrection" of the Greek nation made strong emphasis on the organizing role of the Greek-speaking Orthodox community. Therefore, "nationalist historiography achieved the (re)integration of an ambivalent Church into the national narrative, adding much needed 'evidence' of its political role joined to its undisputed cultural contribution to the preservation of 'Greek' culture. (Özkırımlı&Sofos 2008) Analyzing the historical events with a nationalist orientation would mean to be able to develop the intellectual tools to group diverse social organizations of different time and spaces in the same platform, the national platform.

In this social-geographical picture, the capital of the "Greek state" was chosen as Athens. Clogg argues that the reason of this choice was the "ruins of the Panthenon and with its association with the glories of the Periclean age..." (Clogg 1997, 50) After the establishment of the capital, there was the need for an ideological reconcile between the Neo-Hellenic nationalism and the Byzantine past. The nationalist discourse of the new state was based on the

"Re-Hellenization" of the Greek populations of the Ottoman Empire. On the way to achieve this goal, certain schools and the University of Athens were oriented to the studies of culture and the "history of ancient Greece. Even, there were critical choices made, promoting the usage and the research of *katharevousa*, or "purified" form of the language. (Clogg 1997, 50) One century after the independence of the Greek state, the irredentist idea of *Megali Idea*[3] survived, politically. (Clogg 1997, 60)

3.2.2.1. An Ideology Looking Backwards and Forward

In its ideological background, the Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment was supported by the Western European Enlightenment. Similar to many of the nationalist projects, it also searched for a myth, to justify its past and to strengthen its modern present existence. Therefore as it is argued by Özkırmlı & Sofos, the Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment actually looked forward and backwards. It looked forward on the way to the establishment of a new nation-state built on the Hellenic national identity. It also looked backwards for the "rediscovery/invention" of the classical Greece, which the Europeans also claimed that it was their original heritage, the place, *topoi*. Therefore the idea of Enlightenment created an ideological path, an infrastructure for the break, for the detachment of the "Greek nationals" from the Ottoman Empire. As it can be foreseen, the Enlightenment also provided the legitimization for the modernizing reforms, concerning the cultural, political, economic and technological areas. (Özkırımlı and Sofos 2008, 23 and Mazower 2000, 72-73)

3.2.2.2. A Social Engineering Project: Political Pedagogy

It is also interesting how Özkırımlı and Sofos identify the Neohellenic Enlightenment. According to them, this movement was actually "normative" and "pedagogic." The normativeness of this ideology was coming from its introducing role to the people what the norm is, in this sense the "national norm." It came up with ideas to be attained and it defined certain tasks to be carried out. The "pedagogic" way of this movement came from its encompassing intervention to the daily life of the land's inhabitants. It operated to accomplish the goal of "formation of national community with a historical and collective memory and vision for the future." (Özkırımlı & Sofos 2008, 24) In understanding the social engineering attitude of such an ideology, I find it important to refer to Özkırımlı and Sofos' explaining on this issue. As we will be seeing in the fifth chapter of this thesis, such a "pedagogic role", explains us the motivations behind the cultural institutional reforms adopted by the Metaxas government in 1930s.

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3   Clogg gives a compact explanation of the political mindset and the irredentist tendency of the "Great Idea" (*Megali Idea*): "For the first century of its independent existence the foreign policy of the new Greek state was dominated by the Megali Idea, or 'Great Idea', the grandiose vision of restoring the Byzantine Empire through the incorporation within the bounds of a single state of all the areas of compact Greek settlement in Near East, with Constantinople as the capital." (Clogg 1997, 60)

As it is seen from the discussions made in this chapter, during the 19th century the historical relation between the Ancient Greek, Byzantine and Modern Greek civilizations are continuously discussed. Influenced by diverse ideological and political circumstances we have seen four different arguments on the continuity or the discontinuity of the Modern Greek state with its predecessors. It is interesting to note that, except of Fallmerayer's critics on the Hellenic-continuity thesis, none of these theories systematically analyzed the Ottoman rule in the Greek peninsula and the islands. Such a disinterest on the Ottoman history paved the path to call such 400 years, "a period of yoke" by the mainstream, nationalist discourse of the early 20th century political actors of the country. In such a nationalist imagination of the Hellenochristian thesis, Modern Greeks were narrated as the "survivors" of the Ottoman yoke, with embracing the Ancient Greek and Byzantine heritage, and their Orthodox Christian faith. As one would expect so, such an ideological positioning influenced the social and cultural practices in the early 20th century in the country, in institutional and non-institutional levels.

Following the next chapter, pointing out the Turkish case regarding practical outcomes of the Turkish cultural theory and its modernization tendency, in the fifth chapter, we will be analyzing how the intellectual heritage of the "Hellenochristian Civilization" thesis influenced the ideological formation and the cultural orientation of the Greek governments during interwar year, with a special focus on Ioannis Metaxas and his ideological conceptualization of the "Third Civilization". Now, let's see the cultural policies, products of such discussions made in Turkey during 1923-1945, regarding national folk and its musical culture.

4. Interpretation of the National Folk and Its Music in Turkish Republic: Intellectual Discussions and Cultural Policies (1923-1945)

In this chapter, I will be analyzing the Turkish experience of creating and promoting the "national music" in the country, during the first decades of the Republican history. In the first section of this chapter titled as **4.1. Understanding Nation, Culture and Civilization in "Universal Sense",** ideological terminology of the nationalist approach in reading the history of the Turkish Republic is noted. In this part, specifically, we will be noting how did the ideologue, Ziya Gökalp aimed to frame Western-oriented, nationalist modernization projects as "universally tolerant". This was accomplished fundamentally, by his conceptualization of the terms "culture" and "civilization", which is already mentioned in the second chapter of this thesis. In the second part of this chapter, titled as **4.2. Ideology and Scientific Research on Folklore,** we will be seeing how the intellectual circles in the country developed an ideological approach to research activities regarding folkloristics. Correlating such phenomenon with Eric Hobsbawm's explanation on "invented traditions", we will be seeing how particular tunes were glorified as "national traditions" while specific genres of Turkish or Ottoman Classical Music was problematized and later on stigmatized, during the first decades of the 20th century. Following this section, in **4.3. Intellectual Discussions on Folklore and Music in Early Turkish Republican Period,** aiming to see relative discussions by interpreting the texts written by three musicologist figures. Firstly, Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal and Hüseyin Saadettin Arel, with their approaches on cultural continuity between the Central Asian Turkic societies and the Modern Turkey will be noted. Then, we will be analyzing the ideas of Rauf Yekta Bey, with his controversial approach on the "backward" Ottoman classical music, his specific interest in the genre seeing its "cultural heritage" value for the Modern Turkish musicology. Following this section, in **4.4. Practical Outcomes,** we will be seeing the outcomes of such historical and political discussions, justifying certain projects such as: conducting ethnomusicological research in south eastern Anatolian villages in guidance of an Hungarian ethnomusicologist Bela Bartok; application of specific broadcasting restrictions on radio channels aiming several musical genres, abolishing musical education institutions. Therefore theoretically speaking, in the last two parts of this chapter, we will be seeing the products of the so-called metaphorical marriage of the nation-state and culture, pointed previously by Ernest Gellner. (Gellner 1997) Finally, this part will be pointing out a point of confrontation, outcomes of an archival research on comparing the two musical catalogs recorded in Turkey, first one, from the Odeon Recordings, dating back to 1906 and the second one, from the His Master's Voice catalog, recorded in 1934 and 1935, following the Lausanne Treaty and the compulsory Exchange of Populations of 1923.

4.1. Understanding Nation, Culture and Civilization in "Universal Sense"

Turkist approach towards the other European cultures, was based on 'recognition', but not glorification. While, Gökalp clearly mentioned that regarding the sociopolitical issues related to the 'civilization' in his understanding, the so-called "backwardness" of the Turkish civilization was acknowledged. This would not change the superior significance of the Turkish cultural traits. In sketching the ideological approach developed by the Turkist theorists, it is important to capture their modernist positioning. First, as it is clearly outlined by Gökalp, such an understanding did not only accepted cultural and civilizational differences of different societies but it also subjectively positioned these cultures and civilizations in an hierarchical spectrum. In such a spectrum, different civilizations would be favored or rejected according to their social, political and economical characteristics. Therefore, at this point, one could apparently see the nationalist tone of Turkist cultural thought, self-criticizing the so-called "civilization values" of the Turkish society, but while doing it, re-emphasizing the cultural continuity of the "Turkish culture" as the best one among the ones which already appeared globally, and among the ones which will appear in the future.

"We do not negate that we are far behind the European nations regarding civilization, scholarship, economy and arts; and we will be doing our best to catch them out on civilization. But, regarding culture "*hars*", we do not see any nation superior than us. For us, Turkish culture is the most beautiful culture that this world saw and it will see." (Gökalp 1923, 98)

As it is noted in the previous chapter with the Greek case and its attitude on creating its "immemorial past" and its "limitless future" (Anderson 1991, 13), in the Turkish case as well, we see a similar attitude in the nationalist ideology of Ziya Gökalp, imagining the concept of "nation" and its "culture" (*hars)* above the classical historical periods of past, present and future. According to this national community, their 'nation', the fundamental factor in community's existence is imagined in its "perfect tense", an approach which would basically cover the all past, present and the future times. There, a nationalist argument would be like the following: our nations was here, is here, and will be here! This is the central self-justifying argument repeated by the nationalist movements, its eternal existence: "Our nation was ever there, it is an eternal entity, imperishable, transcending the ephemeral beings and generations in which it is transiently incarnated." (Gellner 1997, 8)

In addition to this, Turkish cultural theorist Ziya Gökalp, repeatedly underlined the importance of the Turkish culture for the enthusiastic supporters of the Turkism: " Turkish culture is the best among the ones which the world have seen in the past and it will see in the future." Gökalp also subjectively recognized the so-called "beauty" of the other cultures, but this would not mean to embrace them in favor of assimilation.

"For us, beauties of French, English, Germans, Russians and Italians can be only exotic beauty. With liking these beauties we would never fall in love with them. We have given our heart to our national culture "*hars*" the eternal past." (Gökalp 1923, 98)

In such a nationalist argument, we can see how the Turkish cultural theory, based itself on the recognition of different national movements (in political and aesthetic senses). But, such an attitude should not go beyond recognition. Passing this limit would mean imitation and mispurification which would end with "giving up" one's "national values." Developing one's approach to culture and politics, in such a mindset would simply respect the principle of nationality in an universal sense. At this point, we can remember Ernest Gellner making a remarkable point like the following: The idea of nationalism, actually sees itself as "natural", that is "normal", as an "expected" category. That also gives an universal character to nationalism, tolerating the idea that people would be living together with their own kind. However, in the base of this idea, living together with the "other" people of a different culture is framed as problematic, while being governed by such "different people" should be rejected if possible. (Gellner 1997, 7)

4.2. Ideology and Scientific Research on Folklore

In conceptualizing the national culture, it is highly important for the nationalist intellectuals to document and to institutionalize folkloric products of the national community in question. This would be used to prove the cultural proximity of the groups which are to be included inside the target population: the nation. It is important for the nationalist language to be able to cover these cultural traits in one umbrella-concept of the "national culture." Therefore, in this case the differences and the proximity of the cultural products are totally based on subjective and in many cases covering our research, ideological orientation of the researchers involved in this matter. For example, framing the "*horon*" traditional dance of the Black Sea and the Caucasus region together with the typical Aegean folkloric dance in 9/4 rhythms of "*zeybek*" under the unique concept of "Anatolian Folk Dances" is the all-embracing attitude of the Turkish nationalist imagination. But, surprisingly, the same attitude do not include the "*xoros*" and "*zeybekiko*" folkloric dances of the respectively same geographic regions (with the single difference of the Greek language) under such "Anatolian" category.

Therefore, as it can be seen from this example, nationalist ethnography of the region developed a highly-selective approach in including "appropriate" cultural products in "national folk" and ignoring such silent tunes which are the products of the same but remain incompatible with the idea of national culture (*milli hars)*.

Such a context reminds Eric Hobsbawm and his argument on the important role of the nationalist actors in institutionalizing the appropriate traditional products, regarding Swiss

nationalism. Remaining as a unique case in this context, I find it useful to quote Hobsbawm to see the similitude of the progressive-nationalist movements related to our research.

"Existing customary traditional practices-folksong, physical contests, marksmanship-were modified, ritualized and institutionalized for the new national purposes. Traditional folk songs were supplemented by new songs in the same idiom, often composed by schoolmasters, transferred to a choral repertoire whose content was patriotic-progressive ('*Nation, Nation, wie voll klingt der Ton*'), though it also embodied ritually powerful elements from religious hymnology." (Hobsbawm 1997, 6)

After the selection of the appropriate cultural products, recognized by the national authorities, it is necessary for the intellectuals to institutionalize these "traditional tunes." At this point, the "tradition" is seen as the grand reproductive cultural machine which is treated as the main source of the folkloric products, fully recognized by the national cultural authorities. Therefore, the nationalist discourse aims to frame the pre-national tradition as the source of the contemporary national culture. This attitude mythically glorifies such pre-national traits, and in explaining the contemporary cultural traits it ends up with the "revitalization" of this appropriate myth. In light of these arguments, in the following part, let's see the intellectual discussions on folklore in early Turkish Republic, with putting light on local musicologists and their arguments regarding the practical folkloric research aiming to discover the relation of the rising nationalist ideology of the time and scientific research in Turkey.

4.2.1. Problematizing the Turkish Classical Music

During the first decades of the Turkish Republic, regarding the debates on Turkish musical culture and history, we see that there is a common mode of classification of the musical practices in the region. As this project is concerned to answer the question of "why did intellectuals and politicians preferred to embrace such tendencies of identification", we will not be analyzing if such a musical classification was technically correct or not, but we will be aiming to understand the socio-politcal circumstances which influenced such discussions and try to describe how such music-making practices are acknowledged, regarded as "backwards" or embraced and glorified by these actors.

Turkish classical music, described with diverse names in different sources. In the sources following the foundation of the Turkish Republic, we encounter the terms such as "Turkish art music" (*türk sanat müziği)*, "Turkish classical music" (*türk klasik musikisi*). While in Ottoman documents we see the concepts identifying the same musical tradition such as "Ottoman music" (*osmanlı musikisi*), "Art music" (*fenn-i musiki*). As it is noted by O'Connell, other expressions of identification do include the following terms as well: "palace music" (*divan musikisi*) (*enderun-i musiki*), "Eastern Music" (*şark musikisi*), "Turkish music" (*türk musikisi*) and "alaturka". (O'Connell 2005, 17) Event though, the name of this genre changes, it's important to understand that it refers to the musical practices performed largely at the Ottoman Palace settings during the imperial period. After this brief introduction to the terminology of our discussion, now we will be focusing on three musicologists, Mahmut Ragıp

Gazimihal, Hüseyin Saadettin Arel and Rauf Yekta Bey, names who engaged in diverse discussions regarding Turkish and Ottoman musicology and its history.

4.3. Intellectual Discussions on Folklore and Music in Early Turkish Republican Period

4.3.1. Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal (1888-1961)

Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal (1888-1961) and his writings have an important place in understanding the intellectual mindset of the nationalist intellectuals, who were engaged in folklore research and music during the early Republican period in Turkey. The factor differentiating Gazimihal from other researchers is his strong belief on the evolutionist explanation of the musical history of current Turkey as well as in the other European countries. O'Connell points out that Gazimihal's interpretation of the "Eastern" and the "Western" music basically sought to correlate these two, positioning them on an historical spectrum and finally "discovering" the so-called Eastern influence on the Western contemporary music. (ibidem, 8)

Articles of Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal, published in *Milli Mecmua* (National Journal) during between 1923-1928, remain as a trace from the international discussions made during this period, regarding the significances of the "national music". Gazimihal's point in this debate remind us the concept of the "immemorial past", a fundamental part of the nationalist terminology, which is also mentioned above with quotations from Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson.

Based on the classical grand narrative of "Central Asian Origins of the Turkish nation", pretty popular among the Turkish nationalists of the time, Gazimihal aimed to explain the "origins" of the universal music. Seeing Central Asia as the center of the so-called "civilization", Gazimihal argued that not just Turkish folk music but, universal music tunes can be explained in relation to the musical practices of the Central Asian Turkic people. O'Connell describes Gazimihal and other researchers influenced by the same grand narrative as the following:

"They tried to make sense of this complex Ottoman sound world by re-framing Turkish studies within a wider global framework for comparative purposes and by providing conflicting readings of Turkish history consistent with individual ideological preferences." (ibidem, 7)

To have a deeper understanding of such an ideologically influenced intellectual approach, let's have a look at one of Gazimihal's works, "The Equal Status of Eastern Music" (*Şark Musikisinde Seviye*) published in 1924 in nationalist journal of the time.

In this article, Gazimihal points out the characteristics of the Spanish music as well as its "Eastern counterpart". In this piece he develops a discussion on musical instruments, mu-

sical modes and musical styles regarding the texts. He finally arrives to a point to prove his main argument on the great influence of the Turkic peoples of the Central Asian on the other musical traditions around the Mediterranean region, including the Spanish example in matter. (Gazimihal, 1924)

Such an approach immediately reminds a similar historical theory of the Early Republican Period, developed by the nationalist intelligentsia of Turkey: "Sun Language Theory." I find it important to note the development of such an ideological theory, connoting "cultural evolution", to grasp the politically oriented intellectual sphere of this period, which above mentioned Gazimihal's theory was also developed in and influenced by.

4.3.1.1.Gazimihal's Proximity with an Essentialist Historical Theory: Historical Continuity Thesis and the Sun Language Theory

Following the Kemalist language reform of 1928, which replaced the Arabic script with the Latin alphabet in writing the Turkish language, political and intellectual circles of the republic focused specifically on researching and promoting the Turkish language in national and international platforms. On this path, in 1932 the First Turkish Language Congress of the republic was held.

In the presence of Mustafa Kemal, during the congress several discussions were made regarding the institutionalization of the Turkish language and the importance of collection, publication of the Turkish words. The same year, Turkish National Assembly announced a campaign aiming to realize this goal. As Özkırımlı and Sofos point out so, such "a campaign gathered pace with the systematic and ideologically-motivated efforts to change names and various institutions" under the light of a historical continuity thesis in explaining the Turkish past. (Özkırımlı&Sofos 2008, 66)

A clear example of this approach can be seen with the decision taken regarding changing the names of the two leading banks of the period: *Sümer Bank* (Sumerian Bank) and *Etibank* (Hittite Bank). Consciously chosen these names connoted two ancient civilizations, leaving traces in the regions of Anatolia and Mesopotamia, which the modern Turkish Republic claimed its geopolitical legitimacy on.

Therefore, Turkish intellectual claim on historical continuity with the Hittite civilization of Anatolia during c.1600 to c.1178 BC, as well as the Sumerian civilization of Mesopotamia during c.3200 BC, should be understood within this background of rising the intellectual approach, in bonding the "immemorial past" with the current present and the "limitless future." (Anderson 1991, 11)

Following the First Turkish Language Congress, second edition of this intellectual meeting was organized in 1934. During this congress, the aim of "modernizing" and "purifying" approach towards to Turkish language was re-stressed, and following the conference, in practice, an important publication was prepared. "Ottoman-Turkish Pocket Guide". Aiming to substitute the Ottoman words with their "modern" Turkish correspondents, such a project of fundamentally shifting a language faced with practical difficulties by its speakers.

"As the resulting language was, not surprisingly, unintelligible to the majority of the population, the TDAK [Turkish Language Research Institution] declared that it was not necessary to replace all foreign words with Turkish ones. More importantly, it advanced the theory that most terms which were hitherto regarded as being foreign origin were actually Turkish. This was the kernel of the notorious pseudo-scientific 'Sun Language Theory' which basically maintained that all languages descended from a root language spoken by the Turks in Central Asia." (Özkırımlı &Sofos 2011, 66)

Therefore, before turning back to our analysis of the musical theory of Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal, it is important for us to have a brief idea on the intellectual discussions which took place during the first decades of the Turkish Republic. In such a background, Gazimihal's approach in explaining the musical relationship between the Central Asian, Turkish and European music should be seen in this common ideal stream, repeating the historical and cultural paradigm of the period: Pointing out the Central Asian Turkic civilizations and treating as the "origins" in explaining the cultural, linguistic and even folkloric history of the humanity.

4.3.2. Hüseyin Saadettin Arel (1880-1955)

Another Turkish researcher following this intellectual path is Hüseyin Sadettin Arel (1880-1955). Actually it would be more correct to say that Arel was more involved in the musical theory regarding the correlation of the Anatolian Turkish tunes with the Central Asian musical practices of the Turkic peoples. Reminding the lowering attitude of Ziya Gökalp regarding the Byzantine practices of music making, with its so-called "heterogeneous" character, Arel criticized the study of Turkish art music (Ottoman art music), treating it as a remainder of the Byzantine culture. "Since Sumerian, Egyptian, Greek and other ancient Asiatic and European civilizations lay within this natural historical succession, he proposed that all Turkish music was the expression of a Turkic rather than a Mediterranean artistic culture." (O'Connell 2005, 12; Arel 1940)

Therefore, instead of focusing on the Mediterranean music making practices, Arel's approach pointed out the east, that is the Turkic peoples of the Central Asia. It can be argued that such an argument was the musicological approach which was favored by Ziya Gökalp in his ideological brief work, outlining the basic characteristics of the appropriate studies, research and policy-making practices of the Turkist movement. In correlation with the historical continuity thesis, the "Sun Language Theory" seeing the Turkish people and the Turkish Republic, as inheritors of the previous civilizations stretching from the Anatolia to the Mesopotamia and the Central Asia, such an intellectual movement repeatedly perceived the Eastern origins of the current human civilization. As it is argued by O'Connell, translating this ideological approach in the musical field would let researchers such as Arel to frame "Turkish music (like other Mediterranean musics) was a tangible expression of the East in West." (O'Connell 2005, 12)

This ideological approach on music studies aims to explain the "origins" and the "influences" of the different musical practices, distributed to different times and geographies. Gazimihal's and Arel's approaches position the Central Asian musical traditions at the center

of their study, aiming to make sense of the "musical origins". This understanding trans-pass-es centuries and selectively underlines particular periods of the history in interpreting the contemporary cultural practices. Therefore, such an attachment to the musical practices of the centuries-old societies are re-framed as the "origins"of the current nation and such an "invented tradition" (Hobsbawm 1997, 1) is reproduced as its "original national tradition." Gazimihal's and Arel's names remain in the intellectual history of musicology in Turkey, as the nationalist, origin-seeking reflections of the ideological oriented research practices during the first decades of the Turkish Republic.

4.3.3. Rauf Yekta Bey (1871-1935)

Contrasting to Gazimihal's and Arel's approach to the history of musicology in Turkey, we encounter Rauf Yekta Bey (1871-1935), who clearly expressed his doubts regarding a universal theory of musicology seeing the Central Asian Turkic people as the heart of its investigation. Firstly, Yekta's opposition to Ziya Gökalp's positioning of the Ottoman art music should be considered. As it is mentioned above Gökalp would simply outlaw the Ottoman Palace music, because of its Byzantine origin and its so-called "heterogeneous" structure. Adding to this dismissal, Rauf Yekta Bey is also opposed to Gazimihal's glorification of the Central Asian music-making practices, and treating the Ottoman music as the primitive component in his theory aimed to explain the origins of the universal music. (Yekta Bey 1927; O'Connell 2005, 13)

Yekta Bey's article, "How Can Turkish Music Be Improved?" (*Türk Musikisi Nasıl Islah Olunabilir?*) dating back to 1927, published in a Turkish magazine, "Wireless" (*Telsiz*) remains as an important piece noting his opposition to the Gazimihal's theory on the universal music, as well as Gökalp's ideologically-oriented approach on the musical "synthesis" of the Turkish folk culture with the European material civilization, based on his conceptualization of the "culture" (*hars*) and "civilization" (*medeniyet*) mentioned above.

In this article, Yekta Bey's arguments can be classified in four different points like the following: Firstly, the differences between the Eastern and Western musical practices are acknowledged with a musicological approach on different tonal spectrum, tonal arrangements and exc. Secondly, analyzing these differences would not mean positioning the Eastern and the Western musical traditions in a binary oppositional platform, as O'Connell argues so "he rejected Gazimihal's (and Gökalp's) call for a harmonized national style precisely because Eastern and Western musics are two mutually exclusive and independent systems, systems which could not be galvanized into a modern synthesis for ideological purposes." (O'Connell 2005, 14)

Here, I find it important to stress that the ideological distinction proposed by Gökalp in distinguishing the Ottoman Palace music (that is Turkish art music) from the Turkish folklore music, that is the traditional musical performances of the towns and villages of Anatolia. Gökalp's argument was on the incompatibility of the Ottoman Palace music (Turkish art music) with the Western musical traditions, while the folkloric pieces of the Turkish musical tradition were seen suitable to be re-harmonized with Western skills and musical instru-

ments. Basically, Yekta Bey is rejecting this approach in limiting the art of re-composition and arrangement clearly because of ideological motivations. Thirdly, regarding the theoretical branch of the musicology discipline, Yekta Bey proposed to reformulate the Turkish musical theory on the bases of Western musicological principles. Fourthly, Yekta Bey's proposition was regarding the art of education and exhibition of the Turkish musical products. He supported this process to be realized with Western didactic methods. (Yekta Bey 1927)

Looking back to Yekta Bey's approach on the Turkish musical practices, we can obviously see that he acknowledged the need for modernization in musical education as well as performing practices. Apart from this, he supported that such reforms were not to be applied only on the folkloric musical productions, but they should also include the Turkish Art Music, that is the musical tradition related to the urban centers of the Ottoman Empire. Actually that was the critical point when ideology entered the discussion, separating Rauf Yekta Bey to one side and Gazimihal and Gökalp to the other side, regarding their different approaches to the Turkish Art Music.

4.4. Practical Outcomes

4.4.1. Practical Outcomes: Institutions

This part will be focusing on the practical outcomes of the social-constructive ideas which were adopted by the bureaucratic elite of the Turkish regime. As Martin Stokes argues, folk music in Turkey is being perceived by its proponents and its practitioners as a cultural element which plays an important role in forming the unified and cohesive nation-state. (Stokes 1992, 20) In this part my aim will be to rediscover the restrictive acts which are applied to unify the people of the nation-state under the same cultural flag. State's role in the construction of the "National Music" and the restrictive policies on certain kinds of music on media channels, on radio will be analyzed.

Before explaining several reform movements which had been practiced during the first decades of the Turkish Republic, it can be useful for us to go through the musical situation during the last years of the Ottoman Empire: In this period, as Değirmenci points it out, mainly the music of the Ottoman State was conceptualized with a duality of the music of the people and the music of the palace. In the first decade of the 20th century, the music which was practiced widely was the "Classical Turkish Art Music", which was transformed into "Turkish Art Music" during the Republican years. This music was performed in the central institution of the state, in the palace circles and may be heard in the urban settings as well. (Değirmenci 2006, 57) Contrasting to this school of music, the local traditions of the rural folk music was much

more hybrid and diverse. These musical pieces were performed mainly in rural settings, which was mostly unknown to the palace officers. At this, point Stokes also reminds us that the *tarikats* (religious sect lodges), which were going to be closed down with the Republican reforms, were important places concerning the practice of the *tekke* (lodge) music, another musical tradition which was totally religious, "patrons of art music". (Stokes 1992, 36)

Actually, the musical reforms aiming the "Westernization" did not start with the Turkish Republic; it has started way before, during the period of the Ottoman State, beginning from the *Tanzimat* period of Modernization. According to Aksoy, the year 1826 can be seen as the starting point of *Tanzimat* in music, meaning the westernization of the musical culture in the Ottoman society. (Aksoy 1999, 30) In 1826, the brother of an Italian famous opera composer Giuseppe Donizetti was invited to conduct the new military band of *Nizam-I Cedid* (New Order), which was also such a westernized innovative army for the Ottoman State, contrasting to the older military force of Jannisaries. Giuseppe Donizetti also taught at the Palace Military Band School *(Saray Mızıka Mektebi)* which was an institution aimed to train musicians for the military band. (Değirmenci 2006, 56). Therefore, we can say that during the last decades of the Ottoman Empire, among the political circles, there were acts regarding the reformation of the Ottoman Palace Music.

4.4.1.1. National Research Institutions for a National Culture

After this basic conceptualization of the musical culture in the Ottoman era; with the Republican era starting from 1923, as one of the outcomes of the modernizing nationalist ideology, we can see the institutionalization of the national culture. In this period, "the activity of collecting folklore art forms was institutionalized by the foundation of Department of Culture under the Ministry of Education" (ibidem, 54). Actually this event shows us the concerns of the state officers on inserting the phenomenon of the "national culture" to the state organism and respecting it seriously, even finding it valuable to institutionalize it. Eventually, the Ministry of Education was not the unique one on this movement. Institute of Turcology was founded in 1924 and the Folklore Association was founded in 1927 which served the common aim: searching for the Turkish culture and the origins of the national folklore. In this period, these cultural studies played an important role on building the justifying mechanism of the nationalist discourse which was using the cultural phenomenon as a factor of national unity. In his article, İlhan Başgöz underlines the important role of the folkloric studies during the first decades of the Republic like the following:

"...each folklore genre had a special value for the nation: proverbs reflected the high moral and philosophy of the Turkish ancestors, epics exemplified Turkish heroism, riddles demonstrated the cleverness and fineness of the Turkish mind, folk poetry revealed the natural sentiments of the people; in sum, folklore as a whole expressed the national spirit which had been undermined for centuries." (Başgöz 1972, 171)

From this commentary, we can see that each cultural product had an important place on the way to create the whole concept of the "national culture." Poetry, literature, music and

the other forms of art all participated on the way to build this phenomenon. It is interesting to note that they were not seen as only artistic forms, but also cultural products which connoted certain moral and philosophical values of the new-born nation. On this process, it was important to refer to the older generations to justify the moral values which were reproduced in these artistic cultural forms. Therefore the idea of the "national ancestry" actually served a practice based on the reproductive discourse of certain socio-cultural values. It is important to see that the discourses of these folklore products may even create such myths, justifying itself with its historical reference to the ancestry.

As Roland Barthes quotes "What the world supplies to myth is an historical reality, defined, even if this goes back quite a while, by the way in which men have produced or used it; and what myth gives in return is a natural image of this reality." (Barthes 1988, 117) It can be said that, on the way to accomplish the goals of the nationalist project, during the first years of the Turkish Republic ideological activities such as promoting institutions for their studies on the Turkish folklore forms was an act aiming to justify the "cultural roots" of the "Turkish nation" in the Anatolian territory. With emphasizing the existence of certain kinds of folklore products at the end of a selective and manipulative process, it can be said that with these methods creation of certain moral and historical myths were aimed, on the way to "naturalize this image of the reality" like Barthes argues.

As Değirmenci also underlines "this immense activity of collecting folklore forms was the major part of the project of constructing the imagined concept of nation, was supposed to over arch all the distinct cultural traditions." (Değirmenci 2006, 55) It is necessary to point out that this process was done with the consciousness of emphasizing certain similarities rather than differences in these folklore forms. One way of constructing the myth of the national cultural heritage was to stress on the homogeneity of the cultural products which are in correlation with the hegemonic nationalist ideology, and the other way to practice this was to exclude certain forms of art which would be considered as signs of heterogeneity. At this point, it can be said that a future research on the neutralizer function of the national institutions of the time on "myths" can be an interesting step to analyze the ideological background and the practical effects of these organizations.

Under the influence of the nationalist ideal, promoting the institutionalization of the national cultural products, during this period we see that the state institutions specifically invested their effort on documentation of the folkloric materials, such as folk songs, poems, stories and such. We can see such works even before the period of 1923, which is the official reclamation of the foundation of the Turkish Republic, and its international recognition with the Lausenne Treaty. As an example, previous to this date, in 1920, after foundation of the Turkish Grand Assembly on 23th of April, we see the Ministry of Education conducting the folklore research in Anatolia, in correlation with the Department of Culture, founded in its body. (Başgöz 1972, 169)

Within this campaign, aiming to document the Turkish folkloric products, several experts on ethnomusicology, folklore studies were invited to Turkey, in order to conduct researches in the Anatolian territory or participate in organizations of museum and several structures of exhibition. Among the foreign experts and scholars invited in this period, we can name Ignacz Kunos, Gyulo Mszaros and Bela Bartok.

4.4.2. Practical Outcomes: International Connections, Ethnomusicological Research in Southeastern Anatolia, Bela Bartok (1881-1945)

As it is related to the specific concern of this thesis, I find it important to explain Bela Bartok's experience of conducting an ethnomusicological research in Southeastern Anatolia, aiming to document the folkloric tunes from the village settlements of the region, during the early years of the Turkish Republic with the nation-building concern of its political elite.

Prof.Laszlo Rasonyi (1899-1984) was the first name from Turkey getting in touch with the ethnomusicologist Bela Bartok, regarding his invitation to Turkey. Firstly, Prof. Rasonyi was a Hungarian Turcologist, who was employed at the Language, History and Geography Faculty of Ankara University, as the departmental coordinator of the Hungarology. Following Rasonyi's participation at the Congress of Turcology, organized in Ankara in 1934, and his presentation, he meets Mustafa Kemal, which informs him on the foundation of the Hungarology department at the Ankara University. Accepting this opportunity to start the departmental activities in 1935 fall, he gets interested in discovering the similarities between the so-called "traditional folk tunes" of Turkey and Hungary. According to his testimonies, during his trips at the Anatolian countryside, he meets local villagers signing folk songs during their work time. As an amateur musician, Rasonyi gets enthusiastic in finding out the characteristics of such folkloric products. Knowing Bela Bartok from his work on "Our Folk Music and the Folk Music of Our Neighbors", Rasonyi decides to get in touch informally with Bartok, inquiring for his interest on the Turkish folk music. (Teke 2013)

During this period, Prof.Rasonyi also knows the Turkish Museums General Director, Hamit Zübeyr Koşay. Explaining his proximity with Bela Bartok and his research regarding the folkloric products of different geographies, to Koşay, Prof.Rasonyi receives positive feedback from Turkish state institutions. Therefore, in May 1936, Bela Bartok receives a formal invitation letter from the Turkish government, regarding to give a lecture at the Ankara Community Center (*Ankara Halkevleri*) specifically on folkloric product collection techniques. As Bartok kindly asks to postpone such an invitation to October, his trip to Turkey gets organized for him to participate at three conferences, one orchestra concert and several meetings regarding the documentation of the Turkish folk music products.

Finally, Bartok arrives in Turkey, following that year. (ibidem, 68)

In light of Bartok's testimonies of his trip in Turkey, let's take a look at the characteristics of the folkloric research in Turkish Republic in 1936. Bartok's first stop in Turkey is the city of Istanbul. There, Bartok firstly studies the archival recordings found at the Istanbul Conservatory. In his testimonies Bartok mentions that such recordings were kept in really good quality. He mentions the 65 discs which he encountered, recorded in double-sides. He notes that the discs were mainly recorded by villagers, singing folkloric tunes of the region. Such a serial of discs were prepared for publishing during 1930s and around 130 melodies were recorded for this goal. (Bartok 1991, 237-238; Teke 2013, 69)

Bartok's observations of the recordings do not contain only positive remarks. There he points out the problematic parts of such recordings like the following: "One of the drawbacks of the archive prepared by the Turks was that recorded products were not chosen in a systematical way. Before starting this project, none of the theme songs were recorded in the field, and even there were nobody who knew the priorities of importance on what to record." (Bartok 1991, 237-238; Teke 2013)

Analyzing Bartok's impressions regarding the recordings which he encounter at the Istanbul Conservatory archives, we see the methodological problems which he underlines. For example, missing recordings of the folkloric products coming directly from the "field" should be considered as a problem here. Folkloric tunes recorded at the weddings, funerals and different celebrations would absolutely serve to form such an archive, but according to Bartok's memories we see that unsystematic methodology of registration remained as the fundamental problem of such an archive. "Most of the discs contained the material of traveler musicians who were found in Istanbul by chance. As these people are traveling musicians for long time, they cannot be evaluated as a source should reflect the folk music products with domestic qualities." (Bartok 1991, 237-238)

Therefore, it is also important to follow a systematical approach in collecting folkloric tunes, which would remain as the unique reflections of the local musical culture. Second problem which Bartok points out is related to the inscription of these songs' lyrics. This would remain still a question that according to Bartok's memories, he argues that during his travels in Turkey, he listened several recorded folk music material together with Turkish researchers and scholars, and he noticed that in several pieces Turkish researchers had difficulties in writing down the lyrics of these songs.

When he points out this problem and criticizes the lacking lyrics of the recorded songs, he faces resistance from the Turkish researchers, saying that "That is not a problem, we can correct this imperfection any time we like, we are Turks, we understand the lyrics of these discs." Following such an answer to his critics, Bartok kindly invites one of the Turkish researchers to listen to one of the recordings and transcribe the lyrics of the song, while he would dictate the musical notes of the piece. As Bartok explains so, the Turkish researcher fails to write the full lyrics of the songs and expresses his difficulties to understand the words mentioned by the local singer of a folksong. After this experience, Bartok reminds the Turkish researcher the importance of noting the lyrics of the song during the field research, directly quoted by the player, artist. (ibidem, 238)

Aiming to see the ethmomusicological research methods directly in the field, several Turkish musicologists such as Necil Bey and Ulvi Bey, two composition teachers working at the Ankara Conservatory accompany Bartok during his trips in the local settlements of the Southeastern Anatolia. After entering to the cities and villages of the towns such as Adana, Mersin, Osmaniye Çardak and Tecirli Bartok falls ill and turns back to Ankara. During this period, he manages to finish the arrangements of seven folk songs. As a final remark of his ethmomusicological research experience in Turkey, Bartok auto criticizes some of the errant factors which they have faced at the field. As it is mentioned above, he re-emphasizes the handicap of missing or incomprehensible lyrics of the folk songs recorded at the field. Following this point, he underlines a problem regarding the participants of the research which

they have finished. Entering the local settlements of the region, as an "outsider", research-ers face difficulties in finding a female voice volunteering to record a folksong. Therefore, Bartok notes this dilemma that many of the pieces which they have managed to record from local people are sang by male singers. Finally, as the information regarding the folk songs which are recorded are not coming from reliable and questionable sources, Bartok specifi-cally calls researchers to develop their work, focusing on the social and historical contexts of the pieces which are recorded. (Bartok 1991; Teke 2013, 69)

4.4.3. Practical Outcomes: Confrontations and Restrictions on Musical, Educational Practices and Abolishing the "Inappropriate" Tunes

Apart from the establishment of national institutions on the way to create and justify the national folk music tones, the Republican bureaucratic elite of the time took also sever-al measures on musical practices such as exclusion of several tunes, reforms on educational structures and abolishing of certain musical institutions from the social spheres.

Giving some examples to the exclusion of certain kinds of musical practices, we can see the bans concerning the practice of the Monophonic Ottoman Music, in this pe-riod. In 1927, monophonic music education (Ottoman music) was banned in public and private schools. (Tekelioğlu 2001, 95) Later on, the lodges and cloisters *(tekke ve zavi-yeler)*, playing a central role in practicing the *tekke* music, were abolished. During the year of 1934, art music, but not folk music was banned from the Turkish radio stations for two years. (Stokes 1992, 36)

Even some of the Ottoman institutions which were practicing Western polyphonic mu-sic were closed down on the way to be replaced by their Republican equivalents. For exam-ple, we can see the Palace Symphony Orchestra, which was the only institution performing Western music in the Ottoman Empire, was closed down in 1924, and was replaced by a Re-publican institution: the Presidential Music Band *(Risayeti Cumhur Orkestrası)*.

Another one of this kind was the Palace Military Band School *(Saray Mızıkası)* which was a training institute of music. It was also closed down and replaced by the School for Music Trainers *(Musiki Muallimleri Mektebi)* such as another institutional closure: *Doğu Müziği Şubesi* (Eastern music section) of the Darü' l-Elhan (later the Istanbul) Conservato-ry in 1926. (Değirmenci 2006, 58)

4.4.3.1. A Point of Confrontation: Greek Orthodox Singer(s) of the Ottoman Music in Early Turkish Republic

During the first years of the Turkish Republic, "when anti-Greek sentiment was at its height", we see a rising intellectual movement in in denying the relation of the Byzantine in-fluence or Greek factors from its musical canon. (O'Connell 2003, 201)

On the base of such an ideological approach on musicology, according to O'Connell, the Turkish art music products were perceived as the problematic practices of sound-making. Actually, Turkish art music, practiced by the loyal multicultural Ottoman subjects, truly were the symbols of a remaining Ottoman culture in newly founded Turkish Republic. At this point, in awareness of such "Ottoman remainders" inside its territory, and cultural space, Turkish nationalism found the way out in stigmatizing the musical productions as well as the educational institutions which are engaged in production activities. Such a practical approach in selectively labeling the "progressive", Turkish folk music and the "backwards" tunes, remainders of the Ottoman system, reminds us one more time Gökalp's ideological approach inc appropriate culture:

"These components of the national culture [*hars*] are the ones which serve to research and find it. There are also other components of the national culture. Functions of the latter is to inseminate the European civilization's related components to it, following the the research and the discovery of the national culture. Organizations which will be accomplishing this goal are like the following: History Department "*Tarih Darülfünunu*" [university], *Türkiyat Encümeni* [academy]. As an example, let's take a look at it: *Darülelhan,* [an academy,] currently found in Istanbul is the institution of the *dümtek* style, that is the *Darülelhan* of the Byzantine music." (Gökalp 1923, 91)

In light of such an argument, apparently, musical institutions engaging in so-called Byzantine music had to be abolished or renewed with the Turkish cultural substitutes. Not being a musicologists doesn't limit Gökalp's will in solving such a problematic of musicological theory and its practices. He argues that the meeting of the "people's sympathetic melodies" and the harmonization techniques special to the European musical tradition would give the fruits of a national, progressive, "real Turkish music." (ibidem, 91)

Therefore, following the institutionalization of the "national culture", it is important to note that demographic changes brought with the 1923 Exchange of Populations, mentioned previously, played a crucial role on the country's cultural stage. Here I find it important to note the results of a research conducted by O'Connell on the two recording catalogs, produced in Istanbul. One of them, Odeon Recordings' catalog is recorded in 1906, before the foundation of the Turkish Republic 1923. The other one, His Master's Voice dates back to 1934 and 1935, that is after the Lausenne Treaty and the compulsory exchange of populations of 1923.

According to O'Connell's data, seeing this study as a typical case, reflecting the sectoral reality of the period, one can see how did the music production sector is influenced by the sociopolitical change of Anatolia, saluting a multicultural empire and welcoming a national foundation, stressing on the Turkification and progressive characters of the cultural products of the country.

O'Connell points out three striking differences between these two catalogs mentioned above. Firstly, he notices a demographical change regarding the ethnicity of the artists engaged in musical production. He notes that in the previous musical catalog one fourth of the musicians and singers who appear in the scene are Greek [Rum], while in the second catalog he notices only four names of Greek artists taking part in musical production. Another demographical change is regarding the gender and the role of the Greek artists take in produc-

tion of these catalogs In the catalog dating back to 1903, Greeks who appear in the musical scene are mostly female singers, who perform popular urban style musics which are mostly regarded as styles associated with taverns (*meyhane*). Contrasting to this fact, in the second catalog of 1934 and 1935, we encounter mostly Greek male instrumentalists, who are mostly engaged in Turkish classical genres. (O'Connell 2003)

Secondly, another difference which is noted in these two catalogs regards the musical genres which are delt and concerned for production. While in the earlier source we see that a large part of the catalog is reserved for popular music forms, "associated with drinking locales, popular theaters and coffee houses", in the latter source we notice that the absence of these kinds, "demonstrating a diminution of Greek influence in this area and a contemporary antipathy towards related vernacular forms." (ibidem, 202)

Thirdly, as one could take notice of it, we notice a fundamental difference between these two catalogs regarding the language of production. While in the first catalog we encounter substantial volumes dedicated to vocal compositions which are sang in Greek language, in the post-Republican catalog we can not find even one piece of this kind, but all pieces are sang in Turkish language. This also remains as a fact related to the Turkification of the productions related to the musical sector during the first decades of the Turkish Republic. (ibidem, 202)

Before passing to the next chapter of this thesis, I find it also important to note that in such a differentiation, one should not only focus on the political reality of the country, but also to the changing social demography of the republic. From the time of the first catalog of 1903 to the second catalog of 1934 and 1935, Turkish and the Hellenic Republics experienced a crucial event which changed the social structure of these two countries: The Exchange of Populations, confirmed at the Lausenne Treaty in 1923, which forced more than one million Orthodox subjects of the newly founded Turkish Republic to leave for the Greek mainland and replaced them with around-five hundred thousand Muslims leaving the Greek mainland and the Aegean islands (including the crowded Greek speaking community of Cretan Muslims), sailing across the Mediterranean to be settled on the seacoast and in the interior Anatolia. (Clark 2006)

Therefore, when we are analyzing the findings of the data supplied by O'Connell, it is remarkable to note the departures of the Greek Orthodox subjects from the Turkish Republic to the Hellenic Republic, such as: singers and musicians performing in Greek language such as -even of her Jewish background- Roza Eskenazi (Istanbul 1883 - Athens 1980) Rita Abatzi (Izmir 1903 - Athens 1969), Dimitris Atraidis (Izmir 1900 – Athens 1969), Andonis Diamandidis (Istanbul 1892 – Athens 1958), Kostas Karipis (Istanbul 1895 – Athens 1952), Zaharias Kasimatis (Izmir 1896 – Athens 1965), Stratos Payumcis (Ayvalik 1904 – Florida 1977), Vangelis Papazoglou (Izmir 1896 – Athens 1943), Dimitris Sensis -living in Izmir from 1919- (Stromnits 1881 – Athens 1950), -even of his Armenian background- Agapios Tomboulis (Istanbul 1893 – Athens 1965), Panagiotis Toundas (Izmir 1884 – Athens 1942), Haralambos Leondaridis (Istanbul 1898 – Athens 1965), Spiros Peristeris (Izmir 1900 – Athens 1966), which is surely decreasing the target population of Greek-language urban music and limiting its sectoral market size.

Following a life story of these singers and musicians would actually let us the discover the Aegean history of the early 20th century, decades of the rising nationalism and its hars

sociopolitical outcomes experienced at the both sides of the Mediterranean. One could ask the question, what was the social setting waiting for these artists at the "Greek side", across the Aegean Sea? How did the Greek Republic face with the millions of Anatolian Orthodox subjects entering its territory? Did they have a planned settlement project for the new comers or were they destined to experience the life at the margins of the developing Greek urban cities, such as Athens and Thessaloniki? Last but not the least, how did they get treated by theır "compatriots" of the Greek society and modern Greek state, engaged in such nation-building process, following the difficulties of the 1st World War 1918, the Smyrna Catastrophe of 1922 and finally Lausenne Treaty and the Exchange of Populations, 1923.

Let's describe this harsh reality in the following chapter of this thesis, departing from the intellectual discussions on appropriate music in Greece and arriving to the cultural outcomes of the above mentioned history of fires and forced expulsions: *Rebetika*.

5. Implementing the "Appropiate" Music for the "People" in Greece: Intellectual Discussions and Cultural Policies (1923-1945)

Following events of 1922 Fire of Izmir/Smyrna Catastrophe, and the Exchange of Populations of 1923, young Greek state faced with more than one million Anatolian Orthodox subjects to be somehow included to the modern Greek society. It was their Orthodox religion, seen at the legal document of Lausenne Treaty, justifying their departure to the new "homeland." While, their Orthodoxy factor acknowledged by both of the states as the only criteria of their departure, in the following decades they were about to become the "Greeks", citizens of the new nation-state.

Regarding the cultural production and specifically the sector of music, we can say that artists coming from urban cities of Istanbul and Izmir continued their musical activities in Greece. For example, Andonis Diamandidis, who was already famous in Istanbul continued his recording activities in Athens, after departure. As one could guess, such musicians firstly continued playing similar genres of music in which they used to play in the urban center across the Aegean. Therefore, during this period, Ottoman-style urban popular music was on demand. Actually, such a demand and its supply did not come from Greek and Turkish markets only, but also from abroad. "As the relevant catalogs show -Columbia 1926, 1928, 1930- Greek vocalists recorded Turkish for an expanding immigrant market composed by Armenians, Arabs and Jews as well as Greeks. (O'Connell 2003, 203)

In the 5th chapter of this thesis, in light of the discussions mentioned in the third chapter, regarding a "nation", its history and its cultural identity, we will be focusing on specific themes: folklore and music. In the first part of this chapter, named as **5.1.General Focus: Conceptualizing Folk and Art in Greece**, we will be reading different Modern Greek thinkers, folklorists who have developed particular approaches in conceptualizing the "people" and their "culture, folklore and music." Firstly, giving references to three different written media sources in Greece, we will have an idea on the intellectual platforms and their ideal orientations, which determined such discussions. Then, with analyzing the theoretical approaches of thinkers and folklorists Georgios Lambelet (1875–1945) and Manolis Kalomiris (1883-1962), we will be seeing how the concept of "national art" is treated by such figures. In the second part of this chapter, titled as **5.2. Particular Focus: *Rebetika* Music and Metaxas Regime Musical Policies,** we will be analyzing a specific period of the Modern Greek interwar history, in which the political actors highly engaged in silencing any heterodox cultural tones which would be correlated to the "pre-modern", "non-national" or "foreign" themes. As it is mentioned in the previous chapter on historical background, we will be analyzing the deeply the cultural significances of the *Rebetika* musical genre, correlated

to the pre-1923 events, "the catastrophe", exchange of populations and the Greek Orthodox Communities of Anatolia. Then, we will be seeing how did the intellectual circles in Modern Greece, developed a discourse of "Humanizing the Masses" on discussion stigmatizing the *Rebetika* genre. Following this, we will be seeing the reaction of the Metaxas Regime, on policies regarding performance, education and research of musical kinds. Departing from the regulations of the cultural institutions, we will be analyzing the formation of a censorship committee. After this, we will be reading the letters signed by the Lambropoulos Production Company in seeing the institutional response to such measures. Finally, with noting the several specific cases on the songs banned by the regime, we will be seeing a particular case on musical archival research project in Istanbul, organized by the regime.

5.1. General Focus: Conceptualizing Folk and Art in Greece

5.1.1. Cultural Discussions on Written Media: Techni, Dionysis and Athinai

Regarding the intellectual discussions on folk culture and music, in Greece we see that diverse magazines such as *Techni* and *Dionysis* serve as platforms for the youth intellectual circles. As early as 1890s, we see such discussions are made on "authenticity of the folk culture" and its relation with the Greek national identity. In light of Nikolaos Politis (as it is well explained in Herzfeld 1986 and cited in Tragaki 2007), and his efforts on building the discipline of folklore studies in Greece, such magazines continued the discussions on proper folkloric studies and conceptualized the cultural products of the "people" (*laos*) in Greece. For example, as Tragaki points out, *Techni* reproduced an ideological discourse which devalued "folk" and framed it as "corrupted" and its subjects as "sordid crowd" or "drove of blind [people] and primitives." (Hatzipantazis 1986, 84 cited in Tragaki 2007, 13)

Actually it is interesting how different circles, in different time periods framed the "folk" and its music in contrasting ways. During the 1880's, Tragaki argues that the "folk" and its music in Greece was framed as the "true" and "pure" musical product of the local culture, which was also instrumental in mythification of the modern Greek identity and its relation with the ancient civilizations. However, Tragaki notes that in 1890s' discussions, same subjects were labeled as "oriental", "awkward" and "rough." This change basically shows us how the concept of "folk" and the cultural products related to such a factor, are open to be manipulated in different settings in intellectual and political circles. (Tragaki 2007, 13)

In the following decades, discussions on different musical traditions were heated even more. Reminding the Turkish experience of imagining a "westernized" traditional musical forms, in 1907, we witness the introduction of the Neapolitan *canzonetta* with Austrian

waltz, at the Athenian revue, well incorporated to the urban popular entertainment of the period. It is important to note that in many cases, such genres were also performed with Greek lyrics. (ibidem, 14)

Another written source which we may put light on, in analyzing heated tones of the intellectual discussions of the period regarding musical genres of the peninsula, is *Athinai* newspaper. In an inquiry made by the this newspaper on 1911, we see that there are intellectual circles of the period, which argue on the distinction of the western musical tunes and their "oriental" counterparts. Musical genre of *Amanes*, correlated with the "oriental" sector in this discussion, are argued to be "dead" by various groups. As Tragaki notes, such an argument "became an allegory for propagating European traditions." (ibidem, 14)

It is also important to note that such a discourse identifying the so-called "oriental" music as "dead", positioned it as "belonging to the past." Therefore, it was associated with a nostalgia, of musical tradition that was outraged in the performance scene by the European musical practices. Such an understanding may be survived until 1922, which marked the year of a grand wave of refugees from the Aegean coasts of the Asia Minor, departing for Greece, following the war of Greco-Turkish war and the legal obligation following it: Exchange of Populations principle of the Lausenne Treaty, 1923. These refugees, singers and musicians were about to become the actors of the cultural scene in Greece, questioning the so-called "funeral of the oriental musical traditions" such as *amanes* in the following decades. And they were the agents reproducing the Asia Minor musical traditions at the urban cafes and bars across the Aegean Sea, giving life to a musical genre framed as *rebetika*. (ibidem, 14)

5.1.2. Re-framing Nation as A Cultural Resource

5.1.2.1. Georgios Lambelet (1875-1945): Precious Resources of Art and People

Regarding the discussions on "national music" in Greece, during the first decades of the 20th century, it is important to notice Georgios Lambelet. As a composer, Georgios Lambelet's approach to music and its correlation to the national identity was influential in several fields of music, including production, collection and education. One can even call his approach revolutionary, in recognizing his stand against the mainstream modernist thought regarding art, during his time. Criticizing this approach on art, treating a piece of art as a unique product based on the potential of the individual "inner self", Lambelet repeatedly underlined the importance of the community, that is the "nation" in discovering the source of the "real art." In this mindset, the national idea and "the people" were treated as the exact resources of the artistic production, which includes musical practices as well as folkloric traditions. (Erol 2011)

5.1.2.2. Manolis Kalomiris (1883-1962): People's National Language

Another name who played an important role on discussions in Greece regarding outlining the "proper music making practices" for the "progressive nation" is Manolis Kalomiris. Kalomiris was born in Smyrna/Izmir, which was back then an Ottoman city, with a crowded Greek Orthodox community. Following his education in Constantinople/Istanbul, Kalomiris continued his musical formation on piano and composition in Vienna. In the following years, he was one of the important names at the newly founded Hellenic Conservatory and the National Conservatoire, respectively in 1919 and 1926. Kalomiris' discourse regarding the proper, national music was based on the folkloric tradition. In his terminology "the people's musical language" was the source of the national music and that was the national tune which deserved glorification. (ibidem, 173)

In this sense, Kalomiris' understanding emphasized the "people's language" as the cultural resource for its folkloric products. Firstly he supported the "Greek people" and unique artistic products, but he also acknowledged other other nations and their cultural outcomes as well. According to this mindset, the category of "foreigner" in general, is not positioned in a dichotomy with the "people." Similar to the patriotic tone of Ziya Gökalp, recognizing the "beauty" of the foreign cultural products, Kalomiris too, conceptualized the category of "people" and their heritage in its international sense. To give an example to this kind, once he argued on the Russian composers and their relation with their "people" as the following:

"With the sound and the rhythms of the people's musical language, with its lamentations and its pains, the contemporary Russian composers built a musical language of their own, which possessed all the artistic mysteries of the universal music..." (Kalomiris 1988, 98-99 cited in Erol 2011, 173)

As it can be seen from this phrase, Kalomiris acknowledged the positive values of the people's language. However this approach also structured its "unwanted" products as well. This approach imagined a national community which would deserve respect for its cultural productivity. In its opposition, another community of heterodox subjects created the problematic of this idea. Basically, such a platform created two opposite musical poles of the "people's" creations, and the rest, which is not appropriate. In this case, anything which would not be in correlation with the "demotic" cultural practices would be problematic. Even though, foreign music was not seen as a trouble, it was the artistic productions distanced from the "people", perceived as misguided.

In one of his writings regarding, criticizing the education style at the Athens Conservatory, Kalomiris' tone of the antipathy against the musical productions, distanced from the "people" are voiced like the following:

"[our] demotic music is outside the tonic circle of the Italian, French, German and Danish musics, like the Norwegian and the Russian demotic music... at least for me, a Norwegian song reminds me more of our national music than Italian operas." (Kalomiris 1910, 1-6 cited in Erol 2011, 173)

Such a discussion, reminds us the distinction of the Romeic and the Hellenic thesis which are already discussed in the third chapter of this thesis. As Herzfeld also notes it so, Romeic and the Hellenic approaches in explaining the modern Greek history and culture, reflects a dilemma in highlighting the "Western" and the "Eastern" in such a cultural narrative. In our case, the movement supporting the *demotic* language together with the other cultural practices support the Romeic approach in developing the "appropriate" Modern Greek culture. (Herzfeld 1982) That is an approach which finds its correspondents in the musical discussions at the arguments of Kalomiris: *demotic* music, seen as the traditional tunes of the folk are respected within national boundaries and the outside of the homeland, that can be even Norway. Anyhow, its opposite, not just looking western direction, but also in search of complex nobility, the Hellenic approach argued on the cultural continuity of the Ancient Greeks and their modern successors. However, being widely supported at the elite circles, from Kalomiris' and similar intellectual's views, such a divide was the reflection of the discontent between the "ruling elite and the people." Therefore, as it is argued by Erol and Romanou, Kalomiris' approach repeatedly highlighting "the people" and its music, reflected as "search for a musical language in identifying the Greek nationality with the Orient." (Romanou, 2005 cited in Erol 2011, 174)

Before analyzing the specific ideological narrative and the outcomes of such an approach of the Metaxas' regime in Greece, I find it useful to sum up briefly the intellectual discussions made on Greek folklore and music in the country, during the first decades if the 20th century. Here, we have seen the conceptual debates on "people" and its "art" which paved the way for their upcoming discussions on the national community and its culture. Such intellectuals were mainly engaged on discourses regarding proper music making and its education. As we have seen from the two examples given above, in these circles, a patriotic tone regarding the "culture" and its studies resonated.

Lambelet's approach on the uniqueness of the people's art, giving us the keys to the "inner self", as well as Kalomiris' over emphasize on the concept of the "people" and its folkloric language were the pillars of these discussions on proper art. In principal, they glorified an imaginary community of the "people", distinguished from the misguided elite, which were about to be framed as the "nation" in the following decades by the upcoming intellectual and political community of the dicta regime.

5.2. Particular Focus: Rebetika Music and Metaxas Regime Musical Policies

"Song, music and dance have also been used for power and propaganda, or mechanisms of accommodation, incorporating elements of dominant powers for maintaining national identities, or expressing populist policy." (Loutzaki 2001, 127)

As it is also described really well by Irene Loutzaki, cultural products such as song, music and dance can be treated really seriously by institutions which hold the power. Especially on the way to shape the public opinion or build the consent of the ruler powers, state institutions and even intellectual's may corporate in labeling certain cultural products.

In this part of the thesis to understand the case of *Rebetika* in Greece this section will be developed under three sub-sections; respectively **5.2.1. Introducing *Rebetika* and Its Cultural Significance**, focusing on the Smyrna and the Pireaus schools of the music to give a brief description about the musical products that will be discussed in the following parts; **5.2.2. Particular Discussions on *Rebetika* in Greece: A Humanizing Approach** focusing on the discussions of "proper music" in Greece which are made during the first 50 years of the 20th century, aiming to understand the perspectives of the anti-rebetika and pro-rebetika camps; finally **5.2.3. Structuring the Appropiate Music during Metaxas Dictatorship**, explaining the musical restrictions which are taken during the era of Ioannis Metaxas' dictatorship and analyzing the special case of Athens Radio Station.

5.2.1. Introducing Rebetika and Its Cultural Significance

"I have no house to come back
Or bed to sleep
I have no street or neighborhood
To have a walk on First May

The big liar words
Were those you told me with your first milk

But not when snakes have woken up
You wear your old ornaments
And you never cry, my motherland, Greece
That you have sold your children as slaves"

(A Rebetika Song, *Mana Mou Ellas*, Lyrics: Nikos Gkatsos, Music: Stauros Zarchakos) See full text in Greek, in Appendix A.

As an introduction to this part, I would like to paraphrase certain *sources* on Rebetika which would give us a basic idea on the music genre that we will be discussing in the following part. Even though there is not a concrete accord on the origins of *Rebetika*, it can be said that in this field, a trained scholar from Finland, Risto Pekka Pennanen's two published articles on the musical forms of Greece is enlightening. As he argues on this topic; the *Rebetika* songs should not be perceived as a homogenous genre. Actually, as he also underlines in his article of "Nationalization of Ottoman Popular Music in Greece", even grouping the following musical practices under the same Greek-genre name may serve to reproduce the Greek nationalist discourse which often correlates the city of Smyrna with the pre-1923 Ottoman-Greek popular music, for the sake of the national myths. (Pennanen 2004, 1)

Being aware of this methodological handicap of musicological classification, I find it essential to understand the mindset of the musicians and the researchers involved in *Rebetika* studies and actually made the following distinction of the two different schools. Therefore, firstly I would like to give a brief background information on the phenomenon, with analyzing the basic distinction between these two musical schools. It should be clear that the concern of this thesis is not to analyze the musical forms of the period in a musicological sense such as focusing on the melody structure, musical modes, rhythmic choices, lyrics etc; but instead of this, its concern is to map the intellectual approaches of meaning attribution to music as well as to analyze the social and political outcomes of the musical practice. In particular, it aims to discover the ways in which the artists were incorporated to the dominant ideological discourses of its era which perceived musical product as a social form of expression, and as practical mediums of denoting certain messages.

As in the following part of this section I will deal with the comments made on these musical practices I find it important to explain how the subjects of this cultural discussion classified the *Rebetika* genre in itself:

According to the mainstream consent regarding *Rebetika*, it can be said that *Rebetika* may be divided into two main styles: "The Oriental style associated with the large refugee population from Asia Minor in 1920s and 1930s can be called cafe' music because of its main performance milieu." (Pennanen 1997, 66) This "old style" of *,* songs often use the Ottoman *makam* structure (*dromos* in Greek). Even there are several discussions on this description but this style is called as "Smyrna school" in the musical literature. For the practitioners of this genre in Greece, we can coin Marika Politissa, Rita Abatzi, Roza Eskenazi, a popular singer ca. 1895-1980 from Istanbul; Hagop Stambulian known as Agapios Tomboulis, an Armenian ud player also from Istanbul. (Pennanen 2004, 7)

Ilustration II - Agapios Tomboulis, Dimitris Sensis and Roza Eskenazi (Holst 1994, 26)

This music was mainly practiced in cafes (*cafe aman*), in urban settings which were populated in mainly by refugees which immigrated from Minor Asia to Greece, also in Minor Asia. Regarding the instrumentation; violin and ud were often used in this style. The songs in this style should not be thought that they were all rooted in the Anatolian city of Izmir/Smyrna, actually majority of the melodies came from Istanbul, the center of Ottoman classical and popular music. These songs were mainly associated with the large refugee population from Asia Minor in the 1920s and 1930s[4]. Many early composers of this kind were refugees from Asia Minor and some of their songs also had several words in Turkish. (Holst 1994, 33-35)

Regarding the "*amanes*", and the cafes which such musical genres were played in, Gail Holst-Warhaft explains that such pieces are included in the *rebetika* songs. Regarding the musicians and the setting of such a musical practice, she marks the following notes:

"... These cafès [Cafè Amans], were on various levels of sophistication, but the standard type was called the Cafè Aman, probably a corruption of the Turkish *Mani Kahvesi*, a cafè where two or three singers improvised on verse, often in the form of a dialogue with free rhythm and melody. One of the earliest forms of rembetika song was, in fact the amanè, as the Greeks called it, a semi-improvised song, in which verses are interspersed with long melismas on the word 'Aman'." (ibidem, 20)

Today one may hear certain arguments on "true Greekness" or "true Turkishness" of the Rebetika genre or "we can see how some Greek authors tend to nurture the idea of Ottoman-Greek popular music as a style created and performed by Greek musicians for Greek audiences. These ideas are not based on historical facts." It is crucially important to mention that within the practitioners of this genre, cafe music, one can see several faces of non-Greek musicians.(Pennanen 1997, 66; Pennanen, 2004, 7) It is even problematic to argue that a musical kind belongs to a particular nation, in a political context which have met with the concept of "nationality" few decades ago.

Pennanen criticizes the simplistic approach to the ethnomusicological side of this phenomenon "Rebetika", such as Dimitri Monos takes in his article; but to have a basic idea on Rebetika music, let's take a look at his musical description:

"The songs of rebetico are not based on Western scales. Their foundations are modal types which can be written out in the form of a scale. Their characteristic is that certain relations between notes are emphatically stressed and certain notes are more important than others. Many of these modes are borrowed from Arabic or Turkish music and are called *makams*." (Monos 1987, 304)

After this quotation I find it essential to stress that there are some problematic points that I find on this argument, such as grouping certain musical techniques, attitudes (such as *makams*), with social or national identifications (such as Arabic or Turkish) together and describing a certain way of musical practice by the verb "borrowing". Anyhow, what is necessary for our discussion is the information that within the Rebetika music, the usage of *makams* were common, which connoted the Ottoman period.

However, it is important to note that the Smyrna style of the cafès did not form the central strand of *rembetika* music. Smyrnaiko pieces usually had the influence of the anon-

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4   For more information on the Exchange of population and the large refugee population from Asia Minor, you can check: Gaunlett 2005.

ymous jail songs and hashish-smoking songs of the underworld, anyhow as it is common, two styles influence one another permanently. "Rembetika songs were frequently sung in the *Cafè Amans* and the rhythms and voice-styles of the Smyrna singers found their way into a number of rembetika songs." (Holst 1994, 27)

The other main style of Rebetika is the bouzouki-based "Piraues style." According to Holst, the Smyrna school actually was not the base music of the underground, which its actors were using drugs and spend some time in the jail. It was the Pireaus school music on the background playing in these atmospheres. (ibidem, 35)

This style was more associated with the urban sub-culture of Greece, contrasting to the "*Smyrnaiko* style" and its correlation with the refugees. Regarding the instrumentation of this kind; *bouzouki*, its miniature *baglamas* and the guitar were used often. One can listen to Stratos Pagioumdzis', Anestos Delias' (known as Artemis), Markos Vamvakaris' and Giorgios Batis' works to have a basic idea on this kind. After this brief introduction to the *Rebetika* music, now we can pass to analyze the intellectual discussions which were made during these years on "proper Greek music" and how did the Greek intellectuals adopt diverse point views on the genre of *Rebetika*.

*Ilustration III - Stratos Pagioumdzis, Anestos Delias (known as Artemis),
Markos Vamvakaris and Giorgios Batis (Holst 1994, 36)*

5.2.2. Particular Discussions on Rebetika in Greece: A Humanizing Approach

"In many countries, members of the urban intelligentsia such as musicologists, arrangers, composers, choreographers, and poets have created 'correct,' authorized and timeless versions of national folk music and dance through processes of selection, categorization, relocation, and petrification." (Pennanen 2004, 12)

As Pennanen argues similar to the Turkish case, also in Greece there were intellectual discussions on finding out the "right music" for the people. Before mentioning the arguments which were made during the first 50 years of the 20th century in Greece, on folk musical forms and Rebetika, one has to be aware that within the intellectual circles there were diverse points of views on this issue. These diverse approaches to the proper music of the "Greek society" fired the "holy ideological war" otherwise known as "the rebetika debate." (Tragaki 2005, 50)

As Daphne Tragaki puts it in her article "Humanizing the Masses", the discussions on Rebetika in Greece included certain identifications such as "the healthy" music and the "right way" for the people. It should be noted that these discussions were made mainly in the intellectual circles by certain personalities "mostly derived from male educated, middle class, leftist or 'progressive' authors. These are the people who form a highly influential part of the Greek *dianoisi* that is socially and culturally distanced in those years from the 'people', the people of low economic and educative status seen as those who primarily suffered the postwar devastation." (ibidem, 53)

The main concern of these intellectuals who took part in the pro-rebetika vs. anti-rebetika camps, was to determine, to identify the "music that serves the interest of 'our people." (ibidem, 52-53) Therefore regarding the arguments of the both camps, one can say that at the end the nationalist paradigm was determining the discourses which were based on the search for the "Greek national music."

Aiming to understand this attribution of devaluation of the *rebetika* genre; we can analyze a quote of Dinos Christianopoulos on contrasting the musical forms of *dhimotiko[5]* songs and *rebetika*:

"Dhimotiko songs have the space of Greek sky, the fresh air of the high mountains, the levendia of common people. Rebetiko songs have the closed, cloudy sky of the cities, the stifling atmosphere of the dens and the factories, the misery and bended soul of contemporary man." (Christianopoulos 1977 cited in Tragaki 2005, 57)

Opposing to this view for the *rebetophiles*, *rebetika* music also encapsulated the dhimotiko songs. It was even going beyond the Byzantine chant and actually symbolizing an evolution in the cultural field. This cultural evolutionary thought even perceived Rebetika as a creativity which would even assimilate the sacred traditions of the past. According to them it was the "true" folk song for the country. (Tragaki 2005, 57)

5.2.3. Structuring the Appropiate Music during Metaxas Dictatorship

5.2.3.1. Understanding the Regulative Mindset of the 4th of August Regime

After this brief information on the intellectual discussions on music, in this part, I would like to focus on the governmental decisions taken in Greece on music culture, in a particular case

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5   *Dhimotiko* songs may be identified as "[the] generic term which broadly describes that rural folk songs." (Tragaki 2005, 56).

of Ioannis Metaxas period on power, 1936-1941, such as bans on music, propaganda techniques and broadcast policies adopted in the Athens Radio Station. Afterwards this information, I will try to correlate the decisions taken on culture policies with the modernization approach.

As Pennanen underlines, during this period the Ottoman-Greek music was certainly marginalized. "[For the musical production] European and Greek-Western popular and Greek folk and folkloristic music were consistently prioritized in recording, and apparently in broadcasting policy." (Pennanen 2004, 12)

During the years 1936 and 1941 Ioannis Metaxas was the prime minister of Greece whose rule is mainly identified as a dictatorship introduced several limitations were imposed in media organs such as the written press, cinemas and radios. (Petrakis, 2006) "The Metaxas dictatorship, for instance, in the late 1930s, banned many singers and texts of songs of the so-called *rebetika*, yet also enforced the idea of folk tradition." (Loutzaki 2001, 127)

Diverse propaganda techniques were used to manipulate the public opinion for the sake of the dictator regime. Apart from this strict attitude on propaganda of the period, let's take a look to the place of music in this context, namely the *rebetika* genre:

During this period there were several measures taken on the musical practices. Broadcasting policies of the Athens Radio Station were organized according to a selective process based on elimination of the *Rebetika* songs and the *Amanes*. As it is quoted by Petrakis in her study, in this period "special attention was given to the Hellenic character of the Athens Radio Station as its power to reinstate the glorious past was greatly appreciated by the propaganda officials." (Petrakis 2006, 168) There were strong arguments made by these officials, underlining the important role of the radio as a media organ during the process of a social construction of the "Greek society."

Here is an argument of this kind made by the dictator leader Ioannis Metaxas himself:

"The Athens Radio Station will become the bright light house of the Third Civilization which our Governor envisaged. It will constitute the great peaceful expansion of the Eternal Greece and will become a crucial factor in the humanizing and assimilating effort of the State." (ibidem, 168)

Similar to the ideal approach which is mentioned in the previous part by Christianopoulos, the new regulation of the Athens Radio Station did not welcome *Rebetika* genres to be broadcast on the radio. These musical products were lowered and believed that were damaging the modern enlightening project of the Greek State. In this period, for the sake of this project the *rebetika* songs with their melodies, rhythms, lyrics and musical structure had to be removed from the national public space. On describing this ruthless persecution campaign totally against the "vulgar" music, Metaxas in one of his speeches was clearly addressing these musical products; the regime was openly against these musical products, "which promoted the morbid tendencies and low instincts not only of the Athenians but also of people in the most remote parts of the country where the musical degradation was even worse." (ibidem, 168)

According to the regime, *rebetika* songs "contained obscene and provocative words that could endanger public safety and order and create a climate suitable for the spreading and use of drugs." (ibidem, 168)

As the nationalist discourse of the regime was reproducing itself in Metaxas' each speech, there was always emphasis on the "greatness" of the Greek nation continuously re-

ferring to the Antique Greek civilization. The Hellenic history was functioning as a tool for the creation of a national myth. Actually, one may argue that this grand narrative of the "Hellenic myth" was also serving as a justifying mechanism for the social and cultural restrictions imposed by the state. The following quotation of Metaxas himself explains the "justifying ideology" of the new social and cultural restrictions: "We must return to those sources from which flowed the springs of Hellenic culture and civilization, clear and pure, and be re-baptized there, and become Hellenes once again." (Loutzaki 2001, 128).

This attitude can be identified as the historical-refferetive approach of the nationalist movements: referring constantly to the historical events, civilizations, social and political events for the justification of the contemporary conservative ideology. In this case, Metaxas was clearly embracing this approach and actually building the theoretical base of the social and cultural decisions which were on the way to be imposed to the society.

The term "cultural nationalization" may identify the situation of this period, well. As Pennanen argues, in this period the cultural nationalization movement embraced by the state officers aimed on purification of the Greek folkloric products. With adopting a selective approach, Greek folklore of the 19th century was "cleaned off" from its "Oriental elements." This process also served for the creation of the "European stereotypes of the true, classical Greek nation." Therefore, on the way to build the national culture of a society, actually "what is left out, disregarded, or ignored is as important as what is included in a national music." (Pennanen 2004, 12)

Finally, as it is discussed in the previous part of this thesis, similar to the Turkish case, Metaxas officials were also on the search of the "folk music culture" for the sake of the folk.

There were certain tendencies on contrasting the *rebetika* genre with the *dhimotiki* songs. During the Metaxas dictatorship, the officers used similar discourses on glorifying the *dhimotiki* songs, musical products which were practiced in the interior Greek territory. In this era, *dhimotiki* songs were even used to promote the patriotic feelings to the "ordinary people". It was believed that the *dhimotiki* songs were the pure cultural products which would create "a popular culture with wide appeal to the masses who could understand these songs and identify with them." (Petrakis 2006, 169)

This glorifying approach was at the same time attacking to the *rebetika* genre. It was such a cultural propaganda campaign mentioning the arguments such as "return to the genuine roots, strengthen the bonds between society and the genuine Greek tradition and eschew foreign ideas." Therefore as Loutzaki mentions "xenophobia was encouraged." (Loutzaki 2001, 129)

5.2.3.2. Structuring the Appropiate Music during Metaxas Dictatorship

Metaxas' Fourth of August Regime was ideologically on a basic argument: "Citizens were mere to merge with the state and the homogeneous national whole. No dissidents, nonconformists, or subversives were tolerated." (Pennanen 2003, 104). Such a strict approach imagining an unified community, bonded under the national flag, stigmatized the so-called

"individualism" of the common citizens. Therefore, in this order, every citizen were encouraged to work for the national entity and be a part of this indivisible organization.

In light of the cultural continuity thesis which is also explained previously in this thesis, Ioannis Metaxas' regime identified the contemporary Greek society as the community which inherited the Ancient Greek and Byzantium cultural heritage. Therefore, it was the "Third Greek Civilization", looking to its great achievements of the past centuries and its progressive limitless future. Selectively highlighting particular periods and events of the history, 4th of August regime aimed to create the sense of responsibility, which came with being the only and unique inheritors of the grand baggage of positive qualities of these two civilization, that is intellectual and artistic achievements, deep Orthodox religiosity and a strong state. (Pennanen 2003, 105)

5.2.3.2.1. Regulating the Cultural Institutions: Art, Folklore and Propaganda

This ideological positioning created a cultural approach which aimed to clean the modern Greek cultural forms from foreign influences. At this point, modern Greece and its cultural products were included in the category of the "European art", and in many cases it was identified as the origins of the European intellectual and artistic movements. (ibidem, 105) Then, the question was to re-frame the "foreign" factor that was not European, but "oriental" and essentially problematic. Regarding the artistic and cultural policies, different institutions of the regime used initiatives. Bureau of Press Censorship of the First Army Corp; Board of Literature and the Fine Arts, under the Ministry of Education of Religion as well as the Under-secretariat of Press and Tourism, voiced and practiced the cultural policies of the regime. These institutions had the role of the reproducing the regimes' discourses in a propagandizing manner, but they had different organizing functions such as: controlling conferences and exhibitions, regulating theatrical works, films, structuring gramophone recordings, advertisements and even lectures, publication and all kinds of authored products. (ibidem, 105)

There aren't many written documents which prove the strict musical policies of the Metaxas regime, such as closures of certain music-making spaces and their ideological justifications, but several laws and regulations ambivalently targeting cultural sectors survive as documents up to this date. However, we see several practices of the regime which gives us a clue on the cultural orientation of the regime regarding the production of the proper musical products. One of them was the founding article of Emergency of Law No.43 on 29 August 1936, which gave the power to the Under-secretariat of Press and Tourism to control the production of the gramophone recordings. It can be said that firstly, the institution did not follow a systematical censorship, as we cannot find any documents to support such an argument. However, relying to a historical document (letters sent between Lambropoulos Brothers Company in Athens and the Gramophone Company in Hayes, Middlesex, Britain) put under light by Risto Pekka Pennanen, we can be sure that in September 1937, systematical censorship on musical production was practiced in Greece.

5.2.3.2.2. Limitations Caused by the Systematic Control: Letters of the Lambropoulos Production Company

Pennanen gives this date September 1937, as the introduction of the systematic censorship on musical products in Greece, thanks a letter which notes the presence and the acts of the censorship committee on this date. The latter in matter is a reply to Daniel DesFoldes, which is the manager of the foreign records at the RCA record company in Camden, New Jersey, United States, at the period. Firstly, we see DesFoldes' letter sent to Rex Palmer, Gramophone Company in Britain, on 8 November 1938. This first letter contains DesFoldes' inquiry, asking to Palmer, if Roza Eskenazi, famous rebetika singer from Istanbul, at that time in Athens, could record the songs "*Hariklaki", "Hasapaki", "Katife*" and a *zeibekiko* in Athens, with her ensemble. Apart from this in the letter, DesFoldes also requests Palmet if an ensemble formed with violin, clarinet, mandolin and guitar can record a *sirto politiko* and a *kalamatiano*. Finally, DesFoldes finished his letter with asking the reason why, he is not receiving new sample records from Greece at this time. (ibidem, 114)

Responding letter regarding DesFoldes' inquiry is dating back to 7 December 1938. Written in the name of Lambropulos Brothers Company, which is the agent for Columbia and His Master's Voice in Greece. The important point attracting our attention in this letter is that Lambropoulos Brothers' reasoning of the obstacles which limit the musical production of the company. The letters mentions that since September 1937. the company had been unable to produce any recordings without the consent of the state censorship, a system which controlled the music and the lyrics of the songs which were planned to be recorded. Moreover, the letter mentions that pieces asked by the RCA company previously could not pass the censorship barrier, therefore they were failed to be recorded in Greece. (ibidem, 115)

Such a letter remains as an evident, showing us the existence of the production control by the censorship commission of the Metaxas' regime. However, as we do not have any more documents supporting similar cases, it is hard to make the interpretation on the exact musical kind which the government officers found "inappropriate" to be recorded. As it is also marked by Pennanen, "*Hariklaki*" and "*Katife*" are musical pieces which can be grouped under the Ottoman popular music repertoire of the early 20th century. (ibidem, 116) This would strengthen the argument that the regime had a strict approach against the Ottoman traditional music-making practices, however the reasons in explaining the lack of recordings of this kind can be more than this, such as market-oriented or artist-oriented motives. For example, as we know so Lambropoulos Brothers Company was already sentenced to a fine by the regime, during its first years. Therefore, it may be a great possibility that following the fine, company would not see any advantage in taking the risk of recording such musical pieces which would create problems to the Under-secretariat, controlling the productions.

Finally, in the same work, Pennanen also reveals another set of documents which clearly disclose the acts of the censorship commission in Greece, during the Metaxas' regime.

As it is mentioned above, these documents do not include the reasoning of such censoring decisions, but they remain as important documents for interpretation of the cultural orientation of the regime, letting us to analyze the perception of the censorship commission.

5.2.3.2.3. Revealing Documents of the Censorship Committee

As this thesis is concerned, we specifically analyze the practical reactions of the ideological regime in Greece, during the interwar years. As it is noted previously, the censorship committee did control the musical production, that is an artists' public performances or the recordings of the song matter in studios. However, several pieces of the Ottoman musical tradition was also based on the improvisational methods of vocal singers and the musicians. *Amanedes*, mentioned above can be coined for this kind. Therefore, we can expect that such genres based on the vocal and instrumental improvisation had to be given attention by the censorship committee. Apart from that, as we can see the documents surviving the censorship commission and studio recordings, we see the committee was concerned on the lyrical formation and the musical composition of the songs which were asked to become public.

These documents are the inquiries which are prepared my the musicians and handed in to the censorship commission. Relying to Pennanen's thesis, we can name around 2000 musical pieces which were handed in to the commission, by observing the inquiry number given to each case by the commission. (ibidem, 116)

Standing as an example of this kind, below we can see the inquiry document handed in to the censorship committee on 30 March 1938, regarding the lyrics of a musical piece written by Emmanuil Hrisafakis. The Under-secretariat analysis the lyrics and from the same documents' stamps we see that the lyrics are approved with several changes on 7 April 1938. Following a year of attendance for the recording, singer Rita Abatzi and the musicians went to the studio on August 1939. (ibidem, 116)

5.2.3.2.4. Banned Songs

An "appropriate" song of the time would pass this procedure, in order to have authorization to be performed in the public and to be recorded for production. Not surprisingly, there were also several cases which the officers of the 4th of August Regime did not find the songs suitable for public audience. First song ban practice of the regime targeted the piece "*Varvara*" of Panagiotis Toundas,, recorded by Stellakis Perpiniadis in January 1936. The lyrics of the song is about an attractive women who is in relation with several man. It is possible that the regime out-marked the piece because of songs' lyrics contrasting the strict moral values of the regime. Varvara with two big houses (breasts), catching fish (which symbolize male sexual organs) actually explain a story about a prostitute with metaphors. (ibidem, 123)

Following the ban to the song, we see another version of the song in the market, sang with the same melody but with different lyrics. The new song is called "*I Marika i Daskala*" (Marika the Teacher). New lyrics of the song is still related to the "fish" and an audience knowing the first version of the song would still remember it so. Unexpectedly, this is not the end of the story, because in the following years we see Toundas writing even newer lyrics to the song, obviously with the same melody, and preparing the third version of the song: "*Manolios kai Dimitroula*". Finally, the song is rearranged for the fourth time as "*Aku Dutze mu ta nea*" (My Duce, Hear the News) with new lyrics and the same melody during the fascist occupation in Greece, with an anti-Mussolini tone. (ibidem, 124)

Following the ban of this piece, there exists also another case of a banned song in Greece, "*I Adikopnigmeni*" (The Unfairly Drowned), recorded by Kostas Rukunas in 1937. However, the lyrics of the song, reason of its censor do not give us any evidence on the cultural or moral orientation of the regime. The song is about two ships which were withdrawn under the order of a judge. The story of the song is related to a real event, a ship accident which occurred at the Pireaus port, near Athens, on 1 August 1937. Following the accident two passenger boats, named Idra and Anastasis, the latter boat unfortunately sank and 25 people were drowned. (ibidem, 124) The reason of such a decision on restricting the public performance and recording of the song would be more related to the efforts of the state, aiming to strengthen the image of perfection of the state. Therefore, this decision remains as an effort of the Greek state, not to damage the public perception on its institutional and infrastructural strong presentation.

Apart from these, according to secondary sources, it is written that during the Metaxas dictatorship, many *cafès* and *tekes* were forced to be closed. The regime was highly intolerant to hashish use in such place as well as the "moral degeneration" of the society, which were instead aimed to be culturally assimilated to the nation in general. As we know, till the first year of the interwar year, the musicians did compose songs on hashish and other drug use. However, as the record production was strictly controlled during the dicta regime, recording studios had stopped to record such songs, as well as the musicians which stopped to compose pieces on such themes. (Holst 1994, 39)

5.2.3.2.5. Regime Promoting Archival Excavation: Music and Historical Research in the "City"

The "City", as it is common used in Modern Greek (*poli*) refers to Constantinople, Istanbul. Having a populated Greek Orthodox community during the Ottoman times, as well as its Byzantine past as the capital city of the empire, hosting the house for the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Fener, Istanbul still remains an important city, for the Greek nationalist narrative. Apart from its political significance for the Greek nationalists of the early 20th century, such as being included to the expansionist project of "Great Idea" (*Megali Idea*), the "city" absorbed an ideological role in bridging the "past" to the "present" in the nationalist imagination. According to this nationalist understanding, remaining populated Orthodox Greek community of Istanbul during the first decades of the 20th century, was not inter-

preted as an outcome of the Ottoman demographic policy, *millet*, but the strong national and religious faith of the community, letting it survive the "Ottoman yoke."

Therefore, contradictory enough, while the Minor Asian and so-called "heterodox" cultural products such as *rebetika* musical pieces were cursed by the dicta regime in Greece, research excursions in Turkey, showing the traces of the "Greek past" of the territory was promoted. Attempts on collecting and studying the national music pieces was instrumental for the regime. In Autumn 1938, Ioannis Metaxas firstly, had the personal control of the Ministry of Education and Religion. Following this, one year later Board of Literature and Fine Arts under this body was established. Kostis Bastias, a writer of the time was assigned as the head of the institution which included a particular section: Department of Folklore. This institution's main role was the accomplish the systematic study of the national heritage, which included the collection and preservation of the folk culture. (Pennanen 2003, 107)

However, according to the records, we do not know if the department developed a systematic act on collecting activities, we know that the national was involved in folk collection activities. In early February 1938, the government assigned a group of three specialists to go to Istanbul for a research. They were ordered to collect old icons, documents, paintings and manuscripts of Greek Orthodox church music and Greek folk songs.

Angelos Vuduris (1891-1951), was an assistant singer (*domestikos*) of Iakovoc Naflpliotis at the Istanbul Patriarchate during the research mission in Istanbul. His diary remain as an important source which documents the committee's visit, aiming to collect such particular documents. In this document Vuduris gives us information on Simon Karas, who was one of the members of the researching committee. According to his account, Karas was responsible of searching out the manuscripts of the church music, and he was photographing them for the Greek National Library.

Ioannis Arvanitis, who was a student of Simon Karas, also mentions that during the research mission in Istanbul, Karas was photographing the rare manuscripts which were found at the library of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem Holy Monastery Dependency. During the visit, after the seeing situation of the buildings which such precious objects were kept, the committee decided to transport such objects to Greece. Therefore, following the Karas' return to Athens, he proposed a "rescue plan" for the Greek manuscripts found in Istanbul. It seems that such secret operation plan has been realized well, as today the original manuscripts are found at the Greek National Library of Athens. (Pennanen 2003, 108)

As it is clear, such a research mission abroad in Istanbul, conducted by the Greek specialists, was aiming to collect documents which would bond the path of the history to the present times: that is the Orthodox Greek heritage of Istanbul with the Modern Greek state. Therefore, it can be said that Ioannis Metaxas' cultural policy strategically followed the ideological narrative of the Helleno-Christian mindset and the cultural continuity thesis mentioned previously in this thesis.

After having a concrete idea on the Greek case of musical restrictions on the base of a modernizing ideology, now let's continue with the conclusion part of my thesis, in which I will be comparing and contrasting the cultural policies applied in Modern Turkey and Greece during 1923-1945, in base of the particular theoretical background sketched previously in this thesis.

6. Conclusions

In this final chapter of the thesis, in light of the explanations that which are made in the previous parts, there will be a comparative debate on the cultural policies that the Turkish and Hellenic states adopted during the years of 1923-1945. As in this period both of the states were in a position of legitimizing their borders, in a crisis of identity and introducing to their people what is the correct way to live culture, they both adopted nationalist restriction on practicing music with diverse channels. This proposition may show us the similar attitudes which the bureaucratic elite of the both states adopted.

A similar historical phenomenon which we can observe in both of the nationalist projects was the "refusal of the Orient." This meant the refusal of the traditional way of institutional organizations, legal systems, cultural practices and etc. According to the nationalist discourses of both of the states, in the political sense, this refusal was clearly against the Ottoman State, culturally it was anything which connoted anything from the "Oriental past."

Here we can remember the modern progressive discourse of backwardness and innovation. One can argue that this evolutionary interpretation of modernity was both embraced by the intelligentsia in both two countries.

As Özkırımlı & Sofos mention;

"The Greek and Turkish nationalist projects, although not contemporaneous, both emerged from the rapid transformations experienced by the subjects of the Ottoman Empire at a time when European imperial powers were expanding their spheres of influences and progressively incorporating the Ottoman territories in the modern European state system." (Özkırımlı & Sofos 2008, 15)

As it is quoted by Özkırımlı and Sofos above, we can say that in such an atmosphere, thanks to the Turkish and the Greek nationalist projects, European imperial powers did not incorporate the Ottoman territories as their colony; but it can be also said that the European influence was still in process with the adaptation of the European formation of the nation-state system.

Therefore, the Greek and the Turkish nationalist projects were highly influenced by the continental political structure of the 19th and the early 20th centuries. Mainly these two movements were guided by the intelligentsia which were inspired by the political and social modernizing ideas. As Mazower quotes on this, in this period, the phenomenon of "Modernization" actually connoted "Westernization." (Mazower 2000, 71) Therefore the socio-economic changes in this era such as the development of more complex monetary and commodity relations in urban economies, the rapid cultural regeneration of ethnic communities and the spread of nationalism were mainly guided by the Western European models.

As I have tried to explain it in the previous chapters, both the Turkish and the Greek nationalist movements, in the political sense, built their ideologies on the European mod-

el of state system. This approach to the modernity was actually such an orthodox (one way) interpretation of modernity: the Western European way. It can be said that, this was the key point in which both of these ideologies searched for a legal ground, a justification for the existence of their nation-state organisms.

As it is mentioned in the first chapter of this thesis, certain interpretations of modernity connotes also progress and innovation. In this sense, we can say that both the Turkish and the Greek nationalism searched for an innovative cultural model for the sake of a modern society.

Getting more specifically, to the musical focus of these so-called "progressive" cultural products, we can see that both of the states searched for the creation of the "National Folk" and its music. In Greece, this was done by glorifying the *dhimotiki* kind; whereas in Turkey the creation of certain research institutions on folk music was aiming to create a national culture which was "purely ours."

In both of the cases, the nationalist discourses referred back to their "genuine roots" and seeking for the resurrection of a national myth. For the Neo-Hellenic nationalism, the Modern Greek society was the son of the Antique Greek Enlightenment and the Byzantine Empire. Cultural continuity thesis, formed by Zambelios and Paparrigoupoulos were reproduced by the official discourse of the 4th of August regime. Whereas in Turkey nationalist discourse posited its subject nation as a rooted society on the Anatolian land, and even tried to make a correlation with the Turkic tribes, states of the Central Asia. This was how the discourse of "national awakening" was formed in which I have mentioned in the theoretical chapter of this thesis.

On the way to build the national identity during the state formation in Turkey and in Greece, we can note that the marriage of state and the culture was obvious. It was the state trying the shape the cultural products, whereas the unison, modern cultural practices legitimized the existence of the nation-state. (Gellner 1997)

If we take a look at the musical reforms which were systematically introduced in both of the countries, we can see that the ideal role of the bureaucrats: cultural engineering. The censorship introduced in Turkey on 1 November 1934, on broadcasting Ottoman Art Music on Turkish radio stations can make us remember the Greek case of this attitude: Metaxas taking certain measures on broadcasting policies of the Athens Radio Station, mainly measures against the *Rebetika* kind.

Ethnomusicological research conducted in southeastern Anatolia during the 1930s, aiming to collect the musical products of the nation, surely shows us the Turkish state's attention given on the instrumental importance of re-framing the "Turkish folklore." While as it is mentioned in the fifth chapter of this thesis, in Greece, we have seen the archival research at the Orthodox Patriarchate archives in Istanbul, ex-Byzantine capital, sponsored by the Metaxas government, aiming to preserve the religious musical manuscripts in Athens, Greece, instrumental tools to highlight the cultural continuity of the three civilizations. (Ancient Greek, Byzantine and Modern Greek).

As it is mentioned in the theoretical chapter of this thesis, musical products connote historical and social signs, transferring messages between people. In this case it can be said that both the Greek and the Turkish governments of this period searched for several methods to clean the "foreign musical messages" from the public sphere, created by the radio transmitters. Apart from this it is also fundamental to develop a methodology which would focus

on the state policies, as well as the artistic, social feedback developed by the society's actors in relation with such regulations. As Pennanen argues in this regard, "it is important to note that the concepts of nation and national culture should not be studied exclusively from the point of view of governments and national movements but from below as well; the nationalist policy and the common citizens' attitudes do not always coincide." (Pennanen 2004, 13) Therefore, as this research aimed to demonstrate, actors of the musical production sector (producers, musicians and the audience) in Turkey and in Greece experienced and reacted to the cultural regulations in different ways. Transformation of *Rebetika* music in Greece and the rise of the "musical descent" *Alaturka* music in Turkey, following such restrictions, can be shown as artistic feedbacks given to such modernist state regulations in both countries.

As a conclusion and actually as a topic for an upcoming research, it can be interesting to note how what happened to the "musical tradition of *Rebetika*" after the Second World War, during the 1950s? As brief information, we can refer to Holst, who argues that the upcoming generation of *Rebetika* musicians bared to produce songs with less social contents, but more romantic and individual concerns such as love. Vassilis Tsitsanis can be an example of this kind. (Holst 1994, 51-62)

If we take a look at the Turkish case, after the 1950s, with several social, cultural, economic reasons such as increasing immigration to the cities, we can see a new cultural phenomenon on rise: *Arabesk*. As it is a totally grand subject, instead of simplifying this reality I can suggest certain authors on this topic such as Meral Özbek and Martin Stokes, which you can find also in the bibliography part of this thesis.

These two can show us a differentiating point on how the 1950's/1960's musical trends in Turkey and in Greece echoed diversely to the restrictive 50 years which was passed behind.

It is interesting that in this period, after the WWII, both of the states experienced a strong affect from Egyptian and Indian music and in the culture industry especially by films. (Özbek 1994, 153; Gaunlett 2005, 381; Stokes 1992, 94) In Turkey the Egyptian influence on music actually dates back to 1920's but increasing Egyptian and Indian cultural influence after 1950's both in Turkish and the Greek culture industry may note a similarity between the two as a conclusion.

Regarding further research, I would sincerely encourage collaboration with colleagues in this field, as themes of national cultural policies and music in the Eastern European region are not foreign to social scientists and historians. I also know that phenomenon matter in this research, experiencing restrictions on stigmatized tunes occurred similarly in diverse geographies such as in Croatia (Vuletic, 2011) and Bulgaria (Silverman, 1983). For this reason, it would be a pleasure to meet colleagues from different countries interested in collaboration to enlarge our research with an interdisciplinary, comparative approach.

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APPENDIX A

(from page 96)
Song's full text:

Μάνα μου Ελλάς

Δεν έχω σπίτι πίσω για να `ρθώ
ούτε κρεβάτι για να κοιμηθώ
δεν έχω δρόμο ούτε γειτονιά
να περπατήσω μια Πρωτομαγιά.

Τα ψεύτικα τα λόγια τα μεγάλα
μου τα 'πες με το πρώτο σου το γάλα.

Μα τώρα που ξυπνήσανε τα φίδια
εσύ φοράς τα αρχαία σου στολίδια
και δε δακρύζεις ποτέ σου μάνα μου Ελλάς
που τα παιδιά σου σκλάβους ξεπουλάς.

Μα τότε που στη μοίρα μου μιλούσα
είχες ντυθεί τα αρχαία σου τα λούσα
και στο παζάρι με πήρες γύφτισσα μαϊμού
Ελλάδα Ελλάδα μάνα του καημού.

Μα τώρα που η φωτιά φουντώνει πάλι
εσύ κοιτάς τα αρχαία σου τα κάλλη
και στις αρένες του κόσμου μάνα μου Ελλάς
το ίδιο ψέμα πάντα κουβαλάς.

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Avi Mizrahi is a PhD student in "Global and International Studies" at the Bologna University. Since September 2014, he is developing a research project on a comparative study of applied cultural policies in interwar Turkey and Italy (1922-1939). Currently he is abroad, proceeding with his research in CETOBaC (Centre d'Études Turques, Ottomanes, Balkaniques et Centrasiatiques) in EHESS, Paris. His research interests include themes such as early 20th century political history of the Mediterranean region, nationalism, corporatism, cultural policies, sociology of modernity and ethnomusicology.

Previously, he graduated in Sociology (BA), Media and Communication Systems (BA) in Istanbul Bilgi University and Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. In 2014, he was specialized in Bologna University's "Interdisciplinary Studies and Research on Eastern Europe-MIREES" (MA) program. He is fluent in Turkish, English and Italian; loves music, plays the accordion with his band in Bologna.

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