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Music and National Identity in the Late Ottoman Empire and Turkey

2.1 Introduction

The question of nation and identity in a multi-ethnic state also became an important issue among Ottoman intellectuals. The emergence of nation-states in the Balkans and the dissemination of nationalist thought forced the Ottomans to take a stance and face this challenge. The diverse social structure of Ottoman society, with its different confessions and languages, made it difficult to simply adopt the notions of more homogeneous nation-states that were based on one religion, culture, and language. National identity had to be rethought and negotiated according to the social and political reality that existed in the Ottoman Empire. The self-perception of the Ottoman state is best reflected in the national historiographies. Whereas the Greek national historiography became established with Paparrēgopoulos' monumental works, the Ottoman case shows various stages in which Ottoman history and, thus, national identity were defined.

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, historiography in the Ottoman Empire was based mainly on two pillars, namely Islam and the Ottoman dynasty. These two stories—the rise of Islam and the establishment of the Caliphate on one hand, and the beginning of the Ottoman dynasty on the other—were connected to the Seljuk Turks. The Seljuk Turks, who invaded the Middle East and Anatolia, established the Seljuk Sultanates

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first in Persia and later in Anatolia.[604] The beginning of the *Tanzimat* [Reorganization] era in 1839 and the increasing transfer of European scholarship and methodology led to the emergence of new Ottoman historiographies. Cevdet Pasha's (1823–1895) work, for example, benefited from European expertise and methodology, which he applied in his *Tarîh-i Cevdet* [Cevdet's Chronicle], a voluminous history of the empire from 1774 to 1825.[605] In the second half of the nineteenth century, the origins of the Ottomans became an important question. The origins were mostly presented in the light of a Pan-Islamic ideology which underscored the Islamic Caliphate.

Many books that were published by European Turcologists were translated into Turkish and gave rise to a Turkish self-awareness within Ottoman subjects. The denomination "Turkey" had been used only by Europeans, and not by the Ottomans, to refer to their nation.[606] In a similar way, the word "Turk" was a term used for Anatolian peasants that often had a pejorative connotation, and Ottomans normally would not identify themselves with this term. This tendency gradually changed towards the latter nineteenth century when European scholars emphasized the pivotal contributions of Turkic people in Asian and European history during the pre-Islamic era.[607] The works of Hungarian scholars especially had an important influence in this context, since they highlighted the common origins of the Turks and Magyars.[608] Other foreign scholars also impacted the national self-perception of the Turks, such as the Frenchman David-Léon Cahun (1841–1900), with his idealized and romanticized account of the history of Asia.[609]

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the Turkish role in the Ottoman narrative became particularly pronounced. Similar to the Greek case, the contributions of philology also played a pivotal role in the Turkish case. Ahmed Vefik Pasha (d. 1891) represented the Turkish language as part of an ancient family spoken between Anatolia and Asia.[610] Süleyman Pasha's (d. 1892) universal history from 1876 was the first to include the pre-Islamic history of the Turks.[611] Necîb Âsım Yazıksız[612] (1861–1935), who will be dealt

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604 Bernard Lewis, "History Writing and National Revival in Turkey," *Middle Eastern Affairs* 4 (1953): 218.

605 Ibid., 219.

606 The word "Turkey" is a denomination that was coined in the West. Ottomans did not use this term to refer to their own nation. They used terms such as "the lands of Islam" or "the Ottoman dominions" which also included regions of the empire that were not inhabited by the Turks (ibid., 220).

607 Ibid., 221.

608 Arminius Vámbéry (1832–1913) was in contact with Turkish intellectuals during his stay in Istanbul. His work was continued by his students, such as Ignác Kúnos (1862–1945) and József Thury (1861–1906). Ibid.

609 Ibid., 222.

610 He published *Fezleke-i târîh-i Osmânî* (1869) [Summary of Ottoman History], which served as a model for editors of Ottoman schoolbooks. See Mustafa Çıkar, *Von der osmanischen Dynastie zur türkischen Nation: Politische Gemeinsamkeiten in osmanisch-türkischen Schulbüchern der Jahre 1876–1938,* Edition Universität (Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchges, 2001), 34.

611 Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 341.

612 Necîb Âsım Bey [Yazıksız] (1861–1935) was an important Ottoman intellectual who worked on Turkish history and national ideals. He started at the military school and later worked as a teacher of Turkish, French, and history in the Second Constitutional Period. He was influenced by the Turkist movement, which grew strong-

with further below, is considered the first real Turcologist in Ottoman Turkey. He translated Cahun's influential work, *Introduction to the History of Asia: Turks and Mongols from their origins to 1405* from French into Turkish.[613] Âsım Bey was influenced by the discourses and works of European scholars, especially those of Hungary.[614]

At the turn of the twentieth century, Turkism enjoyed a rising popularity, especially among the Young Turks.[615] This trend was driven by Turkic people from the Caucasian region (such as Muslim Tartars), the Volga region, central Asia, Azerbaijan, and Crimea, who had fled from the Pan-Slavic movement that had been growing in Russia.[616] The Turkish answer to the emergence of national ideologies that highlighted common origins in the neighboring countries was the rise of "Pan-Turkism." The most influential figure in this context was Ismail Gasprinski (1841–1914), whose ideas were disseminated by well-known Ottoman intellectuals, such as Yusuf Akçura (1876–1935), Ahmed Ağaoğlu (1869–1939), and Ziyâ Gökalp (1876–1924), and whose impact lasted until the times of the Turkish Republic. Pan-Turkism became an ideology not only in the Ottoman Empire but also among the Turkic people beyond the borders of the Ottoman Empire in Caucasia. Akçura envisioned a Turkish nation that was based on and defined by race. He claimed in his pamphlet, "Three Kinds of Policies" (1904), that the other two existing movements, Ottomanism and Pan-Islamism, had failed.[617] Although he considered Turkism to still be in a phase of "infancy," in the following years, it gained power due to external factors. Those external factors were a series of military defeats and disasters such as the loss of Crete, Bosnia, and Bulgaria, as well as the invasion of Tripolitania by Italy and the lost Balkan Wars. This led to a militarization of Ottoman society, which fomented radical views. The vision of the Pan-Turkists was to reestablish the Göktürk Empire, which would unite all Turkic people. This irredentist ideology was also used to "free" Turks that lived in Tsarist Russia.[618]

The dethronement of Sultan Abdulhamid II in 1908 introduced a new phase in Ottoman historiography. The Second Constitution gave a short-lived revival to Ottomanism, which, however, failed due to the influence and dominance of other competing national ideologies. In the Second Constitutional Era, there was an increase in the platforms that

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er in the Ottoman Empire. Apart from his few articles on music, his main research area focused on Ottoman-Turkish language and history. At the university, he founded the department of turcology and also published articles in French (Arpaguş 2004, 11–13; Uçman 2010; İhsanoğlu 2003, 212–14).

613 The original title of the work was "Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie. Turcs et Mongols des origines à 1405." See Landau 1981, 29.

614 Lewis, "History Writing and National Revival in Turkey," 222.

615 The Young Turk movement was founded at the centenary of the French Revolution in 1889. They started as a secret union of medical students. The name "Young Turks" suggests that its members were of Turkish origin, which, however, was not the case. Arabs, Albanians, Jews as well as Armenians and Greeks were also members (Özkırımlı and Sophos 2008, 37).

616 Lewis, "History Writing and National Revival in Turkey," 222.

617 Yusuf Akçura. "Yusuf Akçura's 'Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset' ('Three Kinds of Policy')." Translated by İsmail Fehmi. *Oriente Moderno* 61, no. 1 (1981): 7. See also Landau, *Pan-Turkism in Turkey,* 14.

618 Özkırımlı and Sophos, *Tormented by History,* 127.

provided an infrastructure to exchange and disseminate nationalist ideas. In 1910, the Ottoman Historical Society was born. It propagated topics related to the Ottoman nation and served as a mouthpiece of Turkism. In the Republican era, the society's name was adapted to the new circumstances and changed to the Turkish Historical Society. Mustafa Kemal Pasha (later Atatürk) pronounced the ancient origins of the Turkic people in central Asia, which was presented as the cradle of all human civilizations. The Turkish History Thesis claimed that Turks belonged to the Aryan people, Hittites, and Sumerians were the predecessors of the Turks, and that therefore Turks were the antecedents of Western civilization. These assumptions were supported by foreign scholars, whose studies emerged in the 1930s. In Turkey, this thesis was adopted and proclaimed as official doctrine. It is important to bear in mind that a "valid" Ottoman historiography had been negotiated over decades until the Turkist movement dominated. There had been various intellectual groups that emphasized elements of Ottoman identity according to their convictions or interests.

From the 1860s onwards, the so-called Young Ottomans had a vision of an Ottoman nation which would grant equality before the law and parliamentary representation to both Muslim and non-Muslim.[619] They aimed to create a sense of patriotism among the different subjects of the empire and loyalty to the Ottoman dynasty. This movement, which is also often referred to as "Ottomanism," existed until the outbreak of World War I. Ottomanism was understood as the policy of "creating a single, unified state out of the racially, linguistically, and religiously differentiated subjects of the Ottoman Empire by emphasizing loyalty to the ruling Ottoman dynasty."[620] It reached its first peak with the proclamation of the First Constitution in 1876. Abdulhamid II suspended this constitution and ruled as absolute monarch until his dethronement in 1908 and the proclamation of the Second Constitution. Although Ottomanism aimed to unite and give equal rights to all Ottoman subjects regardless of their confession, Ottomanism during the reign of Abdulhamid II had strong Islamic notions and is therefore also often referred to as Pan-Islamism. Pan-Islamism focused on Islamic values that sought to strengthen ties amongst the Muslim world and aimed to create a sense of unity.

The different ideologies were not always strictly separated from each other, but they could also co-exist or complement each other. Although forging bonds with other Muslim nations was important in the Islamic ideology, it did not persist in the years of the Ottoman Empire. However, it remained a powerful instrument that was used by the Young Turks to mobilize the masses in years of war.[621] In the later nineteenth century, Turkish

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619 Ibid., 28. For further reading on the Young Ottomans, see Hanioğlu 2008, 103–8. Devereux observed that the Young Ottomans introduced the notion of a nation-state, where Muslims and non-Muslims would live together and overcome socio-religious differences. In the first Ottoman Constitution (1876–1908), individual rights were pronounced in Article 8, "all subjects of the empire, without distinction, to be Ottomans," and Article 17 "all Ottomans without prejudice were equal before the law, possessing the same rights and duties, without prejudice to religion" (Devereux 1963, 74).

620 Yusuf Akçura, "Yusuf Akçura's 'Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset,' 2, 18.

621 Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building: From the Ottoman Empire to Atatürk's Turkey*, Library of Modern Middle East Studies 87 (London, New York: I. B. Tauris; Distributed in the United States exclusively by Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 215–16.

nationalism was the predominant movement that survived the Ottoman period. The idealization of Turkic history marked the intellectual current that dominated the Ottoman Turks until the end of World War I, and the ideas of Pan-Turkism had entered the official sphere.[622] Pan-Turkism was a response to other Pan-movements, such as "Pan-Hellenism" or "Pan-Slavism," and followed similar aspirations. Pan-Turkism aimed to unite all groups of Turkic people into one big Turkish Empire. This included Turks that lived in the Ottoman Empire as well as other Turkic groups that lived in other areas. Therefore, Pan-Turkism was at the same time an irredentist ideology that could only be realized by conquering territories outside the nation. Another concurrent ideology that had a similar connotation was "Turanism." Turanism (or Pan-Turanism) was more a reference to a vague geographical region. Turanism included all the people that had their origins in Turan. The geographical boundaries reach from "China in the east, Tibet, India, and Iran in the south, the desert Dasht-i Kipchak and the Caspian Sea in the west, and again the desert of Dasht-i Kipchak in the north."[623] Turanism therefore had a broader context than Pan-Turkism and also included Hungarians, Finns, Estonians, and other Finno-Ugric peoples.[624]

However, the Ottomans did not stay in the realm of Islamic and Turkic identities. Archaeology had become one of the key disciplines through which both Greeks and European nations sought to represent themselves as part of "European Civilization." The Ottomans did not reject the Helleno-Byzantine heritage per se. The power of museums as an educational institution that was able to narrate the national history had already been recognized from the 1870s onwards. Under the reign of Abdulhamid II, a considerable number of archaeological museums were constructed. Whereas the first intentions were just to house collections, the idea of displaying objects with the goal of constructing a narrative was soon implemented. Since the 1870s, the museum had become a place of public spectacle that aimed to attract visitors and did not only serve to represent the Sultan.[625] The motivation behind it was twofold. Firstly, the Ottomans had to position themselves in the "war of narratives," in which European nations used archaeology to prove their cultural affinity with ancient civilizations. Secondly, the Ottomans intended to prove that their nation, which had housed archaeological sites for many centuries, thus belonged to the same, valued civilization. During the reign of Abdulhamid II, Ottoman identity was represented as Islamic, Turkish, and based on old Ottoman traditions.[626] The rise of the imperial museum can be seen as one of the Ottoman Empire's attempts to position itself in the competition to prove European descendance. It also displayed the Helleno-Byzantine heritage

622 For a detailed account of the emergence of Pan-Turkism in the Ottoman Empire, see Landau 1981, 28–72.

623 Ibid., 1. Landau refers to a Turkish document from 1832 regarding the Khanate of Kokand. See also Bacqué-Grammont 1972, 194–99.

624 Landau, *Pan-Turkism in Turkey,* 1. Hungarian scholars used the term "Turan" to describe the Turkish lands of Central and Southeast Asia. For more detailed reading, see Lewis 2002, 341.

625 Wendy M. K. Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 92.

626 Ibid., 25.

by drawing on European concepts. However, at the same time, the museums highlighted kinship between the Ottoman and Helleno-Byzantine heritage and thus emphasized affinity with European identity.[627] The numerous artifacts in the Ottoman museum, which was built in a neoclassical fashion, suggested that Ottoman people were the rightful heirs to the Hellenistic legacy.[628] On the one hand, it exposed the cultural richness of the empire with objects that were in demand, and on the other hand, it underlined common interests and patrimony with the Europeans.[629]

In 1889, a group of students at the imperial medical school called a society into being whose members were later known as the "Young Turks." In 1892, they formed part of the party "Committee of Union and Progress" (CUP), which became a serious opposition to the sultan.[630] The CUP was an activist and militarized committee with well-established networks in the peripheries of the empire. It was the most influential disseminator of Ottoman propaganda.[631] The dethronement of Sultan Abdulhamid II in 1908 was followed by a chaotic political landscape where the CUP mainly dominated. It took over political control of all the important branches of the empire. The revival of Ottomanism after 1908 was of short duration. Even though they installed a constitutional monarchy, all promises such as equality and free press were not put into practice.[632] From that point on, both sultan and parliament were under the supervision of the Young Turks, who also prevented the influence of opposition parties from arising. The young "democratic" experience in the Ottoman Empire ended with the *coup d'état* in July 1912 and the Balkan crisis that gave more power to the CUP. In the following years, the CUP initiated a militarization and propaganda campaign, which lasted until World War I and which followed the German model of "A Nation in Arms."[633]

Shortly after the Ottomans lost World War I, the Turkish Republic was proclaimed in 1923. It pushed forward state reforms, which accelerated the process of westernization. It was declared a secularist nation-state that saw its roots in Anatolia, from where the resistance movement had started.[634] In modern Turkish history, the Turkish Republic is represented as the nation that emerged as an antagonist to the Ottoman state. This is mostly characterized in the numerous reforms that had profound cultural, social, political, and economic impact. The Sultanate was abolished in 1922 and the Caliphate in 1924. Establishments and ministries linked to religion were shut down. In 1925, the Gregorian calendar was adopted, and Ottoman wear, such as the *fez,* which was the headgear of Ottoman

627 Ibid., 83–96.

628 Ibid., 158.

629 Ibid., 161.

630 Roudometof and Robertson, *Nationalism, Globalization, and Orthodoxy,* 88.

631 Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire,* 147.

632 Ibid., 150.

633 Ibid., 164.

634 Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building,* 222.

males, was prohibited. The most radical reform was the abolition of the Arabic alphabet and the introduction of the Latin alphabet in 1928. This cultural revolution in the name of civilization sought to create a more modern and homogeneous nation, but, at the same time, it cut off traditions and the links to its national history.[635] Modern Turkish identity defined itself for a long time in opposition to the Ottomans, who were often represented as backward and without a national profile. From today's point of view, the cultural reforms which were launched in the early years of the Turkish nation seem to be more of a continuation of a modernizing process rather than a break with the old regime. The process of implementing reforms in order to close the cultural gap with Europe had already started in the years of the Tanzimat.

Much of the basic infrastructure that shaped the cultural self-perception of modern Turkey was already in place in the last years of the Ottoman Empire. The "Türk Derneği" [Turkish Association] was the first institution to dedicate itself to what was called "Turcology" in Europe. It also served to disseminate knowledge of the Turkish language, history, ethnography, and literature among the people. In 1911, the Turkish associations "Türk Ocakları" [Turkish Hearths] were founded as a powerful tool to disseminate Turkist ideology. The aim of those foundations was "national education and progress on scientific, social, and economic levels and to work for the perfection of the valuable Turkish race and language, which is an important pillar of the Muslim peoples."[636] The Turkish Hearths had a special commission that aimed to rewrite Turkish history. After the formation of the Society of Turkish Historiography, the Turkish History Congress was held for the first time in 1932. This was when the "Türk tarih tezi" [Turkish History Thesis] was formulated. The Turkish History Thesis claimed that the Turks' origins were in central Asia and they had existed 9,000 years before Christ.[637] Race theories had also become an important realm within Turcology and were used to prove that Turks were related to the "white race." Turkish historians were inspired by the theses of foreign researchers such as Eugène Pittard (1867–1962) and Wilhelm Koppers (1886–1961), who traced the origins of ancient Turks to the Altaic mountains. The aim of these studies was to show that Turks did not originally belong to the Mongolian race but were Aryans.[638] In 1930, the "Türk tarihinin ana hatları" [The Main Lines of Turkish History] were published, which for the first time publicly stated that the most important civilizations of mankind were founded by the predecessors of the Turks.[639] It was based on the assumption that the Hittites that had lived in central Asia brought Turkish civilization to Anatolia via migration. Islamic religion was seen as the main reason for the decay of the civilizations that Timur and Genghis Khan

635 For a good description of the reforms and consequences, see Kadioğlu 1996, 186.

636 "Akvam-ı İslamiyenin bir rükn-ü mühimi olan Türklerin milli terbiye ve ilmi, içtimai iktisadi seviyelerinin terakki ve alasıyla Türk ırk ve dilinin kemaline çalışmak" (quoted in Öztürkmen 1993, 47). My translation.

637 Balkılıç, *Cumhuriyet, halk ve müzik*, 30–32.

638 Serpil Akkaya, *Sumerer, Hethiter und Trojaner—Urahnen der anatolischen Türken?*, (Innsbruck: Innsbruck University Press, 2012), 37.

639 Ibid., 39. This historical narrative was questioned and revised in the 1950s.

had created. Afet İnan (1908–1985), the best-known proponent of this thesis, claimed that religion had caused the "Turkish character" to deteriorate and was responsible for the stagnation in Turkish culture.[640] Thus, the Turkish national identity was constructed over a long period of time and stood under the influence of numerous ideologies that had been competing with each other.

Music and Ottoman Identities

The nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire was characterized by an ongoing process of political and economic reforms, and the attempt to modernize the nation to meet the latest economic, political, and intellectual currents that were coming in from Europe. In the chapter on Greek music and identity, a plethora of articles and primary sources showed the numerous perspectives that existed among the different groups concerning the future of Greek music. In the Ottoman case, the available primary literature is more limited and therefore it is more difficult to trace the intellectual discourse on music. Towards the last third of the nineteenth century, it is possible to find statements on Western culture, which is often seen as a different element to the "Turkish" one. In order to clearly differentiate between those two styles, Ottomans used the terms *alafranga* [it. Alla Franca] for Western, and *alaturca* [it. alla Turca] to refer to Ottoman/Turkish culture. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, alafranga had become one of the buzzwords of the Tanzimat era. The term *frenk* [Frankish] was an adoption from Persian and simply meant "European."[641] It connoted a modern lifestyle that was imported from outside. Alafranga objects and lifestyle had notions of superiority and progress, sometimes being contrasted with alaturca. In music, alafranga encompassed all music genres and instruments that were not conceived as "national" and "indigenous." Polkas, waltzes, mazurkas, and marches, even those composed by Turkish or Ottoman musicians, were still considered alafranga music. In contrast, alaturca music presented notions of the traditional and elements that were considered "national" and "own." Its use, however, was not only restricted to Turkish or Ottoman music, but extended to "Oriental music" or music of the "East," as it was often referred to by many western and eastern European nineteenth-century writers. Alî Rifat Çağatay,[642] for example, compared European and Ottoman music in his treatise that was published as a series of articles in the journal *Malûmât.* He constantly used the terms alafranga and

640 Balkılıç, *Cumhuriyet, halk ve müzik,* 35.

641 James Redhouse, ed., *New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary,* 8th ed. (Istanbul: Redhouse Yayınevi, 1986), 378.

642 Alî Rifat Çağatay (1867–1935) was born in Istanbul and grew up during a period when the Ottoman Empire underwent a process of reforms under the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II. He absorbed the intellectual currents of his time and thought of ways to apply them to Ottoman music. He formed part of the progressive movement that sought to reform Ottoman music by harmonizing modal melodies. Çağatay was also a music instructor. In 1915, he had a position as a music teacher at the Dârülbedâyi (later Dârülelhân), the music conservatory in Istanbul. He was also active as a music director. He was a member of the "Şark Mûsıkîsi Cemiyeti" [Society for Eastern Music], which he later abandoned due to diverging interests. As an Ottoman musician who was familiar with Western and Ottoman music, he knew Hampartsum notation in addition to staff notation. He is considered the first Ottoman musician who deliberately transferred and applied techniques from Western music to modal music. He introduced European musical instruments into Ottoman music and prepared per-

alaturca to distinguish Western music from Ottoman music. Other terms that were used to refer to alaturca music were simply "Osmânlı mûsıkîsi" or "Mûsıkî-i Osmânî" [Ottoman music], or "Şark mûsıkîsi" [Eastern music], the Turkish term for "Oriental music," which was used by Rauf Yekta (see Chapter 2.2).

The concepts of alaturca and alafranga music were not mutually exclusive and could also emerge as a synthesis. The piano, for example, which had conquered the living-rooms of the Ottoman elites, was an alafranga instrument par excellence. There are numerous scores by European composers and from different musical genres that were sold in various music shops. These kinds of piano arrangements enabled the upper social class to familiarize themselves with music that was in vogue in European cultural centers. This same tendency could also be observed at a local level. There are scores that indicate a demand for alaturca music pieces that could be played on the piano. Composers and musicians met this demand and rearranged alaturca music for piano. Needless to say, they had to omit the most characteristic musical elements, such as modes and rhythmic cycles (*usûl*), which were either difficult or impossible to perform on the piano.

2.2 The Ottoman/Turkish Music Debate

In the chapter on the Greek music debates, the sources were based on a selection of books and articles that were published from the 1870s onwards. It is remarkable, however, that in the Turkish case, similar debates do not seem to start earlier than the 1890s. The earliest known articles that deal with topics related to national music were written in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Among the debaters are music aficionados and intellectuals as well as musicians and musicologists. This chapter will trace the emergence of Turkish music debates from the turn of the twentieth century until the initial years of the Turkish Republic. Compared to the Greek music debate that started three decades earlier, it is surprising that in the Turkish-speaking community, the interest in Turkish music seemed to have been relatively low. Necîb Âsım (1861–1935), in his article from 1896, highlighted this lack of interest and publicly expressed his gratitude to the journal *Malûmât* for dedicating one section of the gazette to articles on music and music scores.[643] His efforts to initiate a Turkish music debate had hardly any repercussions. The lack of platforms that would give space to discussions on music were held responsible for the general lack of

formances with harmonized Ottoman melodies. His aim was to create an Ottoman music that was suitable to be performed in concert halls. Among his numerous works are also patriotic songs such as the "Independence March," which was composed for voice and piano when the Turkish Republic was proclaimed. His contributions as composer and as musicologist are still appreciated today (Özcan 1993; Doğrusöz and Ergur 2017; Çağatay and Doğrusöz 2021, 17–87).

643 Necîb Âsım, "Necîb Âsım Bey'in Ma'lûmâta mektûbu," *Malûmât,* no. 43 (Hazîrân 1312/June 1896): 943–44, ed. in Arpaguş 2004, 106–7.

interest in this topic. Besides the *Malûmât,* there were also other gazettes like the *Şehbâl* and *Millî tetebbûlar mecmûası* that dedicated a few columns in some issues to musical topics.[644] The lack of interest in Turkish music seemed to have continued in the following decades. In 1912, Rauf Yekta (1871–1935) criticized the scant knowledge and study of Turkish music.[645]

As the founder of Turkish musicology, Rauf Yekta is one of the pivotal figures in the debates about Turkish music. Thanks to his proficiency in French, his scholarly work was not only read by Turkish speakers but also by the international public. Likewise, he was able to take part in the debates around music in the European centers. His motivation derived from the need to defend and challenge claims that had been made by orientalist, foreign scholars regarding "Turkish," or what was also called "Eastern" or "Oriental," music. When Yekta entered the debate, the discussions about reforming "Oriental music" in the sense of Bourgault-Ducoudray were already thirty years old. The first time Yekta explicitly mentioned Bourgault-Ducoudray was in an article in the journal *Resimli kitap* published in 1909.[646] In the introduction, he wrote about the numerous travel accounts by Europeans in the Middle East and their writings on music. Most of the observations on music in these books, Yekta affirmed, were superficial and incorrect.[647] Apart from the details about Bourgault-Ducoudray, Yekta provided a comprehensive excerpt from Bourgault-Ducoudray's ideas in Turkish. When foreign researchers presented "Oriental music" in a bad light or claimed that Turkish music was of foreign rather than Turkish origin, Turkish researchers were forced to reckon with questions of national identity. This triggered a crisis that needed to be overcome.

644 The weekly journal *Malûmât,* edited by Mehmed Tâhir Efendi (1864–1912), dealt with a plethora of topics from the fields of literature, history, geography, military science, politics, and musicology. From 23 May 1895 onwards, the journal's title changed to *Musavver Malûmât* (Arpaguş 2004, 1). The journal *Şehbâl* was published at intervals of fourteen days and dealt with many topics of general interest, including those of the arts. It was the mouthpiece of many well-known Turkish musicologists who published their articles in this journal. Among the authors were Rauf Yekta (1871–1935), Suphi Ezgi (1869–1962), Sâlih Murât Uzdilek (1861–1967), and Sadeddin Arel (1880–1955)—the latter being the editor. The first issue was published on 1 March 1909 and the last one shortly before World War I on 15 July 1914 (Uymaz 2005). The *Millî tetebbûlar mecmûası* [Journal for National Studies] was established on 10 March 1915 and focused more on topics related to Turkish culture and Islamic civilization. The journal also included many articles by foreign authors (Yazıcı 2005).

645 Rauf Yekta, "Şark mûsıkîsine aid bir mühim teşebbüs," *Şehbâl,* no. 48 (1317/1901): 472, ed. in Öncel 2010, 97.

646 Rauf Yekta, "Memâlik-i şarkıyye'de seyâhat-ı mûsıkîyye," *Resimli kitap,* Nisan 1325/1909, ed. in Öncel 2010, 51–56. See also remarks in Mihci "Réceptions turc-ottomanes de Bourgault-Ducoudray et de ses théories." In *Composer l'histoire. Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray et ses héritages,* edited by Peter Asimov and Yves Balmer. Paris: Les Éditions du Conservatoire, forthcoming.

647 Ibid.

2.2.1 Origin of the Debate

The chain of argumentation, as well as the formation of the groups that took part in the discussion, show many parallels to the Greek music debate. The Turkish music debates resulted from a crisis of national identity and reflections about the question of what "Turkish music" actually was. The supporters of Turkish or Ottoman music were in a defensive position, aiming to disprove the claims of French and English orientalists who had already claimed several decades earlier that Ottoman music was of "Byzantine" or "Arabo-Persian" descent. The effort to refute this theory became even more urgent in the initial years of the Turkish Republic, which sought to abolish Ottoman music completely from the public sphere for not being of Turkish origin.

The only way to face this challenge was to show, firstly, that Turkish music was national, and secondly, that it was not influenced by foreign nations. In the late nineteenth century, the influence of Pan-Turkic and Turanist ideas had already impacted the intellectual debates and the questions of the race and origins of the Turkish people. The same questions concerning the origins of the people had become the crucial question in the identity discourse of the nation, and thus they also determined the main thread in the debates on national music. Similar to those in Greek debates, the important elements in the discussions around Turkish music were centered on origins and unbroken cultural continuity, which had been questioned by foreign scholars.

One of many prejudiced reproaches was made by the priest Stephen Hatherly,[648] who claimed in his work that Turks were, as a nation, "not artistic."[649] The sources that he used to prove his thesis were popular music pieces, such as the dance from the operetta *Leblebidji Hor-hor Agha* and Turkish airs for piano rearranged by Callisto Guatelli (d. 1899). Hatherly claimed that although these pieces were denominated as

> Turkish, even by Greeks, [they] are undoubtedly Greek in their origin. […] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when they over-ran the civilized lands constituting the Byzantine empire, they not only possessed no Architecture or Music of their own, but they saw at once that there was no need of their possessing any, both being made ready to their hand in the countries conquered by them. Hence Turkish Architecture and Turkish Music when not spoiled by foreign admixture are both essentially Greek, or more distinctively, Byzantine.[650]

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[648] Stephen Hatherly was an Englishman born in Bristol in 1827. Alongside his important contributions as a priest, he also had a special interest in music. In 1853, he studied music at the New College in Oxford, and five years later, in 1857, he converted to Orthodoxy. Although he had been active in the Russian-Orthodox church and aimed for a priesthood in Russia, he was ordained into the priesthood in Istanbul on 8 October 1871. During his time in Istanbul, Hatherly seemingly underwent a change of attitude. Birchall (2014) remarked on Hatherly's new national Greek and Hellenistic orientation in his works that he wrote during this period. Birchall could not discern whether Hatherly adopted this new orientation in order to better reach his Greek Orthodox audience or because he personally believed in this ideology (Birchall 2014, 113–43). A similar "chauvinistic" tone can also be perceived in Hatherly's work *A Treatise on Byzantine Music* (1892).

[649] Stephen Georgeson Hatherly, *A Treatise on Byzantine Music* (London: Wiliam Reeves, 1892), 111.

[650] Ibid., 111–12.

Hatherly's approach is biased, similar to Bourgault-Ducoudray's, to whom he also made reference.[651] Although the appropriation of music and the attempt to claim its origins as Greek or Byzantine was perpetuated by philhellenes, Byzantinists, and Greeks, the real crisis faced by supporters of Ottoman music was triggered in their own nation-state by Turkish nationalists.

The most important Turkish intellectual who shaped the frame and the "Principles of Turkism" was Ziyâ Gökalp (1876–1924). During the initial years of the Turkish Republic, the idea of national ideals shifted to mainland Anatolia, and the Turkish peasant represented the pure, uncorrupted spirit of the nation. The peasant was presented in a highly idealized light, and it was assumed that the peasantry had conserved a continuous, uncorrupted Turkish character by having lived far away from the urban centers. In contrast, Ottoman music, it was believed, was the music of the multi-ethnic cities and therefore corrupted by foreign influences. Gökalp emphasized, for example, the differences between Ottoman music and Turkish folk songs. Ottoman music was bound by rules and derived from the imitation of other people's music, whereas "Turkish music consists of melodies unfettered by rules, systems and technique, of songs which express the heart of the Turk."[652] The idealization of peasant culture in the early Turkish Republic and the break with the old Ottoman culture and esthetics is characteristic of thinkers such as Gökalp. He followed the orientalist argument and claimed that Ottoman music "was adapted from Byzantium by al-Fârâbî […]. Because of its source, Byzantine music is part of the culture of the ancient Greeks."[653] Gökalp's claim was actually not new and was probably also perpetuated among the more progressive groups of Turkists. Gökalp made use of claims and ideas about Turkish music that were already in circulation before he was born. For the new Turkish political stakeholders, it was not difficult to leave Ottoman music behind since they would focus on Anatolian culture and Western civilization. Therefore, all music related to what was called "Oriental music" was rejected by Gökalp, who used the same language as the nineteenth-century orientalists. He acknowledged that "Eastern" music derived from ancient Greek music, from his point of view, because it made use of quarter tones. Quarter tones and "monotony" for him were the main flaws of Greek music, and these had been eliminated in Europe thanks to the introduction of harmony and polyphony. The "sick music," according to Gökalp, remained unchanged, in contrast to its Western equivalent, and was reintroduced to the Persians and Ottomans, as well as to Armenians, Syrians, and Byzantines. Gökalp mentioned three types of music, namely "Oriental, Western, and folk," and raised the question as to which of these types would correspond to the "real national music." He excluded "Oriental" music for being "sick and non-national." In contrast, he considered Western music to be part of Turkish civilization, and folk songs to be part of

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651 Indeed, Aksoy was correct when he claimed that Hatherly probably would not have changed his opinion, even if he had consulted other sources of Ottoman music since his approach to the sources was biased and solely intended to legitimize Byzantine continuity in music (Aksoy 2008, 165).

652 Ziyâ Gökalp, *The Principles of Turkism*, trans. Robert Devereux (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), 24.

653 Ibid.

Turkish culture. He concluded: "Our national music will be born out of a marriage between folk and Western music. Our folk music has given us many melodies. If we collect these and harmonize them in the Western manner, we shall have both a national and a European music."[654] Similar ideas had been formulated by Bourgault-Ducoudray in the 1880s, but in Turkey it had become a political creed in 1923. The new Turkish music followed the contemporary cultural politics of "halka doğru" [towards the people] and emerged from a synthesis of folk song and Western music similar to the Hungarian and Russian models.[655] The folk song, which became the new basis of the national school, became for the first time an object of research and study. Herder's ideas about the folk song that would best represent the nation's character, were still being perceived and applied roughly one hundred sixty years later. For musicians who lived through the transition from the Ottoman Empire to Turkey and who had grown up with Ottoman music, these claims were a great offense and setback. In the end, Ottoman music, which had shaped their culture for so long, was at stake.

2.2.2 Formation of a Historical Master Narrative in Ottoman Music

The emergence of Turkish or Ottoman music history is a relatively late phenomenon. As has been mentioned, towards the end of the nineteenth century, many Ottoman intellectuals pointed out the lack of interest in Turkish music. It is true that there was, seemingly, not much published on the history of Ottoman music. One thin volume that dealt with music history was *Târîhçe-i fenn-i mûsıkî* (1894) [The History of Music Science] published by Hacı Mehmed Emîn (1845–1907).[656] This booklet, however, dealt with the history of European music, especially of opera and theater. Additionally, it also contained a section with composer biographies. The book does not deal with any aspects of Ottoman music. However, it solely mentions in the preface some of the Istanbulite composers of alafranga music.[657] This volume may therefore demonstrate the interest of Ottoman intellectuals in

654 Ibid., 99.

655 Ibid.

656 Mehmed Emîn, *Târîhçe-i fenn-i mûsıkî* (Istanbul: Matbaa-ı Sava ve Enver, 1310/1894), ed. in Abaylı 2004. Mehmed Emîn Efendi was born in Istanbul in 1845. At the age of ten, he entered the Imperial Music School (Mûzıka-yı Hümâyûn), where he was a student of Guatelli Pasha. He became familiar with European as well as Ottoman music and contributed to the musical scene in various ways. In 1873, he joined a printing house and from 1876 onwards he published more than 250 fascicules of sheet music in staff notation who were arranged by Guatelli Pasha, among others. Besides his compositions, Emîn Efendi was also active in the field of music pedagogy. He published the *Nota muallimi* (1302/1886) [The Notation Master], which was written for music aficionados that were interested in learning music or staff notation. His contributions in the field of printing and teaching notation probably gave him the additional title *notacı* [One who sells, prints or writes notes]. He died in Istanbul in 1907. For further reading also consult Rona 1960, 16; Erol 2003; Öztuna 1990, 1:255–56. A picture of Hacı Emîn Efendi was printed on the upper left corner of Konuk (1317/1901, 2).

657 Among the names that he mentioned are the Ottoman-Armenian composer Dikran Tchouhadjian (1837–1898), the Italian violinist Giuseppe Gaido, Antoine Merciyan, and the author himself (Mehmed Emîn 1310/1894, 4).

European rather than in Ottoman music. It does not contain any notions or comments that would deal with the problem of Ottoman or Turkish identity in music.

Initial steps in this process of achieving self-awareness in "Oriental music" in the Turkish context can be seen in an article that was published in the journal *Malûmât* in 1896.[658] The article, which is anonymous, was probably written by the publisher of the journal, Tâhir Bey. In his article, which was meant as a reply to Âsım Bey's letter, Tâhir Bey deals with questions concerning the origins of *garb* [Occidental/Western] and *şark* [Oriental/Eastern] music. The author claimed that the musical origins of European music were in Egypt, later passing to the Greeks and Romans. He highlighted the role of the Turks in the history of "Oriental music," which, according to him, had originated along the coasts of China and Japan. The author affirmed that both nations had elevated music to its highest degree and invented the "most touching" melodies as well as the instruments that were necessary to express them. He admitted that this age was followed by a period of decline and decadence; but on the other hand, it achieved great progress under the Persian civilization, which is why in the Ottoman repertoire there were still many songs in Persian.[659] He further claimed that this music was adopted by the Arabs during the Abbasid Caliphate (1261–1517) and was eventually adopted by the Turks. Since the Arabs were "uninterested" in the "riches" and "progress of civilization," he concluded that if the Turks had not adopted the "Oriental music" from the Arabs, it would have been lost forever. The Turks, he claimed, not only adopted the music; they developed and fomented its progress in order to guarantee its future.[660] This short and simple narrative of Turkish music history underwent important changes in the following decades. This article asserted that all nations from China, Japan, and Persia were related to ideas of progress and developed civilizations, whereas the Arabic period was held responsible for the age of decline. According to this narrative, the Turks served as the "savior" of "Oriental music," who combined and further developed it to a high level.

Another important thinker in this context was Âsım Bey. In his article "Mûsikî-i millîmiz" [Our National Music], he underlined the importance of a history of Ottoman music to complement national history and the corpus of Ottoman literature. In order to do so, he outlined the most important stages of Ottoman music history, which he dealt with in each of the articles. His outline suggests an interest in the music of past cultures that supposedly influenced Ottoman music. He started with Hebrew music,[661] but he also planned to publish articles on the music of China, Iran, Romania, Byzantium, and Arabia. In his article

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658 [Tâhir Beyefendi?], "Ma'lûmât'ın N. Âsım'a cevâbı," *Malûmât,* no. 43 (1312/1896): 943–44, ed. in Arpaguş 2004, 107–10.

659 For a detailed study of the influence of the Persianate repertoire on Ottoman music, see Feldman 2015, 87–139.

660 [Tâhir Beyefendi?] 1312/1896, ed. in Arpaguş 2004, 109.

661 It is likely that Âsım Bey's article on Hebrew music was based on Dr. E. W. Hengstenberg's (1802–1864) *Die Bücher Moses und Ägypten* (1841) [The Books of Moses and Egypt]. The article places special weight on organology, where Âsım Bey drew parallels to instruments that were also used in Turkish music.

on music in the Seljuk dynasty, he affirmed that Ottoman music was connected with the music of the Greeks and the Seljuks. In the following, he used the chronicles *Târîh-i Âl-i Selçûk*[662] [History of the Seljuk Dynasty] and quoted passages that deal with music practices and instruments. By doing so, he highlighted the importance music had for the predecessors of the Ottoman dynasty. He also intended to prove cultural continuity by showing that many of the old instruments mentioned still existed in his time. He underlined the important contributions of the Persians and concluded that many of the adopted instruments were of Persian origin.[663] In the last of the three articles, Âsım Bey wrote about "Ottoman music."[664] As had become apparent in his article on Seljuk music, in "Ottoman music" his narrative concentrated on the Turkic and Persian cultures. By doing so, he omitted any possible contributions from other Christian musical cultures, such as Byzantine music. Therefore, Âsım Bey's article is tendentious and is influenced by his ideological background. Continuity in Ottoman musical culture played a pivotal role. In his second article, he pointed out the influences of central Asian cultures during the time of Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–1446, 1451–1481). He stated that the Ottoman state had strong relations with the Timurid Empire during the reign of Husain Baiqara (1470–1506). Many experienced craftsmen and poets visited Sultan Mehmed II, including the prestigious musician Abdülkâdir Merâğî (1353–1435). During the time of Sultan Selim III (1761–1808), more professional artists and musicians came from Iran. Âsım Bey referred to Evliya Çelebi's famous travel account of the seventeenth century and used it to prove the high number of musicians and instrument makers that had existed back then. He concluded that music had always played an important role for the Turks and that many of the instruments were still in use. The former band of the Janissaries, where these instruments were used, was replaced by "Mûzıka-yı Hümâyûn," the late Ottoman imperial military band, which at the same time served as a music school. Âsım Bey further highlighted the cultural kinship with the central Asian by referring to folklore. He introduced a short digression to show that, apart from the Ottoman instruments in the urban centers, they were also to be found in more rural areas. In an idealizing fashion, he narrated a folk ritual of the Turkmens in Aleppo and the primitive instruments that were made of wood and coffee beans. In this way, Âsım Bey reminded his readers that folk songs also formed part of the cultural heritage and therefore should be researched. He probably aimed to draw attention to a field that was understudied at that time. Comparing the lively debates and existing literature in the Greek-speaking world, it is surprising that at the end of the nineteenth century there

662 The chronicles *Târîh-i Âl-i Selçûk* (also known as *Selçûknâme*) were commissioned by Murâd II (r. 1421–1444 and 1446–1451) and were written and completed between the years 1424 and 1436. The chronicles, in the Persian language, give insights into the history of various Turkic tribes such as the Oghuz, Seljuks, and Ottomans, highlighting the decisive episodes. It is considered one of the most important historical documents of Turkic history (Özgüdenli 2011).

663 Necîb Âsım, "Selçûkîlerin mûsıkîsi," *Malûmât,* no. 112 (Kânûn-ı Evvel 1313/1898): 1242–44, ed. in Arpaguş 2004, 130.

664 Necîb Âsım, "Mûsıkî-i Osmânî," *Malûmât,* no. 115 (Kânûn-ı Evvel 1313/1898): 1285–87.

was seemingly so little knowledge of and interest in Turkish music studies. Although his claims were tendentious, the tone in which he wrote was relatively passive. His motivation was to disseminate knowledge about the history of the Turkish people. His arguments and narrative reveal the influence of David Léon Cahun's work *Introduction to the History of Asia,* which was published in 1896 and even translated into Turkish in 1899.

Rauf Yekta's role as the first Turkish (ethno-)musicologist was comparatively more influential in the debates around Turkish music. His expertise and professional formation derived from the dervish convents where he was taught by his masters. His mission was to establish a scholarship-based study of Turkish music. He not only defended Turkish music against supporters of Western music in the Ottoman Empire; he also hoped to refute wrong assumptions and claims that were circulating among foreign and Turkish scholars. He hoped to spark interest among Turkish scholars with his musicological articles that he published in Ottoman journals such as *İkdâm.*[665] He laid the foundation for Turkish music history and became known as a fervent defender of Turkish music. His best-known article was "La Musique Turque" [Turkish Music], which was published in Albert Lavignac's music encyclopedia *Encyclopédie de la musique.*[666] Although the article was published in 1922, Yekta had already written it in 1913. Therefore, it can be assumed that he developed his ideas and theses on Turkish music in the first decade of the twentieth century. One of the striking features of his article is the terminology that he used to refer to Ottoman or Middle Eastern music. Yekta did not use the phrase "Ottoman music" in this article but spoke mostly of "Turkish music." One of his early articles that he published in the journal *İkdâm* in 1898 was titled "A Few Words on Ottoman Music."[667] Did he choose the word "Ottoman" unconsciously or did this change of mindset derive from an ideological background?

His article "Turkish music," which he wrote in French, is not only a scholarly attempt to eliminate wrong assumptions and ideas about Turkish music that had been claimed by foreign musicologists. His article can also be considered a scholarly—and also a political—statement on the origins of Turkish music which aimed to prove the glorious and unbroken past of Turkish musical history. In his introduction he stated his thesis, claiming that Turks came originally from central Asia and were divided into two tribes. One was the Uyghurs who lived in parts of east Turkistan, and the others were the Turks who had settled in west Turkistan. In this article, Yekta's understanding of "Turk" or "Turkish" was not geographically limited to the Ottomans but extended beyond them. In his theory, the western Turks adopted the ideas and religion of the Arabs who had reached central Asia in the early Middle Ages. Because of the Muslim religion, and because Arabic as well as Persian had become the languages of the sciences, Turks also wrote their scholarly trea-

665 The *İkdâm* was a periodical that circulated between 1894–1928. It dealt with questions of politics, culture, and science. It also included topics that were related to the Turkish language and music and thus served as a platform to exchange and disseminate ideas on national culture (Yazıcı 2000).

666 Yekta, "La Musique Turque," 1922.

667 Rauf Yekta, "Osmânlı mûsıkîsi hakkında bir kaç söz," (*İkdâm,* Zilkade 1315/1898).

tises in Arabic and Persian. Yekta used this argument to present the well-known theoretician al-Fârâbî as a Turkish scholar and to include him in the lineup of Turkish thinkers. He claimed that al-Fârâbî was the earliest Turkish theoretician to write a "Turkish" music treatise in Arabic. Yekta drew attention to the misinterpretation of Western European scholars—namely that since al-Fârâbî wrote in Arabic, Western scholars mistook him for an Arab.[668] The tendency to appropriate great theoreticians and musicians of the Middle Ages as part of the Turkish musical heritage can be observed in twentieth-century Turkey in particular. Abdülkâdir Merâğî, in this context, is a pivotal figure who even today is considered the originator of Turkish music. Many pieces in the Ottoman repertoire that are in Persian are attributed to Merâğî without any historical basis.[669] It is crucial to understand that these kinds of references to old composers who used Persian as their language were seen as an important element in the chain of music transmission. In Ottoman Turkey, the attribution of musical pieces to Merâğî started in the second half of the eighteenth century, which Feldman referred to as the "Ottoman musical Renaissance."[670] According to his analysis, there was a significant rupture and change in the musical repertoire from a "simplistic" to a more sophisticated style. In many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music anthologies, it is possible to find pieces that were attributed to the "Hoca" [The Teacher]—a title often used to honor Merâğî.[671] In later centuries this culture lived on, and many of the attributions to Merâğî or to "Acemler" [The Persians] were not based on scholarly evidence. For Yekta and his contemporary musicologists, such as Sadettin Arel (1880–1955) and Suphi Ezgi (1889–1947), it was pivotal, however, to show a monolithic and unchanging music.[672] Yekta, who also published a biography on Merâğî, clarified that the Europeans mistook him for an Iranian musician. Yekta explained that the last name, "Merâğî," showed that he was originally from Maraga, a city in today's Azerbaijan. Al-Fârâbî and Merâğî's supposed birthplaces served as proof for Yekta that they lived in areas where Turks had already settled. Yekta used this assumption to claim that very early, important thinkers as well as musicians were Turkish in origin. Furthermore, Yekta's emphasis was even greater on the aspect of cultural continuity. He claimed that many of Merâğî's pieces had essentially their form, despite the fact that they were transmitted orally over a long period of time.[673]

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668 Yekta, "La Musique Turque," 1922, 2975, col. 2.

669 Feldman explained in his article the phenomenon of "Pseudographia" in late Ottoman Turkey. Pieces that were attributed to prestigious composers like Merâğî had already become "classics" in the seventeenth century. An analysis of the transmitted repertoire prior to the 1650s showed, however, that there was no correlation in the repertoire (Feldman 2015, 132). Consequently, the emergence of old composer names, together with musical pieces that had not been recorded before, happened without any historical basis and stood in the light of an "Ottoman musical Renaissance."

670 Feldman, "The Musical 'Renaissance' of Late Seventeenth Century Ottoman Turkey."

671 See, for example, the edition of the codex TR-Iüne 204-2 in Mihci, Demirkol, and Sharif 2021.

672 Feldman, "The Musical 'Renaissance' of Late Seventeenth Century Ottoman Turkey," 129.

673 Yekta, "La Musique Turque," 1922, 2978, cols. 1–2.

In Yekta's brief history of Turkish music, which he narrated chronologically according to the reigns of the sultans, the era of Sultan Mahmud I and Sultan Selim III is shown as the peak of Turkish music. Both sultans, who reigned in the eighteenth century, are presented as the "protectors" of Turkish music. Demetrius Cantemir's (1673–1723) as well as Nâsır Abdülbâkî Dede's (1765–1821) music theories are mentioned in the context of an emerging musical literacy. Yekta mentioned that the Moldavian prince Cantemir, who wrote the first music theory in Turkish, had attributed the invention of the alphabet notation to himself.[674] Yekta disagreed and underlined that the alphabet notation had already been in use since the times of Merâğî. It is true that the alphabet notation had been used in many prior music treatises to exemplify musical phenomena, but it followed different rules and was never used to write down music for practical performances.

In the previous chapter on Greek music, it became clear that music notation played an important role in the context of national identity. Byzantine neume notation was an important element and proof of continuity in Greek Orthodox music. Hence, the debates around reforming the notation or even replacing it with staff notation were seen as a threat to the native musical tradition. However, in the Turkish case, the situation was different. Musical literacy in music performance started at a relatively late stage in the Ottoman-Muslim tradition. Earlier, Ottoman music had been transmitted by the *meşk* tradition, which was characterized by an individual, master-student relationship.[675] The student learned the repertoire face-to-face and the musical style by rote until completing the training. The Ottoman music transmission was for many centuries based on oral transmission. Consequently, there were only very few Ottoman sources that recorded songs in the form of music anthologies with notation. However, those song collections circulated only in very limited groups and were not in use on a large scale. Moreover, music notation was used in music treatises exclusively to illustrate and exemplify theoretical assumptions and claims. Letters of the Arabic alphabet generally served to indicate pitch.

The lack of a "national notation" in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire, when national origins and identity in music had become important, turned out to be an obstacle in the historical narrative of Turkish music. The numerous modernization processes in the nineteenth century also impacted music notation cultures in the Ottoman Empire. The only notations that were invented for practical use and for writing down and performing music were Chrysanthine and Hampartsum notation. After the establishment of the Ottoman Imperial Military Band in 1828, staff notation was also introduced. Staff notation was mostly used for military bands and European entertainment music, but it was also used to write down Ottoman songs. Additionally, Hampartsum notation was used in a small circle

674 Cantemir's contemporary, Nâyî Osmân Dede, had introduced a notation a few decades earlier that was almost identical to Cantemir's. For more detailed information consult Popescu-Judetz 1996.

675 For further reading on the meşk, see also Cinuçen Tanrıkorur, *Osmanlı dönemi türk mûsikîsi* (Istanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2003); Cem Behar, *Aşk olmayınca meşk olmaz: geleneksel osmanlı/türk müziğinde öğretim ve intikal* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1998); Gönül Paçacı, "Mûsiki taliminden müzik terbiyesine," *Toplumsal tarih*, no. 100 (2002): 10–19.

of musicians, both Muslim and Christian.[676] Staff notation dominated, however, especially in the latter nineteenth century. The co-existence of various notation systems that partly developed out of the national self-awareness of the Ottoman-Christians led to the manifestation of an Ottoman music repertoire that was codified in various notations. For the debate on Turkish national identity, however, the lack of a national "Turkish" music notation was problematic.

Ottoman Greeks used Chrysanthine notation for both spiritual as well as secular music. The numerous printed volumes of Ottoman music in this reformed neume notation are actually the earliest printed editions of Ottoman vocal music. In addition, there are also many manuscript sources that contain Ottoman music in neume notation. The users of Chrysanthine notation were mostly Ottoman Greeks or Greeks who knew Turkish and had a connection to the Greek Orthodox church. Among Ottoman-Muslim musicians, Chrysanthine notation was rarely used.[677] In contrast, Hampartsum notation was accepted among many Ottoman-Muslim musicians who lived in the capital. Unlike Chrysanthine notation, Ottoman songs in Hampartsum notation were rarely printed. The repertoire that was transmitted in Hampartsum notation consisted mainly of manuscripts in the form of codices or loose sheets that circulated among the dervish lodges and musicians. Although Hampartsum notation was born out of national aspirations in the light of the European Enlightenment, it did not hinder Ottoman-Muslim musicians from using it. Whether the use of Hampartsum notation, which derived from an Ottoman-Armenian context, was related to Ottoman national ideologies cannot be known for sure. In the introduction to an article, Alî Rifat Çağatay differentiated between alafranga and alaturca notation. In this article from 1895, he stated that staff notation was alafranga notation, whereas he referred to Hampartsum notation as alaturca notation. In the following issues of the journal, he explained the correct usage and notation of Hampartsum characters. Yekta knew, of course, that neume notation came from the Orthodox-Greek and Hampartsum notation from an Armenian heritage. Since there was seemingly no "Turkish" notation that was being used, he had to compensate for this missing element in Turkish music history. Thus, he reverted to medieval Islamic shared traditions, which he "Turkified."

In 1909, Rauf Yekta published two articles on music notation. The first deals with the development of music notation in Europe, whereas in the second article, he gives an historical account of the music notation of the Eastern nations, especially of the Ottomans.[678] In his article on Ottoman music notation, he described the works of ten important per-

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676 Hampartsum notation was named after the Ottoman Armenian musician Hampartsum Limonciyan (1768–1839), who was one of its inventors. Together with Minas Bžškean (1777–1861) and members of the Tiwzeans family, he developed a new notation that derived from the signs of the older Armenian "khaz" notation. The ideological spirit that was influenced by the currents of Enlightenment thought was a very similar one to that of Chrysanthos of Madytos. Both reformed their already existing notation around the same time. Kerovpyan (2010) claimed that Hampartsum notation was developed between the years 1810 and 1812. For further reading, see Popescu-Judetz 1996, 42–43; Kerovpyan 2010, 91–105; Jäger, 2006, 184–85; Olley, 2017.

677 Among the list of subscribers in Kēltzanidēs (1859), there is also one Muslim name from Crete called Ahmed Bey. See Kappler 2002, 19n35.

678 Rauf Yekta, "Kitâbet-i mûsıkiyye târîhine bir nazar," *Şehbâl,* no. 7 (1909): 127, ed. in Öncel 2010, 80–82.

sons who had contributed to the development of music notation in the Ottoman and Islamic contexts. Yekta took al-Fârâbî and his Middle Age context around the year 941 as a point of departure.[679] Al-Fârâbî had used music notation in the form of Arabic letters for didactic purposes; and this notation, which Yekta considered to be in a state of infancy, was further developed by Hacı Safiyyüddîn Abdülmü'min el-Urmevî[680] and the aforementioned Abdülkâdir Merâğî.[681] The fourth theoretician that Yekta mentioned was Kutbeddîn Şîrâzî,[682] who drew on Urmevî's concept but added more functional elements to the notation. From the Ottoman period, Yekta discussed Ahmedoğlu Şükrullâh[683] as an expert on notation among the Ottoman composers of the fifteenth century who also used alphabet-

679 Al-Fârâbî (d. 950) used a tablature notation that used letters in alphabetical order to indicate the tonal steps (Popescu-Judetz 1996, 15).

680 Safiyyüddîn Abdülmü'min el-Urmevî (d. 1294) was a music theoretician named after the city "Urmia," where he was supposedly born. He is considered the founder of the Systematist School, which developed an alphabetical notation that reached full functionality in indicating pitch and measure. Thanks to the Persian elements that his work introduced, his work was widely referenced in Turkish and Persian sources (Popescu-Judetz 1996, 16–17). Some Turkish musicologists consider el-Urmevî to be one of the early national scholars. Öztuna, for example, called el-Urmevî a "Turkish music theoretician. The greatest music theoretician of the Islamic world" (1990, 2:250). Öztuna claimed that el-Urmevî wrote a vocal piece in "ebced" notation and in the Arabic language, which is considered one of the oldest pieces that has been handed down to the present day in the Turkish repertoire. All early Turkish musicologists, such as Rauf Yekta, Suphi Ezgi, and Sadeddin Arel worked on el-Urmevî's writings. Ezgi and Arel apparently discovered close relations between the Turkish music system and the explanations in el-Urmevî's treatise. El-Urmevî dedicated himself to the study of music treatises by famous Islamic as well as early Greek theoreticians. He developed a system in which he divided the octave into seventeen pitches and indicated them according to the pitch in "ebced" notation. His approach was accepted in the Turkish-Islamic world between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries (Uygun 2008; Öztuna 1990, 2:250–51).

681 Abdülkâdir Merâğî (d. 1435) is considered one of the most important musicians and theoreticians of the Muslim world. His talents were not limited to music: he also was a poet, writer, painter, calligrapher, and professional reader of the Koran. He served as a musician at various courts. It is claimed that his name derives from the city Maraga, where he was supposedly born. This information, however, could not be verified. He spent parts of his life in Samarkand and Herat and was in contact with Ottoman and Mamluk courts. In Turkey, he is considered to be the father of classical Ottoman music; and he is often referred to as "Hace" or "Hoca" [The Teacher/Master], which underlines his authoritative position (Feldman 1990/1991, 92). In his treatises written in Persian, he melded Persian and Turkish musical cultures into a theoretical framework. The music system which Merâğî used was based on that of el-Urmevî (Popescu-Judetz 1998, 19; Öztuna 1988; İhsanoğlu 2003, 5–14).

682 Kutbeddîn Şîrâzî (1236–1311) is described in Öztuna (1990) as a "great Muslim thinker and scientist, music theoretician." He was born in Şîrâz and died in Tabrîz at the age of seventy-four. He worked in different areas, such as Islamic philosophy, mathematics, optics, astronomy, and geography, in Iraq and Iran before he came to Anatolia. He became an ambassador of the Mamluk sultan Qalawun and went to Cairo. He played such instruments as the *rebâb* and *kemençe*. His most outstanding work was *Dürretü't-tâc li-gurreti'd-dîbâc* (1305), an encyclopedia with important sections on music. Rauf Yekta seemingly prepared a translation, which according to Öztuna had never been published (Öztuna 1990, 2:465–66; Şerbetçi 2002). Şîrâzî added more detailed ideas to the notation, similar to a semi-staff notation (Popescu-Judetz 1996, 18). Kiesewetter called Şîrâzî "Zarlino der Orientalen" [The Zarlino of the Orientals] and claimed that Urmevî's thoughts had led to reforms and the emergence of a system that was based on seven whole tones and five halftones. Kiesewetter assumed that this system was transferred from Europe to Persia and not vice versa (Kiesewetter and Hammer-Purgstall 1842, 13). Yekta fervently criticized this assumption in his article of 1915, where he discussed the origins of Turkish music. For more detailed information on this debate, see Yekta 1331/1915, ed. in Çakıroğlu 2015, 217–29.

683 Şükrullâh al-Çeşmişkezekî (1388–1470?) entered the service of the Ottomans in 1409. Apart from his work as a scholar and statesman, he was interested in the study of music. He translated el-Urmevî's treatise from Arabic into Turkish with some additional annotations. Yekta used some of the elements in his articles in the

ical notation. Up to this point, Yekta narrated the history of music notation as an uninterrupted process of progress and unbroken continuity. Şükrullâh's period was, however, followed by a caesura. Yekta remarked that there was no further evidence of music notation until the seventeenth century and lamented that the "national notation" was lost.[684] Continuing, Yekta mentioned the most important names of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In addition, Cantemir[685] provided a music treatise on Ottoman music as well as numerous instrumental pieces in alphanumeric notation. Prior to him, the musician Nâyî Osmân Dede,[686] whom Yekta mentioned as well, had published another treatise with an almost identical but more complex system. Another musician of the eighteenth century whom Yekta mentions is Nâyî Osmân Dede's grandson and Mevlevi musician, Nâsır Abdülbâkî Dede,[687] who was commissioned by Sultan Selim III around 1794 to develop a music notation. In his work *Tahrîriyyetül-mûsıkî* [The Writing of Music], Abdülbâkî presented a notation in the tradition of the older Islamic music treatises. Yekta's narrative of the history of music notation in the Ottoman world ends abruptly in the nineteenth century after mentioning the notation of Necîb Pasha[688] and Hampartsum notation.

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journal *Millî tetebbûlar mecmûası* [Journal of National Studies]. The passage on Ottoman general history that Şükrullâh dealt with in his work caught particular attention (Öztuna 1990, 2:263–64; Yıldız 2010; İhsanoğlu 2003, 30–31).

684 For a brief introduction to the notation systems in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ottoman Empire, see Behar 2019.

685 Prince Demetrius Cantemir (1673–1723) was born in Jassy in Moldovia and served at the Ottoman court in Istanbul from 1687 to 1691 and from 1693 to 1700. There he became familiar with Ottoman culture. He also learned Ottoman music and played the tanbûr and ney. He designed a music notation in the same period as Nâyî Osmân Dede, which he tried to propagate without success. Cantemir's music treatise *Kitabu ilmi'l-mûsikî 'alâ vechi'l-hurûfât* (ed. in Tura 2001) is accompanied by 350 instrumental pieces that were notated in alphabetical notation. Unlike earlier examples, the alphabetic letters in Cantemir's work referred to a specific pitch and the numerals denoted a rhythmic value. His notation, however, did not reach a broader audience and was short-lived. He died in Kharkov and was buried in Jassy (Popescu-Judetz 1996, 27–30, 35; Tura 2001, 1:xix–xxiv).

686 Nâyî Osmân Dede (1652–1730), in addition to being a famous ney player, was also familiar with Arabic and Persian music and literature. He became sheikh of the dervish convent in Galata and adopted the alphabetic notation from older music treatises (Öztuna 1996, 2:169–70; Popescu-Judetz 1996, 31–34; Çakır 1998). His biographers say that he was able to write down vocal pieces and perform them from the notation (Popescu-Judetz 1996, 30).

687 Nâsır Abdülbâkî Dede (1765–1821) was the grandson of Nâyî Osmân Dede and head of the dervish convent in the Yenikapı district in Istanbul. He was a ney player, composer, and music theoretician. Abdülbâkî Dede aimed to revitalize three alphabetical notations of medieval models after he adopted most of the symbols from el-Urmevî (Nâsır Abdülbâkî Dede 2006; Popescu-Judetz 1996, 36–39; Uslu and Doğrusöz-Dişiaçık 2009).

688 Necîb Pasha (1815–1883) is considered one of the most influential Ottoman musicians of the nineteenth century. At an early age, he already became familiar with Ottoman music, and later, when he entered the newly organized Imperial Music School, he also learned European music from Giuseppe Donizetti. After his training in harmony, piano, violin, and flute, he became a member of the military band as a flutist in 1846. From 1876 on, he had higher positions; he composed one march to Sultan Abdulhamid II and another march dedicated to the First Constitution, which became the official Ottoman march for thirty-three years. As a composer and instructor who was familiar with the two musical cultures, he contributed to the westernization of music in the Ottoman Empire. In Turkey, he is also known as a music collector who commissioned musicians to write down and conserve the Ottoman music repertoire (Öztuna 1990, 2:103–5; Gazimihal 1955, 65–69; Özcan 2006).

Necîb Pasha was a military commander and composer of the Ottoman national anthem, which was used from 1876–1908. He found staff notation inappropriate to represent Turkish music. He had attempted to reintroduce alphabetical notation, which, however, was unsuccessful. Yekta, who later also proposed to reintroduce alphabetical notation, could not understand why Necîb Pasha's notation had not been accepted among Ottoman musicians, whereas Hampartsum notation, which was introduced during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, became widely used.[689]

In his article "Studies on the Origins of Old Turkish Music," Yekta defended the origins of Turkish music against false claims by foreign researchers.[690] In his article of 1915, Yekta dealt with Kiesewetter's volume *Die Musik der Araber* [The Music of the Arabs] in particular.[691] When Kiesewetter spoke about the music history of the Middle East, he claimed that the Persian authors were late in writing music treatises because of the Turkish occupation. Yekta was offended by Kiesewetter's ideas and his remark that Turks were "far away from the muses." Kiesewetter had stated that only when the Turks had retreated and the Mongols dominated were the arts and sciences able to reach their heyday.[692] Yekta contradicted Kiesewetter and stressed that both Turks and Mongols were peoples that possessed elaborate instruments and music, and neither were "enemies of the sciences." He quoted an excerpt from the medieval theoretician Abdülkâdir Merâğî, who, in his writings on the music of the Turks and Mongols, claimed that both music traditions were developed and systematized and that both even used a precise nomenclature to describe musical phenomena. For Yekta, this showed that Turks historically belonged to the world of civilized people but that foreign scholars came to misleading conclusions and assumptions regarding the topic. Yekta can be seen as one of the earliest Turkish musicologists to publicly reject this kind of biased perspective on Ottoman music and to fight for its reputation and acceptance among European scholars.

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689 Rauf Yekta also invented an alphabetical notation, which he himself called "Turkish notation." A few pictures of this notation were printed in Doğrusöz 2018, 133–34. For Yekta's theoretical treatise, see Yekta 1335/1919.

690 See Yekta 1331/1915 ed. in Çakıroğlu 2015.

691 Kiesewetter and Hammer-Purgstall, *Die Musik der Araber*.

692 "Das verspätete Erscheinen persischer Schriftsteller über musikalische Theorie dürfte aus dem Schicksal zu erklären seyn, welches Persien in eben dieser Periode betraf: noch in der Mitte des XI. Jahrhunderts unserer Zeitrechnung gerieth das Land unter die Herrschaft der Türken, eines Volkes, das überall den Musen abhold gewesen. Erst als die Türken im XIII. Jahrhundert wieder dem Andrang der Mongolen weichen mussten, lebten unter der milderen und aufgeklärteren Regierung mongolischer Dynastien Künste und Wissenschaften neuerdings auf, und blühten in noch höherem Flor unter ausgezeichneten Fürsten aus der Familie des mächtigen Eroberers Timur, gewöhnlich Tamerlan genannt." [The late appearance of music theory by the Persian authors may be explained by the fate that Persia met during this period: in the middle of the eleventh century of our calendar, the land fell under the rule of the Turks, a nation which had been averse to the muses everywhere. Only in the thirteenth century, when the Turks had to give way to the impetus of the Mongols, could the arts and sciences newly revive thanks to the more lenient and enlightened Mongolian rulers, and thus flourish in a greater flowerage under the rulers of the family of the powerful conqueror Timur, who is usually referred to as Tamerlan], ibid., 13.

Yekta also intended to write and publish a *History of Oriental Music*[693] in fascicules, which started to be published from 1925 onwards. In this volume, which he had also planned to use in his music lectures, he intended to narrate the history of Turkish music since the beginning of music in the mythical past to the present. It also included the music history of neighboring and ancient civilizations such as the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Assyrians, and ancient Greeks, among others. He used organology to trace instruments that had commonly been in use since the pre-biblical age. Unfortunately, only the first few fascicules of this work were printed, while the greater part remained unpublished.

It has become clear that the topics in the Turkish music debate were centered on questions that were vital for Turkish national identity and music. The questions that somehow directed the debate derived from a direct comparison with other nations and the musical elements they had that the Ottomans did not. Âsım Bey repeatedly stressed in his articles that the alaturca or *incesâz*[694] music was not suitable as a national music since it was based on imitations of Persian and Arabic musical cultures; thus, it did not correspond to the requirements of a Turkish national music. He drew attention to folk songs from Anatolia, from which a national "Turkish" music could be formed. However, he lamented that there was hardly any interest in folk songs that had been abandoned and therefore left in an undeveloped state for 500 years.[695] Âsım Bey criticized the conservative stance that continued with the fashion of composing old-style songs. This prevented the emancipation of music, poetry, and language since it simply imitated the language and music of other nations. Âsım Bey questioned the benefits of the alaturca music and the efforts that had been spent on this music for the last 600 years. He stated that the music of the past centuries was lost and that even the best-trained musicians would not remember the music of the last century. Âsım Bey explained why musicians of Arabic and Persian origin caused astonishment among incesâz musicians when they performed *gazels*[696] or

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693 Rauf Yekta, *Şark mûsıkîsi târîhi* (Istanbul: Mahmûd Bey Matbaası, 1343/1927). On the title page of the volume, Yekta listed the musical topics and cultures that he had planned to study and consider in his work. The topics that he had itemized were "The Origins of Music; The Music of the Primitive People; The Music Before the Flood; Considering Egypt as the Cradle of Music; Music in Egypt; Music of the Assyrians and Phoenicians; Music in India; Music of the Hebrews; Music in China; Music in Japan; Music in the Vicinity of the Burmans, Siamese and Ceylonians; Music of the Ancient Greeks; Music of the Arabs; Music of the Persians." The last published issue dealt with the music of India. The first issues were reissued in the Latin alphabet in the *Nota musiki mecmuası* from 1933 to 1935 when Rauf Yekta had already died. See also Paçacı 2010, 172–74.

694 İncesâz was an alternative term for an orchestra that performed "fasıl music." Therefore, this type of orchestra was sometimes also referred to as "fasıl heyeti," which is a group of musicians that play a "fasıl program." The term "fasıl" means "chapter" or "section" and relates to the idea of the makâm as a "chapter." The fasıl is composed of a selection of instrumental and vocal pieces that all belong to the same makâm, are performed as a cycle, and are often conceived as a type of "Suite." The performance has a determined order, which depends on the music genres of which it has been composed. See also Öztuna 1990, 1: 286.

695 Necîb Âsım, "Türk mûsıkîsî," *Malûmât,* no. 104 (Teşrîn-i evvel 1313/1897): 1065–66, ed. in Arpaguş 2004, 119. At this point, it should be remarked that Âsım Bey tended to idealize the Anatolian folk song. At that time, the folk song was hardly known since the first serious field studies started only in the early 1920s.

696 The gazel (or ghazal) is a widely used literary form of poetry in Islamic cultures, but it may also refer to a vocal music genre. The performer sings the verses of the poem in a free and improvised fashion. Therefore, the vocal music genre "gazel" can be considered the vocal equivalent of the instrumental taksîm. The performance may eventually be accompanied by instruments, although the center of the performance remains the

kasîdes[697] in their own style. For Âsım Bey, the lack of understanding of this foreign culture proved that incesâz music was not national.[698]

2.2.3 Restoration of Ottoman Music

As in the Greek music debate, the restoration of Turkish national music also became a topic in the Turkish music debate. Journal articles from the last decade of the nineteenth century give an idea of what intellectual currents and approaches existed in terms of a national music. In the Greek music debate, there had been three main movements that sought to reform their music according to different principles. It is not surprising to observe that similar movements also occurred in the Ottoman case, because they reacted and responded to the same ideological questions that were circulating at that time. Rauf Yekta, for example, drew attention to two groups that had opposing ideas on how Ottoman music should be modernized. The first group consisted of intellectuals who aimed to mimic the trends in Europe. As had been done with other Western sciences, they were inclined to adopt the tempered system of Western music. They asserted that all modes that did not form part of the minor and major tonality should be abolished in order to harmonize the traditional melodies according to Western models. The second group aimed to harmonize the traditional melodies, without applying the intervals of the tempered system but keeping the characteristic modes.[699] Yekta complained that there was a serious lack of expert knowledge that could properly contribute to this field. Most of the music societies that emerged in the Second Constitutional Period consisted of instrumentalists, who according to Yekta, were "more or less specialized" in performing music. Most of them did not possess any background in either the history or the theory of the music that they performed.[700] The lack of interest in Ottoman music and the small number of experts who would exchange ideas on this topic were recognized by other authors, too.

Mehmed Celâl,[701] for example, criticized in an article the attitude of intellectuals towards alafranga and alaturca music. He complained that most of the Western music aficio-

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singer and his or her ability to unfold the modal characteristics of the makâm in the performance (Öztuna 1990, 1:299; Özkan 1996, 149–50).

697 Like the gazel, the kasîde is one of the best-known Arabic poetic forms. Many kasîdes are much longer than gazels and consist of more than fifteen distiches. Kasîdes are often encomiastic praise poems to God or living emperors but may also praise famous, deceased persons. Some of those persons may come from a religious context and therefore the kasîdes have a commemorative character. In Turkey, the kasîde has the same musical characteristics as the gazel, but the lyrics draw on spiritual and religious content (Öztuna 1990, 1: 433–34; Redhouse 1986, 614; Andrews 1976, 146–73).

698 Necîb Âsım, "Bu millî manzûmeler hakkında hey'et-i tahririyyemizden Necib Âsım Beyefendi'nin mütâla'aları," *Malûmât,* no. 104 (Teşrîn-i evvel 1313/1897): 1072–75, ed. in Arpaguş 2004, 120. On this topic, see also Aksoy 1989, 2.

699 Yekta, *Türk musikisi,* 56.

700 Ibid.

701 Mehmed Celâl (1867–1912) was an Ottoman intellectual and author of numerous poems, journal articles, and novels in the late Ottoman Empire (Andı 2019).

nados sought to create a "musical art" by imitating Western music. The author made reference to Necîb Âsım Bey, pointing out his remarks that every nation had its own music and that the nations were distinct from each other due to their melodies or songs.[702] The proposed ideas showed that an Ottoman national music could be created by making use of the "fenn-i mûsıkî" [science of music]. What exactly "science of music" meant was not explained in detail. However, taking into consideration the broader historical debates on national music, it is possible to draw conclusions. Mehmed Celâl's concept of the "science of music" seemed to suggest that he was very familiar with the ideas of Bourgault-Ducoudray. Celâl claimed that to adopt alafranga music did not mean to adopt music "à la France" but that every national melody was apt to be rearranged by the "science of music," which also applied to all the music of other nations such as "French, German, Spanish, Hungarian."[703] Since the "science of music" was notated the same way and followed the same rules and principles, it could be applied, according to Celâl, to the melodies of all nations. Finally, he proposed to apply the "science of music" to traditional melodies as well. In this context, he mentioned the names Haydar Bey[704] and Tchouhadjian,[705] who had combined traditional melodies with the "science of music." The composers that Mehmed Celâl Bey mentioned were popular composers of operettas, who often drew on traditional tunes and couleur locale. Celâl proposed that the "national dialect"[706] could even be reinforced by the use of traditional instruments on stage. The author of this article hoped that, in this way, the "art music" would not only be a mere imitation but would please both Ottoman and non-Ottoman musicians and music lovers. The author further asserted that the rules of the "science of music" had to be thoroughly studied for years in order to be properly mastered. Like Yekta, Mehmed Celâl distinguished two groups of music aficionados in this debate. The first were the "imitators" of Western music, and the second were

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702 Mehmed Celâl, "Bizde mûsıkî," *Malûmât,* no. 106 (1313/1897): 1123–26, ed. in Arpaguş 2004, 103.

703 Ibid.

704 Kemânî Alî Haydar Bey (1846–1904) was a Turkish violinist, flutist, and composer of operettas. Haydar Bey received his musical training in the Ottoman military band Mûzıka-yı Hümâyûn. He was familiar with Turkish as well as with Western music. He became especially famous for his compositions in vocal music genres such as marches and şarkıs (Öztuna 1990, 1:339). Celâl Bey, mentioning him together with Tchouhadjian, aims to show Haydar Bey's ability to combine alafranga genres, such as the operetta, with modes and elements that are characteristic of Eastern music.

705 Dikran Tchouhadjian (also Çuhacıyan) (1836?–1898) was an Ottoman-Armenian composer who became famous for his operettas. The popularity of Tchouhadjian's pieces derives from the amalgamation of Western music genres with the couleur locale, modes, and elements of "Oriental music." In 1861, he started his musical training in Milan and afterwards became the director of orchestras and choirs. Wealthy Armenians patronized many of his cultural and musical projects. After a stay in Vienna, he directed the orchestra under Sultan Abdulhamid II in 1878. He worked as a teacher at the Armenian school at Üsküdar and died of a tumor after a visit to Paris. His musical works achieved international fame, even beyond the Ottoman borders, which made him famous as the "Ottoman Lully." Some pieces from his operettas, especially from the *Leblebidji Hor-hor Agha,* first performed in 1876 in Istanbul, were also rearranged for piano. He composed operas that dealt with the victorious military campaign of Gâzî Osmân Pasha in Serbia. His repertoire also included music genres such as marches as well as religious songs. He dedicated a march to Sultan Abdulhamid II in 1895 (Öztuna 1990, 1:204; Tahmizian 2011; M. Emin, 1314/1898, 335, ed. in Arpaguş 2004, 146–47).

706 "Şîve-i millî" (Celâl 1313/1897), ed. in Arpaguş 2004, 104.

those who aimed to make a "marriage," in the sense of Bourgault-Ducoudray, between national music and Western composition techniques. Celâl also stressed the need for musicologists who would dedicate themselves to the study of the folk song genres. He criticized those that looked down on the folk song as music of Iranian and Arabic descent. He proposed instead that the "nağamât-ı millî" [national tunes] should be rearranged according to their character and a new "classical music" should be produced.[707]

Âsım Bey was also aware of the need to create an Ottoman national music. Similar to other authors, he believed that each nation had its genuine music. He considered Ottoman music as non-national, being of Arabic and Iranian descent. "Turkish" music was considered the music of Anatolia and Syria and the music of the Turkmens. Âsım Bey suggested studying their melodies first and using their "original form" to compile a national music, as had been done in a similar fashion in Europe and Hungary.[708] The new Ottoman national music should be based on theoretical rules, composition techniques, and instrumentation of Western orchestras. The musical materials should derive from airs and tunes that were collected from the peasants and studied.

Âsım Bey explained in more detail what he considered to be shortcomings in Turkish music. As had been mentioned before, he distinguished three types of music that existed in his nation, which were alafranga music, alaturca music, and folk song. Firstly, he compared alafranga and alaturca music side by side to stress why alaturca music did not correspond to the contemporary requirements. He stated that alafranga music was characterized by the link between the audience and the orchestra, which was able to trigger emotions by the use of instruments. The music, mood, and words were aligned and worked as a whole. In the alaturca music, he claimed, no attention was paid to the level of expression. Hence, it was possible that a serene poem might be set to a melancholic melody, and thus music and words formed an antithesis.[709] Therefore, alaturca music could not be used in any of the Western music genres, such as military marches, theatrical music, and operas. The third group, which is the folk song, had been played by former Janissary musicians who returned to their homeland when the Janissary corps—the elite infantry unit of the sultan—was abolished. He highlighted that all the facets of this music, such as folk songs and instruments (including the *davul, zurna,*[710] *ney,* etc.) were creations of the musicians themselves and were therefore genuinely Turkish. Interestingly, Âsım Bey also referred to Turkestan, a region in central Asia, where this music and its instruments had originated. Âsım Bey further underlined the expressiveness of the folk song and referred to traditional practices in villages. He stated that it would suffice if one merely "sketched" his feeling in the air with the finger and the musician would improvise a tune and lyrics

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707 Celâl 1313/1897, ed. in Arpaguş 2004, 105.

708 Necîb Âsım, "Necîb Âsım Bey'in Ma'lûmâta mektûbu," *Malûmât,* no. 43 (Hazîrân 1312/1896): 943–44, ed. in Arpaguş 2004, 109.

709 Ibid., 111.

710 The zurna is a double-reed instrument often played together with the davul in folk music.

related to this emotion.[711] The author criticized, however, the conservatives of the "elegant class," who abandoned the folk song and were even tempted to erase it completely in the name of "civilization." Âsım Bey strongly supported the study of the "national sound" of the "neglected" folk song and contributed to its progress. This is how he invited his readers to give rise to "Turkish" or "Ottoman" music.[712] The ideas that Âsım Bey shared with his readership are based on models that were being used in many European nations. He did not, however, give any concrete examples of what the creation of a new Turkish piece could look like. This is probably because he was not a musician, nor an expert in the field of music, which he himself had also admitted. It is likely that he had intended to initiate a debate on a topic that had hardly gained any attention.

Harmonization of Ottoman Songs

The idea of harmonizing Ottoman songs was first discussed in Turkish journals only in the early twentieth century.[713] The silence on this issue is remarkable and strange if the impassioned discussions among the supporters and opposition of Western music techniques in Greek music are taken into account. Despite the fact that it was not possible to find any evidence in journals and music debates, it is unlikely that the Ottoman musicians ignored this topic. Although there is hardly any controversial discussion of this topic in Ottoman journals, the influence of this debate can be seen in some of the printed music scores that were published around the same time that Bourgault-Ducoudray's ideas were freshly circulating.

One of those examples is a song anthology series arranged for piano by Callisto Guatelli,[714] the music director of the Ottoman Imperial Military Band. Unfortunately, there is no publication date on the score. Given the fact that Hatherly referred to this source, it must have been published prior to 1892. The two fascicules, which contain twelve pieces each, both contain vocal and instrumental Ottoman music arranged for piano. The songs

711 Necîb Âsım, "Necîb Âsım Bey'in Ma'lûmâta mektûbu," *Malûmât,* no. 43 (Hazîrân 1312/1896): 943–44, ed. in Arpaguş 2004, 112.

712 Ibid.

713 For an introduction to the harmonization of Turkish melodies in the early Turkish Republic, see the three articles by Mihalzâde (1926), edited in Kahraman and Tebiş 2014, 134–55. For further reading, see also Sağlam 2009, 111–15, 134–35; Oransay 1983, 1517–30; Balkılıç 2009, 93–100.

714 Callisto Guatelli (d. 1899) was a musician of Italian origin. During the last years of Abdülaziz's reign, he was the young director of the Naum Theater in Istanbul. Later he became director of the Ottoman Imperial Military Band in 1861 (Tuğlacı 1986, 83). He trained many military band musicians and was a well-known music instructor. He composed Ottoman marches such as the "Marş-ı Sultânî," an emperor's march dedicated to Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–1876). Guatelli's name also often appears in the editions of printed Ottoman music in staff notation that were published by Notacı Hacı Emîn. In the Hacı Emîn editions, Guatelli partly harmonized and arranged the Ottoman melodies that were printed as piano scores. His other, less well-known edition of Ottoman songs for piano was the *Album.* It is likely that the *Album* was intended to be published as a series. When this study was conducted, only the first and second issues of this series were accessible. The scores have no publication date, nor is the total number of issues known. For more information on Guatelli, consult Öztuna 1990, 1:310; Gazimihal 1955, 69–71; Tuğlacı 1986, 83.

do not have specific titles but refer only to the genre of the piece, such as the vocal genre *şarkı* or the instrumental genre *peşrev*. The pieces do not indicate any information that would allow their identification.[715] Besides the pieces that do not mention any composer names, the collection also includes pieces that were composed by the family members of the emperor.[716] In the brief preface, Guatelli claimed to be publishing a collection of "new" and "old" national and popular airs of the "Orient." He emphasized that he had been especially careful when rearranging the melodies and hoped that his work would be accepted by the musical public.[717] It is interesting that Guatelli dedicated this song collection to Dēmētrios Paspallēs, the notable banker, who was chairman of the Istanbulite musical society before it dissolved. Paspallēs had already played an important role in the debate on Greek music and published numerous articles on music history as well as on the future of Greek music. He was the mouthpiece of change and reforms, criticizing those who would oppose it.[718] Guatelli's dedication to Paspallēs may allude to the intellectual connection between these two musicians, who both sought to find ways to reform their respective national music. The fact that Guatelli rearranged, harmonized, and transferred the Ottoman melodies into staff notation has to be read in the context of reforms and esthetical ideologies in the field of music. Guatelli did not only create an edition of Ottoman songs but also showed that according to the contemporary understanding of reforms and modernization, "Oriental" music could be expressed in staff notation. The dedication of his volume is therefore a nod to Paspallēs, who also tried hard to push forward reforms in Greek Orthodox music, among them the introduction of staff notation.

Another source that very likely was influenced by the same thinking was Hacı Emîn's song anthology *Fenn-i mûsıkîden râst faslına mahsûs piyano notasıdır* [Piano Scores From [the Series] "Science of Music" in the Mode Râst].[719] This anthology dates from 1293/1876,

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715 Only the first pieces of each volume are national marches dedicated to Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839–1861).

716 Some of the composer names that are mentioned in both volumes are Münîre Sultan (1844–1862), Âdile Sultan (1826–1899)—both daughters of the emperor—his "niece or granddaughter" Hanöm Suliana (?), and his brother-in-law Fethi Ahmet Pasha (1801–1858). The volume also contains one piece attributed to Sultan Mahmud, which could not be further identified.

717 "Fu mio pensiero che pubblicando una raccolta d'arie nazionali e di Canti popolari Orientali antichi e moderni, fedelmente riportati e con ogni possibile cura disposti, potessi fare opera gradita. Onorato dalle loro Altezze del permesso di armonizzare e pubblicare le loro composizioni autografe, ho creduto dovessero queste figurare nella mia collezione come parte integrante della stessa. Offerta in tal modo una precisa idea d'un genere finora compiutamente ignorato, oso sperare che questo mio lavoro sarà ben accolta [*sic*] dal pubblico musicale." [It was my intention to produce a work in the public interest, by publishing a collection of national airs, of new and old popular Oriental songs, faithfully transferred and carefully prepared. Since I was honored by their Majesties with the permission to harmonize and publish their original compositions, I believed that they had to appear in my collection as an integral part of the same. By presenting in this way a precise idea of a hitherto unknown genre, I dare to hope that my work will be well received by the music public]. I would like to thank Dr. Michela Bonato for revising my translation from Italian to English.

718 Cf. Chapter 1.3.4.

719 I am very grateful to Katy Romanou for having provided me with this important source. Two more issues of the same series in makâm sûz-ı dilârâ (1293/1876) and neveser (1294/1877) were edited in the anthology by Tütüncü 2020, 55–118.

the same year that Bourgault-Ducoudray published his work *Trente mélodies populaires de Grèce & d'Orient*. It is likely that Hacı Emîn published more issues, each one dedicated to one *makâm* or *fasıl*. In this anthology, Hacı Emîn included fifteen pieces of both secular instrumental (2) and vocal music (13). The exact order of the pieces is also described in a short text given at the end of the book.[720] It is striking that besides the şarkı, all other vocal music genres are in the Persian language; some of them are attributed to the prestigious medieval musician Abdülkâdir Merâğî, who is also referred to as "Hoca" [The Teacher]. Similar to Guatelli, it is likely that Hacı Emîn also intended to create a collection that contained both old and new pieces and that back then were considered "historical" and "national." The pieces in Persian were considered the classics of Turkish music and were often attributed to ancient composers. They were arranged for piano to the detriment of important musical characteristics such as rhythmic cycles (usûl),[721] mode (makâm),[722] and lyrics.[723] It would be going too far to give a complete analysis of these pieces. The idea is to show that although the topic of reforming Turkish music was seemingly not publicly discussed, the musicians were aware of the latest trends and made their first attempts to harmonize their "national" music as early as the 1870s. In this way, they made it possible to play Ottoman songs on tempered, European instruments, such as the piano, and present them to an Ottoman and non-Ottoman audience. The song anthologies of Guatelli, Hacı Emîn, and also of Madam Herzmaińska de Slupno[724] belong to the earliest known Ottoman printed piano arrangements, where old and new pieces from the Ottoman music repertoire were rearranged and partly harmonized.

At the end of Yekta's comprehensive article "Turkish Music," he gave a statement on the attempts of various musicians to harmonize "Oriental music." Yekta pointed out that Turkish music was genuinely homophonic, and that in the course of history, Turks had never felt the need to introduce harmony in their music. He explained that the numerous makâms and usûls and their combinations saved the music from being monotonous. Yekta

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720 "İşbu makâm-i mezkûre mahsûs olarak bir pîşrev ve bir kâr u beste ve iki semâî ve bir pîşrev semâîsi ve diğeri şarkıyyâtdan ibâret olub bundan böyle mâkâmât ilm-i mûsıkîyyenin her birerleri minvâl meşrûh üzere sırasıyla tab olunub bu sîyâk üzere ihrâc olacaktır." [Dedicated to the aforementioned makâm [râst], [this volume] is composed of one peşrev, one kâr and beste, two semâîs, and one peşrev semâî with the rest being şarkı. Each of these makâms of music sciences, once their form has been explained, will be printed one by one and published consecutively].

721 The usûl, for example, although mentioned in the heading of the piece, was usually not printed in the music scores. The piece "Şevknâme" attributed to Abdülkâdir Merâğî on p. 6 has the rhythmic pattern hafîf, which in traditional music treatises is given with 32 beats. In this arrangement, however, the time signature was given as a 4/4, hence emphasizing the first and third beats.

722 The broken chords in the piano accompaniment are based on the G major key.

723 Although most of the content is vocal music, none of the song lyrics were given, neither as text underlay nor as block text. The score only provided the melody.

724 Irma Herzmaińska was of Polish origin and had come from Galicia-Slupno to Istanbul-Pera in 1865. She gave music lessons to the children of the Ottoman palace as well as to other upper social-class families. Additionally, she arranged seventy-five Ottoman pieces from the vocal and instrumental repertoire as well as dances for piano (Atalay 2018, 104–6).

presented harmonization as an exclusively Western European phenomenon that could not be found in other musical cultures elsewhere. He traced this to different musical tastes and the need of the Europeans to introduce harmony and polyphony, which were detrimental to the diversity of modes. The reduction of the many modes to major and minor tonality limited the set of possible notes and the new ways of musical expression. At this stage, Yekta quoted Bourgault-Ducoudray's statements which claimed that it was necessary to adopt the modal characteristics of "Oriental music" to push European music out of its state of monotony. The way Yekta defended Oriental music is remarkable. He presented the use of harmony in Western music as the exception to the rule and as not corresponding to the esthetic needs of other musical cultures. In fact, he considers the reduction of music to two tonalities as a loss and limitation that led the composers of Western music to a crisis. For Yekta it was not "Oriental music" that needed to undergo reforms; it was Western music that needed elements of "Oriental music" to reinvent itself.[725]

Revival of the Imperial Janissary Band

Public performances of Ottoman songs that were arranged for Western instruments were reviewed in journal articles. One of these public events was a concert that drew on the revival of the Janissary bands. The Janissary bands had been abolished in 1826 during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II (1808–1839) and replaced by a modern military band with Giuseppe Donizetti (1788–1856) as the new band director.[726] At the turn of the twentieth century, there was seemingly a growing interest in the Janissaries.

The eighth issue of the late Ottoman music journal *Âlem-i mûsıkî* [World of Music],[727] published in 1919, was dedicated to the Janissary military bands. The short article titled "Mehter muzıkası" [The Mehter Band] gives interesting insights into the contemporary notions of the revived Janissary music. The article was taken from a short brochure[728] of

725 Yekta, "La Musique Turque," 1922, 3062–64.

726 Sultan Mahmud II reacted to the diminishing efficiency of the Janissaries, whose poor performance in the Greek War of Independence demonstrated bad management. He fostered a new force within the Janissary corps, which would be trained in Western military tactics and artillery. These reforms and changes led to suspicion among the Janissaries, which culminated in the Janissaries' revolt. The loyal Janissaries were separated from the rebels, the latter being slaughtered in their barracks (Shaw 2003, 16).

727 The journal *Âlem-i mûsıkî* [World of Music] was published by Şehi Mehmed Bahâ Bey (1877–1953). The journal was also supported by Rauf Yekta, who published a letter in the first issue. Paçacı (2010) has listed in total sixteen issues of this journal and provided a short list of contents as well as pictures of the title pages of the volumes. For further information, see Paçacı, *Osmanlı müziğini okumak,* 192–201; Beste Aydın, "Âlem-i Mûsikî" (Master Thesis, Izmir, Ege Üniversitesi, 2004).

728 In 1909, Celâl Esad Arseven prepared a brochure called "Türk mûsıkîsinin teşvîk ve ihyâsı maksadıyla tertîb ve ihyâ edilen mûsıkî müsâmere dolayısıyla Türk mûsikî ve yeniçeri 'Mehter' muzıkası hakkında mutalâat" [Studies on Turkish music and the Janissary "Mehter" band that has been composed and revived for the music evening entertainment for the purpose of encouraging and restoring Turkish music]. In this volume, he gave general information on Janissary culture and music that he wanted to use to restore the Janissary band music. His ideas and thoughts were influenced by an older article by Ârif Pasha, who had described the Mehter with images in the "Mecmûa-i tesâvir-i Osmâniye" (1863) [Anthology of Images of the Ottomans].

Celâl Esad.[729] It starts with a general historical introduction describing the clothing, rituals, and organization of the Mehter, indicating the number of musicians and types of instruments.[730] In the following paragraph, the article mentions a Mehter band performance with period clothing and instruments directed by Celâl Esad at Tepebaşı Theater in the year 1327/1911 with the aim of promoting and reviving Turkish music.[731] The author complained that this tradition of musical performance had been discontinued, but he enthusiastically stated that "we belong to those who wait impatiently to start reviving it [the Mehter band] again."[732] Celâl Esad's brochure title suggests that the Mehter concert seemingly did not aim to give an authentic historical performance of Janissary band music but rather had to be understood as taking a stance on the esthetical discussions about Turkish or "Oriental music."[733] This becomes evident from a series of musical elements that were atypical of Mehter bands but were still used, for example, clarinets and oboes instead of the traditional zurna. Celâl Esad complained that he was not able to find a zurna player who also knew music notation. At the same time, he claimed that the sound of the zurna would have discouraged aficionados of both Western and "Oriental music" from enjoying the concert. Hence, the zurna, which is the traditional instrument of the Mehter band, was left out. Another important element was the harmonization of the melody because Mehter music was originally monophonic.[734] Although Bourgault-Ducoudray's name was not explicitly mentioned here, Celâl Esad's vision of the future of Turkish music shows many similarities with those of Bourgault-Ducoudray. He believed that the introduction of harmony was the "first step" towards saving and keeping alive the "great works of old times" and sparking enthusiasm in the hearts of the young people.[735] The performance also included old secular court music arranged for piano and lyra (kemençe).

Rauf Yekta, who was also in the audience, praised Celâl Esad's efforts and intentions to organize a historical music event. The fact that Celâl Esad had written down and harmonized the melodies was, for Yekta, a noble attempt to "save" the melodies that were

729 Celâl Esad Arseven (1875–1971) was a Turkish art historian and music aficionado. He first studied at the school for civil servants and later changed to the military school. He learned musical instruments such as the ûd, cello, violin, and accordion and was also active as a composer. Later he worked as an instructor at the university and became a politician. When he wrote the article on the Janissary band music in 1909, his new opera *Şabân* came to fame (Öztuna 1990, 1:112–13).

730 A complete transcription of the article into the Latin alphabet can be found in Aydın 2004 and a partial one also in Paçacı 2010, 235.

731 Tuğlacı (1986, 24) indicated the exact date as 16 February 1911.

732 "Biz bunun yeniden ihyâsına teşebbüs edilmesine sabırsızlıkla intizâr edenlerdeniz" (quoted in Paçacı 2010, 236).

733 On this topic, see also Sanal 1964, 285.

734 Tuğlacı, *Mehterhane'den bando'ya,* 22.

735 Celâl Esad according to Rauf Yekta, "Mehterhâne konseri," *Şehbâl,* no. 49 (March 14, 1912): 12, ed. in Uymaz 2005, 57.

threatened with being lost.[736] However, he also pointed out the shortcomings of the performance. He criticized the Mehter performance that aimed to create a "national sound" with Western instruments that were not able to produce the right pitches. One of the most important points of criticism was the harmonization of the melodies. The rearrangement and harmonization of homophonic melodies, according to the rules of Western music, were in most cases impossible. Yekta affirmed that harmonization could be applied to major and minor tonalities, but its application to modal music would not produce satisfying results. Concretely, he referred to a peşrev—an instrumental "prelude" to a fasıl cycle—that was performed by the violinist Anastas Efendi[737] and the pianist Vittorio Radeglia.[738] Radeglia had rearranged and harmonized the melody of the instrumental piece. Yekta explained that the harmonization of the peşrev was possible due to the modal kinship between the makâm râst and the G major key,[739] which otherwise would not have worked. He mentioned a piece in makâm bestenigâr that appeared in the concert program but eventually was not performed. The reason for this, Yekta concluded, was the impossibility of harmonizing the makâm bestenigâr due to its complex microtonal pitches. Whereas in the minor and major keys, the interval between the tonic and the dominant is a perfect fifth, in bestenigâr, the interval would result in a tritone (f♯–c) and hence it could not easily be harmonized. Yekta therefore assumed that Radeglia had become aware of the difficulties and had not been able to harmonize the melody, and thus had omitted the entire piece from the concert program. Yekta summarized that most of the pieces had modes that were related to minor and major keys or were derivations of those. Their performance was, however, far from the characteristics of makâm music, which were lost due to the music being rearranged.[740] Performance of traditional music with Western music elements was, for Yekta, like an Ottoman poem being transcribed into Latin script and read by someone who did not know any Turkish at all. Hence, he concluded that the forefathers of the Mehter had probably "turned in their graves" during that evening.[741]

For many centuries, the Janissary band's music had been an important part of the Ottoman military apparatus.[742] After the Janissary band was closed down, a new westernized Ottoman military band was introduced, mainly organized by foreign musicians and

736 Rauf Yekta, "Mehterhâne konseri (2)," *Şehbâl,* no. 50 (1912): 32, ed. in Öncel 2010, 108–113.

737 It could not be told for sure if this performer was Kemençeci Anastas (d. 1938?) or another person.

738 Vittorio Radeglia (1863–193?) was an Italian composer born in Istanbul. He graduated from the Paris Conservatory and worked as an orchestra director, pianist, and violinist. He harmonized a series of pieces from the Ottoman music repertoire and followed the footsteps of the Ottoman-Armenian musician Kirkor Sinanian (d. 1910?). Radeglia also worked in the Imperial Ottoman Military Band. In addition to Istanbul, his three operas were also staged in Milan and Turin (Öztuna 1990, 2:207).

739 Rauf Yekta, "Mehterhâne konseri (2)," *Şehbâl,* no. 50 (1912): 32, ed. in Öncel 2010, 110.

740 Ibid., 112.

741 Rauf Yekta, "Mehterhâne konseri," *Şehbâl,* no. 49 (March 14, 1912): 12, ed. in Uymaz 2005, 58.

742 For an introduction to Janissary band music, see Gheorghiţă 2017, 367–89; Tuğlacı 1986; Sanlıkol 2011; Kahramankaptan and Tansel 2009; Erendil 1992; Gazimihal 1955, 1957; Üngör 1966.

directors.[743] Yet, there was still an interest in Janissary culture.[744] The new Janissary band that was revived in the first quarter of the twentieth century initially had a more representative function in terms of the newly founded Ottoman Military Museum, where they gave performances. The revival of the Janissary military band was a remarkable step, especially if considered in its historical context.[745]

The numerous defeats in the Balkans jeopardized the morale of the Ottoman nation. To rebuild and support the people's national sentiment, museums and school education turned out to be useful tools that would focus on past glories and victories. Sanal claimed, for example, that the victory of the Ottoman army at Kut Al Amara in 1916 led Sultan Mehmed Reşâd V to the idea of celebrating it with the music of the Janissaries.[746] The Janissary corps embodied in a romantic fashion the glorious past of the empire and were able to highlight the achievements of the Ottoman military. Even in the imperial exhibition in 1893 in Chicago, Janissary mannequins had been displayed to represent Ottoman culture.[747] Reviving the Janissary band was probably only one of the measures that

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743 The new Imperial Military Band was organized according to Western models. The expertise had to be introduced from outside the Ottoman Empire, since the existing musicians were unqualified for this task. From this moment on, many musicians from France and Italy were recruited to teach Western military band music to the Ottoman musicians. Although initially the French musician Ernst Mangel was summoned, in 1826, to direct and educate the newly founded Ottoman military band, he was soon dismissed. After some negotiations with the Sardinian embassy, Giuseppe Donizetti was ultimately appointed to organize the Ottoman military band. Giuseppe Donizetti was born in 1788 in Lombardy in today's Italy. At the age of twenty, he started his career as a military band director both in Italy and France under Napoleon. Between 1828–1856, he was director of the Ottoman Imperial Military Band "Mûzıka-yı Hümâyûn." Donizetti learned Hampartsum notation, which had been used by a few Ottoman musicians, and he also became more acquainted with Ottoman music. He taught European instruments and staff notation and was conferred the rank of pasha. He was the brother of Gaetano Donizetti, whose operas were also performed in Istanbul. Donizetti died on 10 February 1856 in Istanbul (Aksoy and Behar 1985, 1216; Yekta 1922, 2981). He managed the orchestra, instructed the musicians, and composed hymns to the sultan such as the "Mahmûdiye March." His repertoire included a variety of tunes that were inspired by popular European music genres such as waltzes, polkas, mazurkas, and marches (Aksoy and Behar 1985, 1217). After his death, the Italian music director Callisto Guatelli continued the Ottoman Imperial Military band. He composed marches to Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–1876) as well as to his successor, Abdulhamid II (r. 1876–1908) (ibid., 1220). He composed pieces that were inspired by makâm music and similarly to the Greek counterparts, he harmonized Ottoman music pieces (ibid., 1222). Before Guatelli died in 1899, D'Arenda Pasha was appointed as director of the Ottoman military band. D'Arenda was of Spanish origin and joined the Ottoman military after his music training at the Paris Conservatory (Gazimihal 1955, 83). Until the proclamation of the Second Constitution in 1908, the directors of Ottoman military music were foreign musicians. They had successful careers in Ottoman Turkey and made a considerable contribution to the westernization of Ottoman music. Apart from the band directors, there were other foreign musicians who gave music and instrumental classes. Mehmed Alî Bey (d. 1895), who had already worked with Guatelli and D'Arenda, became the first Turkish music director of the Ottoman military band. He was followed by Saffet Atabinen (1858–1939) and the last director, Zatî Bey Arca (d. 1951), who had played an important role as a music instructor (Aksoy and Behar 1985, 1225).

744 Shaw's examples show that in 1847, twenty years after the abolition of the Janissaries, there had already been a growing interest in collecting Janissary objects. Due to its temporal proximity, this was not possible at a public level. It took almost a hundred years before Janissary culture could be revived and form part of the official Ottoman narrative (Shaw 2003, 54).

745 On the revival of the Mehter bands in the late Ottoman Empire, see also O'Connell 2017, 97–126.

746 Sanal, *Mehter musikisi,* 283.

747 Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed,* 57.

drew on the past glories of the Ottoman state, which were displayed in the context of the military museum. The revival of Janissary music, however, turned out to be problematic because it had been transmitted by oral culture and after its abolition was lost from memory.[748] Although the greater part of the repertoire had fallen into obscurity, during the first quarter of the twentieth century, musicians started researching, recollecting, and republishing pieces of Janissary music that had supposedly survived until then. Similarly, new pieces were composed, and Ottoman art music was rearranged and formed part of the new repertoire. The scores of the so-called *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî* [Imperial Mehter Band] are worth looking at more closely in order to gain a better understanding of the broader circumstances and musical content.[749]

The revival of the Mehter band aimed to present the nation and its history in a new light. In this context, the Ottoman Military Museum was organized and opened to the public in the year of the Young Turk Revolution. The power of museums as an educational institution had been already recognized from the 1870s onwards. Under the reign of Abdulhamid II, a considerable number of archaeological museums were constructed. Whereas the first intention was to house collections, the idea of putting objects in an organized order that would narrate the continuity of the national history was soon implemented. After the Young Turk Revolution, Ottoman identity was grounded on the notions of state and united citizenship,[750] although even this idea was given up at a later stage. As Shaw correctly observed, "museums provided for public spaces devoted to the construction and projection of the history, culture, and identity of the Ottoman state and its people."[751] The museum that would house the newly founded Mehter band was initially called "Military Weapon Museum," but this was later changed to the "Ottoman Military Museum."[752] Between the years 1908–1923, Ahmed Muhtâr Pasha[753] implemented a series of new elements in the museum, including a library, a museum guide, a shooting range, and a cinema. In addition, the three-volume museum guide was available in Turkish and French. A musical component was the new Mehter band that was performing

748 Sanal, *Mehter musikisi: bestekâr mehterler, mehter havaları,* 284; Aksoy and Behar, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e musıki ve batılılaşma," 1214–15; Tuğlacı, *Mehterhane'den bando'ya,* 22.

749 Appendix A, Case Study 17.1.

750 Shaw, *Possessors and Possessed,* 25.

751 Ibid., 24.

752 First "Esliha-ı Askeriyye Müzesi," then it was changed to "Müze-i Askerî-i Osmânî" (Çürük 1991).

753 Ahmed Muhtâr Pasha (1861–1926) contributed nine volumes in the field of Ottoman military history. Together with Alî Rizâ, he founded the Ottoman Military Museum, which he directed from 1908–1923. Under the auspices of the museum, the Imperial Janissary Band *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî* was revived. Besides his post as an instructor at the Ottoman military school, he was also a connoisseur of music. He composed the patriotic song "Türk kavminin beş bin yıllık yuvası" [The five-thousand-year-old home of the Turkish nation], which was included in many Ottoman school song collections. Among many other songs, he also wrote lyrics for newly composed Mehter songs (Öztuna 1990, 2:66; Çoruhlu 1989, 2:106–8; Sanal 1964, 284–85; Aksoy and Behar 1985, 1234; Üngör 1966, 211–12).

regularly in the Ottoman Military Museum. 1914 is normally shown as the year when the new Mehterhâne came into being.[754] In this context, a series of Mehter band scores called *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî Notaları* [Scores of the Imperial Mehter] were published.[755] Apart from the scores, there are standard advertisements for the Ottoman Military Museum at the end of each issue that are worth considering. The text can be divided into five paragraphs, of which the first, fourth, and fifth deal with the Mehter band. The announcement was as follows:

> The new Imperial Mehter band that was revived and added recently to the military museum is brought to life by the national [military] band at determined hours at the military museum. They perform, from scores that were transcribed from alphabetic and Hampartsum notation, a series of historical Ottoman scores, with some of them being rearranged for voice and singing. Because they have been continuously demanded from all over, and especially from schools that use military and national songs, as well as military troops and some other bands, it has been decided to sell the scores to those who are interested. They [the scores] will be printed, performed, and produced consecutively for the benefit of the Ottoman Military Museum.[756]

In addition, the museum visitor was informed that the imperial Mehter played during the working hours of the museum, in the afternoons in the museum's garden, afterward inside the museum in an ancient style of the "Nevbet-i hâkânî,"[757] and later it performed in the museum cinema. In good weather, the Mehter band performance was followed by "old Ottoman style" combat with weapons as well as "old Ottoman exercises." The description of the Mehter band as one of the attractions of the Ottoman Military Museum shows on the one hand that the old imperial military band had become an object of display at the museum; but on the other hand, it was a medium of national and international self-representation. During the reign of the Young Turks with Enver Pasha as minister of war, the Mehter band became once more part of the military and was mentioned in the "Regulations that Concern the Organization of the Mehter Ensemble in the Imperial Army" in

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754 Öztuna claimed that Ahmed Muhtâr Pasha had founded the museum in 1911 but that it became institutionalized in 1914 (Öztuna 1990, 2:42; Sanal 1964, 285; Kahramankaptan and Tansel 2009, 46).

755 Çürük, "Askerî müze: İstanbul Harbiye'de Osmanlı silâhlarıyla savaş malzemesinin korunduğu müze."

756 "'Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî' âhiren Müze-i Askerîyece ihyâ edilmiş işbu millî musıkamız tarafından Müze-i Askerî'de evkat-ı muayyenesinde terennüm ve teganni edilegelmekte olan ve bir takımı hurûfat ve Hamparsum notalarından naklen bitamam tarz-ı kadîm-i Osmanî'de ve bazıları onlara mânend bir surette yeniden müretteb bulunan terennümât ve teganniyâtın notaları her taraftan ve bilhassa terennümât-ı askerîye ve millîyyede bulunan mektebler ve kıta'at-ı askerîye ve bazı bandolar tarafından ale'd-devam taleb edilmekde bulunmalarıyla bunların peyderpey tab' ve tems'ili ve hâsılât ve temettu'ları Müze-i Askerî-i Osmanî'de aid bulunmak üzere arzu buyuranlara füruhtu karargîr olmuştur." Quoted according to Paçacı 2010, 237. My translation.

757 This term usually refers to the change of shift of soldiers, but it may also be a type of set performance of a military band. According to Öztuna, the "nevbet" referred to the occasions on which the Mehter band played at the Emperor's court. In some places, they gave up to three performances a day (Öztuna 1990, 42–43).

1917.[758] The new Mehter was again revived after the Turkish War of Independence. The Mehterhâne, as it is known today, was revived in 1953.[759]

The total number of issues of the *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî* is uncertain. Paçacı listed twenty-six issues in her volume.[760] The piece that has been used for this case study is not mentioned in any of the known sources.[761] However, the fact that the issues are not numbered makes it more difficult to put the series in chronological order. Whereas most of the issues do not give any printing house, the last seven entries in Paçacı's list indicated the printing house "Ahmed İhsân Matbaası"[762] and the "Matbaa-i Osmâniye."[763] The available score titles give an idea of the repertoire. Although the great majority of the titles are related to national topics, there are also various songs from an older, secular repertoire. The music of the Mehter during the reign of Mahmud II (r. 1785–1839) was not limited to just war songs but also included more music genres that are considered to be Ottoman art or court music.[764] Hence, it is possible to find two pieces by Abdülkâdir Merâğî, who in Ottoman music is considered one of the old masters. It is probably due to his fame and prestige that he was included in this series of the *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî.* The same applies to other songs of the secular music repertoire attributed to the musical sultans, such as Sultan Mahmud II (1785–1839)[765] and Sultan Selim III (1761–1808).[766] Other composers from the older repertoires are Selim Giray Khan (1631–1704)[767] as well as İsmâîl Dede Efendi (1778–1846).[768] There are also some other names of contemporary musicians such as Giriftzen

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758 "Ordu-yu hümâyûnda mehter takımlarının teşkîline dair ta'limâtnâme." See O'Connell 2017, 118; Sanal 1964, 286.

759 Öztuna, "Mehter-hâne," 42; Sanal, *Mehter musikisi,* 291; Tuğlacı, *Mehterhane'den bando'ya,* 26.

760 Mehmet Sanlıkol also provided some titles of the *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî* together with a copy of the scores. See Sanlıkol 2011, 87–128.

761 Although Paçacı's list is incomplete, it is still an important source that provides a great deal of information on the repertoire. It also provides names of composers that, in one way or the other, contributed to the series.

762 The printing house was named for its founder, Ahmed İhsan Tokgöz (1867–1942). The name of his printing house changed many times. See Strauss 1992, 322; Ebüzziya 1989, 2:94–95.

763 For more information on the Matbaa-i Osmâniyye, see Birinci 2011.

764 Aksoy claimed that the band musicians would also perform other music genres typical of secular Ottoman music, such as peşrev, sâz semâî, and nakış, among others (Aksoy and Behar 1985, 1214).

765 Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839) learned the tanbûr, the ney, and chanting from Sultan Selîm III. Apart from his numerous compositions, he was also one of the earliest supporters of the westernization of Ottoman music (Öztuna 1990, 2:6–7).

766 Sultan Selîm III (r. 1789–1808) is considered the most "musical" Ottoman emperor and the sultan of reforms. He was a devoted musician and poet who composed numerous religious and secular pieces. He learned tanbûr from prominent Ottoman musicians, such as Tanbûrî İsak (1745–1814). His reforms met with great protest among the Janissaries, to whom he fell prey and by whom he was murdered in 1808 (Öztuna 1990, 2:279–82; İhsanoğlu 2003, 128–29).

767 Selîm Giray Khan was the ruler of Crimea for twenty-three years between 1671–1704. Öztuna claimed that he had learned music from his grandfather. He was a poet and musician (Eravcı 2009, 26:428–29; Öztuna 1990, 2:283).

768 İsmâîl Dede Efendi is considered one of the most prominent composers and musicians of Ottoman music. He learned music from Alî Nutkî Dede at the dervish convent at Yenikapı in Istanbul and finished his

Âsım Bey (1852–1915)[769] and Muallim Kâzım Uz (1873–1943),[770] as well as İsmâîl Hakkı Bey (1866–1927),[771] who was an important music instructor of the late Ottoman Empire.

The songs that suggest clearly national topics are by contemporary musicians. Among them is, for example, the director of the Ertuğrul Military Museum, Paul Lange, who composed an "Ertuğrul Sancak Havası" [Air of the Ertuğrul Banner].[772] However, the most frequently occurring names are those of the founders of the new military museum, Ahmed Muhtâr Pasha (1861–1926) and Nâyî Alî Rızâ Şengel (1880–1953),[773] who have the lion's share with fourteen of the twenty-seven available pieces from this series. In this context, Muhtâr Pasha contributed lyrics to at least eleven of the listed pieces, all of which have patriotic content. This is not very surprising as he was not only a colonel but also an instructor at various military schools. He published a great number of methodological books on military topics. In the scores of the *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî,* his lyrics were set to music by Alî Rızâ.

The cover pages of the *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî* scores have many decorative elements including plant motifs on the upper side and stringed instruments such as lyra, kânûn, oud, and tanbûr (Figure 4) on the lower side. The percussion instruments that are more associated with military music are the davul and the tambourine that appear on the right and left sides. Wind instruments, such as the zurna, and the Turkish crescent with the so-

studies in 1789. His fame as a musician and singer even reached the imperial palace, to which he was invited by Sultan Selim III. He had many students who became well-known in the years to come. He died during his pilgrimage to Mecca (Öztuna 1990, 1:394–400; Özcan 2001, 23:93–95).

769 According to Öztuna's calculations, Giriftzen Âsım Bey died in 1929. The issue of the *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî* with Giriftzen Âsım Bey's piece is dated to "Teşrîn-i sânî 1334," which is November 1918. It is important to consider that if all the information that Paçacı gave is correct, the composer is mentioned as "Giriftzen Âsım Bey Merhum" [Giriftzen Âsım Bey the late], which means that by 1918, he had already died. See Öztuna 1990, 1:116–17; Paçacı 2010, 389.

770 For biographical information on Kâzım Uz, see p. 203.

771 The piece for the inauguration of the Mehter band, composed by İsmâîl Hakkı Bey with the lyrics of Ahmed Muhtâr Pasha, was called "Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî marşı." This march, with the incipit "Gâfil ne bilir neşve-i pür şevk-i vegâyı," enjoyed great popularity (Tuğlacı 1986, 25). For a detailed analysis of this piece, see O'Connell 2017, 105–7. For biographical information on İsmâîl Hakkı Bey, see p. 209 of this study.

772 Paul Lange was born in 1865 in Germany and came to Istanbul in the light of good political relations between the German and Ottoman empires. He was an opera singer but also played the piano and directed orchestras and choirs. Around 1888, he started a new life in Istanbul as a music teacher and opened a music school where he gave singing and piano classes. He also worked as a music teacher at the Istanbul Robert College and the German school. In 1905, he became director of the naval military band "Ertuğrul Mûzıkası," and in 1908 he was appointed Ottoman court musician—a post he held during the reigns of Sultan Mehmed Reşâd V (r. 1909–1918) and Sultan Mehmed Vahdettîn (r. 1918–1922). As a representative of Western music in the Ottoman capital, he was an important figure. He composed numerous Ottoman marches that were inspired by contemporary political events. He died in 1920 in Istanbul (Tuğlacı 1986, 161–71; Kutlay Baydar 2010, 137–53).

773 Alî Rızâ Şengel was born in 1880 in Istanbul-Eyüp. As a child, he had already come into contact with music thanks to his father. İsmâîl Hakkı Bey was a relative, and he taught him staff notation, solfeggio, and music theory. In 1908, Şengel's musical skills drew public attention for the first time during an evening event organized by the naval association. In 1914, at the age of thirty-four, he was appointed head of the newly founded *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî* (Özcan 2010, 38: 537–38; Rona 1960, 155–59; Öztuna 1990, 2:349–51). Thus, he eventually became head and master of the band, as is evident in the description "Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî usta ve mehterbaşı" [Master and First-Mehter of the Imperial Mehter Band]. See also O'Connell 2017, 100–104.

called "Turkish jingle" are also shown. The frame of the text is headed by national symbols including the crescent above the sunrays. Below, there is a short introductory text to the score:

> In the style and form of our old national music called "Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî", the instructive "Ottoman Military Museum" presents some tools and musical instruments, clothing, and costumes, and also singing and chanting similar to and resembling it [old national music], organized by the entire directorate, and concerning our national music airs that have been restored again: Scores of the Imperial Mehter.[774]

This introductory text is followed by the title of the song "Çanakkale muzafferiyet havası"[775] [Air of the Çanakkale Victory] and other information such as mode and rhythmic cycle. The song title already reveals that it must have been composed after the outcome of the Gallipoli Campaign.[776] It is noteworthy that the military museum drew not only on the past glories of the Ottomans but also on the present ones to boost national confidence. In the museum politics, contemporary topics seemed to have played as important a role as past events.[777] The museum focused especially on victories to highlight historical key moments of the Ottomans that were worth being proud of. The cost is stated as five piastres, which were donated to the military museum. The name of the composer and lyricist are shown surrounded by instrumental motifs: the afore-mentioned Alî Rızâ.[778]

In this series, all the lyrics of the songs are given as block lyrics at the end of the score. The lyrics are structured into distiches. Two hemistiches form one distich, two distiches form one stanza. The first stanza and the "makta" [End] were also set into music in the text underlay. The second stanza was not set to music but is supposed to be performed in accordance with the first stanza. The short explanation above the block lyrics gives more information about the authorship of the poem. The author of the text is none less than the Sultan himself as the heading states: "The poem about the great affair of the Çanakkale victory, which of the holy Caliph himself, the great, powerful protector his Holiness, was

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774 "'Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî' nâmındaki kadîm millî mûsıkîmiz tarz u sûretinde bazı âlât u edevâtı mûsıkîyesi ve elbise ve kıyâfetleri ve terennümât ü teganniyâtı da onlara müşâbih ve muâdil bulunmak üzere ahbâr-âver 'Müze-i Âskerî-i Osmânî' müdiriyetince teşkîl ve yine baştan ihdâs kılınan millî mûsıkîmiz havâlarına müteallik." My translation. I thank Neslihan Demirkol for revising my transcription.

775 Cf. Appendix A, Case Studies 17.1 and 17.2.

776 Gallipoli is on the northern coast of the Dardanelles Strait, a narrow strait connecting the Aegean Sea and Sea of Marmara close to Istanbul. The English term "Gallipoli" derives from the Greek denomination "Kallēpolē" or in Turkish "Gelibolu." In Turkish, however, the song title refers not to Gallipoli but to "Çanakkale," which is situated on the south coast of the Dardanelles Strait. The reason for this is probably that during the campaign, the Turkish troops were deployed in Çanakkale. However, the crucial part of the campaign took place on the peninsula of Gallipoli.

777 This is further affirmed by Shaw's observation of paintings that were displayed at the museum and that dealt with the Gallipoli and Caucasus Campaigns (Shaw 2003, 204–5).

778 "Sâhib-i güfte, sâhib-i beste Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî usta ve mehterbaşı Nayî Alî Rızâ."

Figure 4 The title page of the *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî* score. This is the issue of the "Çanakkale muzafferiyet havası." The publisher did not provide any issue number.

invited to recite, has been a great success."[779] Apparently, this poem had been relatively popular and had also been published in various newspapers. It also served as a source of inspiration for other poets who elaborated on this poem and made new creations.[780] The song, as already apparent from the title, is an epic narration that praises the victorious outcome of the Gallipoli Campaign. Stz. 1 defines the aggressors, namely the two "national enemies" of the "Muslim people" that attacked Çanakkale from sea and land. The attack could have been prevented by "divine help" and military reinforcement. Stz. 2 praises the determined position of the soldiers, to whom the narrator refers to as "my sons." The enemies, impressed by the determined stance of the Ottoman (Muslim) soldiers, have no other choice than to retreat. Their mission to "penetrate the heart of Islam" failed. The poem concludes with the narrator expressing his gratitude to God by worshipping Him and praying for the protection of the "Muslim lands" in the future. The poem was written in archaic language and follows rules of Ottoman poetry such as rhyme scheme and prosody.

The *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî* scores are not arranged for bands. The melody is given together with the lyrics. As the publisher had stated before, there were apparently many bands that requested the scores of the *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî*. It seems they had to arrange the melodies themselves according to their own needs. The "küşâde," which is an instrumental introduction, opens and closes the song, and it separates the stanzas from each other. The song has three sections with three stanzas. The "makta" [end] has a different rhythm and brings the vocal part of the song to a conclusion. Its special position also corresponds with the change of usûl from 4/4 to 3/4.[781] The indicated makâm for this song is şehnâz, a descending mode that is relatively close to diatonic scales. Such modes have been typical for these types of "Neo-Mehter" songs.[782] The eight measures of the instrumental introduction can be divided into two subsections because they practically repeat the same musical phrase twice, the latter one leading to the finalis A_4.[783] The instrumental introduction presents the makâm as well as the ambitus of the piece. In the first section, the melody unfolds within one octave starting on the makâm's highest pitch, from which the melody tends to move towards the finalis. In a way, the high pitches create tension, stressing the dramatic opening of the poem, which is further supported by the octave leap (m. 9). The melody of the second section does not surpass the octave A_5 but moves within the modal frame of the makâm, keeping to its tonal characteristics within the tetrachord D_5–A_5. The closing part consists of two brief phrases that are repeated respectively

779 "Çanakkale muzafferiyet-i azîmesi hakkında zât-ı akdes-i hilâfet-penâh-ı âzamî taraf-ı Akdesinden inşâd buyrulan manzûme garra-i zaferdir."

780 See also a facsimile of the song lyrics in Çağlar 2015, 82–83. In Çağlar's volume, another version composed by Yahya Kemal, with the title "Tahmîs-i gazel-i hümâyûn," can be found (2015, 84–85). An interesting case is a parody of the same poem that critiques the Young Turk's establishment (Danişmend 2016, 124–25).

781 Düyek refers to an eight-beat rhythmic pattern. In the final section of the song, the beat changes to 3/4, and therefore it was labeled as *"düyek değişim"* [changing düyek].

782 Eyewitnesses stated that the makâms of the new Mehter songs were close to the tonality of Western music and were at times even harmonized (Aksoy and Behar 1985, 1234).

783 For the song's structure and performance order, see Appendix A, Case Study 17.3.

to underline the message, which is to "thank God with prayers …" The intuitive melody develops in a smaller ambitus and brings the vocal part of the piece to a conclusion. The finishing instrumental section puts the whole narration into a piece with the same beginning and ending.

The "Air of the Çanakkale Victory" is part of the productive output celebrating the victory at Gallipoli against the Entente. In the late Ottoman Empire, victories had become increasingly rare, and the few victories were highlighted in public events and educational institutions. It is uncertain if this song was actually sung at schools as the available school song anthologies did not provide any written evidence in this matter. The high demand for the *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî* scores from schools and bands, however, supports this thesis. Music performances at public events became more common, and also the number of lay bands grew increasingly in the years before World War I.[784] Alî Rızâ set the lyrics of Sultan Mehmed Reşâd V to music, transforming the poem into a song, which on the one hand had a high level of musical expression and on the other hand was performed by the prestigious Mehter band that had been newly revived. Although this score was a part of an institution that expressed the official position, it also wrote national history through commemorating a victorious event with a musical composition. In addition, it was the mouthpiece of the sultan, through which he could express his appraisal of the Ottoman army. Although the Gallipoli Campaign remained an important event that was expressed in the realm of music, this version did not survive in the years to come. The reasons for this are manifold. On the one hand, the song was composed by the Sultan himself, who was Emperor and Caliph at the same time. In the Turkish Republic, the Sultanate and Caliphate were abolished. On the other hand, the lyrics make reference neither to Turkish nor to Ottoman identity but exclusively to the Islamic one. As Caliph, the Sultan had declared Holy War in 1914 and therefore had to address a bigger community than just the Ottoman Muslim one.[785] It is very likely that, for these reasons, the "Air of the Çanakkale Victory" did not fit to the ideology that was shaped after the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. In addition, the revival of the Mehter came to a standstill when the *Mehterhâne-i Hâkânî* was closed down in 1935.[786] The interest in the representative power of the Mehter was seemingly never really erased in the national consciousness. Only seventeen years later, in 1952, was another "Neo-Mehter" band organized by the "Genelkurmay Başkanlığı" [General Staff Command], and on 29 May 1953 it gave its first concert to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the conquest of Constantinople.[787] This was also the case on the 100th anniversary of the Gallipoli Campaign in 2018.

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784 Aksoy and Behar, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e musıki ve batılılaşma," 1234.

785 Zürcher remarks that, after the declaration of the Holy War, other Muslims residing in the empire had to join mobilization (2010, 174).

786 Kahramankaptan and Tansel, *Mehter'den alaturka'ya,* 46; Tuğlacı, *Mehterhane'den bando'ya,* 27.

787 Tuğlacı, *Mehterhane'den bando'ya,* 28; Sanal, *Mehter musikisi,* 291. For the past- and present-day activities of the Mehter in national and international festivities, and their organization and performances, see O'Connell 2017, 100–126.

2.2.4 Cultural Appropriation

The national reading of history not only highlights the "Golden Ages" and successful periods of the nation's history; it also tends to appropriate elements of the past in the quest to prove cultural continuity. Yekta's narrative of Turkish music history has already shown how a shared musical heritage was appropriated and "Turkified." His narrative had, however, remained incomplete. He spoke of the "golden age" and the "decline" of Turkish music, which was expressed, for example, in the lack of musical literacy. The decisive third step, that of "self-awareness" and "resurrection" of national music, which would have followed in the national narrative, is missing. Yekta's mission was carried on by his fellows, especially by Hüseyin Sadettin Arel (1880–1955). He was probably one of the most influential musicologists in Turkey, and he achieved a milestone by legitimizing Ottoman music as part of the Turkish cultural patrimony. His essay *Türk musikisi kimindir?* [Whose is Turkish Music?] was one of his best-known works and was originally published in fourteen articles in the journal *Türklük* between 1939 and 1940. Later, it was reissued in the music journal *Türk Mûsikisi* [Turkish Music], and finally, it was published as a book in 1969 by the National Ministry of Education. His essay takes a stance against the official Turkish Republican narrative and claims that Ottoman music was not a product of foreign influence but of the Turkish people.[788] The multi-ethnic composition of the Ottoman Empire had become a real obstacle to establishing a narrative that would legitimize Ottoman music as genuinely Turkish. To highlight the Turkish origins of Ottoman music today, it is often referred to as "Osmanlı türk musikisi" [Ottoman-Turkish Music] instead of the more general term "Ottoman Music." Arel's chain of argumentation follows a known pattern that can be observed in many similar studies that argue from a nationalist reading. He reproached the foreign researchers for not having properly understood Ottoman music due to a lack of thorough knowledge. The missing background information, he concluded, derived from the fact that foreign researchers drew their far-fetched conclusions based on ancient Greek, ancient Persian, ancient Arab, and Byzantine sources. According to Arel, these sources were not apt for drawing scholarly conclusions on Turkish music. From the way Arel wrote his essay, it becomes evident that he was motivated by the need to defend and legitimatize Ottoman music as a genuinely Turkish cultural asset. By doing so, he probably aimed to confront the anti-Ottoman policies in the first decades of the Turkish Republic and the orientalists' arguments that Turks had adopted a music of foreign origin. He claimed that Turkish music originated amongst the ancient tribes in central Asia that had migrated and laid the foundations of the Hittite civilization in Anatolia, the Sumerian in Mesopotamia, and finally the Egyptian, Greek, and Roman civilizations. Hence, he dated Turkish music even before the ancient Greek, Byzantine, Persian, and Arabic civilizations. Hence, according to his thesis, Turkish music was the origin of the music of the

788 Aksoy, "Is the Question of the Origin of Turkish Music Not Redundant?," 5.

entire Islamic world.[789] In other words, central Asian civilization was the mother of European civilization. Aksoy correctly observed that in the 1930s, the Turks saw themselves as the descendants of the Sumerians and Hittites. Consequently, Arel therefore spoke of the "Sumerian Turks." Although Turkish musicology has overcome these dubious assumptions, it is important to realize that in the initial years of the Republic, these theories were widely accepted among Turkish and European archaeologists.

Arel's book, *Whose is Turkish Music,* aimed to contest claims that Ottoman music, rather than being genuinely Turkish, was "borrowed" from other Middle Eastern cultures. This claim, which represented Turkish music in a derogative light, had already become a general thesis in the nineteenth century. In 1931, Ziyâ Şâkir quoted the former Sultan Abdulhamid II (r. 1876–1909) in an article which was published in the gazette *Son posta* [Last Post]. Abulhamid's statement supported the orientalists' thesis that had been propagated in the initial years of the Turkish Republic.

> To be honest, I am not so fond of Turkish alaturca music. One becomes sleepy. I prefer alafranga music. I especially like operas and operettas. And do you want me to tell you something? The makâms that we call alaturca are not Turkish. They were adopted from the Greeks, Persians, and Arabs. They also say that the davul and zurna are Turkish instruments, but I have my doubts. These two instruments are said to be from the Arabs. I heard this from someone who travelled to Turkestan once. In the villages over there, the saz was the instrument that has been played ever since. Here, in the truly Turkish villages of Anatolia, the saz has always been played.[790]

In addition to Abdulhamid II, even Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, made a similar claim. He stated in an interview that Turkish music was of Byzantine origin and therefore neither national nor suitable for "progress and the spirit of the

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789 It is necessary to remark that during the early years of the Turkish Republic, such claims had become official policy. Although Arel was against the national music policies, which rejected everything that was related to Ottoman music, he supported the nationalist thesis that was inspired by the "Sun-Language Theory" [Güneş Dil Teorisi].

790 "Doğrusu, alaturka musikiden pek o kadar hoşlanmam. İnsana uyku getirir. Alafranga musikiyi tercih ederim. Bilhassa opera ve operetler pek hoşuma gider. Hem size bir şey söyleyeyim mi? Alaturka dediğimiz makamlar Türklere ait değildir. Yunanlılardan, Acemlerden, Araplardn alınmıştır. Türk çalgısı davulla zurnadır, derler ya: bunda da tereddüdüm vardır. Bu iki çalgı da Arapların imiş. Bir tarihte Türkistan taraflarında seyahat etmiş bir zattan tahkik ettim. O tarafların köylerinde eskiden beri çalınan çalgı sazmış. Bizde de Anadolu'nun asıl Türk köylerinde daima saz çalınırmış," quoted in Aksoy and Behar 1985, 1223. My translation. This anecdote, which coincides with the early Republican mindset, was based on Ziyâ Şâkir's article "Abdülhamid'in Son günleri" [The Last Days of Abdulhamid], published on 1 September 1931 in the gazette *Son posta.* Ziyâ Şâkir's supposed interview with Sultan Abdulhamid II is often quoted in secondary literature but should be approached carefully. Ziyâ Şâkir (1883–1959) was an active member of the Young Turk movement and joined the Balkan Wars, World War I, and the Greco-Turkish War. Given his political and ideological formation, it would be incautious to blindly believe his account of Abdulhamid's statement. Abdulhamid's comment was very well suited to the early Republican mindset, which sought to discredit Ottoman music as "unnational" for being of foreign and non-Turkish origin.

Turkish revolution."[791] He and others expressed their reservations about Ottoman music since it was not representative of the Turkish people. During the Republican era, the political ideology focused more on the folk songs that were seen as the "true" music of the nation. Similar to the Herderian tradition, their national character was pronounced in the national tunes. Mustafa Kemal claimed:

> Ottoman music does not have the power to sing the great reforms of the Turkish Republic. We will need in any case a new music, and this music will be a polyphonic music that draws on the essence of folk music. Now, if we come to what you have called habit: does the Anatolian villager listen to your Ottoman music? Has he ever listened? He does not have the habit of that music.[792]

Ottoman music had a difficult position in the initial Turkish Republic, which sought to break with the music of the Ottoman past. Defending Ottoman music against both nationals as well as foreigners was therefore a challenge that Arel had accepted. As the rhetorical question in Arel's book title already insinuates, he aimed in his work to prove, once and for all, that all claims about the foreign origins of Turkish music were false. For him, Ottoman music had pure Turkish origins and had never been influenced by other musical cultures. He was dismayed that while other nations fought for their national music and defended it, Turkey would totally abandon its own.

It is true that many of the studies that Arel referred to were tendentious and written in a nineteenth-century orientalist spirit that was prejudiced against "Oriental music." However, Arel himself wrote his essay in the same provocative way and from a biased point of view. He presupposed that Turkish culture had always been the dominant one.[793] Additionally, Arel applied his ideas of "Turkishness" and modern nationhood to periods when these concepts had not existed. His essay is structured in four sections. Each section is dedicated to the musical culture from which Turkish music had supposedly borrowed. For his study, Arel used a comprehensive bibliography from previous centuries and various languages. Although a meticulous study of Arel's work cannot be carried out at this point, it is sufficient to pick out some of Arel's arguments to understand the mindset in which Arel composed his writing.

In his section on Iranian music, Arel reverts to some of the arguments that Rauf Yekta had already mentioned. Arel complained that Persian music was studied mostly by foreign

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791 Atatürk's statement "Bunlar hep Bizans'tan kalma şeylerdir" [These are residues of Byzantium] confirmed the Byzantine origins of Ottoman music (Saygun 1980, 9).

792 "Osmanlı musikisi Türkiye Cumhuriyetindeki büyük inkılabları terennüm edecek kudrette değildir. Bize yeni bir musiki lazımdır ve bu musiki, özünü halk musikisinden alan çok sesli bir musiki olacaktır. İtiyad dediğiniz şeye gelince, sizin Osmanlı musikinizi Anadolu köylüsü dinler mi? Dinlemiş mi? Onda o musikinin itiyadı yoktur," quoted in Balkılıç 2009, 101; Oransay 1985, 40. My translation.

793 Arel claimed that no occupied nation could ever evade the dominance of the prevailing nation. The Turks totally erased the music of the conquered territories, or they replaced the music with their own (Arel 1969, 8–9).

researchers and that they took the authors of the oldest sources to be Arabs and Persians rather than Turks. Arel claimed that the famous theoreticians Abdülkâdir Merâğî and al-Fârâbî were Turks and not Arabs, as Hammer-Purgstall had claimed for example.[794] Arel stated that this misinterpretation was due to the language that Merâğî and al-Fârâbî had used in their treatises. Persian and Arabic were intellectual languages, which were commonly used in treatises, similar to Latin in Europe. The previously-mentioned Kiesewetter, who had been criticized by Yekta for his negative statements about the Turks, is also mentioned in Arel's work in the same context. Arel pointed out the main Turkish contributors to the progress of music and culture to show that Turks were anything but uninterested in the muses.

In the section on Arabic music, Arel brought forth arguments that presented Arabic music as a corrupted residue of Turkish music. Whereas Arel fought against accusations of orientalism levelled against Turkish music, in the Arabic case, interestingly, he supported them. He referred to the writings of Jules Rouanet, Guillaume André Villoteau, and Raphael Georg Kiesewetter, claiming that pre-Islamic Arabic music was unknown. Arel referred to a statement by Villoteau, who had claimed that Arabs were slaves to the Greeks and Persians and that Arabic music was therefore a corrupted version of ancient Greek and Persian music. However, Arel admitted to supporting Kiesewetter's argument that there was actually no connection between Arabic and Greek music and that Arabic music borrowed from the Persians.[795] Arel further mentioned two more important Arabic figures: İbn Haldûn[796] (d. 1406) and Corcî Zeydân[797] (d. 1914), who supposedly had claimed that Arabic music had come from Persian music.[798] Since Arel had shown in the first section of his book that Persian music was actually Turkish, he concluded that Arabic music therefore originated in Turkish music as well. Arel exposed the ideas of Rouanet to ridicule, who had spoken of an "Islamic music" that existed only among Muslims. Rouanet had also remarked on the lack of music notation in Islamic cultures. Arel affirmed that there was no such thing as "Islamic music" but only nations and peoples that were influenced by Turkish music.[799] The new historical theses, which in Turkey emerged especially in the 1930s, helped Arel to push further absurd claims of cultural continuity. Arel pointed out that ancient civilizations such as the Sumerians were already developed and progressive. He referred to Francis William Galpin (1858–1945), an English theologist and archaeologist, who in 1937 had claimed that the Sumerians had given rise to all other Western civi-

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794 Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856) was an Austrian orientalist, diplomat, and historian. Arel refers to his ten-volume work *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* [History of the Ottoman Empire], published between 1827 and 1835. Arel apparently had a Turkish translation made of his work. See Arel 1969, 12.

795 Ibid., 28–29.

796 İbn Haldûn (d. 1406) was a historian, philosopher, politician, and statesman (Uludağ 1999, 20:8–12).

797 Corcî Zeydân (1861–1914) was an Arabic writer, journalist and historian (Çelebi 1993, 69–71).

798 Arel, *Türk musikisi kimindir,* 29–30.

799 Ibid., 29.

lizations, such as Greeks and Egyptians as well as Assyrians and Babylonians.[800] According to the new Turkish History Thesis, the Sumerians were influenced by Turkic central Asian tribes. Therefore, Arel considered the culture of the Sumerians to be Turkish. Music notation in the Sumerian civilization was therefore proof that Turks also had used music notation long before other nations did. Hence, all the civilizations that followed were influenced by Turkish culture. Arel omitted several thousand years in his narrative and then continued his story with Islamic medievalism: el-Urmevî, Merâğî etc. In this period, he followed Yekta's narrative. Arel also replied to readers' letters that are also worth mentioning in this context. The readers are mostly anonymized. In reply to the question why foreign researchers came to remarkably different conclusions, Arel claimed that, either consciously or unconsciously, they had a biased approach. According to Arel, one could not expect other nations to support another nation's music in a similar way as a member of the same nation would.[801]

The section on ancient Greek music follows a similar scheme to the previous ones. Arel admitted that he was not an expert and that he could not provide the same expertise as many other foreign experts on ancient Greek music studies. His chapter on Greek music is basically a description of ancient Greek music theory, for which he used the commonly-known works of pioneer researchers such as Théodore Reinach (1860–1928), Maurice Emmanuel (1862–1938), François-Auguste Gevaert (1828–1908), Hermann von Helmholtz (1821–1894), and Hugo Riemann (1849–1919), among others. For Arel, the most important concern was to show, firstly, that there was no connection between Turkish and ancient Greek music, and, secondly, that modern Greek music was based on Turkish music. Arel's second claim was based on his idea that ancient Greek music had not survived due to the lack of cultural continuity in Greek music. Right at the beginning of his chapter, he stated, "Hence, there is no connection between the folk song of modern and ancient Greece."[802] Arel traced the development of the ancient Greek music theories and compared the compound tetrachords with the Turkish modes. He concluded that there was no significant correlation and therefore Greek music had not influenced Turkish music. Later in his argument, Arel reverts to the Sumerian thesis, this time by referring to Sir Leonard Woolley's (1880–1960) "Ur of the Chaldees" (1929). Woolley's quote, which is given as a footnote, suggests that Sumerians lived in Mesopotamia 3,500 years before Christ and were older than other hitherto known civilizations, and thus Sumerians had given rise to European civilization. As Arel understood it, ancient Greek civilization had derived from the Sumerian, which in turn again was influenced by the Turkic tribes.

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800 Francis W. Galpin, *The Music of the Sumerians and Their Immediate Successors the Babylonians and Assyrians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937). Arel accidentally referred to the author as "Gallin." Arel indeed performed fragments of a Sumerian hymn, which had been reconstructed by Galpin. In 1951, he compared it to a hymn, which Itrî Mustafâ Efendi (d. 1712) had composed and dedicated to the Prophet (Greve 1995, 67).

801 Arel, *Türk musikisi kimindir,* 70.

802 "Zira, bugünkü Yunanistan'ın halk musikisile eski Yunan musikisi arasında hiçbir münasebet yok." Ibid., 86.

In the last section, Arel replied to the question of why Turkish music was not influenced by Byzantine music. At the beginning of his treatise, he discredited the work of the already-mentioned Stephen Georgeson Hatherly (1827–1905) and his *A Treatise on Byzantine Music* (1892). Hatherly became the same figure for the Turks as Fallmerayer had become for the Greeks. This was a result of Hatherly's biased and anti-Turkic stance. Although a British citizen, he converted to the Greek Orthodox religion, started a career in the church, and became a high priest. As Yekta had disputed before, Hatherly had refuted any Turkish contribution to architecture and music.[803] Additionally, on many occasions Hatherly showed that his expertise in Ottoman music was not only limited but also erroneous. This had led him to a series of wrong assumptions. It is needless to say that Arel took advantage of Hatherly's misinterpretations to discredit his work.[804] To support his thesis, Arel referred to studies by Egon Wellesz (1885–1974) and Hugo Riemann, who had worked on the history of Byzantine music and questioned cultural continuity. Arel mentioned the old Byzantine neume notation, which originally was invented as an aide-mémoire for reproducing a piece from memory. Throughout the Byzantine era, this notation was further developed; but it eventually became increasingly complicated until it had reached a stage when it was unintelligible and had to be reformed by Chrysanthos. Arel was aware of the ongoing discussions concerning the old Byzantine notation and Psachos' theory on stenography. However, Arel was obviously not an expert in this field and therefore he concluded that old Byzantine notation was nothing other "than a brain teaser that resulted from all summed problems of hieroglyphs, stenography, and diastematic notation."[805] He expressed his incomprehension as to why Greeks would still insist that Greek Orthodox church music and Byzantine music were the same in spite of the break in musical transmission. In order to give his account a more objective and authentic touch, Arel directed his questions on Byzantine music to Angelos Voudouris (1891–1951), a Greek Or-

803 Hatherly, *A Treatise on Byzantine Music,* 111–19.

804 It is necessary to remark that Arel probably misinterpreted Hatherly. It is legitimate to say that Hatherly had a biased view of and approach to Turkish music. To assume that Turkish songs originally had Greek lyrics is false. The songs that he used as examples were taken from Guatelli's undated song anthology, which was arranged for solo piano. In Guatelli's original printed score, the songs were provided without the lyrics. Since Guatelli neither indicated the first hemistich of the song nor gave the makâm or mode, it must have been almost impossible for Hatherly to identify the pieces solely from the piano arrangement. Hatherly had to come up with an explanation as to why he himself did not indicate in his example the song lyrics in Turkish, whereas he had done so for the Greek songs. His official pretext was that the Arabic alphabet worked from right to left and that writing the text syllables below the notation that went from left to right would have caused confusion. This is, however, untrue because it is possible to put syllables below the notation even in the Arabic alphabet. The truth is that Guatelli's original was without lyrics, and Hatherly probably had nobody at hand who could have identified the songs and written down the lyrics with Arabic letters. Hence, he simply adopted Guatelli's score and claimed that the songs originally had Greek lyrics: "The whole of the so-called Turkish songs no doubt once possessed Greek words […]" (Hatherly 1892, 119). If Hatherly had been aware of the numerous printed Ottoman music scores of the late nineteenth century that had text underlay in the Arabic alphabet, he would probably have revised his statement.

805 "İster hiyeroglif, ister stenografi, yahut aralık yazısı olsun, şurası muhakkaktır ki eski Bizans notası hem hiyeroglifin, hem stenografinin, hem de aralık yazısının bütün zorluklarını bir araya toplamış bir 'Kafakıran' dan başka birşey değildir" (Arel 1969, 189).

thodox cantor who was born in Gallipoli. Voudouris was remarkably diplomatic and careful in his replies. He drew on the Greek national narrative of cultural continuity, claiming that Byzantine music had survived in the church rituals and had existed continuously since the conquest of Constantinople. He further affirmed that the similarities between Turkish and Greek church music were due to the fact that both were influenced by Anatolian music. When Arel asked if he knew that Turks took their music not from Anatolia but from central Asia, Voudouris evaded his question, saying that he was not familiar with this topic and that further studies had to be done. Additionally, Arel briefly described the three most important stages of Byzantine notation according to Wellesz.[806] He concluded that continuity in Byzantine notation had already been interrupted because the old sources could not be decoded and that the influence of Turkish music had only wielded the "final blow." Arel concluded his work with numerous references to quotes by foreign scholars that confirmed his thesis. All of the statements either questioned continuity in Greek music or emphasized the influence that Middle Eastern music had on Greek music. Arel's bias was also often expressed in the terminology and metaphors that he used. He represented the relationship between Turkish and Byzantine music as a "wrestling match," which Turkish music "won."[807] It is ironic that Arel reproached the supporters of Byzantine music for religious fanatism, which supposedly had risen since the fall of Constantinople. He claimed that Turkish music had entered the Orthodox church and interfered in the relationship between God and the believers. He provocatively stated that the Byzantines locked themselves together with their priests into the church and execrated the "hostile Turks" in their rituals with melodies that they had received from the same. This cynical and provocative statement not only reflected Arel's own fanatism and desperate attempt to "save Ottoman music"; it also expressed his disdain for the Byzantine heritage, which for Greece was the key evidence to prove cultural continuity. In Turkey, Arel's efforts bore fruit and Ottoman music was reintroduced to the State Conservatory in 1943, seventeen years after its abolishment.[808]

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806 Wellesz classified the development of Byzantine notation into five periods: The first was the period of "Ecphonetic Signs" (sixth century), the second was the period of "Early Byzantine Notation" (ninth century), the third was the period of "Middle Byzantine Notation" (twelfth–fifteenth centuries), the fourth was the "Period of Late Byzantine Notation" (fifteenth–eighteenth centuries), and the "New Greek Church Music" (nineteenth century onwards). See Wellesz 1923.

807 Arel, *Türk musikisi kimindir,* 10–11.

808 In 1926, the Music Conservatory in Istanbul underwent a process of reformation. The name was changed from "Dârülelhân" [House of Sound] into "İstanbul Belediye Konservatuvarı" [Istanbul State Conservatory], and the section for Turkish music was closed down (Balkılıç 2009, 98).

2.3 Case Studies

The previous chapter gave insights into the intellectual debates on Ottoman music and national identity. From the vast array of sources, this chapter will single out examples of songs that were used to foster Ottoman national sentiment. As was done in the chapter on Greek school song anthologies, this chapter will look at Ottoman school song anthologies, focusing in particular on the national ideology they transmitted. In order to compare the Ottoman and Greek school songs, this research will especially look at the national symbolisms, morals, and ethical and national values, and how they were expressed through music. Important pedagogical figures and their children's songs will serve as a point of departure to gain new insights into music education in schools in the late Ottoman Empire. Having analyzed the school songs, this chapter will present two more case studies, which were and still are important in today's corpus of Turkish national songs. The songs in question are the "Sevastopol" and the "Gallipoli" songs, which will be contextualized in their respective historical periods. The aim of this study is to show the historical traces of the songs in order to understand how they emerged and were changed and imbued with national meaning over the decades. The "Sevastopol" and "Gallipoli" songs can be considered a monument in Turkish collective memory. The fact that both examples have revealing connections with the Greek-speaking Ottoman subjects and Greek diaspora will give further insights into alternative readings of these highly nationalized songs. The sources that will be examined in this chapter are from different periods between the 1850s and the 1920s. This broad periodical frame helps trace the "mutation" of songs throughout the decades of political tumult.

2.3.1 School Education and Music in the Late Ottoman Empire

School education in the Ottoman Empire, as in other nations, underwent remarkable reforms from the 1850s onwards. The Ottoman Empire had to react to the vicissitudes and global trends that existed in the second half of the nineteenth century. After the Crimean War in 1856, westernization sped up in many realms of the Ottoman state. One of these realms was school education. Whereas the "ıslâhât fermânı" [The Edict of Reforms] allowed each confessional community in the empire to establish schools of science, arts, and industry under the supervision of a council,[809] the systematic establishment of a standardized Ottoman school had been neglected for many years. The Ottomans' efforts to reform the state system, to centralize administration, to standardize procedures, and to create officialdom were all measures that could be observed at the same time in many other parts of the world. The Ottoman state started redefining its role in society and aimed to reshape the relationship between authorities and subjects. The idea of introducing a state-controlled, centralized educational system that shaped the minds of the nationals in far-flung areas

809 Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 74.

was not only limited to the Ottomans but can be seen as a global trend.[810] In the Ottoman case, the reform of education resulted from the "Maârif-i Umûmiye Nizâmnâmesi" [Regulation of Education] in 1869. This regulation also served as a guideline for the state's educational campaign, which was strongly influenced by the French Ministry of Education.[811]

The Ottomans had many reasons to reform or introduce an educational system according to Western models. They were aware of the fact that they had fallen behind other nations in terms of economic and military power. Superior education was seen as the "secret" that had paved the Western powers' road to success.[812] The effort to launch a comprehensive and costly educational campaign meant investing in buildings, human resources, logistics, and learning materials. For the Ottomans, this effort was an investment in the future. They hoped that education would turn out to be the panacea for internal and consequently also external problems, and that it would assure competitiveness with other nations and rivals. Other competing groups that had constructed schools and set standards for school education gave further impetus to the Ottomans and urged them to react and take a stance on this matter.

Missionary schools run by other nations, for example, were the first to introduce Western European-style school education, and they served as a model for subsequent schools. The increasing number of foreign missionary schools between the years 1880–1890 were observed by the Ottoman state, and the increasing number of students gave rise to concerns.[813] Minority-run schools were another group that had been active and offered the latest state of the art in terms of schooling. They were well-organized and financed, and at times they invited Muslim children to join the classes as well. Ottoman society was organized according to ethno-religious groups. Hence, religious identity was important in the self-perception of the Ottoman people. The fact that well-financed schools run by Christians who also taught non-Christian Ottoman children was seen as a threat to the moral and religious entity of the Muslims in the population.[814] Compared to the missionary schools, the situation of the minority-run schools was different. Workers in the minority-run schools had a well-established network and knew the various languages necessary to communicate with the different communities within and outside the empire. Many of them had close ties to the societies of bordering nations, such as Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia, which had gained independence from the Ottoman Empire a few decades earlier.

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810 Russia and Japan underwent a similar period of restructuring their educational systems according to the latest standards. During this process, the content of the classes was organized according to national aims (Deringil 1998, 110).

811 Fortna, *Imperial Classroom,* 27–28, 113. These guidelines made elementary school compulsory, organized education, facilitated the formation of schools and other scholarly institutions, centralized education, classified schools into different levels, and established an examination system that would help students pass (Özden 2015, 86–87).

812 Fortna, *Imperial Classroom,* 43.

813 Ibid., 50–56.

814 Selim Deringil, "The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808 to 1908," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, no. 1 (1993): 3–29.

Ottoman officials were aware that the school system of the minorities was superior and more developed than the Ottoman school system. In addition, it became more urgent to prevent schools from disseminating separatist and nationalist thought, which would jeopardize the balance in the multi-ethnic state. Non-Muslim schools were observed with mistrust and were strictly controlled. With the 1869 regulation of education, the inspection of non-Muslim schools became stricter. In 1880, the supervision of schoolbooks also became more stringent, and in 1887, an office was introduced that would control non-Muslim and foreign schools for the first time.[815] Language had also become an important element in creating a national identity. Hence, from 1894 onwards, lessons in Turkish were obligatory in non-Muslim schools.[816]

Although 1869 is often referred to as the date when educational reforms were decided upon in the Ottoman Empire, the construction of an educational infrastructure proceeded only with small steps.[817] The most impactful measures were taken in the 1880s, during the reign of Abdulhamid II. In 1884, numerous school buildings were constructed in the provinces of the empire. The architecture followed the neo-classical style of French prototypes and stood out from the regular architecture of the given location.[818] The results of other reforms led to the emergence of the "idâdî" [higher secondary/middle schools],[819] which made further funding necessary. In the same year, the Ottoman state approved the "Education Fund," which was the basis for the construction of schools. The Ottoman state apparatus also underwent reforms, which led to the separation of the Ministry of Education and the Education Council (Meclis-i Maârif).[820] By 1903, the construction of the middle schools had been completed.[821] It is said that 10,000 schools were built during the reign of Abdulhamid II. However, the content of the lessons had to be adapted to the needs of the empire and therefore underwent a process of "Ottomanization" and "Islamization." The multi-ethnic empire had to face the new emergent southeast European nation-states, whose populations were more homogeneous. In order to control the rise of nationalist sentiment among the minorities, the Ottomans had to inculcate an Ottoman ideology that would reinforce feelings of loyalty, belonging, and unity. They intended to achieve this by highlighting the Sultanate and Caliphate, religion, and language. The Sultan was, at the same time, the Caliph of all Muslims and, thus, he was the Islamic ruler. The Ottomans believed that Islam would create strong ties among the Muslims of the Middle Eastern provinces. Ottomanism

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815 Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains,* 105.

816 Ibid.

817 During the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–1876) a few schools were opened: Galatasaray Sultânîsi (1868), Dârüşşafaka Sultânîsi (1870), Mahrec-i Ahkâm (1862), Lisân Mektebi (1864), Mekteb-i Tıbbiyye-i Mülkiyye (1867), Kaptan ve Çarkçı Mektebi (1870), Mekteb-i Hukûk (1870), and the female teachers' school Dârülmuallimât (1870) (Özden 2015, 67, 96).

818 Fortna, *Imperial Classroom,* 115.

819 Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains,* 95.

820 Fortna, *Imperial Classroom,* 124.

821 Ibid., 155.

and the Turkish language also became important factors that would strengthen national feelings throughout the empire. Similar to other nations, the Ottomans had understood the importance of language in creating feelings of national unity.[822] The feeling of national belonging was hence supported by assimilation and inculcation of Ottomanism.

The teachers were scholars of Islam, such as the *ulemâ* social class, and educators who were influenced by European educational methods. However, they emphasized Islamic and Ottoman values in the classes.[823] Topics with religious content had an important place in schoolbooks. Teaching religious traditions equaled sustaining national morals.[824] The emphasis on Islamic values created stronger ties among the Muslim communities of the empire and shaped an identity that ended in Islamic nationalism. Although French had become indispensable in elite schools such as the Galatasaray Lycée, the content that was taught had to undergo a process of revision. The world view presented in Western school education did not always match the Islamic or Ottoman one. Therefore, any lesson content that was diametrically opposed to the official views or morals of the empire had to be censored or "modified." The situation drastically changed in the years after 1908, when the Young Turks were in power. Although Ottomanism was still the official policy, Pan-Turkist and Pan-Islamic notions became more dominant. In particular, the years after the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 had severe consequences and reinforced Turkish nationalist thought to the detriment of Ottomanism.

Late Ottoman School Songs

As was shown in Chapter 1.4.1, school music for Greeks and the Greek-speaking community in Istanbul had been used as early as the 1870s. However, the same cannot be observed in the Ottoman case. Compared to the Greek community in Istanbul, and also to school song anthologies that had been numerous since the 1870s, similar anthologies did not seem to exist at Ottoman schools. This is striking because in the same period there were already history books available for school education.[825] The reasons for the lack of Ottoman school music anthologies may be many. It is remarkable that, whereas other musical works were published, school song anthologies appeared relatively late. In the same decade, the first theories of Western music to be published in Turkish and the first methods for learning instruments or reading musical notation appeared.[826]

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822 Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains,* 99.

823 Alî Suavî Efendi (1839–1878), for example, was the appointed director of the "Mekteb-i Sultânî" in Istanbul. This school was Franco-Ottoman in response to the demands of the French. Suavî changed the westernized orientation of the school and highlighted Islamic morals instead. Curricula that taught Western scholars, Latin, and philosophy were reduced, whereas the study of Islamic principles was more heavily stressed (Fortna 2002, 110).

824 Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains,* 110.

825 Çıkar, *Von der osmanischen Dynastie zur türkischen Nation,* 32–38.

826 The following gives a selection of those volumes: Kânûnî Şamlı Hasan's *Miftâh-ı nota* (1291/1874), Remzî's *Usûl-i nota* (1292/1875), and Hacı Emîn's *Nota muallimi* (1302/1886). Hacı Emîn Efendi or Notacı Emîn Efendi (1845–1907) founded the first publishing house for printing notation in 1873. For the first time, he pub-

The first school song for children that has been found in the Ottoman context was published in the journal *Çocuklara kırâat* [Reading for Children] as song lyrics without any musical notation. The song was published in 1299/1882 under the title "Mektep şarkısı" [School Song].[827] Another song was mentioned in the journal *Çocuklara rehber* [Children's Guide] and was also printed without notation in the year 1896.[828] The song and poem collection *Çocuklara neşîdeler* [Poems for Children] was published in 1911 and contains, besides poems, some of the popular school songs that existed at that time. In the foreword, the director of the "Dârülmuallimîn" [Teacher's Training College], Satı Bey (1880–1968), underlined the importance of the collaboration of instructors, poets, and musicians to compose songs that would shape the ethical and patriotic spirit of children.[829] The first two known school songs with notation are from 1909. They were included in the article "The Importance of Poetry and Music in Teaching and Education"[830] in the *Journal for Elementary School Education* with songs composed by Kâzım Uz[831] and lyrics by Tevfîk Fikret.[832] The two songs that were printed in this article were titled "Hep kardeşiz" [Always Broth-

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lished pieces by the composers Ârif Bey (1831–1885), Şevkî Bey (1860–1890), and Rifat Bey (1820–1888) (Aksoy and Behar 1985, 1230).

827 Hacıosmanoğlu, *Osmanlı'da çocuk mûsikîsi,* 239. The song was sent by Hacı Yusûf Efendizâde Sadî to the Şemsî Efendi School at Thessaloniki. The song was performed to a melody that was composed by Şemsî Efendi himself (ibid.). It starts with the first line, "Biz mektebi takdîs ederek kabe deriz hep" [Consecrating our school, we call it "Kaaba"].

828 Ibid.

829 These poem and song collections are structured in chapters according to the poem's content. As was observed in the Greek songs, the poems are categorized into ethical poems, school poems, patriotic poems, and poems dealing with nature and ethics. In this way, the organization of the anthology followed trends that already existed elsewhere in Europe at that time.

830 Satı Bey, "Şiir ve mûsikinin tâlim ve terbiye'de ehemmiyeti," *Tedrîsât-ı iptidâî mecmûası,* no. 1 (1325/1909): 3–19. This article is based on the conference talk at the teachers' school.

831 İsmâîl Kâzım Uz or Muallim Kâzım Bey was born in 1873 in Istanbul. At an early age, he became a student of the Dârüşşafaka, a school for impoverished and orphaned children, where he learned music from Zekâî Dede. He became a civil servant at the Post Office but continued his activities in the field of music, including composing and teaching. Later, he was transferred to the Ministry of Education and spent forty years in public schools teaching music and mathematics. After his retirement, he dedicated himself completely to music and became head of the Dârülmûsıkî [House of Music], which he had founded in Istanbul-Koska. He died on 9 January 1943 in Istanbul (Rona 1960, 126–27; Öztuna 1990, 2:463–65). As a Turkish musician and schoolteacher, he also wrote many instructive books on music and theory. He published a music dictionary with the title *Ta'lîm-i mûsıkî yâhûd mûsıkî ıstılâhâtı* (1894) [Instruction in music, or Music Terminology], which opened a way for him into the Ottoman Imperial Band. Other instructional books for music education were *Notalı mekteb şarkıları* (1330/1914) [School Songs with Notation], *Mûsıkî nazariyâtı* (1339/1923) [Theory of Music], *İptidâî nota dersleri* [Preliminary Notation Classes] (first ed. 1332/1916) and *Osmânlı gençlerine tuhfe* (1333/1917) [Gift to the Ottoman Youth].

832 Tevfîk Fikret (1867–1915) was an important poet of the late Ottoman Empire. He worked in various positions as an official and also as a translator and editor of Ottoman journals, such as the *Malûmât* and the *Servet-i fünûn.* He supported a process of renewal in the Ottoman literary scene and also translated poetic works from French into Turkish. He was a critic of Sultan Abdulhamid II and praised the failed assassination attempt that Armenians had undertaken. In the Second Constitutional Period, he taught at the Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultânîsi as well as at the Dârülfünûn and the Dârülmuallimîn [Teacher Training College], which he reorganized to the latest pedagogical standards. Due to intrigues and political tensions, he had to withdraw from his positions (Uçman 2012, 41:9–13).

ers] and "Küçük asker" [Small Soldier]. The composer Kâzım Uz also included these songs in his song anthology *Notalı mekteb şarkıları* (1330/1914) [School Songs with Notation] and *İptidâî nota dersleri* (1333/1917) [Primary Notation Lessons] for primary and high schools.[833] School songs were not only included in school song anthologies but also in music theory textbooks that were made for use in schools. Sâhib's *Telhîs-i mûsıkî* (1330/1914) [Summary of Music] is a good example of this, where the elements of music that were introduced in each chapter could be practiced in a song. Whereas most of the Ottoman school song anthologies reinforced national identity, the songs in *Telhîs-i mûsıkî* mostly highlighted other values, such as respect for one's elders, love of music and nature, and other topics related to school life.[834]

The idea that school songs being included in children's education could be beneficial for the nation and society seemed to have been recognized at a much later stage in the Ottoman Empire than by its European neighbors. When Satı Bey described in an article the effect that music had on children, he used words that were similar to those of Tantalidēs. Satı Bey stated that music helped children to control the energy of the voice. Further, music helped them to be tidy and docile and to calm down. Music added harmony, interest, and esthetic appreciation to a child's life, and it complemented cognitive abilities with emotional ones. He further claimed that learning song lyrics had a positive effect on children since they helped them memorize the melody.[835] Another article titled "Mûsıkî ve mekteplerimiz" [Music and Our Schools] was published in 1916 in the journal *Muallim* [Teacher] by Mehmed Emîn Bey. He recognized how powerful music was for children, stating that it could be used to achieve national and religious education.[836] In 1873, the Dârüşşafaka, which followed the unsuccessful Dârüleytâm,[837] was founded to educate poor children and orphans. Also, Zekâî Dede[838] seemingly offered the children music classes from 1884 until his death.[839] The classes were carried out in a traditional fashion and fo-

833 Cf. first piece in Uz 1330/1914.

834 Cf. Appendix B, Table 2.

835 Satı Bey, "Şiir ve mûsikinin tâlim ve terbiye'de ehemmiyeti," 3–19; Hacıosmanoğlu, *Osmanlı'da çocuk mûsikîsi,* 19–20.

836 Hacıosmanoğlu, *Osmanlı'da çocuk mûsikîsi,* 19–20.

837 Dârüleytâm was a school for adolescent orphans. It placed more emphasis on music teaching compared to other elementary and middle schools (Özden 2015, 92–93). A picture of the Dârüleytâm can be found in Çağlar 2015, 105.

838 Zekâî Dede was born in 1240/1824 in Istanbul-Eyüp and was an important music instructor, musician, and composer of his time. He was familiar with staff and Hampartsum notation but continued teaching music with the traditional meşk system. He worked at the Dârüşşafaka as a teacher but was also active at the Bahariye Dervish Convent. He died in 1897 in Istanbul (Özcan 2013, 44:195–96). For Rauf Yekta's biography on Zekâî Dede, see Rauf Yektâ, *Esâtîz-i elhân,* ed. Nuri Akbayar, Pan Yayıncılık 43 (Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2000).

839 Mehmed İzzet et al., *Dârüşşafaka: Türkiye'de ilk halk mektebi* (Istanbul: Evkâf-ı İslâmiye Matbaası, 1927), 77. Music as a school class was introduced for the first time in the year 1293/1870. Two students were invited every year to recite from the Koran. Candidates who had remarkable voices were admitted to music classes. The music classes of the Dârüşşafaka consisted of two categories. One was more formal and included gen-

cused more on practice than on theory. However, not all students could take part in music classes. Only newcomers that were gifted in reciting the Koran were taught in music.[840] The concept and methodology of music classes were therefore very different from those of "modern" schools and music education that were meant for all children. This European concept of school song education for the "masses" seemed to have existed mainly in the years after the Young Turk Revolution. The same was probably true of the "Mahalle mektepleri" [district schools], which were basically elementary schools that were also referred to as "Sıbyan mektepleri" [primary schools]. They emerged in several districts of the city and gave poor children a general education. In those schools, children generally learned religious hymns according to the meşk education.[841] However, elementary school children were taught not only religious hymns but also more popular and patriotic songs such as "Ey gâzîler" [O Muslim Fighters] and the "Sevastopol Song."[842] A more modern music education was probably taught in the Imperial Military Band. It had a music band for children called "Sıbyan Mûzıkası," which was a boys' military band founded in 1888.[843]

Thus, Ottoman school song anthologies, unlike their Greek equivalents, were seemingly printed only after the proclamation of the Second Constitution. This was possibly connected to the political circumstances, which abruptly changed in this period. The reasons for this delay may be numerous. Firstly, the meşk education was still very common in the nineteenth century; therefore, music notation was not needed in classes, and songs were taught directly to the students by the teachers. Secondly, the lack of suitable pedagogic personnel to design modern school song anthologies could be another reason for this delayed development. It is unlikely that missing technical equipment or financial reasons were responsible for the late emergence of Ottoman school song anthologies. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it was possible to find many printed publications

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eral music theory and solfeggio, which at that time was conceived as new and progressive. At the same time, the more traditional "face to face" class taught according to the meşk was also offered. In both cases, music notation was used.

840 Hacıosmanoğlu, *Osmanlı'da çocuk mûsikîsi,* 37–39; Yektâ, *Esâtîz-i elhân,* 34–35. The school was founded by Esad Pasha based on the model of the French "Prytanée Militaire de la Flèche." Also, the instruction books that had been used were translated into Turkish (Özden 2015, 101–2).

841 There were, for example, anthologies of such religious hymns printed without musical notation in 1909 with the title *Mektep ilâhîsi.*

842 Hacıosmanoğlu, *Osmanlı'da çocuk mûsikîsi,* 33, 36. Ülkütaşir described in an article the rituals of school enrolment at the primary schools. When a child was enrolled, the ritual was accompanied by religious songs (ilâhî) and patriotic songs that had become popular, such as "Ey gâzîler" and the "Sevastopol Song" (Ülkütaşır 1949, 17). The "Sevastopol Song" and "Ey gâzîler" will be dealt with separately in more detail in Chapters 2.3.6 and 2.3.9.

843 The "Sıbyan Mûzıkası" [Boys' Military Band] was the military band of the marines directed by François Lombardi (1865–1904). Lombardi was an Italian composer of French origin and a teacher of European music theory. A photo of the "Sıbyan Mûzıkası" together with Lombardi was printed in issue 27 of the journal *Malûmât* (1313/1897). Lombardi founded the Boys' Military Band together with the violin player of the Mûzıka-yı Hümâyûn, Bedri Bey. The students in the Boys' Military band later became musicians on the Ertuğrul battleship. The band was, however, soon dissolved, since the instrumentalists had to serve at the front in World War I (Gazimihal 1955, 205; Üngör 1966, 38; Aksoy and Behar 1985, 1225; Kutlay Baydar 2010, 56–58).

of Western and Ottoman music, arranged for piano and other instruments. In addition, numerous methodologies for music theory and instruments had been published. This approach to learning music by reading an instructional book instead of consulting a teacher can be seen as a new phenomenon in Turkish music education.[844] The first printed music methodology of this kind was *Miftâh-i nota* (1291/1874) [Key to Notation], which was followed by several more: *Usûl-i nota* (1292/1875) [Method of Notation], *Nota muallimi* (1302/1886) [Teacher of Notation], *İrâe-i nagamât* (1304/1888) [A Guide to Tunes], *Solfej yâhûd nazariyât-ı mûsıkî* (1306/1890) [Solfeggio or Theory of Music], and *Kütübhâne-i mûsıkîden nazariyât-ı mûsıkî* (1899) [Music Theory]. In the first quarter of the twentieth century, this trend continued: *Rehber-i mûsıkî* (1321/1905) [Guide to Music], *Muhtasar risâle-i mûsıkî* (1325/1909) [Short Treatise on Music], *Risâle-i mûsıkî: notanın talîm ü kırâatı* (1326/1910) [Music Treatise: Instruction in Reading Notation], *Mebâdî-i mûsıkî* (1326/1910) [Principles of Music], *Medhal-i mûsıkî* (1330/1914) [Introduction to Music], *Solfej yâhûd nota dersleri* (1330/1914) [Solfeggio, or Notation Lessons], *Telhîs-i mûsıkî* (1330/1914) [Summary of Music], *Tedrîsât-ı mûsıkî* (1330/1914) [Instruction to Music], and *Mûsıkî nazariyâtı* (n.d.) [Theory of Music]. In the same period, music histories also appeared, such as the history of European music in *Târîhçe-i fenn-i mûsıkî* (1310/1894) [The History of Musical Science] and for Ottoman music, *Esâtîz-i elhân* [Masters of Sound] in three volumes.[845] School song anthologies that were prepared for use in schools are *Notalı mekteb şarkıları* (1330/1914) [School Songs with Notation], *İptidâî nota dersleri* (1914) [Primary Notation Lessons], and *Mektebde vatan türküleri* (n.d.) [National Songs for Schools]. In this context, it is also relevant to recognize some of the children's poetry anthologies, of which some poems served as lyrics for songs in school anthologies such as *Çocuklara neşîdeler* (1328/1912) [Poetry for Children], *Kızıl elma* (ca. 1330/1914) [Red Apple], *Şermîn*[846] (1330/1914) and *Çocuk şiirleri* (1330/1914) [Poems for Children]. These examples show that instructional books for music education had already existed prior to the twentieth century. School song anthologies, however, were printed only in the first quarter of the twentieth century. The years 1913–1915 are especially striking because it is the period when most of the school music books were published. Many music schools were funded by the Ministry of Education and music classes were intended for all Ottoman children. This is also the period when many foreign music instructors started working as teachers, probably partly to cope with the lack of suitable pedagogic personnel.[847]

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844 The volumes *Ûd muallimi* (ca. 1900/1901) [The Oud Teacher]; *Hocasız ud öğrenmek usûlu* (1910) [The Method to Learn the Ud Without a Teacher] by Alî Salâhî; *Usûli talîm-i kemân* (1913) [Methodic Instruction for Violin] (1913) by Seyyîd Abdulkâdir Töre are only a few examples of this.

845 The three volumes of *Esâtîz-i elhân* were written by Rauf Yekta and can be considered the first printed, scholarly biographies of famous Ottoman musicians. Each of the volumes focuses on one composer: The first volume deals with Zekâî Dede Efendi and the second volume with Abdülkâdir Merâğî, both published in 1900. The third volume is on Dede Efendi and was published in 1922.

846 "Şermîn" is the name of a female character.

847 Özden, *Osmanlı maârifi'nde mûsikî*, 118–19.

The Ottoman military band musician Zatî Arca[848] had already asserted in his letter to the Ministry of Education the importance of music education and the lack of a working teaching system, which was due to the paucity of qualified teachers.[849] The organization of the "Muallim Mektepleri" [Teachers' Colleges] was the first response to solve this problem. Another urgent issue was instructive books for music teaching. The increasing number of books for music classes occurred at the same time as the foundation of the Dârülbedâyi, which also had a music department for Western and Eastern music. It was an important institution which was the predecessor of the later Turkish conservatory, Dârülelhân. It was organized by important Ottoman music teachers, who would have educated the next generation of musicians if it had not been closed down in 1916 due to World War I.[850]

The numerous book publications in the first quarter of the twentieth century coincided with the imposition of official guidelines for music education in schools. One dated from 1914 was made for the Teachers' College. Another, which dated from 1915, described the program and content for music classes in schools.[851] From the guidelines for music education in schools, it becomes evident that music classes played only a marginal role in the entire school curriculum. Music classes were once a week for two hours. The content consisted of elementary music theory. This included reading notation in the treble clef, rhythmic values, rest signs, accidentals, etc. The newly learned elements were supposed to be practiced with short songs that were written specifically for this purpose.[852] The instruments that were used to accompany the classes were the piano and the *kânûn*. The more advanced school classes learned harmonized melodies, transposition, and memorizing songs and lyrics.

If the school song anthologies are considered in their historical context, then it is possible to recognize a common character in how they were conceptualized. The idea of using school songs not simply to teach children but also to shape the infant character derives from the nineteenth-century European school music tradition. However, in the Ottoman case their content was adapted to contemporary and moral needs. In 1913, the edu-

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848 Mehmed Zatî Arca (1864–1943/1951) was a musician in the Ottoman imperial military band Mûzıka-yı Hümâyûn, which he joined in 1872 at the age of eight. His music teachers were mostly foreigners. He learned violin, flute, and clarinet with Pasqualli. Later, during the era of Abdulhamid II, he learned piano with the Spanish musician D'Arenda (1846–1919), and Guatelli Pasha (d. 1899) taught him music theory and harmony. Hacı Ârif Bey introduced him to Turkish music. Zatî Arca founded a choir, which he also directed. He was active in several music projects until the Second Constitutional Period. When the Young Turks came to power in 1908, he lost all his military ranks and was forced to hand his choir over to Saffet Atabinen (1858–1939). Until 1923, he worked at public schools in Üsküdar and Erenköy in Istanbul. He was an important music instructor and published books about music teaching. He composed both Western style and makâm-based marches (Tuğlacı 1986, 117–18; Öztuna 1990, 1:66–67).

849 The most important arguments of Zatî Bey's letter have been outlined in Özden 2015, 81–82.

850 Paçacı, "Mûsiki taliminden müzik terbiyesine," 12–13. The branch for Western music was closed down completely and the branch for Turkish music dedicated itself to creating a corpus of Ottoman music.

851 A complete transcription of the guidelines into the Latin alphabet can be found in Özden 2015, 108–12.

852 Good examples of these types of instructional school music books were M. Sahib's *Telhîs-i mûsıkî* (1330/1914) and Kâzım Uz's *İptidâî nota dersleri* (1333/1917). The methodology combined the musical topics of each chapter with a song.

cational principles in the Ottoman Empire followed nationalist ideas and drew on the Turanist ideology.[853] The school songs show the centralized and militarized character that existed in school education, and that became dominant towards the last years of the empire. National elements and virtues were expressed both in the music and in the lyrics. The songs thus reinforced the building of a national Ottoman, or Turkish, Muslim identity. The transmission of national meaning was, of course, achieved better and more clearly by the lyrics of the songs than by the music itself. The music, however, contributed considerably and facilitated the inculcation of the content of the lyrics. The melodies are catchy and simple. They draw on traditional elements such as popular rhythmic patterns and makâm-based melodies. One of the volumes used for this study[854] is *Bîlumûm mekteb-i Osmânîyeye mahsûs mekteb marşları* [All School Marches for Ottoman Schools], which was published in Istanbul by the editor Şamlı Selîm.[855] The title page of the volume does not indicate any publication date, but from the content it is possible to date it back to the years between 1909 and 1914. Kâzım Uz's *İptidâî nota dersleri* (1914) [Primary Notation Lessons] and Sâhib's *Telhîs-i mûsıkî* [Summary of Music] were designed to teach elementary music theory. School songs served, however, to apply the newly learned elements of music. Some of the songs also had patriotic content. Uz had already published, around 1911, a school song anthology with the title *Notalı mekteb şarkıları* [School Songs with Notation]. These few volumes confirm that the first school song anthologies with notation must have been published shortly after 1908.

2.3.2 "Marş-ı Sultânî" [Emperor's March]

Hymns to the emperor had already become part of many nineteenth-century school song anthologies. The previous chapters have already shown that similar tendencies did indeed also exist in the Greek song anthologies. Likewise, hymns to the emperor seem to have played a vital role in the context of Ottoman school education. These hymns not only praised the emperor's figure as the legitimate ruler of the nation, as well as his achievements and pomp, but they also stressed the relationship between the emperor and his subjects. This was not only the case in Ottoman-Turkish sultan's hymns but it was also practiced in Ottoman-Greek song anthologies that dedicated hymns in Greek to Ottoman emperors.[856] The following case study will deal with the "Marş-ı Sultânî" [Emperor's March], which seems to have belonged to the standard repertoire of official Ottoman

853 Erol Köroğlu, *Türk edebiyatı ve birinci dünya savaşı 1914–1918: propagandadan millî kimlik inşasına,* Araştırma-İnceleme Dizisi 164 (Istanbul: İletişim, 2004), 140–43.

854 The school song anthologies that were available for this study have been listed, and the percentages of patriotic songs are also indicated. Cf. Appendix B, Table 2.

855 Şamlı Selîm Kutmânî (ca. 1876–1924/1930) was born in Jaffa and came to Istanbul around 1900. As an oud player, he gave music classes and opened a music shop. He edited, printed, and sold Ottoman music scores. His shop was in Istanbul-Vezneciler 73, at the Beyazıt Square 139 (Alaner 1986, 199–201).

856 See Keïvelēs, *Mousikon apanthisma,* 2:3–7.

songs.[857] The lyrics of this piece praise Sultan Mehmed Reşâd V (r. 1909–1918) as ruler of the Ottoman nation. His reign falls into the period between the restoration of the constitution and the end of World War I.

The "Emperor's March" was included in various printed song collections.[858] In the Ottoman school song anthologies, this piece had a striking position in the volumes as a whole, for it appeared as one of the first songs. In the anthology *All School Marches for Ottoman Schools,* the "Emperor's March" follows the official, instrumental Ottoman national anthem and thus can be considered one of the opening pieces and the introduction to the anthology.[859] The "Emperor's March" was composed by İsmâîl Hakkı Bey,[860] a well-known Ottoman musician of this time. There is no certain information about the author of the lyrics. One source attributed the song lyrics to a certain Florinalı Nâzım Bey.[861] As the title of the song suggests, it belongs to the genre of national marches and thus is one of the patriotic songs that were composed in the so-called alafranga style. The musical characteristics of this song draw clearly on European models. This is evident in the straight time measure and the key signature indicated as makâm râst, which here equals G major. Another characteristic of this song is its strict symmetrical structure. Both instrumental introduction and the song's music sections were composed symmetrically, and the lyrics follow this symmetry. The song is composed of eight-measure units that structure the song's sections.

As in many other marching songs, the melody starts with an upbeat. In this case, the upbeat introduces the beginning of each hemistich throughout the whole piece. The song's structure also follows popular models that had been widely used in other marches, as will be shown later. This piece starts, for example, with an instrumental introduction, which

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857 Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 8. A recording of this song can be found on track 38 of Orchestre du Yacht Imperial Erthogroul 2021.

858 The song appears in Hüseyin İkbâl Kütüphânesi 1327/1911, 61; Şamlı Selîm, *Hürriyet nota mecmûası,* 12; *Bil'umûm mekteb-i Osmâniye'ye mahsûs mekteb marşları,* vol. 1, 4–5.; n.a.; *Mektebde vatan türküleri,* 1900–1909, 3. Karl Hadank also included this piece in his study of the music of the Young Turks. See Hadank 1919, 79–81.

859 The same applies to the volume *Mektebde vatan türküleri,* where it also appears as the first song.

860 İsmâîl Hakkı Bey (1866–1927) was one of the most active musicians and music instructors of the late Ottoman Empire. Although he was a performer of traditional Ottoman music, he also composed numerous pieces in Western style. Among them were many songs with patriotic topics, such as the Emperor's Hymn "Tac-ı hürriyet," "Ordumuz etti yemin" [Our Army Took an Oath], or songs dedicated to victorious military campaigns. He also played an important role in the revival of the Mehter bands, for which he composed new Janissary music. He completed his musical training at the Imperial Music School as a student of Zatî Arca, who introduced him to musical notation. Later, he taught music theory at the private music school "Mûsıkî-i Osmânî Mektebi" [Ottoman Music School], from where important Ottoman musicians arose. The lyrics of the songs that were taught at this school were published in one volume in Istanbul in 1909. The song anthology contained songs not only in Turkish but also in other languages such as Bosnian, Albanian, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Serbian. In the years of the Turkish Republic, he continued teaching music at the Dârülelhân Conservatory until his death. Besides being a singer, musician, and composer, during his lifetime, he published music theories for schools as well as numerous music scores. He composed a "March of Independence" in the initial period of the Turkish Republic. For further reading on İsmâîl Hakkı Bey, see Rona 1960, 65–71; İhsanoğlu 2003, 194–95; Öztuna 1990, 1:402–13; Tuğlacı 1986, 158–65; Üngör 1966, 128–29.

861 İkbâl Kütüphânesi sâhibi Hüseyîn, *Vatan ve hürriyet şarkısı,* 61.

is repeated before it proceeds to the A-section. The A-section has two subsections with eight measures each. Each of the eight-measure units includes one hemistich that is sung to a melody which develops within the octave ambitus G_4–G_5. As usual in this genre, the middle or B-section changes tonality, in this case from G major to G minor, where v3 of the stanza is performed. The last two hemistiches of the C-Section, which in some of the editions were labeled "nakarât" (refrain), draw on melodic material from the A-section. The melody, however, was set one octave higher and connects to the instrumental beginning that brings the song to a conclusion.

The lyrics that were given in school song anthologies seem to contain only the first of the three stanzas which were printed in the volume *Vatan ve hürriyet şarkısı.*[862] The lyrics to this song were also composed in a symmetrical and structural fashion. The hemistiches all consist of exactly fifteen syllables, whereas the rhyme scheme is in line with the song's compositional structure.[863] The first hemistich already alludes to an important word that in the Second Constitutional Period had gained an important meaning, which is "hürriyet" [liberty].[864] In the time of the Second Constitutional Period, there were three more key words: "adâlet" [Justice], "müsâvat" [Equality], and "uhuvvet" [Brotherhood]. The sultan was not an absolute monarch anymore; his powers were limited, and the figure of the emperor resembled more of an enlightened ruler. In the lyrics, the emperor is not only praised as the legitimate ruler of the nation; he is also the bearer of the liberty crown, as stated in v1. V2 deals with his place in the Ottoman dynasty and v3, which is sung to the B-section, underlines his deep affection for the nation that illuminates his mind. The last two hemistiches, which are performed at the end of the stanza as a refrain, use a formula that can be found in many other emperor's hymns. The phrase "Long live …" could also be found in the example of the Greek emperor's hymn (see Chapter 1.4.3) "zēt'ho vasilevs" [Long live the Emperor] or the German "Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser" [Good Save Francis the Emperor]. Behind the lyrics are poetic patterns that structure the song. Firstly, it has the rhyme scheme (abbcc), which is parallel to the sections of the musical structure.

There were several more popular Ottoman patriotic songs that highlighted a common Ottoman national identity and were printed in various song anthologies.[865] They seemingly did not enter the school songs' repertoire. The sultan's hymn, however, seemed to have formed part of Ottoman school song anthologies both in Greek and in Turkish. Music in state school education aimed to contribute to the formation of young Ottoman subjects that would, one day, contribute to Ottoman society. The "Emperor's March" was a song that had representative function. It aimed to present the emperor to a national and also

862 İkbâl kütüphânesi sâhibi Hüseyîn, ed., *Mektebde vatan türküleri* and *Vatan ve hürriyet şarkısı.*

863 Cf. "Rhyme" and "Section" columns in Appendix A, Case Study 8.2.

864 For the song lyrics of the "Marş-ı Sultânî," see Appendix A, Case Study 8.3. There were numerous compositions from the same period that were titled "Hürriyet marşı" [Liberty March] or even whole song anthologies that were titled *Hürriyet nota mecmûası* (n.d.) [Collection of Songs of Liberty].

865 A collection of these songs can be found in the anthologies Şamlı Selîm, ed., *Hürriyet nota mecmûası* (n.p., n.d.); İkbâl Kütüphânesi sâhibi Hüseyîn, ed., *Vatan ve hürriyet şarkısı,* 2nd ed. (Istanbul: Şems Matbaası, 1327/1911).

international public. Therefore, the musical language that it used was more universal and could also be understood by non-nationals. Compared to other Ottoman school songs, the poetic language is archaic and difficult to understand. Besides the symmetries of the melodic sections that coincide with the rhyme scheme of the poem, the lyrics have prosody in the *arûd* meter.[866]

2.3.3 "İzciler marşı" [Boy Scout's March]

The relationship between the emperor and his young subjects is a topic in the "İzciler Marşı" [Boy Scout's March].[867] Boy Scout activities started in the Ottoman Empire particularly after 1908 and were part of the politics of the CUP (Committee of Union and Progress) that aimed to mobilize manpower for war.[868] The Boy Scout activities aimed to form and prepare teenagers aged between twelve and nineteen years both physically and mentally for military service.[869] Good physical training for the Ottoman youth became an important issue after the Ottoman defeat in the Balkan Wars. The defeat was not seen as a militaristic failure, but rather as a result of the poor physical condition of the soldiers. The same applied to their psychological state: they lacked a clear patriotic profile. The well-known Turkish educator Ethem Nejat (1883–1921) supported militaristic education in school when he claimed in 1913: "Our children must begin to be soldiers even when they are still at school. They must be educated in a soldierly way. They must be inculcated with sentiments of vengeance and revenge. The whole nation must be living for vengeance and revenge."[870] The ideal character of the Boy Scout is clearly reflected in the Boy Scouts' songs that were apparently taught not only in the Ottoman capital but also in other provinces of the empire. The Boy Scout organization was a realm of the "Türk ocağı" [Hearth of the Turks], which was founded in 1911 as an educational tool. As a think tank for patriotic ideas, the organization disseminated and taught theories on race and cultural heritage to the people. The "İzciler" [Boy Scouts], as they were called in Turkish, were closely connected to the Turkish Hearths and were organized in a very militaristic way. Enver Pasha (1881–1922), who admired the German militaristic youth organizations, designed their Turkish equivalent by drawing on existing British and German models. In the initial phase, the Boy

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866 For the prosody of the "Marş-ı Sultânî," see Appendix A, Case Study 8.4.

867 Şamlı Selîm, *Bil'umûm mekteb-i Osmâniye'ye mahsûs mekteb marşları,* n.d., 1:10–12. Cf. Appendix A, Case Studies 9.1–9.2.

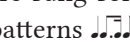
868 Mehmet Beşikci's book gives important insights into the Ottoman youth organizations and their development between their decisive years of 1909 and 1918. For further reading, see Beşikci 2012, 203–47.

869 Children were included in the general mobilization and had to work in the mines and fields. Through the Boy Scouts, they underwent military training and were ready to serve as paramilitary forces at the front. Hence, children were actors in times of total war (Maksudyan 2019, 10). Boy Scout activities had also started in other Ottoman ethnic communities soon after 1908. They were, however, suspended and forbidden from 1914 to 1918 when the Young Turks were in power (Ibid., 90–92). By 1914, it was compulsory for Ottoman children to partake in the activities of the Ottoman Strength Association, and by 1916, all Ottoman children, regardless of their ethno-religious background, had to join the Ottoman youth organizations (Köroğlu 2004, 142–43).

870 Ethem Nejat quoted and translated according to Beşikci 2012, 212.

Scouts were organized by Harald Parfitt. During World War I, German educators such as Colmar von der Goltz,[871] who was a student of Colonel von Hoff, organized the Turkish youth societies. Landau quotes a British intelligence report that described the militaristic organization of the Turkish Boy Scouts as follows:

> The members of this organization received a military training, fitting them for eventual employment as N.C.O.'s [Non-commissioned officers]. Their badges, scout-names and titles were purely Turkish and pre-Islamic. Ali and Mehmed became Aksonkor and Timurtash. The "white wolf", which gave birth to Oghoz, the legendary ancestor of the Turkish people, figured, in spite of the Islamic prohibition, on standards of the İzcis, who were led by their Başbuğ (Emir), and marshalled by Ortabeys and Oymakbeys; said prayers not to Allah, but to Tanri [God]; were taught to regard all Turanians as their brethren; and cheered, not the Khalif or Padishah, but the "Hakon" of the Turks.[872]

The "Boy Scout's March" consists of six stanzas that are separated from each other by the refrain. A characteristic of the Boy Scouts' song is the use of group dynamics, which is clearly expressed in the performance instructions "tek" [alone] and "hep beraber" [all together]. Some verses of the stanzas are sung by one person. The refrain that animates the Boy Scouts to go to war and seek victories is sung by the entire corps or by one person followed by the others. The composer Hekîmoğlu Nezîh Bey[873] (d. 1925?) opted for a melody that corresponded to Western tonality and marching rhythms. The makâm nihâvend, as it is given in the score, corresponds with the key of G minor. The piece is structured in four sections. The repeated instrumental introduction, which is based on the melody of the B-section, explores the piece's entire melodic ambitus G_4–A_5. The stanzas are composed of two distiches, and each of the distiches is performed in one musical section. The two distiches are followed by the refrain, which bears the instruction that it is to be sung by the entire group. In this way, it creates an interesting contrast to the A- and B-sections of the piece, which are sung solo. The song's marching character is reinforced by the militaristic rhythmic patterns  (mm. 11–15) and  (mm. 19–22). Whereas the rhythmic pattern is quite homogeneous throughout the entire piece, the melodic progression is more challenging. The ascending melody in the A-section starting on D_4 only reaches G_5 after six measures. The melody in the B-section of the piece creates a contrast to the A-section because, firstly, it is a descending melody, and secondly, it has

871 Colmar von der Goltz's (1843–1916) work *Das Volk in Waffen* (1883) [The Nation in Arms] was translated into Turkish in 1884, and in 1888 the second edition had already been printed. He was the founder of the "Jungdeutschland-Bund" [League of German Youth], which emerged around the same period with the aim of militarizing German youth (Ibid., 217).

872 Quoted according to Landau 1981, 41 (additions in square brackets are mine).

873 Hekîmoğlu, Nezîh Bey (d. 1925) was a Turkish musician who was known for his patriotic songs. One is the "Boy Scout's March," with lyrics by Ahmed Avvâd Bey. Another march published in the same year starts with "Türk yurdu üstüne düşman at salmış" [The enemy sent out a horse towards the Turkish homeland]. The "Plevne March" was also published. See Öztuna 1990, 2:118; Şamlı Selîm, ed. n.d., vol. 1, 12; vol. 2, 3, 5.

chromatic progressions introducing F♯5 and E♮5. The refrain section has a much smaller ambitus G4–E♭5. This is probably for practical reasons. The stanzas were probably sung by a scout who was more confident and trained in singing and who was able to perform the wide ambitus and chromatic tones, whereas the refrain could also be sung by the less trained singers in the scout group.

The message of this Boy Scout song is very clear. The song draws on the humiliating experience of the Balkan Wars and therefore rouses Ottoman scouts to reconquer the lost territories. The song ends with an oath to take revenge. The Boy Scouts in this piece represent themselves as self-confident, and they do not fear falling as martyrs for the sake of the nation. The heroic attributes of the children, as they are represented in this song were part of Ottoman war propaganda. Children were portrayed as ideal citizens that incorporated the virtues of Ottoman nationalism, which is also expressed in comradeship, sacrifice, patriotism, and revenge. "Strong, sound, and patriotic" are often-used attributes to describe the ideal Ottoman youth.[874] It is likely that these songs were also taught in the state orphanages to destitute children who had lost their parents in the Balkan Wars or other campaigns. In such state-run institutions, they had to undergo military training.[875] Scouts performed these songs at public events, such as at official ceremonies, inaugurations, and anniversaries. They walked alongside soldiers singing military songs.[876] Malek Sharif referred in his work to an anecdote that related a scene of a Boy Scout group from Lebanon that once performed at Friday's prayers in Istanbul. In this anecdote, the children wanted to welcome Sultan Mehmed Reşâd V with a brief musical piece.[877] However, the Boy Scouts also played in other public ceremonies and represented the Ottoman youth and future of the nation.[878] The Boy Scout song laments in stz. 3 the Ottomans' loss of Ioannina, Kosovo, Crete, and Thessaloniki in 1912 and 1913. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that this piece was composed around the year 1913. This assumption is further supported by the date that the scout movement started and became institutionalized in 1913 as the "Türk Gücü Cemiyeti" [Turkish Strength Association].[879]

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874 "Kavi, sağlam ve vatanperver" (Toprak 1985, 2:534).

875 Maksudyan, *Ottoman Children and Youth during World War I,* 87.

876 Ibid., 10.

877 The use of these kinds of nationalist Ottoman songs was apparently not only restricted to the Ottoman capital but they were also used in other Ottoman provinces. Sharif's account of the Boy Scouts from Lebanon suggests that this repertoire was also taught in the Arabic regions of the empire (Sharif 2019, 78–91).

878 Nazan Maksudyan, "Children and Youth: Ottoman Empire," ed. Ute Daniel et al., *1914–1918-Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War,* March 27, 2015, 11,

879 The rise of Ottoman youth organizations was inspired by British and German models and were adopted in the Ottoman Empire to form a militarized Ottoman youth. Firstly, the scout societies started in the Ottoman capital but were soon also established in many other Ottoman cities between Adrianople and Baghdad. Between the years 1916 and 1917, there were 706 branches of the so-called "Genç dernekleri" [Youth Associations] that were successors of the earlier scout associations. They had started in the Ottoman Empire around 1909 as a realm of the Young Turk movement. Enver Pasha adopted the model of German youth organizations with the support of von Hoff. The idea was to raise a generation that was physically strong and

The songs often talk about reconquering the lost provinces, which shows that the defeat in the Balkans was taken as a national humiliation. The grief-stricken content of the school songs passed on the responsibility of protecting and saving the nation from the enemy to the children and young adolescents. The songs also provoked feelings of hatred and motivated people to take revenge for the atrocities committed in times of war. As had become clear in Ethem Nejat's statement quoted above, revenge was an important aspect of nationalist school education. Many of the school songs foster feelings of revenge that are also often combined with lamentation and despair. The fate and fall of the nation were firstly expressed as lamentation, then inverted into a strong expression of hatred towards the "other." This is significant as the loss of the Aegean Islands and Balkan provinces during 1911–1913 had led to the expulsion of the Muslim population, who were forced to migrate to the Ottoman mainland. This had become a traumatic experience for the Ottoman nationals and led to a crisis regarding Ottoman national identity.

2.3.4 "Rumeli marşı" [Rumelia March]

The metaphorical representation of the nation as a mother seeking the help of her children can be found in both Greek and Ottoman school songs.[880] This mother-child metaphor is transferred to the nation-citizen relationship in the "Rumelia March."[881] The "Rumelia March" was composed by Hâfız Mustafâ Efendi, a music instructor who also composed other nationalist school marches.[882] It deals, as the geographic reference of the title suggests, with the loss of the Rumelian provinces.[883] The first two verses of the song, "Rumelia had mountains so beautiful, now they are weeping," introduces the song's basic mood. In a 3/4-time signature, the melancholic notions of the song are further reinforced by the A minor key and the stable rhythmic pattern 𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥 | 𝅗𝅥. which continues throughout the entire piece and, in a way, evokes "weeping." The slow and even, melodic progression within the main ambitus of a sixth A_4–F_5 stresses the piece's lamenting character. The piece has

healthy, patriotic, and trained in warfare. The scouts served as paramilitary groups and were engaged in the Ottoman wars. Young Ottomans from the age of twelve, regardless of their confessions, had to take part in these scout groups. At the age of seventeen, the young scouts already belonged to the advanced groups. The aim of the youth societies, especially of the "Türk Gücü Cemiyeti," was to realize the Turkish nationalist ideology of the Turan (Toprak 1985, 2:531–36).

880 This is, for example, the case in the song of the Greek Revolution "Ō paidia mou orphana mou" [O my children, my orphans], where the narrator, personified as the nation, calls on its children to fight for liberty. It appears among others in various song anthologies, such as in Gellēs 1948, 111–12; Sigalas 1880, 35; Artemidēs 1905, 9–10. Another example is the last stanza of Sakellaridēs' song "Olē doksa" dedicated to 25 March. Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 7.

881 Cf. Appendix A, Case Studies 10.1 and 10.2, based on Şamlı Selîm n.d., 2:12.

882 There is not much known about the composer. Hâfız Mustafâ Efendi was a music instructor. Besides the "Rumelia March," he also composed other pieces, such as the "Caucasian March."

883 The Ottoman music research project OMAR at the Istanbul University provided a recorded performance of the first two stanzas. See https://osmanlimuzigi.istanbul.edu.tr/tr/content/kayitlar/rumeli-marsi (accessed 22 Apr. 2022).

three sections: an A-section (mm. 1–8), B-section (mm. 9–8), and the refrain (mm. 17–24)—the latter being a quote from the A-section but with different lyrics. The even character of the rhythm and melody, as well as the repetitive sequences, shape the simple melody. The score can be sung at sight and memorized easily thanks to its even and limited rhythmic as well as melodic organization.

The "Rumelia March" has six stanzas, each consisting of two distiches. Each stanza is concluded by a refrain. The lyrics support the lamenting character of the music. Metaphorically, the song depicts the nation, "Vatan," which is deprived of and cut off from its children. It is left behind, abandoned to the atrocities of the enemy. Grief dominates the homes. The "mother nation" seeks help and counts on her children. The refrain at the end of each stanza reinforces the motivation of the "children" to save the "mother" nation. The piece ends with the children's oath to sacrifice their blood to restore the nation. Invocation of the mother-child relationship aims to reinforce the emotional ties between the nation and its subjects. It is intended to provoke a sense of responsibility and feelings of guilt. The "children" are incited to fight, risking their lives for "the sake of the mother" that had raised her children but now needs help. The "Rumelia March" is melancholic but does not invite people to "march" in the literal sense of the word. It is a song that laments the lost homeland. This character is also expressed in the music by a balanced ratio of melody and song lyrics, which have a one-to-one ratio of notes and text syllables. Each section contains two verses with eight syllables each. This balance between melody and lyrics is further supported by the emphasis of the rhyme scheme that coincides with the longer note values (e.g., mm. 4 and 8).

2.3.5 "Millî marşı" [National March]

In the late nineteenth century, soldiers' songs became a recognized category of patriotic songs in Europe and elsewhere. Albeit at a much later stage, the Ottomans followed this tradition and included soldiers' songs in the school music repertoire. As mentioned before regarding the "Boy Scout's March," Ottoman adolescents were inculcated with patriotic ideals and had to adopt the identity and responsibility of soldiers. The fact that soldiers' songs entered school song anthologies shows that patriotic songs of this sort contributed to and supported the militaristic education of the youth. The songs drew on topics that were characteristic of young soldiers, such as warfare or bidding farewell to the family to fall as martyrs for a "good cause." The farewell songs provided a solution to the moral dilemmas faced by the young men that had to go to the war front: firstly, take care of the family, secondly, stay loyal to the nation, and finally, overcome the fear of death. The first-person narrator in the "Millî marşı"[884] [National March], for example, is about to be-

884 Şamlı Selîm, *Bil'umûm mekteb-i Osmâniye'ye mahsûs mekteb marşları,* n.d., 2:10. In another manuscript source, it was referred to as "Osmânlı Millî Marşı" [Ottoman National March]; n.a., "TR-Am 06 Hk 2400" (Manuscript, Ankara, 1333/1917), 10.

come a soldier because "the enemy bared its teeth again." This piece in the popular makâm hüzzâm was composed by İhsân Hanım, a female Ottoman composer.[885] İhsân Hanım's "National March"[886] has five stanzas, each one consisting of five hemistiches.[887] The entire poem is a homogeneous composition with a regular rhyme scheme (aaabb), or derivations of it, and a regular fifteen-syllable structure in each hemistich.

The narrator represents the ideals of a soldier, who was conscripted into the army to defend the "wounded" nation against the enemy. In the refrain, the content of which changes slightly, the narrator bids farewell to his mother, and he clearly states his reasons for going to war. The reasons are mostly linked to "manly" virtues such as bravery and loyalty.[888] The narrator, who represents an ordinary soldier, lives in two different worlds of duties: the first is loyalty to the nation, and the second is his family. He refers to the destitute condition of his homeland, which is expressed, for example, in the "sad drumbeats" (stz. 3, v3). As a brave "child of a Turk" and of a "world conqueror," he does not fear death (stz. 2, v2). He stands up for moral values and will not allow the enemy to take the land of the "ancestors." Similar to many other songs of this genre, feelings of revenge also play an important role here (stz. 4, v5). These strong statements of national and manly pride that characterize this honorable narrator are juxtaposed with flowery language that expresses the soldier's relationship with his family. In these sections, the narrator uses remarkably poetic expressions such as "rose-faced" (stz. 4, v2) and "velvet-eyed" (stz. 5, v1) or asks his beloved one, "Why have the blooming roses on your cheeks faded away?" (Stz. 5, v2). The poetic language is only used in addressing the female members of his family, such as his mother and wife. There is no mention of the male family members, such as fathers or brothers. The poem was written in vernacular language and can be easily understood.

İhsân Hanım's musical composition has some interesting features that will be looked at more closely in the following sections. Although the title of this piece classifies it as a "march," the song's musical disposition is more reminiscent of a popular vocal genre such as the şarkı. As seen in the Greek case studies or in the Ottoman emperor's hymn, marches usually stress the first and third beats. In this song, however, the hemistiches mostly start with syncopations. Thus, from a musical point of view, this song was not made for march-

885 The same volume includes another of her songs titled "Gök sancak marşı" [The March of the Sky-Blue Banner], which reflects Turanist ideology. The volume, however, does not reveal any further information about the composer. It is therefore uncertain whether this piece was composed by İhsân Sabrî Hanım or İhsân Râif Hanım (1877–1926). The latter composed, in 1908, the "Nidâ-yı Hürriyet Marşı" [March of Proclamation of Liberty] dedicated to the Second Constitution (Atalay 2018, 108–15). Üngör listed İhsân Râif Hanım and İhsân Hanım separately and attributed the "Millî marş" to a woman called İhsân Hanım (1966, 52). For İhsân Râif Hanım, see also Öztuna 1990, 1:383.

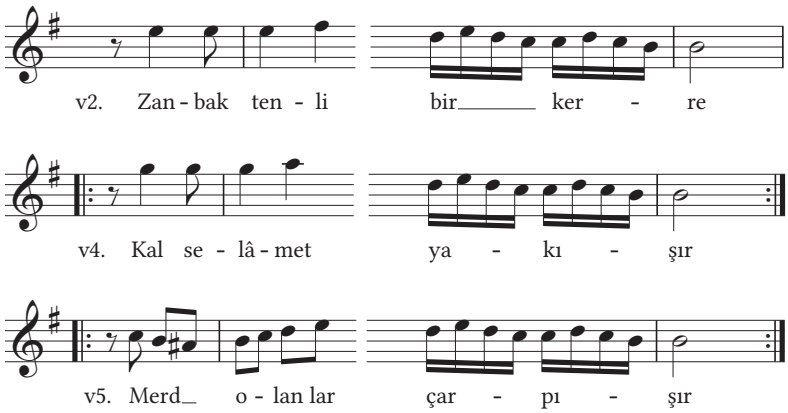
886 Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 11.

887 The lyrics of the "Millî marş" are provided in Appendix A, Case Study 11.3.

888 Manhood and manliness had become important virtues that were propagated in school education. Enver Pasha, the Minister of War, underlined the importance of these virtues for the defense of the nation (Beşikci 2012, 211–12).

ing. The label "marş" in this piece probably alluded more to the topic of the lyrics with their patriotic content, i.e. it may be seen as a reference to the subject matter of the lyrics rather than to its musical characteristics. Military band marches, although popular in the Ottoman Empire, still formed part of the alafranga repertoire and were considered "imported" from Europe. In this case, however, İhsân Hanım made use of musical elements which are more characteristic of alaturca music.

The song has three sections, which have all a symmetrical structure.[889] Each of the song's hemistiches corresponds to eight measures in the notation. As can be observed in the previous song, the symmetrical structure of the song is created by the melodic and poetic structure. The rhyme scheme (aaab) structures the musical sections into smaller units. There is also a certain interconnectedness in the melodic and rhythmic materials in the musical sections. The most striking one is probably the syncopation 𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅮 | 𝅗𝅥 almost every time a new hemistich is introduced (i.e. in mm. 9, 17, 21, 29, 37), whereas the end of the verses are marked by sixteenth notes 𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯 | 𝅗𝅥 and the finalis (Example 9).



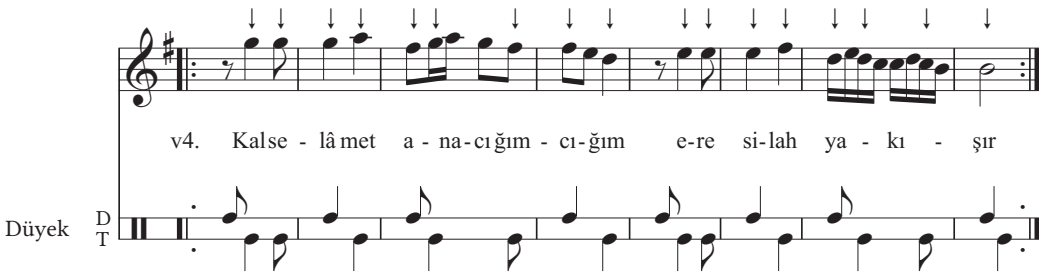
Example 9 Left: syncopation of the beginning of a verse.
Right: the ending of the phrases.

These rhythmic and melodic characteristics of the music organize the sections of the piece clearly and thus facilitate its learning and singing. The A- and B-sections are separated by an instrumental interlude. It prepares the transition from the A- to the B-section and helps the performers to sing the melody in the higher octave. Such a change of register, or even modulation to a different mode, is characteristic of the "middle" section which often can be found in Ottoman music. This is also why the B-section stands out in terms of ambitus and register. Another musical feature that emphasizes the pieces' traditional character is the use of the makâm hüzzâm. The characteristic pitches of makâm hüzzâm correspond to

889 Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 11.2.

the pitches *kürdî* ($A_{\sharp 4}$), *hisâr* ($E_{\flat 5}$, here: $E_{\sharp 5}$), *evc* ($F_{\sharp 5}$), and *sünbüle* ($A_{\sharp 4}$), which have all been used. However, the finalis *segâh* ($B_{\natural 4}$) was given in İhsân Hanım's score as $B_{\sharp 4}$.[890]

The analysis so far has pointed out the features that turn this "march" into an alaturca song. Usually, important characteristics of Ottoman songs are mode (makâm) and the underlying rhythmic cycle (usûl). In this case, the heading of the piece did not indicate any usûl. The rhythmic disposition of this piece, however, underlines its popular character. The rhythmic organization of the melody coincides with the usûl düyek, which has the pattern 𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥 and which is often used in popular Ottoman songs.[891] In Example 10 below, the refrain section of the "National March" is provided for a better understanding of the usûl düyek.



Example 10 The refrain section of the "National March" underlaid with the usûl düyek. The arrows point to the instances where the usûl beats coincide with the rhythm of the melodic line.

There are many instances where the rhythmic values of the melody and of the usûl coincide. The musical elements that İhsân Hanım used correspond to popular Ottoman music. She set patriotic lyrics to a song that is characterized by traditional features such as makâm, usûl, symmetries, and a middle section (B-section) that modulates. By doing so, the song might have appeared more familiar to Ottoman school students than patriotic songs based on European melodies, like those in nineteenth-century Greek case studies. Additionally, the playful usûl düyek and the use of vernacular language reinforce the piece's traditional character. Thanks to these features, it was probably much easier to access and learn this song including its lyrics. The recipients of this song were familiar with all the musical characteristics mentioned. It is likely that this piece only circulated in the realm of school song anthologies, since this song could not be found in any other song book.

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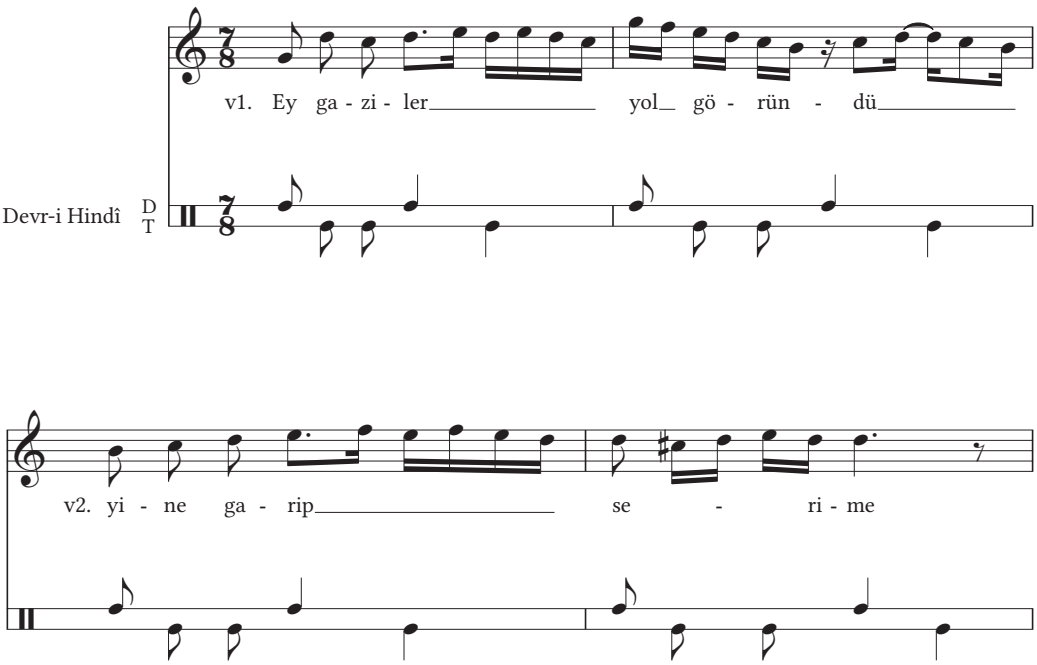
890 The use of the comma signs to indicate the exact pitch had not been standardized yet. In music sources printed before the introduction of the Ezgi-Arel-Uzdilek system, the use of the accidentals in staff notation was limited to the normal flat and sharp signs. Therefore, pitch signs indicated in printed editions before the 1920s do not correspond with those that are being used nowadays.

891 In Ottoman music, the usûl is usually indicated by the onomatopoetic syllables "düm" (here "D") and "tek" (here "T"), which indicate the low and high beats of the drum. The usûl is normally indicated in the title of the pieces but is generally not indicated in the notation.

2.3.6 "Ey gâzîler" [O Muslim Fighters]

Another more popular soldiers' song of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was "Ey gâzîler yol göründü"[892] [O Muslim fighters, it is time to depart]. At that time, it was apparently performed by the soldiers when a new recruit was picked up from home to join the army corps. This image is also displayed in an engraving, which was printed in the volume *Çocuklara neşideler* (1912) [Poems to the Children]: the new recruit says farewell to his loved ones in front of his home, whereas in the background, a Janissary band is waiting and performing this song.[893] The popularity of "Ey gâzîler" was not only limited to the school song anthologies; it was also printed in various other music related sources. Rauf Yekta used this song in his article on Turkish music, for example, as a case study to introduce the seven-beat usûl pattern of devr-i Hindî (Example 11).



Example 11 Example 11 Beginning of "O Muslim Fighters" together with the usûl devr-i Hindî according to Yekta (1922, 1034).

892 Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 12.1. The translation of the title in English may need further clarification. "Gâzî" is an Arabic term and means "Champion of Islam," or "one who fights on behalf of Islam." The expression "yol göründü" is Turkish and literally means "The path/way has appeared." In the nineteenth edition of the *Redhouse Dictionary* (2011), this term is translated as "to be necessary for one to go on a journey." In the context of the song, it is the Muslim soldier who is obliged to depart, and, in this context, go to war.

893 Alî Ulvî Elöve. *Çocuklara neşîdeler*. Istanbul: Tanîn Matbaası, 1328/1912, 57–58.

Yekta's article allows us to deduce some details about the meaning that this song had in the first quarter of the twentieth century. He claimed that "Ey gâzîler" was an old song by an unknown composer and pointed to the great sentiment this provoked when it was accompanied by military bands. Yekta reported a personal experience in the first year of the Greco-Turkish War (1896–1897). He witnessed a group of soldiers that had met on departure for the battle front at the Istanbul train station.[894] He himself was astonished at the emotional impact it caused when musicians started singing this song. He stated that this song was of the same value to the Turks as the "Marseillaise" was to the French.[895] In the year 1913, when Yekta wrote his article, patriotic songs—both new and old—celebrated a comeback and were propagated. The popularity of this song in the first quarter of the twentieth century is further confirmed by three recordings that were made in Thessaloniki.[896] Yekta's claim that "Ey gâzîler" was much older is correct. The lyrics of "Ey gâzîler" had already been written down earlier by the Hungarian folk song researcher Ignácz Kúnos (1862–1945) in the year 1889 with a Hungarian translation.[897] Additionally, this song was also included in the first printed Turkish folk song anthology of Stavros Stavridēs, who printed the lyrics in Turkish with Greek letters.[898] The song caught the attention of Ottoman printing houses only at the beginning of the twentieth century. The lyrics were also included, for example, in the song anthology *Vatan ve hürriyet şarkısı*[899] (1911) [Songs of the Nation and Freedom]. Yekta's version of the song lyrics was also printed, together with other martial songs, in a collection of patriotic soldiers' songs published in 1917 as a loose sheet. The song appears in the left-hand column of the sheet, which has the title "Yeni ve mükemmel ordu ve Sivastopol marşları" [New and Excellent Military and Sevastopol

894 This song was also sung when the Ottomans entered World War I. It is possible to find a quote from the song lyrics in Orga's book. The scene describes young men who say farewell to their families on the eve of departing from home and going to the front. According to this description, the new recruit was handed the Turkish flag, and the ceremony was accompanied by the praise to the sultan, "Long Live the Emperor" (Orga 2006, 71, 74).

895 Yekta, "La Musique Turque," 1922, 3033–34.

896 Kalyviōtēs claimed in his book that the first recording of this song was made in 1910 as an instrumental version by the military band of the 24th regiment of the infantry. In 1911, two more versions with lyrics were recorded by the singer Husni Efendi and a woman called Roza with the nickname "Vasilissa" (Kalyviōtēs 2015, 128–30, 181). Another recording was made by Hâfız Yaşar Bey for Orfeon Records (Cat. No. 11564).

897 Ignácz Kúnos, *Oszmán-Török Népköltési Gyüjtemény* (Budapest: Kiadja a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1889), 341–42.

898 There is not much known about Stavros Stavridēs. He was an Ottoman intellectual from Zincidere close to Kayseri, and he apparently also resided in Istanbul. He knew Greek and Ottoman Turkish. His song anthology *Anatol türküleri* [Anatolian Folk Songs] is his only known work. It was published in 1896 and is considered the earliest Turkish folk song anthology to be printed in the Ottoman Empire. His work was published in the gazette *Anatoli.* As can be deduced from the preface to the song anthology, his motivation was to serve his homeland and write down folk songs in order to pass them onto future generations. The list of subscribers includes 540 names, which reflects the great interest that there was in this work. For further reading, see also the foreword written by Balta in Stavridis 2017, 13–27. A facsimile of "Eï kaziler" can be found on p. 50. In the new edition, the song was given with a transliteration from Greek to Latin alphabet on pp. 82–83.

899 İkbâl Kütüphânesi sâhibi Hüseyîn, *Vatan ve hürriyet şarkısı,* 26. First edition was already published in 1910–1911. See also İhsanoğlu 2003, 274.

Marches].[900] Almost none of the mentioned sources provide any musical notation. Those that do provide notation are printed sources, such as Yekta's article on Turkish music and one piano arrangement in alafranga style edited and published by Şamlı Selîm.[901] In addition, the same piece appears in two manuscript sources that were probably written before 1928. It was also included in the school song anthology *Mektebde vatan türküleri*[902] [National Folk Songs for Schools], which also makes this song relevant as a case study.

There is no certain information on the genre of the song. It is often referred to as "türkü" [Turkish folk song] but also as "march." Although Yekta used this song in his work to introduce the usûl devr-i Hindî, other sources suggested alternative usûls. Among the older sources, Yekta's version is actually the only one that indicated a seven-beat rhythm for the entire piece. Today's well-known versions use an alternate rhythm changing between a 7- and 2-beat usûl. Şamlı Selîm's rearrangement for piano was probably made for easier performability and given in a 2/4-time signature.[903] This also made it accessible to the upper social class that enjoyed playing and singing national airs on the piano. The heading of the piano score, which was very likely published before World War I, indicates "Ey gâzîler. Eski klasiklerden" [O Muslim Fighters. From the Old Classics]. The title supports the thesis that this piece had been considered a "classic" and had been probably "rediscovered" among the old songs.

Yekta's comparison of "Ey gâzîler" and the French "Marseillaise" is striking, since the songs' characters and topics differ considerably from each other. The "Marseillaise" is a call to arms to oppose tyranny and die for liberty. However, the lyrics of "Ey gâzîler" are, except for the first line, a love song about farewells and longing. In Kúnos' version, which is the most all-encompassing one, the narrator expresses in one extra stanza his sufferings because of the lover's disloyalty and cruelty. The song was generally known as a demotic air that dealt with the separation of the soldier from his loved ones and his longing for home while he was on campaign.

Yekta's version has two stanzas with three distiches each.[904] The first two distiches are sung to the same melody, whereas the last distich forms part of the refrain that concludes each stanza. The first stanza deals with the separation of the soldier from his beloved, whereas the second stanza relates the narrator's inner longing while they are separated. In addition to having two more stanzas, Kúnos' version considerably changes the last distich of each stanza. Whereas the first two stanzas roughly correspond to Yekta's

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900 Kosovalı Recep Hilmî, ed., "Yeni ve mükemmel ordu ve Sivastopol marşları" (Necmî-i İstikbâl Matbaası, 1333/1917), National Library Ankara.

901 The version edited by Şamlı Selîm for some reason did not provide the lyrics for the refrain.

902 Hüseyin İkbâl kütüphânesi, *Mektebde vatan türküleri,* 35–36.

903 The lyrics of this version are reproduced in Appendix A, Case Study 12.3. As usual in alafranga rearrangements, the piece lost its modal and rhythmical characteristics. The lyrics in this edition have taken up some of the distiches that were provided in Kúnos' edition (cf. Appendix A, Case Study 12.4, stzs. 1 and 3). It is likely that this alafranga arrangement was probably edited for a broader and international public since the lyrics were provided in the Latin alphabet as well as the Arabic.

904 Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 12.2.

version, the last two stanzas give more details on the lover's character and also insinuate some more intimate details of her physiognomy. Stz. 3 relates how the narrator fell prey to the lover's playful charms. The narrator's longings were, however, not fulfilled; instead, he remained a "slave" to her unfaithful games. Stz. 4 tells of the roses in the lover's garden and mentions some more intimate details, such as beauty spots. In a nutshell, the piece "Ey gâzîler" as presented in Yekta and Kúnos is a story of a soldier and his unfulfilled love for an unfaithful lover. In this context, the patriotic content of the song does not really become evident.

As shown in the Greek case studies, popular melodies were sometimes sung to new lyrics that disseminated a political idea more efficiently. This was also a practice used in Ottoman songs. The above-mentioned sources showed that the melody of this song made a comeback in the years before World War I. While this piece was known as a soldiers' song on the one hand, it was set to new lyrics on the other. The school song anthology *Mektebde vatan türküleri* [Patriotic Folk Songs for Schools], for example, rewrote all the lyrics and filled them with more chauvinistic content. The song's title, "Ey gâzîler" was given as "Cenk türküsü" [The Folk Song of War]. The editor indicated in square brackets: "[The song] was reedited to be sung to the old patriotic song."[905] The lyrics were recomposed by Sâdık Vicdânî (1866–1939), an Ottoman intellectual and writer who published many articles, books, and poems on religion, moral questions, and society. He worked in many provinces of the Ottoman Empire, as well as in the Rumelia provinces.[906] The loss of Rumelia, which had triggered a national crisis, is also processed in Vicdânî's version of "Ey gâzîler."

The new lyrics follow partly the poetic disposition of the "original." In Yekta's example, each stanza consisted of two distiches sung to the same melody plus one distich refrain. In Vicdânî's version, each stanza has four distiches plus two distiches in the refrain. In both versions, one distich corresponds to fifteen syllables. Therefore, Vicdânî's lyrics fit the melodic structure of the tune. Example 12 gives a visual representation of the relationship between the two versions: Yekta's and Vicdânî's. The melody is underlaid with the first stanza of each of the two versions, and it can be concluded that Vicdânî's version is a good fit to the melody of the well-known version, albeit with different content.[907]

Vicdânî adopted only the first hemistich of the original; all other five stanzas are a crude hymn to warfare and violence. The narrator in Yekta's example expressed his intimate thoughts about his beloved one, whereas in Vicdânî's song he was completely replaced by an exuberant soldier eager to go to the front. The main topic of this reinvented version of the song is the Turkish reconquest of Rumelia.

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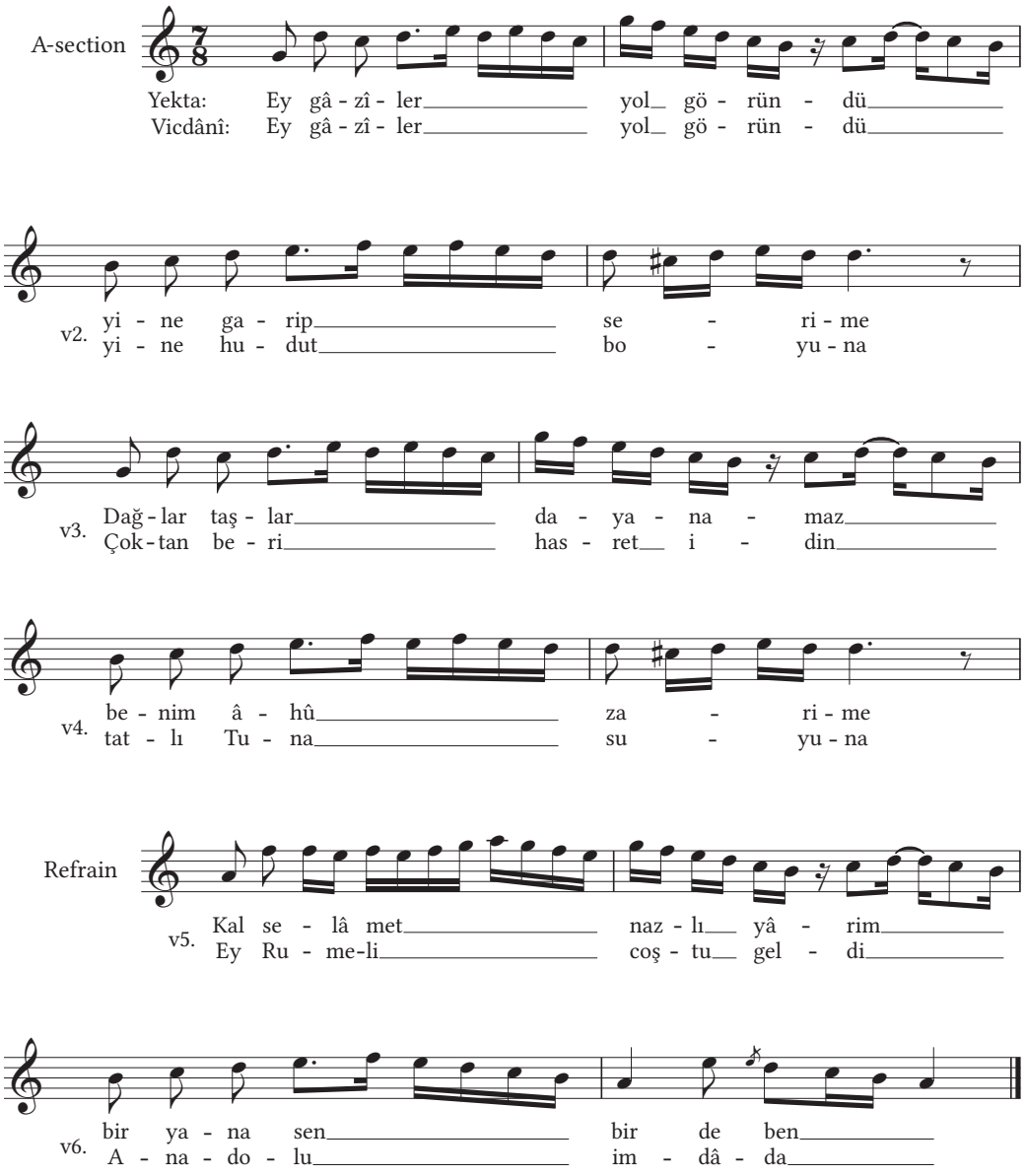
905 "Beste-i millî-i kadîmî ile terennüm edilebilecek sûretde tertîb edilmiştir."

906 Semih Ceyhan, "Sâdık Vicdânî," in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 2008).

907 A translation of Vicdânî's first stanza is provided in Appendix A, Case Study 12.5.



Example 12 Yekta's and Vicdânî's first stanza of "O Muslim Fighters" in one score.

2.3.7 Songs on Pan-Turkism and Turanism

With the rising influence of the Young Turks in the Ottoman state apparatus, the ideology of Pan-Turkism and Turanism became more widespread. Pan-Turkism was an irredentist movement that sought to unify all peoples of alleged Turkic origin, both within and outside the frontiers of the nation.[908] At first sight, "Turan" or "Turanism" reflected a very similar idea to Pan-Turkism. Landau, however, distinguishes between those two ideologies. Whereas Pan-Turkism aimed to unite a group of people that was defined by cultural and/or racial elements, Turanism aimed to reunite the peoples that had their common origins in Turan. Turan is therefore a vague geographical reference to the steppes of central Asia between China to the east, India, Tibet, and Iran to the south, and the Caspian Sea to the west.[909] The most important figure who studied Turanism and central Asian languages was the Jewish-Hungarian orientalist Arminius Vámbéry (1832–1913). He proposed to the idea that the Turkic group were of one race and that they could form a large territory if they united together.[910]Although Vámbéry's Turanism also included Finns, Hungarians, and Estonians, the Turkish version of Turanism, which is represented in the poems and school songs, is mostly limited to the Turks.

Turanist ideology can also be found in school songs such as the "Yeni turan marşı" [The New Turan March] and the "Gök sancak marşı" [The March of the Sky-Blue Banner]. "The New Turan March" speaks of the idealized homeland of the Turkic people in central Asia, far beyond the Ottoman national borders. Turanism as a political ideology envisioned a union of Turkic people that would join together and give rise to the Turan.[911] The "New Turan March," which was apparently also taught at Ottoman schools, drew on this ideology and propagated it among the students. In two stanzas, the narrator expresses his longing for the homeland, "Turan," and the resurrection of the new state called "New Turan." The song deals with longing and searching for this "imagined nation." In the last

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908 Irredentism is a phenomenon that describes the "ideological or organisational expression of passionate interest in the welfare of an ethnic minority living outside the boundaries of the State peopled by that same group. Moderate irredentism expresses a desire to defend the kindred group from discrimination or assimilation, while a more extreme manifestation aims at annexing the territories that the group inhabits" (Landau 1981, 1).

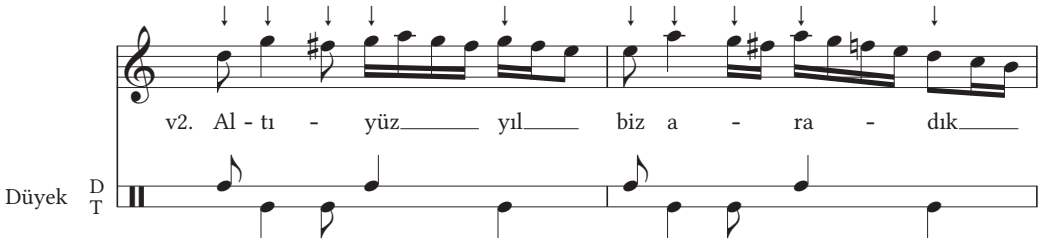
909 Ibid., 1.

910 Ibid., 1–2.

911 The ideology of Turanism was introduced into the Ottoman Empire by the emigration of the Tatars from Kazan, the Crimea, and Azerbaijan after 1908. The common roots of Turkic people served as a unifying factor to create one big empire. This ideology was used, similar to the "Megalē Idea" in Greece, for irredentist aspirations in the Caucasus (Zürcher 2010, 216). The Turkish national poet Mehmed Emîn Yurdakul (1869–1944) wrote in his poem "Ay türk uyan" (1914) [O Turk wake up] about the future Turkish empire that would emerge from the union of all Turkic tribes of Russia, Azerbaijan, Khiva, Bukhara (in Uzbekistan), and other regions (Heffening 1916, 204). A similar glorifying nationalist color can be found in Ziyâ Gökalp's introductory poem "Turan" to the anthology *Kızıl elma* (1330/1914) [The Red Apple]. There, he stated that for the Turks, the nation was neither Turkey nor Turkestan, but a big, limitless country called Turan: "Vatan ne Türkiyedir türklere, ne Türkestandır. Vatan büyük […] bir ülkedir: Turan"

stanza of the poem, the narrator addresses the future homeland and asks the "Turan" to show the path to reunification.

Similar to İhsân Hanım's "National March," the "New Turan March"[912] also makes use of popular musical elements, which make it more accessible. The song is in makâm uşşâk, and the underlying rhythmic pattern is again düyek. Although the information on the usûl is not explicitly given, it can be deduced from the coincidence between the beats of the usûl and those of the melody line (Example 13).



Example 13 Beginning of the "New Turan March." The arrows point to the instances, where the usûl beats coincide with the rhythm of the melodic line.

The piece is structured in three sections; however, they have different proportions. The B-section has eight measures instead of four, with v2 being performed a second time to a different melody. The whole B-section is repeated once, which means that v2 is performed four times. Thus, v2 of each stanza has more weight than the other hemistiches. Stz. 1, v2 refers to the 600-year-long search for Turan. The same melody of the B-section is sung in the second cycle to stz. 2, v2, which refers to the gilded imperial tent of the "Great Emperor." For some reason, the editor of the song anthology did not set v4 to music. It is likely, however, that v4 was sung in the second repetition of the C-section, as suggested in the arrangement of the current volume.[913]

Another school song that draws more aggressively on the ideology of Turanism is the "Gök sancak marşı"[914] [The March of the Sky-Blue Banner] composed by the already mentioned İhsân Hanım. This song also appeared among the *Jungtürkische Soldaten- und Volkslieder*[915] [Soldiers' and Folk Songs of the Young Turks] compiled by the German orientalist Karl Hadank (1882–1945). Hadank pointed in this article to the outstanding role of "Türkentum" [Turkist Doctrine], which in this song is more dominant than the Ottoman-Muslim ideology. The lyrics of this song, which were also included in the Ottoman school song anthology, drew in two stanzas on important stages of Turkism and Islam. In

912 Cf. Appendix A, Case Studies 13.1 and 13.2 based on Şamlı Selîm (n.d. 2:8).

913 See Appendix A, Case Study 13.1, mm. 14–17.

914 Cf. Appendix A, Case Studies 14.1 and 14.2 based on Şamlı Selîm (n.d., 2:9).

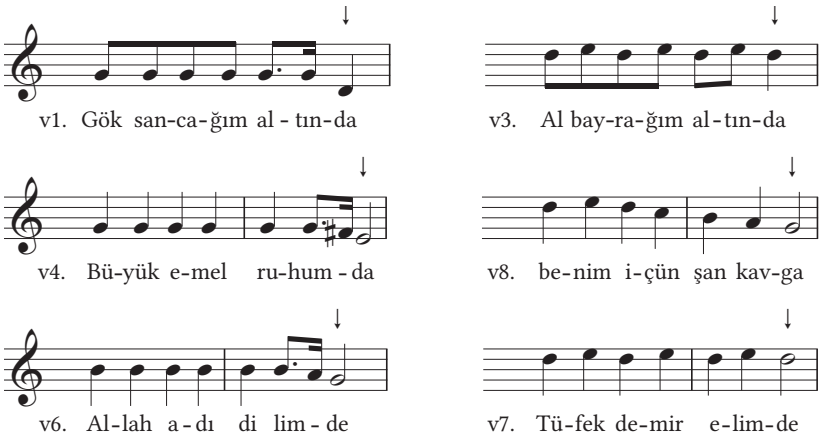
915 Hadank, *Jungtürkische Soldaten- und Volkslieder,* 81–84.

stz. 1, the narrator refers to the ancestors who had walked beneath the same flag and who marked the beginning of the Turkic dynasty. In this way, the narrator highlighted continuity with the past and alluded to the origins of the Turkic Khaganate. At the same time, the narrator appropriated the geographical dimension of the Turan as Turkish territory, which clearly reveals irredentist sentiments. This strongly Turkist idea is complemented by some Islamic elements, such as the constant prayer to "Allah," whose name the narrator has in mind. (stz. 1, v6). Stz. 2 reinforces the Turkist stance even more strongly by highlighting the supposedly common origin of the Turkic people, which is the Uyghur people. The narrator reaffirms territorial claims that (central) Asia is Turkish. Hadank was correct when he observed that in this song the Ottoman dynasty played only a marginal role. The B-section relates how the banner of the Ottoman dynasty was obtained. The refrain actively calls for Turks to follow this irredentist military mission. It asks the "golden army" to overcome mountains and take by violence the territories where the Turkish flag would be hoisted.

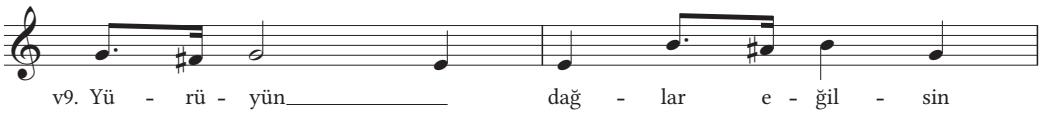
From a musical point of view, the "March of the Sky-Blue Banner" reflects only to a certain extent the martial content of the lyrics. However, it also makes use of elements that clearly contradict the homogeneous character of the piece. As shown in previous case studies, especially in some of the Greek ones, marching songs adopt particular musical elements to create a symmetrical and homogeneous melody. Besides a straight time signature, these were, for example, a simple melody and repetitive rhythmical patterns that help stress the first and third beats and that coincide with the poetic meter. These characteristics can be found to some extent in the A- and B-sections of this piece. The rhythmic organization of the melody allows the first and third beats to be stressed. The melody of the two sections is mostly formed by the broken G major triad that also evokes a signal motif, which is often used in martial contexts. The B-section is basically built on the same melody as the A-section, but the melody in the B-section was rhythmically augmented. This augmentation brings the piece's structural symmetries slightly out of balance. In the A-section, each hemistich is sung to two measures, whereas in the B-section and the refrain, each hemistich is sung to four measures. The ratio between note and text syllables corresponds almost to one-to-one and has been maintained in the A- and B-sections of the piece. In addition, the rhymes of each couplet are also reflected in the music by longer note values and, thus, contribute to the homogeneous character of the piece (Example 14).

However, the clear organization of rhythmic values in the A- and B-sections are, strangely, not continued in the refrain. Mm. 13–18, in particular, make use of syncopations that are diametrically opposed to the meaning of the words. Whereas the lyrics call people to "walk" or "march," the melody starts with a syncope that goes counter to the marching rhythm because it stresses the second beat with longer rhythmic values, as in m. 13 (Example 15).

From the musical point of view, the refrain uses material from the former sections, varying them rhythmically and changing their character. Since the music and the content of the lyrics deviate from each other, it is possible to assume a pedagogical aspect behind this rhythmic variation. Since the student could become familiar with the melodic phrases



Example 14 Excerpts from the "March of the Sky-Blue Banner" that show the one-to-one ratio of syllables and melody: v4, v6, v7, v8 show the rhythmic augmentation, and the arrows indicate the coinciding rhymes at the end of each phrase.



Example 15 Syncopation of the melody.

in the A- and B-sections, in the refrain it was possible to practice a similar melody with varying rhythmic values. Another strange element of this piece is the ending. Although the melody suggests G_4 as finalis, the refrain ends on C_5 and has an open ending. It is not certain whether other sections are supposed to be performed again in order to end the song on the finalis. In conclusion, "The March of the Sky-Blue Banner" represents a clearly Pan-Turkist and Turanist ideology, which is clearly expressed in the lyrics. The basic musical material is introduced in the A-section, whereas the B-section and refrain can be read as variations to practice different rhythmic values via augmentation and syncopation as well as chromatic pitches as in the refrain. In this way, the song combines elements of music lessons that, for example, practice a similar melody with augmented rhythmic values but, at the same time, the lyrics fulfill the ideological purpose.

2.3.8 School Songs on Ottomanism

Although there were Turkist movements such as Turanism and Pan-Turkism, Ottomanism had remained the official policy in the Ottoman Empire since 1876. Ottomanism guaranteed equal rights to Muslims and non-Muslims in exchange for loyalty to the ruling Ottoman dynasty. Ottomanism sought to level out the ethnic and confessional differences and highlight common ground instead. By doing so, it sought to foment a sentiment of Ottoman na-

tional identity and belonging as a response to rising national ideologies in the neighboring countries. Notions of Ottomanist ideology can also be found in many school songs of this period. In particular, those songs that were composed in the context of the restoration of the Second Constitution in 1908 emphasized Ottoman patriotism among the different confessional communities. During this period, there was a new wave of national marches and popular songs being composed, which initially reinforced the Ottomanist national sentiment.[916] The lyrics of songs that were dedicated to the Second Constitution were printed in song anthologies as well as sheet music, not only in Ottoman-Turkish but also in Greek and Armenian.[917] The slogans of the songs evoked the principles of the French Revolution such as liberty, equality, and fraternity, which were also presented in some of the Ottoman school songs. Kâzım Uz's school song anthology *Notalı mekteb şarkıları* (1330/1914) [School Songs with Notation] contains many of these songs, such as "Millî Osmânlı şarkısı"[918] [National Ottoman Song], "Hep kardeşiz"[919] [Always Brothers], and "İstikbâl askeri" [The Future Soldier]. The song "Always Brothers" emphasized the equality and common ideals of the school students. As mentioned before, it had also appeared in the *Journal for Elementary School Education.* Satı Bey had praised the originators of this song, Tevfîk Fikret (1867–1915) and Kâzım Uz (1873–1943), composing the lyrics and music respectively. Satı Bey claimed that the recurrent refrain had a great moral and emotional impact that facilitated memorizing this song. Furthermore, he asserted that learning this song from their childhood helped the children overcome their differences, and that in this way equality could be encouraged in the "heart of the nation."[920]

Whereas notions of belonging and national identity in the previous case studies were often reached by pointing out the differences between the "self" and the "other," the song "Always Brothers" highlights the similarities and shared morals of Ottoman children. The lyrics are written from the point of view of an Ottoman school student who underlines common values and ideals, regardless of social, economic, or religious differences. The narrator, who writes in first-person plural, presents himself and his comrades in the refrain section of the song as equal students and brothers. They share one common interest, which is "ilim aşkı" [love for the sciences], without discriminating against each other. The song also reinforces the students' sense of belonging to the same nation. Stz. 2, for example, points to the same cradle and homeland and to the one flag that they share. Stz. 3 represents the students as God's creation, with a father and a mother, and as children of the same nation. In this way, the song underlines the common origins and national background of the students. This sense of equality is also reinforced by the repetition of spe-

916 Gazimihal, *Türk askerî muzıkaları tarihi,* 204.

917 See Johann Strauss, "Ottomanisme et activité littéraire chez les non-musulmans à Istanbul après la révolution Jeune-Turque," in *Penser, agir et vivre dans l'Empire ottoman et en Turquie,* ed. François Georgeon, Nathalie Clayer, and Erdal Kaynar, Collection Turcica, XIX (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 171–97.

918 Kâzım [Uz], *Notalı mekteb şarkıları* (Istanbul: Kütüphâne-i İslâm ve Askerî, 1330/1914), no. 3.

919 Ibid., no. 2. This piece is provided in Appendix A, Case Studies 15.1 and 15.2.

920 Satı Bey, "Şiir ve mûsikinin tâlim ve terbiye'de ehemmiyeti," 8.

cific verses. Stz. 1, v1 states "We are neither pashas nor rulers," and in v3 "separation is unknown to us" is repeated twice. In stz. 3, v4, "We do not differ from each other, we are equal" is repeated three times. Moreover, the last lines of the refrain, which change in each stanza, reassert the shared identity of the students. This type of Ottoman songs evidently stressed shared Ottoman values and aimed to overcome differences between the confessional groups and were characteristic of songs of the early Second Constitutional Period. In fact, Uz remarked in a footnote that this song was composed in 1325/1909, which is one year after Sultan Abdulhamid II was dethroned and the Second Constitution passed.

From a musical point of view, the song makes use of elements that are characteristic of Ottoman music. In the analysis, the song was divided into three sections. The A-section is supposed to be performed with the first three verses of stzs. 1–3. The refrain section, however, is mostly identical, except for v5, where one word, "mektebli" [school student], is changed for "osmânlı" [Ottoman] and then "insanız" [Human]. The refrain is followed by an instrumental interlude that connects back to the A-section. The most striking feature of this piece is the use of chromatic pitches and the descending nature of the melody. The melodic characteristics derive from the underlying makâm which was not indicated in the heading of the piece. From the A-Section that starts with D_5 and that uses chromatic pitches such as $C\sharp_4$, $E\flat_4$, $F\sharp_4$, and $B\flat_4$, it is possible to deduce that this piece was composed in makâm şedd-i arabân. The fact that the piece ends on the finalis D_4 (m. 18) additionally supports the suggested makâm mentioned above.[921] "Always Brothers" is one of the few songs in the Ottoman school song collections that were not directly related to any martial content. Whereas many of the songs drew on Turkist and Turanist ideology, there were only a few that mostly corresponded to children's songs in today's sense.[922]

The above-mentioned school songs were all taken from anthologies that were designed for school education. It is not known for sure whether the songs were really taught in schools or if the teachers followed other methods of music teaching during classes. There is evidence, however, that these songs were in fact taught. Özden found notes from music classes at various preparatory and secondary schools in archival materials. Many of the documented song titles that were taught there actually coincide with the titles that appear in the above-mentioned school song anthologies. Özden, for example, listed the marches sung at school at Kastamonu in the Black Sea region and separated them according to the school grades. One gets the impression that the songs in the school song anthologies had been recently composed solely for the purpose of inculcating national ideology. Compared to the Greek case, in the late Ottoman Empire, there was, seemingly, a relatively restricted repertoire of school songs. Many of the titles that Özden listed in his book also

921 It is likely that the editor of the original unintentionally left out the accidentals in m. 20. In the version that is given in Appendix A, the supposedly omitted accidentals were given in brackets.

922 Şamlı Selîm's volume had two songs that had no martial or militaristic topics. Both songs are titled "Çocuk şarkısı" [Children songs] and deal with children's lives (Şamlı Selîm n.d. 2:13–14). Kâzım Uz's school song anthology also provided two more children's songs that are about learning and working (Uz 1330/1914, nos. 6 and 8).

appear in the printed school song anthologies.[923] Furthermore, the songs in the printed edition could also be found in one hand-written school song anthology, which also provided the song titles translated into French.[924]

As Satı Bey pointed out in his introduction, the successful synthesis of poetry and music and its positive influence on children's formation was effectively implemented through the school song anthologies. The school song repertoire reflected instructional ideas on education that existed at that time and were adopted from Western models. Besides the school songs, the anthologies also contained a few pieces that belonged to the official repertoire of the Ottoman state. These were, for example, the "Emperor's March" and the Ottoman national anthem. In this way, young people became acquainted not only with the songs that were composed for school children but also with those that were considered relevant to maintaining a nationally "healthy" and loyal Ottoman society. Another remarkable aspect is the organization and design of the school song anthologies edited by Şamlı Selîm. The lyrics in the text underlay were mostly given both in Ottoman and Latin alphabets. The transliteration to the Latin alphabet probably followed the phonetic rules of pronunciation. Many of the syllables have been given incorrectly, to such an extent that the words are actually no longer intelligible. Whether this was due to the editor or to a lack of technical capability cannot be clarified at this stage. The percentage of patriotic songs on the eve of World War I was very high. Although from today's point of view the songs' content seems extremely militaristic and nationalist, in their historical context they seemed to have followed an existing trend, which was "translated" into the nation's own cultural sphere.

2.3.9 The "Sevastopol Song"

The next case study is about a historical song that still enjoys popularity in Turkey today. It was considered in this study because it clearly shows how songs may be recontextualized by human agency and imbued with nationalist thought and meaning. The "Sevastopol Song" left many vestiges in history that are worth looking at and trace its transformation

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923 Özden, *Osmanlı maârifi'nde mûsikî*, 146–52, 226. These listed songs are "Harbden avdet" [Return from War], "Mevlevi marşı" [March of the Mevlevi], "İzciler türküsü" [Boy Scout Song], "Sabah sesleri" [Morning Sounds], "Yaşamak için" [For Living], "Yaz marşı" [Summer March], "Yeni Turan" [New Turan], "Sancak marşı" [March of the Banner], "Asker duası" [Soldier's Prayer], "Kafkas marşı" [Caucasian March], "Asker marşı" [Soldier's March], "Millet marşı" [People's March], "Rumeli'nin dağları" [The Mountains of Rumelia], "Kafkas türküsü" [The Song of the Caucasus], "Tayyâre marşı" [Airplane March], "Saat manzumesi" [The Clock Poem], "İzci marşı" [Boy Scout March], "Mektep neşidesi" [School Poetry], "Donanma marşı" [The Naval March], "Zafer marşı" [Victory March], "Osmanlı marşı" [Ottoman March], "Çanakkale Marşı" [Çanakkale/Gallipoli March].

924 The manuscript was probably compiled around the year 1333/1917. It has three sections: one very brief section on music theory, one with song lyrics, and one with music notation with lyrics given as block text and text underlay. The song titles were given in Ottoman as well as in French. From the seal at the beginning and end of the manuscript, it is evident that it belonged to the "Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultânîsi," which is today known as the "Galatasaray Lisesi" [Galatasaray High School] (I thank Neslihan Demirkol for helping me decipher the Ottoman seal). The manuscript is kept at the National Library Ankara and has the call number 06 Hk 2400.

throughout the vicissitudes of the late Ottoman Empire. The historical background of this song is the Crimean War (1853–1856), which was fought between the Ottoman Empire and Russia. The tensions between the Ottoman Empire and Russia increased in the middle of the nineteenth century for various political reasons.[925] Efforts to find a diplomatic solution to this conflict failed, and Russia occupied Ottoman territories. As a reaction to the occupation, the Ottomans declared war on Russia on 4 October 1853 and crossed the Danube River, occupying Oltenița. When Russia moved its fleet from Sevastopol and destroyed the Ottoman fleet in Sinope, it was a great setback for the Ottomans. This led England and France to join the war on the side of the Ottomans. The Crimean War ended in March 1856,[926] with the occupation of the Crimean city of Sevastopol.[927]

The Crimean War had repercussions in the arts and music. Musicians, moved by the circumstances of war, composed works that drew on persons, places, or events that were related to the campaign.[928] The Ottomans made use of past victories to agitate national sentiment every time the nation was about to enter a new military confrontation with Russia. Namık Kemal, for example, who was a prominent intellectual of the so-called Young Ottoman movement, wrote a theater play with the title *Vatan yahûd Silistre* [Fa-

925 Firstly, the power of the Ottoman Empire had weakened, and it had been involved in numerous unsuccessful military conflicts on various fronts from the Balkans to Egypt. Additionally, the aspirations of the Balkan peoples for independent nation-states had become a vision that was possible to realize. At the same time, the Ottoman Empire became gradually integrated into the European market, and it therefore came into competition with Russian exports of raw materials and other goods. In view of the Ottoman Empire's status as a crumbling state, European nations had to position themselves and find a way to face the "Eastern Question" (Badem 2010, 46). It was less a question of whether the Ottoman Empire was going to dissolve than of when it was going to happen. The Ottomans were involved in interest conflicts between Tsarist Russia and Bonapartist France, both of which sought to secure rights in the Holy Land for Catholic and Orthodox Christians, respectively. The conflict between the Ottomans and Russia entered the decisive phase when Tsar Nikolai I requested the protectorate of the Orthodox subjects, including the administration of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate (Badem 2010, 83). The Ottomans rejected the Russian request. Despite the many diplomatic efforts, including by many European nations to come to an agreement, when Russia's ultimatum to fulfill its demands remained unanswered by the Ottoman side, Russia started occupying the Principalities of Moldovia and Walachia.

926 Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War (1853–1856),* 46–98.

927 Sevastopol, on the Black Sea, had a strategic position for Russia since it was a strong naval base, but it was not strong enough to tackle the allied fleet of the adversary (Badem 2010, 62). On 14 September 1854, the allies started to occupy the Crimean Peninsula. On 17 October, allied forces started bombing Sevastopol and continued until 25 October without any success. This was the starting point of an occupation that lasted 249 days, with artillery fire from the sea and brutal trench warfare (Badem 2010, 270). The siege of Sevastopol turned out to last longer than the allies had imagined at first. After one year, and after three major battles in Alma, Balaklava, and Inkerman, the Russians started withdrawing on 9 September 1855. In modern historiography, the fall of Sevastopol is mainly seen as an achievement of the French troops, which led the Crimean War to its final phase and to peace negotiations. On 29 February 1856, the peace treaty was signed in Paris, and on 27 April of the same year, Russia withdrew its troops from Moldavia and Walachia (Badem 2010, 285).

928 Emre Aracı arranged and performed some of these pieces, which were recorded and published (Aracı et al. 2002). Many of these pieces were also published in English and French newspapers. Two of them, for example, were composed by a person called Ida, or Saide, who was a Hungarian student of Carl Czerny (1791–1851). She married Ömer Pasha (1806–1871) and came to Istanbul to teach his children piano. After they divorced, she moved to Paris (Aracı et al. 2002, 24). Some of her pieces, like the "March of Oltenitza" in D minor composed in 1855, or the "March of Silistre" in F major composed in 1855, were also published in English newspapers such as *The Illustrated London News* (Aracı et al. 2002, 13).

therland or Silistra]. Namık Kemal's ideas of nationalism were different from those of later decades. He presented the Arabic term *vatan* [Motherland] in an Ottomanist light. He intended to find ways to promote the emotional bond between the citizens and the multiethnic nation. Although Young Ottoman thought was heavily weighted towards Islamic principles, intellectuals, such as Namık Kemal, aimed in his early years to evoke a sense of Ottoman patriotism that also extended full citizenship rights to the non-Muslim population. Namık Kemal had written a play set in the times of the Crimean War before the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, which ended in a fiasco for the Ottomans.[929] From the end of the Crimean War onwards, the "Sevastopol Song" played an important role in times of national crisis, such as when the Ottomans had to draw on past victories to motivate their soldiers and people during World War I in campaigns against Russia. After World War I, the song became popular in Turkey as an expression of national pride and glory. It became a witness to an important historical event and gave credit to the heroism of Turks during times of war.

More than a hundred years after the Crimean War, the "Sevastopol Song" is still listed in the Turkish music corpus among the oldest known marches. Although this song holds an important place among the historical national songs of Turkey, it was also received in the non-Muslim Ottoman communities. It was first printed and published in an Ottoman-Greek song anthology by Keïvelēs in 1856. The volume's title is in Turkish and Greek: *Apanthisma ē medzmouaï makamat*[930] [Anthology or Makâm Anthology]. The whole volume is in Ottoman Turkish with Greek letters. This means that the earliest known version of the song was initially handed down in Chrysanthine notation in a printed volume that was published in 1856 in Istanbul, shortly after the Crimean War (Figure 5). Because of the song's temporal proximity to the Crimean War, it is very likely that it had originated from the victorious outcome of the campaign for the Ottomans.[931] Kappler had already re-

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929 The second act of the play is set during the siege of Silistra close to the Danube River, where the Turkish volunteers hear the military band music of the enemy troops from far away. Based on its melody, the volunteers spontaneously sing the song together that later became known as the "Silistre marşı" [March of Silistra] or "Vatan Marşı" [March of the Motherland]. The composer of the melody is unknown.

930 Iōannēs G. Zōgraphos Nikaeōs [Keïvelēs], ed., *Apanthisma ē medzmouaï makamat* (Istanbul: Thaddaiou Tividisian, 1856), 246–48. For an excerpt from the original, as well as a tentative transcription into staff notation, see Appendix A, Case Studies 16.1–16.3. I am indebted to Achilleas Tigkas for revising my transcription from Chrysanthine notation.

931 At this point, it should be mentioned that in the same year, 1856, another short song anthology in Chrysanthine notation was published in Athens. The song anthology has six songs in total. The first three songs are by the Istanbulite Aleksandros Soutzos (1803–1863) and were published in the context of the Crimean War. The songs included in this anthology are battle songs such as "Tekna gnēsia Ellēnōn" [Pure Children of Greeks], "Stēn palamēn kai palēn to spathi" [The Sword again in the Hand], and "Polemon eis tous apistous" [War to the Infidels]. The last three songs are love songs by the Istanbulite singer Sōtērios Vlachopoulos (d. 1870) (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 1:382). The fact that the Crimean War led to musical output among the Greeks is due to their participation in the war as volunteers. Although officially Russia had occupied the Principalities of Walachia, among their troops were also numerous Greek, Serbian, and Bulgarian volunteers. The Crimean War was an important event in the Balkans. Many Balkan ethnic groups aspired to become independent or expand their territories by pushing back the Ottomans. The Greeks saw themselves as moving a step closer to the "Great Idea" by uniting Thessaly, Macedonia, and Epirus. Todorova provided primary sources from Greeks who had joined the war and published their memoirs. One of those was Aristeidēs Chrysovergēs, who wrote about the

marked that the song held a special position within the above-mentioned Ottoman-Greek song anthology. In his study of the şarkı repertoire, he found it remarkable that a historical song that was associated with a political event would be included in a song anthology that normally contained Ottoman art and popular music.[932]

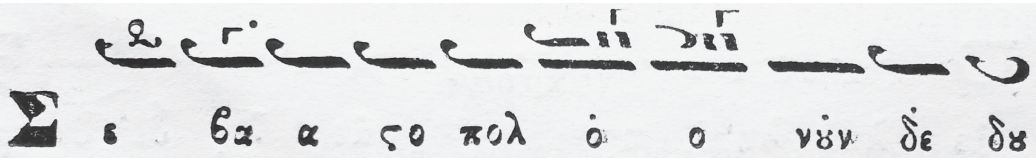

Figure 5 Excerpt from the "Sevastopol Song," printed in Chrysanthine notation in 1856. For a tentative transcription, see Appendix A, Case Study 16.2.

This example shows that the "Sevastopol Song" had reached such a high level of popularity that it appeared among other popular Ottoman songs edited for an Ottoman-Greek readership that was familiar with Chrysanthine notation and understood Turkish. The song could also be found with similar lyrics in a manuscript in Hampartsum notation in Turkish, written in the Armenian alphabet (Figure 6). This shows that this piece was also known among some Ottoman-Armenian musicians.[933]

Both the score and lyrics correspond largely to the lyrics and melody that exist even today. Below the heading, which indicates makâm râst and the usûl *tek sofyan,* the scribe also briefly indicated the historical context "Kırım muhârebesi" [Crimean Campaign]. The lyrics of this version describe how young men are going to war for the sake of Islam. Although the score does not provide any date, the ideas in the lyrics of this song, as well as other similar manuscript sources, suggest that this notation dates approximately to the early twentieth century. Both examples show that the "Sevastopol Song," in addition to being popular for several decades from 1856 onwards, was also circulated among the various ethno-confessional groups of the Ottoman Empire.

Greek volunteers in his book *The History of the Greek Legion* (Todorova 1992, 136). The majority of the Greek participants were from the former Ottoman territories and consisted of two battalions with about 637 volunteers (Todorova 1992, 144).

932 Kappler, *Türkischsprachige Liebeslyrik in Griechisch-Osmanischen Liedanthologien des 19. Jahrhunderts,* 55, 607–9.

933 A transcription of the score and lyrics is provided in Appendix A, Case Studies 16.4 and 16.5. The manuscript is stored at the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey Directorate of State Archives under the call number TRT.MD.d 428. The manuscript belongs to the Leon Hancıyan Collection. The "Sevastopol Song" can be found on p. 68. It is written in Hampartsum notation with lyrics in the Turkish and Armenian alphabets. Leon Hancıyan (d. 1947) was an important composer, singer, and music instructor who, especially in the years after 1908, contributed considerably to the formation of music pedagogical institutions, such as the Dârülbedâyi, Şark Mûsikisi Cemiyeti [Eastern Music Society], and the Dârülelhân. Besides his activities as a music teacher, he knew Hampartsum notation and was the First Cantor at the Armenian church (Zilciyan 2016, 531).

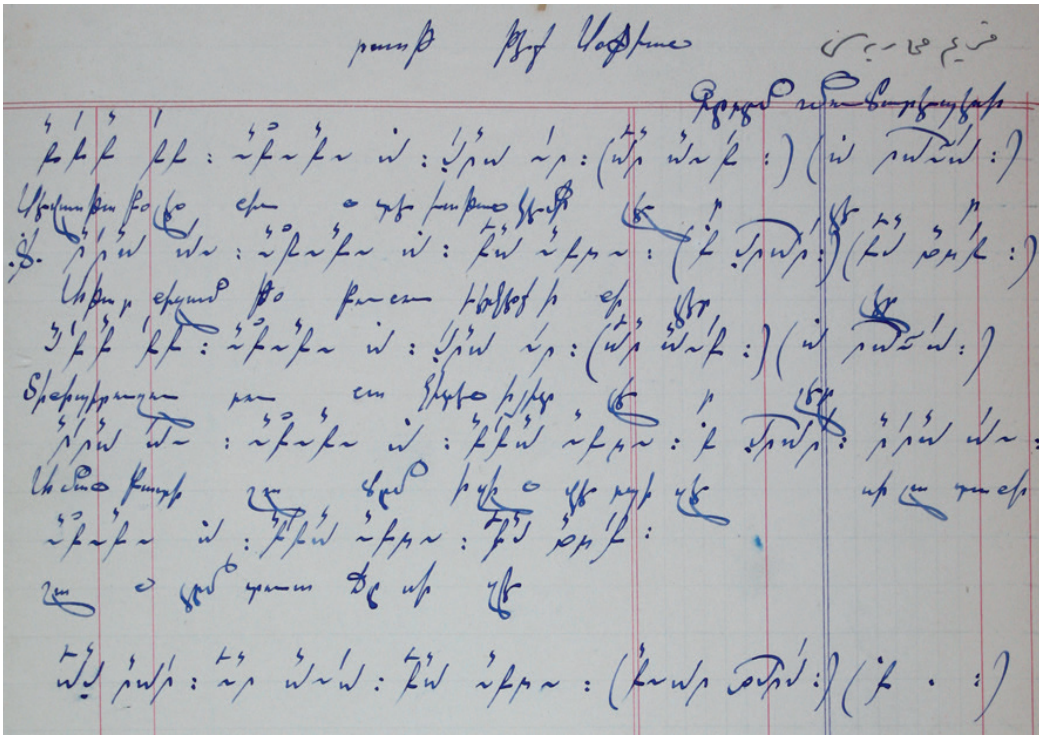

Figure 6 The "Sevastopol Song" in Hampartsum notation taken from codex TR-Iboa TRT.MD.d.428. See also Appendix A, Case Study 16.4.

In today's Turkey, this song is generally attributed to the composer Rifat Bey.[934] Üngör's comprehensive collection of Ottoman and Turkish marches provided an account of how he believed this song came into being:

> The Russian Tsar Nicholas I became worried about the Ottoman aspirations to strengthen the Ottoman army and fleet in the years of 1853 by the 31st Sultan Adülmecid I [r. 1839–1861]. The Russians were looking for a pretext to engage in war. Finally, on 23 October 1853, Russia declared war. In this war, both the English and the French joined us. The Turkish fleet, in order to land in Crimea, had gathered in front of Sevastopol. Here, many bloody battles were waged. In this campaign called "The Crimean War," the Russians were defeated. During this war, the telegraph system was about to be set up. When it was completed in 29 August 1855, the op-

934 Rifat Bey lived in Istanbul from 1820–1888. He was First Muezzin and colonel. With the mediation of his father, Tanbûrî Keçi Ârif Ağa, he entered the Palace School, where he learned music. He started his career at the Sultan's court during the reign of Mahmud II (r. 1808–1839) and worked there during the times of Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839–1861), Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–1876), and Abdulhamid II (r. 1876–1909). He rose in rank and in various musical groups and eventually became director of music in the Mûzıka-yı Hümâyûn (Öztuna 1990, 2:231–35; Üngör 1966, 119).

> erator in Şumnu sent on that day the first telegraph from Şumnu to Istanbul as follows: "The allied forces have entered Sevastopol". Meanwhile our troops were entering the city, the military band played the following march, whose score is not available anymore in our days […]. The joy about victory spread out at once in all of Istanbul, and driven by the excitement of these days, our famous composer Rıfat Bey who played in the Mûzıka-yı Hümâyûn [The Ottoman Imperial Band], composed the "March of Sevastopol". In a short period of time, this march spread through the whole of Istanbul, and further through all the nation, and was sung as a custom during school opening ceremonies in the provinces and in Rumelia. It is one of the oldest marches that we have.[935]

This quote gives a short and incomplete account of the historical events around the background of the Sevastopol Campaign. According to Üngör, the "Sevastopol Song" was a spontaneous expression of joy at the victorious Crimean War. According to this account, the victory inspired Rifat Bey to compose this march, which gained popularity in the following years. However, the attribution to Rifat Bey made by Üngör is problematic because he did not provide any source or reference for his statement. There are also other claims and remarks on the genesis of the "Sevastopol Song." Ülkütaşır supports Gazimihal's (1900–1960) thesis, claiming that the instrumental introduction to this piece was added in later sources by Ottoman music directors, and that the composer of the piece was actually unknown.[936] Likewise, Yekta considered the "Sevastopol Song" to be a historical, anonymous song that was sung by Ottoman marines during the Crimean War. This assumption is legitimate, as primary sources have not shown an attribution either to any lyricist or to any composer. In his introduction to Turkish music, Yekta used this piece as a case study to introduce the usûl düyek (Example 16).[937]

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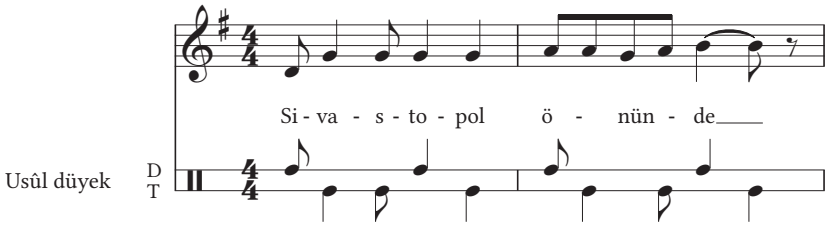
935 "31. Padişah, Abdülmecit I (1839–1861) in, 1853 yıllarında Osmanlı ordu ve donanmasını kuvvetlendirme gayretleri Rus çarı I. Nıkola'yı endişelendiriyordu. Ruslar harp bahanesi aramakta idiler. Nihayet 23 Ekim 1853'te Rusya'ya karşı savaş açıldı. Bu savaşta İngiliz ve Fransızlar da bizimkilerle birlik oldular. Türk donanması Kırım'a çıkmak üzere Sivastopol önünde toplandılar. Burada çok kanlı savaşlar oldu. Kırım savaşı adı ile anılan bu savaşta Ruslar yenilgiye uğradılar. Bu savaş sıralarında Türkiye'de ilk telgraf tesisleri kurulmakta idi. 29 Ağustos 1855'te bitirilen İstanbul—Şumnu hattında, o gün, Şumnu'dan İstanbul'a ilk telgraf şöyle çekilmişti: *'Asakir-i müttefika Sivastopol'a girmiştir'*. Kıtalarımız şehre girerken ordu mûzıkamız, bugün elimizde notası bulunmayan şu marşı çalmıştır […].
Zafer sevinci İstanbul'a derhal yayılmış ve o zaman Mûzıka-yı Hümâyûn'da bulunan ünlü bestecimiz Rifat bey o günlerin heyecanile 'Sivastopol Marşı' nı bestelemiştir. Marş kısa zamanda bütün İstanbul'a, hattâ bütün yurda yayılmış ve bir ara büyük vilâyetler ile Rumeli'de okula başlama törenlerinde söylenmesi âdet olmuştur. Elde mevcut marşlarımızın en eskilerindendir." (Üngör 1966, 169–70). Italics according to Üngör.

936 Şâkir M. Ülkütaşır, "Türk halk edebiyatında Sivastopol muharebesi," *Türk Kültürü* 15 (January 1964): 25; Suphi Saatçi, ed., *Kerkük'ten derlenen olay türküleri,* Halk edebiyatı dizisi 3 (Istanbul: Anadolu Sanat Yayınları, 1993), 66.

937 Yekta, "La Musique Turque," 1922, 3029.



Example 16 The first two measures of the "Sevastopol Song" with usûl düyek according to Yekta (1922, 3034).

The earliest written evidence of this piece is the previously-mentioned version of the Ottoman-Greek song anthology by Keïvelēs from 1856.[938] Chronologically, the Ottoman-Greek version of 1856 is followed by a version by Ignácz Kúnos (1862–1945). He included the lyrics of the "Sevastopol Song" in his collection of Turkish folk songs (1889).[939] The song had a revival in the years before World War I, when the tensions between Russia and the Ottoman Empire again increased. It was during this period that the first recordings of this piece were made. The earliest recordings of this song were probably made by the Ottoman military bands after 1908.[940] The recording, which can be found in the discography to this study, was made by the Odeon Orchestra in the first quarter of the twentieth century.[941]

Many sources claim that the "Sevastopol Song" gained popularity both in Turkey and in various parts of the Ottoman Empire. Üngör, for example, stated that it had reached as far as Rumelia in the Balkans, and Saatçi even provided variants that he had collected from folk bards of Skopje as well as Kirkuk in today's Iraq. Gazimihâl showed this song as a historical folk song in his book on Turkish folklore.[942]

The popularity of the "Sevastopol Song" assumed by the above-mentioned researchers is remarkable, especially because in a 1920s source this song was considered a "for-

938 Öztuna dates this song to the year 1854 without giving any reference. Possibly, he took the starting year of the Crimean War as the year in which the song originated. See Öztuna 1990, 2:234.

939 Kúnos, *Oszmán-Török Népköltési Gyüjtemény*, 354–56. Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 16.6.

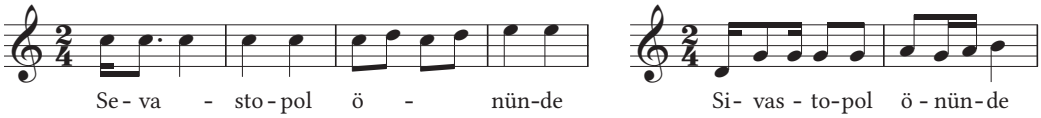
940 Ülkütaşır, "Türk halk edebiyatında Sivastopol muharebesi," 25.

941 Odeon Records, Catalogue number: 46951. The label does not provide any composer name, recording date or location. The song is titled "Marche Sevastopol. Orchestre Odéon." For a recording, consult Odeon Orchestra and Mızıkay-ı Hümayun Orkestrası 1999.

942 For Gazimihâl, this music genre formed part of an oral culture that was passed on from generation to generation: "Bir kısım türküler de tamamen mahallî olup mühim hadiseler üzerine çıktıkları için nesilden nesille yaşayıp giderler. Yalnız çıktıkları yerler ehalisini müteessir etmiş vakaları terennüm ettikleri için hariçte bilinmezler. Bunların birini Sinop'ta M. Şâkir beyin yardımıyla ele geçirdik: 1852 de Sinop'ta gemilerimizin düşman tarafından yakılması üzerine çıkarılan türkü […] Sivastopol'un tarafımızdan bombardıman edilmesi üzerine çıkan *Sivastopol önünde yatan gemiler* türküsünün mukabilidir. v.s." [Some of the türküs are completely regional, and because they originated from important events, they were passed on from generation to generation. [Those songs] are not known elsewhere but in the place where they had originated, because they deal with events that grieved the population. We could note down one of those songs with M. Şâkir Bey in Sinope: This türkü came into being in 1852 when, in Sinope, our enemy set our ships on fire […] whereas the bombing of Sevastopol gave rise to the türkü "The ships lying off Sevastopol," which is its opposite equivalent etc.] (Kösemihal 1929, 55).

gotten tune."[943] The "Sevastopol Song" was printed as issue 136 of the sheet music collection in *Müntehabât mûsıkî* [Selected Music], which was edited and published by İskender Kutmânî's, better known as Şamlı İskender.[944] It is, however, difficult to find out the exact publication date of this issue since it was not indicated. The song is also listed in İskender Kutmânî's song catalogue published in 1918, which therefore may serve as a point of reference. In this catalogue, the "Sevastopol Song" was categorized under the section "marşlar" [marches]. The heading of the score in *Müntehabât mûsıkî* gives the information "Elhân-ı mensîyeden: Sivastopol" [From the Forgotten Tunes: Sevastopol]. This is remarkable because the previously mentioned sources had highlighted its popularity. Unlike the earliest publications, Kutmânî's version has an instrumental introduction of eight measures before the main melody starts.[945] Therefore, it can be assumed that Üngör's version derived from a version similar to that of Kutmânî from the early twentieth century. The melody develops in the ambitus of a fifth G_4–D_5. Although the performance order slightly changes across the different sources, the lyrics are always sung to the same musical sections. One stanza consists of five verses. V1 and v3 are sung to melody A, whereas v2, v4, and v5 are sung to melody B. The limited use of melodic materials, the relatively small ambitus of the melody, and the diatonic character of the song are characteristic of the simplicity of this melody. The version in Keïvelēs (1856) treated the "Sevastopol Song" as a common Ottoman secular song (şarkı). This becomes evident from the terminology that was used for the different sections of the piece, such as "Miyân" [Middle section] or "Nakarât" [Refrain] as presented in Table 5.

In most of the available historical sources, the melody starts with the repetition of the same pitch. Üngör's edition shows a fourth leap to the main pitch of the song, which is further marked by the syncopation of the rhythmic motive 𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯 (Example 17).



Example 17 Beginning of the "Sevastopol Song" according to Keïvelēs (left) and Üngör (right).

943 Kutmânîzâde Şamlı İskender, ed., *Müntehabât: Sivastopol,* vol. 136 (Istanbul: n.p., n.d.). In the catalogue of the *Müntehabât mûsıkî* (1337/1921) [Selected Music], the song is listed under "marches" on p. 51 with the song incipit "Sivastopol önünde yatan gemiler," but without any attribution to a composer.

944 İskender Kutmânî was the son of Tevfîk Kutmânî and died in 26.1.1960. İskender Kutmânî seemed to have been an oud player, given that in many of his editions he is referred to as "Udcı Şamlı İskender." Tevfîk had opened a music shop in the Vezneciler district of Istanbul, where he sold music scores and instruments. After Tevfîk's death, the shop was taken over by his son. According to Öztuna, they were Orthodox Christians of Arabic origin (Öztuna 1990, 2:392). In the *Müntehabât* series, İskender Kutmânî published numerous issues of sheet music, each containing one or two pieces, sometimes instrumental but mostly vocal music. Among them are songs from the older and newer repertoires of diverse music genres.

945 Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 16.7.

Table 5 Performance structure of the "Sevastopol Song" according Keïvelēs (1856). See also Appendix A, Case Study 16.2.

Stanza	Verse	Melody	Structure	Measure
1	1	A	A	1–8
	2	B		9–15
	3	A	Miyân [Middle section]	16–23
	4	B	Nakarât [Refrain]	24–30
	5	B		31–37

At this point, it is important to shed further light on the musical genres in which this song has been categorized. This will help clarify why this song was treated in some sources as a "şarkı," in other sources as "marş," and eventually became a "türkü." It has been mentioned before that the genre "marş" in Turkish has had other uses besides the musical genre that is often performed by military bands. Although European marches were introduced in the Ottoman Empire in the early nineteenth century, in the course of time, "marş" in the Ottoman Empire took on new characteristics. It became, for example, established as a literary genre with patriotic content that praised persons, nations, and/or victories. Likewise, "marş" was also performed with traditional Ottoman instruments. Whereas in the earlier nineteenth century, marches in Turkey seemed to have existed exclusively in major and minor keys, in the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the melodies were based on makâm music. This did not mean, however, that these songs were treated as a traditional music genre. They remained part of alafranga music and became popular in the latter nineteenth century. Not only the music, but especially the content of the lyrics played an important role in categorizing a song as a "marş." A corresponding term that was also used in Turkish was "Millî şarkı" [Patriotic Song], which was often used synonymously.

The "Sevastopol Song" is a product of the victorious military campaign that was launched against Russia. Therefore, it seems logical at first sight to contextualize this song as one that would praise Turkish victories, and therefore it received its place in Turkish collective memory. A closer look at the lyrics of the "Sevastopol Song" in the Keïvelēs (1856) edition suggests an alternative reading of it.[946] This earliest version of the "Sevastopol Song" describes a scene that is not typical of a song that praises patriotism. The song relates, from a soldier's point of view, the impact of the bombardment at Sevastopol. Stz. 1 presents a very desolate scene of war. The ships lying off Sevastopol are constantly under heavy fire. The narrator is obviously impressed by the artillery, which also hits him in the

946 Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 16.3

chest. Whereas in the refrain section, one would expect some heroic action or call to arms, instead the narrator requests the Emperor to accede to the supplications of the mothers and give him furlough to go to his native place. Stz. 2 praises the Emperor and his power. It also makes reference to the historical figure Ömer Pasha,[947] who is waiting in Bucharest, while the allied powers,[948] among them a group of 6,000 Ottoman soldiers, are directly involved in the siege of Sevastopol. Stz. 3 refers to the city's cove in the formulaic expression "In Sevastopol, there is a small sea," which can be found with other city names in many other songs in Turkish.[949] Nevertheless, the Russian artillery is threatening, with cannon balls raining down. The last line, which refers to the Arabic origins of the commander, is also remarkable because it possibly alludes to the Egyptian squadrons that served in the war. Reference to non-Turkish groups that contributed to the victory would be omitted in the editions that appeared seventy years later. The last stanza describes a similar scene to stz. 1: The ships lying off Sevastopol. The situation seems unchanged because cannon balls are audible in the skies and perceptible on the ground. The closing line of the stz. 4 is anything but positive: when the old soldiers fall, they will be replaced by new ones. The message this song conveys is pessimistic and can be summarized in a few words: the narrator, who could be any of the (young) soldiers, holds out under heavy artillery fire, thinking of home and waiting for death to come. The refrain that is repeated after each stanza does not necessarily represent any features of manhood or bravery, as one would expect from patriotic songs.

The desperate situation of the Ottoman soldiers also became a frequent topic in secondary literature. Badem, for example, showed that many of the soldiers in the reserve unit were young men without experience in warfare. They were also in a difficult position among the allied troops and faced discrimination. Their ill-treatment reached such an extent that they were accused of cowardice.[950] The circumstances of the war that brought diseases, hunger, and misery were another reason for the desperate mood that is expressed in parts of this song. Zürcher came to similar conclusions when he referred in his book to the "Sevastopol Song." He considered the song to be a credible expression of the low morale of the Ottoman soldiers after a series of military defeats. Not only open warfare but also military encounters with rebels in the Balkans and in Arabia had led to attrition in

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947 When the troops left for Sevastopol, Ömer Pasha stayed in Bucharest to fight eventual Russian offensives. He was apparently not very interested in joining the occupation of Sevastopol and stayed in Bucharest, where it was far more peaceful. He asked for leave to come to Istanbul to pass the winter, which was not granted. It seems that Ottoman pashas often wanted to spend the winter in Istanbul (Badem 2010, 190). He had to leave for Crimea in 1854, where 55,000 Ottoman, 120,000 French, and 32,000 British soldiers had gathered for the final assault.

948 Badem claimed that the naval forces consisted of 350 ships with around 30,000 French, 25,000 British and 5,000–6,000 Ottoman soldiers. Out of the ten Ottoman battalions, there were eight with new recruits—young men aged 20–25 years—who served as a reserve unit. The number of Ottoman soldiers compared to the allied troops was very small, and they did not participate in the final victory of the campaign (Badem 2010, 189).

949 This is the case in the "Gallipoli Song," for example, which will serve as a case study in the following chapter.

950 For more information on the discrimination of Ottoman troops during the campaign, see Badem 2010, 274.

the Ottoman army. Those soldiers who could not afford to buy off their conscription to the Ottoman army were sent to the battlefields, which equaled a death sentence.[951] In Keïvelēs' (1856) version, no real feelings of heroism nor other national values such as fatherland, religion, or God are present. It is the expression of young and fearful men.

The Hungarian linguist and Turcologist Ignácz Kúnos included the "Sevastopol Song" in his research, which he published in 1889.[952] The main difference to the version from 1856 is the number of stanzas that Kúnos provided. Another important aspect that both versions have in common is the underlying sentiment expressed by the narrator. Similar to Keïvelēs' version, stz. 1 talks about the ships off Sevastopol that are being bombarded, and states that "young men die before their time has come." Stz. 2 alludes to soldiers who are reservists and have to pass the winter in the Balkans. Stz. 3 is the only one that draws on an amorous topic. Stz. 4 describes a row of willows, which are typically planted in cemeteries. Furthermore, it refers to the soldiers and the beloved ones at home who are waiting for letters. Stz. 5 is a formulaic stanza that exists in similar forms in other Turkish folk songs. In Kúnos' version, the stanza clearly draws on martial topics such as the Turkish flag and the departure to the front, as well as trumpets and drums. Stz. 6 describes the way soldiers were conscripted to the Ottoman army by casting lots.[953] Those who have drawn a lot hang their heads, mothers and fathers fall desperate on the streets. Similar to stz. 5, the last stanza contains formulaic phrases that are used in a similar way in other songs, such as in the "Gallipoli Song."[954] In this version, the refrain, which Kúnos labeled with the letter "B," has slightly different content. The soldiers are sick of waiting; therefore, they ask to either be given furlough or to finally start capturing Moscow and handing it over to the Emperor. As the topics in the individual stanzas have shown, this song deals with homesickness and despair of being sent to war. The narrator bears witness to the cruelties of war and the young men who lose their lives.

The "Sevastopol Song" changed its message and character in the period of the Second Constitution, and on the eve of World War I when it experienced a revival. The lyrics of the song were printed in the volume *Vatan ve hürriyet şarkısı* [Song[s] of the Nation and Freedom],[955] published between 1909 and 1913 as a second edition. These years coincide with the period when Turkish militarism and nationalism had reached new heights. Although the song anthology *Songs of the Nation and Freedom* does not have any music notation, it still gives information that is relevant for this study. Firstly, the lyrics were not written down just to be read as a poem. They followed the tradition of Ottoman song text

951 Zürcher, *The Young Turk Legacy and Nation Building*, 185–87.

952 Kúnos, *Oszmán-Török Népköltési Gyüjtemény*, 354–56. See Appendix A, Case Study 16.6.

953 The conscription of young men to the Ottoman army via lot casts is also the topic of the "Kur'a marşı" [The Military Conscription March] that starts with the line "Asker oluyorum ben" [I am becoming a soldier]. The song that can be found in various song text anthologies of the Second Constitutional Period was composed by İsmâîl Hakkı Bey and was published around 1909.

954 Compare, for example, Case Study 16.6, stz. 7 with Case Study 17.6, stz. 9.

955 İkbâl Kütüphânesi sâhibi Hüseyîn, *Vatan ve hürriyet şarkısı*, 24. Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 16.8. Apparently, the first edition of this volume had already been printed in the years 1910–1911 (İhsanoğlu 2003, 274).

anthologies, which were compiled to be sung. This becomes evident from the indicated makâm above the lyrics, which in the case of the "Sevastopol Song" is not makâm cargâh, as given in Keïvelēs (1856), but makâm râst.[956] In this example, the "Sevastopol Song" has only one stanza:

Table 6 The only stanza of the "Sevastopol Song" published in *Vatan ve hürriyet şarkısı* (1327/1911) [Songs of the Nation and Freedom].

Stz.	Turkish	English
1	Sivastopol önünde yatan gemiler	The ships lying off Sevastopol
	Atar nizâm topunu yer gök inler	Regularly fire cannon balls, and the ground and sky groan
	Sılaya gidenler benim yiğitler aman aman	Those who go home are my brave, young men, oh!
	[Nakarât]	[Refrain]
	Aman pâdişâhım izin ver bize	O Emperor, give us furlough
	Sılada nişanlımız duâcı size.	At home, our fiancées pray for you.

What is striking in this version of the song is the change in tone. The Turkish soldiers are not under fire anymore, but instead, it is they who are apparently bombarding the city of Sevastopol. In Keïvelēs (1856), the soldiers intended to evade the deadly situation at the war front by asking for furlough, while the weeping mothers implored the Emperor. In this version, fear and despair are no longer the topic. No frightened soldiers ask for furlough. Those who deserve to take furlough are all brave young men. At home, it is not their mothers, but their fiancées, who wait and pray for the Emperor's success. There are no words about Ömer Pasha, no mention of artillery fire, no allusion to any Arabic commanders, nor to (poor) fallen soldiers who will just be replaced by new ones. This short version already underlines the heroic features of strong and brave men who are successfully bombarding Sevastopol.

A much higher level of patriotism becomes evident in a version of the song that was reissued in the context of World War I, when in 1914 new military confrontations occurred between Turkey and Russia.[957] A certain Recep Hilmî of Kosovo printed a series of various soldiers' songs on a sheet with the title *Yeni ve mükemmel ordu ve Sivastopol marşları* [New and Excellent Army and Sevastopol Marches], mentioned earlier.[958] The sheet has photographs on the upper part of the page. In the center, there is a portrait of Sultan Mehmed V.

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956 The makâm râst is based on a diatonic scale and was preferred in the late Ottoman Empire for songs and music genres that were more associated with alafranga music.

957 On 29 October 1914, the Ottomans, with German support, started naval maneuvers in the Black Sea, which was the Ottoman prelude to entering World War I.

958 Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 16.9. No biographical data could be found for Recep Hilmî of Kosovo. His edition can be found at the National Library Ankara under the call no. 2007 AFİŞ 1138.

(r. 1909–1918), which is embedded in a scene of a battle campaign. National symbols such as the Ottoman flag decorate the picture in multiple ways. Among various soldiers' songs, there is also a piece called "Yeni Sivastopol marşı" [New Sevastopol March], which is a clear intertextual allusion to the older "Sevastopol Song." This is remarkable for several reasons: firstly, the Crimean War, which reached its peak with the occupation of Sevastopol, was one of the very few Ottoman victories. Therefore, this was a way to revive old victories and reinforce nationalist sentiment. Secondly, the "New Sevastopol March" had lines that drew on the old one. However, most of the stanzas were new and referred to contemporary events, persons, and conflicts. In other words, this song was recontextualized in light of the political tensions of the pre-World War I years. It triggered memories of old victories but was actually adapted to the new contemporary challenges. Unfortunately, this song was printed only as lyrics without any music notation. The twenty-nine stanzas of this version were all numbered.[959] The "New Sevastopol March" adapted the old song to the contemporary tensions that existed between Russia and Turkey, which in the end led to the Caucasian Campaign (1914–1918). In fact, although in its title line, the song arouses feelings attached to the siege of Sevastopol, the content of the song is more about protecting the Islamic population in the Caucasus. There are references to the cities of Batum and Ardahan, as well as to the Ottoman war minister Enver Pasha (1881–1922). The song makes several allusions to Islam, which is instrumentalized as a driving force to fight the enemy: "Moscow." The city of Moscow is personified and vilified. The song deliberately aims to provoke hostile sentiment towards the enemy by calling for revenge to be taken for murdered ancestors and dead children and fighting for God, fatherland, and Islam. It shows Ottoman war propaganda at its best. It is difficult to tell whether this song was meant to be sung or existed only as a poem. From stz. 7 onwards, each stanza has four verses instead of three, and the number of syllables in each verse varies. The refrain is indicated only at the beginning and left out in the other stanzas. The performance order is somehow vague. Some of the stanzas do, in fact, fit the melody of the song, but others do not because of deviating numbers of text syllables. Based on the fact that the other pieces published on the same sheet did actually exist as songs, it is likely that this extended nationalist version of the "Sevastopol Song" was also actually made to be sung.

Üngör's 1966 study and anthology of Turkish marches was the most comprehensive one that was available in the 1960s. Whereas in the 1920s Şamlı İskender considered the "Sevastopol Song" a forgotten tune, in 1966 this song had a defined history and composer, and both were of Turkish origin. It is symptomatic of the second half of the twentieth century that Ottoman history, and especially victories, were presented as the great achievements of the Turkish people. The "Sevastopol Song" was recontextualized and redefined during the vicissitudes of the nation. It had started as a song in an Ottoman-Greek song anthology in Chrysanthine notation. It is also plausible to interpret the Ottoman-Greek ver-

959 The stanzas were numbered in the original source. However, the numbering of the stanzas in some parts are erroneous. Stanza twenty was displayed as seventy, and stanza twenty-six is followed by twenty-eight instead of twenty-seven. It is not clear if this deviation was an editorial error or a result of censorship.

sion of the "Sevastopol Song" as parody, where the Ottoman victory was belittled, and the Ottoman soldiers were represented as cowards longing for their mothers. This allegation of cowardice against Ottoman soldiers was, in fact, current among the allied forces and would not have been far-fetched, considering that some Ottoman Greeks fought on the Russian side. However, it is not possible to know for certain whether the version given in Keïvelēs (1856) was a parody or a contemporary version that had been circulating at that time. During World War I, the song was instrumentalized to draw on past victories and revive hostile sentiment, especially against Russia in the context of the Caucasian Campaign. More than a hundred years after the Crimean War, Turkish historians and musicologists categorized the "Sevastopol Song" as a historical song that supposedly related to one period of the nation's history. Ülkütaşır even went one step further and considered the "Sevastopol Song" appropriate for inclusion in the Turkish repertoire, as it mentioned all the characteristics that were required for a song to be integrated into that repertoire. In accordance with the ideology of early Republican Turkey, where the native Turkish people were considered the driving force of the nation, Ülkütaşır presented the "Sevastopol Song" as a historical folk song that had survived in the collective memory of the Turkish people. For him, songs and tales of the Crimean War were types of folkloric expression. Ülkütaşır concluded that the composer of the song was unknown and that it was a Turkish response to a historical event which had been processed and had survived in the collective memory. With this statement, he changed the song's genre. In 1856, the "Sevastopol Song" had started as an Ottoman popular secular song (şarkı); around 1908, when nationalist sentiment reached a new peak, it became a march (marş); and in the 1960s, when national culture was defined by the musical output of the Turkish people, it was promoted as a folk song and was referred to as "türkü." These two latter terms have political connotations with respect to their contemporary settings. The "marş," as mentioned before, was a song with patriotic content. The "türkü," which referred to the folk songs of the Turkish people, was one of the important political and cultural pillars in the ideology of the early Republican era.

Another striking detail in the twentieth century is that the "Sevastopol Song" was more about heroism and victory than anything else. Ülkütaşır and Üngör claimed that there were versions where the first stanza made reference to the Ottoman naval ship "Mahmudiye."[960] The Mahmudiye was indeed active during the Crimean War but was less effective in the siege of Sevastopol. It was a wooden ship and could not endure the battle against Sevastopol, which was a stone fortification. After the first attack on the city, it was brought back to Istanbul for repairs with two other ships from the Egyptian squadron. On their way back, one of the Egyptian ships ran aground with 1,000 sailors drowning, including the commander.[961] The Mahmudiye seems, however, to have represented the "pride of the nation" as one of the biggest military ships at that time, and therefore it appears even in some versions of this song.

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960 "Atar Mahmudiye topu yer gök inler" [The Mahmudiye fires the cannonball in such a way that ground and sky groan]. Cf. Ülkütaşır 1964, 21; Üngör 1966, 170. Neither author indicated the original source for their lyrics.

961 Badem, *The Ottoman Crimean War (1853–1856)*, 270.

Turkish Radio and Television (TRT) recorded this song, which has been classified as "türkü" under the repertoire number 10072.[962] This version is hand-written, and the lyrics were entered with a typewriter. The melody is clearly the same, apart from some minor variations. However, the lyrics underline manhood, comradeship, and martyrdom, which is possible to find in many national songs of the Republican period. The song describes ships firing cannonballs and brave, strong men going to serve the nation. In the refrain section, the narrator addresses his mother, asking her not to weep if he does not return from the front. Stz. 2 makes reference to the fallen heroes and ends in direct speech with the narrator addressing his mother: "Mother, mother, I will come back. If I do not, then I will die a martyr."[963] This late interpretation of the "Sevastopol Song" highlighted Turkish martyrdom and heroism in the light of modern Turkish historicism.

Drawing on historical evidence, this case study has shown how this song was changed and adapted according to contemporary circumstances. By doing so, it proved that the historical song about Sevastopol was not a spontaneous outcome of a victorious campaign as suggested by Ülkütaşır and Üngör; it underwent a process of transformation and was forged into a national song. Soon after the Crimean War, the song gained popularity and appeared in an Ottoman-Greek song anthology, although it did not really fit with the repertoire that the anthology included. The song's popularity was not diminished in the following years, as it was continually recorded in the following decades. The song made a comeback on the eve of World War I as a battle song and hence as a march. With the increasing militarization of Ottoman society and the growing tensions with other neighboring nations, the song was revived during the conflicts with Russia. In the Republican era, the focus of national songs shifted to folk songs. The depiction of the events in the "Sevastopol Song" was perceived as a spontaneous expression of joy at the victorious outcome of the campaign. It entered the corpus of historical folk songs that further expressed heroism and bravery. In this way, the "Sevastopol Song" satisfied all the needs and prerequisites of national virtues: heroism, power, manhood, and victory. It had started as a lament, expressing the mourning of hopeless men in war, and was converted into a folk song of Turkish collective memory that praised a heroic and victorious past. Today, this song is perceived as a part of the collective memory that draws on historical events.

2.3.10 The "Gallipoli Song"

The Gallipoli Campaign was one of the last Ottoman victories. Before the Ottoman Empire entered World War I, it had been involved in various conflicts with different nations on all fronts and lost vast amounts of territory. The first Balkan Wars, from 1912 to 1913, had disastrous consequences for the Ottomans; they ended in the loss of Balkan territories and consequently led to the mass exodus of the Muslim population, who were forced to mi-

962 The score has been downloaded and is provided in Appendix A, Case Study 16.10.

963 "Anacığım anacığım gine gelirim. Eğer gelmez isem şehit olurum."

grate to Istanbul and its surroundings. Hence, although the Gallipoli Campaign was one of the few Ottoman victories, it became the prelude to the history of the Turkish Republic.

However, in the newly founded Turkish Republic, Anatolia was the nation's starting point, not Gallipoli. After World War I and the Turkish War of Independence (1919–1923), the Republic of Turkey was proclaimed, with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as its first president. During his term of office, he sought to rebuild the young nation. At the same time, scholars dedicated themselves to writing a national history that did not focus on Gallipoli, but on Anatolia, whose people, according to modern Turkish historiography, had contributed to the victorious outcome of the Turkish War of Independence.

The Turkish War of Independence offered a far better basis for the nation's history of origin. It told the key story of Mustafa Kemal's resistance movement against the Ottomans, who had signed the Treaty of Sevres and handed over its sovereignty to the Western powers. Anatolia became the official birthplace of the new nation. Gallipoli, in contrast, played only a marginal role in Turkish historiography, which changed towards the middle of the twentieth century. During the Gallipoli Campaign, Mustafa Kemal was not well-known.[964] In 1918, he was mentioned in the magazine *Yeni mecmûa,* where he had given an interview. For the first time, he was presented as the savior of Çanakkale and Istanbul.[965] In the 1930s, the first years of the Turkish Republic, the Gallipoli Campaign and its narrative were reshaped and integrated into national historiography as the preliminary stage of the "national awakening." The last name, Atatürk [Father of the Turks], was bestowed on Mustafa Kemal in 1934. After Atatürk's death in 1938, followed by World War II and several political and economic changes, Turkey sought to redefine itself. Turkey became a NATO member and with the beginning of the Cold War, it had to turn, in terms of politics, towards the Western bloc. The government sponsored the construction of a monument to the Gallipoli Campaign in the southern part of the peninsula in 1939. However, it was not completed as the funding and donations stopped when the multi-party system was introduced, and CHP (Republican People's Party), Atatürk's party lost elections.[966]

At that time, Gallipoli had already become a destination for international memorial pilgrimage. Since the 1920s, relatives of allied soldiers have been coming to Gallipoli to commemorate their fallen.[967] France erected the first memorial on the Gallipoli peninsula, followed by Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom. During this time of annual pilgrimage, the narrative of reconciliation between Turkey and the former belligerent nations, which is so essential today, was unknown. The attitude towards foreign pilgrimage changed, however, when Turkey's interest in memorializing the Gallipoli Campaign grew.

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964 Ayhan Aktar, "Mustafa Kemal at Gallipoli: The Making of a Saga, 1921–1932," in *Australia and the Great War: Identity, Memory and Mythology,* ed. Michael J. K. Walsh (Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2016), 150.

965 Vedica Kant, "Çanakkale Children: The Politics of Remembering the Gallipoli Campaign in Contemporary Turkey," in *Remembering the First World War* (London: Routledge, 2015), 148.

966 Ibid., 152.

967 Pheroze Unwalla, "Between Nationalism and Reconciliation: The Turkish Government and the Dual Narrativization of the Battle of Gallipoli, 1923–2007" (Master Thesis, Burnaby, Simon Fraser University, 2008), 34.

With the increasing presence of such foreign pilgrims, Turkey had to react. It was not until 1944 that the Turkish government decided to construct its own Gallipoli Memorial. To achieve this, an architectural contest was advertised. Four architects, Feridun Kip, Doğan Erginaş, Ismail Utkular, and Ertuğrul Barla were ultimately tasked with constructing the Gallipoli Martyrs' Memorial. In 1952, the memorial's first committee met, and for the first time, a memorial event was held with British, Australian, and New Zealander delegations in attendance. In 1954, the monument's foundation was laid. Due to a lack of funding, the construction process was then delayed but continued after a call for financial support in the newspaper *Milliyet* brought in donations. The opening ceremony took place on 10 August 1960 and on 21 August the memorial was opened to the public.[968]

What began in 1952 with reconciliatory, mutual memorial celebrations changed drastically in the turbulent years of the 1960s and 1970s; deteriorating foreign relations with the USA, and the military coup in Turkey radicalized the Turkish Gallipoli narrativization. Past Ottoman victories became relevant in Turkey's history; defeats were interpreted as being a result of the Ottoman Empire's foreign elements. During this time, Gallipoli became a symbol of nationalist pride.[969] Since the 1950s, former Ottoman victories had been celebrated to praise the Turkish nation. Also, ceremonies commemorating the taking of Istanbul from the Byzantines were celebrated. The Gallipoli Campaign's story has been researched and reinterpreted. Scholars have found this topic a rich source of material, which fulfilled their needs when rewriting Turkey's history. In Turkey, the Gallipoli Campaign is seen as the preliminary round of the Turkish War of Independence, which followed World War I. At the Dardanelles, some Turkish protagonists, who were noted for their outstanding service in their duties, later played crucial roles in the Turkish War of Independence and its aftermath.

Gallipoli helped to combine the last Ottoman victory with Mustafa Kemal's first. The Turks see in the Gallipoli Campaign more than a mere victory; the Turkish people stress that in spite of difficult conditions, they succeeded in defeating an enemy that had the advantage of superior weaponry. Gallipoli thus became the apotheosis of the Turkish army's heroism. The national narrative represents Germans who supported the war with armaments, expertise, and troops as ignorant, conceited, and bad strategists. The Germans are held responsible for high numbers of casualties and for having used the Ottomans for their own political interests. This narrative does not share victory with former Ottoman allies but allows reconciliation with the ANZAC[970] soldiers who once opposed them and lost the war.

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968 Bülent Sözeri, "Çanakkale'de tarihi buluşma," *Hürriyet,* March 17, 2003, https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/canakkalede-tarihi-bulusma-134118 (accessed 12 Nov. 2024).

969 Unwalla, "Between Nationalism and Reconciliation," 82.

970 "ANZAC" is the acronym for "Australian and New Zealand Army Corps." In Australia, commemorations of the soldiers who fell in World War I play a similarly important role in the national identity. For a good account of the Australian commemoration ceremonies, see Macleod 2017, 89–106.

Turkey's narrative of reconciliation with its former enemies was only possible as a result of its victory at Gallipoli. Owing to this circumstance, the transition from war to peace was smooth. Relations with the former belligerent nations normalized soon after the proclamation of the Turkish Republic. Reconciliation with the ANZAC nations became a feature peculiar to the Gallipoli Memorial. In 1934, Atatürk honored the ANZACs in a letter addressed to the mothers of the fallen Australian and New Zealander soldiers. His words are on display at the Kemal Atatürk Memorial in Canberra:

> Those heroes who shed their blood and lost their lives! You are now lying in the soil of a friendly country. Therefore, rest in peace. There is no difference between the Johnnies and Mehmets to us, where they lie side by side here in this country of ours. You, the mothers, who sent their sons from faraway countries, wipe away your tears; your sons are now lying in our bosom and are in peace. After having lost their lives on this land, they have become our sons as well.[971]

Though Atatürk's letter is often cited to highlight the amity between the countries, it was more a private statement than a public one. This statement nevertheless created the basis for constructing the narrative of reconciliation for an international audience. However, this was one side of a double narrative. The other side of the coin was a national narrative that stressed camaraderie, bravery, and patriotism.

In today's Turkey, there is probably no other Turkish song that triggers such strong national sentiments and enjoys as much popularity than the "Çanakkale türküsü" [Gallipoli Song].[972] In addition to becoming a "musical monument" in Turkish collective culture, the song's popularity is attributable to the different notions it acquired from its emergence until today. Similar to the "Sevastopol Song," this song was classified in the primary sources into different musical genres. Some sources refer to it as "marş" [march], which, as previously mentioned, referred in late Ottoman times to military band marches as well as to songs with patriotic lyrics. However, this piece reached places beyond the limits of patriotism and entered the sphere of popular music, which at that time was referred to as "kanto" or "şarkı." However, in the middle of the twentieth century, this song was claimed to be a Turkish folk song and was officially referred to as "türkü," one of the few that dated back to World War I.[973] This paved the way for the "Gallipoli Song" to enter the Turkish folk song repertoire. Today, it is one of the best-known Turkish folk songs. While it does

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971 The words are according to the tablet, which is displayed at the memorial in Canberra. Mustafa Kemal had written this message in 1934 and asked Şükrü Kaya, the Minister for Interior, to pass it on to the Gallipoli pilgrims.

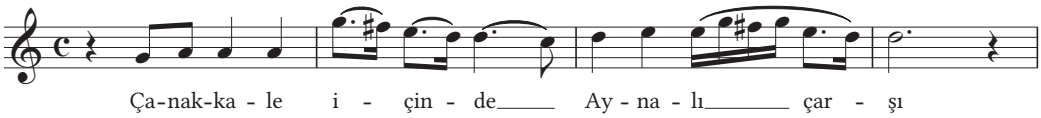
972 In English, this piece is often referred to as "Gallipoli Song" or "Dardanelles' Song," and these names will be also used in this study. The correct Turkish reference would be "Çanakkale türküsü." The score was provided in Appendix A, Case Study 17.17.

973 In 1921, Willi Heffening had already claimed that the genre of the "Gallipoli Song" varied every time he consulted a person on this issue. For some, it was a "şarkı," whereas others saw it as a "türkü." Willi Heffening, "Türkische Volkslieder," *Der Islam* 13, no. 3–4 (1923): 247.

appear in recent school song anthologies, it has also become part of national rituals, such as the Gallipoli commemoration ceremonies.

Especially with the centenary of World War I in 2018, the international commemoration of the Gallipoli Campaign took place with more pomp than ever before.[974]

The "Gallipoli Song" (Example 18) evokes a mood of despair similar to the "Sevastopol Song" introduced in the previous chapter. It relates the horrors of war from the perspective of a soldier and is therefore set in a melancholic mood. The lyrics of the "Gallipoli Song" are displayed at the foot of a soldier's statue at Gallipoli (Figure 7).



Example 18 The beginning of the "Gallipoli Song" according to the TRT version. Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 17.17.

Figure 7 The lyrics of the "Gallipoli Song" at the Gallipoli Memorial. A translation is provided in Appendix A, Case Study 17.4

The melody of the "Gallipoli Song" is characterized by the seventh leap, which leads the melody to the fifth D_4 and back to the finalis A_4. This beginning is characteristic of this song, for it has an intervallic ambitus of a ninth within two measures, which is quite unusual for folk songs. Before this chapter analyzes the song's meaning in the Turkish context, it is necessary to shed further light on its supposed genesis and early sources.

974 For an account of the centenary of the Gallipoli Campaign, see O'Connell, *Commemorating Gallipoli through Music.*

Supposed Genesis and Early Sources

As shown in the earlier chapter, the Gallipoli Campaign was a popular topic for Turkish composers during World War I. Kemânî Kevser Hanım's[975] score was the earliest known version of the song and was published as "Çanakkale marşı" [Çanakkale March] with block lyrics and notation. The editor Şamlı Selîm printed this version in a music journal called *Risâle-i mûsıkîye* in the year 1915/1916, shortly before or during the Gallipoli Campaign.[976] Although the score provided much information, such as composer, lyrics, and editor, for some reason, the makâm was omitted, which is unusual. The usûl, however, was given as düyek in 4/4, which is often used in popular songs. Formally, the piece corresponds to the same two-part structure as the version that is known today. The melody, however, shows striking differences that change the song's character considerably, such as the characteristic seventh leap. The editor of the piece provided the first stanza as text syllables above the notation in both Latin and Arabic alphabets. In this way, this song could be read even by those who were not familiar with Ottoman Turkish in the Arabic alphabet. Below the score, the heading of the block lyrics states in bold letters "Çanakkale kahramânların hâtırası" [The/In memory of the Çanakkale heroes]. Each stanza consists of two hemistiches and one refrain, which was referred to as "nakarât." As in the "Sevastopol Song," each of the stanzas is dedicated to one topic but always ends with the same refrain. The mood that is transmitted in the lyrics is doubtful but also confident and fierce. The lyrics mainly describe the horrors of the war, which are expressed in most of the stanzas.

Another version was published by Destancı Eyüplü Mustafâ Şükrü Efendi,[977] probably around the same date as Kevser Hanım's. It has an image that depicts a map of the Gallipoli straits. The map is illuminated by the sun, which is placed on the top left of the sheet. The sun is followed by a portrait of Sultan Mehmed Reşâd V. On each side of the portrait are soldiers. Another picture of a firing cannon appears on the lower right

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975 Kemânî Kevser Hanım was a musician by training and one of the first female teachers to teach violin at the Ottoman State School Dârülelhân from 1915 to 1924. She appears in a group photo that was published in the Journal of the Dârülelhân in 1924 (see Öner 2021, 79). In a brief paragraph on the back of the score, Şamlı Selîm recommended the music school in which Kevser Hanım was working and briefly highlighted her pedagogical experience with students. Şamlı Selîm's recommendation also proved that she was seeking new students. Therefore, publishing (already) popular and national songs in a music journal was one way to advertise her name. The line beneath the music score supports this argument in so far as she expressed her respect for the fallen of the Gallipoli Campaign. In this case, her score may be seen as a keepsake for the fallen. The heading of the block lyrics below the score gives the title "The memory of the Çanakkale heroes." A facsimile was printed in Akdoğu 1991. Cf. Appendix A, Case Studies 17.5 and 17.6.

976 See Case Studies 17.5 and 17.6.

977 Cf. Appendix I, Case Studies 17.7 and 17.8. There is not much information about the birth and death dates of Destancı Eyüplü Mustafâ Şükrü. Neither does the source show if he is the composer or editor of this song (Koz and Sabri 1993, 568). Üngör attributed this piece to a certain Destancı Mustafâ without providing any further information. It is unclear if he meant Mustafâ Şükrü (Cömert 2015, 105–8). A brief look at other published works by Mustafâ Şükrü reveals that he played a very active part in publishing graphics, lyrics, and ballads that praised Ottoman soldiers and victories in World War I. Other similar songs and ballads that he edited were, for example, "Edirne şarkısı" [The Song of Adrianople], "Alçak İngilizlerin Çanakkale bombardımanı ve kahramân topçularımızın müdâfaası" [The Çanakkale Bombardment of the Vile English, and the Resistance of Our Heroic Artillerymen], "Çanakkale Kabatepe muzafferiyet destânı" [The Ballad of the Victory at Çanakkale–Kabatepe], "Destân-ı şânlı asker" [The Ballad of the Glorious Soldier], among others.

side of the picture. Şükrü Efendi categorized this piece as "şarkı," as is evident in his title "Çanakkale şarkısı" [Gallipoli Song]. This version has fourteen stanzas but no notation. The organization of the lyrics is similar to Kevser Hanım's version. Each stanza consists of one distich and one refrain. Therefore, the lyrics fit the musical form and melody of the "Gallipoli Song." In this version, however, the refrain differs in each stanza, and the last syllable rhymes with that of the verses. The first lines of stzs. 1, 3, and 6 are similar to many other versions of the song. Other stanzas, however, take up only a few words or are new additions. Most of the stanzas reflect on the horrors of war. Besides these, there are other stanzas that express self-confidence, pride, and superiority. Stz. 11, for example, pays homage to the victory at Arıburnu, which reveals that this version was recorded after the battle at Arıburnu in 1915. The refrain in stz. 13 expresses pride when the defeated enemy is referred to as "stupid oxen" that "immediately run away." Other images of the enemy are given in stz. 5, when they retreat and give up hope, in stz. 6, when the bullets rain on their shoulders, and stz. 7, when the earth is full of enemy corpses. The Turkish soldiers, in contrast, are described as victorious. Stz. 5 states that the arms of the "heroic" soldier never get tired; stz. 11 praises the Ottoman soldier as the grandchild of lions; and finally, in stz. 14, the narrator prays that the brave soldiers may be protected from evil. This juxtaposition of the virtues and achievements of the Turks against the enemy highlights the military superiority of the Turks. For Mustafâ Şükrü, it was seemingly important to select ballads and songs that would extol the few victories of the Ottoman military. These types of sources can be considered propaganda tools that were intended to strengthen the morale of Ottoman troops and society.[978]

The "Gallipoli Song" appeared to enjoy popularity among the people during the period of war, and it also caught the attention of German officers who were deployed in the surroundings of Gallipoli. The German Empire was an Ottoman ally and deployed an army that took part in the Gallipoli Campaign. One issue of the German journal *Am Bosporus* [At the Bosporus], published in 1918, gave a German translation of the "Gallipoli Song." The article does not say much about the song's background but simply provides the block lyrics. A more analytical investigation was made by the two German Turkologists Willi Heffening and Karl Hadank, who published two articles where they provided a study of the "Gallipoli Song."[979]

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978 A similar approach can be observed in another example that should be briefly mentioned at this point. The same editorial published another sheet with texts of Ottoman World War I songs selected by Mustafâ Şükrü. The graphic in the top center depicts the combat from a soldier's perspective while the enemy forces land on the shore. The title "Arıburunı sâhil muhârebesi destânı" [The Legend of the Arıburnu Battle] suggests that the graphic shows a scene from the battle at Arıburnu. There are four other block lyrics printed on this sheet. From right to left, the first song draws on the "Gallipoli Song" and is titled "Çanak kal'e şarkısı." This time the makâm hicazkâr is indicated. The second song deals with the Caucasian Campaign and is therefore titled "Yeni karadeniz ve kafkas şarkısı" [The New Black Sea and Caucasian Song] in makâm hicazkâr. The third song is titled "Asker şarkısı" [Soldier's Song] in makâm râst. The last piece is a lament or lullaby "Şehîd ailesi lisânından" [From the Tongue of a Martyr's Family] titled "Uyu yavrum şarkısı" [Song of "Sleep my Child"].

979 The two scores have been reproduced in Appendix A, Case Studies 17.9 and 17.10. Both scores have in the original source various stanzas that have not been provided in this study. The materials were limited to the information that was necessary to follow the chapter's argument.

The German historian Dr. Karl Hadank published a study called *Jungtürkische Soldaten- und Volkslieder* [Soldier and Folk Songs of the Young Turks].[980] From 1917 to 1918, he was assigned to guard the main quarters of the Fifth Ottoman army, based at a small port on the southern Marmara Sea. He wrote that soldiers and children served him as a good source for writing down some of the folk songs. The popularity of the "Gallipoli Song" had caught his attention, and he admitted that he had not listened "[…] to any other song sung more often by Turkish soldiers and children than this [the Gallipoli Song] one."[981] In his publication, he provided the score with seven stanzas in the Arabic alphabet, which he transcribed into the Latin alphabet, and he additionally translated the lyrics into German.[982] The score's title, "Čanaq qalä maršy" [The Çanakkale March], and the melody given are exactly the same as Kevser Hanım's. The song lyrics, however, were probably taken from other sources. The melody, title, and stzs. 1, 3, and 8 match Kevser Hanım's version, and it is possible that Hadank was aware of her edition. However, he did not make any reference to her. Whereas in many Turkish versions the lyrics dealt with both the horrors of war and also with national pride, the narrator in Hadank's version deals only with the horrors of war. The dominant depressive mood of the song made Hadank believe that the song held a special position in the repertoire of the Young Turks.[983] Other songs that he discussed in his article are soldiers' songs that express strong national sentiments of pride and triumph. In this context, he briefly refers to the bad living conditions of the Turkish soldiers, which were best represented in the "Gallipoli Song." Ironically, in a Turkish-German dictionary that circulated among German soldiers, the Turkish word "asker" [soldier] was translated into German as "Hungerkünstler" [literally "hunger artist," i.e. a professional faster]. Hadank admitted that in the case of the Turkish soldiers, this was "deadly serious."[984]

The other German orientalist who dealt with this piece was Willi Heffening, who stayed in Turkey in the winter of 1917/18. In his article "Türkische Volkslieder" [Turkish Folk Songs], he provided a small, tentative score together with numerous stanzas.[985] The melody is intact in regard to form and melodic line but differs considerably from today's version. It is uncertain if Heffening was familiar with notating music, but it is more likely that his source was familiar with another version of the song. Interestingly, he also intended to trace back the history and origin of the "Gallipoli Song." He argued that the "Gallipoli Song" drew on a love song from the year 1889, which had changed over time.[986] It is,

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980 Hadank, *Jungtürkische Soldaten- und Volkslieder,* 68.

981 "Kein Lied habe ich von türkischen Soldaten und Kindern so häufig singen hören wie dieses" (Hadank 1919, 72).

982 A copy of the score can be found in Appendix A, Case Study 17.10.

983 Hadank's remark is important. He does not consider this piece a regular folk song but conceives it as a song of the Young Turks that were in power.

984 Hadank, *Jungtürkische Soldaten- und Volkslieder,* 68.

985 Heffening, "Türkische Volkslieder," 236–67.

986 Two more Turkish musicologists, Gazimihâl and Salcı, argued in the same way. See Akdoğu 1991.

however, difficult to trace his train of thought since he did not name any specific titles or sources. The only source he mentioned was the "Plevna-Lieder" [Plevna songs], which go back to the city of Plevna in today's Bulgaria. It is likely that the similarities derived more from some distiches of the lyrics rather than the melody. In this point, he would be right because there are indeed some borrowings between the lyrics of the "Gallipoli Song" and the "Sevastopol Song." However, his study had a more linguistic than musicological approach, and thus his arguments are based more on philological grounds.

The "Gallipoli Song" as Popular Song

The "Gallipoli Song" overcame national and linguistic borders beyond the realm of Turkish music. Cömert, in his fascinating study, gave many examples from other nations where the melody of the "Gallipoli Song" also exists.[987] From today's point of view, it may be hard to imagine that a song with such patriotic relevance entered the repertoire of other neighboring nations, some of them even being former enemies.[988] It is probably easier to understand this phenomenon if the "Gallipoli Song" is considered more a popular song than a national one. Whereas national songs gain their national relevance through human agency and propagation and tend to be more static, popular songs may circulate more spontaneously and freely and undergo changes during this process. Popular songs, once the melody gains acceptance, may spread easily and overcome national and socio-cultural borders. In the case of the "Gallipoli Song," this process can be observed in a series of early gramophone recordings made in Greece, the USA, and Turkey. Ottoman-Greek singers that were well-known in the popular music scene, performed many songs in both Greek and Turkish. The recordings that will be presented here circulated mostly in the US market, but they also circulated in Greece. It is important to bear in mind that by 1923 many of the Ottoman-Greek, Armenian, and Jewish subjects had emigrated to the USA. The biggest group among the Ottoman emigrants was Greeks.[989] They continued the cultural life of

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987 Eray Cömert. *Çanakkale türküsü: melodik varyantlar üzere analitik bir inceleme.* İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Türk Musikisi Devlet Konservatuarı Yayınları 6. Istanbul: Cenkler Matbaacılık, 2015.

988 A short documentary on the Gallipoli anniversary was broadcast on 18 March 2013 with Marika Papagkika's recording of the "Gallipoli Song." The announcer suggested that Papagkika was motivated to sing this song not only out of economic interests but out of personal conviction, having undergone the experience of World War I and the Greco-Turkish War. She further stated that for some contemporary listeners, it may have seemed strange that the "Gallipoli Song" was sung by an Ottoman-Greek woman. The program concluded that the "Gallipoli Song" expressed the shared grief that was experienced at the Gallipoli site. See http://tv.haberturk.com/tv/gundem/video/en-eski-canakkale-turkusu-rum-marikadan/85742 (accessed 30 Jun. 2022).

989 Rıfat N. Bali and Michael D. McGaha, *From Anatolia to the New World: Life Stories of the First Turkish Immigrants to America,* History 54 (Istanbul: Libra Kitapçılık ve Yayıncılık, 2013), 64. The biggest outflow of Ottoman emigrants happened between 1905 and 1914 after the proclamation of the Second Constitution. In the Ottoman Empire, non-Muslim citizens had to perform military service but could gain exemption by paying a fee. Those who could afford to paid the exemption fee; others left the country, seeing that the Ottomans were at war on almost all fronts. Many refugees migrated to Istanbul because of natural disasters, such as earthquakes, but also because of the Balkan and Tripoli Wars (Bali and McGaha 2013, 94–95). After World War I and the Greco-Turkish War, there was a second wave of migration from the Ottoman Empire to the United States. It is estimated that until the outbreak of World War II, the number of Orthodox Greeks emigrating to the US had been rising considerably (Bali and McGaha 2013, 58–65).

their old homeland in their new one. Music and language were two of the important cultural elements that were part of daily life.[990] Therefore, it is not surprising to find recordings of singers with Greek or Armenian names performing songs in Turkish. The Greek community established many nightclubs where famous singers from their old homeland came to perform traditional and popular songs of that time.

The earliest known recording of the "Gallipoli Song" dates to the year 1923.[991] The US company Columbia Records released a recording with the title "Chanakale. Canto" sung by the Ottoman-Greek singer Marika Papagkika.[992] The word "canto" that appears on the label can be understood in this context in various ways. Besides the Italian meaning of the word "canto" [song, singing], there was also the Turkish equivalent "kanto," a music genre that emerged in the late Ottoman Empire in the big urban centers.[993] "Kantos" were popular songs that were performed in pubs and other entertainment establishments, such as the "Café-chantant." By the time Columbia Records published this piece, the "kanto" had started to become old-fashioned and was gradually being replaced by other entertainment music of the West, such as the Charleston, tango, and jazz.[994] Most characteristic of the "kanto" were female singers who were accepted in public places. The early Ottoman female singers were mostly Christian or Jewish, whereas male singers and performers could be of Christian, Jewish, or Muslim origin. The "kanto" did not always have a good reputation. It stood for music that developed in a suburban culture and represented loose morals with disreputable second- or third-rate performers.[995] From a historical perspective, however, the popularity of the "kanto" cannot be denied. Apart from the numerous "kanto" anthologies, numerous recordings of this genre were distributed by record companies in

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990 Bali quoted an interview that was produced by Ahmet Emin Yalman for the Turkish newspaper *Vatan* [Homeland]. Yalman conducted an interview with Ottoman-Greek immigrants in the USA. It is said that Anatolian Greek families "[…] all speak Turkish. Including the little children born in America … They sing Turkish songs, and while drinking peach brandy in the evening, they start dancing Turkish folkdances. They have plucked a little piece of home and brought it here to America …" For the original quote, see Bali and McGaha 2013, 252.

991 Richard K. Spottswood, *Ethnic Music on Records: A Discography of Ethnic Recordings Produced in the United States, 1893 to 1942,* vol. 3, Eastern Europe (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 1200. The record catalogue number is "E-5283."

992 Marika Papagkika was born on the island of Kos in 1885 or 1890. She is considered to be one of the greatest singers of the early "rebetiko" songs before World War II. In 1913, she emigrated to the USA. She started a musical career there and became the wife of the Greek musician Giōrgos Papagkika, who is one of the performers in this recording. From the 1920s onwards, they performed in many entertainment clubs in New York and became established in the American-Greek diaspora (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 4:570).

993 Kalyviōtēs elaborated in his book on the important role Ottoman Christians played in the local music and entertainment centers of Izmir. For Ottoman-Greek musicians and singers, music had a significant role in their daily lives. They contributed considerably to the establishment of Western-style music genres in Ottoman urban centers (Kaliviotis 2013).

994 Selçuk Alimdar, *Osmanlı'da batı müziği* (Istanbul: Türkiye Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2016), 502.

995 Yılmaz Öztuna, "Kanto," in *Büyük türk mûsikîsi ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1990), 1:424; Alâeddin Yavaşca, *Türk mûsikîsinde kompozisyon ve beste biçimleri* (Istanbul: Türk Kültürüne Hizmet Vakfı, 2002), 381.

Istanbul. Hence, the English explanation of the term "kanto" was "popular song," as the record label suggests.[996] In addition to this, the set of instruments that were used on this recording also supports this assumption. The label lists the following musicians: Marika Papagkika (soprano), A. Zoumbas (violin), G. Papagkika (cymbals), and M. Sifneos (cello). The santur, which is one of the most important instruments of the band, is audible in the recording but was not mentioned on the label. Papagkika sang this piece in Turkish.[997] The target group of this recording was probably an audience that knew Turkish and had emigrated to the United States before, during, or after the Greco-Turkish War. However, it would be farfetched to claim that Papagkika identified herself with the "Gallipoli Song." It is more plausible that this song was part of her repertoire as a professional singer of popular music. She recorded popular songs to meet the demands of the music market. The "Chanakale" song, which was released together with another popular song called "Sinanai," were the only songs that she performed in Turkish in 1923. In August of the same year, she recorded two patriotic Greek songs, namely "Chaire Ellada" [Rejoice Greece] and "Bate syntrophoi sto choro" [Comrades, Join the Choir], among other Greek songs of national folk song genres such as klephtic.[998]

The popularity of the melody of the "Gallipoli Song" was not just an ephemeral phenomenon. More performances by popular rebetiko[999] singers were recorded during the years of the Great Depression in the USA. The "Gallipoli Song" was changed into a love song with the title "Katinaki mou gia sena" [My Dear Katinaki Because of You]. In this version, the first-person narrator laments his cruel fate for being in the underworld, having been murdered for his love for a woman called Katina. Kōstas Karipēs, the composer and arranger, rewrote the lyrics and rearranged the melody of the "Gallipoli Song."[1000] In this way, he presented the song in a new light and probably matched the latest demands and tastes of the rebetiko music market.[1001] His new composition was easily disseminated, and this was not simply a consequence of famous record labels being interested in his new arrangement. The Greek performers who recorded this song were all well-known stars of the rebetiko scene. Roza Eskenazi's recording was the first and was published by Columbia

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996 Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 17.11 (a).

997 The performance order of this recording is shown in Appendix A, Case Study 17.12.

998 The titles are given in Spottswood as "Haire Ellada" (Co 7000-F/89364-2) and "Bate syntrofi sto horo" (Co 7000-F/89365-1) and appear on the same page with the title "Chanakale" (1990, 3:1200). "Chaire Ellada" [Rejoice Greece], with lyrics by Miltiadēs Malakasēs (1869–1943) and music by the Greek national composer Manōlēs Kalomoirēs (1883–1962), is a hymn to Greece and her power to bring light and freedom. "Bate syntrophoi sto choro" [Comrades, join the choir] is a battle song expressing Greek expansion with a focus on Thrace and Izmir. Both songs were recorded by Papagkika in New York, among many other dance and popular songs.

999 Rebetiko songs often deal with the "lost homeland," poverty, unemployment, suppression, prostitution, and life at social flashpoints (Petropoulos, Emery, and Kanavakis 2000, 20). Although the "rebetiko" genre may also include this type of urban song, it was not labeled as such on the record label.

1000 A transcription of these songs with the Greek lyrics can be found in Cömert 2015, 164–70, 486–91.

1001 Ibid., 162.

Records in 1932.[1002] In the following years, two more recordings of the same piece, sung by Adōnēs Diamantidēs Dalgas and Rita Abatzē,[1003] were produced. Abatzē's recording was produced first by Odeon Records in Athens and was then also released by Columbia Records in the USA.[1004] Adōnēs Diamantidēs Dalgas,[1005] another distinguished singer, performed another version for His Master's Voice in Athens in 1933.[1006] Most of the performers were active in the music market in Greece, except for Papagkika, who lived in the USA.

Another intriguing recording that needs to be mentioned in this context is "Dōse mou tēn evchē sou" [Give Me Your Blessing], published probably around 1946 in the USA.[1007] The label of the record indicates a woman called Amalia as the singer and originator of the lyrics. Her family was of Jewish origin from Ioannina, where she was born Mazaltov Matsa. Since Ioannina was Ottoman until the Balkan Wars, it is very likely that in her childhood she came into contact with Jewish, Turkish, and Greek music. In 1912, she left for New York, and in the 1920s, she started a career there as a singer for record companies and in Greek coffee houses under the name "Amalia." She performed songs in Greek and Turkish.[1008] Her first marriage, from which she had one daughter, broke down, and in 1926, after having converted to the Greek Orthodox religion, she married Gus Bakas. She was then known as Amalia Bakas (or Vakas) or simply as Amalia Hanım [Mrs. Amalia]. In a duo with her daughter, they became among the most sought-after performers on the Greek

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1002 Roza Eskenazi was a Jewish Greek singer who recorded many "rebetiko," "kanto" and folk songs in Turkish as well as in Greek. She was born in 1893 and immigrated to Greece after the Greco-Turkish War (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 2:238). Her performances were not only limited to Ottoman and Greek urban centers such as Thessaloniki, which had a vibrant Jewish community. She also performed in other nations that had a Greek diaspora. She died in 1980 in Greece. The documentary movie *My Sweet Canary* (2011) deals with her work during her lifetime. The recording of "Katinaki mou gia sena" was published by Colombia Records, no. DG 447/WG-611. The performers listed on the record label are D. Semsēs (violin) and Ag. Tompoulēs (oud). This recording also includes cymbals. See rebetiko.sealabs.net (accessed 30 Jun. 2022). The song was republished in *The Underworld in Rebetiko Song Recordings,* track 8.

1003 Rita Abatzē was born in 1913 in Istanbul and died in 1969 in Athens. She grew up in Izmir and immigrated to Greece after the Greco-Turkish War. She gave performances both in Greece and in the USA and recorded up to 400 titles of traditional and folk songs and rebetiko music (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 1:125).

1004 The Odeon Records catalogue number is GA 1691. The recording by Columbia Records has the catalogue number G-7078-F/131181. Cf. rebetiko.sealabs.net (accessed 30 Jun. 2022). For a sound example of this record, see Abatzē 1994.

1005 Diamantidēs Adōnēs (or Dalgas) was born in 1892 in Istanbul and died in 1945 in Athens. His music career started in 1908, at the age of sixteen, as an oud player. In 1917, he launched a successful career as a singer and was soon discovered by record companies. He was given the last name "Dalgas" [wave] because his "sweet" voice being similar to the waves of the ocean. He recorded songs between the years 1926–1933 (Kalogeropoulos 1998, 2:78–79).

1006 His Master's Voice AO-2078/OT-1456. It was republished on CD in *Great Voices of Constantinople: 1927–1933.* See Dalgas 1997, track 23.

1007 This title was published by Metropolitan Phonograph Record Co. no. 162-B. The vocals are accompanied by the "Oriental Orchestra," with I. Pappas playing the clarinet. The exact date of publication seems to be unclear. The year 1946 is mostly given as the date (cf. https://rebetiko.sealabs.net/display.php?d=0&recid=6687, accessed 23 Apr. 2022). A picture of the record label is provided in Appendix A, Case Study 17.11 (b).

1008 For Amalia's most popular titles, see Kalogeropoulos 1998, 1:299. Kalogeropoulos gave 1890 as her birth year. Bali stated that in 1912, Amalia was fifteen years old (Bali and McGaha 2013, 278). Based on this information she must have been born in 1897.

café-music scene.[1009] In the recording, she adopted the melody of the "Gallipoli Song" but used new lyrics that had martial content. Considering the supposed release date, it is possible to interpret this piece as a reaction to the end of World War II and the liberation of Greece from Nazi Germany. Considering Amalias' Jewish background and the deportation of the Jewish population from Ioannina, it is likely that this song can also be seen as a personal expression of joy. In times of war, the first-person narrator asks his/her mother for her blessings to join the war and fight for victory. In contrast to the "Gallipoli Song," which reflected the soul of a depressed soldier, "Give me your blessing" is a song with a positive stance on war.[1010] The lively rhythms and the joyful instrumentation create positive and cheerful music that animates the listener to celebrate a victory that is taken for granted. The music genre that is given on the label is "syrto," originally a Greek music genre that was used as an instrumental or vocal music genre in Greece and the Ottoman Empire. The syrto is also a group dance that exists in both even and uneven time measures. Vakas' recording was not the first to consider this piece a syrto. The syrto had already been indicated for this piece earlier, when, on 22 October 1940, Columbia recorded an instrumental version in New York under the title "Tsanakale."[1011] The performer is the Gus Gadinis Orchestra, consisting of John K. Clinaros (accordion), Kōstas Gadinēs (clarinet), and an oud player whose name was not mentioned. The instruments and the traditional interpretation of the melody give this air a serene character and invite the listener to dance.

The mentioned examples show that the "Gallipoli Song" was far from being just a genuinely Turkish national song. Nor was it only an expression of the depressed mood of the narrator. The examples show that the melody was transmitted beyond national borders and nationalist world views and remained popular until the late 1940s. This was possible due to the emergence and popularity of a nightclub culture where famous singers performed popular songs from their former homeland. The audience, who had suffered from wars and deportations, demanded and enjoyed the melodies of their homeland. The bilingual background of the singers, who were all born in important Ottoman urban centers, meant that they shared the same bitter destiny of a lost homeland as well as the same song repertoire with the audience. The fact that the Greek-speaking community adopted the "Gallipoli Song" is not very surprising because Ottoman Greeks also served during World War I. Although the Turkish national narrative has claimed for a long time that most of the soldiers at Gallipoli were Muslims, it turns out that Ottoman Christians also took part in the Gallipoli Campaign. Heffening, for example, mentioned in his article an oud player called Jorgy Çavuş [Officer Yorgi] who was a non-commissioned officer.[1012] Galli-

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1009 Bali and McGaha, *From Anatolia to the New World,* 278–80. For a picture of Amalia Hanım and her daughter, see ibid., 462.

1010 The complete song lyrics are reproduced and provided with an English translation in Appendix A, Case Study 17.14.

1011 Columbia 7210-F (CO 28952). See also Spottswood 1990, 3:1167. A copy of the record label is shown in Appendix A, Case Study 17.11 (c).

1012 Cf. Heffening, "Türkische Volkslieder," 243.

poli, which in Greek was called "Kallipolē" [The Good/Nice City], is situated in Asia Minor, where many Ottoman Greeks lived.[1013]

Even in the twentieth century, the "Gallipoli Song" can be found in various geographical regions of Greece. The song has especially been recorded in Thrace, a region close to the Turkish border.[1014] Additionally, the important contribution of the Greek scholar Markos Dragoumēs shed further light on other historical and cultural entanglements of the "Gallipoli Song."[1015] In his field research in 1962, he recorded the "Gallipoli Song" at Anitseo, which is located on the Aegina Island in the Aegean Sea. The song was performed by a Greek woman called Angelikē Chaldaiou, who delivered the song in two stanzas.[1016] The melody and the lyrics that Dragoumēs provided fit the generally known Turkish version. The second stanza has a patriotic undertone but does not appear in the early recorded versions. The melody shows striking similarities with the "Gallipoli Song" but lacks the refrain, which would bring each stanza to a conclusion. Dragoumēs' comment below the notation is also revealing. He refers to a primary source that dates back to the Greek Asia Minor expedition (1920–1922). In the summer of 1920, the allied troops under British command broke the resistance of the Kemalist forces and took the Dardanelles. During this time, the "Gallipoli Song" drew the attention of Greek soldiers. Dragoumēs claimed that, although this song was first performed in Turkish, it was soon adopted by Greek soldiers, who translated it into their native language. He quoted a Greek officer who, retreating from the Asia Minor expedition, recorded this song in Chrysanthine notation. The song's heading stated: "The song that we heard during the Asia Minor Campaign 1920–1922, sung by Turkish, then by Greek soldiers."[1017] This is a striking example because it shows the permeable borders of war fronts, where cultural exchange was possible. The soldiers not only listened to the song, but they even wrote it down in their own notation and performed it in their native language. Some of the Greek soldiers probably understood Turkish and so "translated" the song of the "other." The reason for this may be, as Dragoumēs argued, that the song seemed to have expressed the desolate situation of men who were dying on the battlefields.[1018]

1013 Liman v. Sanders, the German commander-in-chief during the Gallipoli Campaign, claimed that the city of Gallipoli was heavily damaged during the campaign. He also wrote about various Ottoman Greeks who lived in that area.

1014 One version was recorded on the LP *Dēmotika tragoudia tēs voreias Elladas* [Folk Songs of Northern Greece], released in 1987 in Thessaloniki. Another version was recorded on the LP *Keimēlia ēchou kai logou apo anatolikē Thrakē–anatolikē Rōmylia* [Treasures of Sounds and Lyrics from Eastern Thrace–Eastern Rumelia], released in 1993 (Cömert 2015, 552).

1015 Markos Ph. Dragoumēs, *Aiginēs mousikē periēgēsis* (Athens: Philoi Mousikou Laographikou Archeiou, 2008), 285–86.

1016 Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 17.15

1017 Unfortunately, the original source could not be consulted for this study.

1018 This topic was also processed in other realms of literature, such as in the work *Hē zōe en taphō* (1924) [Living in the Tomb] by Stratis Myrivilis. His book depicts the horrors of the Balkan Wars from the perspective of the first-person narrator. The misery in which the soldiers lived while they waited in the trenches, and in con-

What is probably the earliest Turkish recording of the "Gallipoli Song" was performed by İbrâhîm Efendi and seems to date back to the early 1920s.[1019] He performed the title "Çanakkale içinde" [In Çanakkale] in makâm uşşâk for Orfeon Records (no. 12751).[1020] He was accompanied by kânûn, oud, clarinet, and violin. This version includes many of the generally known Turkish lyrics with a few additions.[1021] Different to the Greek versions, İbrâhîm Efendi performed five stanzas in three blocks in total. The first block consists of stzs. 1–2, the second block of stzs. 3–4, and the third block of stz. 5 only. In this recording, the structure of the piece was slightly changed. Stzs. 2 and 4 have the same lyrics and therefore serve as a refrain that separates the blocks from each other. The refrain which would have been stz. 6 was, however, omitted from the third block. The piece ends after stz. 5 with a short instrumental coda. Stz. 3 stands out, for it breaks with the poetic symmetry by employing one incomplete distich. Usually, the distiches are highlighted by the same rhyme, which in stz. 3 is different. It seems that only v1 of the distich was performed, whereas v2, which should have ended with a word that would rhyme with "diken" [thorn], was omitted. Instead, another distich was added, which ends with the words "çarşı" [city] and "karşı" [towards]. This asymmetry probably derives from a miscalculation of the recording time. In stz. 3, v1, it probably turned out that the entire lyrics would not have fit the short recording time. Thus, the performer passed directly to the next stanza after v1. This would also explain why the symmetrical structure "Stanza-Refrain-Interlude" could not be accomplished after stz. 5. This assumption is also supported by the missing *taksîm*[1022] towards the end of the piece, which was prominent in the popular style of recordings in the Ottoman-Greek performances. This recording is a more popular alaturca-style performance, simple and with traditional instruments.

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stant fear of death in a senseless war, questions all notions of manhood and heroism. The book also gives some examples of cultural exchange between the enemy lines. While soldiers endured in the trenches, they also listened to the songs sung in the enemy trenches.

1019 İbrâhîm Efendi was born in 1881 in Istanbul and is one of the most popular celebrities of the early twentieth-century Ottoman Empire. He learned music from Ziyâ Bey, Kemânî Aşkı, and Leylâ Hanım. The record labels refer to him as "Hanende İbrâhîm" [İbrâhîm the Singer]. He sang for Orfeon Records, where 50% of the recordings were made between him and his colleague Hafız Yaşar (Ünlü 2004, 188). İbrâhîm Efendi sang acclaimed songs of famous composers and musicians such as Bimen Şen and Alî Rifat Çağatay. His stage career began at the age of thirteen. At the age of eighteen, he started to sing for Odeon Records and continued for three years. In the following years, he also sang for other record companies. The thirty-two years in which he sang for record companies turned him into one of the most famous performers of his time (Niyazi 1933, 36).

1020 Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 17.11 (d).

1021 Cf. Appendix A, Case Study 17.16

1022 Taksîm is a piece or musical section where the soloist improvises a melody. The melody is rhythmically free and focuses on the unfolding of the makâm.

Revival of the "Gallipoli Song"

The "Gallipoli Song" was only one national song out of many that were dedicated to the Gallipoli Campaign. The above-mentioned sources showed, however, that the song continued to exist in the subsequent decades and circulated in other communities with continuously changing lyrics. The Turkish version became, as will be shown later, a "musical monument" to the Gallipoli Memorial. It is part of a specific memory culture that is made to be staged. It has a coded message for an addressee who is able to decode the message in its full context. Someone who is not familiar with this code would only listen to the tune, whereas those who are familiar with the code would read this song with the whole narrative that is attached to it. The "Gallipoli Song," as it is contextualized today, was not, however, a spontaneous outcome of the national collective memory. It had fallen into collective oblivion and first had to be rediscovered in order to be reintroduced into national culture. The presentation of the "Gallipoli Song" in this new light fit the mindset and principles of the Republican era when folk song and culture became the most important carriers of national culture and, thus, of national identity. The "Gallipoli Song," as a "first-hand residue" of World War I, became a "musical monument" that united the Turkish collective, and this was only feasible due to its recontextualization in a new narrative of reconciliation. This new narrative was carefully prepared, later ritualized, and implemented successfully, thanks to its international recognition among former conflict parties. Whereas the former Ottoman-Greek community developed this song as a popular song, in 1940s Turkey, it had to be revived and imbued with national meaning.

The "Gallipoli Song" entered the national corpus without drawing any public attention. In 1936, the National Ministry of Education carried out a survey of folk songs and folk dances with the help of the People's Houses[1023] in sixty-seven provinces. Only one person sang the "Gallipoli Song" in Üsküdar. The performer stated that he had learned this song during World War I. In the same year, the Turkish musicologist Gazimihâl used the "Gallipoli Song" as a case study in his book.[1024] In 1937, Mustafa Salman, the instructor of the People's House in the city of Balıkesir, indicated the city of Denizli as the place where he

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1023 Üstel stated that in the year 1925, the "Cumhuriyet ve Halk Partisi" [Republican People's Party] took control of the Turkish Hearths and planned to reorganize them and rename them "Halkevleri" [People's Houses] (Üstel 1997, 223–25). The People's Houses played an important role in both local and social life and in collecting, processing, and distributing activities to do with Turkish folk culture. As a successor of the Turkish Hearths, the People's Houses introduced a new, European-centered lifestyle even in the provinces of Turkey. Founded on 19 February 1932, they also stimulated the study of folk culture and aimed to provide the people with more information about their national traditions. Once they had been founded, the number of People's Houses increased rapidly. Each of the People's Houses had its own journal, which helped to spread news and keep the audience up-to-date about upcoming events. The People's Houses organized musical activities and entertainment events and provided a place where "modern" music and national folk songs could be performed on Western musical instruments and techniques. For further reading on the People's Houses, see Saygun 1937, 1940; Balkılıç 2009.

1024 Mahmut Ragıp Kösemihal. *Türk halk müziklerinin kökeni meselesi.* Vol. 8. Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları 3. Istanbul: Akşam Matbaası, 1936, 46.

had recorded the "Gallipoli Song."[1025] In 1945, the song was included in the music manual of the Village Institutes.[1026]

It was not until 1952 that the "Gallipoli Song" became known nationwide. It was included for the first time in the folk song collection *Yurttan sesler* [Voices of Homeland] by Muzaffer Sarısözen.[1027] The *Voices of Homeland* was also a radio program where folk songs of the different regions of Turkey were introduced and brought to the public.[1028] In 1983, almost twenty years after his death, his colleague İhsan Ozanoğlu (d. 1981) reported in an article about Sarısözen's quest for the "Gallipoli Song."[1029] Ozanoğlu wrote that he had written down the melody of the song from a woman living in the village of Verencik in Kastamonu, close to the Black Sea. According to him, at that time Sarısözen was looking for a song that dealt with the Dardanelles' Campaign for a memorial event. Since Sarısözen was not successful in his quest, he asked Ozanoğlu, who then played and dictated the version he had collected.[1030] Given the fact that the song was unknown in Ankara, both concluded that the song had originated from Kastamonu where Ozanoğlu had recorded it.

It has already been mentioned how the Gallipoli Memorial gained importance during the 1940s and that for the first time, in 1952, a common commemoration ceremony with the former belligerent nations was held. It is possible that Sarısözen was tasked with finding a song that would have been suitable for this memorial event. The other information Ozanoğlu gave was essential for the records of TRT. The "Gallipoli Song" published by TRT in 1973 gave the same information that Ozanoğlu had stated.[1031] Sarısözen, who also or-

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1025 Mustafa Salman, ed., *Öz ses ve zevk kaynaklarımız,* Balıkesir Halkevi Yayınlarından 19 (Balıkesir: İl basımevi, 1937), 68.

1026 Bedri Akalin, *Köy enstitülerinde müzik eğitimi kılavuzu* (Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1945), 256. The remark above the notation shows that the song had been collected by some students. In 1940, Hasan-Ali Yücel, minister of education from 1938–1946, opened the so-called "Köy Enstitüleri" [Village Institutes], which he designed with the aim of improving the educational level in the villages (Çıkar 1997, 93). In this way, it was possible to spread the ideas of the Republican People's Party on a larger geographic scale. The "Demokrat Partisi," which came to power in 1946, abolished the Village Institutes.

1027 Sarısözen, Muzaffer. *Yurttan sesler.* Ankara: Akın Matbaası, 1952, 13. Muzaffer Sarısözen (1899–1963) was one of the most popular Turkish folk song performers and researchers of the twentieth century. At an early age, he had already come into contact with music and folk songs in his family. As a teenager, he had to serve in World War I at the Gallipoli front. After the war, he continued his musical career, studying at the conservatory. Sarısözen accompanied the first folk song research trips that were made in Turkey and came into contact with the most representative composers and musicologists of the early twentieth century. He became a popular figure as a performer and presenter of folk songs on radio and television. Sarısözen was the first to perform Turkish folk songs in unison with a choir, which after that became established as a common practice (Elçi 1997, 21–36). His anthology of folk songs in the volume *Voices of Homeland* was also intended to be used in school music education.

1028 Turkish Radio and Television broadcast the program *Yurttan sesler* [Voices of Homeland]. Pieces from the various corners of the nation were performed by a special orchestra that was accompanied by a choir consisting of twenty-six men and women (Stokes 1992, 70).

1029 İhsan Ozanoğlu, "Çanakkale Türküsü," *Musiki mecmuası,* no. 389 (1982): 8–11.

1030 For the original anecdote, see Cömert 2015, 89; Tan 2009, 72.

1031 See Appendix A, Case Study 17.17.

ganized the radio program with the same title as his song anthology, contributed considerably to the dissemination of the song throughout Turkey. The "Gallipoli Song" was assigned the repertoire number 461 by the music office of TRT, which had defined the song's origin clearly. The Black Sea region of "Kastamonu" is given as the place where the song was collected; Ozanoğlu is acknowledged as the provider of the melody, and Sarısözen the collector and editor.

In this way, the "Gallipoli Song" entered the national folk song corpus and, in effect, became an artifact of the Gallipoli Memorial. As a Turkish folk song, or "türkü," that originated from the mouth of the people, it had the power to express the national sacrifice at the Dardanelles. Those who constructed the Gallipoli narrative broadened and elevated the song's meaning to a national level. Within this narrative, the "Gallipoli Song" reinforced the authenticity of this version of history. The "Gallipoli Song" did indeed emerge and become famous during World War I. Its revival, however, followed a specific political agenda that defined the way the nation's past should be remembered. The memorial contextualized the song in a narrative of national agony that had led to the birth of the new Turkish nation. It is probably no coincidence that none of the other Ottoman songs that had been composed to remember the victory at Gallipoli or mourn the fallen achieved the same national meaning as the "Gallipoli Song." Most of them were even left to common oblivion. The "Çanakkale muzafferiyet havası,"[1032] for example, was written by the Sultan himself, and it was set to music by the new Mehter musicians. After the abolition of the Sultanate and Caliphate, it would not have been possible to use the former Sultans' work for the new Republic. The "Gallipoli Song" was found to be the closest fit to the mindset of the Gallipoli Memorial that existed in the 1950s.

1032 See Appendix A, Case Study 17.1.