

ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL

**SOUNDING THE PEOPLE: POPULIST LOGIC AND MUSIC
POLITICS IN EARLY REPUBLICAN TÜRKİYE (1923-1952)**

M.A. THESIS

Gökhan PARLAKTAŞ

Department of Musicology

Musicology / Music Theory Programme

JUNE 2026

ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL

**SOUNDING THE PEOPLE: POPULIST LOGIC AND MUSIC
POLITICS IN EARLY REPUBLICAN TÜRKİYE (1923-1952)M.A.
THESIS**

**Gökhan PARLAKTAŞ
(404221004)**

**Department of Musicology
Musicology / Music Theory Programme**

Thesis Advisor: Prof. Dr. Fatma Belma OĞUL

JUNE 2026

İSTANBUL TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ ★ LİSANSÜSTÜ EĞİTİM ENSTİTÜSÜ

**HALKI SESLENDİRMEK: ERKEN CUMHURİYET TÜRKİYE’SİNDE
POPÜLİST MANTIK VE MÜZİK SİYASETİ (1923-1952)**

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

Gökhan PARLAKTAŞ

(404221004)

Müzikoloji Anabilim Dalı

Müzikoloji/Müzik Teorisi Programı

Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Dr. Fatma Belma OĞUL

HAZİRAN 2026

Gökhan PARLAKTAŞ, a M.A. student of ITU Graduate School student ID 404221004, successfully defended the thesis entitled “SOUNDING THE PEOPLE: POPULIST LOGIC AND MUSIC POLITICS IN EARLY REPUBLICAN TÜRKİYE (1923-1952)”, which he prepared after fulfilling the requirements specified in the associated legislations, before the jury whose signatures are below.

Thesis Advisor : **Prof. Dr. Fatma Belma OĞUL**
Istanbul Technical University

Jury Members : **Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşe SERDAR**
Istanbul Technical University

Prof. Dr. Elif Damla YAVUZ
Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University

Date of Submission : 18 May 2026

Date of Defense : 15 June 2026



FOREWORD

This study is the product of an effort to understand the music policies of early Republican Turkey not merely as a modernization project, but within the framework of a "populist logic" a cornerstone in the construction of a national identity. The primary motivation of this research is to discuss, on a theoretical level, how music served as a bridge, or fostered tensions, between the state's rationalization processes and the cultural representation of the people.

As a music educator in a public high school, the idea of studying music from the Republican era for my master's thesis emerged years prior to my ability to undertake it, as I am chronologically a product of that political context. Reflecting retrospectively, the majority of my lecturers were instructed by music experts from the first or second generation of the republican era. Therefore, it would be fair for me to claim that by questioning the musicological understanding of the specific period I also study how I have come from and where I am now. This way of thinking made me internalize the questions even more. As it is not enough, I also see myself in a position to better study, understand and explain for the upcoming generations. When I first declared to study the music of the republican era I faced -a quite understandable- prejudice since the literature on the subject is quite (probably more than it should be) sufficient. I agree that many of the works are quite impressive, descriptive and exemplary. But some works are also repetitive, limited, and even cursory, which reduces their overall impact and usefulness in understanding the subject matter, especially regarding the complexities of the themes they address, such as the socio-political implications of the music in Türkiye during the republican era. Consequently, I began to consider that certain global theorists of the modern state, such as Weber, Bourdieu, and Anderson, would offer a comprehensive framework, while populism theorists like Laclau and Canovan would enhance the practical understanding of republican-era music in Türkiye. Under the internalized responsibility burden I earlier mentioned, I almost felt obligated to study this subject to contribute to the field that have already taught me a lot.

The research process itself became a journey of discovery. Working with primary sources — from the Presidential State Archives of the Republic of Türkiye to the folk music compilation records and the newspapers of the period — allowed me to hear the voices of the era beyond the secondary literature. Each document, each transcription, and each newspaper column reminded me that the music politics of the early Republic was not an abstract policy field but a lived experience of musicians, educators, and ordinary people. I hope this study manages to reflect at least a part of that liveliness.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my advisor, Prof. Dr. Belma Oğul, who guided me with her valuable insights and constructive criticism at every stage of this thesis, and stood by me during my most difficult days with her academic vision.

I am also grateful to Prof. Dr. Mehmet Ali Özdemir from Marmara University, who has believed in me for over fifteen years. I thank Prof. Dr. Zeynep Gonca Girgin, who also served as my advisor for a period, for her contributions to my development, and

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşe Serdar for her significant help in building the theoretical framework of this study and Prof. Dr. Elif Damla Yavuz from Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University for kindly agreeing to serve on my thesis jury. I would also like to thank my dear friend Alican Çağrı Gökçek for his constant encouragement.

I would also like to thank the faculty and my fellow graduate students at the Department of Musicology of Istanbul Technical University, whose questions and comments in seminars contributed to the maturation of this thesis. My colleagues and students at the school where I teach also deserve a special mention; their patience and encouragement during the busiest periods of writing meant more than they know.

My heartfelt thanks go to my family specifically my mother, Fatma Parlaktaş, who has been my closest friend and biggest supporter throughout my life.

Finally, my greatest thanks belong to the republican cadres and the people of Anatolia, who a century ago stood against imperialist occupation and the *ancien regime*, leaving me a "story" to tell.

June 2026

Gökhan PARLAKTAŞ

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
FOREWORD	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	ix
ABBREVIATIONS	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
SUMMARY	xv
ÖZET	xvii
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Literature Review	2
1.2 Methodology and Limitations	7
2. POPULISM THEORIES	13
2.1 Signifiers, Antagonisms and Equivalent Chains	13
2.2 The Populism of the Intelligentsia.....	16
3. MODERNIZATION OF THE STATE	19
3.1 Modern State and Its Structural Aspects	19
3.2 Concentration of Cultural Capital, Symbolic Capital and Universal Educability to Make the Modern State	21
3.3 Towards an Acoustically Imagined Community	23
4. POPULISM IN EARLY REPUBLIC OF TÜRKİYE	25
4.1 A Matter of Definition: Halkçılık and Populism	25
4.2 Populism in Economy Politics	26
4.3 Populism in Education.....	28
5. POPULISM IN MUSIC POLITICS IN EARLY REPUBLIC OF TÜRKİYE	31
5.1 A Concise History of Music Politics in Ottoman Era.....	31
5.2 Folk Music Compilations in the First Decade of the Republic	36
5.3 Folk Music Compilations After 1930s	44
5.4 Music in People's Houses.....	50
5.5 Alaturka Music Ban on Radio	52
6. CODA	57
REFERENCES	61
APPENDICES	73
APPENDIX A : Musical Activities in People's Houses	74
APPENDIX B : Folk Music Compilation Expeditions	76
APPENDIX C : The Ban of Alaturca Music in Radio	78
CURRICULUM VITAE	79

ABBREVIATIONS

ASC	: Ankara State Conservatory
BCA	: Presidential State Archives of the Republic of Türkiye, Cumhuriyet Archive (T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Cumhuriyet Arşivi)
CHP	: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party)
MMM	: Musiki Muallim Mektebi
PHs	: People's Houses
RPP	: Republican People's Party
TBMM	: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi (Grand National Assembly of Türkiye)
TRT	: Turkish Radio and Television Corporation



LIST OF FIGURES

	<u>Page</u>
Figure 5.1 : The Ottoman March composed for the sultanate by Giuseppe Donizetti.....	35
Figure 5.2 : The Approximate Locations of Published Darülelhan Compilations.....	38
Figure 5.3 : Folk Songs Collections with ASC and PHs Cooperation.....	46
Figure 5.4 : An indication of a joint performance involving the People’s House source person referred to as “Odacı Ahmet” and another performer.....	47
Figure 5.5 : Approximate Geographical Distribution of Ankara State Conservatory Compilation Forms (1937–1952).....	48
Figure 5.6 : An example from Malatya in which the source person’s alcohol consumption habit was recorded.....	48
Figure 5.7 : Armenian Performers.	49
Figure 5.8 : Songs with Kurdish Names.	49
Figure A.1 : Musical Performance in Tokat People’s House.	74
Figure A.2 : The Music Branch Members of Eskişehir People’s House.....	74
Figure A.3 : A Photograph Taken During a Concert in Maraş People’s House.	74
Figure A.4 : A Concert in Kayseri People’s House.....	75
Figure A.5 : News That Points Out The Function of People’s Houses As The Stages For Local Musicians.....	75
Figure B.1 : Newspaper Article On Folk Music Researches and Bela Bartok’s Potential Contributions.	76
Figure B.2 : Newspaper Mentions the Collaboration Between Ankara State Conservatory and People’s Houses on Folk Music Compilations.....	76
Figure B.3 : Bela Bartok in Anatolia For Folk Music Compilation Expeditions.....	77
Figure B.4 : Muzaffer Sarısözen in Folk Music Compilation Expeditions.....	77
Figure C.1 : News on the ban of alaturca music in Istanbul and Ankara Radios.....	78
Figure C.2 : Newspaper Article on The Disfavor For Alaturca Music Instruments After The Ban.....	78



SOUNDING THE PEOPLE: POPULIST LOGIC AND MUSIC POLITICS IN EARLY REPUBLICAN TÜRKİYE (1923-1952)

SUMMARY

This thesis examines the music politics of early Republican Turkey (1923–1952) through the dual theoretical lens of populism and state modernisation, arguing that the dominant nationalist-modernist framework in the existing literature is insufficient to explain the full complexity of the period's cultural and music politics. By bringing together the populism theories of Ernesto Laclau (2005), Margaret Canovan (1981; 1999) with the state modernisation frameworks of Max Weber (1948), Pierre Bourdieu (2014), and Benedict Anderson (2006), the study proposes a reading of early Republican music politics as a nationalist-populist configuration in which populism functioned not as a pathological deviation from democratic norms, but as the foundational political logic through which the new state sought to construct, legitimate, and disseminate a national musical identity.

The thesis is structured in five chapters. Following the introduction, Chapter Two establishes the theoretical framework of populism. Drawing primarily on Laclau's conception of populism as a political logic rather than a fixed ideology, the chapter introduces the concepts of empty signifiers, floating signifiers, antagonism, and the chain of equivalence as the primary analytical vocabulary of the study. These are enriched by Canovan's notion of the 'populism of the intelligentsia' and the tension between the redemptive and pragmatic faces of democracy. Chapter Three turns to the theoretical framework of state modernisation, engaging with Weber's concepts of rationalisation and bureaucratisation, Bourdieu's theory of symbolic capital and the state as the 'central bank of symbolic capital,' and his concept of universal educability, and Anderson's notion of the imagined community. Chapter Four situates early Republican Turkey within this dual framework by examining the historical, political, economic, and educational dimensions of *halkçılık* between 1923 and the early 1950s, demonstrating that populist reasoning permeated state-building practices well beyond the domain of music. Chapter Five constitutes the analytical core of the thesis. It begins with a concise history of Ottoman music politics, arguing that the Ottoman institutional detachment from Anatolian folk music created the historical and emotional preconditions for the intelligentsia populism of the Republican period. The chapter then analyses three principal institutional practices: the folk music compilation fieldworks conducted from the 1920s onward, culminating in the systematic ASC expeditions of 1937–1952 and the landmark visit of Béla Bartók in 1936; and the musical activities of the PHs (1932–1951), which functioned as sites of populist musical practice across more than 400 branches nationwide. The alaturka music ban imposed on state radio in 1934 is addressed briefly.

The thesis makes three principal contributions to the existing literature. First, it offers the first systematic application of Laclau's theory of populist reason to early Republican music politics, demonstrating that the concepts of empty signifier and equivalential chain provide a more analytically precise framework for understanding

the period than the conventional categories of Westernism or nationalism. The concept of *milli musiki* (national music) is read as a paradigmatic empty signifier whose very indeterminacy was the condition of its hegemonic function: it could simultaneously mobilise Gökalt's folk-Western synthesis, Arel and Yekta's *maqam* tradition, and Saygun's pentatonic folk forms under a single nationalist-populist banner. Second, the thesis draws critical attention to the conceptual gap between the Turkish term *halkçılık* and its Western counterpart populism, arguing that this distinction is not merely translational but carries significant theoretical consequences - and that Canovan's notion of the populism of the intelligentsia provides a particularly productive bridge between the two. Third, by extending Anderson's framework from the visual and textual to the sonic domain, the thesis proposes the concept of an acoustically imagined community: the folk music archive, the conservatory, and the state radio broadcast functioned as the acoustic equivalents of Anderson's museum, map, and census - institutions through which a unified national sonic identity was imagined, standardised, and disseminated across the national territory.

The study acknowledges several limitations. The analysis focuses primarily on official state discourse and the writings of state-aligned intellectuals and musicians, leaving the responses and resistances of non-Muslim minorities, Kurdish populations, and rural Anatolian communities largely beyond its scope. Primary sources are exclusively in Turkish. The populism theories applied were developed primarily in Western European and Latin American contexts and require careful conceptual translation to the early Republican Turkish case. Future research directions include a reception history of early Republican music politics, comparative studies with other nationalist music projects of the interwar period, and a more systematic engagement with the Presidential State Archives of the Republic of Türkiye, Cumhuriyet Archive.

Keywords: Music Policies, Early Republic, Populism, Modernization

HALKI SESLENDİRMEK: ERKEN CUMHURİYET TÜRKİYE’SİNDE POPÜLİST MANTIK VE MÜZİK SİYASETİ (1923-1952)

ÖZET

Bu tez, Erken Cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiye'sinin (1923–1952) müzik politikalarını, popülizm kuramları ile devlet modernleşmesi kuramlarının sunduğu ikili bir perspektifle incelemektedir. Mevcut literatürde baskın olan milliyetçi-Batıcı çerçevenin, dönemin kültür ve müzik politikalarındaki karmaşıklığı bütünüyle açıklamakta yetersiz kaldığını savunan bu çalışma, erken Cumhuriyet müzik politikalarını milliyetçi-popülist bir konfigürasyon olarak yeniden okumayı önermektedir. Bu okumada popülizm, demokratik normlardan patolojik bir sapma olarak değil; yeni devletin ulusal bir müzik kimliği inşa etme, bu kimliği meşrulaştırma ve ülke sathına yayma sürecinde işleyen kurucu siyasal mantık (political logic) olarak kavranmaktadır. Çalışmanın temel soruları şu şekilde özetlenebilir: Popülist kavrayışların erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinin müziği üzerindeki etkileri nelerdir? Müzik alanındaki Türk halkçılık pratiğinin kendine özgü nitelikleri nelerdir? Modern Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin müzik tarihi, küresel modernite kuramlarının ışığında nasıl anlaşılabilir?

Tezin kuramsal çerçevesi iki ana sütun üzerine kurulmuştur. Birinci sütunu popülizm kuramları oluşturmaktadır. Ernesto Laclau'nun (2005) popülizmi sabit bir ideoloji ya da hareket olarak değil, siyaset yapmanın kendisine içkin bir siyasal mantık olarak gören yaklaşımı, çalışmanın temel çözümleme aracıdır. Laclau'nun boş gösteren, yüzer-gezer gösteren, antagonizma ve eşdeğerlik zinciri kavramları, erken Cumhuriyet müzik politikalarını söylemsel bir formasyon olarak okumayı mümkün kılan analitik sözlüğü sağlamaktadır. Bu çerçeve, Margaret Canovan'ın (1981; 1999) "aydın popülizmi" (populism of the intelligentsia) kavramı ve demokrasinin "kurtarıcı" (redemptive) ile "pragmatik" yüzleri arasındaki gerilime ilişkin çözümlemesiyle derinleştirilmiştir. Canovan'ın, gelişmekte olan ülke aydınlarının toplum içindeki ayrıcalıklı konumlarından duydukları suçluluk duygusuna ve halka yönelirken taşıdıkları "mesafe pathosuna" ilişkin tespitleri, erken Cumhuriyet aydınlarının halk müziğine yönelişinin tarihsel-psikolojik mekanizmasını açıklamakta özellikle işlevsel bulunmuştur. Bu iki kuramsal hat, tez boyunca eşit ağırlıkta ve birbirini doğrulayan mercekler olarak değil; Laclau'nun biçimsel mantığının yapısal sözlüğü, Canovan'ın çözümlemesinin ise döneme özgü tarihsel-psikolojik mekanizmayı sağladığı, birbirini tamamlayan ve karmaşıklaştıran bir ilişki içinde kullanılmıştır.

İkinci sütunu ise devlet modernleşmesi kuramları oluşturmaktadır. Max Weber'in (1948) rasyonalizasyon, bürokratikleşme ve dünyanın büyüünün bozulması (disenchantment) kavramları, modern devletin kuruluş süreçlerinin çözümlemesinde temel alınmış; kişisellikten arındırılmış memuriyet anlayışının müzik alanındaki yansımaları tartışılmıştır. Pierre Bourdieu'nün (2014) simgesel sermaye ve simgesel şiddet kavramları ile devleti "sembolik sermayenin merkez bankası" olarak tanımlayan yaklaşımı, belirli müzik biçimlerinin devlet eliyle nasıl meşrulaştırıldığını ve

desteklendiğini açıklamak üzere kullanılmıştır. Bourdieu'nün, bu tezin bilgisi dahilinde Türkiye müzik politikaları literatüründe daha önce işletilmemiş olan "evrensel eğitilebilirlik" (universal educability) kavramı, cumhuriyet kadrolarını belirli reformlara yönelten saikleri anlamada ayrı bir açıklayıcı katman sunmaktadır. Benedict Anderson'ın (2006) "hayali cemaat" kavramı ise, hızlı ve köklü bir dönüşüm geçiren toplumda müziğin ortak bir ulusal kimliğin tahayyülünde nasıl bir araç işlevi gördüğünü incelemek için kullanılmıştır.

Tezin yöntemi nitel araştırma yaklaşımına dayanmakta olup belge ve içerik analizini esas almaktadır. Birincil veriler; T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA) belgeleri, dönem süreli yayınları (Tiyatro ve Musiki, Halka Doğru, Ülkü ve bölgesel halkevi dergileri) ile dönemin müzikoloji metinlerinden derlenmiştir. Çalışmada kullanılan kaynaklar beş kategoride ele alınmıştır: resmî belgeler ve arşiv malzemesi; müzik siyaseti söyleminin bizzat üretildiği ve tartışıldığı mecralar olarak okunan dönem yayınları; derleme defterleri ve nota yayınları gibi müzikal malzemeler; ikincil tarihsel ve müzikolojik literatür; ve çözümleme sözlüğünü sağlayan kuramsal literatür. Tez ayrıca, literatürde çoğunlukla örtük bırakılan bir ayrımı görünür kılmaktadır: devletin müzik alanına yönelik tekil ve tarihlenebilir idari tasarruflarını ifade eden "müzik politikaları" (music policies) ile bu tasarrufların içine gömülü olduğu, "halk", "millet" ve "sahih müzik" kavramlarının farklı aktörlerce tanımlanıp mücadele konusu edildiği daha geniş anlam alanını ifade eden "müzik siyaseti" (music politics) birbirinden ayrıştırılmış; politikaların ancak bu geniş siyasal mantık içinde okunduklarında bütünüyle anlaşılır hale geldiği savunulmuştur.

Tez, giriş bölümünü izleyen beş ana bölümden oluşmaktadır. İkinci ve üçüncü bölümler, yukarıda özetlenen popülizm ve devlet modernleşmesi kuramlarının kavramsal haritasını çıkarmaktadır. Dördüncü bölüm, erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sini bu ikili çerçeve içine yerleştirerek 1923'ten 1950'lerin başına kadar halkçılığın tarihsel, siyasal, ekonomik ve eğitimsel boyutlarını incelemektedir. Bölümde önce halkçılığın kavramsal ve tarihsel kökleri, II. Meşrutiyet dönemi aydın hareketlerinden ve 1910'ların Halka Doğru hareketinden 1920 tarihli Halkçılık Programı'na uzanan hat üzerinden izlenmektedir. Ardından, aşar vergisinin kaldırılması, devletçilik ve planlı ekonomi uygulamaları ekseninde erken Cumhuriyet halkçılığının ekonomik boyutları ele alınmakta; Marksist, liberal ve muhafazakâr perspektiflerden yöneltilen eleştiriler karşılaştırmalı biçimde değerlendirilmektedir. Son olarak eğitim alanına dönülerek 1928 harf inkılabı, Millet Mektepleri ve Türk Dil Kurumu; Bourdieu'nün evrensel eğitilebilirlik kavramının belirgin bir popülist kültürel standartlaşma vizyonu ile kesiştiği alanlar olarak çözümlenmektedir. Böylece popülist akıl yürütmenin yalnızca müzik alanında değil, devlet inşa süreçlerinin bütününde belirleyici olduğu gösterilmektedir.

Beşinci bölüm tezin analitik merkezidir. Bölüm, Osmanlı dönemi müzik politikalarının kısa bir tarihiyle açılmaktadır. Burada, Osmanlı saray merkezli patronaj ilişkilerinin, meşkhane temelli ve standartlaşmamış eğitim pratiklerinin ve Anadolu halk müziğine yönelik kurumsal mesafenin, Cumhuriyet dönemine özgü aydın popülizminin tarihsel ve duygusal ön koşullarını nasıl hazırladığı tartışılmaktadır. Tezin önemli bir vurgusu, erken Cumhuriyet projesinin karşısına aldığı "ötekinin" yalnızca saray makam müziği olmadığıdır: milli musiki projesi, ilk elde Osmanlı hanedan düzeninin kozmopolit ve çok-dinli yapısına karşı kurulmuş; makam temelli sanat müziği bu antagonizmanın ancak ikincil, türev bir hedefi olmuştur. Bölümde ayrıca, kurulan yeni ulusal müzik cemaatinin dışlayıcı mantığının içe doğru da işlediği;

dilsel ve bölgesel çeşitlilik gösteren Müslüman nüfusun tek bir Türkçe konuşan "Anadolu halkı" imgesine indirgendiği gösterilmektedir.

Bölümün ilk vaka kümesini halk müziği derleme çalışmaları oluşturmaktadır. 1923 tarihli anketlerle başlayan, 1925'te Seyfettin ve Sezai kardeşlerin Batı Anadolu gezisiyle saha boyutu kazanan ve Darülelhan'ın 1926–1929 yılları arasında düzenlediği dört derleme gezisiyle süren ilk dönem; derleme defterleri, defter önsözleri (Rauf Yekta, Cemal Reşit Rey, Ekrem Besim) ve Asaf kardeşlerin Yurdumuzun Nağmeleri adlı çalışması üzerinden incelenmiş, bu dönemde yaklaşık yüzlerce eserin notaya alınarak yayımlandığı tespit edilmiştir. 1930 sonrası dönemde ise Musiki Muallim Mektebi'nden Ankara Devlet Konservatuvarı'na uzanan kurumsallaşma, Paul Hindemith'in raporları ve Béla Bartók'un 1936 ziyaretiyle birlikte derleme pratiğinin bilimselleşmesi ve sistematikleşmesi ele alınmaktadır. 1937–1952 yılları arasında ağırlıklı olarak Muzaffer Sarısözen, Halil Bedii Yönetken ve Rıza Yetişen'in yürütücülüğünde gerçekleştirilen derleme gezileri; standart derleme fişleri, kaynak kişilere ilişkin ayrıntılı kayıtlar, Ermeni icracıların varlığı ve Kürtçe adlı eserler gibi boyutlarıyla yalnızca bir müzikal malzeme koleksiyonuna değil, etnografik olarak da okunabilecek tarihsel bir çabaya işaret etmektedir. Derleme fişleri üzerinden yürütülen inceleme, Ankara Devlet Konservatuvarı ile Halkevleri arasındaki temasların 1930'lar derlemelerini önceki dönemden ayıran temel etkenlerden biri olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır.

İkinci vaka kümesi Halkevleri'nin müzik faaliyetleridir. 1932'de kurulan ve 1940'a gelindiğinde 400'ü aşkın şubeye ulaşan Halkevleri'nin müzik kolları; konserler, korolar ve müzik kurslarıyla popülist müzik ideolojisinin yerel düzeyde pratiğe çevrildiği en doğrudan kurumsal mekanizma olarak çözümlenmektedir. Bourdieu'nün kavramlarıyla ifade edilirse, kültürel sermayenin devlet elinde yoğunlaştırıldığı bu süreçte Halkevleri, "sembolik sermayenin merkez bankası" olan devletin yerel şubeleri gibi işlemiştir. Türkülerin benzer düzenlemelerle ülkenin yüzlerce farklı noktasında seslendirilmesi, Anderson'ın çerçevesiyle, ulusun ortak bir işitsel deneyim üzerinden tahayyül edilmesini sağlamıştır.

Üçüncü vaka, 1934 yılında devlet radyolarında uygulamaya konulan alaturka müzik yasağıdır. Tez, yasağı Atatürk'ün 1 Kasım 1934 tarihli TBMM açılış konuşmasındaki müzik değerlendirmesiyle birlikte okumakta ve konuşmadan yasağa uzanan idari zinciri (Matbuat Umum Müdürü Vedat Nedim Tör'ün konuşmayı talimat olarak yorumlaması ve Dahiliye Vekili Şükrü Kaya'nın genelgesi) Weber'in karizmanın rutinleşmesi kavramı ekseninde çözümlemektedir. Ayrıca, yasağın ortasında yayımlanan 5 Şubat 1936 tarihli Akşam gazetesi haberi; tanburacı Osman Pehlivan'ın "millî çeşniyle halk havaları" çalmasına izin verilirken fasıl ve enderun müziğine dokunmamasının şart koşulması, antagonistik sınırın idari düzeyde ve gerçek zamanlı olarak çizilişinin belgesi olarak yorumlanmaktadır. Bu haliyle yasağın, milli musikinin sınırının olumsuzlama yoluyla, yani dışlama üzerinden çizildiği paradigmatik bir simgesel şiddet edimi olarak değerlendirilmektedir.

Tez, literatüre üç temel katkı sunmaktadır. Birincisi, Laclau'nun popülist akıl kuramının erken Cumhuriyet müzik politikalarına ilk kez sistematik biçimde uygulanmasıdır. "Millî musiki" kavramı, anlamının belirlenemezliği tam da hegemonik işlevinin koşulu olan paradigmatik bir boş gösteren olarak okunmakta; Gökalp'in halk-Batı sentezini, Arel ve Yekta'nın makam geleneğini ve Saygun'un pentatonik halk biçimlerini tek bir milliyetçi-popülist çatı altında seferber edebilmesi bu belirlenemezlikle açıklanmaktadır. İkincisi, Türkçe "halkçılık" terimi ile Batılı

karşılığı "popülizm" arasındaki kavramsal boşluğa dikkat çekilmesidir: Batı literatüründe popülizm büyük ölçüde saf halk ile yoz seçkinler arasındaki antagonizmayla tanımlanırken, halkçılık erken Cumhuriyet bağlamında resmî düzeyde toplumun bütününe kucaklayan birleştirici bir hareket olarak çerçevelenmiştir. Bu farkın salt çeviri düzeyinde kalmayıp önemli kuramsal sonuçlar doğurduğu; Canovan'ın aydın popülizmi kavramının ise iki terim arasında özellikle verimli bir köprü kurduğu savunulmaktadır. Üçüncüsü, Anderson'ın çerçevesinin görsel ve metinsel alandan işitsel alana genişletilmesiyle önerilen "akustik olarak hayali cemaat" kavramıdır: halk müziği arşivi, konservatuvar ve devlet radyosu; Anderson'ın müze, harita ve nüfus sayımı kurumlarının akustik eşdeğerleri olarak, birleşik bir ulusal ses kimliğinin tahayyül edildiği, standartlaştırıldığı ve ülke sathına yayıldığı kurumlar biçiminde kavramsallaştırılmaktadır.

Çalışmanın bulguları, erken Cumhuriyet müzik projesinin Canovan'ın bütün aydın popülizmlerinin merkezinde saptadığı gerilimle temelden damgalandığını göstermektedir: müziği halka iade etme yönündeki kurtarıcı vaat ile Batı eğitilmiş bir seçkinler eliyle yukarıdan aşağıya yürütülen kültürel operasyonun pragmatik gerçekliği arasındaki gerilim. Müziği derlenen, düzenlenen ve Halkevlerinde seslendirilen Anadolu köylüsü, bu sürecin öznesi olmaktan çok nesnesi konumunda kalmıştır. Tezin temel savı uyarınca erken Cumhuriyet müzik politikaları; halk adına, halkın müziğiyle konuşurken o müziğin ne olduğunu ve ne olmadığını sembolik sermayenin merkez bankası yetkisiyle bizzat tayin eden bir devletin, popülist aklın hikâyesi olarak okunmalıdır.

Çalışmanın sınırlılıkları da açıkça ortaya konulmuştur. Çözümleme ağırlıklı olarak resmî devlet söylemine ve devletle hizalanmış aydın ve müzisyenlerin yazılarına odaklanmakta; gayrimüslim azınlıkların, Kürtler ve Lazlar gibi anadili Türkçe olmayan toplulukların ve kırsal Anadolu topluluklarının tepkileri, dirençleri ve alternatif müzik pratikleri büyük ölçüde kapsam dışında kalmaktadır. Başvurulan birincil kaynakların tamamının Türkçe olması, çözümlemenin perspektifini kaçınılmaz olarak biçimlendirmektedir. Ayrıca uygulanan popülizm kuramlarının esas olarak Batı Avrupa ve Latin Amerika bağlamlarında geliştirilmiş olması, erken Cumhuriyet Türkiye'si örneğine aktarımlarında dikkatli bir kavramsal çeviriyi zorunlu kılmaktadır. Bu sınırlılıklar, gelecek araştırmalar için verimli yönelimlere de işaret etmektedir: sıradan insanların müzik reformlarını nasıl deneyimlediğini, benimsediğini ya da bunlara nasıl direndiğini inceleyecek bir alımlama tarihi; erken Cumhuriyet örneğini iki savaş arası dönemin Macar, Bulgar veya Yunan gibi diğer milliyetçi müzik projeleriyle karşılaştıracak çalışmalar; ve dönemin kurumsal karar alma süreçlerini daha ayrıntılı biçimde ortaya koyacak şekilde Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri ve dönem basınıyla daha sistematik bir mesai.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Müzik Politikaları, Erken Cumhuriyet, Popülizm, Halkçılık, Modernleşme

1. INTRODUCTION

What impacts did the populist understandings have on the music of early republican Türkiye? What are the specifics of the Turkish practice of populism in music? How can the music history of modern Republic of Türkiye be understood in the light of global modernity theories? The main purpose of this study is to answer these questions while also bringing a humble alternative musicological approach to the era.

The personal motivations behind this study, and the sense of belatedness that accompanied it, are discussed further in the Preface. What follows here is a more direct account of the study's scope and structure.

To make a deeper study on the music of the early republican era of Türkiye I decided to narrow my historical focus to roughly the first quarter of the republic: 1923-1952. As for the starting point the reclamation of the republic of Türkiye on the 29th October 1923 marks as an important historical milestone in the modern Turkish history. However, determining an exact date for the other end of *early* republic is not that easy. For some scholars the breaking year is 1938 in which the leader of the revolution Mustafa Kemal Atatürk passed away. One of them is Bernard Lewis, a pioneering historian of the 20th century, who (1968) examines the emergence of modern Türkiye in subtitle as the “Kemalist Republic” and “The Republic after Kemal” (239:319). For Lewis, the death of Atatürk means the end of an era; the Kemalist, and therefore early, republic period is thus 1923-1938. Another approach to determine the early republic period comes from the historian Feroz Ahmad (1938-2025) in his book “Modern Türkiye’nin Oluşumu”. Ahmad (1995), marks the early republic as 1923-1945, justifying this on the grounds that major political shifts – both internal and international – followed the end of WWII, including the emergence of a strong opposition to the ruling Republican People’s Party (RPP), even though the RPP itself retained political power for another five years (107:146). Additionally a more extensive and *Frenchesque* analogy comes from Zürcher (2017) since he analyzes the 1923-1960 period as the first republic and after the coup in 1960 as the second republic. As a local historian of the modern Turkish republic Berkes (2003) -similar with Lewis-

describes the period between 1923-1938 as the *revolutionary* while emphasizing the death of Atatürk as a critical breakpoint (520:521). For the cultural studies however, it is more likely to face a periodization of early republic between 1923-1950 (Keskin 2014; Yüce 2010; Yükselsin 2015). The main reason for this periodization is that the cultural climate of the first three decades of the republic was, in important respects, distinct from what followed. Specifically, after the 1930s the republican regime implemented more radical and decisive practices in culture and music politics such as the establishment of People's Houses for adult education (Arikan 1999; Durak 2014; Özdemir & Aktaş 2011), the university reform to modernize the higher education (Çelik 2025; Namal & Karakok 2011), the alaturka music ban on radio (Ayas 2014; Bayındır Uluskan 2022); folk music compilation field researches since 1920s (Hacettepe University n.d.; Kaya 2014; Kolukırık 2014) are only some examples of a long list. Most of these radical advances faded away with the political power change in 1950 such as the closure of People's Houses (PHs hereafter) in 1952 (Özdemir & Aktaş 2011), the end of extensive folk music field researches by Ankara State Conservatory (ASC hereafter) (Ersoy 2011). Therefore, the focus of this study is the major cultural-political shifts after the republican revolution (1923) until the political power change in early 1950s. The primary rationale for this periodization is that the PHs were anticipated to be crucial in the early years of the republic for assimilating the populace into the new administration. The closure of the Houses signifies the conclusion of a period, regardless of its success.

1.1 Literature Review

The existing literature on early republican music politics is quite broad and comprehensive. I will cover the main points of view to better understand what this study contributes to the literature. As mentioned above, since the music politics of the era -both in theoretical and practical level- are widely discussed in musicology field it would be a weak claim to cover all the opinions with extensive details. However, mentioning the polarizing positions of some pioneering researchers will be useful in determining the place of this study among them.

Interestingly one of the first overall proposition for the music politics of the emerging state doesn't come from a musicologist but a sociologist, Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924). Gökalp's influence in intellectual circles goes back to the 1910s (the constitutional

monarchy period); his articles in the journal “Towards People” (*Halka Doğru*) stand as early examples of folkloric thought development in Türkiye. Gökalp (1913) points out the duality of official and people’s civilization by clearly supporting the latter one “Every nation has two civilizations: official civilization and popular civilization. Therefore, sociology, the science that deals with the civilizations of nations, should also have a branch that studies popular civilization” (p.107). Later in 1920s, *Gökalp* ([1923] 1976), in his famous work “Principles of Turkism” offers a synthesis of Western and Turkish folk music as the new music of the state (pp.138-140). The two tendencies, towards the people and towards West are considered as two main columns of early republican music politics by many scholars. Gökalp's ideas significantly influenced early republican politics across various domains, including music (Parla 1985), literature (Grigoriadis & Opçin-Kıdal 2020), economics (Parla 1993), science (Davison 1995), and the educational system (Altın 2010). It is noteworthy that Gökalp's apparent deficiency in musicological expertise has been a subject of criticism during both the early republican era and contemporary analyses. Gazimihal (1928), who might have been anticipated to align with Gökalp's supporters, highlights the problematic aspects of Gökalp's propositions from a musicological perspective. Hüseyin Sadettin Arel (1990) presents a more extreme perspective in his manifesto "Whose is Turkish Music?" (*Türk Musikisi Kimindir*) contests Gökalp’s thesis and that of his adherents, which posits that Turkish music is an amalgamation of Byzantine, Persian, and Arabic traditional music. Rauf Yekta (1928) vehemently critiques the Gökalpist perspective on the synthesis of Western classical and Turkish folk music, dismissing the reform-oriented musicologists as lacking authenticity and referring to them as “those without any works.” He insinuates that these reformist musicologists are akin to “alien Western-Europeans” who ought to have composed classical sonatas but instead contributed to the degradation of authentic Turkish music by introducing polyphony into Turkish folk songs (p.2). Recent studies predominantly align their arguments with earlier ones, utilizing frameworks such as Westernist and nationalist classifications (Ayas 2015). Tekelioğlu (1996) characterizes Gökalp's stance as "naïve positivism" (p.202), while Parkinson and Gardner (2021) highlight that Gökalp's limited understanding of music theory indicated that his primary focus was not on defining the new music of society, but rather on the music of the new society. For the case of Westernist labelling to the early republican music politics, there are also discussions on the scope of the notion, as Güdek (2014) states it should also be taken

into account that Gökalg's Turkist ideas had big impact, too. We may agree on Güdek's contribution while also noting that Turkism in Gökalg's different works can today mean various things, including nationalism (folk and official) and, more relevant to this thesis, the roots of populism. Further evidence of this is that the new music of society was itself sharpened through the compilation, and widely education of the traditional folk music. John Morgan O'Connell (2000) argues that lifestyles were structured around two dualities, *alaturka* and *alafranga* with a holistic perspective in early republican years as music was one of them (p.119), and after introducing the debate by quoting Gökalg (p.131) he analyses the dynamics of the disagreement between figures such as Rauf Yekta, Musa Süreyya, Hüseyin Sadettin Arel and Mahmud Ragıp Gazimihal (pp.117-143). O'Connell's (2000) endeavors are quite valuable since his research on early republican music politics is one of the few that implement the global sociology theories into the example; despite all the analysis on curriculum discussions, however, O'Connell (2000) neglects to mention Bourdieu's (2014) analysis on modern state and some of his arguments such as "universal educability" (p.226) a topic that we will delve deeper in the following sections. Yücel (2022), after mentioning the continuity of Westernist ideas from Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Türkiye (p.9), analyses the militarist and elitist music education dynamics Ottoman Empire era in Enderun Mektebi and Mehterhanes and adds that it was only until the foundation of PHs in 1932 that a wider public music education became possible after the collapse of the empire. An interesting and rare argument is also made in Yücel's (2022) work: that the traditional Ottoman maqam music was already discredited decades before the music reform of the republican cadres (p.11-16). Based on his argument, then, the oppositional reading of the reforms amounts to this: after the republican revolution, the ruling elite of the new regime found itself elevating a type of music – Turkish maqam music – that had already been discredited and that did not, in any case, traditionally belong to their own worldview. This raises a critical question about the expectations of the era's intelligentsia.

This study makes several contributions to the existing literature on early Republican Türkiye and its music politics. First, while the musicological output on the period is substantial, no study to date has systematically applied the theoretical framework of populism - as developed by Laclau (2005) and Canovan (1981) - to the music politics of the early Republic. By doing so, this thesis moves beyond the conventional

nationalist-modernist binary that has dominated the field and proposes a reading of the period as one defined by a nationalist-populist logic. Second, this study draws critical attention to the conceptual gap between the Turkish term *halkçılık* and its Western counterpart populism, arguing that this distinction is not merely translational but carries significant theoretical consequences for understanding the period such as its similarity with Canovan's (1981) populism of intelligentsia concept. Third, building on Bourdieu's (2014), Weber's (1948) and Anderson's (2006) framework of modern-nation state it aims to shed light on the concentration of cultural capital, bureaucratization and rationalization of music field, and making of the Turkish identity through music. In combining these theoretical frameworks this study offers a humble yet distinct alternative musicological approach to a well-analyzed field.

The theoretical framework focuses on two main areas: state modernism and populism. Modernism had been an issue in academic works for centuries already. On the state level without any doubt the one of the most referred quotes comes from the great sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920). Weber (1948) defines the modern state as “- we have to say that a state is a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory (p.96). With its all emphasizes on different components (human community, monopoly of the physical force and territorial dimension) this description of the modern state is almost impossible to disagree. Additionally, the cultural implementation of Weberian concepts such as rationality and disenchantment of the world are critical concepts that this thesis will benefit from (Weber 1948:24). However, on a cultural level one can't help but ask the necessity of certain additional aspects of the modern state to clarify the politics. Among them are the nation and its culture. At this point we ask for the help of the political scientist Benedict Anderson (1936-2015) since in his famous work “Imagined Communities” Anderson (2006) describes the nation as “ an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign (p.6)”. In our case the search of imagining the nation with its pure and real music will have critical importance to better understand all the works of the republican era intellectuals. Speaking of whom, the interests of the intellectuals in the republican era were tried to be seen as objective and disinterested and they were proclaimed as for the *good of all*. These efforts caused an illusion for many and to clarify the “interest in disinterestedness” we will mention another great sociologist of the 20th century Pierre

Bourdieu (1930-2002). Bourdieu (2014), states that there is an underlying interest in the illusion of disinterestedness of a field (p.342), and with the example of the “the unification of the juridical market” he shows how a field can be resharpened with the interest of a group while also seemingly become “objective” (p.209). Also, as Bourdieu (2014) himself welcomes the deploration of the private patronage in modern state mechanism (p.216) we will see how the cultural capital was concentrated and state nobility was given to specific musical understandings (p.207-208).

Nonetheless, it would be insufficient to solely reference the modernist attributes of the Republic of Türkiye throughout its formative years. To enhance understanding of music politics, I shall introduce the concept of populism. Populism, like modernism, is an often-examined concept in both academic and political discourse. One of the major theorists of the concept is Ernesto Laclau (1935-2014). Laclau (2005) was among the few global theorists who examined the early republican period, concluding that the Kemalist era was not populist (p. 211). However, we will try to implement his concept set to question to what level the era can be interpreted as populist or not with his terms such as the antagonism (p.224), the empty signifiers (p.105) and in our case how “national music”, “music of the people” functioned as examples of them. The frontier and antagonism that is necessary for Laclau’s populism are embedded in the reflection of the Ottoman past and the reaction of the republicans in early Türkiye. Through these concepts we will see what type of a populist reason emerged and reflected in music politics of early republican Türkiye. While also questioning the sub-variant of populism in Türkiye (such as left wing or right wing) through music politics. Last but not the least, with Canovan (1981) we will try to understand the two faces of populism: pragmatic and redemptive. We will see how the people were musically redeemed and this process was pragmatically used by the ruling elite. It must be noted, however, that the Turkish translation of populism - *halkçılık* - does not necessarily carry the same antagonistic connotations as its Western counterpart. While Western populism is largely defined by the conflict between 'the pure people' and 'the corrupt elite,' *halkçılık* in the early Republican context was officially framed as a unifying, society-wide movement rather than an oppositional one in any case. This conceptual gap is not merely translational; it has significant theoretical consequences for understanding how populist logic operated in Türkiye and will be addressed in detail in Chapter Two.

1.2 Methodology and Limitations

Before turning to the methodology proper, it is worth clarifying a terminological distinction that runs through the rest of this thesis but is rarely made explicit in the existing literature: the difference between music politics and music policies. By music policies, this thesis means the discrete, identifiable administrative measures through which the state acted on the musical field – a ministerial circular, a curriculum decision, the founding of an institution, a broadcasting ban. Music politics, as used throughout this study, refers to something broader and less tidy: the whole contested field of meaning-making in which such policies are embedded, in which 'the people,' 'the nation,' and 'authentic' music are argued over, claimed, and redefined by a range of actors who are not all state actors and whose disagreements do not reduce to any single administrative decision. Most of what this thesis actually examines in Chapter Five – the compilation fieldworks, the People's Houses, the radio ban – are, strictly speaking, music policies in this narrower sense: they are concrete, dateable, attributable acts of the state. The wager of this thesis, however, is that these policies only become fully legible – that is, only reveal their populist logic – when they are read as symptomatic expressions of the broader field of music politics, rather than as self-contained administrative episodes to be explained on their own bureaucratic terms. This is why the analysis in what follows moves constantly between the two registers: it takes specific policies as its empirical anchor, but reads them against the wider political logic – in Laclau's sense of the term – that gave them their particular shape and their particular targets.

The methodology of this thesis relies on qualitative research inquiry, specifically utilizing documentary and content analysis. The primary data is drawn from the Presidential State Archives of the Republic of Türkiye, Cumhuriyet Archive (BCA), period-specific journals (such as *Tiyatro ve Musiki*, *Halka Doğru*, *Ülkü*, etc.), and contemporary musicological texts. These materials are analyzed through a comparative perspective, focusing on their intersections of modernism, populism, and music politics. It may be useful to be more precise about what these sources are and how they are used, since they fall into several distinct categories that are not treated identically. The first category consists of official documents and archival material – correspondence, circulars, and ministerial records held in the Cumhuriyet Archive of the Presidential State Archives of the Republic of Türkiye (BCA) – which this thesis

treats as evidence of the administrative face of music policy, in the narrower sense discussed above. The second category is period publications: journals such as *Tiyatro ve Musiki*, *Halka Doğru*, and *Ülkü*, along with regional *halkevi* bulletins, are read here not as neutral repositories of fact but as sites where the discourse of music politics was itself being actively produced and contested by the actors of the period; they are, in that sense, primary sources for the argument's central claims rather than mere background reading. The third category comprises musical materials proper – published collections of compiled folk melodies, notated repertoires, and the like – which are drawn on more sparingly, chiefly where the material itself, rather than the discourse surrounding it, is directly relevant to the argument. The fourth category is secondary historical and musicological literature on the period, which supplies the empirical detail this thesis could not itself establish from primary research alone, and against which its own interpretive claims are repeatedly checked. The fifth and final category is the theoretical literature – populism theory and the sociology of the state – introduced in Chapters Two and Three, which supplies the analytical vocabulary applied to the first four categories rather than additional empirical content in its own right. It should be acknowledged that this thesis leans more heavily on the fourth of these categories, secondary literature, than an archive-first study would; this is a function of the scope and time available for a thesis of this kind, and it is precisely this reliance that Chapter Five tries to offset, where possible, by returning to primary material such as the newspaper notices discussed below. However, several limitations of this study must be acknowledged. First, the analysis focuses primarily on official state discourse and the writings of state-aligned theoreticians. While this thesis attempts, where possible, to include responses, resistances, and objections voiced at the time, the more independent music practices of relatively outsider societal groups – including non-Muslim minorities and Kurdish populations – remain largely beyond the scope of this study. Secondly, as a theoretical limitation, it must be stated that the populism theories applied in this thesis – those of Laclau and Canovan – were developed primarily in Western European and Latin American contexts. Their application to early Republican Türkiye may differ dramatically and a certain degree of reductionism in that sense becomes inevitable to undertake (such as the differentiation between populism and '*halkçılık*'). Finally, this study unfortunately does not address the reception of music politics by the common people that would

necessitate a different methodological approach and remains as a productive avenue for future research.

A word is also in order on why this thesis focuses on the three practices it does – the folk music compilation fieldworks, the musical activities of the People's Houses, and the 1934 alaturka ban on state radio – rather than, say, conservatory reform or opera commissioning, both of which receive substantial discussion in Chapters Three and Four but are not themselves treated as primary cases in Chapter Five. The three cases were not chosen because they exhaust the field of early Republican music politics, nor because they are somehow typical of it in a statistical sense; they were chosen because, taken together, they trace the populist logic this thesis is concerned with across three different institutional registers. The compilation fieldworks show that logic at the point of data-gathering, where the 'people' as a source of authentic material is first constituted. The People's Houses show it at the point of pedagogical and organisational diffusion, where that material is reworked and redistributed back to a national public. And the radio ban shows it at the point of prohibition, where the boundary of the national musical community is enforced negatively, by exclusion, rather than built up positively through collection or instruction. In Laclau's terms, each case captures a different moment in the same broader operation of constructing 'the people' as a political signifier – gathering, disseminating, and policing – and it is this complementarity, rather than any claim to representativeness, that justifies treating them together. It should be acknowledged, even so, that the three cases are not examined with equal depth in what follows; the compilation fieldworks receive the most sustained attention, in part because they are the best documented in the sources available for this study, while the radio ban, treated more briefly in Chapter Five, is included primarily for the analytical clarity it offers regarding the antagonistic dimension of populist reason rather than for the density of empirical material it can support.

The same three cases can also be justified, more briefly, from the vantage point of each theorist mobilised in Chapters Two and Three, since each brings a different one of them into sharper focus. From Canovan's perspective, the compilation fieldworks are the clearest instance of 'populism of the intelligentsia': it is precisely here that folklorists, composers, and bureaucrats set out to speak for a peasantry whose own voice they professed to be recovering, but which they never treated as a party to the

process in its own right. From Weber's, the People's Houses are the more instructive case, since they show populist reasoning being absorbed into, and routinised by, a genuinely bureaucratic apparatus with its own branches, staff, and reporting lines – populism, so to speak, administered rather than merely proclaimed. From Bourdieu's, all three cases matter, but the radio ban is the sharpest, because a ban is by definition an act of the state exercising its monopoly over legitimate symbolic violence in the most unmediated way available to it, without the pedagogical or curatorial machinery that softens the same operation in the other two cases. And from Anderson's, it is again the radio ban that does the most conceptual work, since it is only once music is broadcast – heard simultaneously, across the country, by listeners who will never meet one another – that an 'imagined community' can be constituted or, as happened here, selectively silenced in the same stroke. Read this way, the three cases are not simply three data points but three vantage points onto the same underlying phenomenon, with each theoretical lens picking out a different one as its most legible illustration.

This thesis is structured in five chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter Two presents the theoretical framework of populism through the works of two major theorists. Laclau's (2005) conception of populism as a political logic - rather than an ideology or movement - forms the primary analytical lens, particularly his concepts of empty signifiers, floating signifiers, and antagonism. This is strengthened by Canovan's (1981; 1999) notion of the 'two faces of democracy' and the 'populism of the intelligentsia.' Chapter Three turns to the theoretical framework of state modernisation, benefiting from Weber's (1948) concepts of rationalisation and bureaucratisation, Bourdieu's (2014) theory of symbolic capital and the state as the 'central bank of symbolic capital,' and Anderson's (2006) notion of the imagined community. Together, these two theoretical chapters provide the conceptual toolkit that underpins the analysis that follows. Chapter Four situates early Republican Türkiye within this dual framework by examining the political, economic, and educational dimensions of populism (*halkçılık*) between 1923 and the early 1950s, demonstrating how populist reasoning was traced in state-building practices beyond the domain of music. Chapter Five constitutes the analytical core of the thesis, applying the theoretical frameworks developed in Chapters Two and Three to the music politics of the period. It examines how institutions such as the People's Houses, the Ankara State Conservatory, and state radio functioned as the organizational body of populist musical

discourse, and how folk music compilation, the alaturka music ban, and polyphonic music education operated as instruments of symbolic capital concentration. The thesis concludes by reflecting on the implications of reading early Republican music politics through the lens of populist reason, and by considering the contributions of this study to the broader fields of historical musicology and Turkish studies.





2. POPULISM THEORIES

This chapter establishes the first column of the theoretical framework that underpins this thesis by examining two important theories of populism: Ernesto Laclau's and Margaret Canovan's. Rather than approaching populism as a fixed ideology or a pathological notion from democratic norms, this chapter approaches it as a multi-dimensional political phenomenon whose conceptual richness makes it particularly suitable to analyze the cultural politics of early Republican Türkiye. The chapter contains two steps. First, it engages with Laclau's (2005) theory of populist reason, focusing on his concepts of empty and floating signifiers, antagonism, and the chain of equivalence, which together provide the primary analytical vocabulary for reading early Republican music politics as a discursive formation. Second, it turns to Canovan's (1981; 1999) framework, with particular attention to her notion of the 'populism of the intelligentsia' and the tension between redemptive and pragmatic faces of democracy - a tension that, as this thesis argues, is directly observable in the music reforms of the period. As a result, it is fair to say these two frameworks do not simply add up as equally weighted, mutually confirming lenses; rather, Laclau's formal logic of empty signifiers and equivalential chains provides the primary structural vocabulary for this thesis, while Canovan's account of intellectual guilt and the 'pathos of distance' supplies the historical-psychological mechanism specific to the early Republican Turkish intelligentsia. In that sense, they complement and complicate one another in ways that enrich the analysis developed in the chapters that follow.

2.1 Signifiers, Antagonisms and Equivalent Chains

When it comes to the very term populism and its theories, one of the most important scholars of the 20th century, Ernesto Laclau (1935-2014) stands out with his works such as *On Populist Reason* (2005). According to Laclau (2005), populism is not an ideology nor a movement but a political logic that is intrinsic to making politics (p.117). Influenced by the linguistic works of Saussure (1959), in politics Laclau (2005) implements the signifiers and signified terms. Saussure (1959) gives special importance to the element of difference at the linguistic level, stating that "in language

there are only differences without positive terms” (p.120). Similarly, Laclau (2005), when explaining his theoretical approach, states that relativity (differential and oppositional) is the core to create meanings of political phenomenon (p.68). Considering Laclau’s methodological understanding, the concept of discourse becomes quite central to his theory. Additionally, it is critical to mention that, for Laclau and Mouffe (1992) the distinction between linguistic and non-linguistic discourse is not strict. Political and societal objects can also be considered quite discursive (p.107-108). Societal phenomena, for Laclau (2005), may only be constructed through their differences and antagonisms. However, in this relative universe of terms and concepts none of these notions is fixed or constant; each remains subject to continuous change within the web of their mutual relativity. Nevertheless, it is necessary to say that this understanding of a holistic discursive approach by Laclau and Mouffe (1992) does not imply a form of mentalist idealism; on the contrary, they argue that discourse is a material practice. As they illustrate with the brick metaphor, the material components involved (the brick, the labor, the product) find their eventual meaning as a result of a societal discourse on the specific process. In other words, it is only through linguistic and non-linguistic discourse that we can identify the product of the material process; following the brick example, it is the discourse that determines whether it is understood as a prison, a barricade, or a wall.

As mentioned above, Laclau (2005) modifies his term “signifier” with two adjectives: *empty* and *floating* signifiers to make sense of the alterable phenomena of the society and politics. As it will be referred frequently in this study we should try to make a definition of *empty signifier*. An empty signifier is a term that goes beyond its specific meaning, representing multiple, often conflicting, demands or initiatives at once. Therefore, it is fair to say: the bigger the content that is represented under the specific umbrella of signifier the emptier it becomes. Most of the time demands and necessities that are juxtaposed under a specific empty signifier have a common opposition but with the chain of equivalence it becomes possible to create societal and political phenomena (p.99). For the term *floating signifiers* however the definition becomes even less clear. A floating signifier is quite similar to the empty signifier however it is mostly used to describe the struggle over a signifier over which absolute hegemony has not yet been established.

The opposite position in societal level to a certain power, case, or person is called antagonism by Laclau(2015:122–30). A political antagonism is structured through the artificial political inner frontiers in a society. Put more simply: according to Laclau (2005) the antagonism of “We” and “They” is essential to the political logic. As a conclusion for the raw theory of Laclau’s populism, it is possible to say that, independent of its ideology, style, and tendencies, it is intrinsic to the very act of doing politics, of any and every kind. Therefore, Laclau distinguishes himself from his fellow populist theoreticians by saying populism is not an ideology nor a style but quite the root of the political act.

Culture on the other hand stands out as a key element of claiming hegemony over a political universe of both long- and short-term practices in a society. As an example, the Orthodox Church in Greece benefited from the antagonism (The people of God vs the government) a case explained in Laclau’s populism theory on a cultural level (Stavrakakis 2004). Emphasizing the critical role of culture, Marchart (2012) states that micro-level cultural resistances are interrelated to macro-level politics (p.228) for a populist understanding of politics; indeed, cultural studies are, in his view, the “missing link” (p.235) in understanding populist antagonism via the chain of equivalence. As one of the core elements of a specific culture, music makes an interesting and crystallised case for the populism discussions. Starting as early as the 18th century proto phase populist ideas have become visible in music. The specific attention drawn to the folk songs by Herder in Germany(2017), Lvov in Russia (Taruskin 1997), Bartok in Hungary (Bartok 1931; Frigyesi 1998) are only a few examples of the romantic nationalism or populism in music circles in Europe. Either leashed or unleashed, the antagonism between the *pure* folk music and *corrupt* elite music can be sensed in some form. Many label these practices under the umbrella of nationalism; however, this approach seems inadequate, if not improper. The reason for this is that, as we have seen in Laclau’s theory to make a nation -especially in 19th and early 20th century- one also should make a people that has been in some way oppressed, humiliated or externalized by a ruling elite (dynasty in many cases).

In Türkiye too, the earliest folk music research works conducted by the central state were similarly defended by the musicologists of the era (Deniz 2018; Yekta 1926a, 1926b). However, the antagonism between folk music and elite art music was not always clearly exhibited. Instead, the term “national music” (*milli musiki*) was used as

an empty signifier. For some, national music meant holistically folk music and art music (Arel 1990; Deniz 2018; Tura 1988) while for others modernized folk music purified from the outdated elite art music (Gazimihal 1928; Gökalp [1923] 1976; Saygun 1936). Consequently, analyzing Laclau's theory is not a detour into political science for this study; rather, it is almost a pre-condition to understanding how music functioned as political signifier. By applying Laclau's framework, we can also interpret how the 'materiality' of music in the 1930s-from conservatory curricula to field recordings-was constructed as a populist discourse to legitimate the new modern state. This dynamic will be examined in detail in Chapter Five, which traces how three concrete state practices -the folk music compilation fieldworks conducted under the ASC, the alaturka music ban imposed on state radio in 1934, and the musical activities of the PHs- were handled in a populist manner.

2.2 The Populism of the Intelligentsia

Another important populism theoretician Canovan (1999) objects to the many Western theoreticians who label populism as a pathology of the political system (p.2), defining it instead as a “political style and mood” (p.3). For her, democracy has two faces – redemptive and pragmatic (p.9). and populism, as a style or mood of doing politics, emerges along the axis of tension between these two faces (p.16). As with Laclau (2005) for Canovan (1981) the term *people* has no clear definition, and politicians use the term to challenge existing powers for their own goals to claim legitimacy (p.282); however, all the populist movements also promise important political benefits that can easily be observed in the lives of masses (p.300). As an important variant, “the populism of the intelligentsia,” points to a significant insight for understanding populism in the early republican era in Türkiye: the position of intellectuals in developing countries is Janus-faced with respect to modernization and Western ideologies (p.94). According to Canovan, the intellectuals carry a sense of guilt for their advantageous position in society (p.93); therefore, they look for ways to “drown themselves in the people” (with the Russian example being one instance of this) (p.94). However, a tense situation between glorification of the countryside for their purity and innocence and stressing the vital role of the intellectual elite is also observable (p.105). On cultural level Canovan states that, in preserving and exalting the common man, populists give special importance to popular songs over high art, adding that culture is

the least problematic field for populists to operate in (p.232). Considering the severe problematic discussions in music politics of the Republic of Türkiye it becomes quite difficult to agree with Canovan on this specific point; nevertheless, it is necessary to acknowledge her insight regarding the exaltation of folk culture and music specifically. A similar emphasis on cultural populism comes from Jim McGuigan (2003), who likewise stresses the role of the “ordinary man” (p.4). The sense of guilt, responsibility, and belatedness that Canovan suggests are clearly observable in the circles of Turkish musicology in the early republican era (Yekta 1926a:5). This 'idealistic populism' of the Turkish intelligentsia, which often romanticizes the Anatolian peasant as a pure source while simultaneously seeking to 'civilize' them through external categories (such as polyphony or secular-national values), is a recurring theme in Turkish intellectual history well beyond music. As seen in Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's ([1932] 2026) famous novel *Yaban*, the intelligentsia's construction of 'the people' often fails to resonate with the people's own subjective reality, creating a 'pathos of distance' as Canovan (1981) suggests. Read through Canovan's terms, the contradiction between the intellectual's idealistic populism and the people's reactionary populism provides a valuable theoretical tool for better explaining populist tendencies in the early republican era of Türkiye. In the light of Canovan's populism theory, the early Republican music reforms represent an example of the 'populism of the intelligentsia'.

Within the scope of this thesis, Republican music politics are conceptualized not merely as a project of nationalist modernization, but as a complex of populist practices. This study moves beyond conventional historiography by analyzing the period through Laclau's political logic and contextualizing the shifts within Canovan's framework of 'intellectual guilt.' Having established the theoretical vocabulary of populism, the following chapter turns to the second column of this thesis's theory: the sociology of the modern state. As will become apparent, the populist logics identified by Laclau and Canovan do not operate in a vacuum; they are always embedded within concrete state structures, bureaucratic apparatuses, and systems of cultural capital. It is at this intersection between populist reason and state formation that the music politics of early Republican Türkiye becomes most legible. Chapter Three therefore examines the works of Max Weber, Pierre Bourdieu, and Benedict Anderson, whose concepts of

rationalization, symbolic capital, and the imagined community provide the institutional and structural enrichment to the framework developed here.



3. MODERNIZATION OF THE STATE

This chapter's goal is to build the second column of the theoretical framework of this study. The main purpose is to examine three foundational theories of modern state formation: Max Weber's theory of rationalization and bureaucratization of the state mechanism, Pierre Bourdieu's analysis of symbolic capital and symbolic violence along with modern state's universal educability burden and its reflections, and Benedict Anderson's conception of the imagined community. While Chapter Two functions as a theoretical introduction of an interpretation on early Republican music politics in the axis of populism, this chapter will delve deeper into its structural and institutional aspects. First, it will be emphasized how Weber's (1948) concepts of rationalisation, bureaucratisation, and the disenchantment of the world are intrinsic to modern state making processes. Afterwards, through the notion set of Bourdieu's (2014) -theory of symbolic capital, symbolic violence -with a critical approach it will be explained how and why specific musical forms were legitimized and promoted by the modern Turkish republic. Also, Bourdieu's (2014) concept of universal educability - the modern state's obligation to provide education and culture for all citizens- will help us to explain the underlying reasons that motivated the republican cadres to undertake specific reforms. Last but not the least, Anderson's (2006) notion of the imagined community will be critically important to examine how music functioned as a tool for imagining a common national identity in a society undergoing rapid and radical transformation. Together, these three frameworks suggest that the music politics of early Republican Türkiye were not solely cultural preferences of a ruling elite, but systematic practices that are intrinsic to state-making processes.

3.1 Modern State and Its Structural Aspects

As it is mentioned in the introduction section the making of the modern state is clearly one of the key points to better understand the overall cultural sphere in the early republican Türkiye and music in specific. State -as an organization- goes back to thousands of years in human history; its modernity, however, is relatively recent. The great sociologist Max Weber (1948) defines the modern state as a human community

that “(successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory” (p.96). That is to say, the state is perceived as the sole guarantor of security. For Weber (1948), political, economic, and social systems are rationalized as a result of the disenchantment of the world (p.74). Moreover, as an ancient human practice, music too was disenchanted: through secularization and developments in notation technique, it became possible to characterise Western music as rational (Weber 1958b). However, it ought to be noted that Weber’s inferences are mostly Western-centered and for some scholars these ideas have become the roots of modern orientalism (Turner 1974; Weber 1948). As this exceeds the theoretical limits of the present study, I leave Weber’s orientalism-centred analyses for another occasion and continue with defining the modern state. An important key concept for Weber (1948) for the formation of the modern state is bureaucratization, an element identified with “rationality and the process of rationalization” (p.73). These two concepts – rationalization and bureaucratization – continuously recreate one another and together play a key role in making the modern state. Rationality is essentially the perception of the world and societal life as *calculable* and through rationality administrative, economic and social aspects of society become more productive (pp.293–294). Rationality, therefore, may be affirmed by many, since it effectively facilitates life for both rulers and the large number of masses who are ruled. However, we should also mention that even for Weber (1948) himself rationalization is not solely a welcomed invention that is full of positive aspects. Even in his own writing, Weber’s (1948) early hesitations can be felt, such as when he points out the extent to which personal feelings are eliminated in bureaucracy (pp.215-216), and in one of Weber’s (1958a) other inspiring works, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, an even clearer remark is made in the famous line: “specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart; this nullity imagines that it has attained a level of civilization never before achieved” (p.182). Let us conclude the discussion on the definitions and the functions of rationality here and move on to another characteristic element of the modern state, one that will also be used to explain the early republican music politics in Türkiye.

What we also see with the making of modern state is impersonalized officialdom. Inspired by Tacitus’ *sine ira et studio* (without scorn and bias) phrase Weber (1948) argued that the state becomes modernised through the implementation of fixed rules, laws, and regulations – put more clearly, in his own words, “modern loyalty is devoted

to impersonal and functional purposes” (p.199). As a result of the rationalisation of administration, authority becomes impersonalised. Differentiating this from the ancient way of ruling, according to Weber (1966) the room for “personal sympathy, favor, grace and gratitude” is replaced by professional, calculable and assumable administrative practices (p.351). It is discussable that with the impersonalized novelties in economy, law, and education, certain processes might have been democratised, since access to educational institutions became subject to fixed and regulated procedures (national exams), and the emergence of the concept of the constitution and the acceptance of equal citizenship rights may be considered further examples. In summary, in dynastic regimes loyalty was owed to the king, the lord, the father, and so on, but as a result of impersonalization of power and officialdom, the burden of loyalty shifted to the law and the office. Put more simply, this is the antagonism between charismatic and bureaucratic authority. No matter how great the ideas are, the implementations have been criticized for decades now, similarly in our case -the music politics of the early republic of Türkiye- we will witness the benefits and barriers put through impersonalization of music (such as compilation of folk songs in 20s and 30s, foundation of People’s Houses etc.).

3.2 Concentration of Cultural Capital, Symbolic Capital and Universal Educability to Make the Modern State

Weber’s (1948) elements of definition (use of force, monopoly, territory etc.) mostly refer to the militaristic or strict administrative connotations. However, as history has shown, even the most violent and authoritarian powers have had to secure a certain level of consent in society; otherwise, it would be impractical for authoritarian administrations to sustain their power. The state mechanism thus reproduces its power over society in parallel with this consent. The great social constructivist sociologist of the 20th century Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) presents important ideas to explain the consent face of the modern state. Bourdieu (2014) begins by quoting David Hume on the very existence of power and the state; he notes that the key factor overlooked by many is the reproduction of power by the state (p.163). Criticising Weber, Bourdieu (2014) adds that the militaristic or strict administrative use of force is not sufficient to explain the legitimacy of the state; on the contrary, this use of force must also be recognised by the masses at the same time (p.128). This recognition could be shaped through education, mass media control, and so on. No matter what combination of

methods is used to secure recognition of state authority, this recognition is critically essential to state-making. *Symbolic violence* is the term this thesis extracts from Bourdieu's work to supplement the Weberian definition of the state (p.4). To put it more clearly: even where the state relies on Weberian physical force, this symbolic form of violence, achieved through recognition, must come first. It is therefore only logical to suggest that the state's legitimacy over its people extends far beyond its monopoly on the use of physical violence.

Bourdieu (2014) describes four different essential capitals in his theory, economic, cultural, social and finally symbolic capital and the state emerges through concentration of these capitals (p.191). However, another form of capital that is less referred to is the *informational capital*, which also covers cultural capital; with examples and quotations, Bourdieu explains how intrinsic the need to obtain information is to the genesis of the state (p.213). As a form of informational capital, according to Bourdieu (2014) concentration of cultural capital is critically important in nation making and state making. In this way, the modern state, through universal educational and cultural institutions, reproduces its symbolic capital while also transferring cultural capital and legitimising itself (Bourdieu 2010:xviii). Before delving deeper into symbolic capital, it is worth discussing cultural capital and its concentration further. For Bourdieu (2014), the decline of patronage in artistic production – a development he views favourably – can be understood as the state's monopoly claim to manipulate (not necessarily negatively) the mental structure of society (p.216). So gradually, with all the *expenses* and *profits*, the state becomes the sole authority able to confer nobility on a specific form of cultural or artistic production. It is worth quoting directly quote from Bourdieu (2014) at this point: "Little by little, the state becomes the central bank of symbolic capital, and then the only nobility is a state one" (p.217).

Bourdieu (2014) also brings a different perspective to bear on Weber's account of officialdom and bureaucracy. He illustrates a latent "interest in disinterestedness" within a specific field, using the example of jurists. According to Bourdieu (2014), the juristical field is designed in alignment with the interests of jurists, yet it is presented as disinterested to all parties (p.343). Similarly different fields are also designed in the interests of other groups, such as "poets, musicians, lawyers and philosophers" (p.352). Last but not least, it is worth mentioning an important term that has not, to my

knowledge, previously been applied in academic work on the music politics of the republic of Türkiye, yet can be quite helpful to understand certain steps taken. The universal educability brings a responsibility to the state that it is expected to provide rights and duties for everyone (p.226). As a logical result of the concept the modern state tends to select the education material that is most suitable for the majority. One example of a long list would be the alphabet change in 1928 Türkiye (Lewis 1999). The promotion and direct state support for the works on Anatolian folk music when taken with this perspective in the 1920s and 1930s in Türkiye may provide a different point of view to better understand the zeitgeist.

3.3 Towards an Acoustically Imagined Community

As mentioned in the first chapter, the literature on the nation-making aspect of early republican music is already quite extensive. However, defining the music politics of the era as nationalist-populist necessitates clarifying how nationalism is conceptualised within the scope of this thesis. I will therefore try to cover, briefly, the cultural aspect of nation making. Gellner (1983) describes the critical role of culture for nation making and nationalism and explains how cultural standardization is a need for the transition phase between agrarian and industrialized societies (p.18). While Gellner (1983) frames nationalism as a functional requirement of the industrial state-focusing on the necessity of a standardized high culture for economic survival-Anderson (2006) offers a less economically driven and more culturally nuanced perspective. For Anderson, the nation is primarily an 'imagined' construct, enabled by print-capitalism – but sustained through shared symbols and a collective sense of time. Anderson (2006) describes the nation as “an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign (p.6)”. Essentially, this 'imagining' arises from the fact that in a nation, the vast number of members makes direct personal contact impossible, yet a sense of belonging is maintained in a way to ensure the 'horizontal comradeship' (p.7). As an emerging social glue, the nation replaces the old regime's religious identity which is observable in censuses (pp.164-165). It is possible to extract from Anderson's (2006) discussion that imagining a nation necessitates -at least a certain level of- secular understanding rather than a religious one. Through the extensive usage of maps parallelly the imagination of the nation is concretized and visualized in modern nation states (pp.174-175). Since censuses and maps-which

function almost as a logo-are not sufficient on their own to sustain the national image, Anderson (2006) points to the role of museums. For the modern nation-state, claiming antiquity over a territory is vital; thus, the museum serves as a political unit for imagining the nation (pp. 178-185). While Anderson's analysis centers on visual and textual technologies of nation-making -the census, the map, the museum- this thesis extends his framework to a sonic dimension. If the museum functions as a political unit for imagining the nation through its material past, then the folk music archive, the conservatory, and the state radio function as its acoustic equivalents. The early Republican state imagined and standardised a sonic version of the Turkish nation. It is at precisely this intersection - between the populist logics examined in Chapter Two and the state-making mechanisms examined here - that the music politics of early Republican Türkiye deserves to be labeled as “nationalist-populist”. Chapter Four therefore turns from theory to context, situating these frameworks within the specific political, economic, and educational conditions of the early Republic, before Chapter Five applies them directly to the music politics of the period.

4. POPULISM IN EARLY REPUBLIC OF TÜRKİYE

Having established the dual theoretical framework of populist reason and state modernisation in the preceding chapters, this chapter situates those frameworks within the specific historical, political, economic, and educational conditions of early Republican Türkiye between 1923 and the early 1950s. The aim is not to provide a comprehensive political history of the period - such works can already be found, in sufficient number, in the existing literature - but to demonstrate that populist reasoning affected the early Republican state-building project beyond the domain of music, and that the music politics examined in Chapter Five were therefore not an isolated cultural experiment but an integral expression of a broader nationalist-populist configuration. The chapter proceeds in three steps. First, it traces the conceptual and historical roots of populism in Türkiye, from the II. Constitutional Monarchy period and the Towards People movement of the 1910s through to the formal institutionalisation of populism in the 1920 Populism Program. Second, it examines the economic dimensions of early Republican populism, both with the achievements of the planned economy model and the critiques from Marxist, liberal, and conservative perspectives. Third, it turns to the educational field, analysing the alphabet reform of 1928, the National Schools, and the Turkish Language Institute as sites where the logic of universal educability - in Bourdieu's (2014) terms - intersected with a distinctly populist vision of cultural standardisation. Taken together, these three domains establish the broader populist context within which the music politics of the early Republic must be understood.

4.1 A Matter of Definition: Halkçılık and Populism

As if the term populism were not complicated enough in English itself, its translation into Turkish makes it even more complex. In the Western literature, *populism* is almost synonymous with the antagonism between the pure people and elite (Canovan 1981, 1999; Laclau 2005, 2015; Laclau and Mouffe [1985] 1992). However, its Turkish translation '*halkçılık*' does not necessarily resonate as primarily antagonistic, but rather as a movement that benefits society as a whole (Yilmaz 2022). One of the earliest documents of the revolutionary and republican era is the Populism Program in 1920 in

which the political, societal, and cultural populism understandings are defined officially (Şahinkaya 2022). Furthermore, the institutional continuity of this ideology is evident in the fact that even today's RPP (CHP) continues to anchor its populist identity in the principles established in the 1920 program (CHP 2025). In an important journal of the 1930s *Ülkü*, *halkçılık* was equated to peasantism by some ideologues, excluding the marginally low and high classes, as “the people (*halk*)” were defined as the middle class peasants (Kemal 1933). Let us now trace the roots of populism in Türkiye further back in history. During the Second Constitutional Monarchy period, the intellectual class was preoccupied with the collapse of the state, and, through their observations of European and Russian cases (Narodnism) one of their main solutions was to close the gap between the people and the state (Toprak 2014). 1910s populism is marked with *Towards People Community* and *Towards People Journal* (Kandeğer 2025). Marking one of the earliest traces of elite/people antagonism in the *Towards People* journals, the notion of ‘Turk’ did not encompass Ottoman identity; the populism of the *Towards People* movement was therefore pro-Anatolian, positioning itself antagonistically against the existing Ottoman power (Özden 2011).

4.2 Populism in Economy Politics

One of the breaking points was the Ottoman Empire’s participation in the WWI in 1914 (Beşikçi 2015); the resulting shortage of supplies for both the army and the sultanate in Istanbul caused intellectuals and the ruling elite to develop a closer attention to, and later a gratitude toward, Anatolia that would be inherited by the republican cadres after the revolution (Pamuk 2014:169–70). Under the weight of economic, political, educational, and cultural problems, Anatolia was utterly devastated: despite the fact that 76% of the population lived in rural areas, one of the most basic agrarian products, wheat, was import-dependent; the number of teachers and doctors relative to the population was critically low; and transportation between city centres and villages relied on primitive methods. To overcome all these problems dramatically in such a short span of time (by 1938), Yiğit 7/13/26 10:54:00 AM states that it was only possible with the determination of the republican cadres in which Mustafa Kemal Atatürk himself was personally involved (p.324). Similarly, Okyar (1979) mentions that the mixed economy model performed well (p.341) and economic growth was satisfactory and steady (p.343). Furthermore, the abolition of Tithe Tax

(*Aşar Vergisi*), which was one of the biggest sources of income for the state was a clear sign of gratitude to the peasants that fought in various wars for decades (Pamuk 2014, p.177). Boratav (2018) offers an interesting perspective, noting that, through the abolition of the Tithe Tax and its replacement with other taxes affecting the still-emerging working class, the whole process can be read as a resource transfer from urban to rural areas (p.58). Broad-based growth through the planned economy model, the import substitution approach, and developments in industrialization are some of the key factors to describe the early republican populist economic politics in first decades (Boratav 2018; Kuruç 1988; Pamuk 2014).

However, given the scope of this study and the centrality of the populism discussion, the critiques should also be mentioned in order to provide a clearer analysis. There are three main strands of criticism of the populist economic politics of the early republican era: the Marxist-Left, the Liberal, and the Right-Wing Conservative. To begin with the Marxist critique of Yalçın Küçük (2006) as an example: his objection to the tendency to see the republican revolution and subsequent Kemalist power as somehow devoid of class struggle (p.11) points to the pragmatic face of populism (Canovan 1981) without actually naming it. According to Küçük (2006), it is a process of capital accumulation, exemplified by the emergence of business families and the invitation of foreign capital in the early years of the republic (p.142). Furthermore, the statism (also seen as the economic reflection of populism) was a solution to the potential class struggles and functioned as a form of distraction for the masses (p.45). It is possible to extract from Küçük's (2006) 'Thesis on Türkiye' (*Türkiye Üzerine Tezler*) that specific steps were taken by the ruling elite and capitalists to consolidate their power in alignment with the inner dynamics of the country, the global economic depression, and international relations. Interestingly another Marxist-oriented theorist Doğan Avcıoğlu (2015) constructs his critique of the era around the claim that it was never capitalist enough to 'complete' the revolution (p.771). Moreover, Avcıoğlu (2015) states that the republican revolution followed a path toward a populist economy that avoided direct confrontation with local feudal powers, compradors, and loan sharks, a choice that later caused severe damage (p.705). For Avcıoğlu (2015) in summary populism (*halkçılık*) was a goal that was never realised; a true populist power could only have emerged through the active political engagement of the peasants and workers (p.773).

While Marxist critiques focus on the capital accumulation side of populism, Taha Parla (1991) states that it was neither a liberal-capitalist nor Marxist-socialist model but a solidarist-corporatist understanding that was economically applied in the early years of the republic (p.161). Influenced by Durkheim ([1893] 1964) Gökalp ([1923] 1976), with his objection to Marxist class struggle defends Durkheim's projection of society that is built upon an organizational solidarity (p.66). Considering Gökalp's inspirations on many fields in the early years of the Republic of Türkiye, according to Parla (1991), similar to Yalçın Küçük) states that the populist thrust of Kemalism functioned as a basis for covering over class-based tensions in society (p.11), in favour of the recently emerging national bourgeoisie (Toprak 1995). Acknowledging both the quantitatively and qualitatively weak position of the working class and the bourgeoisie, Mango ([1999] 2004) states that the most powerful 'class' that enabled society to function harmoniously was the army (p.436). At this point, we see how profession-based classes were projected in the early years of the republic of Türkiye instead of the Marxist approach of ownership of the means of production (Marx 1991:1025–26). Additionally, analyzing the era through a center-periphery dichotomy inspired by Mardin (1973), Keyder (2014) claims that the economy politics should be examined through the interventions of a bureaucratic authority that oppressed the classes holistically (p.10). In summary, the critiques of early republican economic politics in the axis of sociology and political science centre on a corporatism-solidarism line that prevented the development of classes and further strengthened bureaucratic hegemony.

Right-wing liberal and conservative critiques tend to focus their discussions on the methodological aspect of the economic politics of the era. Ülgener (1983) states that the economy politics of the era was too *rational* instead of being *humanistic* (p.15). One of the most radical critiques comes from Yayla (2015) with an individualist perspective that the populism of the early republic was "blurry, collectivist" and in some ways despotic (p.53).

4.3 Populism in Education

Another important field to trace the signs of populism in early years of the republic of Türkiye is education. As we have seen in the modernization chapter universal educability is a key factor for the transition process from a dynastic-ancient state model to a modern one (Bourdieu 2014:226). A modern state which is responsible for the

education of large masses is expected to differ dramatically, in curriculum, organisation, and human resources, from the one it claims to replace. Although education was already an issue within the axis of modernisation in the late Ottoman era, educating the common people was not among the main goals; it was therefore left to local religious schools that were not inspected or controlled by a central authority (Somel 2001:18). Beyond the probable lack of interest in universalising public education, financial restrictions should also be considered as challenges (Fortna 2002:128-29).

As a result of the challenges, in the early years of republic of Türkiye the literacy rate was less than 10% (Sayilan and Yildiz 2009), moreover it was even worse for women considering the disadvantageous situation that gender gap caused (Filiztekin 2025). The young republic found itself in a critical need to vitally overcome the lack of literacy let alone establishing a sophisticated education. An attempt was made to overcome this barrier through the alphabet change of 1928 (Ertürk 2011) that replaced the Arabic letters with Latin ones. Although some hold the view that the alphabet reform of 1928 was carried out with the aim of metaphorically cutting ties with the Ottoman past (Johnson 2004; Sönmez 2021; Yüce 2019) there were also strong linguistic and pedagogical reasons for this radical change that aimed to facilitate the literacy campaigns (Doğançay Aktuna 1995). The aim of universal educability recalls one of the key elements of the modern state that Bourdieu (2014) identifies (p.226). Institutions founded to this end, such as National Schools (*Millet Mektepleri*) to spread the literacy campaign (Yılmaz 2011), Turkish Language Institute (*Türk Dil Kurumu-TDK*) with goals as glorification and purification of the Turkish language (Brendemoen 2021) were placed bureaucratically under direct state authority, resonating with Weber's (1948) bureaucratic power and rationality. As a result, the aims of purifying and simplifying the language served to combat illiteracy more effectively in Türkiye (Tachau 1964). However, many academic and non-academic works examine the alphabet reform in the axis of modernization/nationalization (Çolak 2004; Wood 1929) while also some others emphasize the underlying historical populist motivations (Aydingün and Aydingün 2004). In that sense thinking of the alphabet change in Türkiye we should note that it was not solely nationalist or Western influenced modernism but also a specific but at the same time quite common form of populism that was described by populism theoreticians (Canovan 1981; Laclau 2005).

As in music politics, simplicity and purity of Anatolia were, at least discursively, exalted often. The Janus-faced populism of the intelligentsia is apparent here too: we see intellectuals rescuing the people while also burdening a largely illiterate population with the task of learning to read and write with a new alphabet (Canovan 1981). The latent antagonism between the pure Anatolian people and the Ottoman elite (which is essential for populism) once again is apparent in the linguistic field (Bayar 2011), implementing the same methodology of Laclau and Mouffe (1992) with their own theoretical framework (discourse is not solely verbal) we can determine that the language reform in 1928 is almost text-book populist. To clarify, acknowledging the nationalist tendencies of the era as a host-ideology, populism as a 'thin-centered' ideology should be considered for a broader understanding.

The three domains examined in this chapter - the historical roots of *halkçılık*, the populist economy, and the educational reforms - reveal a consistent underlying logic: the early Republican state systematically sought to bridge the gap between the ruling intelligentsia and the Anatolian masses, not through direct political participation, but through top-down cultural and institutional interventions. It is precisely this logic - what Canovan (1981) would call the 'idealistic populism of the intelligentsia' and what Laclau (2005) would read as the construction of an equivalential chain around the empty signifier of 'the people' - that finds its clearest and most crystallised expression in the music politics of the period. Chapter Five therefore turns directly to music, examining how the ASC, the PHs functioned as bodies of the above mentioned populist logic.

5. POPULISM IN MUSIC POLITICS IN EARLY REPUBLIC OF TÜRKİYE

As stated in the previous one the main theme of the Chapter 5 aims to contain the theoretical and practical faces of the populism in early republican music politics. As stated by theoreticians, the antagonistic component of populism is vital to describe the term (Canovan 1981; Laclau 2005) and since the antagonism is built against the Ottoman elite, the first theme handled in this chapter is a concise history of music and music education in Ottoman era in order to clarify the meanings of the reforms that republicans implemented later. Second, the compilations of folk songs mark as a determining process to analyze the modernist and populist aspects of the early republican music politics.. Lastly,. as an important cultural institution to theorize, implement and track the reforms PHs with its organizational structures, actors and activities are handled as a critical unit of analysis. Having analyzed all three themes, the alaturka music ban on radio 1934 – a theme that is frequently referred in the existing literature (Bayindir Uluskan 2022; Kaptan and Kaptan 2019) is briefly dealt in the axis of Bourdieu's (2014) capital forms and symbolic violence.

5.1 A Concise History of Music Politics in Ottoman Era

Before getting into the institutional detachment of the Ottoman court from folk music, it is worth pausing here to specify a bit more precisely what the early Republican project was actually constructed against. As Laclau (2005) makes clear, an antagonistic frontier of this kind is not, first and foremost, a contest between musical genres as such – court *maqam* against village *türkü* – but rather a contest between two rival visions of the political community that music was being made to stand for. The Ottoman dynastic order was, after all, a cosmopolitan and multi-confessional structure by design: its musical institutions, from the *Mızıka-i Hümayun* to the *meşkhane*, drew on Greek, Armenian, Jewish, and Levantine musicians and idioms alongside Turkish and Arab ones (Behar 2015; Feldman 2024), and even its higher Ottoman-Turkish Muslim elite culture was itself linguistically and ethnically far from homogeneous. In that sense, it is fair to say that the Republican project of *milli musiki* was constructed in antagonism to this cosmopolitan heterogeneity itself, and not simply to a musical style

that happened to be associated with the palace. The ‘people’ whose authentic voice the folklorists set out to recover was, in the first instance, defined against this dynastic cosmopolitanism – and only secondarily, almost as a downstream consequence, against the *maqam*-based art music that had flourished under it.

For the ruling elite of the Ottoman Empire, music was an issue bound up intensively with patronage relationships; for an advanced career in music, it was almost inevitable to maintain a degree of personal relationship with the high aristocracy, and most of the time even with the sultan himself (Feldman 2024:69). In that sense, music politics, as in many other fields, depended on the sultan’s word. It can therefore be extracted that private patronage (even when it was under the head of the state sultan himself) was the main practice in Ottoman empire instead of bureaucratic and standard regulations (Feyzi and Sümbüllü 2019). Similarly, for centuries music education in the Ottoman Empire was handled through unregulated settings such as practice halls, ‘*meşkhane*’, at court, which could be repeatedly closed by order of the sultan (Behar 2015:22). This lack of standardisation did not always have a negative effect on music politics; thanks to a deep and genuine interest in music, various sultans’ reigns also saw extensive periods of active promotion (Uzunçarşılı 1977). Nevertheless, the lack of a predictable palace-centered music politics may have caused an uncertainty that would restrain the best possible musical production because of its reliance on strong personal dependence.

Some of the most promoted music genres in the early and classical Ottoman musical life are as follows: *maqam* music (Feldman 2024:14), religious sects’ music (‘*tarikat*’)(Toker and Özden 2013:111–15), militaristic music in Mehterhanes (Feldman 2019). A musical sphere that is neglected by the central Ottoman authority yet quite important is the Anatolian folk music. While some researchers demonstrate instances of cultural permeability between Ottoman court music and Anatolian folk traditions such as the incorporation of folk poetry into classical repertoires by Ottoman elite musicians such as Dede Efendi (Ayas 2015:167), they do not sufficiently explain the central argument that the Ottoman institutional apparatus maintained a continuous detachment from folk music as a category, given that patronage, formal education, and compositional authority were concentrated within court and urban elite circles with no systematic engagement with Anatolian folk traditions at an institutional level. As an example, considering his official duty at the Ottoman court, Ali Ufki Bey’s

seventeenth-century compilation *Mecmua-ı Saz ü Söz* stands as a significant work in that it notated folk music repertoire (Cevher 1995). In another work however in which he shares important details about Ottoman court life, Ali Ufki Bey (2002) explicitly states that folk music attracted mostly idiots or low class wanderers (*budalas*) revealing the pejorative attitude of the period's court culture toward folk music. In addition to the official disinterestedness, because of the lack of scholarly initiatives spanning over 600 years of Ottoman authority in Anatolia, identifying a systematic, complete, and written body of work on folk music remains challenging. Taking folk music compilation as an example, the first considerable works were conducted in the first quarter of the 20th century by researchers Gomidas Vartabed and Dr. Felix von Luschan with personal and diplomatic interests (Güvener and Güray 2020; Maksudyan 2024) rather than any promotion or encouragement provided by the central state authority. Viewed from the reverse angle, the negligence of the Ottoman state amounts to the loss of a richness that could have significant effects even on our contemporary understanding today. At this point, it would be helpful to note how, through Laclau's (2005) populist lens, the *logic of difference* term is able to explain the institutional detachment of Ottomans from folk music. Laclau (2005) argues that there are two opposing ways of constructing society: either through the classification of particularities in a differential order, or through the partial surrender of particularity in an equivalential chain that draws an antagonistic frontier (pp. 77-78). The Ottoman musical order functioned almost entirely through the logic of difference - makam, tarikat music, and mehter were maintained as distinct. Folk music -as with the folk literature- was not simply ignored; it was structurally excluded from this differential order. The Ottoman court's pejorative approach to folk music - exemplified in Ali Ufki Bey's budala remark - is therefore not merely an aesthetic preference but a way of creating a defined elite musical identity precisely by constructing its lower-class other. It is this frontier, therefore, that the early Republican intelligentsia would later invert, transforming the budala's music into the core of the official culture of the new state, while excluding the traditional music forms and practices that were promoted under the ancien régime.

Before turning to the question of change, it is worth being clear about what is meant here by Ottoman music politics, since the term could otherwise cover anything from court patronage to popular urban entertainment. In what follows, the phrase refers

specifically to the deliberate interventions of the central state and dynastic court in the organisation, patronage, and legitimation of music – that is, to decisions taken (or, just as significantly, not taken) by the sultan, his household, and the institutions attached to the court, rather than to the far broader and more diffuse musical life of Ottoman society as a whole, most of which remained outside direct state concern for most of the empire's history. It would be scientifically incorrect to claim that no change was noted in the music politics of the Ottoman era over the centuries. This shift's main tendency was however towards West instead of following strong and systematic programs on promoting folk music traditions in Anatolia. Uprising interest in Western music around court circles was evident prior to a radical shift at structural level such as Selim III's favor in opera as a symbolic Western-style production (Şahin Soy and Şenol 2021:4) although he was a composer of traditional maqam music himself (Koç 2011). However the closure of The Janissary Corps (*Yeniçeri Ocağı*) in 1826 by Mahmut II (Reed 1951) caused a major shift in music politics of the Ottoman Empire among almost all the other fields. Such as foundation of Mızıka-I Humayun (a royal military band in Western style) in 1826 that replaced the classical Mehterhane (Çağlak and Filiz 2018; Dilber and Karabaşoğlu 2023) marks the symbolic historical moment of the shift to Western music superiority over the traditional maqam music once forever. The traces of Westernization can be observed from notation (Ayangil 2008:402; Jäger 2023:49) to change in scene settings (Aksoy 1985:1218; Beşiroğlu and Girgin 2018:45) and developments on the representation of female composers (Çevik and Kaltakçı 2011:629) to the employment of foreign musical authorities at the court such as Donizetti and Guatelli (Kutlay Baydar 2010; Yöre 2008) who are so close to the sultan himself that were able to compose the march of Ottoman Empire (see Figure 5.1 that clarifies the acceptance of Western style at the highest official level) From the arguments presented we can say that even when the idea of change occurred in the Ottoman Empire on music politics, Westernization tendency was significantly more visible than an alternative that includes the development of folk music performance and education at official level. With Canovan's (1981) lens above mentioned general situation functions as a ground for the 'populism of the intelligentsia' of the republican cadres.



Figure 5.1 : The Ottoman March composed for the sultanate by Giuseppe Donizetti.

(Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi 1336)

While Westernization at the elite level of the state keeps spreading, the ruling cadres kept their disinterest in universalizing music education in a conservatory until the second half of the second decade of the 20th century. The first higher education music school in Ottoman Empire *Darülelhan* was founded in 1916 with two gender based branches: men and women (Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi 1335; Özden 2018). It is considered as the first conservatory of the Ottoman Empire in modern senses and later the republic of Türkiye, with an initiative focus on Ottoman *maqam* music as curricula.

At this point it should also be noted that the ‘other’ against which this new national musical community was constructed was not really a single, monolithic Ottoman elite; it worked, rather, on at least two registers at the same time. On one register, it excluded the non-Muslim communities – Greek, Armenian, Jewish – whose musicians and idioms had for centuries been integral to Ottoman court and urban musical life, and

whose departure or marginalisation after 1923 is, for the most part, invisible in the folkloristic record examined in this thesis. On a second, more internal register, however, it also required flattening a linguistically and regionally diverse Muslim population – Kurdish, Laz, Circassian, Bosniak, and others – into a single, Turkish-speaking ‘Anatolian people.’ Saygun’s 1937 field expedition to the Rize-Artvin-Kars region is quite instructive on this point: his published account (Saygun 1937) does document the presence of Laz and Hemshin musical practices, including instruments such as the *kemençe* and *tulum*, yet these are recorded merely as regional curiosities within a Turkish folk corpus rather than as evidence of a genuinely distinct musical-linguistic community. The ‘authentic people’ constructed through the ASC compilations was, in this sense, already a selective and homogenising fiction with respect to the actual linguistic and religious diversity of Anatolia. This does not contradict the populist reading proposed here so much as complicate it: it suggests that the populist logic of the period was directed not only outward, against the Ottoman dynastic order, but also inward, against the empirical heterogeneity of the very ‘people’ it claimed to speak for.

5.2 Folk Music Compilations in the First Decade of the Republic

After the foundation of the Grand National Assembly in 1920, a functioning government was already in place in Türkiye, with its ministers (Aslan 2010; Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Cumhuriyet Arşivi 1920), constitution in 1921 (Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Cumhuriyet Arşivi 1921; Yamaç 2020), which was the first official document after the 1920 Populism Program to reflect political populism, its article stating that “Sovereignty belongs unconditionally to the nation. The system of government is based on the principle that the people directly and actively manage their own destiny (TBMM 1921 Article One)”. This type of populism can be read through Laclau’s logic of equivalence, in that the usage of two terms *nation* and *people* functionally synonymous in the same article points to a nationalist-populist ideology of the republican revolutionary cadres (p.10). Moreover, a latent antagonism can be extracted from this political mobilization, given that absolute sovereignty of the Sultan over state power had been the ruling model of the Ottoman Empire. The reflection of populism in music politics was not long in coming. After strengthening and institutionalising the new order with the proclamation of the republic (TBMM 1923),

among many other steps, folk music compilations were also undertaken by the central state authority. The survey forms prepared in 1923, sent to various parts of the country with the support of the Ministry of Education, can thus be considered the first instance of state-led compilation (or collection) efforts in Türkiye (Deniz 2019). The survey initiative, which constituted the first collection activity, consisted of a total of 14 questions and mainly included inquiries aimed at understanding the country's musical life from its outermost periphery (Süreyya 1922: 41-42). In a sense, while these survey efforts reveal how unaware the instructors of Darülelhan-arguably the most prestigious musical institution in the country-were of the musical life within the nation, they also point to an attempt to compensate for a sense of belatedness, echoing the *pathos of distance* in Canovan's(1981:92) phrase. This sense of belatedness can be read not merely through Canovan's pathos of distance but also through Laclau's (2005) notion of radical investment: the folk becomes the object of an affective cathexis precisely because it embodies a fullness – an imagined national wholeness – that the republican project experienced as absent (p.54).

It is noteworthy that although the survey method was critically approached (Demircioğlu 1969:12–13), it remains the first institutional attempt to collect folk music practices. In the light of Weber's (1948) sociology, it can be read as a sign of the bureaucratisation of music politics in the decades that followed. Two more years had to pass, however, before the first fieldwork research on folk music. In 1925, the Seyfettin and Sezai brothers, who were also lecturers at Darülelhan- were assigned by the Ministry of Education to conduct field research in Western Anatolia on a folk music collection mission (Kolukırık 2014:486; Kolukırık and Çelik 2012:790). The field research conducted by Seyfettin–Sezai brothers, covering Western Anatolia, therefore constitutes the first official folk music collection trip in the history of the Republic of Türkiye. Although the brothers were also in the relationship web of Darülelhan because of their employment status, the first institutional collection works were conducted under the name of a former Ottoman institute: Darülelhan. The institute's compilations were formed under four trips to different parts of Anatolia (see Figure 5.2 that illustrates the approximate locations of Darülelhan fieldworks published in Darülelhan fascicule – Seyfettin & Sezai brothers' works included). When the 78 transcriptions published by the Asaf brothers in Yurdumuzun Nağmeleri are added to the Darülelhan collection notebooks-which consist of a total of 279 works notated and

published based on surveys and field trips-we see that approximately 357 musical pieces were published in notation between 1923 (starting with the surveys) and 1929. In terms of geographical distribution, the Darülelhan collections present a fragmented picture, appearing to be organized as representative provinces from regions outside Western Anatolia.

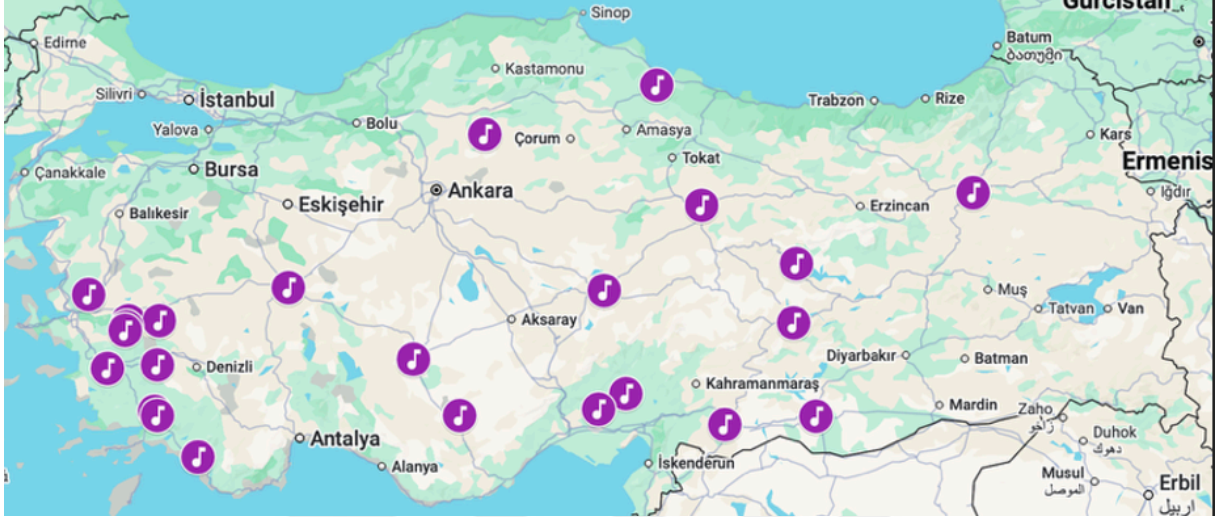


Figure 5.2 : The Approximate Locations of Published Darülelhan Compilations.

(Asaf and Asaf 1926; Darülelhan 1926-1928)

Selected pieces from the works collected during the first field expedition of the Darülelhan were published in the fifth and sixth notebooks (Deniz, 2019: 77). Expeditions were organized to provinces such as Adana, Konya, Urfa, and Antep, which had long been important cultural centers since the Ottoman period. A noteworthy detail from the first collection is Tanburi Dürrü Bey's reluctance within the team to fully trust the recording and transcription technique using the phonograph, instead resorting to the traditional oral *meşk* practice (Yenises 1926). This can be read as a final attempt by representatives of the old order to preserve their authority against the emerging technologies and techniques of the new era. However, Tanburi Dürrü Bey's insistence on the oral *meşk* practice over the phonograph can be read, in Weberian terms, as the resistance of personal authority - embodied, personal, and transmitted through direct apprenticeship - against the encroachment of legal-rational authority, in which musical knowledge becomes reproducible, impersonal, and institutionally stored.

Another striking note is Yusuf Ziya Demircioğlu's commentary published in *Cumhuriyet* (1926). He remarks that two of the pieces they admired from the Niğde region were so valuable that they could serve as librettos for opera (*Cumhuriyet* 1926). The fact that the director of an institution like Darüelhan-founded in the late Ottoman period and central to Turkish music circles-evaluates a folk song's worth through the lens of an opera libretto is significant. It reveals a discourse in which the value of folk music is measured against Western operatic standards. This, in turn, suggests that an understanding shaped by musical Westernization had been inherited by even the most elite circles of Ottoman musical life and carried into the Republican era. The second field expedition can be considered one of the most productive journeys, as it contributed to three of the total seven notebooks; the 3rd, 4th, and 7th notebooks consist of selected folk songs from this second collection trip (Deniz, 2019: 77). The collection work carried out in and around Konya, Karaman, Aydın, Manisa, and surrounding districts also reveals an interesting approach in the criticisms of Gazimihal regarding the musical life of Konya.

Gazimihal (1928), partly influenced by the secularization efforts of the period, criticizes the influence of the tekke tradition for pushing folk music into the background. At the same time, he expresses concern over the spread of Istanbul-originated "commercial music" (*piyasa müziği*), particularly among young folk musicians (Gazimihal 1928, cited in Deniz, 2019: 67). The opinions of Gazimihal, as a key figure of the musicology circles of the era, illustrate that although a transformation was projected by the intelligentsia, it should not have proceeded in *any* direction, but rather a selected and sophisticated one. Additionally, this point of view points to the populist tendency of the intelligentsia, evident in their idealisation of the common people alongside their deception when facing *the people* (Canovan 1981). Gazimihal's critique implicitly performs the exclusionary logic of antagonism that Laclau (2005) identifies as central to populist construction: the 'pure people' of folk music are defined not by what they produce but by what is disqualified - the tekke tradition, the Istanbul commercial repertoire, and the Westernized concert music each mark the boundaries of an authentic interior (p.47). In summary, according to their nationalist-populist ideology, or populism of the intelligentsia, *the music of the pure people* is defined not only by what it should be, but also by what *it should not be*.

Accompanied with probable deceptions from the second expedition, the third field expedition was organized in the Kastamonu and Çankırı regions, and it was noted with appreciation that the folk songs of these areas had been preserved without significant alteration. Another noteworthy aspect concerns the contacts established with the Folk Knowledge Association (Halk Bilgisi Derneği). Considering the issue of limited local familiarity within the Darülelhan collection efforts, these interactions with more systematically organized institutions that had stronger local engagement-such as the Folk Knowledge Association-stand out (Halk Bilgisi Mecmuası 1928). It is probable that the need to concentrate the cultural capital in the hands of the state mechanism while at the same time integrating the people into the new regime emerged in the cadres' minds under these circumstances. A similar institutional touch will be crucial to understand this need in the upcoming paragraphs.

The fourth field expedition was organized across the regions of Sinop, Zonguldak, Trabzon, Rize, and Erzurum, and in this trip, for the first time, it became possible to include video recordings of folk dances as part of the collection activities (Demircioğlu 1969:14). The folk songs collected during the third and fourth expeditions were not published under the title Darülelhan Derleme Defterleri. Instead, following the institution's transformation into the Istanbul Municipal Conservatory, these materials were published in Latin script under the name Istanbul Conservatory Publications (1929).

When the compilation notebooks are examined, it is observed that emphasis is generally placed on the title of the piece, its region, rhythmic structure (*usul*), and lyrics (Darülelhan 1926–1928). Since the folk song transcriptions in the first two notebooks consist of responses to the survey forms distributed from 1923 onwards, they provide more detailed insights into the field (Darülelhan 1926). In the preface to the first notebook, Yekta (1926a) after referring to the compilation efforts carried out by different nations in Western Europe, the Balkans, and the Caucasus, notes that subjecting the Anatolian geography to a similar process had been neglected (p. 5). The sense of filling a major gap-indeed, a certain embarrassment at having arrived late-is also evident in Yekta, reflecting an intellectual reflex that manifested itself across nearly all fields of the period, including literature, linguistics, and history. Interestingly, in one section of his preface, he observes that although the folk songs

that reached them may not occupy a particularly elevated artistic position, they nonetheless possess a natural beauty.

Considering Yekta's educational background and the tradition he followed (Taşdelen and Doğrusöz Dişiaçık 2021), another noteworthy point is that he evaluates folk songs not within their own systems of production and consumption, but rather according to the criteria of makam music-which encompasses a broader set of characteristics (such as makam and usul). While this approach can certainly be debated in light of Yekta's background and his artistic and scholarly positioning, it may also be seen as an early indication of the potential drawbacks of later attempts-extending even to the present day-to reconcile two distinct traditions, namely art music and folk music, within a single framework. Indeed, Yekta himself points out that some of the collected pieces cannot even be associated with any particular makam, thereby highlighting the structural differences between folk music and makam music.

Toward the end of his preface, Yekta (1926a) acknowledges that the notations obtained through the surveys are not entirely sufficient and calls for the support of the Türk Ocakları in this matter, thereby revealing one of the dominant motivations behind Darülelhan's compilation efforts at the time-namely, the pursuit of archiving. He declares that, through the survey responses to be sent from all across Anatolia, "a completely empty section of the national library will be filled" (p. 8).

The second notebook also opens with a preface by Rauf Yekta (1926b:3-8). After expressing his gratitude to the Türk Ocakları for sending the survey results, he makes special mention of a "cultivated and intelligent young man" named Amir Efendizade Sabri Bey from Muğla, praising him for providing not only folk songs but also information on their historical and social dimensions (p. 3). In this second preface, Yekta (1926b) once again adopts an approach that remains distant from evaluating folk music within its own tradition. Instead, he applies criteria drawn from makam music-such as "velveleli aksak," "hafif-i evvel," and the "Tahir makamı"-technical elements whose relevance to the production, circulation, and consumption of folk music is open to debate, and he notes what he considers to be certain shortcomings (p. 5).

As in the previous preface, after discussing folk music compilation efforts in other countries and critically referring-with examples-to the work of researchers such as Dom Parizo and Luschan, who also conducted studies in Anatolia, Yekta ultimately

decides to excuse “Westerners” on the grounds of their unfamiliarity with these melodies (p. 7). Admitting that, when they first began the compilation efforts, he had believed that collecting notations from across the country through surveys would be sufficient-and acknowledging that he had been mistaken-Yekta thus heralds the initiation of field trips. He concludes his preface once again with an emphasis on the importance of building a museum-archive (1926b: 8).

The preface to the third notebook was written by Cemal Reşit Rey, the piano and composition instructor at Darülelhan, which had by then been renamed the Istanbul Conservatory. Rey, much like many intellectuals of the period, begins by praising folk culture and folk music, offering an introduction that emphasizes how high art should draw upon these sources (Rey 1926). He then argues that, due to its distance from polyphony, folk music can at best serve as thematic material to be utilized in works of a higher artistic level (p. 6). Subsequently, he discusses the influence of geography on folk music, illustrating his points with examples from the Black Sea, Aegean, and Central Anatolian regions (p. 7). Although the preface to the fourth notebook was also written by Cemal Reşit Rey, it is predominantly characterized by technical analysis (1927). Rey (1927) subjects selected and noteworthy folk songs from the notebook to musical analysis, presenting an approach that appears aimed at informing the reader (pp. 3–6).

The preface to the fifth notebook was written by Ekrem Besim Bey (Taştan). Ekrem Besim Bey (1927) states that he finds the evaluations presented in the prefaces of the previous notebooks-regarding the background, aims, and functions of the compilation activities-sufficient, and therefore focuses instead on providing details about the field trip during which the folk songs in the fifth notebook were collected (pp. 3–4).

He reiterates the collaboration with the Türk Ocakları, previously mentioned by Rauf Yekta, noting that this connection facilitated the work in the field (p. 3). He then offers some observations on the musical life of the Urfa province, speaking of it with appreciation. While he similarly notes that those engaged in folk music lack knowledge of makam, unlike Rauf Yekta, he does not present this as a deficiency. On the contrary, he considers the fact that folk poets are not confined within rigid rules and structures to be a significant advantage, and explicitly emphasizes-within a populist perspective-that they are preferable in this regard (p. 4).

In the other fascicles of the Darülelhan Collection Notebooks, no preface is encountered (Darülelhan 1928a, 1928b). When the notebooks are examined in general, the notes concerning the context of the works, informants, performers, and collectors appear to be quite limited and far from systematic. Although not officially a Darülelhan collection, another work that we can consider within this category is the Asaf brothers' field expeditions dated 1925 and the book *Yurdumuzun Nağmeleri* (Asaf & Asaf, 1926), which was published as a product of these expeditions. In this book, the published musical notations are undoubtedly valuable; however, from a musicological perspective, another important point is the preface written by the period's Director of Culture (Hars Müdürü), Hamid Zübeyr. Hamid Zübeyr (1926) shares significant notes from his conversation with Béla Bartók regarding what needed to be done for the establishment and development of the field of music in Türkiye, and within the preface of the Asaf brothers' work he presents important views on the understanding, techniques, and personnel of field collection practices (p.1). It may therefore be argued that the intellectual background of Béla Bartók's visit to Türkiye in 1936 can be traced back, within the musicological sphere, as far as a decade earlier.

Seyfettin and Sezai Asaf (1926) provide detailed itineraries of their routes in the work containing their own travel notes, and the names of some of their informants are included in the report (p.1). Another striking point is their contacts with the Turkish Hearths (*Türk Ocakları*) in the regions of Tire, Aydın, Sultanhisar, Denizli, and Ayvalık; the Turkish Hearths were used both as a means of obtaining informants for field collection in the region and also functioned almost as a stage through which the local population was introduced to Western music (pp.2–3). The Asaf brothers (1926) adopt a highly critical stance toward the music of what they call the “Western Anatolian Villages” (*Garbi Anadolu Köyleri*), referring particularly to the areas around Ayvalık, Burhaniye, Bursa, and Karacabey (pp.1–2). After classifying the musical varieties and instruments used in Izmir and the Western Anatolian villages and conducting a basic technical analysis, they present proposals for the reform of national music (*milli musiki*), expressing particular concern about the disappearance of local musical traditions and lamenting that no such study had previously been conducted in the region (pp.3–4). The remainder of *Yurdumuzun Nağmeleri* consists of musical notations, lyrics, and in some cases metronome markings of the collected works (Asaf & Asaf, 1926)

5.3 Folk Music Compilations After 1930s

With the proclamation of the Republic, the Musiki Muallim Mektebi (MMM), established on November 1, 1924, assumed significant functions during the first decade of the new state. It can be seen as part of the young Republic's effort to relocate and institutionalize its scientific, cultural, and artistic presence in Ankara, replacing the Istanbul-centered institution of the Ottoman period, Darülelhan (Çini Şimşek 2018). The MMM continued its efforts toward modernization in music, aiming to train music teachers and musicians who would carry forward the Republic's musical reforms.

In the mid-1930s, in line with the reports of Paul Hindemith, who was invited to Türkiye to provide guidance on the establishment of a conservatory (Kahramankaptan & Yavuz 2013), the institution was transformed. The state conservatory to be established in Ankara would go on to have a lasting impact on higher music education in Türkiye-particularly in terms of academic staff and the continuity of knowledge production-effects that continue to the present day.

Interestingly, the ASC also began its activities with a survey study, much like Darülelhan. However, the primary aim of these surveys was not the compilation itself, but rather to serve as a preparatory stage for subsequent fieldwork (Kaya 2014:8). From 1937 onward, the compilation activities were carried out mainly under the responsibility of Muzafer Sarısözen, Halil Bedii Yönetken, and the technician Rıza Yetişen. Particularly in the early years, several prominent musical figures of the period also took part in these efforts, including Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal, Hasan Ferit Alnar, Halil Bedii Yönetken, Ulvi Cemal Erkin, Necil Kazım Akses, Cevat Memduh Altar, Tahsin Banguoğlu, Mithat Fenmen, and Ahmed Adnan Saygun (Kaya, 2014:11–19).

When examining the compilation activities of the ASC, the invitation of Béla Bartók to Türkiye stands out as a significant turning point, even though the fieldwork he conducted remained more limited than initially planned (Sarıkaya and Tunali, 2014:308). Unlike the compilation efforts of the 1920s, it is possible to argue that, with Bartók's contributions, from the second half of the 1930s onward these activities became more scientific, systematic, planned, and oriented toward a sense of wholeness.

In his posthumously published work *Turkish Folk Music from Asia Minor* (1976), Béla Bartók articulated several criticisms of the compilation practices in Türkiye during the 1920s. He offered insights on various issues such as on-the-spot (field-based) collection, the classification of melodies according to their rhythmic and melodic structures, the unity of text and melody, and the use of tools such as the phonograph and metronome.

Bartók's visit in 1936-although organized through an invitation by the PHs -had a profound impact on the ASC, influencing subsequent scientific musical studies in Türkiye in terms of personnel, technical approaches, and overall methodology (Deniz and Göktaş 2016:320; Karadağlı 2020). In his notes, Bartók (1976) also mentions that Ahmed Adnan Saygun, identified as a member of the Ankara People's House, as well as ASC observers Necil Kazım Akses and Ulvi Cemal Erkin, accompanied him during his work (p. 30). The collaboration between the PHs and the ASC thus emerges as a significant factor shaping compilation practices from the 1930s onward, drawing attention across multiple dimensions. The presence of musicians who assumed various roles-such as collectors, educators, and writers-simultaneously or across different periods within both the ASC and the PHs can be interpreted as an indicator of how these two institutions facilitated the field of compilation activities. Among these figures are Ahmed Adnan Saygun, who served as a music teacher at the Ankara People's House, took part in the foundation of the ASC, and later continued to work within the same institution (CHP Genel Sekreterliği 1936; Karadeniz 2024); Halil Bedii Yönetken, one of the researchers most actively involved in ASC compilation committees and also a contributor to publications of the PHs (Erol and Akgül 2019; Kurtçu 2022); as well as prominent names such as Mahmud Ragıp Gazimihal (Özsari 1999; Şenel 2023) and Muzaffer Sarısözen (Gedikli 2013; Ortakçı and Satır 2022).

Founded in 1932 with aims such as promoting populism, reformism, and nationalism, as well as fostering economic awareness, cultural and artistic development, and integrating the public into the new regime, the PHs emerged as institutions that were established across many parts of the country. They stand out as organizations that must be examined, discussed, and emphasized within the cultural and artistic history of Türkiye up until the 1950s (Arikan 1999; Durak 2014; Gençoğlu Onbaşı 2011; Özdemir and Aktaş 2011).

From the 1930s onward, when evaluated through the lens of Pierre Bourdieu's sociology, it can be argued that the state sought to position itself not only as a knowing authority but also as an accessible and tangible organism. In doing so, it aimed to increase its symbolic capital while simultaneously attempting to secure the consent of the public. Within this process, the PHs arguably became one of the most prominent institutions. Although systematic, comprehensive, and methodologically well-equipped compilation was not among their primary objectives, there is evidence that the PHs undertook certain local compilation initiatives (Doğan and İhan 2024; Ülker 2021).

When the compilation forms are examined (Hacettepe Üniversitesi n.d.; Kaya 2014), numerous references to the PHs can be observed regarding the source (see Figure 5.3). Beyond these, in cases such as the example of Kütahya, it can also be inferred that in compilations conducted following contact with the PHs in a given region, the source persons were likely directed or mediated by the local People's House (see Figure 5.4).

T. C.
KÜLTÜR BAKANLIĞI
Ankara Konservatuarı
Sayı: 7

6
Fotoğraf
yeri

DERLEME FİŞİ.

Söyleyenin adı ve yaşı: *Abdül Haragöllu oğlu 30*
Mesleği: *Halkovinda odacı*
Memleketi: vilâyeti *Kütahya* kazası *(Merkez)* köyü
Kimden, ne zaman, nerede öğrendiği:
Ç. Ş. İ. Mustafa Canselam

Çalanın adı ve yaşı: _____
Mesleği: _____
Memleketi: vilâyeti _____ kazası _____ köyü
Kimden, ne zaman, nerede öğrendiği: _____

Parçanın adı: *Tepe Döğmüştüme tıfık alması*
Alındığı yer ve tarih: *Kütahya (Merkez) 27.8.1930*
Plâk numarası: *A/137*
Plâkdaki yeri: *B 2* *K/182* *182*
h2 *h2*

Parçanın kimler tarafından alındığı:
*Altar, Almar, Yömekgen,
Barguoglu, Yedigün.*

Figure 5.3 : Folk Songs Collections with ASC and PHs Cooperation.

(Hacettepe Üniversitesi n.d.)

DERLEME FİŞİ	
Söyleyenin adı ve yaşı: _____	
Mesleği: _____	
Memleketi: vilâyeti _____	kazası _____ köyü _____
Kimden, ne zaman, nerede öğrendiği: _____	
Çalanın adı ve yaşı: <i>Mustafa Kurt 55</i>	
Mesleği: <i>Remçiler</i>	
Memleketi: vilâyeti <i>Kütahya</i>	kazası <i>(Merkez)</i> köyü <i>Gare ören (Gelenen)</i>
Kimden, ne zaman, nerede öğrendiği: <i>Köyünde Çoluculu kula öğrendim.</i>	
Parçanın adı: <i>Gelin aldim havası.</i>	
Alındığı yer ve tarih: <i>Kütahya (Merkez) 1. 7. 1938</i>	
Plâk numarası: <i>A/78142</i>	<i>K/124174</i>
Plâkdaki yeri: <i>B 2</i>	<i>21 a1</i>
Parçanın kimler tarafından alındığı: <i>Bağcıoğlu, Omer, Otar, Yönelgen, Yetişen.</i>	
PARÇANIN TEKSTİ	DÜŞÜNCELER
	<i>Gareml ne Lubna ile.</i>
	<i>Garemlen ben ku- namasam. Odalet Olmış Çaghaus Garemlen ne seferköt etti.</i>

Figure 5.4 : An indication of a joint performance involving the People's House source person referred to as "Odacı Ahmet" and another performer.

(Hacettepe Üniversitesi, n.d.)

Similarly, in the 1938 İzmir compilations, Hayri Altıok, who is noted as a Karagöz performer of the PHs (Kaya, 2014:425), and another source person named Ahmet Yardım were both recorded in the documentation-together with Altıok and also separately in the forms (p. 119). This clearly indicates that, even if the individual in question was not directly an official member of the PHs, he was nevertheless situated within its network of relations. In light of Pierre Bourdieu's sociology, which conceptualizes the state as a kind of central bank of symbolic capital (2014:122), it would be appropriate to argue that the PHs functioned almost like local branches of this "bank."

In the ASC compilations between 1937 and 1952, a standardized compilation form was consistently employed, regardless of how effectively it was used in practice. These forms, which documented the works recorded over a fifteen-year period, contain a wide range of information. Although not every entry includes all details, many records provide key data such as the title and lyrics of the piece, information about the source

person (including name, place of origin, year of birth, instruments played, and additional notes) as well as the location and date of recording and the names of the collectors. These elements indicate that the documentation was carried out within a certain systematic framework.

Another noteworthy point is that, within the scope of compilation trips, fieldwork was conducted across almost every region of the country (see Figure 5.5).

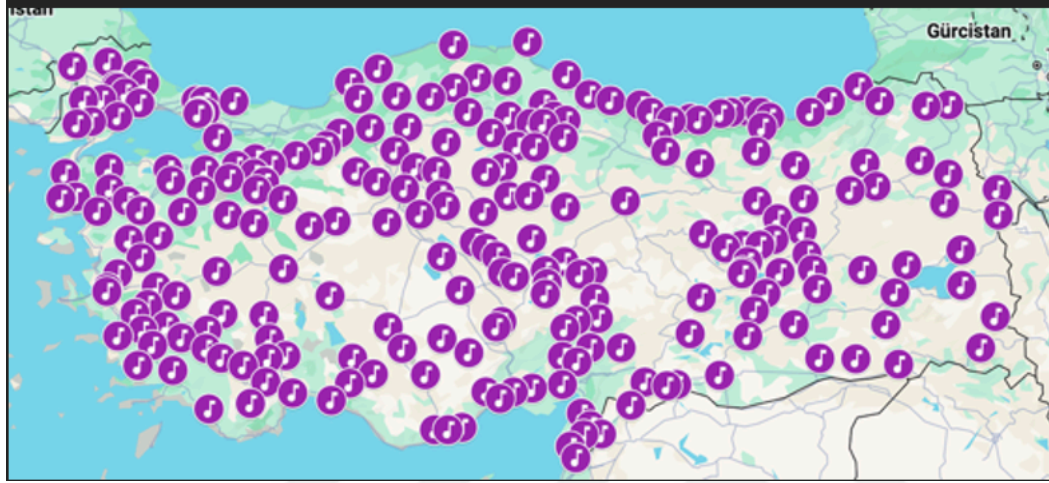


Figure 5.5 : Approximate Geographical Distribution of Ankara State Conservatory Compilation Forms (1937–1952).

(Hacettepe Üniversitesi n.d.; Kaya 2014)

When examined, these records-unlike the compilations of the 1920s-include a much broader range of information about source individuals. In some cases, even personal habits that might be considered undesirable were documented (see Figure 5.6). The presence of a small number of Armenian performers (see Figure 5.7), as well as Kurdish-language works whose existence and later fate have frequently been debated (see Figure 5.8), suggests that the ASC compilations point not only to a collection of musical materials but also to a historical effort that can be approached ethnographically through certain compilation forms.

1148	Kadir Eskişehir	55	Rençber	Malatya, Eskimalatya B.	Merkez,	-	Lakapları: Eskişehirli Kadir, Kadir Ağa. “Malatya’nın havalarını çok mükemmel” okur. “İçer ve neşesini daima muhafaza eder. Dışleri pek azalmıştır.”	1937, Malatya
------	-----------------	----	---------	----------------------------	---------	---	--	---------------

Figure 5.6 : An example from Malatya in which the source person’s alcohol consumption habit was recorded.

(Kaya 2014:443)

1856	Panos	55	Zurnacı	Hatay, Antakya, Süveydiye B.	Zurna	Lakabı: Zurnacı Panos. Ermeni'dir.	1946, Süveydiye
1857	Panos Çapar	65	Davulcu	Hatay, Antakya, Süveydiye B.	Davul	Ermeni'dir.	1946, Süveydiye

Figure 5.7 : Armenian Performers.

(Kaya 2014:480)

6324	1629/A-1	[Başkale]	11.07.1950	Babe Seyro: Delemin nebena hude garuyoin derhe vetan	Yakup Balıkcı
6325	1629/A-2	[Başkale]	11.07.1950	Lâvik: Hey la lavuko bıla eze gildaneke	Yakup Balıkcı
6326	1629/A-3	[Başkale]	11.07.1950	Arapşini: Gundeme gunde mürsle zeman	Yakup Balıkcı
6327	1629/A-4	[Başkale]	11.07.1950	Fatim (Ağır Güvenk): Haniyi kışe meyhane	Yakup Balıkcı
6328	1629/A-5	[Başkale]	11.07.1950	Hey Can Hey Can Hey Cane (Seri Güvenk): Rikamn midyade kaşe	Yakup Balıkcı

Figure 5.8 : Songs with Kurdish Names.

The folk music collection activities of the ASC, which took place between 1937 and 1952, are of great significance for the recording of thousands of folk songs (Şahin and Duman 2008). These efforts, during which thousands of works were transcribed and details regarding performers and pieces were documented over approximately 15 years, began to construct the foundation upon which the Turkish ethnomusicology academy traditionally rests, despite any shortcomings. Driven by factors such as the standardization of the 1930s, increased state efficiency, and the institutionalization of interdisciplinary practices, the ADK collections succeeded in presenting a profile distinct from the collecting efforts of the 1920s. Some indicators of this success include the systematic continuation of these collections for 15 years, the thousands of recorded works, the training of personnel-whose influence can still be traced today-and the fact that these efforts later served as a primary source for the formation of the TRT repertoire.

For a mindset that describes culture as a pillar so fundamental to the Republic of Türkiye, it was only natural to expect that music would be handled with immense seriousness. In this study, we examined how folk music-as a sub-category-was attributed meanings far beyond those typically assigned to such a heading. We sought to investigate the comprehensive transformation that folk music collection efforts, which began in the 1920s, underwent from the 1930s onwards regarding institutions, individuals, methods, perspective, and framework.

Based on the findings, we can state that the collaboration between the ASC and the PHs was one of the key factors creating the fundamental difference in the 1930s (see Appendix A & Appendix B). From a Weberian perspective, it can be argued that this situation stemmed from a "depersonalization" (above and beyond the personal relationships of the actors). While Weber's firsthand definitions and descriptions of the

state may appear to have more military and bureaucratic resonances, this study observed that concepts such as rationality, bureaucratisation, and standardisation also influenced cultural and artistic institutions. Consequently, within the scope of Weberian sociology, we can say that while institutionalization in the 1920s was in a proto-modern phase and collections were shaped accordingly, the increasing convergence of Türkiye with the phenomenon of the modern state in all fields from the 1930s onwards boosted the efficiency of these collection efforts.

Pierre Bourdieu (2014), who constructed his sociology through a post-structuralist approach with concepts like capital theories, field, and habitus, mentions that structures such as law, nation, and culture are shaped according to the needs of intellectuals and take on a semblance of "objectivity" (p. 342). The process through which folk music in Türkiye became institutionalized and its collections were subjected to a certain standardization can be subjected to a similar reading centered on the relationality between actors and the structure. One of the crucial concepts for Bourdieu is symbolic capital. Defining various types of capital, Bourdieu (2014) explains symbolic capital not as a separate type, but as an additional capital derived from the other forms of capital an individual or institution possesses, which only emerges through recognition by the masses (2014:192). Thus, while cultural value regarding folk music was being concentrated in the hands of the state at the highest possible volume and rate through these collections (2014:191-97), a balance of domination and integration was targeted through the PHs (pp. 220-228). In doing so, the young state aimed to consolidate its own existence as a legitimate structure by increasing its symbolic capital (p. 217). In this process of cultural reproduction on behalf of a modern state, when folk music is treated as material (one of the reasons why "state nobility" was attributed to folk music), the reflections of the principle of "universal educability" also become noteworthy (p. 226).

5.4 Music in People's Houses

To better understand the music politics of the early republic, we now turn our focus to PHs at a practical level. The music branch (*müzik kolu*) of the PHs constituted one of the most direct institutional mechanisms through which the early Republican state attempted to translate its populist musical ideology into practice at the local level. Established as one of the nine branches that structured the organisational framework

of the Houses, the music branch was tasked with a dual mandate that encapsulates the central tension of intelligentsia populism identified by Canovan (1981): on the one hand, to collect, preserve, and celebrate Anatolian folk music as the authentic expression of the people (Özdemir & Aktaş 2011). However, the presentation of Western music in PH's journals – such as *Ülkü* – did not sit well with elitism. On the contrary, the painter Ali Sami (Boyar) (1933) takes quite a negative approach toward the aristocrats, with the criticism of “snobness” (p.303).

The music activities of the PHs functioned around several interconnected domains. Concerts, choral performances, and music courses were the most visible face of the Houses' musical life (see Appendix A). These events were not merely cultural entertainment; they were carefully designed performances of the nationalist-populist project. Folk songs arranged for mixed choir and performed in purpose-built halls represented, in Laclau's (2005) terms, a concrete act of equivalential chain-building: the music of the Anatolian peasant - historically excluded from the order of Ottoman court culture - was now elevated, standardised, and presented as the shared sonic heritage of all citizens regardless of regional, ethnic, or class differences (pp. 77-78). Also, it is important to consider the musical elite of the republican era, such as the Turkish Five, were Western-style trained and the music policies of the young state were -in that sense- unsurprisingly aligned with their preferences, approaches and tendencies. Through the lens of Bourdieu, it is interesting yet definitive to isomorphically track the search for “interest in disinterestedness” from jurists' field (pp.342-345) to the music in early republican Türkiye.

The geographical reach of the PHs is equally significant from a theoretical perspective. By 1940, the Houses expanded to over 400 branches across the country, with music branches operating in provincial towns and district centres far from Ankara and Istanbul (Durak 2014). This territorial expansion points to Anderson's (2006) notion of the imagined community in its most concrete form: through similar performances of the same folk songs, arranged in the similar style, in hundreds of different locations, the Republican state was constructing a shared sonic experience of nationhood - what we might call, adapting Anderson's phrase, an acoustically imagined community (pp. 163-185).

5.5 Alaturka Music Ban on Radio

Before turning to the ban itself, it is worth bringing in a piece of evidence that, as far as this thesis is aware, has not previously been read in quite this way. On 1 November 1934, in his opening address to the fourth legislative year of the Fourth Term of the Grand National Assembly, Atatürk devoted a striking portion of his speech to music – and, more specifically, to what he considered its unacceptable present state (Atatürk 2024, 216). In translation, he put it more or less as follows: “Friends! I know how you wish the youth of the nation to be advanced in every one of the fine arts. This is being done. But of all of them, it is Turkish music that must be carried forward soonest, and in the lead. The measure of a nation's capacity for renewal is whether it can grasp and absorb change in its music. The music that is presently being attempted to be played to us today is far from being of a value that would bring us honour. We must recognise this plainly. It is necessary to collect the fine national sentiments and thoughts, the elevated expressions and modes of utterance, and to work them, without delay, according to the general final rules of music. Only at that level can Turkish national music rise and take its place in universal music. I wish that the Ministry of Culture will give this the attention it deserves, and that the public will assist it in this task.” What he calls, rather dismissively, ‘the music that is presently being attempted to be played to us’ is, in context, alaturka music; and what he is doing here, in Laclau’s terms, is drawing precisely the kind of antagonistic frontier this thesis has been arguing for. The passage is worth dwelling on for a moment because it does exactly what the theory predicts: it does not simply criticise a musical style on aesthetic grounds, it declares that style unworthy of representing the nation – ‘far from being of a value that would bring us honour’ – and in the same breath calls for the collection and reworking of ‘national’ melodies according to the rules of universal music so that Turkish national music can take its place among the musics of the world. That the alaturka music ban followed within the same month is, in that sense, not really a coincidence at all: the radio ban of November 1934 can be read as the direct institutional enactment of the antagonism Atatürk articulates here, only weeks earlier, at the very opening of the Assembly’s legislative year.

The alaturka music ban imposed on state radio in November 1934 - one of the most frequently cited episodes in the existing literature on early Republican music politics - is addressed here only briefly, as its detailed analysis falls beyond the primary scope

of this study. The ban, which prohibited the broadcast of alaturka music on state radio for a period of several months, has been extensively discussed by scholars including Ayas (2014) and Bayındır Uluskan (2022). For the purposes of this thesis, it suffices to note that the ban represents a paradigmatic act of symbolic violence in Bourdieu's (2014) sense: a unilateral imposition by the state of a legitimate/illegitimate distinction within the musical field, enacted through the institutional apparatus of state radio (p. 192). Its significance lies not in its duration - which was relatively short - but in what it reveals about the logic of early Republican music politics more broadly: that the construction of milli musiki as the national musical identity required not only the elevation of folk music synthesized with Western music but the active exclusion and delegitimization of its other (see Appendix C).

There is, in fact, a piece of archival evidence that makes this exclusionary logic considerably more precise than the secondary literature tends to suggest. The Akşam newspaper of 5 February 1936 – that is, roughly midway through the ban, and some months before its final lifting in September of that year – carried a short notice announcing that the tanburacı Osman Pehlivan would be permitted to resume playing and singing Turkish folk airs (halk havaları) on Istanbul Radio. The wording is worth quoting in full, because it draws the line this thesis has been arguing for with unusual clarity: the performer, the notice specifies, 'will offer examples of national music, singing folk airs with their national flavour; however, he will not touch upon fasıl and enderun music' (Akşam, 5 February 1936, p.1). In Laclau's terms, this is about as close as one could hope to get to seeing an antagonistic frontier drawn in real time, in an official document, rather than reconstructed after the fact. The distinction being made is not between music and silence, nor between Turkish music and Western music, but between two rival Ottoman/Turkish musical repertoires – folk airs on one side of the line, fasıl and enderun music on the other – with only the former permitted to re-enter the space of the national radio. That the notice troubles to specify the folk repertoire's 'national flavour' (millî çeşnisi) while explicitly reaffirming the continued exclusion of fasıl and enderun music suggests that by February 1936 the boundary of milli musiki had, at the level of state broadcasting policy, become an administratively enforced one: certain Ottoman/Turkish musical idioms could stand for the nation, and certain others, marked as belonging to the cosmopolitan court tradition discussed above, could not.

It is also worth pausing on how the ban actually travelled from Atatürk's speech to the radio studios, because the sequence is, in its own way, a rather tidy illustration of Weber's (1948) account of the routinisation of charisma. The chain runs, as far as the sources allow it to be reconstructed, from a charismatic utterance – an unscripted, non-binding remark in an opening address – through Vedat Nedim Tör, the Director General of Press Affairs, who took it upon himself to read the speech as an instruction and carried it to the Minister of the Interior, Şükrü Kaya, who then issued the administrative circular that Istanbul and Ankara Radios were obliged to implement. None of this passed through anything resembling a law or a cabinet decree; it was, from beginning to end, a chain of bureaucratic interpretation converting a charismatic pronouncement into a routine administrative act. What makes this worth noting here is that the same bureaucratic apparatus that enacted the ban is also the one that, some fifteen months later, quietly narrowed it again through the 5 February 1936 notice discussed above – which suggests that by the mid-1930s the state's musical authority had already passed out of the charismatic register altogether and settled into precisely the kind of rationalised, rule-bound administration that, on Weber's account, tends to succeed it. Bourdieu's (2014) notion of the state as the holder of a monopoly over legitimate symbolic violence captures this well: it is not merely that alaturka music was banned, but that the state apparatus arrogated to itself, and then went on quietly exercising, the authority to decide – twice, in two directions – which portions of the Ottoman/Turkish musical inheritance counted as national capital and which did not.

The three practices examined in this chapter - the folk music compilation fieldworks, the musical activities of the PHs, and the alaturka music ban of 1934 - together constitute what this thesis has called the nationalist-populist configuration of early Republican music politics. Viewed in isolation, each of these practices might be read as a straightforward expression of cultural modernisation: the state collecting, standardising, and disseminating a national musical heritage. But viewed through the dual theoretical framework developed in Chapters Two and Three, a more complex picture emerges.

From Laclau's (2005) perspective, all three practices participated in the construction and maintenance of *milli musiki* as an empty signifier - a term that mobilized diverse and conflicting musical positions under a single nationalist-populist banner, at a moment when the intelligentsia could no longer plausibly present itself as heir to the

imperial musical tradition. The compilation expeditions gave the empty signifier a provisional content by excavating Anatolian folk melodies; the PHs disseminated that content across the national territory through performance, education, and choral arrangement; and the radio ban drew the antagonistic frontier that defined *milli musiki* by exclusion - a frontier that, as argued above, was directed in the first place against the cosmopolitan, multi-confessional character of the late Ottoman dynastic order - with Ottoman *maqam* music marking its most visible musical 'other' (pp. 77-78, 96) - and only secondarily, as this chapter has also tried to show, against the linguistic and regional diversity that persisted within the newly imagined Anatolian 'people' itself.

From Bourdieu's (2014) perspective, these three practices reveal the early Republican state operating systematically as the central bank of symbolic capital in the musical field: determining which sounds counted as authentically Turkish, which musical forms deserved institutional support and public dissemination, and which practitioners were legitimate custodians of the national musical heritage, and were accordingly conferred with state nobility (p. 217). The Weber-Anderson dimension adds a further layer: the rationalisation and bureaucratisation of folk music through notation, archiving, and institutional classification (Weber 1948), and its transformation into the sonic medium of an acoustically imagined community that stretched from Trabzon to Izmir, from Ankara to Diyarbakır to various Anatolian districts (Anderson 2006).

Yet perhaps the most critical insight to emerge from this analysis is the one provided by Canovan (1981; 1999): that the early Republican music project was fundamentally marked by the tension between its redemptive promises and its pragmatic realities. The redemptive face promised a return to the authentic voice of the Anatolian people - a musical homecoming after centuries of Ottoman elitism and neglect. The pragmatic face, however, revealed a top-down cultural operation conducted by a Western-trained intelligentsia whose relationship to the Anatolian peasant carried the pathos of distance: idealization, romanticisation, and ultimately, appropriation. The people whose music was compiled, arranged, and performed in the PHs, for example, were rarely the agents of this process - they were its objects. And it is in this gap between redemptive promise and pragmatic reality, between the people as sovereign subject and the people as raw material of state-building, that the populist character of early Republican music politics is most clearly revealed.



6. CODA

This thesis set out to examine the music politics of early Republican Türkiye through the dual theoretical lens of populism and state modernisation, arguing that the conventional nationalist-modernist binary that has dominated the existing literature is insufficient to account for the full complexity of the period's cultural politics. By applying the frameworks of Laclau (2005), Canovan (1981; 1999) alongside those of Weber (1948), Bourdieu (2014), and Anderson (2006), the study has proposed a reading of early Republican music politics as a nationalist-populist configuration - one in which populism functioned not as a pathological deviation from democratic norms, but as the foundational political logic through which the new state sought to construct, legitimate, and disseminate a national musical identity.

The findings of this thesis can be summarised along three axes. First, the concept of *milli musiki* (national music) functioned as a determining empty signifier in Laclau's sense: its very indeterminacy - the impossibility of fixing its meaning between the competing claims of Gökalp, Arel, Yekta, Gazimihal, and Saygun - was the condition of its hegemonic force over the Ottoman music tradition. Put more simply, even those who remained closer to the old regime's musical universe had to frame their positions under the *milli musiki* label rather than an explicitly imperial or Ottoman one, acknowledging the long-neglected folk music as an important component of their musical understanding in order to legitimise their own positions. In that sense rather than representing a failure of cultural policy, the semantic openness of *milli musiki* enabled the state to mobilise diverse and conflicting musical constituencies under a single nationalist-populist banner, constructing an equivalential chain that ran from Anatolian folk musicians to Western-trained composers, from provincial PHs to the ASC. Second, the early Republican state operated systematically as what Bourdieu (2014) calls the central bank of symbolic capital in the musical field, most clearly visible in determining which sound set is considered Turkish, which musical forms deserved institutional promotion, and which practitioners were recognised as custodians of the national heritage. This operation was carried out through three principal institutional mechanisms - the folk music compilation fieldworks by higher

education institutions (Darülelhan and ASC), the musical activities of the PHs, and the alaturka music ban by national radio in 1934 - each of which contributed to the concentration and standardisation of musical symbolic capital under state authority. Third, the early Republican music project was fundamentally marked by the tension that Canovan (1981; 1999) identifies at the heart of all intelligentsia populism: the gap between the redemptive promise of returning music to the people and the pragmatic reality of a top-down cultural operation conducted by a Western-trained elite. The Anatolian peasant's music was, while being celebrated, compiled, and performed in the People's Houses, only rarely shaped by the peasant, the very holder of the material, who was rarely the active agent of this processes.

This thesis also contributes to the existing literature in three specific ways. First, it offers a systematic application of Laclau's theory of populist reason to early Republican music politics, demonstrating that the concepts of empty signifier, equivalential chain, and antagonistic frontier provide a more analytically precise framework for understanding the period than the conventional categories of Westernism or nationalism. Second, it draws critical attention to the conceptual gap between *halkçılık* and its Western counterpart populism, arguing that this distinction carries significant theoretical consequences - and that Canovan's notion of the populism of the intelligentsia provides a particularly productive bridge between the two. Third, by extending Anderson's framework from the visual and textual to the sonic domain, the thesis proposes the concept of an acoustically imagined community as a contribution to the broader field of sound studies and nationalism theory: the folk music archive, the conservatory, and the state radio broadcast - which, in the coming decades, would become the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) and its common national repertoire - functioned as the acoustic equivalents of Anderson's museum, map, and census - institutions through which a unified national sonic identity was imagined, standardised, and disseminated.

Several limitations of this study must be acknowledged. The analysis has focused primarily on official state discourse and the writings of state-aligned intellectuals and musicians, leaving the responses, resistances, and alternative musical practices of communities outside the official sphere - including non-Muslim minorities, non-Turkish speaking populations such as Kurds, Lazes and others, and less integrated rural Anatolian communities - largely beyond its scope. The primary sources consulted are

exclusively in Turkish, which inevitably shapes the perspective of the analysis. And the populism theories applied here were developed primarily in Western European and Latin American contexts; their application to the early Republican Turkish case requires careful conceptual translation, and the thesis has endeavoured throughout to acknowledge the moments at which the frameworks are stretched or complicated rather than simply confirmed.

These limitations point toward productive avenues for future research. A reception history of early Republican music politics - examining how ordinary people actually experienced, resisted, or embraced the musical reforms imposed from above - would require a different methodological approach, likely involving oral history and ethnographic methods, but would substantially enrich the picture this thesis has drawn. Comparative studies situating the early Republican Turkish case within the broader global history of nationalist music politics - alongside Hungarian, Bulgarian, or Greek cases - would also be valuable, potentially revealing whether the nationalist-populist configuration identified here constitutes a specifically Turkish phenomenon or a more general feature of modernizing states in the interwar period. Finally, a more systematic engagement with the archival holdings of the Presidential State Archives of the Republic of Türkiye, Cumhuriyet Archive, or the journals and newspapers of the era would allow for a more granular account of the institutional decision-making processes through which the music politics of the period were formulated and implemented.

Early Republican Türkiye produced one of the most ambitious and consequential experiments in state-directed musical nation-building of the twentieth century. Its legacy - in the concert halls, conservatories, and folk music archives of contemporary Türkiye - remains audible today. This thesis has argued that to understand that legacy fully, we must hear it not only as a story of modernization or nationalism, but as a story of populist reason: a state that sought to speak in the name of the people, through the music of the people, while simultaneously determining - with all the authority of the central bank of symbolic capital - exactly what that music was, and what it was not.



REFERENCES

- Ahmad, Feroz.** [1993] 1995. *Modern Türkiye'nin Oluşumu*. İstanbul: Sarmal Yayınevi.
- Anadolu Agency.** n.d. 'Muzaffer Sarısözen in Folk Music Compilation Expeditions [Photograph]'. Accessed 13 May 2026.
- Aksoy, Bülent.** 1985. 'Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Musiki ve Batılılaşma'. *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* 5:1212–36.
- Altın, Hamza.** 2010. 'Ziya Gökalp'in Eğitim Tarihimiz Açısından Önemi'. *International Journal of History, History Studies* 2(2):493–509.
- Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal.** 2024. *Söylev ve Demeçleri*, Cilt 3. Edited by Yüksel Özgen. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü.
- Anderson, Benedict.** 2006. *Imagined Communities Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London, New York: Verso.
- Arel.** 1990. *Türk Musikisi Kimindir*. Vol. İkinci Baskı. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Arikan, Zeki.** 1999. 'Halkevleri'nin Kuruluşu ve Tarihsel İşlevi'. *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi* 261–81. doi:10.1501/Tite_0000000129.
- Asaf, Seyfettin, and Sezai Asaf.** 1926. *Yurdumuzun Nağmeleri*. İstanbul: Milli Matbaa.
- Aslan, Yavuz.** 2010. 'I. Dönem TBMM'de "İcra Vekilleri Heyeti Riyaseti (Hükümet Başkanlığı)"Nın Statüsü ve "TBMM Reisi"Nin İcra İle İlgili Yetki ve Sorumluluğu'. *Atatürk Dergisi* 3(1):61–66.
- Avcıoğlu, Doğan.** [1968] 2015. *Türkiye'nin Düzeni*. İnceleme. İstanbul: Kırmızı Kedi.
- Ayangil, Ruhi.** 2008. 'Western Notation in Turkish Music'. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 18(4):401–47. doi:10.1017/S1356186308008651.
- Ayas, Onur Güneş.** 2014. 'Kemalist Oryantalizm ve Osmanlı-Türk Müziği'. *Muhafazakar Düşünce* 10(40):189–211.
- Ayas, Onur Güneş.** 2015. 'Bektaşî Nefesleri Özelinde Gökalpçi Hars-Medeniyet İkiliğine Eleştirel Bir Bakış'. *Türk kültürü ve Hacı Bektaşî Veli Araştırma Dergisi* 73:153–72.

- Aydingün, Ayşegül, and İsmail Aydingün.** 2004. 'The Role of Language in the Formation of Turkish National Identity and Turkishness'. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 10(3):415–32. doi:10.1080/13537110490518264.
- Bartok Archive.** n.d. 'Béla Bartók in Anatolia for Folk Music Compilation Expeditions [Photograph]'. Accessed 13 May 2026.
- Bartok, Bela.** 1931. *Hungarian Folk Music*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Bartok, Bela.** 1976. *Turkish Folk Music From Asia Minor*. edited by B. Suchoff. Vermont: Princeton University Press.
- Bayar, Yeşim.** 2011. 'The Trajectory of Nation-Building through Language Policies: The Case of Turkey during the Early Republic (1920-38): The Trajectory of Nation-Building through Language Policies'. *Nations and Nationalism* 17(1):108–28. doi:10.1111/j.1469-8129.2010.00484.x.
- Bayindir Uluskan, Seda.** 2022. 'Alaturka Musikiye Getirilen Yasağın Akabinde Düzenlenen İlk Ulusal Müzik Yarışması (1 Ocak-15 Mayıs 1935)'. *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*. doi:10.46955/ankuayd.1151517.
- Behar, Cem.** 2015. *Osmanlı Türk musikisinin kısa tarihi*. 1. baskı. Yapı Kredi Yayınları Sanat. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Berkes, Niyazi.** 2003. *Türkiye'de çağdaşlaşma*. 4. baskı. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Beşikçi, Mehmet.** 2015. *Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Osmanlı Seferberliği*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.
- Beşiroğlu, Şefika Şehvar, and Gonca Girgin.** 2018. 'Entertainment Spaces, Genres, and Repertoires in Ottoman Musical Life'. Pp. 35–52 in *Made in Türkiye: studies in popular music*, edited by A. C. Gedik. London, New York: Routledge.
- Boratav, Korkut.** 2018. *Türkiye iktisat tarihi: 1908-2015*. 23. baskı. İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi.
- Bourdieu, Pierre.** 2010. *Distinction : A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Wiltshire: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, Pierre.** 2014. *On the State: Lectures at The Collège de France, 1989 - 1992*. edited by P. Champagne, R. Lenoir, F. Poupeau, and M.-C. Rivière. Cambridge ,Malden (USA): Polity.
- Boyar, Ali Sami.** 1933. 'Türk İnkılabının Beklediği Sanat'. *Ülkü - Halkevleri Mecmuası* 2(10):302–7.
- Brendemoen, Bernt.** 2021. 'The Turkish Language Reform'. Pp. 231–35 in *Turkic Languages*. Routledge.

- Çağlak, Erkut, and Sevil Filiz.** 2018. 'Türk Devlet Geleneğinde Askeri Müzik ve Askeri Müzik Eğitimi'. *Sahne ve Müzik Eğitim-Araştırma e-Dergisi* 7:29–56.
- Canovan, Margaret.** 1981. *Populism*. 1st edn. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Canovan, Margaret.** 1999. 'Trust the People! Populism and the Two Faces of Democracy'. *Political Studies* 47(1):2–16. doi:10.1111/1467-9248.00184.
- Çelik, Halil İbrahim.** 2025. 'Türkiye'de Üniversite Reformları ve Günümüze Yansımaları'. *Eğitim ve İnsani Bilimler Dergisi* 16:141–64.
- Cevher, M. Hakan.** 1995. 'Ali Ufki Bey ve Mecmua-ı Saz ü söz'. PhD, Ege Üniversitesi, İzmir.
- Çevik, A. Emsal, and M. Yaşar Kaltakçı.** 2011. 'Türk Musiki Geleneğinde Kadın ve Kadın Bestekârlar'. *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 29:609–39.
- CHP.** 2025. 'Güçlü Yurttaş Güvenli Gelecek Kazanan Türkiye: CHP Programı'.
- CHP Genel Sekreterliği.** 1936. 'Ankara Halkevi müzik öğretmeni Ahmet Adnan'ın Moskova'daki festivale çağrılması.'
- Çini Şimşek, Derya.** 2018. 'Müzik İnkılabında Bir Uygulama; Musiki Muallim Mektebi'nden, Ankara Devlet Konservatuvarı'na'. *Akademik Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 6(82):241–51.
- Çolak, Yılmaz.** 2004. 'Language Policy and Official Ideology in Early Republican Türkiye'. *Middle Eastern Studies* 40(6):67–91. doi:10.1080/0026320042000282883.
- Cumhuriyet.** 1926. 'Konservatuar Seyahatinin Avdeti'. *Cumhuriyet*, September 22, 4.
- Darülelhan.** 1926. *Anadolu Halk Şarkıları Fasikül 1*. İstanbul: Evkaf-ı İslamiyye Matbaası.
- Davison, Andrew.** 1995. 'Secularization and Modernization in Turkey: The Ideas of Ziya Gökalp'. *Economy and Society* 24(2):189–224.
- Demircioğlu, Yusuf Ziya.** 1969. 'Memleketimizde Musiki Folklor Hareketleri'. *Musiki Mecmuası*, 12–13.
- Deniz, Ünsal.** 2018. 'Rauf Yekta Bey'in Türk Halk Müziği Hakkındaki Görüşleri'. *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies* 7(Number: 71):249–76. doi:10.9761/JASSS7761.
- Deniz, Ünsal.** 2019. *Darü'l-Elhan Türk Halk Müziği Derleme Faaliyetleri ve Derleme Defterleri*. Ankara: Akademisyen Kitabevi.
- Deniz, Ünsal, and Uğur Göktaş.** 2016. 'Türk Beşlerinin Türk Halk Müziği Derleme Çalışmalarına Katkıları'. Pp. 320–29 in *II. Uluslararası Müzik ve Dans Kongresi*. Muğla: Müzik Eğitimi Yayınları.

- T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı, Cumhuriyet Arşivi.** 1920. 'Hariciye Vekili Bekir Sami ve İktisat Vekili Yusuf Kemal Beylerin Ankara Dışında Olmaları Sebebiyle Yerlerine Vekalet Edecek İki Kişinin Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'ne Teklifi.'
- T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı, Cumhuriyet Arşivi.** 1921. 'Teşkilat-ı Esasiye Kanunu'nun Bazı Maddelerinin Tatbik Edilmediğine Dair Canik Milletvekili Nafiz'in Önergesi.'
- Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi.** 1335. 'Musikî Encümeni Darulelhan Talimatnamesi İle Darulelhan Programı'nın Mevki-i Tatbika Konulması. (Maarif; İD / 90).'
- Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi.** 1336. 'Dönizatti'nin Asar-ı Meşhuresinden Olan Marşın Notaları İle Osmanlı Marşı Olarak Kabulü Hakkındaki Kararın Gerekli Yerlere Duyurulması.'
- Dilber, Murat Can, and Cemal Karabaşoğlu.** 2023. 'Mehterhane-i Humayun'dan Muzika-yi Humayun'a Osmanlı Müzik Kurumlarında Batılılaşma Temayülü'. *Sinop Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 7(1):461–78. doi:10.30561/sinopusd.1282026.
- Doğan, Orhan, and Serap Yağmur İhan.** 2024. 'Tarihi Dokümanlar Işığında Maraş Halkevleri Bünyesindeki Müzik Faaliyetleri'. *Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 21(1):145–57.
- Doğançay Aktuna, Seran.** 1995. 'An Evaluation of the Turkish Language Reform After 60 Years'. *Language Problems and Language Planning* 19(3):221–49. doi:10.1075/lplp.19.3.01dog.
- Durak, Gökhan.** 2014. 'Atatürk'ün Halkçılık Anlayışı ve Halkevleri'. *the Journal of Academic Social Sciences* 8(8):420–420. doi:10.16992/ASOS.448.
- Durkheim, Emile.** [1893] 1964. *The Division of Labor in Society*. New York: The Free Press.
- Erol, Türker, and Semih Akgül.** 2019. 'Ülkü Mecmuası (1933-1950) Müzik Yazıları Bibliyografisi'. *İnönü Üniversitesi Kültür ve Sanat Dergisi* 5(2):1–18. doi:10.22252/ijca.631593.
- Ersoy, İlhan.** 2011. 'Nida Tüfekçi İle Söyleşi'. *Eü Devlet Türk Musikisi Konservatuari Dergisi* 1:61–75.
- Ertürk, Nergis.** 2011. *Grammatology and Literary Modernity in Turkey*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Feldman, Walter.** 2019. 'The Emergence of Ottoman Music and Local Modernity'. *YILLIK: Annual of Istanbul Studies* 1:173–79.
- Feldman, Walter.** 2024. *Music of the Ottoman Court: Makam, Composition and the Early Ottoman Instrumental Repertoire*. Vol. 177. BRILL.

- Feyzi, Ahmet, and Hasan Tahsin Sümbüllü.** 2019. 'Patronaj ve müzik ilişkisi açısından Osmanlı arşiv belgeleri üzerine bir durum değerlendirmesi'. *Journal of Human Sciences* 16(4):1038–50. doi:10.14687/jhs.v16i4.5882.
- Filiztekin, Alpay.** 2025. 'Unification of Education, Ethnic Diversity, and Literacy in the Early Turkish Republic'. *Economic History of Developing Regions* 40(1):80–97. doi:10.1080/20780389.2025.2450331.
- Fortna, Benjamin.** 2002. *Imperial Classroom: Islam, The State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*. 1st edn. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Frigyesi, Judit.** 1998. 'Béla Bartok and Turn-of-the-Century Budapest'. *Univ.*
- Gazimihal, Mahmud Ragıp.** 1928. *Anadolu Türküleri ve Musiki İstikbalimiz*. İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası.
- Gedikli, Necati.** 2013. 'Akdeniz Bölgesi Halk Musikisi Çalışmalarına Toplu Bir Bakış'. *Eü Devlet Türk Musikisi Konservatuvarı Dergisi* 3:11–22.
- Gellner, Ernest.** 1983. *Nations And Nationalism*. edited by R. I. Moore. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Gençoğlu Onbaşı, Funda.** 2011. 'Halkevleri ve Ülkü Dergisi: Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Köycülük Tartışmaları'. *Çağdaş Yerel Yönetimler* 20(3):69–88.
- Gökalp, Ziya.** 1913. 'Halk Medeniyeti'. *Halka Doğru* 14:107.
- Gökalp, Ziya.** [1923] 1976. *Türkçülüğün Esasları*. Birinci Basılış. edited by M. Kaplan. Ziya Gökalp Yayınları. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi.
- Grigoriadis, Ioannis N., and Arzu Opçin-Kıdal.** 2020. 'Imagining Turan: Homeland and Its Political Implications in the Literary Work of Hüseyinzade Ali [Turan] and Mehmet Ziya [Gökalp]'. *Middle Eastern Studies* 56(3):482–495.
- Güdek, Bahar.** 2014. 'Cumhuriyet Dönemi Müzik Alanında Yabancı Uzman Raporları'. *Journal Of History School* 7(XVII):629–659. doi:10.14225/Joh392.
- Güvener, Duygu, and Cenk Güray.** 2020. 'Gomidas: Hayatına, Derlemelerine ve Derlemelerindeki Dans Ezgilerine Bir Bakış'. *Eurasian Journal of Music and Dance* 16:231–52. doi:10.31722/ejmd.758935.
- Hacettepe Üniversitesi.** n.d. 'Ankara Devlet Konservatuvarı Derleme Fişleri Arşivi'.
- Halk Bilgisi Mecmuası.** 1928. 'Halk Bilgisi Mecmuası'. *Türk Halk Bilgisi Derneği Umumi Merkezi* 1(1):178.
- Herder, Johann Gottfried von.** 2017. *Song Loves the Masses: Herder on Music and Nationalism*. edited by P. V. Bohlman. Oakland, California: University of California press.
- İstanbul Konservatuvarı Neşriyatı.** 1929. *Halk Türküleri*. İstanbul: Evkaf Matbaası.

- Jäger, Ralf Martin.** 2023. ‘Western Staff Notation in the Context of Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Music’. *MSGSÜ Sosyal Bilimler* (27):49–60. doi:10.56074/msgsusbd.1306796.
- Johnson, Aaron.** 2004. ‘The Road to Turkish Language Reform and the Rise of Turkish Nationalism’. Master’s, McGill University, Montreal.
- Kahramankaptan, Şefik, ed. Yavuz, Elif Damla, trans.** 2013. *Hindemith Raporları*. Ankara: SCA Müzik Vakfı Yayınları.
- Kandegir, Barış.** 2025. ‘Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kurucu Bir Güç Olarak Halkçılık’. *Erciyes Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi* (71):121–30. doi:10.18070/erciyesiibd.1674340.
- Kaptan, Volkan, and Merve Nur Kaptan.** 2019. ‘Cumhuriyet dönemi ve öncesi batılılaşma hareketlerinin Türk Müziğine etkileri’. *Idil Journal of Art and Language* 8(58):809–23. doi:10.7816/idil-08-58-12.
- Karadağlı, Özgecan.** 2020. ‘Bartok’s Influence On Saygun: Collaboration and Transmutations’. *Etnomüzikoloji Dergisi* 3(1):56–76.
- Karadeniz, İsmet.** 2024. “‘Türk Müziğinin Büyük, Yaşlı Adamı’ Ahmed Adnan Saygun”. *The Journal of Social Sciences* 73(73):77–99. doi:10.29228/SOBIDER.78992.
- Karaosmanoğlu, Yakup Kadri.** [1932] 2026. *Yaban*. 108th edn. İstanbul: İletişim.
- Kaya, Celal Volkan.** 2014. ‘Ankara Devlet Konservatuvarı’nın Halk Müziği Alan Araştırmaları Kataloğu’. Master’s, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, İstanbul.
- Kemal, Nusret.** 1933. ‘Halkçılık’. *Ülkü - Halkevleri Mecmuası* 1(3):185–90.
- Keskin, Candaş.** 2014. ‘Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Resminde Toplumsallıktan Bireyselliğe Geçiş Süreci’. *Türkiye Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 181(181):87–101.
- Keyder, Çağlar.** 2014. *Türkiye’de Devlet ve Sınıflar*. 19th edn. Araştırma-İnceleme Dizisi. İletişim Yayınları.
- Koç, Ferdi.** 2011. ‘Sultan III. Selim Han’ın Terkib Ettiği Türk Musikisi Makamlarının İncelenmesi’. *Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 2(2):003–035. doi:10.1501/sbder_0000000002.
- Kolukırık, Kubilay.** 2014. ‘Osmanlı Devleti’nde İlk Resmî Konservatuvar Olan Dârülelhandâ Derleme ve Yayın Faaliyetleri’. *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1(17843):479–798. doi:10.21563/sutad.187106.
- Kolukırık, Kubilay, and Anıl Çelik.** 2012. ‘Batı Anadolu’da 1925 Yılında Derlenmiş Zeybekleri İçeren “Yurdumuzun Nağmeleri” Adlı Kitap Üzerine Bir İnceleme’. *C. Ü. İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* XVI(1):787–803.

- Küçük, Yalçın.** 2006. *Türkiye Üzerine Tezler*. edited by G. Ayas. Istanbul: Salyangoz Yayınları.
- Kurtçu, Erdal.** 2022. ‘Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Modernleşme Politikaları İçerisinde “Milli Müzik” Olgusu ve Halil Bedi Yönetken’. *İdil* 98:635–52.
- Kuruç, Bilsay, ed.** 1988. ‘Belgelerle Türkiye iktisat politikası. Bölüm (1929-1939); 1. cilt (1929-1932)’. *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi yayınları*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi.
- Kutlay Baydar, Evren.** 2010. ‘Osmanlıda Görevli İki İtalyan Müzisyen: Giuseppe Donizetti ve Callisto Guatelli’. *Zeitschrift für die Welt der Türken* 2(1):283–93.
- Laclau, Ernesto.** 2005. *On Populist Reason*. 1st edn. London: Verso.
- Laclau, Ernesto.** 2015. *Post-Marxism, Populism, and Critique*. Routledge Innovators in Political Theory. Abingdon, Oxon New York, N.Y: Routledge.
- Laclau, Ernesto, and Chantal Mouffe.** [1985] 1992. *Hegemony & Socialist Strategy*. London, New York: Verso.
- Lewis, Bernard.** 1968. *The Emergence Of Modern Turkey*. Second Edition. London, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lewis, Geoffrey.** 1999. *The Turkish Language Reform*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Maksudyan, Nazan.** 2024. ““Sound-Writing” Technologies and Early Field Recordings in the Ottoman Empire’. *Social Review of Technology and Change* 2(1):1–21.
- Mango, Andrew.** [1999] 2004. *Atatürk: Modern Türkiye’nin Kurucusu*. 19th edn. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi.
- Maraş Newspaper.** 1937. *Maraş Newspaper*, June 3, p.5.
- Marchart, Oliver.** 2012. ‘Elements Of Protest: Politics and Culture in Laclau’s Theory of Populist Reason’. *Cultural Studies* 26(2–3):223–41. doi:10.1080/09502386.2011.636194.
- Mardin, Şerif.** 1973. ‘Center-Periphery Relations: A Key to Turkish Politics?’ *Daedalus* 102(1):169–90.
- Marx, Karl.** 1991. *Capital A Critique of Political Economy*. Vol. 3. London: Penguin Books.
- Namal, Yucel, and Tunay Karakok.** 2011. ‘Atatürk ve Üniversite Reformu(1933)’. *Yükseköğretim ve Bilim Dergisi* 1(1):27–35. doi:10.5961/jhes.2011.003.

- O'Connell, John Morgan.** 2000. 'Fine Art, Fine Music: Controlling Turkish Taste at the Fine Arts Academy in 1926'. *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 32:117–42. doi:10.2307/3185245.
- Okyar, Osman.** 1979. 'Development Background of the Turkish Economy, 1923–1973'. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10(3):325–44. doi:10.1017/S0020743800000131.
- Ortakçı, Altuğ, and Ömer Can Satır.** 2022. "“Aba da Bir Kebe de Bir Giyene” Türküsü Üzerine Kültürel ve Müzikal İnceleme'. *Korkut Ata Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 9:457–75. doi:10.51531/korkutataturkiyat.1182823.
- Özdemir, Yavuz, and Elif Aktaş.** 2011. 'Halkevleri (1932'den 1951'e)'. *A.Ü. Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 45:235–62.
- Özden, Erhan.** 2018. 'Arşiv Belgeleriyle Darülelhan'. *Konservatoryum - Conservatorium* 5(1):97–130.
- Özden, Mehmet.** 2011. 'Bir Halkçı Münevverler Platformu: Halka Doğru Dergisi (1913-1914)'. *Milli Folklor* 23(89):109–19.
- Özsari, Mustafa.** 1999. 'Ege Bölgesi Ege Bölümü Halkevleri ve Yayın Çalışmaları'. *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi* 6(23):401–15. doi:10.1501/Tite_0000000128.
- Pamuk, Şevket.** 2014. *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.
- Parkinson, Tom, and Olcay Mutlu Gardner.** 2021. 'Nation, Memory and Music Education in the Republic of Turkey: A Hegemonic Analysis'. Pp. 231–244 in *The Routledge Handbook to Sociology of Music Education*, 1st ed. London: Routledge.
- Parla, Taha.** 1985. *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gökalp, 1876-1924*. Leiden: Brill.
- Parla, Taha.** 1993. *Ziya Gökalp, Kemalizm ve Türkiye'de Korporatizm*. Edited by F. Üstel and S. Yücesoy. Araştırma-İnceleme Dizisi 9. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Parla, Taha.** 1991. *Türkiye'de siyasal kültürün resmî kaynakları*. İstanbul: İletişim.
- Reed, Howard Alexandeer.** 1951. 'The Destruction Of The Janissaries By Mahmud II In June, 1826'. PhD, Princeton University, New Jersey.
- Rey, Cemal Reşit.** 1926. 'Takriz'. Pp. 4–7 in *Anadolu Halk Şarkıları Fasikül 3-Darülelhan Derlemeleri*. İstanbul: Evkaf-ı İslamiyye Matbaası.
- Şahin, Mustafa, and Ruşen Duman.** 2008. 'Cumhuriyetin Yapılanma Sürecinde Müzik Eğitimi'. *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 7(16):259*272.

- Şahin Soy, Özlem, and Merve Şenol.** 2021. 'The Historical Journey of Opera Translation in Turkey and Its Perception by Contemporary Turkish Opera Performers'. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Çeviribilim Dergisi/ I.U. Journal of Translation Studies*. doi:10.26650/iujts.2020.13.0001.
- Şahinkaya, Serdar.** 2022. *Devrime Doğru İlk adım Mustafa Kemal Paşa'nın Halkçılık Programı*. 1st edn. edited by T. Özbay. Genel Yayın. Ankara: Telgrafhane Yayınları.
- Saussure, Ferdinand De.** 1959. *Course in General Linguistics*. edited by C. Bally and A. Sechehaye. New York: University of California Los Angeles.
- Saygun, Ahmet Adnan.** 1936. *Türk Musikisinde Pentatonism*. İstanbul: Numune Matbaası.
- Saygun, Ahmet Adnan.** 1937. *Rize, Artvin ve Kars Havalisi Türkü, Saz ve Oyunları Hakkında Bazı Malumat*. İstanbul: Numune Matbaası.
- Sayilan, Fevziye, and Ahmet Yildiz.** 2009. 'The Historical and Political Context of Adult Literacy in Turkey'. *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 28(6):735–49. doi:10.1080/02601370903293203.
- Şenel, Süleyman.** 2023. 'Bir Belge ve Bir Soru: "Milli / Ulusal Musikimiz Islah Oldu Mu?"' *Etnomüzikoloji Dergisi* 11–21.
- Somel, Selçuk Aksin.** 2001. *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline*. BRILL.
- Son Posta.** 1940. *Son Posta*, March 25, p.10.
- Sönmez, Erdem.** 2021. 'A Past to Be Forgotten? Writing Ottoman History in Early Republican Turkey'. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 48(4):753–69. doi:10.1080/13530194.2020.1714428.
- Stavrakakis, Yannis.** 2004. 'Antinomies of Formalism: Laclau's Theory of Populism and the Lessons from Religious Populism in Greece'. *Journal of Political Ideologies* 9(3):253–67. doi:10.1080/1356931042000263519.
- Süreyya, Musa.** 1922. 'Darü'l-Elhan Şuunu'. *Darü'l-Elhan Mecmuası* 1(1):41–42.
- Tachau, Frank.** 1964. 'Language and Politics: Turkish Language Reform'. *The Review of Politics* 26(2):191–204. doi:10.1017/S0034670500004733.
- Taruskin, Richard.** 1997. 'Defining Russia Musically : Historical and Hermeneutical Essays'.
- Taşdelen, Duygu, and Nilgün Doğrusöz Dişiaçık.** 2021. 'Yeni kaynaklar ışığında yeni bir Rauf Yekta Bey biyografisi'. *Rast Müzikoloji Dergisi* 9(2):2805–22. doi:10.12975/rastmd.2021926.
- TBMM.** 1921. 'Teşkilatı Esasiye Kanunu'.

- TBMM.** 1923. ‘Teşkilat-ı Esasiye Kanunu’nun Bazı Mevaddının Tavzihan Tadilina Dair Kanun’.
- Toker, Hikmet, and Erhan Özden.** 2013. ‘Osmanlı Devletinde Müzik Eğitimi Veren Önemli Kurumlar’. *Rast Müzikoloji Dergisi* 1(2):107–28.
- Toprak, Zafer.** 1995. ‘Türkiye’de ekonomi ve toplum Milli iktisat - milli burjuvazi’. *Türkiye araştırmaları*. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.
- Toprak, Zafer.** 2014. *Türkiye’de Popülizm 1908-1923*. İstanbul: Doğan Kitap.
- Tura, Yalçın.** 1988. *Türk Musikisinin Meseleleri*. İstanbul: Pan.
- Turner, Bryan S.** 1974. *Weber and Islam: A Critical Study*. Boston,: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Ülgener, Sabri.** 1983. *Zihniyet Aydınlar ve İzm’ler*. 1st edn. Araştırma Dizisi. Ankara: Mayaş Yayınları.
- Ülker, Gökhan.** 2021. ‘Eskişehirli Bir Türkü Derlemecisi: Muammer Uludemir’. *Kültür Araştırmaları Dergisi* (10):125–43. doi:10.46250/kulturder.942676.
- Ülkü- Halkevleri Mecmuası.** 1933. ‘Ülkü Yazı Bölümleri’. *Ülkü - Halkevleri Mecmuası* 1(1):90–94.
- Uzunçarşılı, İsmail Hakkı.** 1977. ‘Osmanlılar Zamanında Saraylarda Musiki Hayatı’. *Belleken* 41(161):79–114.
- Weber, Max.** 1948. *From Max Weber: Essays In Sociology*. edited by H. Gerth and C. W. Mills. London: University of Nottingham.
- Weber, Max.** 1958a. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Routledge Classics. London: Charless Scribner’s Sons.
- Weber, Max.** 1958b. ‘The Rational And Social Foundations Of Music’.
- Weber, Max, and Max Rheinstein.** 1966. ‘Max Weber on Law in Economy and Society’;
- Wood, Margaret M.** 1929. ‘Latinizing the Turkish Alphabet: A Study in the Introduction of a Cultural Change’. *American Journal of Sociology* 35(2):194–203. doi:10.1086/214978.
- Yamaç, Müzehher.** 2020. ‘Türkiye Devleti’nin İlk Anayasası 1921 Teşkilat-ı Esasiye Kanunu’. *Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 204–20. doi:10.32709/akusosbil.767804.
- Tekelioğlu, Orhan.** 1996. ‘The Rise of a Spontaneous Synthesis: The Historical Background of Turkish Popular Music’. *Middle Eastern Studies* 32(2):194–215.
- Ulus.** 1936. *Ulus*, November 12, p.2.

- Ulus.** 1937. *Ulus*, July 3, p.5.
- Ulus.** 1939. *Ulus*, February 27, p.6.
- Ulus.** 1948. *Ulus*, June 13, p.5.
- Vakit.** 1934. *Vakit*, November 2, p.1.
- Yayla, Atilla.** 2015. *Kemalizm: liberal bir bakış*. Liberte yayınları. Ankara: Liberte Yayınları.
- Yekta, Rauf.** 1926a. 'Mukaddime - 1'. in *Anadolu Halk Şarkıları Fasikül 1-Darülelhan Derlemeleri*. İstanbul: Evkaf-ı İslamiyye Matbaası.
- Yekta, Rauf.** 1926b. 'Mukaddime - 2'. in *Anadolu Halk Şarkıları Fasikül 2-Darülelhan Derlemeleri*. İstanbul: Evkaf-ı İslamiyye Matbaası.
- Yeni Asır.** 1938. *Yeni Asır*, July 20, p.2.
- Yenises.** 1926. 'Darülelhan Heyeti'. *Yenises*, September 22, 1.
- Yılmaz, Onur Alp.** 2022. 'Atatürk'ün Halkçılık İlkesi Üzerine Bir Tartışma: Halkçılık mı Popülizm mi?' *Memleket Siyaset Yönetim* 17(37):143–70.
- Yılmaz, Hale.** 2011. 'Learning To Read (Again): The Social Experiences Of Turkey's 1928 Alphabet Reform'. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43(4):677–97. doi:10.1017/S0020743811000900.
- Yöre, Seyit.** 2008. 'Osmanlı/Türk Müzik Kültüründe Levanten Müzikçiler'. *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 24:413–37.
- Yüce, Berrak.** 2010. 'Osmanlı Son Dönemi ile Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Arasında Gaziantep'te Mimari Dokunun Değişimi (1939-1950)'. Master's, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, İstanbul.
- Yüce, Can Bahadır.** 2019. 'Identity Construction through Language: The Case of the Turkish Language Reform'. *OMNES: Journal of Multicultural Society* 9(2):100. doi:10.14431/omnes.2019.07.9.2.100.
- Yücel, Haluk.** 2022. 'Cumhuriyet Dönemi Müzik Politikaları Üzerine Bir İnceleme'. *Tykhe* 7(22):9–20.
- Yükselsin, Yavuz İbrahim.** 2015. 'Bir "Kültürel Aracı" Olarak Muzaffer Sarısözen ve Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde 'Türk Halk Müziği'nin Yeniden İnşasındaki Rolü'. *Yedi: Sanat, Tasarım ve Bilim Dergisi* 14:77–90.
- Zübeyr, Hamid.** 1926. 'Başlangıç'. in *Yurdumuzun Nağmeleri*. İstanbul: Milli Matbaa.
- Zürcher, Erik J.** [1993] 2017. *Turkey: A Modern History*. London, New York: I.B. TAURIS.



APPENDICES

APPENDIX A : Musical Activities in People's Houses

APPENDIX B : Folk Music Compilation Expeditions

APPENDIX C : The Ban of Alaturca Music in Radio



APPENDIX A

MUSICAL ACTIVITIES IN PEOPLE'S HOUSES



Figure A.1 : Musical Performance in Tokat People's House.

(Son Posta, 25.03.1940, p.10)



Figure A.2 : The Music Branch Members of Eskişehir People's House.

(Ulus, 13.06.1948, p. 5)



Figure A.3 : A Photograph Taken During a Concert in Maraş People's House.

(Maraş Newspaper, 03.06.1937, p.5)



Figure A.4 : A Concert in Kayseri People's House.

(Ulus, 27.02.1939 p. 6)

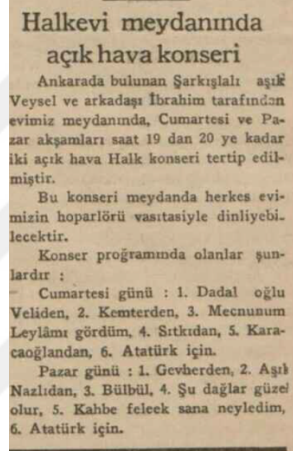


Figure A.5 : News That Points Out The Function of People's Houses As The Stages For Local Musicians.

(Ulus, 03.07.1937, p.5)

APPENDIX B

FOLK MUSIC COMPILATION EXPEDITIONS



Figure B.1 : Newspaper Article On Folk Music Researches and Bela Bartok's Potential Contributions.

(Uluş, 12.11.1936, p.2)



Figure B.2 : Newspaper Mentions the Collaboration Between Ankara State Conservatory and People's Houses on Folk Music Compilations.

(Yeni Asır, 20.07.1938, p.2)



Figure B.3 : Bela Bartok in Anatolia For Folk Music Compilation Expeditions.

(Bartok Archive, accessed on 13.05.2026)



Figure B.4 : Muzaffer Sarısözen in Folk Music Compilation Expeditions.

(Anadolu Agency, accessed on 13.05.2026)

APPENDIX C

THE BAN OF ALATURCA MUSIC IN RADIO



Figure C.1 : News on the ban of alaturca music in Istanbul and Ankara Radios.

(Vakit, 02.11.1934, p.1)



Figure C.2 : Newspaper Article on The Disfavor For Alaturca Music Instruments After The Ban.

(Akşam, 13.11,1934, p.7)

CURRICULUM VITAE

Gökhan PARLAKTAŞ

Education

-**M.A.:** 2026, Istanbul Technical University, Graduate School, Musicology Program

-**B.A.:** 2016, Marmara University, Ataturk Education Faculty, Music Education Program

Professional Experiences

-Music Teacher: 2016 - Present

Publications and Presentations On The Thesis:

-**Parlaktaş, G.** (2025). Halk Müziği, Modern Devlet ve Kurumsal Derlemeler: Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Üzerine Bir İnceleme. Presented at Türkiye'de Halk Müziği Konulu Resmi Derleme Çalışmalarının 100. Yılı Sempozyumu (Symposium on the 100th Anniversary of Official Folk Music Compilation in Turkey), November 20, Istanbul Technical University, Istanbul, Turkey.

- **Parlaktaş, G.** (2026). Halk Müziği, Modern Devlet ve Kurumsal Derlemeler: Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Üzerine Bir İnceleme. Türkiye'de Halk Müziği Konulu Resmi Derleme Çalışmalarının 100. Yılı Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı (Proceedings of the Symposium on the 100th Anniversary of Official Folk Music Compilation in Turkey). (Under Review).