Introduction

In recent centuries, national readings of music histories have singled out topics that were considered important for a given country's cultural identity and nationhood. Correspondingly, other relevant sources that did not fit into the national view were given only marginal attention. For example, nineteenth-century Ottoman-Greek music anthologies have caught the interest of researchers only in the last two decades. Sources that were written in the reformed neume notation—also called Chrysanthine notation—had mostly Ottoman-Turkish song lyrics in Greek letters and were scarcely considered by the academic community. For Greek researchers who could decipher the notation, the content of the lyrics was unintelligible and the musical context unfamiliar. For Turkish researchers the lyrics could be read, once having learned the Greek alphabet, but the notation remained an obstacle. Thus, these important sources, although part of the Ottoman and Greek heritage, received hardly any scholarly attention. The abovementioned case demonstrates the importance of overcoming a national reading by supporting a transcultural one in order to reach a holistic understanding of music history on both sides of the Aegean. Despite the current trend of abandoning the nationalist perspective in favor of a transcultural or intercultural reading, the national mindset occasionally still prevails, thus impeding an unbiased study of the sources.

Kalaitzidis' revealing catalogue of "post-Byzantine" music manuscripts highlights this point. His study is a remarkable testimony of songs in Ottoman-Turkish that were sung among *Phanariot* Greeks and were codified in neume notation. Kalaitzidis is familiar with the common national reading of the sources and poses questions that would usually come into the minds of Greek researchers with a biased perspective: "Why [did] the oppressed

Greeks transcribe the music of the Muslims? Was it a sign of spiritual surrender? Was it an acceptance of the cultural superiority of the conqueror? Which conditions favored the incorporation of Persian, Arabic, and Ottoman melodies into the body of transcriptions and consequently into the repertoire?"[1] The fact that songs, especially in hand-written, private song anthologies, may be the result of preference and taste seems to be farfetched from a national reading. Kalaitzidis therefore asserts that "a fragmented and simplistic examination of the phenomenon may lead to erroneous conclusions."[2] In a similar way, Turkish musicology has for a long time appropriated old works by Ottoman composers regardless of their ethnic, social, or confessional background. The "Turkish character" of this music was highlighted by the term "Ottoman Turkish Music," as it has become an established term to refer to "Ottoman court music." The same applies to historical patriotic songs that had been declared a "unique" expression of the nation. As this research will show, the notion of these "national songs" turned out to be a transcultural phenomenon rather than a genuinely national one. The national reading of music sources is still prevalent because musicology, like other academic disciplines, was influenced by political ideologies. In Greece and Turkey, as well as in many other nation-states, nineteenth-century historiography stood in the service of nation-building and sometimes also helped to validate nationalist claims and aspirations. Musicology played an important role in contributing to and supporting the historical theses that Greece and Turkey helped legitimize as part of the overall nationalist narrative. This study aims to deconstruct this narrative and the limitations that it imposed by looking at the same materials from a transcultural perspective.

Theories of Nationalism, National Identity and Music

After the Second World War, nationalism and nation-states became an object of study in academia. Since then, the corpus of nationalism studies has been steadily growing.[3] The constructed and artificial character of nation-states has been described in many academic works.[4] Benedict Anderson described the nation as an "imagined political community," the members of which, in spite of the fact that they do not all know each other, imagine themselves as one communion.[5] The concept of the nation emerged during the era of Enlightenment. Ideas of national characteristics had already been pronounced in the eighteenth

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[1] Kyriakos Kalaitzidis, *Post-Byzantine Music Manuscripts as a Source for Oriental Secular Music (15th to Early 19th Century),* trans. Kiriaki Koubaroulis and Dimitri Koubaroulis, Istanbuler Texte und Studien 28 (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2012), 174.

[2] Ibid.

[3] For an introduction to this field, see Smith, Anthony D., *Theories of Nationalism.* London: Duckworth, 1971.

[4] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism,* Repr., New Perspectives on the Past (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 56; Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation,* Repr. (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2003), 31.

[5] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* (London: Verso, 2006), 6.

century, and it was assumed that each nation and people had a characteristic "genius" and language that was given to them by nature. In Herder's words, this national character became expressed in the so-called "Genius eines Volkes" [Genius of the people].[6] Nationalism, as a ubiquitous element of the human, was first explicit in philology and folklore studies. The nation was suggested to be a primordial element of humanity. The "rediscovery" of the nation that emerged from the debris of history is often expressed in the "awakening" metaphor, which suggested that the nation was old and pre-historic, and fell into a phase of slumber until the moment of "rebirth" or "reawakening."[7] Smith already pointed to the flaws in this reading, since it blanked out the time between the supposed origins and the "resurrection" of the nation. This narrative also omits the consequences of migration and colonization, as well as many other questions. Although the so-called "awakening" was celebrated in national histories, the reasons why the nations had fallen into slumber, and why only some of them "awoke," remained a marginal interest. The narrative is constructed in favor of a nationalist reading of the imagined past.[8] In a similar way, Gellner vehemently contradicted the mythical "sleeping-beauty" metaphor, and underlined the fact that nations were not pre-historic but modern phenomena that derived from new social organization, high culture and education. The nation, as Gellner recognized, was not an inherent attribute of humanity, nor natural or universal, but a political organization of mankind.[9] Nations are artificial constructs that are based on the idea of nationalism.

One of the pillars on which a nation rests is the imagination of a shared, common culture. It consists of a series of cultural social codes and has a high level of congruency within the entire nation. As Gellner claimed, the shared culture of the nation undergoes transformations, while its formation is selective. The "shared" culture that is transmitted through modern education in schools is different from the culture that had been transmitted by societies before the pre-modern age.[10] The nation-state and its institutions present themselves as protectors of culture and organizors of the educational system. They aim to create a homogeneous and standardized educational system that disseminates the same content to its citizens. The national educational system is a state-run, sophisticated

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[6] Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) is one of the best-known exponents and interpreters of what in German is often referred to as "Volksgeist" [The spirit of the people]. Although notions about what Herder referred to as "national characters" are different from those of the nineteenth century, the people, language, and nation were for him one unity: "Denn jedes Volk ist Volk: es hat seine Nationalbildung, wie seine Sprache; zwar hat der Himmelsstrich über alle bald ein Gepräge, bald nur einen linden Schleier gebreitet, der aber das ursprüngliche Stammgebilde der Nation nicht zerstöret" [For every nation is one people, having its own national form, as well as its own language: the climate, it is true, stamps on each it's mark, or spreads over it a light veil, but not sufficient to destroy the original national character] (Herder 1790, 2:94; translation according to Churchill 1803, 298, 166). For further reading on Herder and the "Volksgeist," see Kopp 2021, 49–62.

[7] Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism,* 48; Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation,* 4.

[8] Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation,* 4.

[9] Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism,* 48; Michael Murphy, "Introduction," in *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture 1800–1945,* ed. Harry White and Michael Murphy (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001), 2.

[10] Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism,* 36.

institution. It has teachers who are especially trained for this purpose and who work in an organized school system with a pyramidal structure. The educational system in the nation is indispensable, as it conserves and disseminates selected cultural elements to a broader national public.

By applying an ethno-symbolist approach, Smith's path-breaking study highlighted the power of the nation, which was capable of mobilizing people and leading them into wars for the sake of national ideals. The ethno-symbolist reading focuses on the popular roots of nationalism, expressed in myths, memories, symbols, and traditions of ethnic heritage.[11] While all these components stress the uniqueness of a nation, they also stress its distinction and superiority to other nations. The ethnic and cultural symbolisms help people recognize their nation and identify with it, but they also help distinguish their nation from other, bordering nations. Smith has outlined a scheme that represents characteristic features of the nation. Firstly, he highlighted the vital role of the historians who legitimized national history. They formed the main pillars of national history and presented it as one coherent and plausible narrative that connected the mythical past to the present. These national histories are generally structured in three "chapters" that refer to the past, connect it with the present and draft the future, respectively. Cultural continuity is the "glue" that holds together the different stages of the nation and becomes manifest in important names, symbols, language, territories, customs and rituals that shape national identity.[12] Nationalist readings of the past intertwine the past with the present and lead to what Smith called "re-appropriation"—the transference and recontextualization of a pristine national ethos into the modern nation-state.[13]

The construction of national history and identity follows a modular principle in many cases. In his book *Nations and Nationalism,* Gellner described the characteristic steps of the nation and the history it narrates.[14] The new emerging fictive state called "Ruritania" is used as a placeholder for any nation that seeks independence and the right to self-determination from "Megalomania," the antagonist of Ruritania. It is surprising to see the many parallels between Gellner's abstract description of these emergent states and real ones. The formation of nation-states is not isomorphic, however. Although they draw on similar concepts that imagine, model, adapt, and transform the nation, the overall frame of the nation is filled with the specific elements and ingredients that differentiate the nation from others and highlight its uniqueness. It is therefore vital to single out these elements in order to comprehend their interconnectedness and the meaning and truth they create within the national collective.

The nineteenth-century national historiographies drew on elements and histories from the mythical age, long before the nation came into existence. It is characteristic of

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11 Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation,* 9.

12 Ibid., 11.

13 Ibid., 12.

14 Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism,* 59.

national myths to deal with outstanding events and present national figures in a subjective light. The narrative is based on selective interpretations: some events are told with more detail, whereas others are neglected in order to convey the desired version of a past. Myths narrate complex stories in a restructured way so that the listeners may easily follow and locate themselves within the groups represented. Political myths incorporate the basic values and virtues of a social group. Hein-Kircher distinguishes three types of basic political myths: myths about persons, myths about historical events, and myths of origins. Myths are part of the collective remembrance that holds the nation together. The represented past corresponds with the rules of collective memory. It is concrete, idealized, and a simplified explanation of the past. In the national context, myths emphasize the historical achievements of the nation.[15] This is an important aspect that geographically defines the collective within the national borders and highlights difference from others.

National rituals such as commemoration ceremonies also play a pivotal role in the sacralization of specific national elements. Remembrance culture serves as a medium to locate the past in the present. The term "collective memory" emerged in 1902 and was later used by Maurice Halbwachs to describe the *mémoire collective* as a social phenomenon.[16] Collective memory is directly interdependent with *cadres sociaux* [social frames] or social groups and would be lost if the group dissolved. Halbwachs saw a great difference between history and collective memory because the first aimed to represent an unbiased and universal view. Pierre Nora supports Halbwachs' basic theses in his work *Lieux de Mémoire* [Realms of Memory]. He also highlighted the opposing notions of "history" and "memory." "History," as an incomplete representation of the past, aims to reconstruct the past through analytical and critical argumentation. In contrast, memory was more subject to change because it is derived from persons and groups that remember but also forget, interpret but also reinterpret the past.[17] The realms of memory are an artificial and intentional construct that were shaped under the contemporary influence of their times. They reinforce the common ties of a society, highlight uniqueness, and level out differences. This type of memory is based on the premise of continuity with the past and creates parameters with which individuals of the same community identify themselves.[18] The eternal existence of memories is expressed in realms of memory such as museums, anniversaries, monuments, and other important sites.[19] Hence, memory is not a phenomenon of the past but is in constant contact with the present. Realms of memories have three dimensions that appear together and are always in relation to each other. These dimensions are of material, sym-

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[15] Heidi Hein-Kircher and Hans Henning Hahn, eds., *Erinnerungsorte, Mythen und Stereotypen in Europa* (Wrocław: ATUT, 2008), 20–21.

[16] Kerwin Lee Klein, "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse," *Representations,* 2000, 127. See also Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950.

[17] Cf. Pierre Nora, *Zwischen Geschichte und Gedächtnis,* trans. Wolfgang Kaiser (Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 1990), 12–13.

[18] Ibid., 17.

[19] Ibid.

bolical, and functional nature. A musical piece, for example, may exist as a written score (material), may be used to accompany an event (functional), but may also commemorate and mourn the fallen (symbolic). The piece, however, does not actually constitute those three levels per se; rather, they are assigned by human agency. According to Assmann, cultural memory is a social construction of formative versions of the past.[20] At collective and institutional levels, the processes of collective memory do not follow psychological mechanisms but, rather, the intentional politics of remembrance and forgetting.[21] The interpretation of the past depends on the present view and may change during the course of time. As Italo Svevo observed: "The present directs the past like members of an orchestra. It needs only these tones and no others."[22] According to Svevo, the view of the past depended on the priorities that weigh more heavily in the present. The remembered past is entangled with notions of identity. The reconstructed identity is concrete, organized, shaped, mandatory, and reflexive.[23] It is concrete, highlights differences from other identities, and downplays the differences that exist within the same social group. It is therefore often politically motivated for the purpose of creating a national identity. The remembrance which is used for this purpose is, as Assmann puts it, *imaginaire* [imaginary]—not in the sense that it is fictive, but as in Anderson's model, that it is fabricated and invented.[24] Winter explained his preference for the term "historical remembrance" over the term "collective memory" or "history." The term "collective memory" is often used as an umbrella term that merges all social and psychological phenomena together, such as traditions, historical consciousness, monuments, commemorations, and historical experience.[25] Similar to the previously mentioned authors, Winter also sees the act of history and memory not as a natural outcome of a group of people but as a result of social agency. These social agents shape the way people perceive the past by their actions and, therefore, the way they remember the past and shape remembrance culture.[26] Winter cites in his thesis, for instance, the so-called "memory boom" that followed World War II and became a phenomenon in many industrialized and "affluent" nations that mourned their fallen. These concepts of "collective memory" or "historical remembrance" were also vital for defining the national collective and hence the imagined nation.

The different models of the nations can be categorized into the *Kulturnation* [Cultural Nationalism], where cultural elements such as language, literature, and religion de-

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[20] Astrid Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen: Eine Einführung,* 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler Verlag, 2011), 128.

[21] Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses,* C. H. Beck Kulturwissenschaft (München: C. H. Beck, 1999), 15.

[22] "Die Gegenwart dirigiert die Vergangenheit wie die Mitglieder eines Orchesters. Sie benötigt diese Töne und keine anderen." Ibid., 17. My translation from German.

[23] Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen,* 31–32.

[24] Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume,* 83.

[25] Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen,* 112.

[26] J. M. Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 3–12.

fine a nation; another model is the *Staatsnation* [Political Nationalism], which is political nationalism in accordance with the spirit of French nationalism.[27] In the early nineteenth century, nationalism had more universal features and was inspired by the ideas of the Enlightenment. It was assumed that the nation was shaped by a group of people that shared one language and history. Nationalism in this early stage aimed to educate and teach the country's own people about their culture and history. The existence of other peoples and nations was, however, recognized and respected, since nationalism was seen as an inherent aspect of mankind. The Second Republic in France in 1848 was celebrated as the victory of all the peoples of Europe in fulfilling the political promises of 1789.[28]

These humanist and universalist ideas of the nation from the early nineteenth century were gradually given up after the French Revolution in 1848, and national culture in the whole of Europe underwent a process of popularization and politicization.[29] The initial "universal nationalism" gave way to more competitive nationalisms, which came into conflict with other nations and saw their development as a potential threat.[30] This tendency became more accelerated and far-reaching after the Franco-German War. The new political orientation also influenced the realm of culture and, hence, also music. From the 1870s onwards, national songs that dealt with political or historical events were rapidly disseminated in flyers. Their content would be set to already-known melodies that had a similar symbolic message to the new song.[31] The national song became the medium that expressed national claims. Political groups recognized the power of music and its versatile usage for political aims. Anthems as well as patriotic songs served as catalysts to instill nationalist ideology. Anderson highlighted the importance of the moment of "unisonance" and the experience of simultaneity when a community sings the same text to the same melody together. The power of the "imagined sound" could create a feeling of unity among the national community. It was best expressed in music that is performed on national holidays and ceremonies.[32] Music and songs had the power to inculcate national ideas and virtues and reinforce national identity. Nationalist songs drew on old campaigns, heroes, and legends of the mythical past and conjured them in the present. In the fin-de-siècle, the aspect of ethnicity in music became gradually more pronounced. The national character in music became related to race theory and questions of national origins.

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27 Murphy, "Introduction," 3.

28 Ibid., 2.

29 Philip Vilas Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History,* ABC-CLIO World Music Series (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 50.

30 Carl Dahlhaus, *Between Romanticism and Modernism: Four Studies in the Music of the Later Nineteenth Century,* California Studies in 19th Century Music 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 76–77.

31 Bohlman, *The Music of European Nationalism,* 55.

32 Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* 145.

The State of Art and Previous Literature

Since the 2000s, nationalism studies in Greece and Turkey have led to fruitful output and collaborative work between Turkish, Greek, and international scholars who approached this topic from different angles. A comprehensive list of literature would go beyond the purpose of this chapter. Therefore, the following will provide a selection of relevant works.

As a study in the field of historical musicology, this thesis followed models of comparative historiographic research that were conducted in the same geographical topographies. In recent years, the benefits of a comparative approach have been recognized by many researchers and gained weight in the study of Turkish and modern Greek history. One example of this trend was the historical analysis of the emergent nation-states of Greece and Turkey provided by Sophos and Özkırımlı.[33] In their study, they discussed the paths that the two nations took to construct their respective nations and national identities. Grigoriadis also benefited from a comparative approach, casting light on the milestones of nationalism in both nations.[34] In his work, the author focuses on the period from the Greek Enlightenment to the Turkish military coup in 1980, dealing with the most relevant and popular myths and claims that helped forge a national history and collective in both nations. In a similar way, the omnibus volume edited by Frangoudaki and Keyder sheds further light on the different historical, political, social, and cultural dimensions of Greek and Turkish nation-state building.[35] A good account of the consequences of "State-Nationalism" from the emergence of Greece in 1830 until the end of World War II is given in the volume edited by Fortna, Katsikas, Kamouzis and Konortas.[36] The volume is structured according to the most relevant political periods and looks at the intersection between Ottoman citizenry and emergent national movements. Additionally, it describes the impact of nationalist thought on the minorities in both nations. Due to the multi-ethnic structure of the Ottoman Empire, it would be more correct to speak of "nationalisms" instead of the singular form of the word. In his study, Feroz Ahmed observed the relationship between Turkish nationalism in the late Ottoman Empire and other emerging nationalisms of minority groups, such as Greek, Armenian and Arabic nationalism.[37] Other scholars have also studied Ottoman-Greek subjects in the grip of nationalism. For exam-

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[33] Umut Özkırımlı and Spyros A. Sophos, *Tormented by History: Nationalism in Greece and Turkey* (London: Hurst, 2008).

[34] Ioannis N. Grigoriadis, *Instilling Religion in Greek and Turkish Nationalism: A "Sacred Synthesis,"* Palgrave Pivot (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

[35] Anna Frangoudaki and Çağlar Keyder, *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey: Encounters with Europe, 1850–1950* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007).

[36] Benjamin C. Fortna et al., eds., *State-Nationalisms in the Ottoman Empire, Greece and Turkey: Orthodox and Muslims, 1830–1945,* SOAS/Routledge Studies on the Middle East 17 (London; New York: Routledge, 2013).

[37] Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks and the Ottoman Nationalities: Armenians, Greeks, Albanians, Jews, and Arabs, 1908–1918* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2014). For an account of the Young Turk and Arabic nationalism, see Hasan Kayalı, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1918* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

ple, Eksertzoglou[38] and Zborowski[39] give a thorough account of the impact of the Greek Philological Society in Istanbul, which in the Ottoman-Greek context played an important role in education, history, and identity. Another good introduction to the complex field of Greek- and Ottoman-Greek citizenry can be found in Gondicas and Issawi's book, which filled in many blank spots around the organization of the Ottoman-Greek subjects in the Ottoman Empire and their relation to the neighboring Greek nation-state.[40]

Nationalism studies were not limited to historiography, political sciences, sociology, and anthropology but also caught the attention of many other disciplines. Nationalism and national sentiment were also expressed in the arts and, thus, in music. The phenomenon of Greek and Turkish nationalism being expressed in music has been mostly studied by researchers of the respective nations in the twentieth century. In recent decades, the nationalist reading has been mostly given up in favor of a more scholarly and unbiased reading. One good example of this new trend was the research project *Intercommunal Musical Geographies of Late Ottoman Istanbul.* Although by now there is a considerable number of articles in English, the latest and most important literature is still available only in Greek or Turkish. The more recent publications in English facilitate access to this intriguing and complex topic to a broader readership. The *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* published a special issue on Greece in 2011 that gives an overview of the rich facets of Greek identity in music.[41] As in many other European nations, Greek identity was also negotiated on stage in theater plays and operas. The volume, which was published by the musicological department of the Ionian University, gives a lively account of Greek opera life and highlights the historical and cultural entanglements with other musical currents in Europe.[42] The latest omnibus volume, edited by Tambakaki, Vlagopoulos, Levidou, and Beaton revised Greek music history and reevaluated primary sources in a new light. In three parts, the book takes a retrospective look at Greek music historiography, music institutions, and the vicissitudes that Greek music underwent in the name of modernization. This volume also includes a chapter on national poetry and songs.[43] Kokkonis' research about the Greek national music debate is a less-known but important contribution. In his study, he ana-

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38 Eksertzoglou looks at the Greek Philological Society in Istanbul between the years 1861–1912 and gives insights into the organization of Ottoman-Greek identity and education. Charēs Eksertzoglou, *Ethnikē tavtotēta stēn Kōnstantinoupolē tou 19° aiōna: ho Ellēnikos Philologikos Syllogos Kōnstantinoupoleōs* (Athens: Nephelē Istoria, 1996).

39 Antje Zborowski, *Griechisch, Osmanisch, Modern—Spätosmanische Identitäten: Der Griechische Philologische Verein in Konstantinopel 1861–1911/12.* Istanbuler Texte und Studien 42 (Baden-Baden: Ergon Verlag, 2019).

40 Dimitri Gondicas and Charles Issawi, *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism: Politics, Economy, and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1999).

41 "Music in Nineteenth-Century Greece." *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 8, no. 1 (2011): 17–39 (Cambridge University Press, 2011), doi:10.1017/S1479409811000218.

42 Ionian University Department of Music Hellenic Music Research Lab and Corfu Philharmonic Society, eds., *Opera and the Greek World during the Nineteenth Century* (Corfu, 2019).

43 Polina Tambakaki et al., eds., *Music, Language and Identity in Greece: Defining a National Art Music in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,* Centre for Hellenic Studies, King's College London. Publications 19 (London; New York: Routledge, 2020).

lyzed the narratives of the Greek music debate, referred to important key stakeholders and provided an account of the narratives that existed in intellectual circles in the nineteenth century.[44]

   National identity and its relationship to music had also become an important research topic among Turkish scholars. However, the main focus of the symbiotic relationship between music and nationhood was mostly on the period of the early Turkish Republic from 1923 onwards. Sağlam's and Balkılıç's volumes describe the musical reforms and the reorganization of the musical infrastructure in the initial years of the Turkish Republic that aimed to forge a Turkish national music.[45] Another important contribution to Turkish nationalism and folklore studies was Öztürkmen's seminal work.[46] There, she points to the pioneers and early thinkers of Turkish nationalist thought in the late Ottoman Empire and describes the institutional infrastructure in which music was selected and organized according to nationalist ideologies. Aksoy's contributions can be considered an early example, where he transcended the national reading of music sources in his numerous works and articles.[47] Although many Turkish and international publications have researched the several reforms of Ottoman music,[48] an in-depth study and evaluation of the available music sources is still lacking. The same applies to an unbiased history of "Ottoman music" that revises and questions claims which became established through a Turkish reading and which sought to appropriate or reject musical elements. The omnibus volume edited by Martin Greve was an initial step towards revisiting Ottoman music history and overcoming a national reading. The volume sheds further light on the different facets

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[44] Kokkonis, Georges. "Composer l'identité nationale : la musique grecque au miroir de la littérature musicologique." *Études balkaniques* 13 (2006): 59–104.; Georges Kokkonis, *La question de la grécité dans la musique néohellénique,* Textes, documents, études sur le monde byzantin, néohellénique et balkanique 9 (Paris: Éditions de l'Association Pierre Belon, 2008).

[45] Özgür Balkılıç, *Cumhuriyet, halk ve müzik: Türkiye'de müzik reformu 1922–1952* (Ankara: Tan, 2009); Özgür Balkılıç, *Temiz ve soylu türküler söyleyelim: Türkiye'de milli kimlik inşasında halk müziği,* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2015); Atilla Sağlam, *Türk musiki/müzik devrimi* (Bursa: Alfa Aktüel Yayınları, 2009).

[46] Arzu Öztürkmen, "Folklore and Nationalism in Turkey" (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1993).

[47] Cf. Bülent Aksoy and Cem Behar, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e musıki ve batılılaşma," in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 1211–36; Bülent Aksoy, "Is the Question of the Origin of Turkish Music Not Redundant?," *Turkish Music Quarterly: Journal of the Center for Turkish Music/University of Maryland Baltimore County* 2, no. 4 (1989): 1–7; Bülent Aksoy, *Geçmişin musıki mirasına bakışlar* (Istanbul: Pan, 2008); Bülent Aksoy, "Preliminary Notes on the Possibility (or Impossibility) of Writing Ottoman Musical History," in *Writing the History of "Ottoman Music,"* ed. Martin Greve, Istanbuler Texte und Studien 33 (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2015), 15–33.

[48] Cf. Martin Greve, *Die Europäisierung orientalischer Kunstmusik in der Türkei,* Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe XXXVI, Musikwissenschaft 142 (Frankfurt am Main; New York: P. Lang, 1995); Ralf Martin Jäger, "Musikalische Schriftlichkeit und der Wandel der türkischen Kunstmusik im 19. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Türkeistudien* 8, no. 1 (1995): 177–97; Jäger, Ralf Martin. "Osmanische Musikkultur zwischen Orient und Okzident: Der Beginn der kompositorischen Auseinandersetzung mit Europa an der Schwelle zum 20. Jahrhundert." In *Musik verbindet uns. Festschrift für Marianne Bröcker,* edited by Heidi Christ, 51–62. Veröffentlichungsreihe der Forschungsstelle für fränkische Volksmusik der Bezirke Mittel-, Ober- und Unterfranken 62. Uffenheim, 2006. Pars Tuğlacı, *Mehterhane'den bando'ya* (Istanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1986); Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal, *Türk askerî muzıkaları tarihi* (Istanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1955).

of Ottoman music, such as theory, history, and political implications, and pleads for ways to (re)write the history of Ottoman music.[49] Eugenia Popescu-Judetz already recognized and drew attention to a relatively early stage of the mutual influences in Ottoman music among Greeks, Ottomans, and Romanians.[50] Kerovpyan, Jäger, and Olley also shed further light on the influence of the Ottoman-Armenian community on the field of Ottoman music and music literacy.[51] Bilal's work can also be considered a study related to political ideology at the intersection of Armenian and Ottoman music. In her thesis, she studied the lullabies of the Ottoman-Armenian community and the political ideas that they implied.[52] In a similar way, Plemmenos' study on the Greek Phanariots in the frame of Ottoman music, Kalaitzidis' catalogue of post-Byzantine music manuscripts, and Kappler's edition of nineteenth-century Ottoman-Greek song anthologies showed the important contribution of Ottoman-Greek editors and musicians to Ottoman music.[53] The most recent and closest publication related to the research focus of the present study is Merih Erol's volume.[54] Her historical analysis describes the stance of the Ottoman-Greek community in Istanbul in relation to important questions of identity and music. Her comprehensive study, which also considered archival evidence, describes the organizational infrastructure that made the exchange of ideas about relevant questions among the Greek-speaking communities possible. As an historian, she focused, among other things, on intellectual history and gave a detailed account of the debates on Greek music in the era of reforms and renewal. In her work, she pointed to the impact of national thought on music and considered the intellectual currents based on primary sources that were also published in other Greek-speaking places. As a researcher familiar with Ottoman and Greek (music) history, her work can be considered one of the most important contributions in English in

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[49] Martin Greve, ed., *Writing the History of "Ottoman Music,"* Istanbuler Texte und Studien 33 (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2015).

[50] Eugenia Popescu-Judetz, *Meanings in Turkish Musical Culture* (Istanbul: Pan, 1996); Eugenia Popescu-Judetz, *Three Comparative Essays on Turkish Music* (Istanbul: Pan Yayincilik, 2010); Eugenia Popescu-Judetz, ed., *Sources of 18th-Century Music: Panayiotes Chalatzoglou and Kyrillos Marmarinos' Comparative Treatises on Secular Music,* (Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2000); Eugenia Popescu-Judetz, *XVIII. Yüzyıl musiki yazmalarından Kevserî mecmuası üstüne karşılaştırmalı bir inceleme,* trans. Bülent Aksoy (Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1998).

[51] Aram Kerovpyan, *Klasik osmanlı müziği ve Ermeniler,* trans. Altuğ Yılmaz, (Istanbul: Surp Pırgiç Ermeni Hastanesi Vakfı, 2010); Ralf Martin Jäger, *Türkische Kunstmusik und ihre handschriftlichen Quellen aus dem 19. Jahrhundert,* Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft aus Münster 7. (Eisenach: Karl Dieter Wagner, 1996); Ralf Martin Jäger, *Katalog der hamparsum-notası-Manuskripte im Archiv des Konservatoriums der Universität Istanbul,* Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft aus Münster 7. (Eisenach: Karl Dieter Wagner, 1996); Jacob Olley, "Writing Music in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul: Ottoman Armenians and the Invention of Hampartsum Notation" (Doctoral Dissertation, United Kingdom, King's College London, 2017).

[52] Melissa Bilal, "Thou Need'st Not Weet, for I Have Wept Full Sore: An Effective Genealogy of the Armenian Lullaby in Turkey" (Doctoral Dissertation, Chicago, University of Chicago, 2013).

[53] Kalaitzidis, *Post-Byzantine Music Manuscripts as a Source for Oriental Secular Music (15th to Early 19th Century);* Matthias Kappler, *Türkischsprachige Liebeslyrik in Griechisch-Osmanischen Liedanthologien des 19. Jahrhunderts,* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2002); John Plemmenos, *Ottoman Minority Musics: The Case of Eighteenth-Century Greek Phanariots* (Saarbrücken: Lap Lambert Academic Pub., 2010).

[54] Merih Erol, *Greek Orthodox Music in Ottoman Istanbul: Nation and Community in the Era of Reform,* Ethnomusicology Multimedia (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015).

this field. Her study focuses on the historical dimension of Greek national thought and its sociological and cultural impact on music. However, the study and analysis of primary music sources that would represent nationalist thought expressed through the medium of music has only a marginal place in her study since she takes a more historical approach. Additionally, although she considered the rise of Turkish nationalism in the late Ottoman Empire in her approach, the focal point in her study remains the Greek community of Istanbul. Neither the comparative nor a musicological approach have priority in her study. A musicological approach to this complex topic also allows us to consider, beyond the intellectual discourse, how those ideas were applied, became manifest, and materialized in music scores and song anthologies.

Research Question and Methodology

In order to deconstruct and transcend the nationalist reading, a musicological analysis of both the national music narrative as well as other musical materials is necessary. Being familiar with existing global ideological currents turned out to be beneficial for a transcultural understanding of the sources. This helped the sources to be read more as an expression of both local and global trends instead of being considered unique, characteristic, and peculiar to one nation. Hence, the national reading of music should be understood as a constructed narrative and as a residue of a past ideological current that has partly survived until today and has not been fully overcome yet. The scope of this research project is, therefore, to overcome the limitations that this reading has set, which was fostered by the academic disciplines themselves. In this way, this study aims to provide a better understanding of how nationalist concepts were transferred and introduced in Greece and Turkey and how they became manifest and were expressed in the field of music.

National identity was expressed through music in various forms. Music stood in the service of the nation and helped to glorify, celebrate, or mourn important national heroes and emperors, as well as historical events. Music had the power to reinforce ties within the national collective, represent the nation to an international audience, or demonstrate national power. The late nineteenth-century folk song, for example, became the embodiment of the pure and authentic national spirit. The boundaries between folk songs and national songs became blurred: nationalist ideas were expressed in patriotic songs. The latter were also used to commemorate important national dates, symbols, and images where the ideals of the nation were codified. Thus, this study looks at how music codified national culture and how it was conveyed through music. The intention of this study is to offer a better understanding of how a nation-state such as Greece dealt with the question of music and national identity in contrast to a multi-ethnic empire that sought ways to face rising nationalisms and keep the different communities of its territory under control. Was there only one "Greek" or "Turkish" national identity and only one national music, or was this a topic that had to be negotiated over a long period of time? Who were the key stakeholders, and

what arguments were brought forth to answer the question of what "Turkish," "Ottoman," or "Greek" music actually was? Why was it necessary to define it at all?

Because music and national identity in Greece and Turkey is a broad field of study that exceeds the scope of a dissertation, this contribution is considered to be one subchapter in an "unfinished book." At an early stage, this broad topic had to be narrowed down to focus on two main aspects where music and national identity became manifest: one was the intellectual discourse on music and national identity; the other was how national ideology became manifest in music. As this study takes a comparative approach, the selected research topics had to allow comparison of how music conveyed national ideas in Greece and in the Ottoman Empire. Although national identity had been negotiated throughout the nineteenth century, this study mainly focuses on the time period from the 1870s to the 1920s, when "romantic nationalism" had reached its peak.

As follows, this study fills in an important research gap in different ways. To begin with, this study aims to draw scholarly attention to an understudied research field. Although it mainly focuses on the differences and parallels between music and national identity in Greece and Turkey, its rich entanglements were obviously also derived from ideological currents of west Europe. Therefore, this research not only addresses Greek or Turkish scholars, but also many other international researchers that deal with similar questions. In order to access this topic, it was necessary to consult various sources that were written in different languages. It is likely that language barriers have prevented researchers from studying these complex sources. A comparative approach in this context requires a vast array of skills to access and evaluate the sources. Since this research has been written in English and has provided translations for many of the case studies, readers that are not familiar with Greek, Turkish, German or French will have the chance to gain insights into various primary sources that have been available only in the original language. Likewise, this research contributes to the body of nationalism studies due to its interdisciplinary approach. An in-depth study of musical materials is imperative to comprehend the interconnectedness of music, nation, and identity in a broader context. In this research, musicological methodology turned out to be vital in order to gain new perspectives on Greek and Ottoman musical sources. Although the main approach is based on historical musicology, this study also benefited from a comparative approach because it looks at how the concepts and findings of nationalism studies are applicable in Greece and Turkey. In this way, this study supplies a previously lacking, thorough analysis of the intellectual history in Ottoman and Greek music and provides numerous case studies that exemplify how ideas of nationalism became manifest, particularly in school songs and other music genres that were relevant to shaping the national collective.

As this dissertation touches upon many topics that are related to different academic disciplines, it may have some shortcomings. The author of this study is aware of the fact that there were many more aspects, sources, and music genres that contributed to the formation of national identities in Greece and Turkey through music. They could not be dealt with in this dissertation, as they form a related but different field of study. Even the few case studies in this dissertation are only some examples out of a whole corpus that would

have deserved a more detailed analysis with additional case studies. This dissertation can only shed light on a very limited aspect within a whole field that needs further research and scholarly dedication.

Key Sources and Dissertation Outline

One of the greatest challenges in this dissertation was coping with the several different languages in which the primary sources were written. The deeper the research proceeded, the more unexpected connections and writings had to be reckoned with for this study. The nineteenth-century Greek sources are mostly written in an archaic, purified form of Modern Greek (*katharevousa*), and Ottoman sources similarly used an Ottoman Turkish that does not have much in common with today's standardized Turkish. This study also benefited from a series of French sources, which had fueled the "orientalist" music debate. It was unexpected to find many links to Germanophone sources that, in one way or another, had to be considered in order to grasp the complex entanglements in a more holistic fashion. Many of the sources were difficult to find and access. Some of them have been digitized, others are scattered in several libraries. The music scores that this dissertation used were printed in different music notations. Apart from staff notation, some of the sources had been published in Chrysanthine and Hampartsum notation. In order for the reader to be able to follow the musical analysis, this thesis provides an edition of the songs in the appendix section that can also be accessed by a broader scholarly community. The same applies to the song lyrics, which were, for the most part, originally given in the Greek or Arabic alphabet.

Needless to say, the Greek and Turkish music sources of the late nineteenth century can be understood best when they are read in their historical context. Therefore, it is indispensable to consider the intellectual history of national music and relevant ideas related to it. The first part of the dissertation makes use of a series of primary sources that reflect on the questions of Greek music and national identity. The sources consist of Greek and late Ottoman journal and newspaper articles that were written by both well-known and lesser-known authors between the 1850s and 1920s. Besides the journal articles, the prefaces of song anthologies and books that expressed different ideas about the restoration of national music (for example, Greek music) served as fruitful sources for understanding the stances that existed on Greek music among the different stakeholders. The "national crisis" that led to these discussions was triggered from outside of Greek borders, where some intellectuals questioned whether there was something such as a "Greek national character" in music. This "crisis" in music, which also reached the Middle East, was especially fueled by French scholars. During this period, France was in a phase of transition and redefinition of its distinct national culture. Various race theories emerged that sought to prove cultural kinship among the different peoples and their common ancestors. In the field of musicology, it was Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray who dedicated himself to the study of

Greek music in order to search for and find a heritage that both nations shared.[55] The same topics were addressed by Turkish intellectuals only towards the end of the nineteenth century. Âsım Bey and Rauf Yekta, among others, also shared their thoughts in articles in well-known newspapers that had a section dedicated to the "science of music," such as in the journal *Malûmât.* Many Ottomans were also confronted with the need to reform their national music according to Western models.

These ideological currents partly entered the realm of music education in schools, which is the main topic of the second section of Parts One and Two. The relevance of this issue has been recognized by a few scholars of both nations, who had carried out some preliminary research on school music in Greece and Turkey.[56] Thanks to a well-developed printing infrastructure and the influence of foreign scholarship, Greeks had started compiling school song anthologies much earlier than the Ottomans. The earlier school song anthologies only existed without music notation, whereas those with notation started from the 1870s onwards. In Ottoman Turkey, the situation was quite different. Although the school system had been reformed in the late 1860s, the only known school song anthologies date back to the time of the Second Constitutional Period, which started in 1908. Since school education was a result of modern state politics, it turned out to be beneficial to look at similar phenomena in other states. Wilfried Gruhn's work was especially helpful to develop a better understanding of school song education in the European context.[57] The school song education in the German-speaking world seemed to have played an important role and served as a model that was worth adopting for both nations. As this study will show, the two nations had both differences and similarities when they sought to design new school song anthologies to shape the minds and national character of children. The Greeks started earlier and clearly followed trends that were contemporary in Europe, including their melodies. Only at the beginning of the twentieth century did the two nations form their own understanding of what elements in lyrics and music were best suited to their nationals. Although the melodies were different from each other, the principles they followed showed many striking parallels.

This thesis has already located the research topic within the broader framework of nationalism studies and has introduced relevant concepts in the field of music and musicology. This basic knowledge can be understood as the common ground on which the following chapters are constructed. The introduction chapter is followed by the main body of the research, which is structured in three parts. Part One examines how music contrib-

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[55] The idea of an Aryan race was not only limited to biological features but also included notions of culture. For a detailed account on the idea of races in France in the later nineteenth century, see J. Pasler, "Theorizing Race in Nineteenth-Century France: Music as Emblem of Identity," *The Musical Quarterly* 89, no. 4 (2006): 459–504, https://doi.org/10.1093/musqtl/gdn002.

[56] Cf. Iōannēs tou Panagiōtēs Stavrou, "Hē ellēnikē paradosiakē mousikē stēn prōtovathmia ekpaidevsē: istorikē anaskopēsē—sēmerinē pragmatikotēta" (Doctoral Dissertation, Corfu, Ionian University, 2004); Erhan Özden, *Osmanlı maârifi'nde mûsikî,* Türk Tarih Kurumu yayınları. IV/A-2-2.9. dizi, sayı 5 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2015); Selma Hacıosmanoğlu, *Osmanlı'da çocuk mûsikîsi* (Istanbul: Fanus Kitap, 2014).

[57] Wilfried Gruhn, *Geschichte der Musikerziehung: Eine Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte vom Gesangsunterricht der Aufklärungspädagogik zu ästhetisch-kultureller Bildung,* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1993).

uted to the construction of national identity on the western side of the Aegean, namely Greece, whereas Part Two sheds further light on the same question on the eastern side of the Aegean, namely the Ottoman Empire. The conclusion chapter first compares the findings, then discusses and answers the research questions that have been stated before.

The beginnings of Parts One and Two each have a section on intellectual history. These sections deal with ideological currents in the respective nations and how these currents affected notions about national music. Journal articles and prefaces of song anthologies give important insights into the arguments of the different interest groups that debated questions of national music.[58] There was, however, one methodological problem that derived from the chronological incongruency of Greek and Turkish sources. Whereas in the Greek-speaking world a lively music debate had already started in the 1870s, in the Turkish-speaking world, the discussions on music in the context of national identity did not seem to start until the late 1890s. This, however, does not mean that the topics being discussed in the Greek music debate remained completely unnoticed on the Ottoman side. Before the Ottomans started the music debate in journals, some earlier music scores suggest that the ideas of the same debates must have been noticed already since the 1870s.

Parts One and Two also contain a comprehensive analysis of musical case studies that shed further light on the context of music and national identity in school education. Hroch considered education to be a prerequisite to forging the modern nation.[59] It was in the educational institutions where the national self-awareness of the collective was shaped, and the constructed national values inculcated. School songs form part of this curriculum, which had an important impact on the formation of the collective and, thus, national identity. In the last third of the nineteenth century, there was a rising number of school song anthologies in Greece. Among various educational songs, patriotic songs had become an important element in school music education. This chapter will also trace the change between the repertoire and reception of the school song anthologies that appeared as early as the 1870s and those of a later period in the first quarter of the twentieth century. The analysis of Turkish school song anthologies will focus on volumes from the early twentieth century, marking the first compilation of school songs. Additionally, the case studies in Part Two include two Ottoman songs that were imbued with national meaning in the course of the twentieth century. In this context, not only Ottoman-Turkish but also Ottoman-Greek sources will be consulted to tell the "entire story" of the songs that were redefined and reshaped in the light of Turkish nationalist thought.

The case studies that have been selected for this dissertation were all taken from Greek and Turkish school song anthologies for two reasons: firstly, they allow a comparative study, and secondly, they give fascinating insights into a corpus that has hardly been

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58 See Kaitē Romanou, *Ethnikēs mousikēs periēgēsis, 1901–1912: ellēnika mousika periodika ōs pēgē erevnas tēs istorias tēs neoellēnikēs mousikēs,* vol. 1 (Athens: Koultoura, 1996), 31–95.

59 Miroslav Hroch, "National Romanticism," in *National Romanticism: The Formation of National Movements,* edited by Balâzs Trencsényi and Michal Kopeček, translated by Derek Paton. Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe (1770–1945) (Budapest: CEU Press, 2007), 14, http://books.openedition.org/ceup/2245?lang=en (accessed 12 Nov. 2024).

studied. National ideology was best expressed in one key music genre for this research, which was patriotic songs. Besides important statistical information, the study also looked at the repertoire that was taught. What was characteristic of "patriotic" or "heroic" songs back in the latter nineteenth century? What topics, images, memories, and visions did they draw on? What models did they follow? What musical techniques were used to put across or trigger patriotic sentiments? For the analysis, this study singled out a few case studies, which can be seen as exemplary of many others. The intention was to show the different facets of the patriotic songs that were taught at schools and the way they were constructed to fulfill the desired purpose.