From Empire to Republic:
Western Art Music, Nationalism, and the Merging Mediation of Saygun's
Op.26 *Yunus Emre Oratorio*

by

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Abstract

This dissertation focuses on Western art music during the second half of the 19th century Ottoman Empire and the first half of 20th century in Republic of Turkey in the construction of a national identity, and how it had been used as a part of cultural politics. One of the aims is to contest some misinterpretations on the history and roles of Western art music. Through the *Tanzimat* (reform) period of the Ottoman Empire, Western art music genres became part of their Westernization policy. However, music was not a part of state ideology. On the other hand, as a big part of culture revolutions, music played an immense role of forging the new national identity of Turkish Republic. This music, under the vision of the founder Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, was formed through the synthesis of newly constructed Turkish folk music and Western art music techniques. Ahmet Adnan Saygun, as one the first generation of composers of the new state, dedicated himself to creating the new nationalist music of Turkey. This dissertation also argues that Saygun brought together Turkish folk music, Turkish art music and Western art music to compose nationalist music. In doing so, Saygun mediated the aesthetic and cultural traditions of the past and the present as well as broke the artificial art and folk music binary. Lastly this dissertation offers an analysis of the first section of *Op.26 Yunus Emre Oratorio*, one of Saygun's most well-known pieces based on the eponymous Anatolian mystic Yunus Emre, to show that through combining musical materials from different periods of Turkish history Saygun created his musical mediation.

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Introduction

      This study examines the musical movements and tensions as the Ottoman Empire transitioned into the Republic of Turkey and forms its national identity. Redressing and clarifying misconceptions as to the function, perception, and the treatment of Western art music during the 19th century and the early decades of the Republic, this dissertation presents Ahmet Adnan Saygun, one of the first generation of Turkish composers, as a musical mediator of these divergent periods of Turkish history and culture through his musical materials and forms.

      Throughout the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire went through major challenges. The nationalist movements among its subjects contributed greatly to the disintegrating Empire. Even though the elite and the administrative class tried to solve these movements through some significant reforms, these efforts were not enough to suppress new national consciousness. In the midst of the transforming of the social, political, and economic life of the Empire, something unfathomable happened: Western performing arts and music found a place in this foreign land and flourished.

      During this era, Western art music was embraced in the cultural life of the urban Empire and the Imperial Palace. The new musical forms, particularly opera, were so accepted by the urban Ottomans that this century became the century of theatres. Through opera, the Ottomans found a genre that suited their aesthetic taste and also fulfilled their eagerness to Westernize. Western art music functioned mainly as entertainment rather than carry major political significance. During this period, Western art music displayed almost no ideological agenda, but it did function as part of "modernization" efforts.

      After the downfall of the Empire, the modern Turkish Republic was devoted to constructing a national identity. During the foundational years of the Turkish Republic (1923-1945), music and cultural reforms became essential aspects of the state ideology ordered by the

top strata of policy makers. Even though there was an official stance towards music, after the first heated years of the Republic composers stopped following the ideology and found their own voices. Music reforms, along with other cultural, educational, and social reforms, were among the priorities of the newly established state. The vehicle of Western art music was used by the state to aid in the creation of the new national Turkish identity.

However, in the new Republic, Westernization alongside of Turkification was a part of the project of the establishment of the Turkish nation-state. Therefore, Western art music played a major political role during the years of formation of the Republic as one of the main components of the cultural revolutions. In order to create a new Turkish identity, Turkish national music was used by the policy makers. To produce Turkish national music, the first generation of composers harmonized and merged newly constructed local folk melodies with Western art music. Although local, this folk music had been collected and incorporated in a very European manner. In doing so, the policy makers aimed to create a music that was both "*milli*" (national) and "European." Because the ideologues wanted to distance themselves from the Ottoman cultural legacy, Turkish art music could not find a place in the cultural policies of the new Turkish Republic.

This dissertation aims to refute some misunderstanding and misinterpretation on the functions and history of Western art music in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic. Ahmet Adnan Saygun, as one of the new Turkish Republic's main composers, will be presented as a composer who exemplifies and addresses the transition and tension from the Empire to the Republic. In his early career Saygun, as a nationalist composer, followed official policies and philosophy in his compositions, but in his mature period he merged materials—Turkish folk music, Turkish art music and Western art music—to produce nationalist music. In doing this,

Saygun somehow combined two types of Nationalist music—the implementation of pure ideology and the expression of his individual artistry and life history—to ultimately find his own voice.

To show his use of musical materials belong to multiple periods, this study analyzes the first section of his seminal composition Op.26 *Yunus Emre Oratorio* (1943). In this oratorio, named after and using texts from the eponymous Anatolian mystic (c. 1240 - 1320), Saygun re-organized Yunus Emre's poems thematically from the poet's *Divan* (poetic collection), as a reflection on Yunus Emre's spiritual journey from contemplating death to reuniting with the divine lover, God. Composing the oratorio helped Saygun aesthetically and stylistically to discover his musical medium. The oratorio is a unique piece because of the amalgamated nature of different idiomatic sources and styles—the structural elements of Saygun's oratorio evoking a full spectrum of Turkish materials. Thus, it can be argued that the piece functioned as a mediator between Turkish pasts and the present.

Saygun's use of Yunus Emre was harmonious with the modernist, secular Turkic ideology of the new Republic, Yunus Emre's name and works serving as a historical and cultural link between a re-contextualized central Asian past and the Anatolian present of Turkish civilization. Written in the midst of nationalist strivings, Adnan Saygun's composition transformed unwelcomed, almost prohibited cultural and musical materials of Turkish art music into a praised national piece. This compositional praxis allowed Saygun to mediate the aesthetic and cultural traditions of the past and the present as well as to break the artificial art and folk music binary.

Ahmet Adnan Saygun, whose musical identity is again and again under-valued and his role reduced only to a political one. In the works of some scholars like Kathryn Woodard,

Western art music in the Ottoman Empire and in Turkey has only one function, which is "to serve political ideologies" (Woodard 2007, 2). Western art music in the Ottoman Empire, argues Woodard, had been used to "achieve a more cosmopolitan society" (Woodard 2007, 19). This misinterpretation unfortunately ignores the history of Western art music in the Empire and neglects the fact that the existence of this music did not occur only through the interest of the Ottoman elite, but Western genres found an echo in the heart of the urban Ottoman citizens. Western art music, for Woodard, only represents the new Republic's secular values and shows the new state's turn towards Europe. Even though there is some truth in this statement, Woodard proposes it as if it is the whole story. This reading overlooks the Ottoman legacy that the new Republic carried and even subtly embraced at times.

Chapter 1 traces the history and theory of nationalism providing the context and milieu in which the Ottoman Empire dissolves and Turkish nationalism grows. Chapter 2 examines Western art music's presence and influence in the Ottoman period and the incorporation of Western forms in Turkish musical elements. Chapter 3 offers an explication of how these political and music grounds produce the national music of the early Republic period. Having established all of this necessary contextual background, the next chapter introduces Ahmet Adnan Saygun's training, political motivation, and influences that ultimately led to his musical mediation *Op. 26 Yunus Emre Orotario*. The author of Saygun's chosen text for this composition, Yunus Emre, the Sufi mystic, is presented in Chapter 5 along with his timeless humanist message. The final chapter, as the focal point and bringing together of the multiple strands of this dissertation, presents a structural and interpretive analysis of the first section of *Op. 26 Yunus Emre Orotario*.

Historical Timeline

OTTOMAN EMPIRE — Republic of Turkey

1077	1299	1308	1448	1453	1683	1826	1839-76	1877-78	1876-78	1908	1914	1923	1942
Seljuk Empire established	Independence of the Ottoman principality of Anatolia	Collapse of the Seljuk Empire	Ottoman dominance in the Balkans	The Fall of Constantinople	The Battle of Vienna	Auspicious Incident: Janissary corps disbanded after a rebellion	Tanzimat Reforms	Russo-Turkish Wars	*Meşrutiyet I* (First Constitutional Period)	*Meşrutiyet II* Second Constitutional Era (Young Turk Revolution)	World War I 1919 Turkish Independence War	Founding Republic Of Turkey	Op 26 *Yunus Emre* Oratorio

Yunus Emre 1240-1320

Ahmet Adnan Saygun 1907 - 1991

MAJOR SULTANS

1389-1402 r.	1444-1481 r.	1520-1566 r.	1789-1807 r.	1808-1839 r.	1839-1861 r.	1861–1876 r.	1876-1909 r.
YILDIRIM Beyazid I (Thunderbolt)	Mehmet II Fatih (The Conqueror)	Suleiman I MUHTEŞEM (The Magnificent) or Kanuni (The Lawgiver)	Selim III Bestekar (The Composer)	Mahmud II İNKILÂPÇI	Abdülmecid I (The Reformist)	Abulaziz I	Abudulhamid II

Background

During the 19th and the early decades of 20th century, there were major transformations in the social, political, and economic life of the Ottoman Empire, particularly in what was later to become present day Turkey. Prompted by the Westernization movement, this time period witnessed immense changes in all the aspects of the region. Major wars such as the Balkan, Turko-Russian, and World War I altered the geopolitical dynamics and redrew borders; nationalist minorities revolted against their Ottoman masters, seeking both recognition and ultimately independence.

These immense changes encouraged by Westernization movements and reforms in the Ottoman Empire can be traced back to the first decades of the 19th century. The Ottoman's previous disinterest in the West was replaced with admiration for European technological, social, and economic advancement. This attitude and embracing of Westernization begun by the Ottomans was sustained by the founders of the Turkish Republic. However, despite having the same objective of Westernization, the Ottoman and the post-Republic Turkish routes to that goal were quite distinct from each other.

An early example of the Ottoman Empire's embrace of Westernization commenced with the military, which was always quite open to borrowing technological innovations of the West, such as the artillery of Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror during the siege of Constantinople in 1453. Much later, the non-Muslim minorities played a major role in the relations with the West because of merchants' business relationships. The Ottoman's reception of western ways found its zenith during the *Tanzimat* era, as they welcomed western concepts in areas such as bureaucratic regulations, higher education reforms, technical and science schools, judicial reforms, and finance in efforts to hold their empire together against the onslaught of nationalist movements.

Westernization also had an impact on the artistic life of the Empire as well. Even though the first artistic relationships date back to the15[th] century, they were quite weak and insignificant. However, by the 19th century western arts had become part of the daily life of the Empire. Particularly the major cities of the Ottoman Empire embraced many artistic forms of the West. During this century, Western art music forms were well-established in the musical heart of the Empire. These forms were so internalized during the second half of the 19th century that opera houses and theatres mushroomed in almost every neighbourhood of Istanbul. Surprisingly, these forms attracted great attention from both elite classes and the general public.

With the *Tanzimat* decree, the Westernization movement was quite influential on the cultural institutions, greatly affecting the artistic life of the Empire. The most significant effects could be seen in the fine arts, music, and performing arts. This Westernization process intensified during the second *Meşrutiyet* period beginning in 1908. In this era, Western musical forms and literature were the platforms on which intellectuals could express their longing for freedom and social reforms. These western influences on art developed more-or-less "naturally" throughout the last centuries of the Empire.

During the Republic period, the Westernization movement accelerated, not limiting itself to certain aspects of the state and public life; on the contrary, Westernization became the major part of the official ideological agenda. The new Turkish state implemented various reforms to realize its ideological nationalist modernization approach. It was this attitude and the resultant actions that differentiated Republic Turkish nationalist Westernization from Ottoman Westernization. In contrast to the Ottoman Empire's multi-ethnic structure, the new Turkish state was based on the European model of a nation-state.

During this transformation, music in particular played an immense role in the development, modernization, and the nationalizing of the society. Music, as one of the major components of the culture revolutions, became a central focal point. As a significant part of the overall cultural ideological agenda of the Republic, music's main aim was to create the synthesis of East –West on the grounds of the paradigms of the influential ideologue Ziya Gökalp, who first expressed these ideas in his 1923 influential book *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (Principles of Turkism). According to Gökalp's model, the main constituents of national music should be the synthesis of Western art music techniques and re-constructed folk music (as local practices) without having any traces of the Ottoman court or Turkish art music, which Gökalp viewed as "ill," "non-national," and "artificial" (Gökalp 1968). Even though using art music and reconstructed folk music seemed to echo European thinking and composing practices, avoiding Turkish art music had political reasons as well.

One of these motivations derives from the Islamic nature of the Ottoman Empire. In the Ottoman court, the Sufi *tarikats* or orders particularly the *Mevlevi* order was politically very powerful. Even Sultan Selim III (r.1789-1807) himself was a follower of the *Mevlevi,* the main music makers of both *Türk Tasavvuf Müzigi* (Turkish Sufi music) and Turkish art music. Since both traditions use *makam*[1] and *usul*[2] systems, as well as the same instrumentation, it was very easy to mix or confuse these two separate musical genres—one is religious, the other is secular—because of their similar sound. After the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, this centuries'

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[1] *Makam* is the modal structure of Turkish art music. Different than Western major-minor tonality, a *makam* combines a tetrachord and a pentachord. There are three types of *makam*s: 1) simple, 2) transposed, and 3) compound. Because of the temperament and the comma structure, it is not possible to create the exact scale when a *makam* is "transposed." A transposed *makam* is compound in nature. *Makams* have three types of melodic structures: ascending, descending, or both ascending and descending. Different than Western music scales, one *makam* could expand by adding an extra tetrachord or a pentachord to either the beginning or the end of the main structure (Özkan 2003).

[2] *Usul* is the rhythmic cycle of Turkish art music. Like *makams, usuls* can be either simple or compound; other than two simple *usuls,* the rest of the *usuls* are compound.

long association with the *Mevlevi* resulted in Turkish art music being considered as a shadow of an Islamic past. In its attempts to distance itself from its Islamic past, the new Turkish Republic adopted French secularism as one of the four main tenets[3] of the Republic along with republicanism, nationalism, and populism. Because of this secular construction, the state took some radical decisions: the abolition of Caliphate and *millet* system in 1924 and in 1926 the *tekke ve zayiyelerin kapatılması* (abolition of all religious fraternities, lodges and cloisters).

During the transformation from the Empire to the Republic, the music was used quite distinctly. In the Ottoman period, Westernization and the use of music in this era displayed no ideological agenda. Music, even though it was quite central in cultural life of the Empire, did not carry any ideological significance but functioned mainly as entertainment. In the new Republic, Westernization was a part of the project of the establishment of the Turkish nation-state. Therefore, Western art music played a major role during the years of establishment of the Republic as one of the major components of the culture revolutions.

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[3] Later, in 1931 it became six with the addition of the *etatism* and "revolutionism."

Chapter 1: The Grounds of Nationalism: From Empire to Republic

Everyone is sometimes a Westerner and sometimes an Easterner—in fact a constant combination of the two. I like Edward Said's idea of Orientalism, but since Turkey was never a colony, the romanticizing of Turkey was never a problem for Turks. Western man did not humiliate the Turk in the same way he humiliated the Arab or Indian. Istanbul was invaded only for two years and the enemy boats left as they came, so this did not leave a deep scar in the spirit of the nation. What left a deep scar was the loss of the Ottoman Empire. ~ Orhan Pamuk ~ (GurrÃa-Quintana 2005)

To fully appreciate music's role, and that of *Yunus Emre Orotario* specifically, in the nationalistic endeavour requires an understanding of the nationalism that shaped its composer, Saygun, and that he in turn shaped. This requires understanding the basic dynamics of the Turkish nationalist movement and the historical development of Turkish nationalism itself, as well as a review of nationalism and related theories. Also important are how Turkish nationalists defined the new national identity and to what extent parameters such as ethnicity, language, religion, and music played important roles.

Theories of Nationalism

To outline a theoretical framework of nationalism, I am following several modernist scholars, tracing various paradigms of nationalism in the works of Ernest Gellner's *Nations and Nationalism* (2006), *Nationalism* (1997), Eric Hobsbawm's *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), *Nations and Nationalism since 1870: Program, Myth, and Reality* (1990), Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983), and Anthony D. Smith's *Theories of Nationalism* (1983) and *Nationalism and Modernism* (1998).

Although abundant theories on nationalism focus on various aspects, the concept of nationalism itself nevertheless remains difficult to define or to explain. Earnest Gellner helps draw attention to nationalism as an idea, defining it as a "theory of political legitimacy, which requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones, and, in particular, that ethnic boundaries within a given state ... should not separate the power-holders from the rest" (Gellner

2006, 1). But he neglects that the major part of ethnicity is based on language rather than "culture." Nationalism manifested itself from the end of 18th century because of various social, political, and economical circumstances, such as the French (1789-1799) and the Industrial Revolutions.[4]

There are generally two main approaches to nationalism: perennialist (or primordial) and modernist. According to perennialist theory, the nation is a recurrent form of social organization similar to Johann Gottfried Herder's idea of the *Volksgeist*. Perennialists[5] believe in the metaphysical origin of national identity. This view tends to see national identities as metaphysical entities rather than social products. Thus, nationalism superimposes fixed characteristics onto different ethnicities. Perennialism explains nations as immemorial and ancient; they are the products of "natural, deep rooted, historical forces" (Smith 1998, 18). According to this approach, ethnicity is the root concept of nation: "ethnic identity is deeply rooted in the historical experience of human beings to the point of being practically given.

On the other hand, according to the modernist paradigm, nationalism is a socially constructed modern phenomenon.[6] The relationship between the modern age and the longstanding culture and power engenders nationalism. Hobsbawm asserts that "[n]ationalism comes before nations. Nations do not make states and nationalism but the other way around" (Hobsbawm 1990, 10). Nations and nationalism, according to Gellner, are not permanent features of the human condition, and so are the products of modernity (Gellner 2008, xxiii). Consequently, they are "imaginary" (Anderson 1983) and constructed (Gellner 1997-2006). In Gellner's words:

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[4] According to Elie Kedourie, the idea of nationalism was originated in Europe and then spread other parts of the world (Kedourie 1966).

[5] Raymond Pearson, Pierre van den Berghe, Erich Gruen, Sebastian Garman, Hugh MacDougall, Henry Tudor, Clifford Geertz.

[6] (Gellner, 1997; 2006), (Anderson 1983), (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992).

Nations as a natural, God-given way of classifying men, as an inherent though long-delayed political destiny are a myth.... Nations are not inscribed into the nature of things, they do not constitute a political version of the doctrine of natural kinds. Nor are national states the manifest ultimate destiny of ethnic or cultural groups. What do exist are cultures, often subtly grouped, shading into each other, overlapping, intertwined; and there exist, usually but not always, political units of all shapes and sizes. (Gellner 1983, 48-49)

During the nationalist movements in Europe,[7] authority and power over ordinary people shifted from the feudal system and church to the state. Consequently, nationalism created its own power dynamics and hierarchical structures. In its binding people around the ethos of the national culture, nationalism aids in producing a modern humanity that will not be "loyal to a monarch or a land or a faith...but to a culture" (Gellner 2006, 35).

Although it seems counterintuitive at first, the main progenitor of nationalism, according to Gellner, was the transition of society from agrarian to industrial (Gellner 1997). He argues the industrializing state creates nationalism in order to achieve a homogeneous society, because industrial society requires shared systems of communication and establishes them by means of centralized formal education. Industrialization requires a division of labour and the successful social transmission of generic skills. There are similar views on nationalism expressed in many different ways. Anthony Smith articulates the causes and uses of the phenomenon in his *Theories of Nationalism* (1983) when he quotes Kingsley Davis:

nationalism is a sine qua non of industrialization, because it provides people with an overriding, easily acquired, secular motivation for making painful changes. National strength or prestige becomes the supreme goal, industrialization the chief means. The costs, inconveniences, sacrifices and loss of traditional values can be justified in terms of this transcending collective ambition. The new collective entity, the nation-state that sponsors and grows from this aspiration is equal to the exigencies of industrial complexity; it draws directly on the allegiance of every citizen, organizing the population as one community. (44)

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[7] Since the French Revolution to the few decades of the 20th century.

In Davis' account we can see the rationale of the loss of the major traditional cultural forms after the construction of nationalism. For instance, not only is this motivation for "national strength and prestige" seen in the new Turkish Republic's policy makers and elite but also in the first generation of Republican artists and their creativity and, particularly, in Saygun's compositions.

The influence of industrialization upon developments of nationalism is also pronounced by Benedict Anderson, who argues that even though it was not the case for other parts of the world, during the development of European nationalism, some features of industrialization, such as bureaucratisation and print capitalism, played significant roles (Anderson 1983, 36-43). In Europe, the other factors that contributed to nationalism were the decline of Latin in the 18th and 19th centuries and the rise of printing in the vernacular. Such printing particularly influenced the growth of national consciousness: print-languages unified fields of exchange and communication; they helped to build the image of the antiquity of a nation by giving a new fixity to language; and, because some dialects were "closer" to the print-language than others, they became "assimilable" (Anderson 1983). These factors also helped to develop industrialization.

> [The nation] is an imagined political community-and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them; yet in the minds of each lives the image of the communion.... In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact...are imagined....The nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them . . . has finite, if elastic boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. No nation imagines itself coterminous with mankind (Anderson 1983, 15-16).

Although Anderson provides a provocative conceptually communal definition of nation, he finally offers capitalism as the core idea of nationalist movements. According to Gellner, nations are constructed political entities that are invented and imagined as a result of economic forces. Because an industrialized society shares a higher codified, literate culture during the process of

modernization, an existing high culture becomes the pervasive culture (Gellner 1997). According to Gellner, this phenomenon was one of the main elements that led to nationalism.

Turkish Nationalism

It is possible to observe the effects and understanding of European nationalism in the Turkish nationalist movement. Even though the Turkish nationalist thoughts were suppressed by the administration and the intellectual class, the diverse ethnic groups' nationalist movements and the separatist revolts contributed to the emergence of a Turkist movement. The Turkish nationalist movement was mainly influenced by two different approaches: a common culture basis, advocated by Ziya Gökalp (1876–1924), and ethnic solidarity, offerred by Yusuf Akçura (1876–1939), the origin of the latter approach dating to1906 (Kösebalaban 2011, 41). The idea of *halk* or the "folk," the necessity of developing a language that common people could understand, and the modernization of the Empire contributed to the development of a nationalist movement in Turkey. Accordingly, Turkish nationalism did not arise only because of the economic shift. But there were cultural necessities and the idea of importing Westernization. Even though Turkish nationalism stems from a different source than European nationalism, the European influence was unavoidable, particularly given that the first Turkish nationalists in the 19th century either had to live in Europe as exiles or had quite close literary or artistic connections with their European counterparts.

In the light of these various theories on nationalism, the Turkish nation-state was established as an idea of an "imagined community" that (supposedly) shared the same values, culture, language, and new national identity. Specifically, the alphabet revolution (the Ottomans were using Arabic alphabet for Turkish; as part of *inkilaplar* or revolutions, the new Turkish

state adopted the Latin alphabet), the use of Turkish in every aspect of the state, and centralized education promoted the idea of self and "the other" among new Turkish citizens.

Although the modernist approach explains the main generators of nationalism as the French Revolution (Samson 2002), the economic transition from agrarian to industrial society, and the Industrial Revolution (Gellner 1997, 2006), the chief Turkish nationalist movement in the Ottoman Empire cannot fully be explained by these European criterion. In fact, as a special case of nationalism, even though the seeds of Turkish nationalism were planted during the 19th century, the major Turkish nationalist movements began only after WWI. Even though there were historical, religious, and cultural reasons behind these movements, being defeated in the war and battling both Muslim and non-Muslim subjects created a particular psyche.

Crucially, the Ottomans, some argue, were not influenced significantly by the Renaissance and its residual effects (Lewis 1961), making modern Turkey a valuable case study of long-delayed emergent nationalism. For example, even the printing press came to this region almost 275 years later, in the second half of 1720s, than to the rest of Europe (Altuntek 1993). Historically, we need to go back long before that period to trace the main reasons for the delay. According to Lewis, the Renaissance had almost no impact on the Islamic civilization, including the Ottoman Empire, as the development of Islamic civilization, while quite open to different influences from Hellenism, Iran, India, and China, was totally closed towards the West. Lewis argues that "[w]hen Islam was still expanding and receptive, the Christian West had little or nothing to offer.... Furthermore, by the very fact that it was Christian, it was discredited in advance" (Lewis 1961, 105).[8] Thus, under these circumstances, it was rather natural that for

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[8] "The Muslim doctrine of successive revelations, culminating in the final mission of Muhammad, enabled the Muslim to reject Christianity as an earlier and imperfect form of something which he alone possessed in its entirety, and to discount Christian thought and Christian civilization. After the initial impact of eastern Christianity on Islam

centuries many Ottoman elite had kept their distance from European doctrines and by extension, European innovation —only after the 17th century did the Ottomans begin to embrace European advancement in certain areas.

In order to maintain the heterogeneous structure of the Ottoman Empire, the intellectuals tried to create unity against nationalist movements, strongly suppressing every nationalist voice in the diverse communities. This effort did not work, particularly among the minorities, and the disintegration of the Empire could not be avoided. As Arthur Waldron states, "nationalism functions as a universal solvent, something that breaks all the old bonds of family, of local place, of creed, and so forth-and prepares the way for a new and overarching identity" (Waldron 1985). Thus, centuries' long loyalty to the Empire crumbled among the different subjects of the Empire.

This process of decline in the Ottoman Empire was in fact well on its way during the reign of Sultan Selim III (r.1789-1807). The first nationalist uprising occurred in the first decade of the 1800s in Serbia when the Serbs revolted against the Ottomans and secured their autonomous Serbian state (Kösebalaban 2011, 28). The Greek nationalist movement and their independence followed Serbian's around a decade later. This territorial loss continued during the reign of Mahmut II. He tried to find an answer to the internal problems through ordering some reforms, declared as the *Gülhane Hatt-i Humayun* (Rose Chamber decree) in 1839, even though the decree was promulgated after Mahmut's death. The prolific cultural production of music, theatre, and playwriting of this era, then, unfolded over and largely because of an intensely political and changing landscape. These cultural forms were heavily used in the service of nationalism.

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in its earlier years, Christian influence, even from the high civilization of Byzantium, was reduced to a minimum" (Lewis 1961, 105)

It is important to bear in mind that even though the Ottoman Empire appeared to the West as a Turkish Imperial construction, before and after its demise but particularly during the last centuries, "Turkishness" was never accepted by the ruling class and the intellectuals. Identifying themselves as Muslims and Ottomans, these two classes suppressed nationalist sentiments among the Turks. These powerful and influential groups felt offended if they were called "Turks." Being a Turk was associated with uneducated country people and ignorant peasants, who were viewed only as the simplest subjects (Başgöz 1972; Burrill 1973).Thus the term "Turk" was mostly used in a derogatory fashion. Eschewing and never embracing the Turkish identity, the intelligentsia and ruling class used so-called Ottoman Turkish, which was dominated by the grammatical rules and vocabulary of Arabic and Persian.[9] Such a language, used particularly in law, official government writing, and literature, was almost impossible for the common people to understand. Turkish nationalism, thus, derived from a very basic need: to develop a language that could be understood by the common people, by the masses (Başgöz 1972).

Some Ottoman writers, therefore, saw literature as a potentially unifying force for the Empire. After the declaration of the *Tanzimat* reforms in 1839, a new generation of writers forced a "functional change" in Ottoman literature (Başgöz 1972, 162). These writers thought that literature played an important role in the development of the economic, social, and educational institutions in Europe and hoped to raise social and political awareness by using Western models of plays, novels, short stories, and journalism (Başgöz 1972). They soon

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[9] "Toward the end of fifteenth century, however, Arabic and Persian borrowings became so overwhelming that in many texts there is scarcely any originally Turkish vocabulary to be found. It was, however, not just words that were borrowed, but along with them much of the grammatical systems of Arabic and Persian.Thus, it frequently happens that phrases and entire sentences in these languages appear in Ottoman texts, fully integrated into the Ottoman Turkish syntactic structure. Sometimes entire paragraphs or poems in Arabic or Persian may appear in an Ottoman text. In using Arabic and Persian words in Ottoman Turkish, however, the rule generally applies that Turkish vocabulary can only be used with Turkish grammar, Persian vocabulary can be used with Turkish or Persian grammar, while Arabic vocabulary may be used with Arabic, Persian or Turkish grammar. Exceptions to this rule – when, for instance, Turkish words are used in a Persian *izafet* construction – are designated 'widely disseminated mistakes'" (Buğday 2014, xv).

realized the necessity of reforming the language, because only a few people understood these writings. In the 1860s Ahmet Midhat Efendi[10] articulated this problem of cultural disunity:

> Our literary language is not the language of one nation. It is not Persian, Arabic or Turkish. The masterpieces of our literature cannot be understood by an Arab or Persian. We also cannot claim that it is our literature, because we do not understand it either. Are we getting to be a nation without a language? No, because our common people have a language which they understand. (Ahmet Mithat Efendi in Başgöz 1972, 163)[11]

The *Tanzimat* writers tried to form a literature that was pure Turkish and a language for "common people" free of foreign influences; to do so, they turned to folklore and folk literature. In that sense, they followed the Western European models that considered oral literature and language as a resource for establishing an ethno-national identity.

The apparent complexity of the relation of the *Tanzimat reforms* to Turkishness is worth some attention. These reforms were an attempt to create strong "Ottomanness" among all the subjects of the Empire; thus, the reforms encouraged loyalty to the state. But amongst the minorities, particularly in Istanbul, nationalist currents were quite strong and Ottomanness was unappealing. In contrast, this identity was more embraced as a symbol of status in other territories where the Ottoman Empire was ruling. Such nationalist sentiments were distributed in the minority languages through venues such as literature, theatres, publications, and organizations.

Taking their cue from these minority groups and their relationship to and use of their languages as well as Western European nationalist writers, many Turkish writers sought to develop a language that common people could understand. The minority groups of the Empire already established their literary language through their private publishers and strong

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[10] Writer, 1884-1913.
[11] Başgöz quoted from Agah Sırrı Levent, Turk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleşme Safhaları [Progress in Simplification of Turkish Language] (Ankara, 1949), p. 141.

consciousness of ethnicity. This consciousness under the Ottoman *millet* system sheltered the minorities against assimilation. In contrast, the *millet* system did not consider Turks as separate *millet* but a part of the Muslim *ümmet* or Islamic community (Kösebalaban 2011, 29). So even though the efforts of the Tanzimat writers could be seen as the dominance of Turkish culture and language, the quantity of Turkish publications paled in comparison to that of minority works. However, during the *Tanzimat*, the idea of Turkishness was related to Westernization. Most of the *Tanzimat* writers who supported the development of a language for the common people had quite close connections to Europe (Moran 2004, 19).

There are many examples of Ottoman writers of this era addressing this language problem of a latent nationalism. During that period, Şinasi (1826-71), a prominent playwright, wrote plays using such simple language that even uneducated people could easily understand; he also published a collection of four thousand Turkish proverbs. Another writer, Ziya Paşa (1829-80), declared that "our genuine language and literature are the ones living among the people. Our national poetry and verses are still alive among the minstrels and the common people" (Agah Sırrı Levent in Başgöz 1972, 163). Such actions focused on the development of a pure Turkish language as the nineteenth-century basis that would shape the future generation of Turkish nationalists.

Turkish History from the Late 19th Century to the Early 20th

In order to understand musical transformations that occur, it is crucial to recognize this transitional period from Empire to Republic, particularly the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. The second half of the 1870s became chaotic for the Empire in many ways, as social, economic, and artistic areas were dramatically affected by internal and external developments. One of the main issues of the period was the growing

nationalist movements in different parts of the Empire, which had started long before. Around this period, folklore and the vernacular languages came more and more into use among the subjects of the Ottoman Empire. Even though there was an effort to redefine and highlight Ottomanness, these groups forged their newly constructed cultural identity with different cultural forms, such as folk dances and folk music. Under the constant redefinition of these forms, nationalist movements used the constructed cultural identities.

The changes within this period of the second half of the 19th century were rapid and confusing for a state struggling to define itself within the political and social transformation taking place within and around it. Unlike his predecessors or successor, Sultan Abdülaziz[12] was not an influential figure. He was hoping that the *Tanzimat* would solve some of the Empire's issues. Even though it brought many positive reforms, it also contributed to new problems. Although the *Gülhane* decree and later *Islahat Fermanı* (the Reform decree) provided full equality for all citizens of the Empire, Muslims and non-Muslims, these rights did not solve the ongoing social unrest. Economically, the fiscal crisis of the Empire reached a point where the treasury had to declare bankruptcy. In such an environment, Abdülaziz was forced out in 1876 by a military coup, resulting in his suicide and the rise to the throne of Murat V. However, his mental breakdown after just three months led to Abdülhamit II being enthroned as the third Sultan of 1876. Immediately after becoming the Sultan, he moved from the *Dolmabahçe* Palace to *Yıldız* Palace because of serious safety concerns; Dolmabahçe Palace was on the shores of the Bosphorus, making it quite easy to access, whereas *Yıldız* Palace was ensconced in a park

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[12] Even though Sultan Murat V was enthrouned earlier than Sultan Abdülaziz, his days as the Sultan were quite short. Thus, Sultan Abdülaziz could be considered Abdülhamit's predecessor.

surrounded by high walls (Sevengil 1953, 10-11). A couple of unsuccessful coup attempts solidified his fear of being assassinated.[13]

As one of the conditions of Abdülhamit's taking the throne, in 1876 he declared the constitution, *Kanûn-i Esâsî*, which was drafted by the reformist opposition group called the Young Ottomans,[14] as a solution for the ongoing problems of the Empire. The declaration of the constitution triggered various reactions, causing great excitement among the majority of the elite[15] and the public; however, some administrators and *ulema* protested the constitution that they argued was against sharia law (Devereux 1963, 45). Even though these reforms were not sufficient for the Young Ottomans, the constitution without a doubt provided relative freedom, turning the Empire into a constitutional monarchy. After the declaration of the constitution, the people charged for political reasons were pardoned and some of the prohibitions were cancelled. This period is known as the *Meşrutiyet* or the First Constitutional Period.

The failure of the second constitutional movement in 1908, the rise of studies in Turkish language in the Ottoman Empire, and a renewed concern for pre-Islamic Turkish history contributed to the emergence of Turkish nationalism (Kösebalaban 2011, 50). After losing the Balkan territory around 1912-13, they wanted to hold their other subjects under the ideal of pan-Islamism. However, the Arab revolts in 1916-18 showed that a common religion was not providing enough common ground. After the collapse of both Pan-Ottoman and Pan-Islamist ideologies in Turkey (Kösebalaban 2011, 25-26), the main Turkish nationalism began with a

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[13] The most important incident was Yıldız assassination attempt in 21 July 1905,

[14] According to Selçuk Somel, this group is the result of the development of the press, specifically İbrahim Şinasi's critical writings played great role of the philosophical development of the group. The main aim was to turn into the Empire's regime into a constitutional parliamentary system. The group first established as a secret group and one of their plans was assassinate the grand vizier Ali Pasha so Mahmut Nedim Pasha could be the new grand vizier. After their secret intention was revealed, they escaped to Paris (Somel 2012, 408-9).

[15] Mostly the highest level administration names like Midhat Pasha (the grand vizier), Ziya Bey, and Namık Kemal Bey.

reformist party, *Genç Türkler* the *Young Turks,* as a political movement at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

After the strong nationalism movements during the nineteenth century, many minority groups, such as the Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgarians, declared their independence from the Ottoman Empire. As a result of centuries long decline of social, demographic, economic, and military systems, the Ottoman Empire was defeated in WWI and was thereafter occupied and partitioned by the Allies according to the Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920). After the defeat, the major cities, such as the capital Constantinople and Smyrna, were occupied, triggering resistance groups all over the former Empire. The Turkish War of Independence, begun in 1919, sought to expel Allied forces from Anatolia. The resistance groups, later called *Müdafaai Hukuk* (Societies for the Defence of Rights)*,* were organized and led by Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) and his fellow high ranking military officers. As a result of the successful *Müdafaai Hukuk* resistance and *İstiklal Savaşı* (the Turkish Independence War), the Allies had to sign another treaty—the Treaty of Lausanne—that ended the war against the Allies and created the current borders of modern Turkey. After the war, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal, the new Republic of Turkey was established. Ideologically, the new nation-state and Turkish nationalism would find their origins and roots in Central Asia.

In 1923 the Treaty of Lausanne ended the war and soon after the proclamation of the new Republic the Empire was abolished. The victory of the Turkish War of Independence became one of the major ideas of the new Turkish national spirit. In order to provide a long-lasting basis for the new state, Atatürk decided to eliminate many of the cultural, political, economic, educational, and religious elements of the Ottomans[16] (Stokes 1992, 19; Değirmenci 2006, 57). In this way, the Republic could differentiate itself from the "decadent backward" past and the

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[16] Not individual personal practices; primarily, he focused on the Sufi orders.

culture of the Empire.[17] Thus, the establishment of the new Turkish state cannot be viewed as a transformation of the Ottoman Empire into the Turkish Republic. On the contrary, the Republic replaced most the social, cultural, economic, and political paradigms of the Ottoman Empire.

One aspect of accomplishing this was through two later discredited theories about the history of the Turks and Turkic civilizations. *Güneş-Dil Teorisi* (the Sun language theory), a linguistic theory, became the official ideology of the Turkish state during the 1930s and 40s. According to this theory, all languages derived from one proto-Turkic primal language. Atatürk himself aided in the proliferation, progression, and acceptance of this theory for political and cultural gains, to, according to linguist Ghil'ad Zuckerrmann, "legitimize the Arabic and Persian words which the Turkish language authorities did not manage to uproot. This move compensated for the failure to provide a neologism for every foreignism/loanword" (Zuckermann 2003, 165)

In addition to *Güneş-Dil Teorisi*, the other official ideology was *Türk Tarih Tezi* (Turkish History Thesis). This theory was proposed by the *Türk Tarih Kurulu* (the Turkish History Society)[18] to confirm a long Turkish presence in Anatolia. The main motivation was to reinforce the historical continuity between the Central Asian past and the Anatolian civilizations. According to this theory, Turks, as Aryans, migrated from Central Asia to other parts of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. While migrating they brought their civilizations and arts with them. Thus, like the Sumerians and Hittites, the ancient Anatolian civilizations had Turkish origin. In light of this theory, the official ideology argued that Anatolia was Turkish since antiquity (Lewis 1968).

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[17] This idea of backwardness was inherited from the *Genç Türkler*, Young Turks. During and after the 1908 Revolution, they were highlighting the necessity of change to eliminate the backwardness from which the Empire was suffering. The same idea found an echo during the constructing years of the nation-state. According to this view, the only way to survive as a nation was to modernize the country and follow a scientific, secular route. Thus, because of *sharia,* the Empire was doomed to be backward.

[18] This society launched their research on Turkish History under the guidance of sociologist and historian Afet İnan in 1930.The names of the two banks that was established in 1933 and 1935 shows the reflections of this theory: *Sümerbank* and *Etibank* (Hittite Bank).

Under the new Republic's modernization and Westernization goals, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk rapidly put into place several sweeping cultural, educational, and social reforms that affected nearly all aspects of Turkish life: secularism, the Hat law, dress code, women's rights, the unification of national education, and the new alphabet[19]. This degree of upheaval to national life is hard to overestimate. Immediately after the proclamation of the new Republic, the caliphate and sultanate were abolished. Aside from religious fraternities, all religious schools were closed and teaching religion was discontinued in public schools. According to the new Hat law[20] and the dress code, wearing a *fez* for men and head covers and veil for women were forbidden; European clothes were mandatory for every citizen and hats for men. The former Islamic legal system was replaced by a Swiss code of laws. The education system was nationalized and centralized; the concept was quite similar to Fichte's understanding of education or *Bildung* that was explicitly national, moral, and artistic. Under Atatürk's leadership, the *Türk Dil Kurumu* (Turkish Language Institution) was founded to purify the language from foreign elements. Even though the major policy was Turkification, the policy makers did not see any contradiction combining Turkification with Westernization—Westernization was seen as almost equal to modernization. Thus, the two policies were practiced simultaneously. These reforms greatly contributed to the new State's cultural politics and the official position towards music specifically.

These reforms served as a reference to the future culture and music politics. Through these implements, modernization became part of the official ideology with Turkish nationalism.

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[19] Before adopting a modified Latin alphabet, the Ottomans used the Arabic alphabet for Turkish.
[20] During the construction of new Turkish identity, the hat law was enacted by the new Turkish parliament on November 25, 1925. According to the *Şapka İktisası Hakkında Kanun* or the hat law, every member of the parliament and the government officers had to wear European style of hats. The other type of head gears, such as fez, were forbidden; the people who broke the law was punished with imprisonment. This law is considered a part of the secularization policy of the new state and also symbolizes a "total break with the past" (Nereid 2011, 708).

The ideologues and Ataturk himself recognised these *Kültür Politikaları* (cultural politics) as a necessary part of the nationalisation and modernisation efforts. Music in particular in this context became the focal point. According to Metin And, the cultural policies of Ataturk had two strands: political-organizational and cultural artistic aims. His aesthetic and ideological considerations were based on Ziya Gokalp's ideologies. Music and other performing arts were used as a propaganda medium particularly through the network of *Halkevleri* (People's Houses) (And 1984, 218-22). In order to materialize these reforms, the state used various methods: talented students were financed by the government to train abroad, new musical institutions were opened, pre-existing organisations were renewed and modernized to educate the Republic's new generations, and foreign experts were invited to help establish Western modelled institutions and train students in Western standards (And 2005, 37-38). Even though the new Turkish state tried to eliminate the Ottoman cultural institutions, the first Western art music institutions were an inheritance from the Empire.

Chapter 2: Music in the Ottoman Empire

the ruling elite. . . . lacked the confidence necessary to create a national culture rich in its own symbols and rituals. They did not strive to create an Istanbul culture that would be an organic combination of East and West; they just put Western and Eastern things together. There was, of course, a strong local Ottoman culture, but that was fading away little by little. What they had to do, and could not possibly do enough, was invent a strong local culture, which would be a combination—not an imitation—of the Eastern past and the Western present. ~ Orhan Parmuk ~ (GurrÃa-Quintana 2005)

Whereas Chapter One established the geo-political ground that produced Turkish nationalism leading to the Republic period, Chapter Two will examine the types of music and the slow amalgamation of Western and Turkish musical elements that arose during the Ottoman Empire. This will enable the reader to gauge the developments that eventually marked the break between the Ottoman era and early twentieth-century modern Turkey.

This chapter aims to address two issues. It is an overly repeated misunderstanding that Western art music was introduced into modern day Turkey after the proclamation of the Republic in 1923. Because even the words "Ottoman Empire" are enough to create a typical orientalist image, it is important to build a cultural context and address critical blind spots. However, as this chapter will demonstrate, particularly during the 19th century, Western art music was already a well-established tradition and the major cities of the Empire had a fair number of theatres and opera houses. For instance, during the second half of the century the musical genre opera became so popular that an Ottoman composer created the first Ottoman opera. This genre was internalized so much that the Sultans of this era founded theatres in their Palaces. Mapping the cultural influence of Western art music on the Ottoman Empire will help make sense of the cultural decisions of the future Turkish Republic.

Music of the Ottoman Empire before Western Influence

Even though Western art music arrived in the Empire[21] in the sixteenth century, it took almost two and a half centuries to become established. Before Western influence, there were what modern scholars might classify as four mainstream musical categories: Imperial art music,[22] Anatolian local folk music(s), religious music of different *millets*, and military music (Tekelioğlu 1996). Art music was elite by its nature and belonged to the urban culture of the Empire, never finding a home outside of the major urban areas; folk music, on the other hand, was embraced by those in the countryside. These two categories, unlike the other categories, symbolized mainly high and low cultural elements of the Empire. Even though art music had quite a limited audience, its effects on the cultural life were broader. In particular, this genre was heavily influenced by religious music of the urban Sufi groups and vice versa. Even after the entrance of Western art music, the Ottoman opera composers preferred to combine Turkish art music structures with Western art music elements. Such a synthesis, however, was not embraced by common people. The local folk practices were the only musical practices among peasants and rural area inhabitants.

Western Arts in the Ottoman Empire

The first artistic relationships between the Ottoman Empire and European West occurred during the reign of Mehmet II (r. 1451 -1481), who invited famous European architects and painters, although there were not any known musical interactions at this point. The first officially recorded musical relationship was in 1543 in the agreement between France and the Ottoman Empire against Spain in which Louis François I sent many gifts to Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, including an orchestra. After three performances, the orchestra was sent back to

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[21] The geographical region of Asia Minor and the major cities like Istanbul, Izmir, Bursa, etc.
[22] Also called as *Enderûn* music, Turkish art music.

their country because the music was not "tough" enough for the Ottoman soldiers, and authorities were trying to avoid the possibility that Janissaries[23] might soften as a result of this Western music. Such music clearly contrasted with that offered by the *Mehterhane*,[24] one of the oldest and the most important institutions for Turkish art music (Tuğlacı 1986, 76), which used heavy percussion and reed instruments, and thus the Sultan probably found Western music not masculine enough. This incident shows the perceptions of the Ottoman administrators and also the limited relations with the West. It also demonstrates the military was such a focal point of the Empire that the slightest possibility of its weakening could cause musical rejection.

However, subsequently the Ottoman Sultans invited different music and dance groups from Europe to entertain the public during Imperial wedding ceremonies in the 16th century. For instance, in 1562 a special performance was organised for the marriage ceremony of Sultan Murad II's sister Esmâ Sultan[25] and the Sokullu Mehmet Pasha. For this event, specially trained Christian slaves and Sephardic Jewish musicians performed *Moreska*[26] and *Matezina*[27] (*Matassins*) dances and a mythological pantomime that tells the story of Diana and Cupid (Sevengil 1959, 6-7). Because court members found these performances quite exotic and entertaining, more and more performances were introduced over time. These ceremonies contributed to the familiarization of Western music in the capital of the Ottoman Empire.

Another Western art music source for the Imperial elites was the ambassadors' reports, called *sefaretnâme*. These reports had great significance because they presented Western

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[23] The Janissary corps were a member of an elite corps of the Ottoman Empire from the late 14th century to 1826. The Janissaries were recruited mainly from Christian peasant families from Balkan region and they became a significant political power within the Ottoman Empire (Kafadar 1995, 111-3).

[24] Contrary to the general perception, Mehterhâne was not solely a military group but an open air orchestra with a very diverse repertoire. They were playing forms like *peşrev*, *saz semaisi*, *saz*, *nakış*, *murabba*, *semai*, and many vocal forms (Sanal 1964).

[25] In Turkish the title *sultan* is used for the females, male title is *padişah*.

[26] Traditional Croatian sword dance.

[27] A type of war dance and a part of French ballet during the 16th and 17th centuries (Riemann 1929, 1129).

European cultures and arts to the Ottomans. One of these reports was particularly famous and was published as a book in 1737: the ambassador of Sultan Ahmet III, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi, was sent to Paris to French King Louis XV. In his report, the ambassador did not deal with only political and diplomatic matters; he also provided detailed descriptions of the daily life of the French. In the report, a performance of a Lully opera was described comprehensively:

> There was a play peculiar to the city of Paris.[28] They call it as Opera. They show all kinds of weird arts in it. All the elite of the city watch it, even they say the King sometimes comes…in front of us there was a huge curtain just after the instrument players. After we settle, the curtain opened and a palace appeared....the palace suddenly disappeared and orchard was emerged, which was full with lemon and citrus trees...and a time came there was a church came into sight…the characters went to a magician to get help, where they showed various magics, and fire shows. And we watched a war scene by a calvary; from the sky, some men came out of a cloud. In short, they showed so many surprising thing that imposible to describe….this opera has many patrons. Because it is a quite expensive art, they grant a big fund. (Çelebi 1970, 55)

 This description, needless to say, attracted a great deal of attention from the Istanbul elites. Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi was the first Ottoman to watch an opera and his report was the first descriptive source (Karadağlı 2003). Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi's report opened doors to further meticulous narratives of opera, comedy, and related forms in reports from Austria, Prussia, Berlin, and St. Petersburg. Significantly, after the beginning of the nineteenth century, the ambassadors did not mention opera or any performing arts—not because they were not interested or did not attend, but rather such performing art forms were no longer novel. In fact, Turkish cultural familiarity with aspects of the music of the West had advanced to the point that in Istanbul it was possible to watch a well-known opera in various opera houses of the city.

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[28] Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi did not know that opera developed in Italy.

If such reports brought Western arts to the attention of the Ottomans, one could make the case that it was Sultan Selim III (r. 1789-1807) who opened the Imperial doors to Westernization. Sultan Selim III was a well-known musician and composer, who invented a *makam*, *Sûzidilâra*. According to Karl Signell, Selim was influenced by Western musical qualities, which is why his *makam* sounds "suspiciously like the major mode" (Signell 1976, 73). In 1794, a brass group was established by the French officers for the daily training of the newly launched army, *Nizam-ı Cedid* ("new order"), an outcome of the Sultan's institutional reforms. The Janissaries, out of fear of losing their position, reacted severely to these reforms, revolted, and killed the Sultan, putting an end to the reforms and the new army (Tuğlacı 1986, 56).

Although Sultan Selim III's reign was short and his reform attempt was unsuccessful, his efforts influenced not only his successors but also the musical tastes of the court. Through his influence, the classical court music was inspired by European elements. This impact was so strong that one of the most significant court compositions, İsmail Dede Efendi's (1778 – 1846) *rast* song *Yine Bir Gül Nihal*, was undeniably a waltz imitation (Signell 197, 74).[29] The Ottoman elites had adopted Western music to the extent that its emulation was now used to celebrate themselves in moments of high court.

Despite the failure of the reforms and the tragic end of the Sultan, Selim III's efforts provided a progressive vision to his successors. The reforms he planned were materialized by Sultan Mahmut II (r.1789 –1807), eventually changing the self-perception of the Ottomans. The reforms' silent approval revealed the need for the mighty Empire to change. It is significant that this need was seen by the highest level of the state, the caliph sultans. Thus, this modernisation was introduced at the highest level and eventually led nationalist views to gain power.

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[29] Sultan Selim's most important contribution was the notation system for court music. He ordered a cipher system to preserve aurally transmitted court music from Baba Hamparsum Limonciyan (1768-1839) (Signell 1976, 73).[29] The system was used until Rauf Yekta Bey introduced the staff system in the 1920's.

Sultan Mahmut II and the Military Band

The relationship with Europe intensified during the reign of Sultan Mahmut II (r. 1808-1839), who embraced the idea of reforms that led to the death of Selim III. Learning from Selim's mistake, before launching any reforms, Sultan Mahmut executed, imprisoned, or exiled the Janissary troops[30] after a revolt on June 15, 1826 (Yurdaydın 2002, 307). Having disbanded the Janissary army, Mahmut II legislated the planned reforms in education, social life, state institutions, and the military. This led to establishing a Western styled army, *Asakir-i Mensure-i Muhammediye* (The Victorious Soldiers of Muhammad), as well as a Western styled army band, and resulted in the termination of the music band of the Janissary corps, *Mehterhane.* Different from Selim's mostly aesthetic concerns, Mahmut used music as a part of his political and military reforms that made Westernization official.

Muzıka-i Hümâyûn

Western music in the early 1800s even found prestigious institutional support in the Ottoman educational system. When the musical institution called *Muzıka-i Hümâyûn* (the Imperial Musical School) was established in June 1826, at *Taşkışla* (the Stone Barrack), a building of the current University of Istanbul, it had both Turkish and Western music departments (Tuğlacı 1986, 76). This inclusion is significant for two reasons: first, it institutionalized Western music; second, it became a model for the future Turkish state. This institution included the *Saray Bandosu* (Palace Band), *Saray Orkestrasi* (Palace Orchestra), and the school of *Muzıka-i Hümâyûn* that trained students for the Band and the orchestra. Particularly during the first years of the *Muzıka-i Hümâyûn*, Mahmut II wanted the young students of the *Enderun* (Palace

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[30]This elite army became the centre of chaos and lost discipline since the sixteenth century. This incident is known as *Vaka-i Hayriye*, the Auspicious Incident (Kösebalaban 2011, 29).

school)[31] trained in Western art music. The Sultan's decision not only educated the new generation of aristocrats as skillful musicians but also created a schooled audience in the Palace.

Since *Muzıka-i Hümâyûn* was a very new institution, soon after the inauguration it had problems because of its band's inexperience and limited repertoire. During the first two years, 1826-1828, they were only capable of playing relatively simple tunes for the rhythmic accompaniment of the army. Later on, they created a repertoire from the musical works of the musicians who came to Istanbul to perform and they used other Western marches (Aksoy 1985, 213).

During the first years of the institution, there were only the band and the fundamental music school in *Muzıka-i Hümâyûn*. Later, a *Fasıl* (suite form in Turkish art music) ensemble and *Müezzinan Bölüğü* (religious chanting group) were included, which formed a basic Turkish music department; thus, the institution split into two divisions: *Fasl-ı Atik* (Old / Turkish Music Division) and *Fasl-ı Cedid* (New/Western Music Division). Throughout the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II, opera-operetta, drama, *ortaoyunu* (Turkish open-air theatre), juggling, acrobatics, *Karagöz* (traditional Turkish shadow theatre), and puppetry were established (Tuğlacı 1986, 76). Although the *Muzıka-i Hümâyûn* was a music association, they did not see any drawbacks to including juggling or acrobatic groups, probably because as first theatres of Istanbul/Pera also showed these kinds of performances. Even though the new divisions were totally disconnected from each other, they demonstrate the eagerness to broaden the scope of the cultural institution.

The *Fasl-ı Atik* ensemble performed in the traditional *fasıl* style, playing traditional instruments, such as the *tanbur* (long necked plucked or bowed instrument), *ud*, *ney,* and

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[31] This palace school was for the recruited students or for the Janissaries. They were training for service in managerial, bureaucratic, and military positions (Karpat 1973, 204).

kemençe. The ensemble was comprised of significant Turkish art music composers and instrumentalists, who composed some pieces that were influenced by Western music (Ergün 1999, 17).[32]

Addressing the religious heritage and tradition as part of the Turkish Music Division, the *Müezzinan Bölüğü* group was responsible for performing during religious (Islamic) ceremonies, festivals, holy nights, ordinary services, and Friday rituals, giving them particular prestige as such ceremonies had official significance; thus, the members of this group were handpicked for the *Muzıka-i Hümâyûn*. The candidates were expected to have beautiful voices and excellent knowledge of the *makam* and *usul* (Kosal 2001).

Even though *Fasl-ı Cedid* ensemble did not contribute to artistic life through significant artistic works, they tried to familiarize the public with Western style music, as this Western music was favored by the highest level of the state. In addition to traditional Turkish music instruments, the ensemble played some Western instruments such as the violin, cello, guitar, trombone, lute, flute, and cymbals. The group also had 10-15 *Hanendes*, (singers and dancers) (Kosal 2001). Even though the group members were not extremely advanced performers, the regular performances helped the public to be acquainted with Western art music favorites. The first full Western style band was established by the students of the *Enderun*, the Imperial school, in 1828. The first instructors of the band were Vaybelim Ahmet Ağa and Ahmet Usta, who were trumpet players of Sultan Selim III's *Nizam-ı Cedid* corps (Tuğlacı 1986, 76). Because the instructors' musical knowledge was not sufficient to train a Western style band, the ethnically French Istanbulian[33] *Monsieur* Manguel was soon appointed as the head of the band. After two years of *Monsieur* Manguel's unsatisfactory performance, however, Giuseppe

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[32] Dede Efendi, Dellalzade, Haşim Bey, Rıfat Bey, Hacı Arif Bey, Latif Ağa, İsmail Hakkı Bey, Lütfi Bey, Şekerci Cemil Bey ve Nuri Halil Poyraz were some important members.

[33] There were many different minority groups in Istanbul and the other major cities of the Empire.

Donizetti, a band conductor in Italy and France, was hired under the title of "Colonel and Head Master" of the Imperial Bands in September 17, 1828 (ibid, 76). Under Donizetti, the band was able to perform the Imperial March, *Mahmudiye Marşı*,[34] before the Sultan within six months. Donizetti composed two main Imperial marches; after composing *Mahmudiye Marşı* in 1828, he composed *Mecîdiye Marşı* in 1839. These marches carried the name of the Sultan throughout his reigns. Example 2.1 shows the oldest printed copy of *Mahmudiye Marşı*.
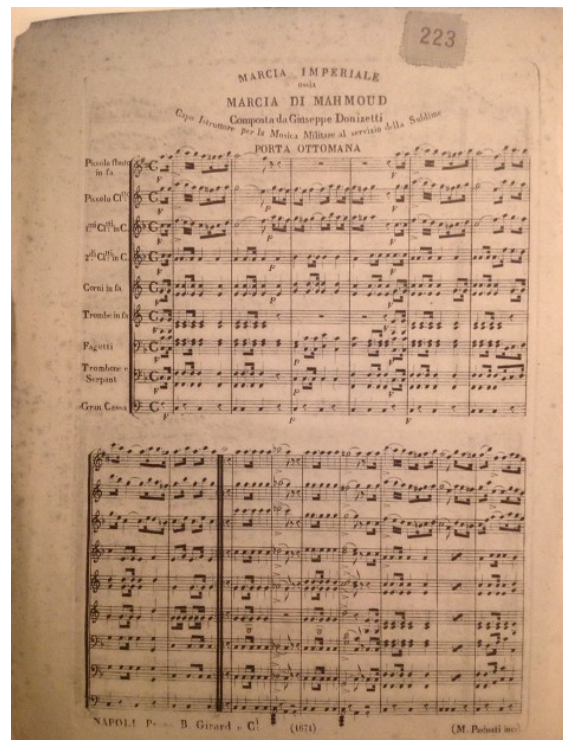
Illustration 2.1 Donizetti's *Mahmudiye Marşı* (Araci, Donizetti Pasa Osmanli Sarayinin Italyan Maestrosu 2006, 73)

Demonstrating not only proficiency in Western musicianship but state political prestige, the newly established band accompanied the Sultan wherever he went. Its performance responsibilities included all military training and ceremonies, formal dinners for foreign ambassadors, festivals, and Imperial wedding ceremonies. In addition, city concerts introduced

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[34] The march was composed by Donizetti.

the band to the public as the modern facade of the Empire. This attitude was the exact model later replicated by the new Republic when they used orchestras and concerts as a part of their nationalist discourse. Even though the band's first repertoire is unknown today, they performed the anthems of the countries with which the Ottomans had good relations, as well as opera selections, waltzes, polkas, and harmonized examples of Turkish music (Kosal 2001, 98). These concerts, it can be argued, symbolized modernity for many elite Ottomans and their self-perception that the Ottoman Empire was a "Westernized" country.

The *Tanzimat* period -- The First Theatres and Opera Houses of *Beyoğlu*

Westernization attempts during the reigns of Selim III and Mahmut II and the intensified relationships between Europe and the Ottoman Empire continued to contribute to the Western style of artistic life in the Empire. Other great contributors to Western music and opera were the theatres and opera houses opened during the *Tanzimat* period.

After Sultan Abdülmecid I began his reign in 1839, interest in operas, operettas, and musical theatres increased and more theatres and opera houses opened in the *Beyoğlu* district of Istanbul. In May 1839, the Italian impresario Giovanni Bartolomeo Bosco was permitted by the Sultan to open an opera house in the *Pera* district in Istanbul. Bosco's theater performed dramas and operas for a couple of seasons (And 1992, 31-48), ultimately planting the seeds of the tradition of the Italian opera and drama. As well, in addition to entertainment, the theatre provided pamphlets with explanations on the rules of how to watch a play or other relevant information (Sevengil 1959). Such pamphlets may even be viewed to function as conduct manuals, instructing their audiences how to be more "Western."

An influential Ottoman newspaper also enabled smoother cultural assimilation of the Western art works performed. According to *Ceride-i Havadis*, during the 1841 season Bellini's

Norma, *Gemma di Vergy*, *Chi Dura Vince,* Donizetti's *Belisario*, *Lucia*, *L'Elisir d'Amore* and Rossini's *Othello* were performed (Ulu 1995, 132-138). Since these performances were in Italian, the Bosco theatre audience was mostly foreigners and Italian speaking non-Muslim Ottoman citizens. However, some in the audiences were influenced by the news of *Ceride-i Havadis* and wanted to watch opera but could not understand Italian. In order to solve the language issue, the newspaper published Turkish translations of Donizetti's *Belisario*. To attract more people, the theatre published and distributed their posters in four languages,[35] showing the multicultural nature of the Empire. Bosco's 1841-1842 season performances ended in June 1842; the newspaper announced that the theatre would re-open in the fall, but Bosco's theatre never opened again because of financial difficulties (And 1992, 92-94). As the only real theatre in Istanbul showing operas and plays, Bosco's closure disrupted the artistic life for a two year period.

At the end of the 1844 season, Bosco sold his theatre to Syrian Catholic Ottoman impresario Tütüncüoğlu Mihail Naum. After some renovations, Naum opened the theatre under his own name. The theatre contributed greatly to the permeation of Western art music, specifically opera, among the society.[36] During the Westernization period, Naum's theatre had regular performances for 25 years and the support of the Palace, almost becoming an unofficial Imperial theatre (And 1972, 201). Every year Naum's theatre hosted many Italian opera, drama, and ballet troupes throughout the season. The theatre's curtains opened for the first time with Gaetano Donizetti's *Lucrecia Borcia* on December 23, 1844. The other operas of the season were Rossini's *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*, *La gazza ladra*, and Donizetti's *Pariziana*. The theatre

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[35] In all, the major demographic groups of the Empire: Ottoman Turkish, Armenian, Greek, and French.
[36] Even though the majority of the audience were upper class, the theatres had to allocate certain number of seats for the lower classes audience.

ended its season with five different operas (And 1972, 202). Naum's theatre was historically one of the most important theatres among all the Ottoman Western art music institutions.

Naum had to stop these performances for two years because of the catastrophic *Beyoğlu* fire in 1846, which destroyed every single building around *Galatasaray* and *Pera*. Naum applied to the Imperial palace and foreign embassies of Istanbul for credit to re-establish his theatre, with the Sultan himself eventually approving and sealing the request. Committed to opening a real Italian opera, Naum had the new theatre designed by the architect Gaspare Fossati,[37] the stage and the auditorium fashioned after Italian theatres, and the interior decorations styled by Italian designers (Cezar 1991, 387-88). The new theatre opened two years later with Verdi's *Macbeth* (Cezar 1991, 386).

Sultan Abdulmecid (r. July 2, 1839- June 2, 1861), who was fond of Western art music, attended operas in Naum's theatre. In addition to sponsoring the theatre after the fire, the Sultan wanted to have operas and operettas in the Palace and ordered Donizetti to teach the musical performing arts to Turkish musicians in the *Muzıka-i Hümâyûn.* Arguably this decision was one of the most significant contributions to the development of Western music in the Empire (Tunçay 1968).

From its inauguration until the big fire of *Beyoğlu* in 1870, Naum's theatre had a ten year state monopoly of showing famous European composers' operas and dramas. Performances of Verdi's operas offer a clear idea of the opera activities of Istanbul. As seen in the table, for their time, the operas were performed in Turkey relatively close to their world premiere. This schedule shows the Empire not only embracing Western music but endeavouring perhaps to be seen as a world class arts centre comparable to Rome or London:

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[37] The Fossati brothers were well-known for their restorations, particularly of the Hagia Sophia, and many rebuilds in Istanbul.

Opera	City	Premiere	Istanbul premiere
Ernani	Venice	1844	1846
Nabucco	Milano	1842	1846
Macbeth	Florence	1847	1848
I Lombardi	Milano	1843	1850
I Masnadieri	London	1847	1851
Il Trovatore	Rome	1853	1853
Rigoletto	Venice	1851	1854
La Traviata	Venice	1853	1856
I Vespri Siciliani	Paris	1855	1860
Un Ballo in Maschera	Rome	1858	1862
La Forza del Destino	St. Petersburg	1862	1876/77
Aida	Cairo	1871	1885

(Altar 2001, vol IV, 188)

Following Naum's theatre's destruction by fire in 1870, the state monopoly over musical plays was not extended by the authorities. The situation created an interesting dynamic: on the one hand, it was a big loss for the cultural life of Istanbul as the theatre was the centre of proper operas and operettas and Naum's permit up to that point prohibited the establishment of similar organizations; on the other hand, opera houses spread all over Istanbul after 1867[38] because Naum's permit lost its authority after the fire (Sevengil 1959, 28-29).

The diversity of theatres that arose in the wake of the Naum fire demonstrates that particularly in the last decades of the Ottoman Empire, Western art music was an established musical style. Thus, when the new Republic was founded, Western art music was not chosen by the policy makers out of nowhere. On the contrary, they wanted to layer the new Turkish nationalist music onto well-established tradition. Surprisingly, the new "foreign" musical style was not Western art music but re-constructed Turkish folk music. Such a style was not well-known throughout the Empire; while a specific folk repertoire belonged to a specific local area, it might be unknown in other parts of the Empire.

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[38] The most significant neighbourhoods for the new opera houses were Gedikpaşa, Hasköy, Üsküdar, Ortaköy, Beyazıt ve Şehzadebaşı.

Dolmabahçe Palace Theatre

Historically, one of the most significant theatres was *Dolmabahçe* Palace Theatre. The establishment of this theatre officialised Western arts and art forms as a part of the daily life of the Palace, and thus the Empire, as well as a recognition of modernisation. Because Sultan Abdülmecid was fond of Western musical performing arts, in 1859 he decided to build a palace theatre closer to the *Dolmabahçe* Palace. The architectural project was completed by Diéterle and Hammond; for the interior design Séchan, the Paris Opera's interior designer, was commissioned. The *Dolmabahçe* Palace Theatre officially opened 12 January 1859 (And 1992, 26) with Naum's Theatre's artists and the musicians performing Luigi Ricci's opera *Scaramuccia* and the night ending with the ballet *Chasse de Diane*. After the opening, the *Dolmabahçe* Palace Theatre hosted many Ottoman and foreign troupes, orchestras, and musicians.

The most significant contribution of the *Dolmabahçe* Palace Theatre to Turkish culture, however, was the patronage of Turkish plays. The first Turkish play, İbrahim Şinasi Efendi's *Şair Evlenmesi* (the Marriage of a Poet), was commissioned for the *Dolmabahçe* Palace Theatre (And 1972, 27).[39] Surprisingly, since Turkish theatres were only showing Western performing arts and most Turkish writers were still writing in traditional forms, Turkish playwriting was not advancing or growing during this period. Even though Şinasi Efendi's *Şair Evlenmesi* could be considered as a *Molieresque* play and not a product of independent creativity, the play opened the doors on Western forms for Turkish writers (And 1972, 27-29). Such a domestic cultural

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[39] The newspaper Journal de Constantinapol announced the news in its June 25, 1859 issue: a member of the Education Committee Şinasi Efendi, who lived long years in France. He was translating the works of *Racine, Lafontaine, and Moliere*. Today, he did even better: this talented young poet wrote a brilliant Turkish comedy for the Sultan's Theatre. The name of the work is *Şair Evlenmesi*. We are not going to analyse the work, but we wanted to announce it to our public and we wanted to thank the Sultan's *Başmabeyincisi* (the chief intermediaries) and congratulate the people who organizes Palace entertainment (And 1972, 27). The translation is mine.

development contributed to the future Turkish nationalist movement because the nationalist ideals were disseminated mostly through plays and Şinasi Efendi's play was the model.

Illustration 2.2 *Dolmabahçe* Place Theatre (Bayram 2015)

In 1861, Ottoman state musical proclivities took a sudden turn to the traditional East again. After the death of Sultan Abdülmecid, Abdülaziz became the new Sultan. Unlike his predecessors, Abdülaziz was interested in traditional performing arts like *Ortaoyunu*. Even though the Palace Theatre was active until 1863, contracts for many musicians and artists were not renewed because of alleged financial constraints (And 1972, 30). However, the main reason was Sultan Abdülaziz's personal taste and cultural preference. As a result, the presence of Western style plays and performing arts decreased in the Palace. On the other hand, the elite and the public embraced Western style theatre so much that even though it was not supported by the Sultanate, Western style Turkish theatre enjoyed its golden years outside the Palace (Sevengil 1962, 20).

One of the main reasons for these theatres' popularity was that many political ideas were disseminated relatively easily in the plays. Thus, these theatres not only satisfied the aesthetic

needs of the public; they also functioned as a medium of distribution of political ideology. The Ottoman elite's efforts to preserve Western arts could be seen as a contradiction since these very plays promoted nationalism. In this situation, even though the theatres and the plays were in a Western style, the content often encouraged a nationalist ideology—form and function, medium and message were seemingly at odds.

Gedikpaşa Theatre

With its regular Turkish performances, location, and broader audience, *Gedikpaşa* Theatre was one of the most important theatres established during the *Tanzimat* period. The first muslim-Turkish actors[40] performed in *Gedikpaşa* Theatre and the famous writers of the period were composing plays for the theatre. Significantly, the theatre was not located in the *Pera* district, historically known as a neighbourhood in which mostly foreigners resided; instead, it was midway between *Çarşıkapı* and *Beyazıt* towards the sea. The *Beyazıt* area was a centre mostly occupied by local Turks' residences and businesses (And 1972, 214).[41] This location was quite significant because it shows the targeted main audience was not only non-Muslim subjects and foreigners but also Muslim Turkish subjects. This intended audience demonstrates that the theatres not only attracted minority groups, but that Western style of arts became so popular that theatres were established in even highly populated Muslim neighbourhoods.

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[40] Previously, it was only the non-Muslim minority subjects performed in these theatres; thus, having Turkish actors was quite significant.

[41] The story of the theatre is intricate. Yaver Bey received a permit to establish a theatre and one of Sultan Abdülmecid's officers, *ceb kâtibi*, Ömer Bey started the construction. After spending 2000 lira, he sold the structure to Abraham Pasha because of expense. The construction was completed for the circus of Louis Souillier, whom Sultan Mahmut II watched in Silistra and the invited to Istanbul. This circus came to Turkey several times for different reasons, such as the marriage ceremonies of the Münire ve Cemile Sultans in 1858. The group used a temporary building in *Maslak,* later the *Haydarpaşa* plains in front of Osman Pasha Mansion, and finally in the *Palais de Fleurs* in *Beyoğlu* (And 1972, 214). Souilliere was honored with the Diamond Badge and the permit to use the Imperial name in front of his group's name. After Souilliere's group became established in the newly constructed building, aside from the circus performances, they included pantomime and commedia until 1864 (And 1999, 34).

Osmanlı Theatre

Other nationalist movements also shaped Turkish theatre and music history at this time. As an Ottoman Armenian, Güllü Agop was regularly showing Armenian shows in his theatre; after 1868, he decided to provide regular Turkish shows; one of the main ramifications of this action, which will be discussed later, was the development of Turkish opera and operetta. The second significant consequence of Agop's decision was a severe reaction against him and his theatre by other drama and musical groups who performed only in Armenian because of the then newly underway Armenian nationalist movement. For some of them, Agop's action was tantamount to betrayal of the cause. However, Güllü Agop had good relations with the Imperial elite and he preferred to stay away from such nationalistic political movements. This proved a wise move when during 1869-70, the establishment of an Imperial Ottoman Theatre was planned. The initiative failed and the state monopoly[42] with the support of vizier Ali Pasha was given to Güllü Agop for ten years to show Turkish plays (And 1972, 164).

Agop's monopoly came with a danger of vastness, however. If he failed to establish these theatres within the designated time frame, his concession would be cancelled. During the first ten years he had to increase the number of the plays, regardless of the theatre's revenue. Every year he had to show at least thirty plays in *Üsküdar* and at least fifty plays in *Galata* and the rest of the European side theatres in the city. The last three clauses of the permit regulated the performances for charity, security of the theatre, and the designated ticket prices (And 1970, 126-130). These regulations and certain clauses not only contributed to the theatres flourishing but also to developing and establishing the operetta as a musical genre.

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[42] 16 March 1870 dated monopoly archived under Premiership Archives General State Permits no 777 (And 1970, 126-127).

Immediately after granting Agop's privilege, the state declared an edict, *Ferman-ı Ali*, which allowed the Muslim community to go to the theatres (ibid, 126-127). Such an action by the state suggested an official recognition of theatres in all aspects. Having gained such a status only gave theatres a platform on which to play a prominent role in the dissemination of nationalist ideologies in both the minorities of the Empire and the Turkish community. The minority theatres were already performing plays that promoted ethnic nationalism. After the rise of Turkish nationalism,[43] the Turkish nationalist plays and playwriting increased exponentially.

 As already mentioned, during this era the Turkish theatre had its best days. In fact, Güllü Agop's Theatre and his monopoly unintentionally contributed to the birth of Turkish operetta and the *Tûluat* groups (And 1983). As Agop's state monopoly did not allow any other group in Istanbul to show Turkish plays, other performance groups found different ways to survive and often flourished. The most significant examples were Dikran Çuhacıyan's *Opera Tiyatrosu Topluluğu* group and Fasülyeciyan who after leaving Güllü Agop's theatre established another group to show traditional Turkish performances of *Ortaoyunu* and *Tûluat* (Hançerlioğlu 1970, 26). Ironically, under state monopoly and restriction, Turkish music and a separate theatrical genre blossomed at the supposed margins throughout this short era.

The monopoly even set off a sort of spirit-of-the-law versus letter-of-the-law fight in the name of music and theatre. Fasülyeciyan persuaded famous *Ortaoyunu* actor *Kavuklu* Hamdi *Efendi* and his friends to join him in performing in *Galata*. Fasülyeciyan's *Tûluat* group argued that because their performances were not based on a text, were totally improvisatory, and did not use a prompter, these performances did not breach Güllü Agop's privilege; however, *Kavuklu*

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[43] The first nationalist movement could be traced to the 1840s.

Hamdi *Efendi* usually performed the improvisatory version of whatever play Agop's group was performinlg (And 1983, 176).[44]

Even though theatres were quite active in this period, there were serious political problems underlying their cultural success. Some words or references were forbidden in plays due to their dangerous allusions.[45] Sometimes censorship could even cause the physical destruction of the theatre. In 1875, during the performance of *Vatan yahut Silistre* (Fatherland or Silistra)[46] in *Gedikpaşa* Theatre, the audience shouted "Long live the fatherland" and "This is our 'wish;' God, give us our 'wish (Murat)'[47] thereby implying that they wanted to have Murat[48] as the Sultan, instead of Abdülaziz (And 1972, 103). After the incident one of the newspapers of

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[44] The other theatres of the period: Naum's state monopoly to show Turkish plays in Istanbul preventing the spread other theatres, resulted in one of the first theatres, the French Theatre, not surviving for very long. Another important theatre of *Beyoğlu* was the *Concordia* theatre, which was located in front of the French Theatre where currently Saint Antoine Church is located (And 1989).
Other than the Concordia, there were two more important theatres in *Beyoğlu* located around *Tepebaşı*. These building survived until recently. One of them was a part of the Istanbul City Theatre's Drama Department that burnt completely; and the other one was the stage that the Comedy Department was using but was demolished. In 1872, the Palace issued an edict to the Palace orchestra's director Guatelli Pasha to establish an Italian Theatre on the land that had been being used as a cemetery. The Turkish press responded negatively to the news that there would be a theatre on the land of the Muslim cemetery but these reactions did not change the Imperial attitude towards the new theatre; thus, construction started in 1874 on the project of the architect Barborini. The project, known as the winter time *Tepebaşı* Theatre, was completed in 1881 (And 1972, 206).
Another open-air *Beyoğlu* theatre was located in *Taksim Talimhane* Croissant Theatre, established around 1874. (And 1999, 192).
The other *Beyoğlu* theatre was the *Şark* (Eastern) Theatre, or *Alcazar Byzantin* also called *Petit Alcazar*. During the street car route construction the building was demolished.
The theatre near *Ağacamii,* until recently known as Odeon Theatre or Cinema *éclair,* opened in 1871 for circus entertainment under the name of *Elhamra* Theatre.
Another important centre for the theatre was in *Galata*, but many of these small theatres were shed like. The majority of them were called *baloz* and they were entertainment places with singers and dancers. Some well-known ones were the *Apollo, Amerikan Alkazarı, and Avrupa* Theatre.
[45] Such as Yıldız (because of Yıldız Palace), *Kıbrıs* (Cyprus), *dinamit* (dynamite), *sosyalizm* (socialism), *hal* (situation or circumstance), Macedonia, *kıtal* (war, fight, or battle), *hürriyet* (freedom), *grev* (strike), *anarşi* (anarchy), *vatan* (fatherland), *suikast* (assassination), *ihtilâf* (controversy), Murat (the name of the şehzade), *Girit* (Crete), *infilâk* (explosion, blast, or burst), *Kanun-i Esasî* (constitution), *musavat* (equity), Bosnia Herzogevina, and so on.
[46] Namık Kemal's *Vatan yahut Silistre* was the first nationalist play. The plot takes in place during the Crimean War in Silistra (now in Bulgaria). In the story line, an Ottoman soldier defends the city against the Russians. Unlike other plays, Namık Kemal emphasised the idea of the loyalty towards the nation.
[47] The audience uses here an intentional pun; the meaning of the name Murat is wish and also the name of the crown Prince of Sultan Abdülaziz.
[48] He will be known as Sultan Murat V.

the period, *İbret Gazetesi*, was shut down, the vizier Ahmet Esad Pasha was dismissed because he had been considered a supporter of Murat, the writers who were connected to *Gedikpaşa* Theatre were arrested and exiled (And 1999, 153-4), and the theatre was destroyed. However, this controlled and sanitized environment did not manage to suppress either the existing reaction towards the sultan or the growing Turkish nationalism.

Freedom and the Constitution

The writers of the play *Vatan yahut Silistre* (Namık Kemal, 1872) were among those intellectuals charged politically under Abdülaziz. Like others, these writers received their freedom because of the new constitution. They returned from exile and the ban on the play was removed. In the same week, *Vatan yahut Silistre* was performed in seven theatres.[49] Çuhacıyan composed music for *Vatan yahut Silistre* that could be considered the most significant piece of 1876 as it was the first Turkish nationalist play[50] that promoted heroism. Even though the artistic environment was a bit better after the declaration of the Constitution and the return of the exiled writers, at the end of April 1877 the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 (also known as the War of 93) was declared and everything changed (Akşin 1997, 462).[51] The environment of war also

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[49] Osmanlı (Gedikpasa) Theatre, Beyoğlu Veryete Theatre, Kadıköy Theatre, Baglarbası Esref Bey Canbazhanesi, Baglarbası Osmanlı Theatre, Mirgün Theatre ve Ortaköy Mektep Theatre.

[50] The premiere was at 1 April 1873 in Güllü Agop's Gedikpaşa Theatre. The play was showed 47 times during the first two months. Later, it was performed also in the cities like Izmir and Thessalonica more than 500 times over the three year time period (Sütçü 2004).

[51] The Russian Empire attacked the Anatolian border with the excuse of protecting the rights of the orthodox *millets* in the Ottoman Empire. As a response to war, Abdülhamit suspended the Constitution and seized parliament, ending the *Tanzimat* period and starting the years of Sultan Abdülhamit's absolute autocratic rule, also known as the *İstibdat* period (Akşin 2002, 462). Turkish music would again be subject to a sudden and influential force from within the state.

As a result of being defeated the Russo-Turkish war, Kars and Ardahan in eastern Anatolia and Batumi and surroundings in the Black Sea region were given to the Russians. In the Balkan region, an independent Bulgaria principality was established. The Ottoman Empire had lost the majority of its lands in Europe; Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro became totally independent and Austria-Hungary occupied Bosnia-Herzegovina. Other than military and territorial consequences, there were also cultural implications of the war. It caused a great conflict between the Christian and Muslim populations, particularly in the Balkan region. The residual effect was a stronger Albanian and other ethnic Christian nationalism both in Balkans and the other regions of the Empire. These strong nationalist movements also triggered Arab nationalism, delegating religious affiliation to the background. The war effected

changed the artistic activities and the support towards them. In terms of artistic activities, it is

instructive to compare what occurred during the years of two Sultans: Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861-

1867) and Abdülhamit II (r. 1876-1909). Throughout the reign of the former, Western style

entertainment and the activities declined in the Palace; however, outside the Palace, Turkish

theatre had the perfect environment in which to thrive. In this period, hundreds of plays were

written (And 1972). On the contrary, during Abdülhamit's reign, the theatre and related activities

dramatically declined outside the Palace, in Istanbul and other parts of the Empire, due to

Abdülhamit's oppressive politics. In Abdülhamit's period, play writers were not writing and

publishing works because of the strict censorship; the published works tepidly dealt with neutral

topics (And 1972).

Yıldız Palace Theatre

After Abdülhamit moved to *Yıldız* Palace, he wanted to have everything he enjoyed

around his Palace. Even though he appreciated theatres and operas, because his fear of being

assassinated he was cautious and did not go to *Beyoğlu* theatres like his predecessors Sultans

Abdülmecit and Abdülaziz. After the fire, *Dolmabahçe* Palace Theatre's condition was so bad

that it was impossible to use. So Abdülhamit ordered another Palace theatre constructed in *Yıldız*

Palace, the only Palace theatre that survives today. Even though the apparent reason was the

destruction of the *Dolmabahçe* Palace Theatre, Abdülhamit's paranoia of being killed was the

main motivation for the construction of the new theatre in *Yıldız* Palace.

As Abdülhamit was fond of Western art music, the first performances of the *Yıldız* Palace

Theatre were operas such as *Aida, Il Trovatore, Carmen, and Faust*. The Friday night shows

were organized for the honor of the foreign guests. The Sultan accepted ambassadors to his lodge

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Bulgarian Jews as well, they had to flee to Constantinople because the Ottoman Empire was their protectors (Tamir 1979, 94-95) .

during the performances for his meetings. During the first day of religious festivals, higher officers were invited to the Palace Theatre by the Sultan; dramas, Turkish art music, and Turkish *ortaoyunu* were performed. On the second day of the festivals, the same shows were repeated for the sons of the Sultan, siblings and their spouses, and extended family members (Sevengil 1953). Thus, Western performing arts became part of both the daily life of the dynasty and the diplomatic relationships.

Sultan Abdülhamit was so fond of the theatre that he did not want to wait to recruit artists to the Palace theatre; instead, during the first years, Beyoğlu theatres and foreign artists performed. Such action emphasized that the Palace embraced Westernization. Even though Sultan Abdülhamit's period was quite restrictive because of censorship, the performing arts planted the seeds of Turkish nationalism, in plays such as *Vatan Yahut Silistre.* Some of these artists were hired as permanent members of the Palace Theatre. Soon after, an entire Italian opera and operetta troupe joined the Palace Theatre. Other than the opera group, there were other groups as parts of *Muzıka-ı Hümayûn* such as *Tûluat* and an *ortaoyunu* group. As the most famous *Tûluat* performer, comedian Abdülrezzak *Efendi* was hired, after which the traditional performing arts gained some respect in Palace circles; but soon after, because the Sultan was not fond of *alaturka* forms, these genres were only performed during religious festivals.

The theatre was run under the absolute artistic control of *Esvapçıbaşı* İlyas Bey. He let the artists know the Sultan's preference for that night's performance; if the Sultan did not choose, İlyas Bey decided which play or opera would be performed. Sometimes the Sultan changed his mind at the last minute or he ordered another play or opera in the middle of a performance. This situation forced the artists to have a broad repertoire to perform and be ready at a moment's notice to change. İlyas Bey would also deal with the foreign troupes, informing

the group which play or opera they would perform during their stay and how they should behave in the Palace, accompanying them until they left the Palace.

Dikran Çuhacıyan and the First Turkish Opera

Without a doubt, Dikran Çuhacıyan (1837-1898) was one of the most important figures in the Turkish and Armenian history of opera and operetta. Çuhacıyan was the first eastern composer to synthesize European classical forms with eastern musical structures and motifs and harmonize the traditional Turkish melodies (Sevengil 1961,88). His importance is not limited only to his musical synthesis, but Çuhacıyan was the first local composer in the genre of operas and operettas that was an indispensable part of the entertainment life of 19th century Istanbul (ibid, 90). Furthermore, Çuhacıyan's creativity is quite a strong link between Armenian and Turkish *millet*s in the 19th and 20th centuries. One can say that Çuhacıyan opened a door to the next generation of composers who would use nationalist themes in their operas and operettas.

As a product of the multi-ethnic and multi-religious environment of the Empire, Çuhacıyan was born in 1837 in Istanbul as the eldest son of the clock master of Sultan Abdülmecid. Çuhacıyan's creativity served both Armenian and Turkish nationalism in different ways. As an Ottoman Armenian, Çuhacıyan composed nationalistic themed pieces that were performed among the Armenian circles. On the other hand, his operettas and operettas helped to solidify Westernization through performing arts. His operettas became a model for the future compositions (Tahmirzyan 1983, 66).

From a very early age he took piano lessons from Italian Manzoni. In 1862, he went to Milan, which was considered the opera centre during the period, to study music, making him familiar with *opera-seria* and *opera-buffa* examples (Tuğlacı 1986, 122). According to some sources, Çuhacıyan became a student of Verdi in the Conservatory of Milan; but this information

is not confirmed by any sources. However, his style and compositional techniques show Verdi's influence on his music. In Italy, he started composing his four act opera *Arşak II*[52] on the libretto of Tomas Terziyan that is based on a story of the ancient Armenian King Arşak II. Considered the first Armenian opera, *Arşak II* was banned because of its potential political ramifications; but the next year Çuhacıyan changed some of the scenes and managed to convince Naum to allow the opera to be performed in his theatre by an Italian opera group under the name of Olimpia (Tahmirizyan 1983, 66-67).

Illustration 2.3 The Score Cover of *Olimpia*
https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tigran_Chukhacheán

Significant in terms of the opera's nationalist content, *Arşak II* shows Çuhaciyan's developing political concerns and the relative early stage of Armenian nationalist ideologies among the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire. After his return to Istanbul, he established an Armenian music journal and a music society, both called *Knar*. During this period Çuhacıyan

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[52] Unfortunately the sources does not indicate an exact date.

was quite prolific, convening conferences and composing marches, pieces for choir, and pieces for orchestra. He conducted these pieces himself in the *Şark* Theatre (Tuğlacı 1986, 123).

Birth of Turkish Opera and Operetta

As a link between the westernized Ottoman Empire and the nationalistic Turkish Republic, operas and operettas developed in an unexpected way. Because of Güllü Agop's 1870 privilege, the other theatres showing Turkish plays had to leave Istanbul; however, Çuhacıyan argued that Güllü Agop's monopoly was not valid for musical plays and he launched an opera group. He started the first Turkish opera rehearsals in 1874 in Adam's concert hall in *Haçopulo* Gate with a group of thirty students (Sevengil 1961, 87; Tuğlacı 1986, 125). Even these rehearsals bothered Güllü Agop enough that he told the press he would go to court and stop Çuhacıyan's group. The news was published in the July 3, 1874 dated issue of *Hayal* newspaper;[53] According to the journalists, Güllü Agop had no such rights. The 31August dated issue had the news[54] that Çuhacıyan received a permit to show all kinds of musical plays, operas, and operettas (Sevengil 1961, 87).

A wealthy Ottoman Armenian, Ağyazar Melikyan, was supporting Çuhacıyan with 1500 Ottoman gold[55] for his musical activities. Thus, Çuhacıyan was able to found the *Osmanlı Operet Kumpanyası* (The Ottoman Operetta Group) to perform Turkish and European operas and operettas (Sevengil 1961, 90). Because he did not have a theatre, the group rented theatres to perform his operas and operettas as in the performance of his *Olimpia.* Until the fire in 1870, his ensemble used Naum's Theatre; however, after the fire Çuhacıyan rented *Harbiye Nezareti binası* (the building of the military guest house) in *Beyazıt* for his group. He was sharing the

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[53] Daydream
[54] We are informed that the music trainer Dikran Çuhacıyan *Efendi* has received a state permit to establish and develop an opera theatre in Istanbul in *Beyoğlu Haçopulo* gate in *Monsieur* Adam's concert hall with thirty students. The further information will be provided in our future issues (*Hayal* August 31, from Tuğlacı 1986).
[55] Approximately 10kg of gold

management of his ensemble with Dikran Kalemciyan. In the guest house, the group performed

Çuhacıyan's *Mektep Ustası* (The school master)*,* his music on Şinasi's *Şair Evlenmesi,* and the

two act comic-opera *Mekteb Seyri* (And 1999, 232).

Dikran Çuhacıyan's group performed the first Turkish opera *Arif'in Hilesi* (Arif's Trick) in

Gedikpaşa Theatre. However, Agop argued that *Arif'in Hilesi* was vaudeville not an opera and

he went to the court to stop the performances, which initiated a heated debate in the press, the

court ultimately deciding not to accept Agop's argument. During these discussions, some of

Agop's actors joined Çuhacıyan's *Operet Kumpanyası*. In return, Agop published a pamphlet

related to the actors who left his theatre and joined Cuhaciyan's ensemble, aiming to change the

public and the press opinion of the discussion:

> It well known that our theatre developed in such a short time. Without a doubt our theatre
> will be in the European standards soon; particularly when the managements' efforts and
> the public interest put into consideration. Because there are some rumors about our
> theatre, I think it is my duty to say a couple of things…. Although some people tried to
> destroy our theatre by leaving us without any reason, our business and the order of our
> theatre has not been affected as much as they who left and who encouraged them to leave
> hoped…. Our audience will see that these incidents did not affect our order but we
> developed ourselves even more. Even though Ramadan is the most profitable time of our
> business, some people who have grudges against us encouraged some of our actors to
> leave just one week before Ramadan. It is for sure that the honorable and just people were
> not taken into considerations of the rumors from these groups. I just wanted to let people
> know the truth. (Sevengil 1959, 91-92; 1961, 87)[56]

After his pamphlet, Güllü Agop's group performed musical plays as a counter attack. Both

groups presented musical performances during the 1875 season. Agop's ensemble was

performing Offenbach's three-act *opera-buffa La Belle Hélene* with the translations of Nalyan

Efendi, and Çuhacıyan's group was performing Çuhacıyan and Alboretto's composition on

Ristuni's libretto *Köse Kâhya* (And 1972, 171-72). These selections demonstrate different

cultural preferences. Even though Güllü Agop's *La Belle Hélene* was well-liked, Çuhacıyan's

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[56] Translation is mine.

operas displayed familiar melodies, characters, and values that made his works very popular. By this period, the Ottomans had developed a taste for operas and it had become a natural part of their social-cultural life.

In January 1876, Dikran Çuhacıyan rented, at the cost of 40.000 Francs, the French Theatre to perform his most important operetta *Leblebici Horhor Ağa* on the first day of Ramadan. Ohannes Hançeryan designed the costumes, Merlo modeled the decors, and Takvor Nalyan staged the operetta (Tuğlacı 1986, 126). The premiere of *Leblebici Horhor Ağa* was so successful that it was performed every single night during Ramadan[57] and more than a hundred times during that season (ibid, 135). According to the newspapers of the era, the songs of *Leblebici Horhor Ağa*'s were sung in the homes, streets, and tea houses. After the success of *Leblebici Horhor Aga*, Güllü Agop had to change his repertoire because he realized that the public liked musicals more than dramas and comedies (Sevengil 1961, 92).

In the beginning of 1876, Dikran Çuhacıyan was in financial difficulties because of his supporter Agyazar Melikyan's discontinued financial help and the rivalry between his group and Güllü Agop's. Thus, he left his management duties to Benliyan and only worked as a musical director. In December 1878, Çuhacıyan went to Edirne as the musical director and the conductor of Benliyan Operetta Ensemble to perform his own operettas to Russian soldiers and officers, efforts for which Czar Aleksandr II honoured him with a St. Stanislaus medal. After the treaty of San Stefano, Çuhacıyan conducted the ceremony orchestra in Istanbul, where he received a medal from Abdülhamit.

In 1880, Çuhacıyan composed an *opera-buffa*, *Zemire*, on the libretto of Dikran Kalemciyan that was based on an Arab story. French Bennatti Ensemble performed the opera in

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[57] As it can be seen in Güllü Agop's pamphlet, the month Ramadan was the most vivacious and joyful time of the artistic life of the Empire; which shows the cultural and social milieu.

1891 in Concordia Theatre. After it was performed by the Italian Franzini Group in 1894, the libretto was lost. The only surviving text is its French translation with some alterations published in the *Stamboul* newspaper by Anmeghian and Panossian, who were writing under the penname *Who Knows* (And 1999, 233).
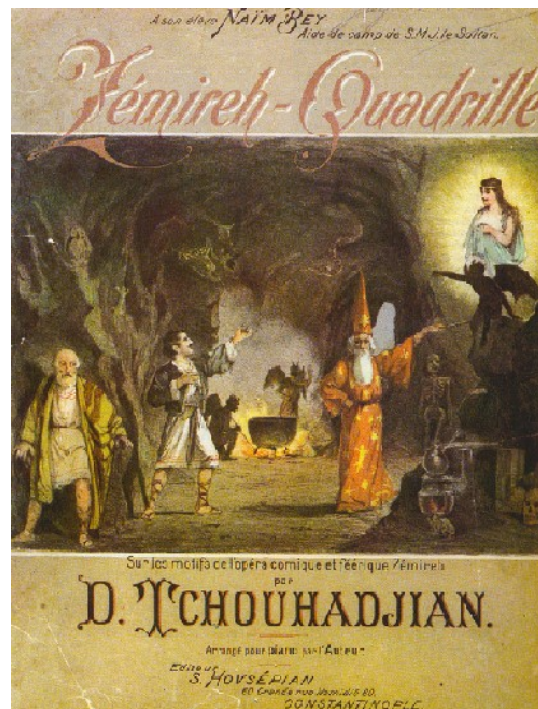
Illustration 2.4 Score Cover of *Zemireh* (Tuğlacı 1986, 132)

The *İstibdat* period[58]

The most significant feature of the *Istibdat* (strict autocracy 1878-1908) period was the extreme strict censorship that was practiced both in and out of the Palace. In the Palace theatre, every play and opera was examined by İlyas Bey and a censor committee; if the plot contained any suspicious elements, which could be even something minor such as words or death scenes, the committee changed the story line or sometimes even banned the performance. The plots related particularly with death, taking down a king, or the death of a king or a member of a royal

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[58] The period of strict autocracy, 1878-1908.

family were considered as dangerous. Even during Sarah Bernhardt's tour in Istanbul in 1888, Abdülhamit did not want to watch her because she could perform death so realistically.

Outside the Palace, even musical plays, operas, and operettas were banned by the censor committee. For example, the opera *Leblebici Horhor Efendi* that was performed quite frequently and regularly during the *Tanzimat* era was banned in 1886 (Özün 1968, 661). But unlike the period of Abdülaziz, the Palace theatre was hosting all kinds of artistic activities with Turkish and foreign artists and troupes (And 1972, 30).

The Theatres of the *İstibdat* Period

Because of the relatively rapid Westernization, the theatres became a part of the Empire's daily life and many of them were established within a short time period. The summertime stage of the *Tepebaşı* Theatre was built by an opera impresario, Cladius, in 1889. The next year, unfortunately, the theatre burnt down completely because of a fire. The theatre was rebuilt within a short time period but the project changed into a normal theatre instead of an open-air stage by the architect Campanaki in 1905. Because it was in the shape of an amphitheatre, it was named *Amphi*. During the Second Constitutional Period, the theatre showed Western movies (And 1972, 219).

The 1839 *Tanzimat* Reforms provided many rights and freedom to the citizens of the Empire. The idea of having extensive rights and freedom had developed and permeated among the elite generations who grew up under Western influence. When Abdülhamid's autocratic rule began, it caused a great reactionary movement particularly among the intelligentsia. In 1889, the medical students founded a secret society called *İttihat ve Terakki* (Unity and Development). The nationalist and freedom advocate poems of Namık Kemal was banned by the censor committee of the Sultan, but handwritten copies of his Turkish nationalist and pro-constitutionalist poems

were spread among the group. Soon enough, the military students joined the medical students. Anyone caught with the poems was punished severely, with only few of them able to flee abroad. In addition to the opposition he faced from some of his daughters' husbands, Abdülhamit had to contend with a young nationalist named Mustafa Kemal (later he took the surname Atatürk) who had joined the army as a staff captain in 1904, and quickly began exerting quite an influence on other military officers. As a known opponent to Abdülhamit and in order to keep him away from Istanbul, Mustafa Kemal was sent to Damascus, where he founded a secret revolutionary group called *Vatan ve Hürriyet* (Fatherland and Freedom) in 1906 (Akşin 1997, 462). Later he went to Thessalonica, his birthplace, where he established a branch of *Vatan ve Hürriyet*. During that time, the urge to revolt against Abdülhamit's oppressive governance in *Rumelia* and the *İttihat ve Terakki*, the Committee of Union and Progress movement spread among officers. In 1908, a group of high ranking officers left their barracks with their soldiers and openly threatened Abdülhamit. The pressure of the military based in Thessalonica and the military officers threatening telegraphs to the Palace forced Abdülhamit to realize that there was no way to resist them; thus, he had to declare the Second Constitution on July 23, 1908 (Akşin 1997, 462)

As this chapter shows, Western art music was very well established in the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century. Musical performing arts was so embraced that the Ottoman composers fused these Western genres with traditional music. As a result of this synthesis, the new forms, like *Kanto*,[59] flourished. Western art music, opera, and operetta tradition of Istanbul continue during the future Turkish Republic in the creativity of the composers like Cemal Reşit Rey. Even though this tradition was an extension of the entertainment life of 19th century Istanbul, it heavily influenced the music in the other parts of the Republic. In Ankara, this music

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[59] Kanto could be considered as the first popular genre. These songs were part of the free concerts beforeTuluat plays to attract more audience (Ünlü 1998, 5).

had a different mission than Istanbul. It helped to shape the cultural identity of the new Republic and composers like Ahmet Adnan Saygun worked hard to create a new national music of the Turkish Republic.

Chapter 3: National Culture and National Music

Slavishly imitating the West or slavishly imitating the old dead Ottoman culture is not the solution. You have to do something with these things and shouldn't have anxiety about belonging to one of them too much. ~Orhan Pamuk ~ (GurrÃa-Quintana 2005)

If as Curtis says, "Art and politics are fused in nationalism as in few other social phenomena" (Curtis, 2008), then these fertile grounds certainly came together in the early 20th century in Turkey to aid in building the nation's culture. Music, as a part of national culture, was one of the core mechanisms to disseminate and propagate nationalist ideas through public and private concerts. Functioning as a consolidating agent of nationalism, music intersected with politics resulting in three main dynamics: "nationalist music, national culture, and the nationalist intellectual"; the "focal point" of these three was the national music (Curtis 2008, 3).

In general, music is a fundamental element for nationalist movements because of its symbolic meaning and aesthetic value. Music has this usefulness more than other art forms because "when we hear an old and familiar song that is familiar because it is part of our culture," argues Arnold Perris, "even a fragment will arouse the establishment meaning" (Perris 1985, 6). Sometnimes we do not need the title or the lyrics: we will remember all at once (ibid, 6). Thus, the nationalist composers believed that these forms "would [be] capable of producing national citizens" (Curtis 2008, 3). During the construction of nationalist movements, in composers' eyes, according to Curtis, only national art can save a nation from its "historical and cultural decline" (ibid, 3). From this perspective, nationalist composers perceived creating a national or nationalist music as a national duty, and the consequences of the failure could be a national disaster. It is also important to emphasize the difference between national and nationalistic music: the former emphasizes the nation itself; the latter emphasizes the state in the formulation of nation-state. Thus, the opposite of national music, nationalist music comes into being through top-down cultural and political work (Bohlman 2011, 58-117).

Folk Idioms as National Music

One of the most significant philosophical belief on nationalism as a concept abiding throughout different cultures was presented by the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), who proposed the idea that every people has a *Volksgeist* [60] and invented the concept of folk song/*Volkslied* as an authentic and original form of "national" music" (Gelbart 2007, 197) on the basis of the claim that folk music is the real bearer of the national spirit. According to his perspective, "There is only one class in the state, the *Volk* (not the rabble), and the king belongs to this class as well as the peasant" (Brass 2014, 279). Herder highlights that in the new nationalist movement peasants are the sole bearers of national identity. The combination of nineteenth century bourgeois nationalism and the ideology of "the spirit of the folk" was an active creative force manifesting itself in folk music (Dahlhaus 1989) because the fundamental qualities of nationalism influenced people unconsciously through constructs such as folklore, language, religion, and literature inherited from earlier generations.

According to this primordial point of view, the concept of nation is something "eternal and natural" (Gellner, 1997); thus, every nation has its own unique musical style (Curtis, 2008). The interests in preserving folk culture and nationalising the folk sources were inspired by the collections of Herder[61] and the folk tale collections of the Grimm brothers. Thus, these materials became the tools of materializing the new idea of the *nation*. During the eighteenth century, the element of peasantry was used to evoke a pastoral feeling. In the nineteenth century, nationalism later appeared as a cultural and political movement; hence, nineteenth-century nationalist composers reached back to folk elements as an aspect of political symbolism for the idea of

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[60] The spirit of the folk.
[61] He published a folk song collection in 1773 entitled *Stimmen der Völker in ihren Liedern* (*Voices of the People in Their Songs*). This collection was particularly significant because Herder presents songs as "German," "Italian," "Spanish," etc.

nation. Even though these sources were regional or local in their nature, these composers "nationalized" these materials (Curtis, 2008). These theories helped the founders of modern Turkey to build their imagined community upon the reconstructed idea of *halk* (folk) and *halkiyat* (folklore).[62]

Folk sources such as folk legends, tales, and fairy tales were deployed to imply the continuity of a nation. Their very existence now became an argument for nation. As Curtis points out, three components were used to create a national music: 1) educating society as a reaction to the "taste and artistic standards of the public"; 2) building national institutions that can function both as education and entertainment, such as national theatres; and 3) producing music to address the first two components (Curtis 2008, 42). In the creativity of nationalist composers like Grieg and Smetana, music and art in general have the mission to educate people as part of the project of social change. But the composers considered folk songs as raw materials that needed to be "elevated" to be incorporated into art music. Although certain musical features, such as the bagpipe drone, were used to create a national atmosphere, the approach to folk sources was far from systematic. Some of the materials in these collections were not even actual folk tunes, as Curtis shows, but these materials found a place because they were highly romanticized and the collectors did not bother to systematically select the tunes.

Music and musical categories, like "folk" and "art," evolved as an integral part of politics and propaganda during the Enlightenment. Like all forms of binary opposition, folk and art music are constructed, according to Gelbart (Gelbart 2007, 80-115). While previous theorists and writers defined music by its function,[63] after 1720, mainly because of new authorship and copyright laws, the functionality and the description of music changed; instead of utility, origin

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[62] The term halkiyat was used by Ziya Gökalp, then it was switched to the term folklore.
[63] Music was not defined by its origin, but "how they were being used in a specific circumstance" (Gelbart 2007, 14)

defined music. Though not obvious, this shift changed the modern concepts of folk and art music and made these concepts artificial (Gelbart 2007, 17). Aside from authorship and copyright laws, the technology of printing brought about a massive social transformation, as it had in the development of languages, which also shows itself in the gap between oral and literate culture. However, Gelbert focused only on the central Eurpean examples. In contrast, in the case of the Ottomans, Turkish art music even in the early 19th century was already a well-established category. Turkish folk music, on the other hand, was a later construction. The main feature was its locality. Even though there were wandering musicians, because of the lack of media and communication and its oral nature, one region's music was unknown to another region.

Nationalism in music, according to Curtis, is mostly a product of intention; a piece of music is nationalist precisely because of the intention of the composer (Curtis 2008); however, in focusing primarily on the composer's intentions, Curtis disregards that the intentions of the arranger, producer, and even the listeners are important, not to mention the role of new technologies. Although the various peasant songs and dances were accepted as belonging to their national culture, the origin of such songs is rooted in local practices, not nationalist dreams. These sources were then "nationalized" (Samson 2002, Curtis 2008, Bohlman 2011). This was exactly what happened in the case of the cultural construction of Turkey. Despite their local nature, folk music (as well as folk dances) was nationalized; interestingly, specific local cultural forms were primarily known only to the immediate local group while remaining largely unfamiliar to other local groups. In the case of Turkey, we also see the intentions of the state. Music became one of the main instruments of the official propaganda.

Nationalists claim that folk culture was perceived as a kind of inheritance on which the national culture would be built; however, the utility of folk culture is actually somewhat limited.

Since the constructs of folk and art music are artificial, in order to create a national music, these folk songs and dances required mythologizing. Thus, a "new mythology was constructed based on the old" myths (Samson 2002, 585).[64] In adopting folk sources, then, nationalist artists raised these "low" forms up into the realm of high art. Even though the peasant songs and dances were accepted as belonging to a national culture, the origin of such songs is rooted solely in local practices (Samson, 2002; Gelbart, 2007). Curtis highlights the fact that "[n]ationality resides not *in* music but in the discourse about music" (2008, 18); therefore, in this view, the sources of these materials do not matter, though the intentions for these cultural artefacts change their very nature.

Curtis also states that music has been used to influence a mass audience to achieve extensive socio-political goals, and composers became political activists with distinct social and cultural agendas (2008). Because of the aforementioned social and aesthetic values, folk songs, dances, and folk tales were conceived as national, and the nationalist artist made them products of high art. This cultural effort functions politically as a unifying agent between different classes of society; by transforming the raw peasant materials into high art forms, nationalist artists created a connection between these disparate groups of society. As with Wagner's tetralogy *Der Ring des Nibelungen* or Heidelberg's collections of German folklore and myths enunciating idealizations of "old Germany," even the musical concept "absolute music" forges the concept of the nation as a cultural unity central to the larger national identity (Samson, 2002, 585). As a result of the previous nationalist-music practices, throughout the nineteenth century, in Europe particularly, the rhythm of the music and folk dances were employed by art music composers. These materials, such as the music of Chopin and his mazurkas, served as easy accessible sources for their nationalist sentiments.

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[64] Which is low local practices that require to be mythologized, romanticized, idealized, and extolled (Curtis 2008).

National Music in Turkey 1923-1945

After the proclamation of the Republic, the state implemented various reforms to create a new national identity. The most important aspects of these reforms were the ones on music and culture. The major intentions of these reforms were Turkification and modernization. The effort to create a national Turkish music also exposes how politics and culture are co-constitutive in nation building. As in other instances of defining a national identity and establishing a culturally unified and cohesive nation-state, Turkish folk music and folk dance were also strategically reconstructed during the formative years of the Republic to create the appearance and logic of a culturally unified and cohesive nation-state. Reconstruction of Turkish folk music reflects the political aspects of the formation of the nation-state and Turkish nationalism (Değirmenci, 2006; Öztürkmen 1993; Stokes, 1992; Tekelioğlu, 2001). During the Turkish nationalist movement, the discourse on national music in Turkey was similar to its European counterparts during the end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century.

Ziya Gökalp (1876 –1924), sociologist, poet, and writer, is considered by many as the founder of Turkish nationalism. He was a supporter of the ideals of Pan-Turkism [65] and Turanism, nationalist political movements appearing as a response to Pan-Slavism and Pan-Germanism during the 19th century. These movements proposed the unification of all the *Turanic* ethnic groups, which basically included all the people in Ural-Altaic linguistic groups. Surprisingly the *Turan* movement found great support in Hungary as soon as *Turanism* was put forward. Gökalp was influenced by the views of Émile Durkheim, advocating for cultural nationalism instead of ethnicity. That is why he had no trouble to support and promote Turkish nationalism while he was a Kurdish/Zaza descendent (Uzer 2013).

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[65] The doctrine of the political and cultural unification of all Turkic peoples.

In order to create a national consciousness, Gökalp formulated a cultural system based on pure folk sources as a means to unify the Turkic peoples. The state employed Turkish folklore as the great educational tool for application of this ideology. As a seminal ideologue, Ziya Gökalp played a distinctive role in the new Turkish cultural identity and dealt particularly with cultural and artistic issues. In his various essays,[66] he presented central Asian heritage as the "true culture" of Turks, and he expressed his desire to unite all Turkic nations and to build the *Turan*. In his "National Music" essay (*Milli Musiki*), he explained the problems and non-national nature of Eastern or Ottoman music and how to create Turkish national music. According to Gökalp, Eastern music derived from ancient Greek music, which was based on artificial quarter tones. As the music was not "natural," it spread only among the upper classes of Arabs, Persians, and Turks; it was not embraced by the lower strata. Other than *tekke* music, common people in rural areas and peasants never came close to Turkish art music as the patrons of this genre were all aristocrats from the Palace, and this music required a cultured training. Thus, the peasantry was never able to develop a taste for art music.

As well as Turkish art music being artificial, Gökalp viewed it as boring and monotonous. This "boring, monotonous" music, we should keep in mind, was also strongly associated with Ottoman culture and history. Gökalp's negative opinions on Turkish art music and its musical system were strong:

> This morbid music, after being transmitted by Farabi to the Arabs, passed to the Persians and Ottomans chiefly because of the esteem in which it was held at the courts. The Greek Orthodox, Armenian, Chaldean, and Syrian churches and Jewish synagogues also accepted the same music from Byzantium. In the Ottoman lands this music was the only

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[66] *Limni ve Malta Mektupları* (Letters from Limni and Malta), *Kızıl Elma* (Red Apple-1914), *Türkleşmek, İslâmlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak* (Turkification, Islamification, Civilisation-1929), *Yeni Hayat* (the New Life- 1930), *Altın Işık* (Golden Beam 1927), *Türk Töresi* (Turkish Tradition-1923), *Doğru Yol* (the Right Path-1923), *Türk Medeniyet Tarihi* (the History of Turkish Civilisation- 1926), *Kürt Aşiretleri Hakkında Sosyolojik Tetkikler* (Sociological Research on Kurdish Tribes), *Altın Destan* (Golden Epic), *Üç Cereyan* (Three Currents), *Hars ve Medeniyet* (Culture and Civilization), *Kuğular* (the Swans), *Felsefe Dersleri* (Philosophy Classes- 2006).

institution common to all Ottoman ethnic and religious communities, and for this reason we may properly call it the music of the Ottoman peoples. (Gökalp 1959, 299-301)[67]

Gökalp's attitude was not peculiar to him. In 1934, during the opening of the Parliament, Atatürk's speech articulated parallel thoughts, suggesting that Ziya Gökalp's ideas influenced Atatürk's attitude and approach towards national and universal music:

> The speed in which a nation can transform itself is related to how well it can adapt to new styles in music. The kind of music we are hearing today is far from doing any good for the future of our young nation. It is essential to create a new musical style rooted in our national heritage. Only after this, can the national music of Turkey be elevated to a universal musical level. (Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Aracı, 1997, 12)

Ironically, the progenitor of these ideas is Sultan Abdülhamit II who greatly contributing to Westernization and the expansion of Western music in the Ottoman Empire. However, the Sultan, unlike Atatürk, was not motivated by a state ideology. While he differentiates *alaturka* (Turkish style, mostly used in the context of Turkish/Ottoman *makam* music) from *alafranga* (even though the literal meaning is French style, in musical context *alafranga* refers to Western influences and genres), he is more expressing his personal preferences and his "observations" on the "historical" origin of *alaturka*:

> To tell the truth, I am not especially fond of *alaturka* music. It makes you sleepy, and I prefer *alafranga* music, in particular the operas and operettas. And shall I tell you something? The modes we call *alaturka* aren't really Turkish. They were borrowed from the Greeks, Persians, and Arabs. And people say the drum and *zurna* are specifically Turkish in origin, but I have my doubts. It seems that both instruments are really Arabic in origin. I once looked into the observations of an individual who had travelled in Turkistan, and who reported that the time-honoured instrument in villages there was the *saz*. Here, too, in Anatolian villages they always play the *saz.* (Sultan Abdülhamid II in Aksoy 1985, 1215)

Such an attitude suggests the influence of nineteenth century Hungarian Turkologist Arminius Vambery, who the Sultan probably read, concerning the origin of the court or *alaturka* music in Byzantium (Aksoy 1987, 141-3).

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[67] The original publication date is 1923.

Although a sociologist and non-musician, Ziya Gökalp and his ideology shaped the future

of Turkish music. In light of this disconnection with art music and the past and as part of his

"Turkist" plan, Gökalp in 1923 proposed the proper way to create national Turkish music:

> Today we are faced with three kinds of music: *Doğu müziği* (Eastern music),[68] *Batı müziği* (Western music), *Halk müziği* (folk music).[69] Which one of them is ours? Eastern music is a morbid music and non-national. Folk music represents our culture. Western music is the music of our new civilization. Thus, neither should be foreign to us. (Gökalp 1959, 299-301)[70]

He considered folk music as a continuation of "ancient" Turkish music. In Gökalp's writings,

music has a dual function: music can represent both *hars ve medeniyet* (culture and civilisation).

These were the concepts that Gökalp dealt with in his other writings.[71] For him, *hars* and

medeniyet were crucial for a nation. The cultural aspect, according to Gökalp, appears as a

national concept, whereas civilization is an international one (Gökalp 1968, 22):

> Our national music, therefore, is to be born from a synthesis of our folk music and Western music. Our folk music provides us with a rich treasury of melodies. By collecting them and arranging them on the basis of Western musical techniques, we shall have both a national and a modern music...This will be the programme of Turkism in music. It is the task of our composers to bring this aim to fruition. (Gökalp (1923) 1959, 300)

By synthesizing in this way, an adept composer could fashion the national music as Turkish in

culture yet Western in civilisation. The cultural politics of the Republic were drawn to the

pragmatism of Gökalp's thoughts.

In addition to showing the new Republic's direction, Gökalp's Turkist plan also reveals

the agenda for eliminating the influence of the Ottoman cultural and institutional residues. This

approach comes out of his Pan-Turkist and Turanist ideals. While Gökalp rejected all cultural

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[68] By saying Eastern music, Gökalp meant Middle Eastern, not Chinese or Asian.
[69] Interestingly, Gökalp assumed folk music as a unified, single genre because of his ideological agenda.
[70] 1923, translated by Niyazi Berkes.
[71] See f.n 77 for the list of his writings.

influences of the imperial past because they symbolized backwardness and degeneration, his

attitude towards the potential future Western influence is interestingly orientalist. The reason for

this attitude, according to Edward Said, was that historically there were no colonial experiences

in the central founding parts of the Ottoman Empire, which created openness towards the West

and western influence (Said 1979, 3). This would be particularly true of Anatolia.

In light of Ziya Gökalp's nationalist ideas, Turkish folk music and Western techniques

were amalgamated in order to create a Turkish national music. After the proclamation of the new

Republic in 1923 and during the process of shaping cultural and musical politics, the state

followed Gökalp's three steps to creating national music: to establish Turkish national music

without the centuries' long influence of "decadent" Byzantium (Gökalp 1959; 1968);[72] to collect

original folk songs from the people of Anatolia; and to synthesize folk tradition and Western art

music to train skillful musicians for creating a national music.

Gökalp's principles also affected many other changes in music education, such as the

renewal, modernization, and transformation of pre-existing institutions. During this era, several

new music institutions were opened. In 1924, *Muzika-ı Hümayun* (Imperial Symphonic

Orchestra) was transformed into the *Riyaset-i Cumhur Orkestrası* (Presidential Symphonic

Orchestra). The Military Band School was replaced by the Music Teachers' School (*Musiki

Muallimleri Mektebi*). One of the oldest music schools of Istanbul, *Darül-elhan* (House of the

Melodies) was turned into the Istanbul Municipal Conservatory (*Istanbul Belediye*

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[72] Even though the general perception of Turkish art music is quite different, in his *Principles of Turkism* Ziya
Gökalp, surprisingly, regarded this music as a style that carries the traces of Byzantium. According to Gökalp,
Farabi took it from the Byzantines (Gökalp 1959, 299).

Konservatuvarı) that taught only Western art music. As well, foreign specialists[73] were invited to Turkey to assist in establishing new organizations.

Despite Atatük's personal fondness for Turkish art music (And 2005, 39), the process of creating Turkish national music and the corresponding major cultural and social change required laws altered the existing institutions. In 1925 Atatürk banned all dervishes, fortune-tellers, witch-doctors, and other such "primitive" occupations (Lewis 1968, 411). The prohibition aimed to cut off the historic religious and cultural influence of the dervish orders on political and educational life. However, the influence went beyond politics and education; the aesthetic perception and the destiny of the artistic and musical life of the Republic were naturally changed. The abolition of *tekke, zaviye* and *tarikatlar*[74] (lodges, cloisters, and all fraternities) greatly affected the education and performance of Turkish art music. These cloisters were where *tekke* musicians trained. After *Darül-elhan* became the Istanbul Conservatory, the school's Department of Eastern Music closed in 1926 (Tekelioğlu 1996, 195). Following the closure of *Darül-elhan*, *Enderun* (Education Institute of the Court) and the cloisters, there were no places to teach court music. After the schools and other court music institutions were closed because music was highly politicized, there were almost no places to learn court music. In 1927, this music was even excluded from the curriculum of public and private schools, and in 1934 it was banned from being broadcast on radio. Only after 1936 was Turkish classical music once again allowed (Tekelioğlu 1996, 196).

Under the influence of Ziya Gökalp and his nationalist philosophy, musical reform received great attention. Although he and Atatürk highlighted the importance of the knowledge of Western techniques, their aim was to provide the new generation of composers with European methods of composition in order to develop a national soundscape. Under advisement of the

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[73] Joseph Marks (1882-1964), Ernst Praetorius (b. 1880), Carl Ebert (1887-1980) and Eduard Zuckmayer (1890-1972).

[74] *Tekke* was the Sufi lodge or shrine. *Zaviye* was a smaller *tekke*.

influential musicologist Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal (1900-1961), the Turkish state sent musical prodigies to different European countries to achieve high standards of music education. According to Gazimihal's proposition, following the French and Russian examples, the Turkish national school of music should primarily collect folk materials and themes through field work, and use these materials as primary ideas (O'Connell 2005, 13). As O'Connell correctly suggested, even though Gazimihal questioned the validity of Ziya Gökalp's arguments on the Byzantine origin of Turkish art music as well as his Western music history, as a sociologist Gökalp was well-respected. Thus, although for some music scholars Gökalp's ideas were problematic, he remained immensely influential.

In order to train these future artists, musicians, and composers, the parliament allocated state scholarships towards their education in various European institutions. After their education, they were expected to contribute to establishing music with a national character. Inspired by the Russian Five and the French *Les Six*, the first generation of these composers was called *Turk Besleri*, the Turkish Five. The members of the Five were Cemal Reşit (Rey)[75] 1904-1985, Ulvi Cemal (Erkin) 1906-1972, Hasan Ferit (Alnar) 1906-1978, Ahmet Adnan (Saygun) 1907-1991, and Necil Kazım (Akses) 1908-1999. Among this group, Ahmet Adnan Saygun and Cemal Reşit Rey were the leading and influential composers.

In this sterilized environment, national music was disseminated through various institutions like state-radio and nationalized and centralized schools. In 1932, the government-supported social activity centers called *Halkevleri* (People's Houses) were opened. These community centers not only contributed to the Turkish nationalist movement but also immensely supported Turkish folklore and music education through classes, folklore collections, and publications. Within ten years they numbered 465, opening in almost all cities. Music and other

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[75] After the law required that everybody should have surnames.

performing arts were used as a propaganda medium, particularly through the network of the *Halkevleri* (And 1984).

In these new culture policies of the Republic, a dualist musical environment flourished. Turkish art music became the scapegoat as its political load symbolized the old Imperial past. Since folk music was the new musical representation of the new Turkish state, as mentioned previously, Turkish art music was tken out of the curriculum and banned from being broadcast over the state radio (Tekelioğlu 1996, 195). The musicologists tried to invent a new past for the future state by embracing folk culture. As seen in Ziya Gökalp's article (Gökalp, 1968), the perception of art music proposes a Greek past; through Turkish folk music, however, a central Asian origin could now be proposed (O'Connell, 10). Although there was a great criticism of the Republic's excising of Turkish art music, such music was hardly accepted by all strata of the society; it was rather the aesthetic product of the court and some elite religious institutions. In other parts of the Empire, mostly in Anatolia, local folk music was the pervasive music.

In order to accomplish Gökalp's vision for a national music,[76] in 1934 Paul Hindemith, a German composer, was invited to the capital to establish the State Conservatory. He was invited to Ankara by Cevat Dursunoglu, the Berlin student supervisor for the Turkish government, on the recommendation of conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler (Aracı 2001, 82). Hindemith prepared reports for the Ministries of Culture and National Education regarding how to establish Western standard music schools and improve the musical quality of the Presidential Symphonic Orchestra. Hindemith believed that the German musical tradition should be established in the new musical institutions of the Republic.

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[76] These steps were: 1-To establish Turkish national music without the centuries' long influence of decadent Byzantium. 2- To collect original folk songs that could be hear from the people of Anatolia. 3- In order to synthesize of folk tradition and western art music, train skillful musicians for creating a national music.

While these significant institutional developments were taking place in Ankara and Istanbul, another important incident exhibited Atatürk's trust in Ahmet Adnan Saygun's musical and perhaps ideological background. In 1934 Atatürk organized a meeting to discuss the question of national music. Before this meeting, Atatürk himself simplified the grammar and he substituted Turkish words of the songs that were filled with Arabic and Persian words and grammatically complex; he then asked Saygun to compose new texts based on his translation of the songs. Saygun immediately composed the texts as a piano accompanied *lieds* and played them to Atatürk a couple of times. After he had listened to these *lieds*, Atatürk exclaimed to his guests in an excited manner, "Ladies and Gentlemen, the original words of these songs were Ottoman Turkish and the music was Ottoman art music. However, the language of these songs is Turkish and their music is Turkish music. New music for the new society!"[77] (Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Saygun, 1987, 43-44). This event clearly shows how Atatürk and other policy makers were viewing music as an inseparable part of constructing a national identity.

The Turkish Five

Illustration 3.1 The Turkish Five From https://www.merakname.com/turk-besleri-kimdir/

The musical perspectives and proclivities of Saygun's contemporaries help contextualize this highly charged and transformative musical milieu. Although these five composers had vastly

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[77] Translation is mine

different artistic goals and did not share the same political, ideological, or musical understanding or investments, the collective name was given because they belonged to the same generation. The attributed goal of the Five was to produce—to materialize—under the Turkish modernist movement the musical dimension of the cultural politics of the new Turkish State. Ideologically, however, the group members positioned themselves quite differently to this nebulous state project. For example, the eldest and the only non-state sponsored member, Cemal Reşit Rey, continued to use all kinds of musical associations of the Ottoman Empire with his Turkish folk inspired works, and he used the images of the Empire as nostalgia. Because Cemal Reşit Rey was making his music in Istanbul, he did not experience any issues regarding his stance on the Empire. The two major cities of Ankara and Istanbul followed quite distinct approaches to music: in Ankara, composers were expected to produce nationalist music; on the other hand, in Istanbul, composers like Cemal Reşit Rey continued to follow old Istanbul days' Western music tradition. Whereas Ahmed Adnan Saygun dedicated his life and his music to creating national Turkish Music, the youngest member, Necil Kazim Akses, espoused musical aesthetics resonating strongly with composers of the European and American avant garde. In that sense it is possible to say that even though music had a major role during the creation of national ethos, the composers were not under strict control of the state.

Cemal Reşit Rey, along with Saygun the most important members of the Turkish Five, was from a high ranking officer's family that provided him special training and the opportunity to access a particular cultural environment. Due to his early musical inclinations, Rey`s parents brought him to Gabriel Fauré who recommended Cemal Reşit to Marguerite Long, under whom Rey became a student in the Paris Conservatory in 1920. After his graduation, he became the first professor of piano and composition in *Darül-elhan* music school, later Istanbul

Conservatory. Unlike his contemporaries, in addition to serious genres, Rey composed "light

genres" such as operettas and revues as a pedagogic medium that he thought could create an

interest in other serious music genres. While Saygun and other *nationalist* composers focused on

creating a new national music, Rey was composing the most famous musicals and operettas of

the musical history of the Turkish Republic.[78]
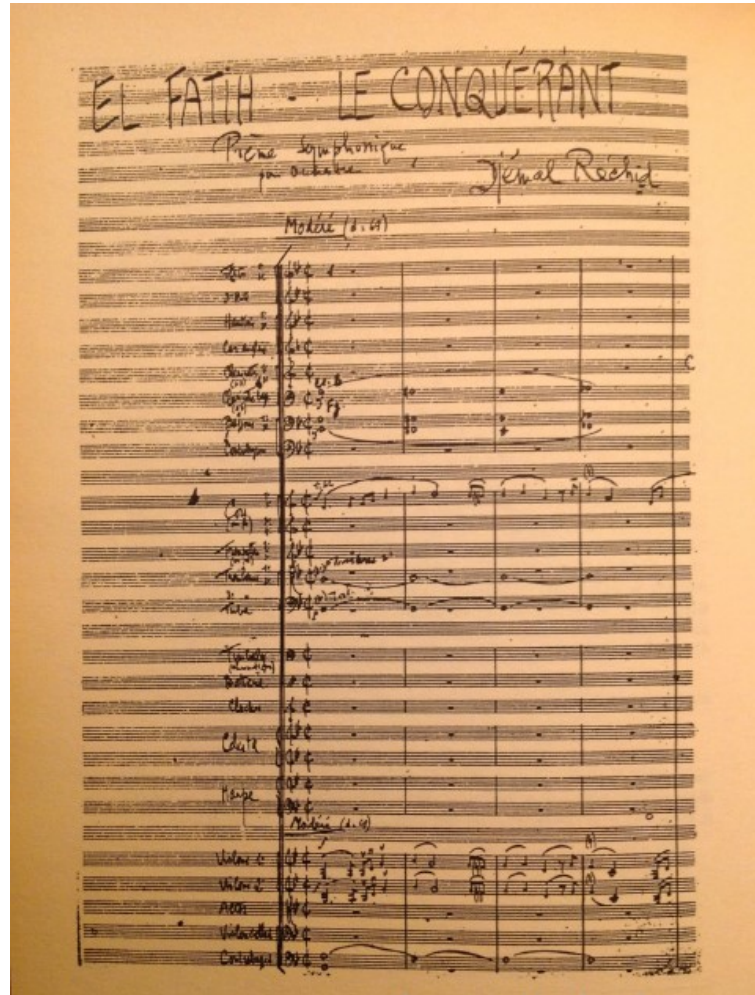
Illustration 3.2 Cemal Resit Rey's hand writing of *Fatih* symphonic poem
(Aydın 2003, 43)

Rey developed syncretism in his musical language. During his early period he employed

folkloric materials; in his mature period he used Turkish art music materials. Rey blended these

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[78] In 1932 *Üç Saat* (Three Hours), in 1933 *Lüküs Hayat* (Luxurious Life), and in 1934 he composed *Deli Dolu.* His older brother Ekrem Reşid Rey wrote Cemal Reşid Rey's librettos until his death.

structures with almost impressionist musical language. Other than the sound materials that he used as color and part of his programmed music, Rey broadly used polyrhythmic constructions, creating superimposed rhythmic waves between the musical lines. In his music, he expressed a longing for the past Ottoman days, using the image of Istanbul as a program for his music.[79]

With no political or musical political motivation, Rey's use of indigenous Turkish sound materials was quite different than Saygun's (İlyasoğlu 1997). His only political involvement was around 1934, after the broadcast of art music on State Radio was banned. In his memoirs, Rey conveys the story of being invited to Ankara for a congress to discuss music reform with the leadership of the minister of education along with eight musicians.[80] Mustafa Kemal phoned to ask if there was any progress on music reform (Refiğ 1997, 11). Because of the pressure, one of the stressed committee members proposed that monophonic music should be totally banned in Turkey; Rey, expressed the impossibility of this idea by envisioning for them a ridiculous scenario: Let us assume a shepherd wants to sing for his herd; does he really need to go back to his village and find someone and ask him to sing the second voice with him? (İlyasoğlu 1997).[81]

Even though his first creative period resonates with Ziya Gökalp's ideals, as revealed by his thoughts and general attitude towards musical materials, Rey was not a nationalist artist like Adnan Saygun. In comparing Saygun's and Rey's use of the folk idiom, one can clearly see that Saygun was influenced by Bartók, whereas Rey approached folk material and structures as Stravinsky might. Because of their different approaches and ideological dissimilarity, their compositional creations were also quite different. Unlike Rey, Saygun never composed pieces in the "lighter genres," such as operettas and cabarets, whereas, according to Rey, these pieces were

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[79] For example, in his *Pelerinages Dans la Ville qui Nest Plus qui Souvenir* –Wanderings in a City That Exists Only in Memories, 1940-41.
[80] Unfortunately Rey did not provide the exact day of the congress but it has to be in 1935 or 1936.
[81] Translation is mine

pedagogically necessary for society so that ordinary people could accept the serious genres more easily. As a purist, Saygun never approved of Rey's approach. In his *Halk Evlerinde Musiki*, Saygun openly criticized Rey because of his compositional practice.
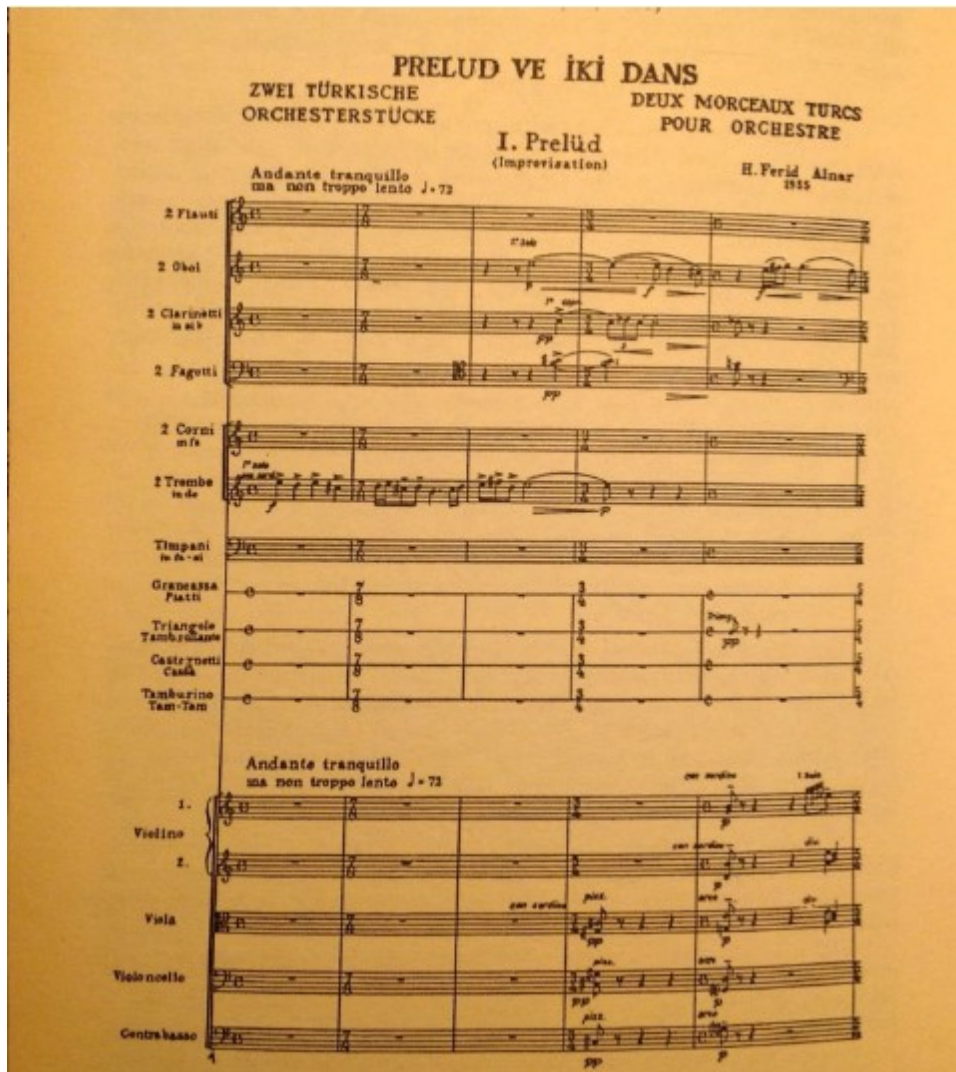
Illustration 3.3 Hasan Ferit Alnar Prelude and Two Dances (Aydın 2003, 62)

Unlike the already mentioned Turkish Five, Hasan Ferit Alnar used heavy Turkish art music idiom. The least prolific of Turkish Five composers, Alnar used predominantly traditional art music elements because of his background in Turkish art music. In his compositions, he was

not trying to create a synthesis. Although his works were written in Western forms, he treated *makam*s in their original context, not as a color or as abstractions. (Aydın 2003, 59).

Ulvi Cemal Erkin was another of the Five who contributed to the development of "polyphonic"[82] music in Turkey. His music, unlike Saygun's and Rey's, was written in strict homophonic style. As did the other members of the Five, Erkin used indigenous Turkish musical idioms, such as asymmetrical rhythms, ostinatos, traditional and folk scale systems, and quintal harmony.
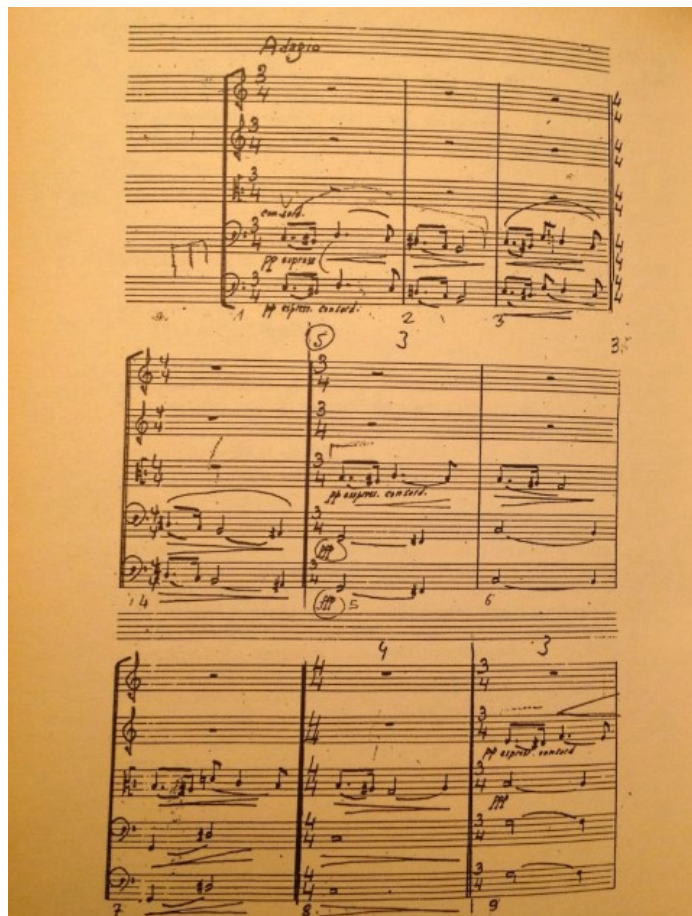
Illustration 3.4 Ulvi Cemal Erkin's hand writing Sinfonietta no.2 Adagio
(Aydın 2003, 112)

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[82] The term polyphonic was used by the policy makers during the first decade of the Republic, as denoted Western or non-monophonic music.

As a composer who used European modernist idioms such as extreme chromaticism and atonal techniques, the youngest among the Turkish Five, Necil Kazim Akses, deployed a musical style that differed from the rest of the group. Using avant-garde techniques, he defined his music as "amodal" around 1940s, which did not mean that it was "not modal or atonal but that it purified the dominance of a key" (Aydın 2003, 153). During that period, he composed based on *aleatoric* techniques. In his second period, he preferred traditional and folk materials and folk dance rhythms. While he was experimenting with different techniques, Akses's music contributed to Turkey's artistic and cultural life. In particular, his ideology free approach to music was important in Ankara, where everything was part of a state matter.
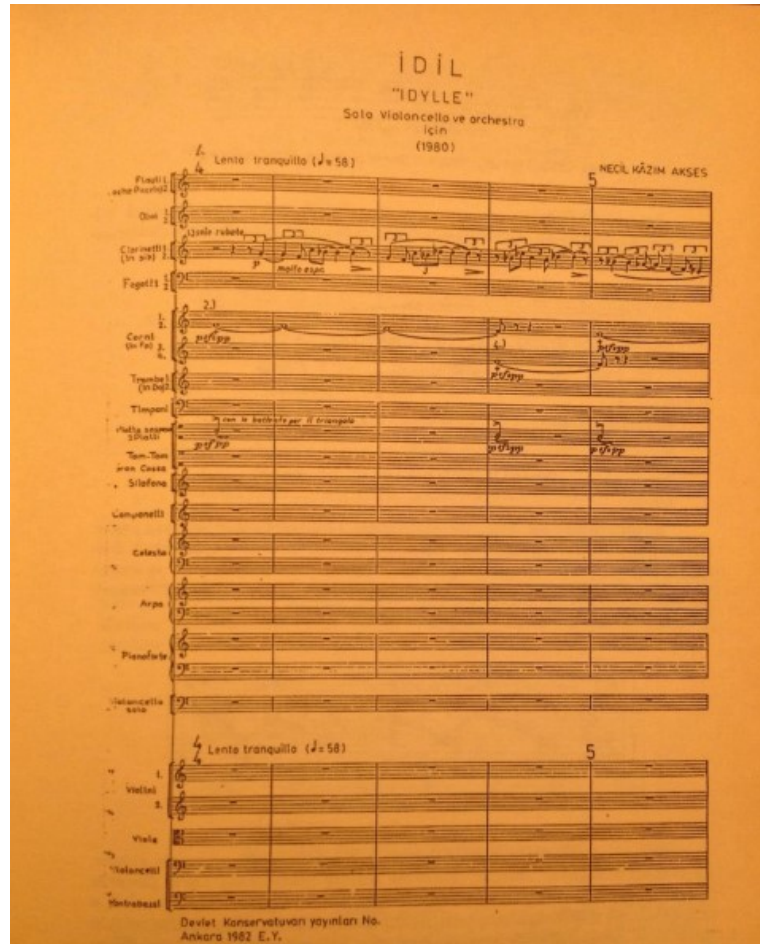
Illustration 3.5 Necil Kazim Akses score cover of Idylle (Aydın 2003, 165)

Although the members of Turkish Five broadly used indigenous folk and traditional art music materials, only Adnan Saygun committed his full compositional resourcefulness towards building a nationalistic music. His political commitment is why I will analyze his work and methods closely in Chapter 6. His music allows us to see how different materials can constitute a musical *organicism* that is growing, developing, and creating a coherent whole. While amalgamating his materials, Saygun not only constructed a modern musical language but also managed to shift public perceptions of new national Turkish music with compositions such as *Op.26 Yunus Emre Oratorio.*

Chapter 4: Saygun: Between Two States

I'm not mourning the Ottoman Empire. I'm a Westernizer. I'm pleased that the Westernization process took place. ~ Orhan Pamuk ~ (GurrÃa-Quintana 2005)

Ahmet Adnan Saygun and His External Creative Influences

As one of the most significant composers of republican Turkey, Ahmet Adnan Saygun is a prime example of an artist who actively shaped musical nationalism. In his creative period he was influenced by significant factors, such as his Paris years, his first opera that was commissioned by Atatürk himself, WWII, and his collaboration with Bela Bartók. These influences affected not only his compositional process but his artistic philosophy and aesthetic understanding. These factors contributed to Saygun's ability to consolidate his nationalist voice as a composer.

After reviewing Saygun's external influences, this chapter will mainly analyze how Saygun pursued what Bartók proposed, in his last lecture in Ankara, regarding his three tenets of creating national music and how Saygun developed his own process of abstraction and fragmentation of the local sources. The chapter will also contextualize the stylistic and aesthetic synthesis of Saygun. Additionally, it will provide an understanding of the roots of the new Republic's aesthetic politics, Saygun's musical language, and his transformation as a nationalist composer who mediated his country's past and present through his music. This mediation was in the first place personal, but no doubt he hoped he might change the attitude of his listeners, including perhaps state personnel.

Born in 1907 in Izmir, Ahmet Adnan Saygun was the son of mathematics teacher Mehmet Celal Bey, who encouraged all his children to engage in musical activities as he believed music would enhance their lives and personalities. Saygun and all his siblings played the *ud*, violin, and piano, taking music lessons from the best music tutors in the city. Growing up

during World War I gave him familiarity with patriotic songs and tunes (Refiğ 1997, 17), and later during his musical education, Saygun taught himself counterpoint and theory. In order to broaden his musical training, Saygun studied with a leading exponent of traditional Turkish art music, theorist Huseyin Saadettin Arel, from whom he acquired his basic understanding of Turkish art music theory. Through this music theory, Saygun explored potential fusion with Western musical materials. Even though he graduated from Music Teachers' College, he felt the necessity of learning further techniques. After being awarded a scholarship in 1928 from the Ministry of Education, he studied for three years in Paris.

Saygun's Paris sojourn (1928-31) was multi-layered. He began his studies at the Paris Conservatory with Eugene Borrel, continued at the *École Normale de Musique* with Nadia Boulanger, and ended his studies at *Schola Cantorum* under Vincent d'Indy, who gave him the opportunity to develop his nationalist lexicon. Even though Saygun's composition classes under Borrel spanned a short time, Borrel's Izmir background and his fluency in Turkish created a special bond between the two. And it was Borrel who introduced Saygun to the musical circles of Paris (Refiğ 1991; Aracı 2001). After his first period of study with Borrel, Saygun attended the composition class of Nadia Boulanger in 1928. Soon Saygun realized that he could not finish Boulanger's class because of the time restriction of his scholarship. Upon Borrel's suggestion, he decided to attend *Schola Cantorum* (Aracı 2001, 50). During those three years, d'Indy, who heavily referenced French folk songs in his compositions, became a model for Saygun. d'Indy was encouraging his students to learn folk music in *Schola Cantarum,* because he believed in a significant connection between Gregorian music and folk music (Waters 2008, 73). The strict counterpoint education and the modal language of *Schola Cantarum* show their influence upon Saygun's entire career, affecting his use of materials and ultimately his compositional language.

In addition to providing Saygun with a great education, his Paris years familiarized him with another culture. As well, because of the psychology of temporarily living as an ex-patriate, the emotional aspect of his nationalist feelings and thoughts were consolidated. He became acutely aware of his cultural background and national sentiments—these sentiments shaping his future political persona and his creative process.

Özsoy: the First Opera of the Republic

Upon his graduation and leaving Paris in 1931, Saygun returned to Turkey and was appointed to the Music Teacher's College as a part of the policy that musicians who trained abroad were given high level positions and the responsibility to educate the new generation. This period led to another significant phase of Saygun's career. In 1934, Atatürk himself commissioned an opera—the first opera composed after the proclamation of the Republic to be performed during the visit of the Shah of Iran in1934. Thus, this opera diplomatically and politically carried significance as it was commissioned to express the young Republic's western vision.[83] In his memoirs,[84] Saygun tells of the circumstances and the compositional process of the opera:

> After I received the invitation I was totally confused. I asked the librettist Münir Hayri (Egeli) and Necip Ali (Küçükkaya),[85] who was arranging the cultural activities: 'Let us assume that I will agree to compose the opera, with whom am I going to perform the opera? Which soloists? Which orchestra? Which choir?' (Tanju 2011)[86]

Saygun expresses that he was baffled when he figured out that he would only have five weeks to compose, rehearse, and perform the opera. Not surprisingly, he rejected the initial offer, stating,

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[83] An epic of the Persian Firdewsi (c.1100) and part of *Shahnameh,* the legend of Feridun "relates how Feridun conquers the evil ruler Zohak in order to become King of Persia." After his sons' births, Feridun gives a part of the Empire to each one and names the parts as Turan, Persia, and Rum. Because Ataturk wanted to emphasis the relationship between Turkey and Iran, he modified the story and reduced the number of sons so the narrative can draw a parallel to the "rulers of Persia and Turan…the Shah of Iran and Ataturk." (Woodard 1999, 3).
[84] Saygun did not indicate any date
[85] Necip Ali (Küçükkaya) was the prosecuter of the infamous *İstiklâl Mahkemeleri*, Independence Trials, and he was the head of People's Houses community centres.
[86]Translation is mine.

"There is no way, this is insane;" but Münir Hayri insisted, according to Saygun, by reminding him that "Dear brother, Gazi [Atatürk] wants it, it will happen. Necip Ali promised that they will provide all the possible means. The State demands it from you, from us!" (Saygun in Tanju 2011, 4).

Under these circumstances, the soloists were chosen from among the people who had music training and were well-known for having fine voices. The choir was made up of students from three high schools[87] along with the Presidential Symphonic Orchestra who only joined the daily rehearsals for half an hour because of internal politics and personal feelings of the conductor of the orchestra, Zeki Üngör, who was bothrered that Adnan Saygun had been chosen as the composer. He feigned that the orchestra needed to work on other pieces for the impending visit by the Shah of Iran (Curtis 2008). During one of the daily rehearsals, Atatürk visited and witnessed the problem between the conductor and Saygun. After realizing the conductor's reluctance to share *his* orchestra, Atatürk ordered Cemal Reşit Rey's orchestra from Istanbul to come to Ankara—the complete orchestra was ready the next day. According to Saygun's memoir, immediately after he composed a section, the full group began rehearsing it. The majority of the choir consisted of people who could not read music, however;[88] thus, Saygun had to keep the music simple for the four part choir (Aracı 2001, 68-72).Thus, the time pressure, the level of the musicians, the internal politics, and the presence of Ataturk himself resulted in an almost insurmountable task for Saygun.

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[87] İ*smetpaşa Kız Enstitüsü* (Ismetpasa Girls Institute), *Kız Lisesi* (Girls High school) and *Musiki Muallim* (Music Teachers' school.
[88] Insufficient trained musicians made this preparation even harder. Saygun had to practice with the choir long hours, so they could learn their parts.

In spite of all these stressors the performance was a great diplomatic success. Since Atatürk wanted to show the new vision of the Republic, create a strong political relationship with Iran, and distance the new state from the old Empire, he picked the plot from Iranian mythology. According to Saygun, it would be impossible to impress the Shah with anything else: the Turkish military, schools, and factories might help consolidate a favorable opinion of a modern Republic, but they had these similar institutions in Iran. An opera, on the other hand, would steal the Shah's heart, with the music and the story of Feridun (Aracı 2001).[89]

Illustration 4.1 Opening of *Özsoy*

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[89] The plot was the legend of Feridun, an epic of the Persian Firdewsi (c.1100) and a part of *Shahnameh*: "The original tale relates how Feridun conquers the evil ruler Zohak in order to become King of Persia." After his sons' births, Feridun gives a part of the Empire to each one and names the parts as Turan, Persia, and Rum. Because Ataturk wanted to emphasis the relationship between Turkey and Iran, he modified the story and reduced the number of sons so the narrative can draw a parallel to the "rulers of Persia and Turan…the Shah of Iran and Ataturk (Woodard 1999, 3).

Using the opera for a diplomatic intention brings to mind the Ottomans who used the performing arts as a tool for diplomatic relations. In the nineteenth century the Palace Theatres and the opera houses in the Pera district of Istanbul hosted many politically motivated events. Significantly, even though the new Republic was trying to eliminate all traces of the past Imperial days, Atatürk, as either a seeming unconscious impulse or a shrewd political gesture, used the opera in the same manner. Consequently, the opera functioned not only as a political instrument but also as a strong historical link between the Imperial past and the Republican present; more importantly, that link was established by the most powerful, highest ranking person: the founder of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

Saygun-Bartók Collaborations

Although it was Ataturk who set Saygun's musical career in motion, it was the Hungarian composer Bela Bartók and their collaboration that musically influenced him most significantly. This collaboration formed Saygun both as an ethnomusicologist and as a nationalist artist deeply involved in his county's nationalist art politics. Some of Bartók's ideas on folk and national music, method of categorisation, use of indigenous idiom, and transmutational techniques left a profound imprint on Saygun's writings and compositions. One can even argue that through Saygun's musical oeuvre, Bartók influenced the future of Turkish national music more than anybody else.

It was the publication of Saygun's book in 1936, *Türk Halk Musikisinde Pentatonizm* (Pentatonism in Turkish Folk Music), that would lead to an unexpected musical and personal relationship with Bartok, opening a surprising door in his career. It would not be an overstatement to say that Saygun deliberately walked in the footsteps of Bartók. His collaboration with Bartók shaped not only Saygun's preference of local source materials and

how to transform them but also his ethnomusicological, musical, and political ideas. Furthermore, this influence could be observed even on Saygun's pedagogical publications like *Töresel Musiki* (1967).

Like Bartók, Saygun never lost his interest in ethnomusicological research. Other than using these materials as one of his main components in his compositional process, Saygun used peasant materials and constructions as a part of his music pedagogy. In his original compositions, Saygun followed Bartók's method and created musical ideas that sound like authentic peasant melodies. For example, Bartók in "Evening in Transylvania"[90] assimilated and imitated the structural attributes of the old-Hungarian peasant materials, such as eleven-syllable verse lines, anhemitone-pentatonic scale, and dotted rhythm in *parlando-rubato* style (Suchoff 1984). Thus, he created authentic sounding musical materials. Saygun applied similar strategies to produce a peasant ambiance. This strategy became the backbone of the creation of Turkish national music politically and aesthetically.

Historical and Linguistic Connections between Hungary and Turkey

In addition to Hungarian folk music, Bartók was attracted to the folk music of linguistically related and neighbouring peoples.[91] According to him, these materials would provide extensive data on his own native culture and music. His comparative study focused on folk music's style, construction, origin, and dissemination, as well as the musical relations of the neighbouring peoples:

> The ancient cultural relations of peoples who have been scattered far and wide, could and should be discovered. There is much to be revealed about ancient settlements and the as yet unsolved problems of history. It is now possible to discover what contact there was

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[90] In Bartok's "Evening in Transylvania, through imitating the descending line-ending scheme rather than on melodic contour and other specific structural attributes, Bartok could project a distinctive Transylvanian character. (Gollin 2008, 67).

[91] His study *Our Folk Music and the Folk Music of Neighbouring People's* has particular significance.

between neighbouring peoples, in what way they were linked, or perhaps separated, by spiritual beliefs. (Bela Bartók in Ujfalussy, 1971, 301)[92]

Even long before his Anatolia expedition, Bartók hypothesized that there must be a strong link between the Hungarian and Turkic folk music cultures because of the linguistic and historical connections (Sipos, 2007)[93]. Sipos (2000) and Ujfalussy (1971) show that because of the similar pentatonic structure of Hungarian and Cheremiss[94] folksongs, Bartók was convinced that the origin of the pentatonic style was "Asian and points toward the northern Turks" (in Ujfalussy. 1936, 303).

Bartók 's invitation to Turkey in 1936 to conduct field research and give three lectures served two purposes for Bartók: to research the common source of pentatonic melodies and to explore prehistoric connections of Turkish and Hungarian peasant music (Aji 2011, 17). Ujfalussy also shows that this trip was a part of Bartók's decades long "scientific programme" (Ujfalussy 1971, 303). According to Bartók, because both of these people were historically and linguistically interconnected, it is not surprising that Hungarian culture contains many Turkic elements. For Bartók, the wealth of similarities in music led to crucial questions: Are these similarities just coincidence? Are these people genetically related? Is it possible to find these musical similarities in the folk music of other peoples?

Even though Hungarian is Finno-Ugrian in origin, it mixed with a great number of Turkic elements during the "ethnogenesis," as Sipos proposes (Sipos 2000, 171). According to the Ural-Altaic hypothesis, both Turkish and Hungarian belong to a large Ural-Altaic language family. To investigate that linguistic connection was the main reason for Bartók's field trip: "I first traced

[92] Ujfalussy, *Bartok*, 301. Although Ujfalussy indicated that this quotation is taken from one of the late study of Bartok, he, unfortunately, did not indicate the source.
[93] Sipos points out that both Hungarian and Turkish have their origin in the Uralic-Altaic language family: Hungarian is Finno-Ugrian in origin and Turkish is Altaic. According to Sipos, Bartok believed that many Turkic groups played an important role in terms of the emergence of the Hungarian ethnicity (Sipos 2007, 205).
[94] (Mari) A Finno-Ugric people living in the Volga region.

Finno-Ugrian-Turkish resemblances to the people of the Volga region, and from there finally to

Turkey" (Bartók in Ujfalussy 1971, 303). This Turkish- Hungarian contact can be traced back to

the 4th century AD with the first settlements of Turkic groups in the Hunnish Empire. During the

migration waves, these people must have mixed with the Hungarians who were mixed with the

polyethnic population of the Khazar Empire; thus, they had been quite familiar with various

Turkic tongues[95] for centuries (Sipos 2000, 172).

Around AD 567, the Turkic-speaking Avars, who also played a role in the development

of the Hungarian ethnic group, pushed into the Carpathian Basin. In the 11th and 12th centuries,

Sipos points out, Pechenegs of the Kipchak Turks, the most historically significant group whose

language and culture were greatly influential, settled in the area of the Hungarian Kingdom.

Bartók argues for the Turkic influence on the alphabet of the Székely people, a subgroup of the

Hungarians, living in eastern Transylvania, Romania:

> We have known for several decades that the ancient Székely-Hungarian alphabet, a kind
> of runic or scored alphabet , first discovered in a document in the church of the Székely-
> Hungarian village Énlaka (Transylvania), is in close relation to a similar alphabet found
> in inner Asia, at the dwelling place of certain ancient Turkish tribes (inscriptions from
> A.D. 500-700). (Bartók 1976, 39)

Since there were many linguistic connections, Bartók, Saygun, and Sipos all agree that

the similarities between Hungarian and Turkish music must date back to the pre-Ottoman era.

Saygun believed that despite the Ottoman influence on all strata of Hungarian culture, during the

two-centuries-long Ottoman occupation of Hungary[96] in the 16th-17th century, it was quite

unlikely that there was strong social interaction between the Ottoman troops and the local

population. Furthermore, it is almost impossible to talk about a real musical influence because of

the structure of these janissary dominated troops. If one considers the janissary troop soldiers'

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[95] Such as Savirs, Onogurs, and Khazars
[96] The Ottomans were pushed back out of Budapest in 1686 and withdrew completely in 1718.

background and their training, it is easy to see that there was no homogenous musical style that they were all exposed to other than the music of *mehterhâne* (Saygun 1976, xiii-ix). Bartók adds that, in fact, many Hungarians left their invaded hometowns as they did not want to continue to live in those areas, causing these small villages in central Hungary to vanish. Thus, both composers agreed that the musical and linguistic influences were not attributable to the Ottoman occupation; therefore, these effects must be the result of a much more ancient relationship (Bartók 1976, 41).

Bartók's Research on Turkish Folk Music

Saygun also provided historical corrections with his field discoveries. In 1935, after a discussion on Benedict Szabolsci's Hungarian monograph and its folklore area map, which erroneously shows the Anatolian peninsula "as belonging to the Arabo-Persian region" (Saygun, 1976, 5), Saygun and his ethnomusicologist colleague Mahmut Ragip Gazimihal decided to correct the mistake by publishing booklets individually. Saygun published his *Pentatonism in Turkish Folk Music* (1936), in which he made bold assumptions such as "pentatonism is the seal of Turkish music and where it does exist, the people there are Turks" (Saygun 1936, 6). Gazimihal published two booklets the same year, *Türk Halk Musikisinin Tonal Hususiyetleri Meselesi* (On the Issue of the Tonal Characteristics of Turkish Folk Music) (Gazimihal 1936) and *Türk Halk Musikisinin Kökeni Meselesi* (On the Issue of the Origins of Folk Music). The booklets included the "true pentatonic structure" and the central Asian origin of Turkish and Hungarian folk music.[97] These booklets were distributed nationally and internationally, and Saygun and Gazimihal also sent copies to the Hungarian author of the monograph.

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[97] During that period, the issue of the pentatonic structure of the Turkish folk music attracted to other ethnomusicologists of the time. Ferruh Ersunar published *Anadolu'nun Pentatonik Melodileri Hakkında Birkaç Not* (Couple Notes on Pentatonic Melodies in Anatolia), in 1937; and *Tunceli-Dersim Halk Türküleri ve Pentatonik* (The Folksongs of Tunceli-Dersim and Pentatonic) in the same year. Other than his published books, Gazimihal

The booklets have many musical examples to show the central Asian origin of the folk music under scrutiny. Although Saygun later changed his arguments in his personal correspondence and a 1989 dated letter to Gülper Refiğ (Refiğ 1991) on pentatonicism and that all pentatonic music has a Turkic origin, the booklets reflected the new nationalist ideals and the eagerness to find a representation of distinct cultural and historical background (O'Connell 2005, 10). Using Benedict Szabolsci's copy, Bartók could examine the musical examples of Gazimihal's booklet and the pentatonic structures of this folk music. Bartók was excited to see all the pentatonic examples. The authors did not know that Bartók was already researching on the linguistically connected areas to determine a further musical and historical connection. A few weeks after they sent the pamphlets to Hungary,[98] Adnan Saygun and Ragıp Gazimihal received a letter from Bartók, who also attached some music to his letter and wanted to know whether Turkish folk songs exhibited a particular "turn of phrase" (Saygun 1976).

Even though these booklets were focused on music, they reveal to some degree their writer's political ideology. Saygun's map of pentatonicism[99] suggests the spread of Pentatonic structure from central Asia, echoing the linguistics and historical theories of *Güneş-Dil Teorisi* (the Sun language theory) and suggesting that all languages derived from one primal Turkic language. Both Saygun and Gazimihal were quite convinced in the accuracy of this theory; in these booklets, music and political ideology coincided. Even though both authors were trying to produce a relatively objective scientific document, they contributed to the process of rewriting

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contributed to the issue by his article in Encyclopedia of Music *Asya Türk Halk Musikisinde Pentatonism* (Pentatonism in Asian-Turkish Folk Music) in 1947. The other contributors were Sadi Yaver Ataman; in 1947, for Encyclopedia of Music his article *Türk Halk Musikisinin Bir-İki Karakteristiği ve Pentatonism Meselesi* (Some Characteristics of Turkish Folk Music and the Problem of Pentatonism).

[98] Unfortunately, Saygun did not provide an exact date, but it must be after May 1936.
[99] See the appendix.

national past.

Example 4.1 *Kizilirmak Türküsü*

In December of 1935, Bartók received a letter from Hungarian philologist László Rásonyi, a professor at the University of Ankara, who wanted to know if Bartók would be interested in giving lectures[100] in Turkey and collecting folk music (Bartók 1976). In his reply, Bartók expressed a "desire to undertake a trip through Anatolia, [his] only request… a second-class round-trip ticket" (Bartók 1976, 93). Bartók was enthusiastic to go to Turkey to confirm his theories on the connections between Turkish and Hungarian peasant music.

Interestingly, Rasonyi's unofficial invitation and the publication of Saygun's and Gazimihal's booklets coincided. These simultaneous publications could be considered as the reflections of the political atmosphere of their time. In Turkey, as a part of the nationalist discourse, folkloric and ethnographic research was highly encouraged. Two similar publications were regarded as the endorsement of the official narrative of Turkish history.

Before his trip to Turkey in 1936, Bartók requested some folk music examples to examine. Rasonyi sent some publications edited by Gazimihal to show Bartók what had been done in the area of folk music. After scrutinizing these folk music examples, Bartók said:

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[100] "Rasonyi asks Bartok to lecture on three questions: 1) the connection between Hungarian and Turkish music, 2) the development of Hungarian music and its apparent state, and 3) how a Turkish national music could develop." (Bartok 1976, 3).

…when we settled to this work we became convinced that…the origin of the pentatonic style pointed to Asian and northern Turkic peoples….Apart from Hungarian tunes that were variants of Cheremiss songs, we also found Hungarian tunes that were variants of north Turkic tunes derived from around Kazan. I have recently received Mahmut Ragip Kosemihal's[101] book…. *The Tonal Specificities of Turkish Folk Music'* in which I also found some melodies of this kind.…Obviously, all tunes of this kind derive from a common source, and this source was the old central north-Turkic culture. (Bartók in Sipos 2000, 13)

Musically these words show that Bartók was already convinced that he would probably find great evidence to prove his theories on the origin of the pentatonic style. On another level, however, this musical theory was used by education and cultural ministry officers and music researchers to validate the official ideology of a Turkic past.

The search for such cultural materials was widespread in Turkey in this era. Folk music and other folkloric materials were collected at the beginning of the century by Turkish intellectuals as a part of the method of raising national consciousness. Folk music, in fact, was the first area folklore studies pursued (Mirzaoglu 2007, 101-102). As a part of these studies, the first articles published appeared in March 1915 in *Yeni Mecmua* (the New Journal) by Musa Süreyya, in 1916 in the newspaper *İkdam* by Ahmet Cevdet (Onan), and in the journal *Türk Yurdu* (the Turkish Homeland) in the same year by Necip Asım. These articles highlighted the necessity to collect folk songs (Mirzaoğlu 2007, 101-102). These efforts could be considered as nationalist attempts at the cultural materialization of a nation.

Before the proclamation of the Republic in 1920, *Hars Dairesi* (the Cultural Office), as part of the Ministry of National Education, started to collect and compile folk songs. In 1925, the Ministry published the first field trip report conducted in Western Anatolia by the Seyfettin and Sezai brothers. Between 1927 and 1929, the Istanbul Conservatory commenced four field trips to

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[101] Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal also used the surname Kösemihal.

a number of Anatolian regions and published two books by Gazimihal (Gazimihal l928; 1929). Well-known ethnomusicologists like Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal, Rauf Yekta, Yusuf Ziya Demircioğlu, and Ferruh Arsunar took part in the field trips (Mirzaoğlu 2007, 102). The collected 850 folk songs were published as 14 volumes of *Halk Türküleri* (Folk Songs). Gazimihal's books *Anadolu Türküleri ve Musiki İstikbalimiz* (Anatolian Folk Songs and the Future of Our Music) and *Şarkî Anadolu Türkü ve Oyunları* (Eastern Anatolian Folk Songs and Dances) were published in 1928 and 1929, respectively (ibid. 2007, 102).

It was into this ethos of re-discovery of the "folk" that Bartók arrived in Istanbul on November 2, 1936 amidst a surge of interest in this musical folk material. He stayed almost a week to listen to folk songs in the archives of the Istanbul Municipal Conservatory.[102] Almost 130 tunes were recorded in the early 1930s on commission from the city and produced by His Master's Voice and Columbia. Although Bartók was highly satisfied with their technical quality, there were other major methodological problems: these recordings were the first collection, and thus the selected material was unsystematic; there was no written text and consequently some parts were incomprehensible; the melodies were not notated so the problematic parts could not be corrected; and the main issue for Bartók, the musicians were wandering musicians who could not be "reliable sources" of peasant music that is necessarily local (Suchoff 1993, 137-138).

After the problems of the existing folk music recordings were identified, Ahmet Adnan Saygun, commissioned by the *Halkevi*, accompanied Bartók with the task of collecting data from the performers as well as the phonetic transcription of the text (Saygun 1951). In addition to Saygun, two other members of the Turkish Five, Ulvi Cemal Erkin and Necil Kazım Akses, joined Bartók as observers to survey the methods of collecting musical folklore on site.

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[102] Before Bartók's arrival, folk song studies were run by *Halkevleri,* the Community Centers.

While in Ankara, Bartók gave a concert and held three lectures; in the last presentation he offered three ways in which *köylü/halk müziği* (peasant music) can be assimilated into "modern music" and/or national music. In this era, interestingly, "modern" and "national" were conflated. This amalgamation was made by the Turkish nationalists who viewed the new Republic as modern and/or national in opposition to the Ottoman Empire. These ideas had ultimate significance particularly for Saygun's generation of composers. Bartók's first method uses an unchanged or slightly changed peasant melody and writes opening and concluding phrases along with an accompaniment; in this case, all elements but the peasant tune are secondary. In the second method of transmutation, the composer creates an "imaginary" folk music through assimilating the structural elements. In this case, the transition of the peasant melody "has become purely a symbol, and the essential thing is its setting" (Moreux 1974, 73-74). In the final method, the composer uses neither a peasant tune nor an imitation, but he creates such an atmosphere that the peasant feeling pervades throughout (Bartók 1998, 74-75). The presentation was significant not only because of the methods of the transmutation of peasant music, but also because Bartók consolidated Ziya Gökalp's position[103] on creating Turkish national music. The state was pleased because what he proposed was compatible with Gökalp. Thus, having a synthesis of Turkish and Western music in creating Turkish national music became the only possible option. This resonance with Gökalp's thoughts solidified the means of the national music.

The Field Trip

On November 18 1936, Bartók and Saygun sought out musical authenticity where they might find it. They went to Adana Osmaniye, the territory where nomadic Turkish tribes lived, to transcribe folk songs. As these people still lived in "primitive circumstances," Bartók was hoping

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[103] Can be seen in the section of Creating Turkish National Music.

that all the characteristics of the "ancient music" could still be found there (Suchoff 1993, 139).

Since the local customs encouraged insular behaviour,[104] Saygun proposed to create familiarity

through linguistic connection—to persuade the peasants that Bartók and/or the Hungarians were

"only Turks who settled somewhere else, they had always spoken Turkish, but that evidently in

the course of centuries their accent had become more or less different" (Bartók 1976, 6). To

encourage fraternization, Saygun constructed a sentence that consisted of the common words of

both languages; Bartók only needed to say the sentence to the peasants to show that there was no

need to be reluctant in front of him. Although almost meaningless and funny, the sentence[105]

allowed Bartok as an acceptable Turkic foreigner to continue his research.

On the first day, Bartók recorded two Edison wax cylinders (Sipos 2000, 16). The songs

revealed great similarities between old Hungarian tunes, confirming his initial theories:

> I was secretly very happy that at last I was doing on-the-spot collection, at last I was
> going to a peasant house again! The host, Ali Bekir oğlu Bekir, aged 70 welcomed us
> warmly. The old man burst into a song without any reluctance there in the court, singing
> some old war story:
>
> > *Kurt pasa cikti Gozana*
> > *Akil yetmez bu duzene.*
>
> I could hardly believe my ears: good heavens, this is like a variant of an old Hungarian
> tune! Pleased as I was…the second tune I heard Bekir sing was again the kin of a
> Hungarian tune: that's quite shocking, I thought (Bartók in Sipos 2000, 173-181).

In the following days, Bartók and Saygun continued to collect both vocal and instrumental tunes,

some of which were again Hungarian-like melodies.

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[104] Because the field work took place during the month of Ramadan, it may have contributed to the peasants'
apprehension and unwillingness to help .
[105] English translation of the sentence: In the cotton field are much barley and many apples, camels, tents, axes,
boots, and young goats. In Hungarian: *Pamuk tarlón sok árpa, alma, teve, sátor, balta, csizma, kicsi, kecske van;* in
Turkish: *Pamuk tarlasında çok arpa, alma, deve, çadır, balta, çizme, küçük keçi var.*

Illustration 4.2 Bartok and Saygun (Horvath 2015)

Unlike the first half, the second half of the expedition was not satisfactory for Bartók for many reasons: the lack of recorded songs from women who rejected singing in front of strange men for both religious and customary reasons; the lack of information on whether the peasants sang in choirs because of unclear communication through an interpreter; and technical difficulties with the Edison monograph, which could not record the vocal and the instrumental parts simultaneously (Saygun 1951, 7), and it had wax cylinders with 2 minute recording limitations (Bartók 1976, 259). The transcription process was finished by May 1937, but the translation issues forced the collection to be suspended temporarily.

Bartók's Findings on Turkish Folk Music

Melodic similarities between Turkish and Hungarian peasants' tunes revealed a common past for the two peoples. After listening to some of the Turkish peasant tunes, Bartók found recognition of some melodic variants of old Hungarian tunes A small number of the melodies were almost identical, causing Bartók to state this as "irrefutable proof of the age of these melodies: it shows the way back to the sixth or seventh century" (Bartók 1976, 39; Sipos 2000). Of the melodies in Bartók 's collection, 21 of 93 were mainly in descending construction,[106] a

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[106] Bartok explains this structure as the tunes starts on the highest pitch and descends up to its lowest point when it approaches the cadence: "The Hungarian melodies start on the octave and frequently progress on or two notes below

structure similar to but more ornamented when compared with old Hungarian eight-syllable section melodies (Suchoff 1993, 146). Bartók's two examples of Turkish and Hungarian descending tunes can be seen below in examples 4.5 and 4.6, respectively (Suchoff 1993, 144-145):[107]

Bartók found it interesting that other than the ornamentations, there were almost no Arabic influence, although these nomadic tribes lived in the Taurus Mountains during the summer and near the Syrian border during the winter. Other structural findings were also evident: four of the melodies were identical, six of them were variants, and eleven of them revealed similar structure of particular types of Hungarian tunes. Just as in other eastern-European folk music, Turkish rural folk music lacked upbeats but frequently some syllables are used as "pseudo-upbeats" (Bartók 1976, 46). The melodies were mainly *parlando* style. In the *Bela Bartók Studies in Ethnomusicology* in which Bartók discussed Hungarian folk music, he pointed out that in terms of the rhythmic structure the *parlando* melodies are the most important ones because these melodies had played a significant role in the development of the "category of new melodies" (Suchoff 1997, 175). In his original music, Saygun exploited the full potential of the *parlando* structure by using folk and religious idioms, for example in his *Yunus Emre Oratorio* (1942), to create rhythmic instability and undefined structure.

Their transcriptions of the peasant melodies revealed that some have Dorian and Aeolian modes (Bartók 1976, 8), which can be transformed versions of a pentatonic scale. Due to the discrepancies between the tempered system and Pythagorean temperament, Saygun indicated that it might be misleading to interpret the modal peculiarities of these melodic structures as

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the *tonus finalis*; the Turkish melodies, on the other hand, begin on the tenth, and their *tonus finalis* is the lowest" (Suchoff 1993, 145).

[107] The tunes were collected respectively by Belá Vikár and Zentelke Erdőkövesd. Ibid.

ecclesiastical modes (Saygun 1976, 225).[108] Bartók shows that some melodies display "buried"

pentatonic structure (Bartok 1976),[109] but when compared to old Hungarian melodies, the

Turkish melodies used fewer. Accordingly, his findings changed the belief that *all* Turkish folk

music carries pentatonic roots.

Bartók's influence on Saygun

The collaboration with Bartók left an imprint on Saygun that presented itself in different

areas. Although local sources began playing a role in Saygun's music during his Paris years,

most likely because of Vincent d'Indy's influence, Bartók undeniably guided him to discover the

rich cultural and nationalistic possibilities of these materials. Bartók's influence could be

observed in Saygun's approach to the following three areas: 1) folk idiom as national music, 2)

ethnomusicological research and applications as national treasure, and 3) folk materials as

pedagogical tools.

In tracing Bartok's influence in the area of the creation of national music it is necessary

to recall the use of folk idioms as national music from the last chapter. The nineteenth century

was the demarcation point in the patriotic use of peasant tunes and materials, but Bartók was not

the only composer significantly using folk idiom. However, unlike the previous generation's

composers, he did not only use these materials to create a folk atmosphere. Instead, he

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[108] "…Bartok resorts to modal terms in their ecclesiastic sense such as Dorian, Phrygian, etc…Personally, I am wary of these terms, which can easily lead misunderstanding and are not easily adaptable to folk melodies.... If these scales or melodies conceived on them were played on a piano one would immediately notice their strangeness due to their non-conformity to reality of Turkish folk music. In other words, the westerns tempered system is completely foreign to the music which is the object of our study….as a method of showing the peculiarities of these scaler constructions, western musicologists are using the system of cents…. In other words, those musicologists use a basis for their transcription which very rarely corresponds to reality. As a consequence of the method of transcription which Bartok had used all his life, he, in the transcriptions of Turkish folk melodies, does not seem to have taken into account this point which is of capital importance for better understanding of musical language. Thus, for example, the *b flat* placed by Bartók at the key of most of the melodies in this collection should, in reality, from a minor third expressed by 32/27 which is less than the minor third of the tempered system." (Saygun 1976, 225).
[109] In his "Harvard Lectures," in 1943, while Bartok was lecturing about the characteristics of Hungarian folk music, he highlights that the "'Old' Hungarian pentatonic music is a branch of the great Central-Asiatic Turkish, Mongolian and Chinese pentatonic centre" (Suchoff 1976, 371).

systematized and categorized the tunes, identified the particular regional characteristics, and, most importantly, tried to create a national consciousness. During the first decade of the twentieth century, Bartók's awareness of the ideological importance of music matured:

> The spirit of nationalism was stirring in Hungary at the time and making itself felt in art too. The idea arose that it might be possible to create a specifically Hungarian type of music. This idea took root in my mind and I found myself turning to Hungarian folk music. (Bartók in Ujfalussy 1971, 42)

As his words indicate, the inspiration of folk music in Bartók was two-directional. In order to create Hungarian national music, he constructed his music around Hungarian folk tunes. His aim "to create a specifically Hungarian type of music" shows also his consciousness of the ideological functionality of folk music and his politicized social stance. Like Bartók, Saygun was fully aware of and employed this dual function of the folk tunes, which provided Saygun with his nationalist lexicon.

Additionally, incorporating and modelling upon folk music and other structural elements of these local sourced tunes allowed Bartók the possibility to compose without being restricted by the boundaries of the major-minor tonality:

> The outcome of these studies was of decisive upon my work, because it freed me from tyrannical rule of the major and minor keys. The greater part of the collected treasure, and the more valuable part, was in old ecclesiastical or old Greek modes, or based on more primitive (pentatonic) scales, and the melodies were full of most free and varied rhythmic phrases and changes of tempi, played both *rubato* and *guisto*. It became clear to me that the old modes, which had been forgotten in our music, had lost nothing of their vigor. Their new employment made new rhythmic combinations possible. The new way of using the diatonic scale brought freedom from the rigid use of the major and minor keys, and eventually led to a new conception of the chromatic scale, every tone of which came to be considered of equal value and could be used freely and independently. (Suchoff 1993, 410)

Bartók's approach had a strong echo in Saygun's music, such as in the use of non-diatonic modal scale constructions. While Saygun was creating his nationalist style, he used the polarity of the folk and art music constructions, which enabled him to exploit the syntactical and grammatical

possibilities of both traditions along with Western art music. Although the new cultural politics were echoed in Saygun's creativity, without any hesitation he used art music in his synthesis: "together with Anatolian music, I have assimilated many aspects of our art music. Because it is also ours…, I make use of it, too" (Saygun in Akdil 1987, 26). This fusion represented different periods of Saygun's life: Turkish art music belonged to his childhood, Western art music belonged to his Paris years, and folk music belonged to his mature period (Woodard 1999, 49). According to Woodard, it was Saygun's inspirational sources that made him special among other nationalist composers.[110]

In using Western art music, Saygun and Bartók were similar not only in their use of folk materials in nationalist discourse but in their shared similar ideological and aesthetical values. The process of systematizing and using these tunes as a major compositional medium, as Bartók mentioned in his letters, required an aesthetic decision;[111] for example, in his folk music arrangements Bartók preferred to use only certain types of Hungarian melodies. In his own composition, Bartók modified and altered some of the melodies so that these melodies became almost unrecognizable (Lampert 1981). Bartók explained his design: "to collect from the Hungarian folksongs the most beautiful ones and, providing them with the best piano accompaniment possible, to elevate them, as it were, to the level of art song," adding that "…such a collection would serve the goal to let Hungarian folk music be known abroad" (Lampert 1981, 339). Bartók's statement was a more or less a common feeling and thought among nationalist composers that exhibited the complicated desire for national music to be "*inter*national" (Curtis 2008), thus changing the functionality of folk music. Creating an East and

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[110] A similar attitude can be observed in Cemal Resit Rey's oeuvre.
[111] Letter to his sister, Elza, December 26, 1904. In *Bela Bartok családi levelei* [Bela Bartok's Family Letters], ed. By Bela Bartok, Jr., 125. Original in Hungarian. From (Lampert 2006).

West synthesis was the purpose of both composers. In the case of Saygun, this aim also matched Gökalp's Turkist agenda. It is unknown whether he was also influenced by Gökalp's ideas, but as early as 1929 Bartók expressed a similar goal to his biographer Serge Moreux, which was reiterated later by Karpati: "Kodaly and I [Bartók] wanted to realize a synthesis of East and West" (Karpati 1964, 179). Such a synthesis also reflects a national pride as well as disavowal of the past and articulation of a future.

During the compositional process of Turkish national music, Bartók's three tenets[112] were widely used by the younger generation. Although Saygun was mostly using the last two methods, there are some exceptional cases in which Saygun shows an example of the first method. The tune "Mavilim" is one of the melodies that was collected during Bartók's fieldwork. The example below shows the excerpt from Bartók's transcription and as a part of Saygun's composition, Op. 41 *Ten Folk Songs* for Baritone and Orchestra (1968). Saygun preferred a simplified version in which he eliminated all the ornamentations and altered the rhythmic structure. Saygun's end-accented construction made the melody memorable because of the bouncing dance rhythm allusions.

Whereas Bartók exploited the possibilities of Eastern European peasant music's structural elements and the potential of the "new ways of harmonization" suggested by the peasant music (Bartók 1998, 75), Saygun used, in addition to folk tunes, the components of *Klasik Türk Müziği* (Turkish art music).[113] He expressed that he was using *makam* as a color, which enabled him to use different sonorities and chromatic inflations and dissonant sound structures outside of the realm of the major-minor tonality:

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[112] As stated above, Bartok proposed three possibilities during creation a national music: 1- using an original peasant melody, 2- transmutation through assimilating the structural elements, 3- the composer creates a peasant feeling.
[113] Turkish art music also known as *sanat müziği* (art music), *ince saz* (delicate melodies), *enderun müziği.*

> *Makam* for me is only a color. I don't use it as in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. I could, but then I would lose the ability to use all Western instruments. Because *makam* is only a color for me, a tool, I can use it within the Western tempered tuning system. By doing this I have all instruments at my disposal. (Akdil 1987, 26)[114]

In using this "tool," Saygun nationalizes the properties of *makam* music. Because of different tunings, Saygun used the characteristic intervals. Of course these "*makams*" were not the original since it is impossible to perform the quarter tones and commas. But because of these characteristic intervals, it is possible to evoke certain *makams*. Since he was not using these scaler constructions in their original *seyir* or melodic progress, he managed to create the *makam* feeling without emphasizing their Ottomanness; sometimes this feeling of Ottomanness was the exact feeling he wanted to evoke. Using *makams*, even as an abstract concept, allowed him to integrate the Turkish musical properties from all ages. Thus, for Saygun, *makam* was not only a compositional instrument; it was one of the main parts of his musical mediation: pentatonic structures from a central Asian Turkic distant past, *makam* from the remembered Ottoman past (even though it was modified), and folk constructions from the present Republic are all brought together in Saygun's compositional practice, specifically in the *Yunus Emre Oratorio.*

After Bartók

 In spite of Saygun's diplomatic success of his opera, Saygun's career had an unexpected setback in 1935. He became a *persona non grata* upon Paul Hindemith's arrival in Ankara. Hindemith's belief that German musical pedgogy should serve as the basis of the new musical institutions of the Republic conflicted, not surprisingly, with Saygun's French educational training; adding to that, Saygun's collaboration with Bela Bartók was the culminating incident that bothered the senior composer. Due to a hostile report by Hindemith, Saygun became an "untouchable" and left Ankara in 1936 for Istanbul hoping for a more hospitable reception. The

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[114] Translation is mine.

whole incident was devastating for the composer. In his memoirs, Saygun expresses his

frustration towards Hindemith's unreasonable hostile attitude:

> I later learnt and read the document myself: Hindemith came to Turkey to establish
> the State Conservatory during my illness and he prepared a report for the National
> Education Ministry on me, whom he had never met, and he said that "during the time that
> we are trying to establish the Conservatory, it is necessary to expel this person, who has
> no value as a composer or as a teacher, not only from the school but also from Ankara."
> (Saygun in Aracı 2001, 83) [115]

Even though Hindemith's attitude frustrated Saygun, he said he did not let these unfortunate

incidents discourage him (Tanju 2011).

Saygun's further folk music research

Having literally and figuratively been run out of the capital, Saygun continued his pursuit of folk

music begun with Bartók, transforming it into a desire to know his people. Saygun explained the

necessity to continue folk music studies in an article in 1983:

> In order to understand people's souls and psychology and, of course, to understand
> myself and my own problems, I decided I had to understand the people and villages of
> Anatolia. So I traveled throughout the country and lived among the people in villages.
> (Saygun in Ozer 1987, 34)

As his words suggest, Saygun was trying to gain emic perspective and become an insider.

Woodard draws a parallel between his Paris years and field work periods, arguing that similar

circumstances led to similar experiences for Saygun. After Bartók's visit, Saygun published his

findings in several research studies related to music of different areas of Anatolia. In particular,

two of his books[116] focused on peculiarities of folk tunes and dances of the Black Sea and Kars

regions. The studies were considered the most significant research on the region because of his

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[115] However, Saygun adds, there is nothing about me [Saygun] on the report that is known as Hindemith report today
(Tanju 2011, 10)

[116] *Rize, Artvin ve Kars Havalisi Türkü, Saz ve Oyun Havaları* (Folk songs, instruments, and folk dances of Rize,
Artvin, and Kars region in 1937; *Yedi Karadeniz Türküsü ve Bir Horon* (Seven Black Sea region folk songs and a
Horon in 1938.

detailed analysis. The regional sound structure was so influential on Saygun's creativity that in order to perform Saygun's music it is crucial to know the peculiarities necessary for performance practice. Among all other regional instruments, musical forms, choreographic components, and timbral characteristics, it would not be an overstatement to say that the stylistic constituents of the Black Sea region affected his music the most.[117]

Saygun's other important ethnomusicological publication was *Bela Bartók 's Folk Music Research in Turkey* (1976), whose genesis was Bartók 's 1936 Anatolian field trip forty years earlier. However, because of the particular circumstances of the war, the German invasion of Austria in 1939, Bartók decided to leave Hungary and sent a letter to Saygun to ask if there was any possibility for him to find a job and minimum salary as a researcher in Turkey. Bartók had finished working on his Turkish folk music collection in 1938, but he could not find any publisher willing to publish his Turkish and Rumanian materials. With Turkey's changed foreign policies, Bartók's immigration request was rejected; the consequences of this request contributing to Saygun's status as *persona non grata* in Ankara.

Using Folk Sources as Pedagogical Tool

Saygun's use of folk or folk–like tunes in pedagogy also reveals Bartók's influence. Although his main pedagogical writings date back to 1951, *Lise Müzik Kitabı* (Music Book for High Schools), his *İnci'nin Kitabı* Op.10 (Inci's Book, 1934),[118] and *Halkevlerinde Musiki* (Music in People's Houses, 1940) should be considered in their pedagogical context. Although *İnci's Book* dates before his collaboration with Bartók, as his first book it is a great example indicating Saygun's position on using folk materials in pedagogy. This seven short piece

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[117] The characteristics of the regional dance are particularly identifiable through the instrumentation, the extreme tempo, and the predominantly irregular rhythms. For instance ♪=300, ♪=320, the metronome speed is ca. 690. According to Saygun, the speed could range from 428 to 906.
[118] The collection was dedicated to Madam Eugène Borrel.

collection, just as Bartók's *Mikrokosmos; For Children* and his other children's music education, had didactic intentions. Even though *İnci's Book* is quite a small collection, we can observe some similarities with *Microkosmos*: irregular rhythms, time changes, ostinato figures, various scale systems, and counterpointal devices. In both collections, the composers aimed to familiarize the pupil with certain kinds of musicianship skills through the structural peculiarities of musical culture of their society. While using these peculiarities, they were considering the aesthetic potential and intrinsic values of music as well as extra-musical factors, such as training the new generations with nationalist values.

Not surprisingly, the first piece of the collection, *İnci*, although having a limited range displays strong pentatonic and modal construction. A hemitonic pentatonic construction collides with Aeolian, as can be seen in Bartók's children's collection.

Example 4.2   *İnci'nin Kitabı*, Op.10a- *İnci* (A Pentatonic), mm. 1-9

In the second piece, *Afacan Kedi* (Mischievous Cat), Saygun displays his *Schola Cantorum* background through using several linear baroque techniques, such as imitation, inversion, and augmentation of the theme. The piece starts with an ostinato motive, which uses

C-D-E-G tetrachord from C diatonic pentatonic (C-D-E-G-A) scale. Saygun used this perfect 5th ambitus ostinato as the core idea of the piece.

Example 4.3   *Afacan Kedi*- Mischievous Cat from *İnci'nin Kitabı* mm.1-5

Masal (Tale), the final example, presents Saygun's clear but subtle use of folk idioms in *İnci'nin Kitabı*. The repetitive m2 (E-F) left hand accompaniment functions as drone; the melodic line, on the other hand, explicitly uses traditional Anatolian bards' melodic construction. This structure centered a single note, and using metrically short valued anacrusis, Saygun emphasized even more the upbeat A to increase the expectation of B. A B A form is constructed melodically, texturally, metrically, and tonally.

Töresel Musiki (Traditional Music) (Saygun 1967) is one of Adnan Saygun's most important works. Here, he showed his use of modal structures and indigenous rhythmic materials as pedagogical tools. Saygun's theoretical and other writings provide significant insight into his perspective on musical materials, his aesthetical and political positioning, and his musical and political motivations. Although his *Töresel Musiki* was designed as an aural skills textbook showing Saygun's approach to music education, he wanted to add pure Turkish musical

materials to the music pedagogy for future generations. The book also demonstrates how Saygun transformed simple materials to sophisticated constructions and how he blended different parameters. His approach to music pedagogy shows itself in his textbook content as well as his most complex works. Even though Saygun altered his views on Pentatonicism from those presented in *Pentatonism in Turkish Folk Music*, he continued to use extensive pentatonic structures in his compositions, from his oratorio to the children's book *İnci'nin Kitabı*

       Published long after Turkish nationalism had solidified, *Töresel Musiki* (1967) reveals that Saygun's stance on the interplay between music and ideology has changed little. As a textbook it contains a collection of melodies organized in categories of anhemitonic and hemitonic pentatonic melodies as well as ecclesiastical[119] Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian melodies, graduated in terms of rhythmic and melodic difficulty and frequency of clef changes. Saygun arranged these 150 melodies, used for solfege for voice,[120] mainly into three sections: pre-tradition melodies that contain melodies only within a tetrachord or in trichord; traditional melodies that contain pentatonic and other modal structured melodies; and the combination of different traditions. The pre-tradition section contains only 18 pieces, slow or moderate in tempo with simple, compound, and *aksak* limping meters. Intervallic properties are M/m2, M/m3, P4, P5, M/m7, and P8 in treble clef. In section two, traditional melodies are organised as sub-sections: 7 hemitonic/anhemitonic pentatonic, 11 Phrygian, 12 Lydian, and 10 Dorian melodies. Unlike section 1, in section 2 melodies are written in different clefs (such as soprano, alto, tenor, baritone and bass) and rhythmic structures, which are more demanding, moderate to fast in tempo, and use mixed clefs in every melody. Section 3 contains the most advanced melodies.

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[119] Even though Saygun himself explained that Anatolian modes were not exactly the same as ecclesiastical, it was almost imposible to distinguish the difference.

[120] The book correspond with the French method, the Dannhauser Lemoine collections used extensively in France through the 19th century and to this day; essentially. This kind of collection is used for solfege.

Unlike the first two sections, in the third, Saygun did not indicate any specific mode; the melodies show extreme frequent clef changing and the combinations of simple, compound, and *aksak* meters, mostly in fast tempo.

This chapter has aimed to examine and contextualize Ahmet Adnan Saygun's external influences; furthermore it delves into the circumstances and consequences of Bela Bartók's collaboration with Saygun and the resulting influence Bartók had on Saygun. Even Saygun's most mature pieces carry some trace of this influence, it is not necessarily musical but sometimes aesthetic, sometimes political, and sometimes pedagogical. During Saygun's career, several significant external influences complicated his progress and artistic intentions. The effects of some of these influences were quite discouraging for Saygun; on the other hand, some of these influences were so strong and positive that it is possible to observe them even in Saygun's most mature works. His Paris years and the collaboration with Bartók without a doubt were the most significant contributions to his aesthetic and musical education. Bartók's understanding of national music and how to create it inspired Saygun to develop and mature his musical lexicon. This maturity resulted in Saygun freeing himself from the boundaries of political ideologies and making peace with the past and using his musical materials to mediate a politically polarized past and the promising present of the Republic. His compositional practice was changed by all these inspirations. Instead of composing to create nationalistic music,[121] Saygun, one can say, tried to create national music. These influences combined with his creativity revealed themselves most fully in his 1942 *Op. 26 Yunus Emre Oratorio.*

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[121] I am following Philip Bohlman's differentiation between national and nationalistic music. According to him, nationalist music differs from that of national music; the latter emphasized the 'nation' itself; the former emphasized the 'state' in the formulation of nation-state. Thus, the opposite of national music, nationalist music comes into being through top-down cultural and political work (Bohlman 2004; 2011).

Chapter 5: Mediating the Past: Yunus Emre, His Words, and Message

Turkey should not worry about having two spirits, belonging to two different cultures, having two souls. Schizophrenia makes you intelligent. You may lose your relation with reality . . . but you shouldn't worry about your schizophrenia. If you worry too much about one part of you killing the other, you'll be left with a single spirit. That is worse than having the sickness…. I'm critical of that monistic outlook.
~Orhan Pamuk ~ (GurrÃa-Quintana 2005)

During the establishment of the cultural Turkish nationalism, the poetry of a mystic from the Middle Ages played a significant role in providing the base for the necessary historical continuation. For centuries, the mystical poetry of Yunus Emre has been widely chanted as hymns in even the smallest villages in Anatolia. Understood and appreciated because of its largely simple language and humanist message, his poetry eventually found popularity in the service of the nationalist movement. It was exactly this message that sustained his religious and cultural influence and prompted Ahmet Adnan Saygun to use these poems in his oratorio. As one of the most significant pre-Ottoman religious figures, Yunus Emre's Sufi yet Islamic affiliation and his distinct use of Turkish endeared him to the people. To have a comprehensive understanding of the poems and the reasons Adnan Saygun employed these texts, the reader must understand who Yunus Emre was and his historical, religious, and literary significance as well as who the Mevlevi were and their connection to music, power, and identity.

Turkish Art Music and Mevlevi Affiliations

The relationship between the Mevlevis and the Ottoman dynasty goes back to the 14th century. Since Sultan *Yildirim* Bayezid I (r. 1389 to 1402 "the Thunderbolt") was married to one of Rumî's granddaughters, Valide Sultan, the tie between the *Mevlevi tekke* and the Imperial court was quite strong. As Anders Hammarlund states, "In Ottoman society the *Mevlevi* order gradually took the role of an intellectual and artistic elite" (Hammarlund 1997, 1). Their impact was so great that it was argued that even the Court's language became Persian because of affiliation with the Mevlevi and Rumî's works.

During the Imperial era, the Sultan's court patronized the art music that was dominated by the *Mevlevi* musicians. These *Mevlevi* composers had a great repertoire of secular court music in both instrumental and vocal genres, such as *fasıl*. In the *tekkes* (convents or lodges), the same musicians were making religious *tekke*[122] music. Although these musicians used the same instruments and structural forms, the "genres of sacred and secular music were strictly separated" (Özdalga 1997, vi).

Historically, the *Mevlevi* dervishes had strong political affiliations and exerted great influence on the Ottoman Imperial circles in terms of politics, education, arts, and religion. Although Rumî[123] himself did not take interest in politics during his lifetime (Gölpınarlı 2006, 253), his son and followers tried to maintain a close relationship between elite circles and the order. As a result of this effort, Sultan Murat II[124] opened the first *Mevlevi tekke* (dervish lodge) in 1435.

Until the entire dervish orders were confiscated by law under the new Republic in 1925, the *Mevlevi* order enjoyed the most powerful position in Imperial elite circles. Not only influential in music making and performing, the *Mevlevi* order also played a significant role in Imperial education (Lapidus 1992, 28). In the 18th century they were so influential that Sultan Selim III (1761- 1808) became a *Mevlevi* dervish himself. From the 18th century, the *Mevlevi* order was considered the most sophisticated and open-minded religious group (Kafadar 1992, 312). The *Mevlevis*, according to Feldman, had a "consistently developed" mystical philosophy of music (Feldman 1996, 99).

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[122] Dervish lodge.
[123] Rumi was considered the founder of the *Mevlevi* order, even though it was his son Sultan Veled who founded the brotherhood.
[124] 1421-1451

Although music itself was not central to his poetry, Yunus Emre is often considered the most significant mystical folk poet and the most important Turkish poet. Yet there is scant biographical data on this Anatolian dervish. It is generally accepted that he was born around 1240 CE and died around 1320, at the age of approximately eighty. At the end of his treatise *Risâle,* he indicated that the piece was finished in 1307-08 (Smith 1993, 5). These dates denote that he was living in the period of the late Seljuk Empire and the early Ottoman period. Known as *Beylikler dönemi* (Turkish Anatolian Principalities),[125] this transitory period witnessed great unrest, social change, and warfare because of the crusaders, the nine devastating Mongol invasions between 1243 and 1314, mass killings, and the great famine of 1299 (Başgöz 1981, 27). As a result of this chaotic period, the reformation of the social order and norms were unavoidable, opening the doors for the future state and the empire of the Ottomans.

After experiencing such traumas, Başgöz argues that Yunus Emre's religious philosophy and almost all his values transformed radically (ibid 1981, 26-27). He was a cultural product of the late Seljuk period, which already had an established cultural and economic state. In the aforementioned milieu, Yunus Emre's change from an orthodox Sunni peasant man into a *tekke* dervish was quite drastic. This transformation can be clearly observed in his poetry; his few pre-transformation poems express his previous dogmatic Sunni interpretation of Islam:

> He who says, "I am a Muslim," should know the basic truths. He should obey God's order and perform the five daily prayers. (Yunus Emre, *Divan,* p. 160 in Başgöz 1981, 24)

> Teach your wife the five daily prayers; if she does not perform them, do not feel sorry, just divorce her. (Yunus Emre, *Divan,* p. 88, in Başgöz 1981, 24)

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[125] Candarogullari (1291-1461), Osman (Ottoman), Germiyanogullari (1260-1429), Karamanogullari (1250-1475), Aydin, Saruhan, Mentese, and others.

Başgöz describes these two contradicted theological personas as *mullah* or Sunni Yunus, and the

other as Dervish, or Sufi Yunus. This spiritual dilemma is particularly significant when

analyzing his poems: it is important to know which specific period a poem belongs to in order to

interpret it. After being a *tekke* dervish, his religious philosophy was so significantly changed

that he severely articulated his opposition to institutional faith, and he even declared the five

pillars of Islam as a crime, from which heterodox interpretation of his poetry arose: "The fasting,

the alms, the ritual prayers and the pilgrimage are all wrong doings and crimes" (Yunus Emre,

Divan, in Başgöz 1981, 25).

Although social themes are not one of his recurrent themes, in *Divan* he pictured his time

quite clearly:

> The Muslim lives in a strange and horrible time. People no longer need good advice. Only
> intriguers and usurpers get respect. A good Muslim is a rarity, if one can be found at all.
> No one makes a living honestly. The devil has become powerful. Students of theology do
> not follow the way shown in their books, they do not obey their teachers, but fight with
> them. The hodjas usurp the prophet's place, and inflict distress and pain on the populace.
> The poor are not content with what they possess; instead they hurt each other. The divine
> order is not just, it provides some with plenty of property, many horses and farms and
> several wives but deprives the others of all of these, even a penny. The generosity of the
> Beys is past, they abuse their power, they do not care for the poor and needy. What they
> chew is the flesh of the poor, what they drink is the blood of the people. The summer
> plateaus are ruined, no one goes to them; so are the winter residences. (in Başgöz 1981,
> 26-7)

In such a depressive social environment, not surprisingly Yunus Emre reacted severely and his

beliefs and political stance fluctuated from one edge to another. Such dereliction and oppression

compelled Emre's inner transformation. Other than the apparent theological differences, this

transformational conversion, according to Walsh, can also be seen as a rebellious action against

orthodox Sunni Islam, which symbolized political authority and its hegemonic power. The

political and social positions and practices were so distinct between the rural and urban orders

that in the eyes of the rural dervish, their urban counterparts were as erroneous and misleading as orthodoxy (Walsh 1981, 113).

Misrepresentations—deliberate and inadvertent—haunt any excavation of Yunus Emre's historical existence. Although it is known that Yunus Emre had formal training in a *medrese* and was so fluent in Persian and Arabic that he could quote the poetry of Sadi of Shiraz[126] and Maulana Jalal al-din Rumî,[127] the traditional *topos* portrayed Yunus Emre as an illiterate peasant. This deliberate misrepresentation was provided by the religious brotherhoods particularly. To be illiterate or *ummi* was the most significant feature of a Gnostic in medieval times since it was one of the attributes of the prophet Muhammed. In contrast to knowledge "polluted by outward acquired sciences" (Schimmel 1996, 44), the knowledge that these people possessed, just like the Prophet's, was considered pure and inspired by God.

According to oral tradition, Yunus Emre's conversion occurred during a time of famine when he was bartering his wild pears for grains and seeds. One day he traveled to a *tekke* of Hacı Bektaş,[128] who offered *nefes*,[129] in exchange for his fruit. After Yunus Emre's rejection, Hacı Bektaş asked if he would accept *ten breath of blessing*. Yunus declined again, so Hacı Bektaş gave him a full bag of grain. While returning to his village, Yunus Emre regretted his actions and returned to the *tekke* to ask for a *breath of blessing* instead of grain. Hacı Bektaş said, "I cannot, because we turned over your padlock to Taptuk Emre" (Halman 1981, 11). In the Sufi context, this declaration meant if Yunus consents to pursue his mystical journey, Taptuk Emre will become his spiritual master. In Taptuk's *tekke,* where he served as a woodsman of the *tekke* for

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[126] Persian poet 1184-1291.
[127] d. 1273
[128] The founder of Bektaşî order (1209-1271).
[129] "A breath of blessing" (Halman 1981, 11)

forty years,[130] Yunus never brought, according to the legend, any crooked and damp wood to the lodge.

Some sources accept this story literally, meaning that Yunus Emre literally had fruit; others argue that the story should be evaluated symbolically, meaning, in this case, that Yunus Emre's fruit actually symbolizes his uncultivated, immature spirit. In both written and oral sources, Yunus Emre was the subject of many legends and stories that provide literary and historical perspectives, as well as exhibit the appreciation and reception of Yunus Emre by common people, other brotherhood dervishes, and the urban elite. Through these legends Yunus Emre was elevated to a saint and his position rose above all the brotherhoods and dervishes.[131] These kinds of legends symbolized people's perception of Yunus Emre's complete spiritual journey. Along with a significant role in the transmission of belief, such legends and stories served pedagogical and didactic functions too.

Ottoman Era Perceptions of Yunus Emre

The Ottoman and Modern era perceptions of Yunus Emre are needed to show how Adnan Saygun may have subconsciously used and manipulated the centuries old perceptions, modern superimpositions, and his personal memories when he composed his oratorio and used Yunus Emre's name as his title. The title and the musical content caused great controversy in different *milieus*, functioning as a mediator between the two separate spiritual traditions of Christianity and Islamic Sufism and linking the Pre-Ottoman past to the Republican period.

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[130] According to Schimmel, forty is an important number because it symbolizes of "renunciation, ascetism, affliction, trial and testing."

[131] In his book of saints, *Bahr-al Vilâya* Sheikh Süleyman Efendi of Köstendi narrates that once even "Rumî said: 'whichever Divine stations I have attained, I have found the footsteps of an elderly Turkmen. I could not pass him.' The person that he referred to was Yunus Emre." Although Gölpınarlı clearly states that this quotation does not reflect the truth at all but is important to show the general perception of Yunus Emre (Gölpınarlı 1961, 58).

Yunus Emre's status as a dervish saint- poet continued into the Ottoman era, and arguably increased. In this period, Yunus Emre was well-known in various literary milieus and his poetry and hymns were commonly read and recited by Sufi and orthodox Sunni groups and different strata of society. Accordingly, because of this broad reception, Yunus Emre's theology influenced not a small congregation but guided quite a large group. During the Ottoman Empire, Yunus Emre and his mystical poetry were influential among not only different Sufi brotherhoods but also elite urban *Divan*[132] poets, such as Ahmedi.[133] His appreciation was to such a high level that he wrote a parallel poem to one of Yunus' most celebrated hymns. Ahmedi used not only the specific features of Yunus' poetic style, imagery, expressions, and religious concepts, but also the repetitive second half of the verse *Bana seni gerek seni* (What I need is You, You) (Başkal 2006, 161).[134] This structure[135] both creates a strong rhyme and functions like the refrain of a folk song. The repeated line left no doubt about the connection between the two poems. From the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries, many poets from both *Divan* and folk traditions and dervishes from different brotherhoods wrote parallel poems to Yunus Emre's poems. The functions of these poems varied according to the writer. For example, in his *Mashairu'sh Shuara*, Aşık Çelebi (d.1571) exemplified Yunus Emre as *insan- ı kamil* (perfect human being) and his theology as a reference point.

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[132]The literary meaning of Divan is a collection of poetry written in the quantitative arud prosody. Divan poetry denotes the poetic style of the highly cultured classical Ottoman Palace poetry.

[133] He was considered as one of the founders of traditional *Divan* poetry in Anatolia (1334-1413).

[134]   Your love has taken me from me. What I need is You, You

          I have been burning day and night, what I need is You, You

          Neither do I become happy for being rich nor do I feel sorry for being poor

          I feel content with your love what I need is You, You. Yunus Emre

The parallel poem:

          I am tired of the world, what I need is You, You

          I am warn out of people, what I need is You You

          What will I do with body and soul, what I need is You, You

          What will I do with religion and belief, what I need is You, You. Ahmedi (in Gölpinarli 1943, 206).

[135] Called *redif*.

The earliest parallel poem, according to Gölpınarlı, belongs to 14th century poet Sait Emre and the latest examples can be seen in the 20th century in the creativity of poets like Nazım Hikmet.[136] Other than these parallel poems (*nazire*), the commentaries (*sharh*) are great sources on Yunus Emre. For a parallel poem or a commentary on that poem to be written, however, the original poem would have to be considered as canonical. These texts were written in high-style Ottoman Turkish prose that denotes the potential audience. In all of the commentaries, Yunus Emre was considered as a *veli* or *evliya* (saint). The authors call him "*Hazrat* Yunus, an honorific title which literally means Great Presence" (Başkal 2006, 105).

The poet's influence transcended high culture, however. Yunus Emre's presence during the Ottoman period was also significant in a religious dimension in both orthodox and heterodox milieus, and his work became a part of the standard repertoire of traditional art music and poetry. His philosophy and mysticism became so noteworthy that both orthodox and heterodox brotherhoods claimed he was part of their denomination. Not only in these sects but also among the common people his principles and practices became well-known and revered.

Post-Republic Perceptions of Yunus Emre

During the past seven centuries, Yunus Emre along with Rumî were the most celebrated poets and Sufis. Although they were contemporaries, great differences existed between the two, not only in their language but particularly in their lives and the legitimacy of their poems. Unlike the scarcity of facts surrounding Yunus Emre's, Rumî's life is documented with vast amounts of information. The vagueness of even the major points of Yunus Emre's biographical information and the questions around the authenticity of his poems[137] still create great challenges for

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[136] Nazım Hikmet Ran: Turkish poet, play writer, novelist, screenwriter, director and memoirist, 15 January 1902 – 3 June 1963.

[137] It is known that in one point, the name *Yunus Emre* is used as a pseudonym by some of the folk poets for various reasons, such as to cover their own identity, using Yunus' name for their own agenda.

researchers. This ambiguity has allowed for the emergence of vastly different readings of his poems.

These various textualities further complicate the work's history and reception. The problem of authenticity and these variations occur from one manuscript to another due to intentional alterations of copiers, the orally transmitted nature of this poetic tradition, and errors of transcription. Particularly in the case of the poems sung by *aşık*s or minstrels, some factors such as cultural demands and/or personal preferences of the minstrels played a significant role in textual embodiment and performances. During the performances, *aşık*s sang different variations of the poems to satisfy the demands of their audiences, and "Thus the authentic form survive[d] in a number of variants" (Silay 1996, 53). This situation caused the simultaneous existence of the original and variations of a poem. Another significant factor in the fragility of factuality with Yunus Emre' life and art is the pen names of the poets; in some cases, such as in Yunus Emre or Karacaoglan, other dervishes or poets adopted the same pen name for various reasons.

During and after Yunus Emre's lifetime, his identity and his language choices were never discussed by others or by him; more often, his usage of Turkish is considered to be a functional choice or practicality. However, eventually his language became a focal point in studies on his work. As Zekeriya Başkal points out, Yunus Emre's language remains a controversial issue. Part of the modern perception considers Yunus Emre as an ardent user of pure vernacular Turkish. The common assertion, according to Başkal, is that "Yunus Emre used syllabic meter, which is the meter of folk poetry. [His language] was free from Arabic and Persian loan words, a language with the people and for the people" (Melikoff in Başkal, 77). Consequently, this perception of folk solidarity was in great harmony with the new Republic's nationalist politics.

Emre's language strategies may be more complex than only a clear political allegiance, however. Başgöz argues that the meter of some of the poems was written in a way that the hemistich can be divided by a caesura, which creates a *müstefilatun* pattern[138] of Arabic *arud* prosody; these two units construct the ancient poetic Turkish form *koşma* that rhymes internally as *abab/xxxb/yyyb* (Başgöz 1990, 9; Schimmel 1996, 45)*.* This quatrain form is the oldest and most widespread form in Turkish folk literature among the medieval Anatolian minstrels as a part of the oral tradition. According to Köprülü, Yunus Emre preferred this form because of the strong impact of folk tradition, not because he was imitating Persian quatrains (Köprülü 2006, 307). His linguistic purposes seem to be aimed for the folk impact. Otherwise, Yunus Emre might have been deliberately ambiguous, so he could communicate to different audience. This easily transformed structural pattern causes confusion and alters the formal interpretation of the poems. Historically, this phenomenon might be explained by the simultaneous existence of both oral tradition and written literature.

The linguistic co-existence was so natural in Anatolia that it could be seen in almost all Sufi works. An anecdote from Rumî illustrates the linguistic co-existence of the period. One day a fur seller was passing by Rumî's house and shouted, "*tilku, tilku,*" which means "fox" in Turkish. However, Rumî heard a spiritual question in Persian: "*dil ku, dil ku,*"—"Where is the heart?" According to Rumî's account, this question was spiritually so uplifting that he started *sema* ("whirling" worship) (Başkal 2010, 12). This anecdote shows the linguistic plurality in which Rumî, Yunus Emre, and their contemporaries lived and wrote.

Literary and Linguistic Background

The language of Yunus Emre is the most significant aspect of the current interpretations and reception. The role of this linguistic background established the backbone of the modern

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[138] The pattern can be shown as (- - . - -) ×2, or repeating two long, one short, and two long syllables structure.

reception of his poetry. This linguistic background serves also as a historical link between the Central Asian Turkic past and Anatolian Turkish civilisations; it gave the Ottoman and Republican period nationalists the opportunity to (re-) construct the cultural genesis. The intrinsic Turkish character was emphasised through language.

With their geographical proximity to Turkey, China, India, and Iran began to affect Turks in other than literary aspects of life during the pre-Islamic periods. Although it is unknown exactly when and to what extent Persian literature first influenced Turkish literature, it particularly dominated Turkish works between the 5th and the 11th centuries, becoming especially distinctive after the conversion of the Turks to Islam. There were practical reasons for this influence: because of the long lasting relationship between Turks and Persians, several aspects of Islam were embraced through Persians instead of Arabs (Koprulu 2006, 10). This influence could be traced back to one of the earliest surviving Turkish literary works that belongs to the post-Islamic period, *Kutadgu Bilig.*[139]Although this work has a significant number of Persian and Arabic words, the main impact was on the verse forms and metrical systems.

The exemplar form and metrical construction for Turkish prose were modelled after the Persian work *Shahname,*[140] and the form was *mathnawî*, rhymed couplets. The transition from syllabic meter to *arud* meter created serious problems for poets, since Turkish word structure was not suitable for *arud*. Before this impact, *hece vezni* or syllabic meter was used for poetry. This metrical system was naturally suited for Turkish because of the symmetrical, regular length syllable construction and pronounced rhythmic beat (Köprülü 2006). This syllabic regularity allowed verse to be divided into two, creating caesural internal rhyme and definite pauses. This division creates a *dörtlük*, quatrain. Yunus Emre's poems, by and large, use two distinct forms

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[139] Written at the reign of Bughra Khans, in 1069-70, in Kashghar (Köprülü 2006, 10).
[140] The legends at the time of the last Sasanid rulers.

(Başgöz 1995, 9): The *Ghazel* (lyric ode) aa/ba/ca/da/ea and the *Koşma* and its variations abab/xxxb/yyyb/zzzb.

This *Koşma* form is the oldest poetic form. Even though its form is quite basic and simple, the folk poets followed the rules of this ancient form with a "kind of religious devotion" (Köprülü 2006, 4) to continue the old tradition, thus creating a historical link. As can be seen in Yunus Emre's poems, the first three lines of every quatrain rhyme with each other; the fourth line, on the other hand, rhymes only with other fourth lines. This rhyme structure is particularly well suited for reciting because of the repetitious fourth verse, which functions like a refrain. Since the expectations were so small for the rhyme organization, a "slight similarity" of the last syllables of the lines was enough. Over all, the rhyme construction of these early periods was so simple that Köprülü considered them as assonance rather than rhyme (2006, 4). This simple form developed in the steppes of Asia to express various emotions of the Turks. This central Asian connection is why 20th century Turkish nationalists were particularly fond of this form. Such a poetic form functions as an historical link to the different time periods and geographies.

The linguistic influence continued to have an impact on other aspects of Turkish language and literature. During the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century in the Seljuk state, three languages mainly appear in different contexts. The refined literary language was not Turkish. In fact, Turkish was considered the language of common people as opposed to the educated. The written literature was dominated by Persian and Arabic (Köprülü 2006, 207-208). These languages were used in a similar fashion to Latin in European ecclesiastical circles. Persian was used by Anatolian Seljuk court members, intellectuals, Mongols, the clerks to keep the chancery records, historians for the chronicles, jurists, and poets, like Rumî and Iraqi, as a language of high literature. Arabic, on the other hand, was used as a language of pedagogy and science; it

was the language of *medrese* scholars and teachers, and the language of *medrese* books (Tietze 1981, 89-90). These demarcations of language functioned almost as a class identifier and set the social boundaries.

Unlike Persian and Arabic, Turkish was not used for written communication. During the previous periods, Turkish written works were almost non-existent in Anatolia. It is possible to draw a parallel between the High Middle Ages European cultural context and the Anatolian context. The *aşık* tradition (oral tradition) of Turkmens, who brought this tradition with them from central Asia, emerged and continued to spread to Anatolia to satisfy the aesthetic needs of the Turks, such as vernacular *Troubadour* and *Trouvère* literature (Köprülü 2006, original publication in 1918, 210).

Poetic pioneers set a long introduction for the possibilities ahead for Yunus Emre. A great representative of a 13th century poet is Mevlana Jelaleddin Rumî (d.1273), known as a great mystic and "poet of Love" (G. M. Smith 1993, 4), who used Persian in his sublime *Mesnevi* and *Divan-i Şams-i Tabrizi*. Although he used some Turkish and Greek words in some of his poems, Rumî's most significant mystical poetry was written in Persian. After Rumî's death, his son Sultan Veled wrote many Turkish verses and a Turkish Divan to disseminate his father's message to the people of Anatolia who did not know Persian or Arabic.[141] His Turkish Divan is considered quite didactic and dry but important as Rumî's son used Turkish as a literary language, which had been looked down on by the Seljuks (G. M. Smith 1993, 4). Considered the earliest Turkish mystical poet, Ahmet Yesevi, from Central Asia, wrote *Hikam*. In terms of linguistic phonology and lexicon characteristics, Yesevi and his successors used "old" Turkish, which was similar to the Azeri dialect. These pioneering examples opened a door for Yunus

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[141] Sultan Veled, *Divan-ı Türki*, ed. By Kilisli Muallim Rıfat, Istanbul, 1341 h/1922-23.

Emre to create his mystical poetry and to convey his messages by using his own mother tongue. Yunus Emre's language preference enabled him to communicate to a larger audience regardless of their social class. His poetry helped to collapse the social boundaries as it was read and recited both among the common folk and the high class.

According to Schimmel, Yunus Emre's language choices contributed to his influence on the development of mystical Islam in the region (Schimmel 1996, 42), particularly in the milieu of Mongol dominated Anatolia with Persians, Turks, Byzantines, Mongols, and many others. Islam was relatively new in Anatolia and Yunus Emre's poetry also functioned as a means of proselytizing. He preached to spread Islam and his poetry functioned as an educational tool for the largely illiterate population. Due to their strong imprint on the future generations of mystics, poets, and even common people, the works of Yunus Emre have contributed immensely to the forming of a national literary tradition. Not surprisingly then, he became a legendary character not only as an Anatolian saint but also as an enduring figure for advocates of the simplification of the language for the next seven hundred years.

Current Interpretations of Yunus Emre

Today, three main categories of interpretation attempt to capture the significance of Yunus Emre: as nationalist, as humanist, and as heterodox (Başkal 2006). Of course, these readings are often intertwined, making it almost impossible to separate one reading from another. Apart from these main readings, in the last decade another small group of academicians argue that these poems were interpreted in the environment of certain political motivations like nationalism that sometimes did not fit with the historical and cultural contexts. For instance, in the nationalist reading, Yunus Emre's religious position and identity, in general, was disregarded for ideological reasons.

All of these modes of interpretations, as expected, carry some truth in them, but not the total truth. Probably, it would be correct to say that Yunus Emre's poetry cannot be read through one interpretative lens alone but is both comprised by and partly resists all of the sometimes conflicting factors. We should keep in mind that there are different versions of the same poems as well as even multiple "Yunus Emre" writers at times, which makes it quite difficult to select one version.

Understanding these variables and uncertainties of interpretations is important for a 20th century audience to grasp the current meaning of Yunus Emre. These interpretations will shed light on some basic questions such as why Saygun wanted to use these poems, what kind of symbolism he intended to draw out of Yunus' poems, and what kind of cultural, artistic mediation Saygun intended.

The poetry of Yunus Emre has been so attractive not only because he is one of the most controversial literary figures in Turkey but also because of the ageless message of humanism he proclaims. According to Başkal and Ayvazoğlu, there is a correlation between the modes of the interpretations of Yunus Emre with the "political trends in Turkish society at the time and with the ideology of the interpreters" (Başkal, 2004, 144; Ayvazoğlu 2014). Yunus Emre and his mystical poetry became a significant cultural product after the proclamation of the Republic and he became a national poet, although there was no Turkish Republic or the Ottoman Empire in Yunus Emres' time. Particularly during modern times, Yunus Emre has been used as a historical link between a central Asian Turkish past and the Anatolian period. In order to change the historical image of Turks, Yunus Emre's humanist message was strongly highlighted.

The Nationalist Reading

The nationalist reading of Yunus Emre was established by Mehmet Fuad Köprülü, considered the founder of Turkish cultural nationalism, in his seminal book *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*[142] (Köprülü 2006). The main argument, and the common perception among many scholars for a nationalist interpretation derives from Yunus Emres's use of vernacular Turkish, "the language of the common people" (Birge 1933, 45)[143]—even though he was using Persian and Arabic words as well. In addition to his words, he used particular poetic forms that belong to *arud* poetry.

Köprülü emphasizes the "'national character' of the Turks" from Anatolia to Central Asia, and he argues that the "popular Sufi tradition" is a continuation of the body of Turkic or Turkish literature (Köprülü 2006, x). As a distinctive element of this cultural heritage, Yunus Emre used Turkish, as opposed to Persian and Arabic, self-consciously. On the other hand, scholars like Başgöz and Başkal strongly argue that this folk conception is quite erroneous:

> Yunus Emre is not a folk poet. Yunus was using the language of his contemporary intellectual artists. This expression was consciously chosen to be sure that people can understand. Yunus did not hesitate to use many Persian, Arabic words, idioms if he could not find the Turkish equvalance. Most of them are abstract terms and mystical terminology. He only took advantage of foreign languages if he could not find any other option; other than that while he was constructing his language, he consciously used Turkish versions. (Başgöz 1995, 7-8)[144]

Despite its important implications to intention and interpretation, the possible strategy of Yunus Emre's poetry is mostly neglected in many sources. In Sufi tradition, poetry had been used as a

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[142] Originally published in 1918.

[143] Talat S. Halman, *Poetry of Yunus Emre* (Istanbul: Istanbul Matbaasi, 1972); *Yunus Emre and His Mystical Poetry,* ed. Talat S. Halman, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981); Grace Martin Smith, *The Poetry of Yunus Emre* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1993); J. Kingsley Birge, *"Yunus Emre, Turkey's Great Poet of The People,"* In *the Macdonald Presentation Volume* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1933; Annemarie Schimmel, "Yunus Emre and His Mystical Poetry," *An Anthology of Turkish Literature*, Kemal Sılay (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies & Turkish Ministry of Culture, 1996).

[144] The translation is mine.

teaching tool, so the language is didactic (Başgöz 1968, 10). Many Sufi sources considered Yunus Emre as a Saint, Dervish, or a teacher, but not a poet. This exclusion is significant to show that his poems were not considered as aesthetic entities, although they were highly appreciated in many circles. Accordingly, these poems were supposedly not composed with aesthetic concerns in mind but because of their intended social function. Since his poetry aimed to educate the illiterate masses and spread Sufi morality, his didactical and pedagogical concerns, according to some scholars, deliberately dominated certain works (Revnakoglu 1991, 110; Köprülü 2006, 295-300; Başkal 2006, 86-167).

Using poetry for liturgical and didactic purposes was not peculiar to Yunus Emre but was a common practice among other *tekke* dervishes. Başkal explains that Yunus Emre's rebellious poems have another particular function among his poetry; according to this interpretation, these poems allow Yunus Emre to address the spiritual questions and the dilemmas of the new *tekke* students, such as the idea of God, creation, and responsibility. Başkal's reading here is therefore more potentially radical than one of linguistic accessibility. Such a reading enlightens us as to why Yunus Emre's *Risaletu'n Nushiyye* was wrongly criticized as a dry and didactic piece; in fact, the piece clearly shows the spiritually delving pedagogical functions of his poetry.

There is another significant aspect of the interpretations of Yunus; over time, it is possible to observe that there is a paradigm shift in the connotations of the poems. As a set of linguistic signifiers, his poems may not be variably interpreted in terms of form or vocabulary all that much; on the other hand, because of Yunus Emre's particular way of using terminology and connotations, the overall meaning became difficult to grasp and certainly for different readers to agree upon. The referent was thrown into play, and one implication of that transmutability was possibly cultural. Yunus' texts were changed over time, perhaps for deliberate complexity and

instability. Başgöz and Başkal argue that although the poems of Yunus Emre sound simple and plain, such a superficial reading belies a lack of philosophical and historical understanding of aspects of Yunus Emre's time. Consequently, it is natural for the 20th century reader to interpret these poems far differently than a medieval dervish.

Heterodox Reading of Yunus Emre

One of the most common interpretations is a heterodox reading of Yunus Emre.[145] According to this reading, Yunus Emre was a heterodox dervish who manifested the main values of this system in his poetry. This type of understanding accommodates many binaries. Yunus Emre is depicted as the "representative of the periphery, as opposed to the center, as the representative of the people, as opposed to the elite, as the representative of heterodoxy as opposed to orthodoxy" (Başkal 2006, 121). This reading sometimes neglects the fact that Islam is the major component of Sufism not a small influence. Such ideological approaches make this reading as sometimes anti-Islam, anti-Seljukid, and anti-Ottoman.

Historically, Islam started to change between the 2nd and 8th centuries of Islam as the natural consequences of converting many nations who had their own cultures, beliefs, and traditions. The resulting diverse understanding and application of spirituality caused vast changes in the forms and concepts of Islam. The Sufi understanding spread after the interaction of different belief systems, doctrines, and corpuses— such as Zoroastrianism, Christianity, Jewish Cabbalah, Neo-Platonism, and Buddhism—and civilizations, such as Iranian, Indian, and Greek.

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[145] İsmet Zeki Eyuboglu, *Yunus Emre,* (Istanbul: Gegit, 1991) some works of Abdulbaki Gölpinarli such as *Alevi Bektaşi Nefesleri.* (Istanbul: Inkilap, 1992) llhan Başgöz , *Yunus Emre I, II, III,* (Istanbul: Cumhuriyet, 1999) *Yunus Emre, the Wandering Fool, Sufi Poems of a Thirteenth Century Turkish Dervish* by Edouardo Roditi and Guzin Dino, (San Francisco: Cadmus editions, 1987) John R. Walsh, *Yunus Emre: A 14th century Turkish Hymnodist,* The Humanist Poetry of Yunus Emre, ed. Talat S. Halman (Bloomington:Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1981), 111-126; Irene Melikoff, *Efsaneden Gerçege, trans. Turan Alptekin* (Istanbul:Cumhuriyet, 1998); Ahmet Yagar Ocak. *Türk Sufiligine Bakişlar* (Istanbul: İletişim, 1996) (Başkal 2006, 195).

Confusions of categorization continue with this Turkish artist. Because of the diverse sources of Sufism and the way Yunus Emre expressed his religious understanding, many authors considered Yunus Emre as a heterodox dervish. In some sources[146] Yunus Emre was even described as the founder of Alevi-Bektasi literature.[147] Other than being an Alevi dervish, he is portrayed as a pantheist, because of his idea of the immanence of God in the universe and in all creation. God, according to Talat Halman, "is not independent of, apart from or above the cosmos, but inclusive and of it and identical with it" (Halman 1981, 4). For Yunus, "all matter is imbued with spirit or consciousness, and acquires higher values only through love" (ibid, 4). The main part of his theology is formed by "naturalistic and ecumenical visions" (ibid, 4).[148] As Halman highlights, as opposed to strict devotion to the Quran, in his poems Yunus expressed his "full acceptance" of the four holy books and sometimes he mentions religious figures of the pre-Islamic past (ibid 4):

> I am Job: I have found all this patience;
> I am St. George: I died a thousand times.

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[146] Irene Melikoff, *Efsaneden Gerçeğe,* trans. Turan Alptekin, (Istanbul: Cumhuriyet, 1998); Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Türk Sufiliğine Bakışlar,* (Istanbul: iletigim, 1996); Grace Martin Smith, *The Poetry of Yunus Emre, a Turkish Sufi Poet*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press 1993).

[147] The Alevi-Bektashi order is another mystical Sufi order in Turkey. Unlike the Mevlevis, the Bektashi order is considered as an esoteric confraternity. Throughout history Alevi- Bektashi order has been one of the most controversial orders because of their practices and beliefs, for instance their *Cem* or *Semah* ritual that is performed by both women and men together, or they are using alcoholic beverages, they do not feast during the Ramadan, and they are not practicing daily prays (Markoff 2001, 321). According to Orthodox Muslims, Alevi- Bektashi belief is not a proper Islamic system (Barnes 1992, 35), they are even charged with being heretics (Zeidan 1990, 80). Hacı Bektash himself had a marginal approach to the practices and dogmas of religion, such as he removed Sunnets and "he made the worshipping language Turkish" (Selmanpakoglu 2006, 63).

[148] With the mountains and rocks
  I call you out, my God;
  With the birds as day breaks
  I call you out, my God.

  With Jesus in the sky,
  Moses on Mount Sinai,
  Raising my sceptre high,
  I call you out, my God.

In other poems, Yunus Emre surprisingly calls himself Moses, Jesus, and even God. Schimmel

explains this trans-religious idea as "cosmic consciousness" (Schimmel 1975, 333). One of the

recurrent themes in Yunus Emre's poems is Ibn-Arabi's the unity of existence, *vahdet-i vücut*;

this concept, in the history of Islam, has been interpreted as monist or pantheist.

> I am the eternal, I am the everlasting, I am the One who is the
> Soul for the souls
> I am the One who helps those who have come off the road and
> become immured.
> I made these lands a plain; I put these mountains as a weight.
> I made the heavens a roof; I am the One who holds them up.
> I am the One who makes it snow, I am the One who freezes; I am the One
> who gives sustenance to animals.
>
> Know this, I am the One who is All-Compassionate and All-Merciful
> to the creatures (in Başkal 2006, 62).

In order to fully comprehend the challenging heterodox reading, an understanding of the

very basic notions of Islamic mysticism is necessary. This philosophy of Mysticism attributes

"God-like qualities to man, [becoming] the apostle of peace and the chief defender of man's

value;" mysticism is "predicated upon a monistic view of divinity" (Halman 1981, 2). Unlike an

orthodox dualist understanding, some Sufis see no dichotomy between God and his creation:

"God is inclusive of the universe...nothing in the universe has existence independent of God, all

is God's revelation or reflection" (Halman 1981, 9).

> The Universe is the oneness of Deity,
> The true man is who knows this unity.
> You better seek Him in yourself,
> You and He aren't apart-you're one.

According to Sufi belief, God created human beings because He wanted to be known and the

most important motive of his creation was love. Through this love, one of the main goals of

Sufism is to clean the soul from all malevolence and transform it into a purer substance. In order

to transform, the mystic has to go through three stages: "Purification, Enlightenment, and Union" (ibid. 9). To fulfill this aim, a dervish has to kill the ego; Yunus Emre describes this ego as "crass selfhood."[149] For purification of the soul, the second tool is performing *zikr*, a litany of praise to God.

Humanist Interpretation

Nationally and internationally the most dominant approach to Yunus Emre's works is a humanistic reading.[150] This interpretation tends to see Sufism and Islam as separate. His poetry, according to Halman, "embodies the quintessence of Turkish-Anatolian Islamic humanism" (Halman 2011, 16). In recognition of these humanistic elements, UNESCO declared 1991 as "Yunus Emre Year" to commemorate the "seven hundredth and fiftieth anniversary of the birth of the great Turkish Muslim mystic."[151] According to Halman, Yunus Emre's poems and his philosophy are considered the prime example of Turkish humanism, which is an "abiding tradition in Turkish culture" (Halman 1981, 3) as a result of long periods of natural disasters, the "vicissitudes [the Turks] experienced" and their "exodus" and struggle for survival. When Turks migrated, they brought their anthropocentric philosophy to Anatolia that blended well with already established mysticism. 13th century Anatolian humanistic mysticism concentrated on brotherhood, peace, and the "intrinsic significance of man" because of the belief in the divine presence within them (Halman 1981, 3-4). Halman argues that their ethnocentric world view

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[149] Yunus describes in a couplet:
        He rides the horse of fury, holds the sword of might;
        He has devastated his selfhood, his hands are drenched in blood.

[150] *Yunus Emre and His Mystical Poetry,* Edited by Talat Said Halman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981); Gönül Alpay, *Yunus Emre'nin Humanizmasinin Temelleri,* Uluslarasi Yunus Emre Semineri 6-7-8 Eylül 1971 Istanbul (Istanbul: Baha, 1971); Sadi Irmak, *Yunus Emre'nin Humanizmasi ve Rumi-Yunus lli§kisi,* Uluslarasi Yunus Emre Semineri 6-7- 8 Eylül 1971 Istanbul, (Istanbul: Baha, 1971); Annemarie Schimmel, "Yunus Emre and His Mystical Poetry," *An Anthology of Turkish Literature*, Kemal Sılay (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies & Turkish Ministry of Culture, 1996).

[151] Address of His Holiness John Paul II at the Conclusion of the "Yunus Emre Oratorio" Performed by the Orchestra and choir of the Ankara State Opera and Ballet, http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/1991/september/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19910904_yunus-emre-oratorio.html 29.3.2015

diminished because they came into contact with diverse people and catastrophic social and cultural changes. The idea of the impermanence of life resulting from these events created for some the significance of humans. During their migration to Anatolia they brought the "seeds of humanism" with them, where they embraced *Sufism* and *Sufi* humanism concepts during their conversion and assimilation into Islam (Halman 1981, 1).

As a dervish who contributed to the Islamization of Anatolia, Yunus Emre played a great role in influencing common people with his humanist vocabulary. There were different groups of dervishes in his time period,[152] but he was distinct from warrior and settler dervishes. His whole philosophy was advocating inner struggle against self and constant vigorous effort for social justice and peace. He defined hatred as the greatest enemy of civilization and war and hostility as the "ultimate crime against humanity" (Halman 1981, 7). As seen above, the motivations for these interpretations of Yunus Emre mostly strove to meet certain agendas.

The Functions of Yunus Emre's Hymns

In orthodox Islam, worship only focused on daily prayer; in order to avoid distraction there is almost no ritualistic congregational worship. With this strict understanding, unlike in most Christian churches, the mosque never welcomed any form of arts other than calligraphy. The only practice in mosques, particularly in Turkey, other than ritualistic prayer, is Quran chanting.[153] However, heterodox beliefs and practices allow different types of devotions. Intense aesthetic endeavors in Islam, such as calligraphy, poetry, music, dance or architecture, developed in or around Sufi circles (Başkal 2006, 175).

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[152] a) Warrior dervishes who fought against Christian Byzantium during the conquest of Anatolia, and later they secured the towns and the roads b) colonizing dervishes who were settlers and dealing with agriculture, also building houses, etc., c) missionaries who were contributing the spread the faith by wandering and propagating (Başgöz 1981, 29).

[153] This rhythmic chanting is similar to Hebrew Cantillation, and it is not considered as singing or music.

A particular style of Islamic hymns developed, according to Walsh, in Anatolia around the 13th century. This form is considered the first and probably the only hymn example in the whole Islamic world. The influence of Yunus Emre as not only an exemplar figure but also as the creator of this form was culturally distinctive (Walsh 1981, 113). Although the legitimacy of music in Islam has been a controversial issue, the singing or chanting of these hymns was not problematic because of both the tolerant theology of some Sufi brotherhoods and the unity of music and poetry before, during, and after Yunus Emre's life time. Music and poetry had not yet separated in those centuries, and the most distinctive quality of folk poetry was instrumental accompaniment.

The absence of these hymns in the other parts of the Islamic world makes it difficult to compare the social relationships and musical structures of hymns of other social groups and contexts in the Islamic areas. As Walsh pointed out, it is crucial to distinguish the different styles of religious poems, psalms, and hymns. Although in Islamic literature there is an abundance of religious poetry and these poems could be sung and have musical settings, Walsh argues that these examples can be considered psalms but not hymns. In this context, the qualities of hymns are not like highly developed contemporary and established Protestant hymns, but more like the early Christian examples:

> Of religious poets Islam has never hold an important place in in the devotional literature of the world. Many of their poems, too, had an original musical setting or accompaniment and could be sung as well as recited. But this does not make them hymns; and if such works demand a description which will distinguish them from secular poetry, "psalmody,"in its common usage, may be appropriate term….congragational qualities that make the true hyn: they are personal, where the hymn must be communal; they are didactic, where the hymn must be merely assertive and confessional; they are complex in thought or in feeling, where the hymn must be simple and reiterative; in form and language they are self-conscious and artistic, where the hymn must be spontaneous and unaffected. (Walsh 1960, 113-14)

For Walsh, the function, form, and language are the deterministic markers. Hymns should have a communal function, whereas other composed poems do not have any congregational qualities. Other characteristics are "didactic...merely assertive and confessional...simple and reiterative;" in language and form, the hymn must be "spontaneous and unaffected" (Walsh 1981, 114).

A significant feature of religious folk poetry is that it is composed to be sung. This performance aspect explains the irregularities of the form, word choice, rhyme, and grammar. Since the aim is not to provide facts but create a "mystical mood" (Schimmel 1982, 148), the repetitive sections of these hymns assist the inducement of a heightened mental state. Some controversies exist over the origins of this type of hymnody, however. Scholars such as Walsh, Başgöz, and Halman argue that Yunus Emre's mystical poetry is not only a cultural product of its own time.

As Cemaleddin Server Revnakoglu demonstrates, Yunus' hymns were widely chanted in many different contexts (Revnakoglu 1991). The hymns were sung at specific religious times, including in the course of *Ayin-i Şerif,* holy rituals, in the fasting period called *Üç Aylar* (during the three holy months *Recep, Şaban, Ramadan*), in *Muharrem* (the first month of the Islamic lunar calendar), and different parts of *Mevlit*.[154] Particularly, they were sung after the congregational *teravih* prayer[155] during *Ramadan*, on *Kadir* night,[156] or on the nights of *eid,* as well as other religious nights. These poems were also sung on specific occasions with a group of chanters, who were called *Amin Alayı*, such as in the different intervals of the *zikr* (remembrance) ceremony, during funerals and marriage ceremonies, as well as on the day a child

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[154]*Mevlit* is the term refers for the ceremony of the celebrations the Prophet Muhammet's birthday. This ceremony includes Qur-an reciting and poem chanting on the legends about the Prophet. *Mevlit* also refers to a generic name for poetry on *metnewi* form. Even though there are many different texts in use, in Turkey, it is Süleyman Çelebi's 15th century poetic work *Vesîletü'n Necât* (path of salvation) (Aksoy. 1988, 482-84).

[155] *Teravih* is an optinal congregational prayer that is perfomed after the night prayer during *Ramadan*.

[156] A Holy night in Ramadan. According to general belief, Qur-an was revealed to Prophet Muhammad during this night.

started school. Other than sung on special events, particular hymns were very popular at local winter night gatherings (Revnakoglu 1991). The hymns were sung by specific groups such as beggars, travelling dervishes, water carriers, and players (ibid, 112).

It was through such a transmission that Saygun receives one of most poignant and significant connections that frames his use of Yunus Emre. In his memoirs, Saygun stated that he listened to a hymn from a dervish beggar when he was a child:

> When the beggar was reciting this poem of Yunus Emre's....I remember both our elderly and the kids like me all getting quite excited. Maybe the effect of the melody, or maybe a drawing on the wall heightened the intensity because of the melody. (Saygun 1971, 114)[157]

Later this melody turns up in Saygun's *Yunus Emre Oratorio* as Chorale No 5, the only piece in the oratorio that uses the original text and hymn melody. His memory and use of the words and melody confirm that he wanted to maintain the continuity and even "widen popular support" perhaps. This remembrance also demonstrates the multidirectional significance of the hymn: it has personal importance that has strong connections from Saygun's childhood—the hymn was so popular among the people that beggars were using it and they made it a daily life experience.

Revnakoglu's article supports Saygun's memory showing how Yunus Emre and his mystical poetry were widely accepted and used by many different denominations or sects or *tariqas*. These hymns were performed in many different contexts; accordingly, sometimes one poem was composed with different *makams* so it could be sing in different environments. In fact, Revnakoglu provides around forty *makam* names on certain poems. Some even argue that some poems were composed with more than a hundred different *makam*s; and it was praiseworthy for

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[157] Translation is mine

a *zakir*[158] or a singer to know forty well known composed lines of a poem by Yunus Emre (Gölpınarlı 2010).[159]

Walter Feldman demonstrates Yunus Emre's position extended beyond denominations as his hymns were sung in both orthodox and heterodox orders; the only distinction was that some groups called the same hymns *ilahi* while others referred to them as *nefes*. According to Feldman, for *zikr* ceremonies these hymns were chosen for their authors, not their literary aesthetics. The concerns were pedagogical and didactical. In *zikr* ceremonies, only specific hymns written by the "khalifas or the masters of that specific brotherhood are used" (Başkal 2006, 181); the only exception, of course, were Yunus Emre's hymns.

Talat Halman explains that throughout the history of Turkey the "most widely celebrated hymn" was Yunus Emre's:

> Listen to those rivers of Paradise
> Flowing in the name of God Almighty;
> The nightingales of Islam have come out
> To sing in the name of God Almighty. (Halman 1981, 5)[160]

According to Schimmel, the poem is also "grown out of the experience of the *dhikr*"[161] because of the repetitious character of the second and the fourth line (Schimmel 1996). At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries the same hymn was sung as a school song by children on their way to and from schoolon the first day of classes (Halman 1981, 6). Such ubiquity highlights the significance of his poetry, as it "remains a viable cultural force and cherished aesthetic experience" both in rural and urban areas.

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[158] The person who leads the ceremony.
[159] Known as *Şuride.*
[160] Translated by Talat Halman.
[161] Dhikr or Zikr: Remembrance and the "constant repetition of the Divine Name" (Schimmel 1996, 43).

Symbols and Imagery

To convey the mysteries of the divine love, Yunus Emre took the images and the symbols from the common people's spheres. Although Yunus Emre's style was different from his contemporaries like Rumî, he used the language of everyday. As Annemarie Schimmel points out, because the mystical poets and preachers in all faiths tried to reach the masses, they created a literary language so they could communicate as clearly as possible (Schimmel 1996, 44). She also argues that since they used ordinary people's language, these poets, preachers, and dervishes contributed to the spreading of religion more than the Sunni dogmatic theologians (ibid, 44).

In order to heighten the expressive effect, Yunus Emre used different rhetorical devices and poetic forms and exploited the possibilities of poetic representations, such as imagery, metaphor, simile, symbol, irony, and personification. He took his imagery from natural scenes of the Anatolian landscape: the steppes, running water, rain, roads, and mountains. Fruit imagery is another recurring nature representation throughout his poetry. His imagery sometimes blended with mystical symbols to express spiritual ideas. According to Schimmel, sometimes a line can sound like total nonsense, but it symbolizes the mystical aspect of the poem. This type of poetry can also be found in other cultures; the fifteenth century Indian poet Kabir has similar lines to Yunus Emre and similar (only apparently) nonsensical mystical aspects appear in the collection of *Das Knaben Wunderhorn* in German folk poetry (Schimmel 1975, 53). One of the most famous examples of the nonsense or riddle poems is Yunus Emre's *tekerleme* (a Turkish genre, similar to nursery rhymes and nonsense verses).[162]

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[162] Schimmel states that every image of this poem, expresses symbols of the Divine law, the mystical path, and the Divine reality. She quotes another mystical poet and spiritual leader Niyazi Misri (d.1697):

With this verse the poet wants to show that every tree of deeds has a special kind of fruit. Just as in the external world, every fruit has a tree of its own, thus every deed has an instrument of its own by which it can be reached: thus, for example, the instruments for acquiring external sciences are language, grammar, syntax, logic, literature, scholastics, rhetoric, jurisprudence, the study of Prophetic traditions and of the commentaries of the Koran, philosophy, and astronomy. To acquire the mission and constant recollection of God and the "inner leader,"

Cıktım erik dalina üzüm toplamağa

> I climbed upon the plum tree
> to pluck grapes there.
> The master of the garden asked me:
> "why do you eat my walnut?"
> The fish climbed upon the poplar tree
> To eat there pickled pitch.

Personification is one of the most significant imaginative poetic depictions in both mystical poetry and Yunus' creativity because it allowed him to intensify the image. For example, he endows the waterwheel with human qualities, and he listens to its mourning and longing because it has been separated from the forest, its home:

> *Benim adım dertli dolap*
> *Suyum akar yalap yalap*
>
> The groaning water wheel am I, from me the sparkling waters fly
> So ordereth the Lord on high, for this I mourn, for this I weep
> This my sorrow, that I must keep.

Very similar personification can be seen in Rumî's poems in the wailing flute.[163] In general this character is depicted as weeping, because just like the waterwheel, it suffers since it has been separated from the reed bed. Both forest and reed bed metaphors express the agony of the separation because of the spiritual exile of the soul while longing for the Beloved.

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little food, little speech, little sleep, keeping away from the human beings. And to attain Reality, the instrument is the renunciation of the world, renunciation of the otherworld, and the renunciation of existence.

Now, the most venerable master hints with "prune," "grape," and "nut" at the Divine law, *sharia*, the mystical path, *tariqa*, and Divine Reality *haqiqa*. For one eats the outer parts of the prune, but not its interior. Whatever is like the prune, corresponds to the outward side of the actions. As for the grape, it is eaten, and many delicious things are made of it: sausage, thick juice, pickles, vinegar and similar edibles and many other good things. But since still a few kernels of hypocrisy, fame, vanity, and other ostentation exist in it, it is called "interior acts," but not "Reality." The nut, now, is completely a symbol of Reality. In the interior is completely edible, and for now many illnesses is it a remedy! The master of the garden is the perfect mystical leader. One can discern the different fruits only with his help and eventually reach reality. . . . (Hamza Tahir, "At-tasawwuf ash-sha bi fi'l-adab at turki," *Majalla Kulliyat al-adab* 12, no.2 (Cairo, 1950) qtd from Schimmel 1975, 334-35).

[163] *Ney*: Its sound is always associated with and symbolized spirituality with the human being.

Metaphor is another poetic device in Yunus Emre's poetry that intensifies the poetic expression:

> I am a nightingale; I came singing. I came holding the royal patent on my tongue.

> I came here to sell my musk; I am a deer; my grazing place is There (Yunus Emre in Smith 1993, 8).

Other than using nature references, he also used traditional poetic figures: Persian literature and mythology and the Quran. To create poetic richness, Yunus Emre exploited other structural tools like rhyme, weak rhyme, alliteration, and assonance. Another of Yunus Emre's structural devices is *redif*, a repeating word after each verse. As a characteristic of folk, neo-classical, and classical poetry, the poet's name often appears in the last stanza, either in full form or just as "Yunus."

Form

As mentioned in the literary and linguistic background of Yunus Emre, two metrical schemes appeared in literary circles of his time. Some of Yunus Emre's contemporaries, such as Rumî, only wrote in quantitative meters. Yunus Emre, on the other hand, used both classical quantitative meters of art poetry, inherited from Persian poetry, and traditional Turkish syllabic meter. Certain poems of Yunus Emre can be analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively using Turkish and Persian poetic meter. His flexible use of poetic meter has caused a great deal of confusion. Among nationalist circles, he is considered the most important representative of a Turkish nationalist poet because of his use of syllabic meter. On the other hand, some scholars such as İlhan Başgöz argue that Yunus Emre actually had no intentions to purify the language, nor did he solely use syllabic meter. In fact, as Başgöz shows, he used *arud* meter and Persian and Arabic words if he needed. Yunus Emre's priority was to communicate, so he did not hesitate to exploit cultural forms other than pure Turkish.

Recurrent themes of Yunus Emre

In order to convey his theological beliefs, Yunus Emre used recurrent themes in his poetry. Some of his vocabulary belongs to love-wine poetry. For example, He says, "He has drunk of the wine [of God's love] and will thus remain intoxicated for eternity, an eternal love" (Smith 1993, 10). "God's revelation in man" and the "human being as a true reflection of God's beautiful image" (Halman 1981, 9) are other recurrent themes in Yunus Emre's poetry. His poetry depicts higher moral values and symbolizes the "ethical patterns of mortal life" (9). He also uses two figures, almost as personas, with whom he identifies himself: Hallaj, martyred in Bagdad in 922 for his statement, "I am God, the truth," because for Yunus Emre he "died for love of God"; and Majnun, the lover who died because of the madness of the love for Leyla (Smith 1993, 10). Yunus Emre is also known also as the "poet of death." In the history of Turkish literature, he was the only poet who used the death theme so often. One of his early period examples bears a striking resemblance to the dramatic poem *Dies Irae* (Day of wrath). Both poems include strong dramatic visual images and describe the day of wrath with almost the same horror. Yunus Emre prefers to describe contrasts side by side; life and death, heaven and hell, existence and annihilation, darkness and luminousness, order and chaos. He uses one to increase the effect of the other. The greater the fear, the more beautiful life becomes; the more intense the beauties of the life, the sharper the fear. For instance, the first poem of the *Yunus Emre Oratorio* describes a cemetery but it sounds more like a horror scene. According to Başgöz, this description cannot be a portrayal of an abstract poetic cemetery; but it is a horrified depiction of a scene of mass murdered people (Başgöz 1999, 28):

> I strolled about in the morning; I saw the graves. I saw those delicate bodies mixed with the black earth.
> Bodies decayed [within] the earth, hidden inside the grave. I saw the emptied vein[s], flowed blood, shrouds soaked in blood.

I saw the ruined graves, filled up [with earth], all their houses ruined. All helpless from anxiety; what difficult states I saw!
The summer pastures no longer could be used as summer pastures; the winter pastures no longer could be used as winter pastures.

I saw in mouth[s] tongues that had become rust-covered, that could no longer speak.
Some [taken by death while occupied] in pleasure and merrymaking, some [occupied] in music and [pleasure of] good news, some in torment; I saw days that had become nights.

Those black eyes had lost their luster; their moon faces had become blurred.
Under the black earth I saw hands that arranged roses....
Some moaning, crying, the unfortunate ones burning with suffering [lit. Flames brand their souls]. I saw their graves on fire, with smoke coming out (Yunus Emre poem CXVI in Smith 1991, 15).

After Yunus Emre's transformation, his fear transforms into love. Through death, finally the soul could go to its final destination, its home, to God:

Earlier, also this intellect and soul's original abode was with You. And in the end again, You will be [my] abode. I am going to go to You.
My path leads from you to You; through You my tongue speaks of You. I absolutely cannot comprehend You; I am astonished by this Divine Wisdom.
May I not say "I" to myself, nor "you" to anyone anymore. Let me not say, "This is the slave; that one is the sultan." Let those who hear be astonished.
Ever since he [Yunus] came into contact with love of the friend, this world and the next became one and the same. If you ask about Eternity without beginning and Eternity without end, to me they are like yesterday and today. (Yunus Emre poem no VI qtd from Smith 1993, 11)

Yunus Emre is one of the most attracting and fascinating religious and historical people in Anatolia history. His mystical poetry has been sung and chanted during the last seven hundred years in different contexts and by different groups and denominations. His message, without a doubt, was the most important aspect of his timeless poetry. Because of Yunus Emre's embracing, loving philosophy, his message went beyond the borders of Anatolia and his time. Such a humanist poet, poetry, and message centuries later attracts the composer Ahmet Adnan

Saygun and the common people of newly established Turkey. In his oratorio, Saygun captured

the essence of the message of Yunus Emre. And through Saygun's use of Yunus Emre's words,

chanting the eponymous mystic's poems and hymns also became an aesthetic performance. The

oratorio not only encapsulated Yunus Emre's religious views but it transformed them in a secular

setting to serve the needs of a national music and identity.

Chapter 6: Op. 26 *Yunus Emre Oratorio:* A East-West (re) Synthesis

As I sit at my table, for days, months, years, slowly adding new words to the empty page, I feel as if I am creating a new world. ~Orhan Pamuk ~ (GurrÃa-Quintana 2005)

This chapter will focus on the structural and interpretational analysis of the first section of the *Yunus Emre Oratorio* as a case study to show how Adnan Saygun contributed to the development of a national music, manipulated his musical ideas, and intertwined these materials as a medium of mediation. I will demonstrate that through his music Saygun complexly juxtaposed and superimposed multi-periods of Turkishness. With the oratorio, his nationalist idea of the representation of the new Turkish identity embraced not only the pre-Ottoman era and a Turkic central Asian past but also the Ottoman and Republican periods. Saygun explicitly employed Turkish art music *makams* as an aesthetic understanding from the Ottomans*,* even though that such an aesthetic was opposed to the new Republic's official policies. As Signell pointed out, the official attitude towards Turkish art music at the time could be described as "benign neglect and even hostility" (Signell 1976, 80). Thus, Saygun's use of these materials during the creation of the main body of the Turkish national music was culturally and politically significant.

Although Saygun was not the only composer among the Turkish Five who used *makam* and *makam* colors in compositions, Saygun, I argue, was the only composer who approached these musical materials as both political and aesthetic entities. A brief review will establish the context in which *makam* was used in the creativity of the members of the Turkish Five. Musically and politically, Rey and Saygun can even be considered the antithesis of each other. Cemal Reşit Rey used *makams* to create an almost impressionistic atmosphere. As a composer who also used *makams*, Rey could be considered a representative of Istanbul's Imperial musical tradition, because apart from his serious music, he was a composer of operettas and revues that

were not considered as part of the national music reforms. Rey's non-political persona, his musical forms, and his *makam* treatment in his compositions never created the debate that surrounded Adnan Saygun's oratorio. As a contemporary composer, Rey, unlike Saygun, always expressed his nostalgia towards the Ottoman past. Thus, Rey was handling *makams* more like a relic of the Imperial past instead of a component of the current national music.

Although another member of the Turkish Five, Hasan Ferit Alnar, used *makams* extensively, his influence on the contemporary scene was minimal. Like Rey's *makam* treatment, Alnar's music was never a part of Ankara's politically loaded environment because his compositional output was limited, and he preferred to work more as a conductor than a composer. Although all Alnar's contemporaries were approaching *makams* differently, Alnar alone always used them in their original context. So his approach should be considered similar to his Iranian counterparts composing national music.[164] Thus, Saygun's position differed greatly from the other *makam* users in the Turkish Five.

After working for a decade to establish the pentatonic system as a national element, Saygun broadened his understanding of national music and a national past. Considering that Saygun never used any traditional Turkish art music elements until the oratorio, one sees the significance of his compositional paradigm shift. As a well-known political persona, he was aware of the ramifications of his composition. Thus, his treatment of these elements resonated

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[164] It is possible to draw a parallel between Iran and Turkey in terms of the development of the attempts of the establishment of the national music. In Iran, regardless of their different approach, in the efforts of Abu 'l-Qasim Arif Qazvini (ca. 1882-1934) and Ali-Naqi Vaziri (1887-1979) a national style was tried to be established. Unlike their Turkish (and European) counterparts, Iranian modernists followed a different route: instead of using folk music elements, they preferred to use the raw material of Iranian art music and they attempted to develop a harmonic language with 24 quarter tone scales in a well-tempered system; as well as they systematic notation is introduced (Chehabi 1999). It is quite natural that the national music developers' choice of to develop national music out of Iranian art music particularly if it is considered that Western art music did not establish as a musical style in Iranian urban life as it did in Turkish/Ottoman urban life. As Gellner points out, high culture should already exist to become the pervasive culture. In Turkey, on the other hand, the nationalists had chosen one of the two existing high culture musical style that was Western art music and as their European colleagues, they integrated folk elements with that.

quite strongly in the heart of the Republic. Ideologically, Saygun challenged the approach and the political position of the institutional policy makers with whom he once agreed. Although the oratorio was a turning point in his career, he had to deal with the harsh criticism of both traditional art music and strict Western art music scholars.

Saygun's personal experiences contributed to his compositional maturity. WWII and its psychological ramifications were so overwhelming that in his personal letters Saygun expressed his depressive mood and the effects of the war on Turkey. In 1942, in one of his letters from Istanbul to his wife, Saygun described the economic circumstances:

> Thank God I am alright. Needless to say, I am having abdominal pain since I got here. It is always like that in my trips. Now, we cannot find any bread anywhere. It is been banned for restaurants to have some, and because my ration card is not valid here I cannot buy even a loaf of bread from a bakery... even though we are not part of the war, life is unbelievably expensive. I don't even know what might happen if we will join in ...me, I am continuing to Yunus Emre, going one *Halkevi* (community centers) to another. (Adnan Saygun in Aracı 2001, 111)[165]

This distressed state of mind was a prominent factor in Saygun's creativity. He even drew connections of the catastrophe of WWII to the destruction and the massacres of Anatolia that Yunus Emre witnessed during the Mongol invasions (ibid, 111). According to Aracı, "Saygun clearly identified himself with the humanistic philosophy of Yunus Emre, who had preached freedom, love and tolerance during his own life time in central Anatolia, which was also in turmoil" (Araci 2001) with Byzantine-Seljuk wars, Crusades, and the Mongol invasions. Adnan Saygun, argues Aracı, wanted to propagate the same humanist message as Yunus Emre did seven centuries before (Araci 2001); for Saygun, Yunus Emre represented a humanist world view and wanted to propagate the significance of brotherhood and love via his hymns.

While Saygun was setting the poems, he wanted to arrange them so they could exhibit a

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[165] The translation is mine.

philosophical unity. Thus, he chose particular poems to articulate the despair of war and death:

> I start reading the *Divan* with that idea and I selected the suited poems for my purpose....I commenced his most realistic and harsh poems that he was dealing with existential issues: life, death, fate, and God; and I moved on to his union with the beloved....I put them in an order according to this thought/idea. I used couple quadruplets from one and couple verses from the other. Sometimes I changed the order of the verses. Some verses might not even belong to Yunus Emre, it did not matter to me. (Saydam 1973, 4)

According to Eduard Zuckmayer,[166] this compositional approach is what makes Yunus Emre's creation process similar to that of Brahms' *Ein Deutsches Requiem*.[167] In his title, even though Brahms used German, he did not use a German word as a substitute for the Latin "Requiem." Saygun, like Brahms, uses a vernacular name as his title with the term "Oratorio." Both composers adapted their selected texts to suit their purposes. Interestingly as well, these pieces were both written during times of grieving after their mothers had died.

For Saygun, his compositional techniques and Yunus Emre's poems offer a literary and musical historiography, which suggests a strong continuation between the central Asian Turkic past, the Ottoman era, and the Republic. Thus, the piece mediates all Turkish history. Through his oratorio, Saygun attempted to consolidate the idea of Turkishness; by also merging the Ottoman substances, the idea of Turkishness became inclusive rather than the official exclusive approach.

The Idea of Turkishness

The idea of a Turkish historical continuity did not belong to Saygun but to another intellectual and the founder of the Turkish literary studies, Fuat Köprülü,[168] with whom Saygun was quite familiar through Köprülü's extensive Yunus Emre studies. This idea of such a

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[166] German composer and music pedagogue, the founder of *Gazi* Education Institute in Ankara. 1890-1972.

[167] E. Zuckmayer, Devlet Konservatuvarı Temsil ve Konser Program Kitapçığı, Yunus Emre (Soli, Koro ve Orkestra için) Oratoryo, 3 Bölüm, Op.26, 1946, p.31

[168] 1894-1962. Fuat Köprülü contributed significantly to the Turkish nationalism with his studies on Turkish folklore as a chair of the Institute of Turcology at Istanbul University.

continuation fit perfectly with the nationalist ideas and ideology. Although Ziya Gökalp put forward the principles of Turkish nationalism, Fuat Köprülü solidified the nationalist philosophy through his scholarly works. As a scholar who was born at the end of the nineteenth century, Köprülü was aware that neither the official multicultural ideology of the Ottoman Empire nor the brotherhood of pan-Islamic politics of some intellectual groups of the Empire were functioning efficiently anymore. As a solution, he proposed Turkish nationalism in the midst of the disintegration of the Empire. In his book *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar* (The First Mystics in Turkish Literature), Köprülü presents two mystics, one from central Asia and one from Anatolia, who provide the necessary link of the continuation of Turkish history. Köprülü's works provided a significant connection between the central Asian past and Republican present that was ideologically needed.

According to Köprülü's nationalist theory, particularly in his *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar,* regardless of the region or the period, all "Turkish/Turkic literatures should be considered as a whole" (Başkal 2006, 186). In Köprülü's words, the "Turkish literature of Anatolia had not developed separately and independently from the literature of the Turks in other regions, that it was a continuation of the past" (Köprülü 2006, liv). Through this book, as Başkal pointed out, Köprülü expands the range of nationalism to the literary history. This conscious attitude is echoed in Saygun's creation. However, embracing the Ottomans as a part of glorious Turkish past was not the official position because of the distant stance of the Turkish policy makers towards the Ottoman era. Thus, with the oratorio, Saygun challenged the official policy on what is considered Turkish and Turkish music. This perspective particularly contradicts the principles of Ziya Gökalp. Therefore, Saygun took the chance of being subjected to all kinds of

criticism and exclusion when he amalgamated diverse musical materials from past and present Turkish periods to symbolize historical continuation.

For Saygun and Köprülü, the idea of continuation was a significant part of the nationalist ideologies. By emphasizing Turkish literature as whole, Köprülü highlighted Turkishness. Even though his book explores Sufi mystics, rather than a religious understanding he instead offers a nationalist understanding of this literature: "literature written in Turkish by Turks" (Başkal 2006, 186). The stress on Turkishness was significant particularly in the context of the Ottoman *millet* system. *Millet*[169] refers to the different sovereign ethnic and religious groups in the Empire; on the other hand, the Islamic counterpart was *ümmet*, which has a broader meaning and denotes religious brotherhood regardless of the ethnicity. However, Gökalp and Köprülü emphasized that the main formative aspects of a nation were ethnicity and language; they wanted to identify separately their ideologies from former *millet* and *ümmet*. In order to differentiate his principles from the contemporary racist ideologies, Köprülü adopted Gökalp's understanding and definition of ethnicity wherein Gökalp directly states, "Anyone who feels himself a Turk should be considered Turk" (Gökalp 1973, 24). So although Saygun embraced this concept of ethnicity, it is in fact a more inclusive definition of ethnicity in that it includes the Ottomans and their music legacy.

Changing the Representation of Turkishness

Emphasizing and glorifying Turkishness was not an easy task during the Ottoman Era. The image of Turks and the Turkish speaking masses was quite low and the statement of *Etrak-ı be-idrak* --"uncomprehending Turks"-- expressed the general attitude of the Ottoman elites (Başgöz 1972, 164-165). The Turkish nationalists were trying to alter this notion through

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[169] *Millet* (*milla*, arabic) was an independent group that acknowledged by the Ottoman state. These groups acquired their rights around 1860s (İnalcık and Quataert 1994).

demonstrating how these elites and court intellectuals were heavily influenced by Persian and Arabic literature and language and how their writings and thoughts were decadent and contaminated by these external factors. For the nationalist intellectuals, the pre-Ottoman Turkish past, particularly Yunus Emre and mystical folk poetry, was pure, authentic, and capable of not only providing historical continuity but also the necessary intellectual capacity.

In this literary and ideological environment, Adnan Saygun's oratorio offered an affirmative standpoint of this historiography. The structural elements of his music and the text present a full spectrum of Turkish materials. Moreover, Saygun changed his compositional practice after the oratorio. Thus, the piece represents, for Saygun, an ideal image of the new Turkish identity. This identity, just like Köprülü's Turkish literary theory, embraced folk literature; however, unlike Gökalp's and Köprülü's, Saygun's understanding of Turkishness was broader and much more inclusive. He accepted characteristics from the most ancient central Asian Turks to citizens of the modern Anatolian Turkish Republic. Even though both Gökalp and Köprülü were ideologically quite distant to the Ottoman period, Saygun pushed their suggested representation of Turkishness. For Saygun, the texts and the philosophy of Yunus Emre, his literary significance, and the archaic musical structures provided the perfect synthesis for a new understanding of the national style—it was both inclusive and nationalist. Thus, this amalgamation was the ideal image of a new national music.

Compiling the Poems for the Oratorio

During the creation of his model for national music, as Saygun was setting Yunus Emre's poems, he preferred to compile and musically compose the poems that examined existential problems of humananity, life, death, and God, even though the most significant recurrent theme in Yunus Emre's poetry was love. This preference was a part of Saygun's narrative particularly

when all the surrounding circumstances are considered, such as his mother's recent death, the war, and his exclusion from the main artistic circles of Ankara. The consideration of these events offers a different lens for poetic interpretation.

In his writings, Saygun describes Yunus Emre as the "most important Turkish thinker and poet (Saydam 1973, 2). His humanist philosophy made Yunus Emre distinct from the other dervish poets, and was for Saygun the real reason behind his attractiveness in the eye and the heart of peasants and common people. Saygun's writings demonstrate that over the centuries there was a shift in the perception of Yunus Emre. Throughout the centuries, Yunus Emre was considered as a dervish and a saint; however, the Republic and twentieth century perceptions, ideologies, and interpretations replaced these roles with those of poet and philosopher. For Saygun, Yunus Emre wrote poems that dealt with the matters of humanity, even though he had been known as Yunus Emre the mystic.

Saygun describes *Yunus Emre Oratorio* as the most significant artistic experience of his creative life. According to him, if the union and sufferings of Yunus Emre are not internalized by artists in their every creation, they cannot go further than self-deceiving by colors, drawings, and sound. Even though it takes time for people to understand and appreciate the real artistic output, these works of art will be universalized eventually (Tanju 2011).

National and International Premieres and the Reception of the Oratorio

Saygun finished the compositional process of the oratorio in 1943. But, unfortunately, the oratorio could not be performed until May 1946. After the completion, Saygun invited around 30 people to his apartment to play a sample of the piece. He played the orchestra part on the piano and he and his wife sang the solo and the choir sections. According to Saygun's memoirs, even this small event was enough to spread the word in Ankara (Saydam 1973). After

this simple performance, the choir of the Ankara State Conservatory prepared multiple choral

sections during the visit of the minister to encourage the National Education Ministry to perform

the piece, but that attempt was unsuccessful.

A couple of years after the oratorio's completion, during the budget talks of the Education

Ministry, a parliament member and poet, Behçet Kemal, severely criticized the negligence of the

Ministry in regards to Saygun's oratorio. After the incident, the Prime Minister İsmet İnönü

ordered rehearsals; the oratorio finally premiered on 25 May 1946 in Ankara at the *Dil Tarih ve*

Coğrafya Fakultesi (the Faculty of Language, History, and Geography) (Tanju 2011). The fact

that a member of parliament had to interfer on Saygun's behalf displays the official attiude and

negligence towards Saygun.

After the premiere, the oratorio was performed multiple times, and the piece became so

famous that peasants visited Saygun's apartment to see him. Saygun narrated one particular

story:

> Five or ten days after the concerts, someone knocked on my door: it was a couple of
> peasants. I welcomed them. They were looking at me with a great respect; the oldest one
> started talking: "You performed Yunus Emre on the Radio. In the village, we have a
> Radio in the People's Chamber. We all listened to it; the piece impressed all of us greatly.
> We wanted to say, 'May God be pleased with you.'" He gave me a small pack that was
> wrapped into newsprint and he said to me, "Your sister[170] sent this as a gift." It was a pair
> of hand knitted socks. They were the best gift of my life, I still keep them. (Ahmet Adnan
> Saygun in Saydam 1973, 17)[171]

This story is significant because although some might suggest Saygun is seeking self-validation

in this retelling, it also shows the positive reception of the oratorio among even the simple

peasants as Saygun could express the spiritual and the musical quality of Yunus Emre's poetry

and hymns. This encounter also demonstrates that the common people perceived the oratorio

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[170] Meaning the peasant's wife: it is traditional way of expressing that the person is so close that even the wife can
be considered as a sister.
[171] Translation is mine.

neither as a politically motivated piece of music nor as an artificially designed project. On the contrary, it resonated distinctly in the heart of the common people.

Structural Analysis

In this analysis of section 1 of *Yunus Emre Oratorio*, I will present Saygun's intentions and the structural functions of the music. Although suggesting a composer's intentions through analyzing his work presents a possible methodological issue, I believe in this oratorio's case it is possible to overlook that issue. We get a glimpse the intentionality in the oratorio because Saygun's compositional language changed with this piece. The organization of music also demonstrates how Saygun mediated and merged different Turkish materials.

In the first section of the oratorio, a human being who is unaware of a mystical understanding of God fears death because of his spiritual ignorance. In the second section, his thoughts and feelings are transformed and he starts to sense his divine qualities. In the last section he concludes his mystical journey and reaches to the level of *insan-ı kâmil*, or the level of perfection, and becomes immortal. The storyline of the three sections could be also read as Yunus Emre's mystical journey, Saygun using this as an exemplar of spiritual awakening.

Section 1

No 1. Choir and Orchestra

The opening poem describes terrifying scenes of death, with the dead bodies of young and old, women and men scattered everywhere. The graves frighten the speaker [Yunus Emre], inducing deep anxiety over the existential problems of mankind. The opening lines express the lack of spiritual awareness:

Teferrüç eyleyu vardım	When dim, grey dawn was breaking cold,
Sabahın sinleri gördüm,	The tombstones desolate, I saw,
Karışmış kara toprağa	Beneath them in the cold dark earth,
Şu nazik tenleri gördüm	the tender forlorn dead I saw.

Saygun uses the choir as an expressive device; the solo parts represent individuals and the whole choir serves as a congregation of humankind. The fear of death and the anxious state of mind are expressed by the tenor, but because death is the reality of all humankind, the theme is repeated by the choir. The relationship between the solos and the *tutti* choir will be elaborated on later in this chapter.

The formal construction of the oratorio shows that Saygun was following classical formal oratorio structure. Even though he used unconventional melodic and textual materials, his classical formal divisions were a clear indication of his intentional synthesis. The form of no 1 for choir and orchestra is simple ternary, each section embedding a binary structure. The main sections are as follows: A mm.1-28, B mm.29-57, transition mm. 58-65, and B mm. 66-89; the parts of the first A: a mm. 1-15, b mm. 16-28; the parts of B: c mm.29-41, d mm. 42-57. The parts of the second A do not simply repeat the first section; instead, Saygun inverts the parts of section A: b mm. 65-79 and a mm.80-89. In order to create structural parallelism, Saygun uses one quatrain of the poetry for the musical formal parts:

A- The first quatrain
B- The second quatrain
A- The third quatrain.

In the opening bar, Saygun uses a five note theme that is one of the most apparent and significant themes of the dark, full-of-fear of death first section. To be sure to evoke the tension and the dark mood, Saygun launches the oratorio symbolically with one of the most loaded dissonant intervals in both Western art and Turkish folk music. In order to express darkness, death, and annihilation, the theme opens with a tritone (Saygun 1936).[172] As in Western art music, the tritone is the most important dissonant interval in Turkish folk music along with the

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[172] Diabolus in musica.

major seventh (Hindemith 1945). Saygun in his *Pentatonism in Turkish Folk Music* explains that in folk music a tritone was used to articulate pain (Saygun 1936, 13). This opening tritone is important because Saygun not only opens the oratorio with it but also imparts motivic importance; as well, the tritone enables Saygun to evoke other musical quotations:[173]
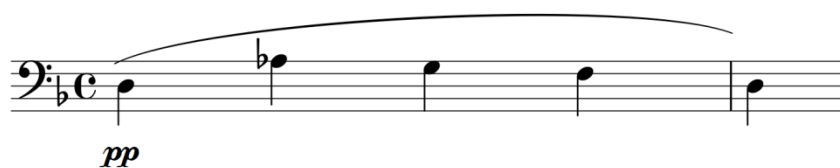
Example 6.1   The Orchestral opening with a diminished fifth

This theme functions as the reference of the other significant themes of the section. Saygun intertwines the different modes and scales to create a certain atmosphere: to express the darkness, the theme starts on the D pedal with the bass, cello, and viola and evokes the D *karcığar* D, Ab, G, F, D, which leads to an anhemitonic pentatonic melody in the choir in measures 2-8. In order to highlight the importance of D, the orchestra starts to repeat a rhythmic motif that will appear again in the developing sections. Although Saygun was trying to lower the profile of the motif by positioning it on the weak beat with a decrescendo gesture, three repetitions naturally emphasize it.

Example 6.2 Karcığar in D[174] *makamı* modified to Western temperament

The agogic accent stresses the D as much as the pedal. In measure 9, the bass group pronounces a scaler structure. However, because this mode is not fully stable, it is possible to interpret it as

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[173] Buxtehude Last Judgment (1683): the lost soul wailing in hell; Saint-Saens, Dance macabre (1874): Death tuning his violin, calling the skeletons from their graves; Busoni Doctor Faust (c. 1918): Faust's plea to Lucifer.

[174] The *makam* examples were modified to a tempered system, commas are not shown.

alaca dor. This fluid choice of the mode is quite significant because of Saygun's overall agenda to mix different musical construction from various traditions, as *alaca dor* mode is a traditional Anatolian construction that consists of two repeating descending tetrachords. The intervallic structure is 1½T, S, S+1½T, S, S. (Saygun 1967, 17)

Example 6.3   m. 9 *Alaca dor*
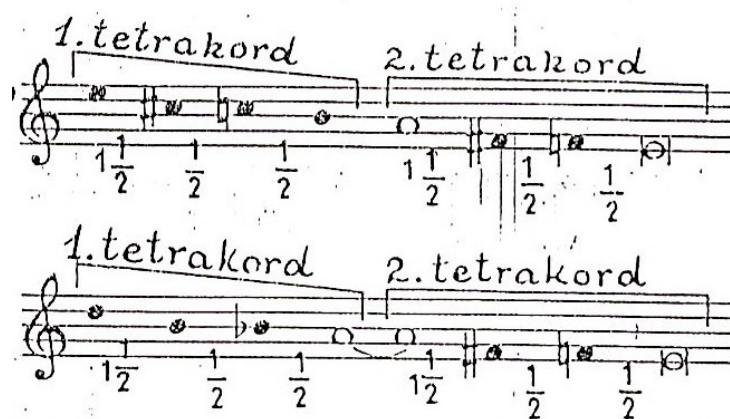
Example 6.4   *Alaca dor* possibilities (Saygun 1962, 17)

The scale leads to a strong Eb between mm.10-13 where Saygun highlights it through dynamic stress. Before the b part, through a three note chromatic descending line AG-Gb-F, Saygun establishes the F pedal.

Part b starts on a *pp* dynamic and faster tempo in m.14. The orchestral part manipulates the rhythmic perceptions of the audience through repeated tied syncopations, which create a

strong metric dissonance[175] by non-aligned layers. Saygun displaced the accent structure by using only tied syncopated groups.

This six bar unit is metrically ear-catching because of its downbeat relations, particularly when the textual prosodic accent is considered. An examination of the first quatrain, the poem's internal accents, and the quatrain's syllabic structure will throw some light on Saygun's awareness of Yunus Emre's design and how Saygun created fluency by using the poetry's natural metric accents. The selected quatrains of the text exhibit quite regular syllabic and prosodic accent structure; however, Yunus Emre changed the internal accent construction of the 3rd verse by altering the syllable construction; thus, he relocated the metric weight.

The metric dissonance of this section was designed to increase the tension; Saygun superimposed the displaced accents of the syncopated accompaniment and the shifted prosodic accents slightly slip. Raising the vocal color, from the bass to tenor contributes to the stress charge.

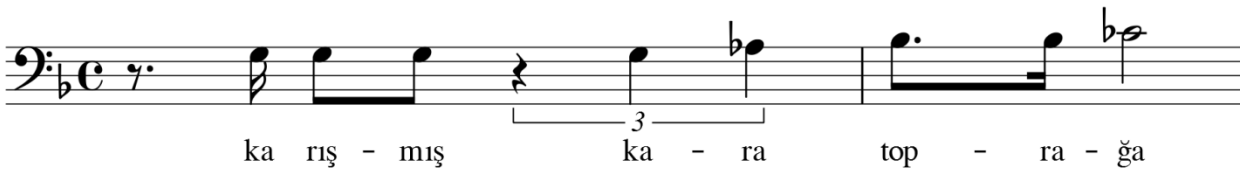|	
Te**fer**rüç **ey**leyu var**dım**	3+3+2
Sa**bah**ın **sin**leri gör**düm**,	3+3+2
Ka**rış**mış kara **top**rağa	3+**2**+3
Şu **na**zik **ten**leri gör**düm**	3+3+2

In Saygun incorporated this natural displacement of the stress in the music, the metric dissonance of the music sounds somehow organic. This quality emerges because all the components' internal qualities fit each other. The treatment of this small section demonstrates that when Saygun was composing the piece, he consciously positioned and chose his musical materials. Thus, he could easily assimilate the elements of music that manipulate the audience's senses.

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[175] For more information, see (Krebs 1999).

Melodically, the bass and tenor parts highlight the fear of death where Saygun calls to mind the diminished fourth of *Hüzzam* mode. In Saygun's music *Hüzzam* expresses the mystic atmosphere, as in the verse *karışmış kara toprağa*: "beneath them in the cold earth." The rhythmic structure of this verse also escalates the anxiety.

Example 6.5   mm16-17, the bass part

Example 6.6   mm.17-19, the tenor part

In measures 20 to 31, Saygun establishes a contrasting transition section, where he changes the texture of the density of the musical fabric, dynamics, tempo, and the range. When the music reaches this point, it discharges all the built-up energy because of the change of the multifactor. The harmonic progressions start simply and plainly, gradually becoming more complicated. This progression demonstrates how Saygun juxtaposed and/or simultaneously used different musical components together.

Opening this section with a root position chord, Saygun set up a maximal chordal simplicity. Although he introduces the C chord in a weak time and *subito pp*, the repetition underlines this plainness to create contrast between the simple close range opening and the wide

tonally farther chords. After the six degree added C, in the next module Saygun joins the C and

G chords to A. The chromatic alteration leads smoothly to Cb.[176] From measure 23, the

alternating time signatures and chromatic chords create harmonic tightness that ends the

transition on C#>.

In this section, Saygun cleans his expression from any *makam* color so he can produce

melodic, harmonic, and textural oscillation. This fluctuation not only creates a variety but

enables Saygun to manipulate the musical material. In measures 26-28, the dominance of E is

apparent. Each chord underlies E either as a suspension or as the structural pitch in order to

prepare for the final C#> chord.

A new motif initiates part B in m29 with *ff* dynamics and its echo sounds m2 down in a

contrasting dynamics, *pp.* The tenor solo replies with a melodic and rhythmic variant of the

motif. The interaction between the tenor solo and the choir is similar to responsorial chants[177] in

that the tenor solo functions as the cantor and the choir has the *repetendum* part. Saygun's

musical idea almost functions as a rhythmic basso continuo in the C anhemitonic

pentatonic/Aeolian mode. On top of the orchestra, the tenor and the choir alternate and produce a

question- answer structure. With the added D in m.33 and Ab in m.34, he creates another

traditional Turkish art music *makam*, *uşşak*.
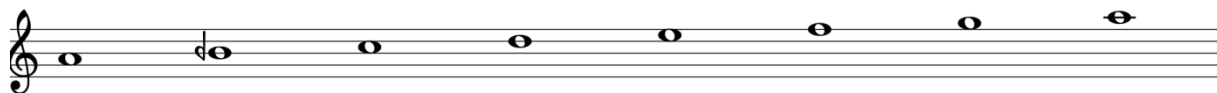
Example 6.7   *Uşşak makamı*

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[176] In the orchestra, unlike the Cb of the choir, Saygun used its enharmonic equivalent B major.
[177] A liturgical form that after the responsory usually consisted of a choral respond, a single solo psalm verse, and the *repetendum.*

In order to continue to describe the horror of the death and the dead, Saygun uses the dim4 in m.44 with Gb as he had used that interval before.

Bar tut - muş söy - le - mez ol - muş

Example 6.8   mm 42-44

The B section concludes with 10 measures of orchestral music. The musical materials are borrowed from m 56. The dotted eighth and the sixteenth notes as a characteristic rhythmic motif particularly repeat themselves to fully establish the idea. The most significant rhythmic feature of this section is the constant time signature changes that are introduced in the last six bars of the transition section. This recurring change of time signatures makes it almost impossible to have regularity on the strong and weak beat structure. Alternating between duple and triple times creates great imbalance in terms of the hypermetrical level by generating quite different sized sentences and destabilizing the construction. This asymmetrical formation charges the music with immense stress that contributes to the restlessness and tonal instability to produce an atmosphere filled with death.

From measure 47 to 57, the rhythmic motif is heard five more times, which comes with *stretto* from m.52 to conclude the B section with a G pedal on a sudden orchestral diminuendo. The sustained G pedal of the cellos and double basses from section B initiates the last formal section of both the music and poetry with the bass part. The bass part's declamatory opening sounds almost like an echo on the pedal. Instead of repeating the first section A without having any alterations, Saygun changes some of the musical ideas here. Although the melody of the bass part that describes the fear of death has a very similar rhythmic motif to the opening line of the

oratorio, this time Saygun prefers to display it on a different sound color of the *Hüzzam makamı.*[178]

Example 6.9   *Hüzzam makamı*

Saygun connects the musical images between the sections, and even though he is not duplicating the exact musical materials, he uses similar orchestral pedals as in the beginning with plainer but similar rhythmic texture:

so - ğul - muş   -   şol   e -la göz - ler,

Example 6.10 mm 57-59

In order to emphasize the text, Ab is highlighted by the previous pedal in mm.56-58 G. and the dynamic accent and the different colored orchestration of this section continue until the end of m. 63. The orchestra creates chromatic and diatonic clusters mirroring the *belürsüz olmuş* (vagueness) of the text. The harmonic rhythm changes with the accompanying instruments. The insisting Ab pedal from mm 59-63 reflects the darkness of death. With a small transition, the Ab descends to Eb that leads to a strongly accented Db.

The second verse of the last quatrain begins with almost the exact same rhythmic sentence of the first section's *karcigar* melody in m.16. Saygun used these parallel ideas not only because this section formally should bear heavy resemblances to the first section, but he also

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[178] The word *hüzzam* derives from *hüzün* which means sadness, melancholy, sorrow, grief, gloom, etc.

wants to associate certain words with certain colors and rhythms. In this case, he keeps the rhythmic similarity but changes its *makam* from *karcigar* to *hicaz* by introducing A2.
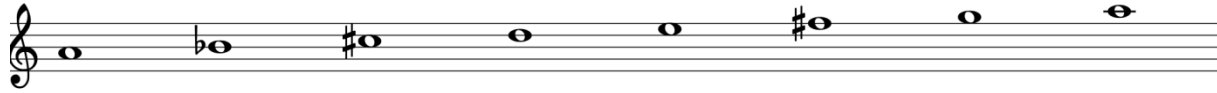
Example 6.11 *Hicaz makamı*

In the last verse of the poem sung by the full choir in m.73, the transition harmonies connect the section to the coda where Saygun creates a final climax with expanded harmonies and the orchestration. The coda begins with the rhythmically expanded opening idea in m.80, which proceeds to the final dynamic decrescendo where Saygun creates a contradiction by increasing the density of the texture and the spatial wideness of the chords from one and a half octaves to five octaves.

No 2 Recitativo

The recitative section, unlike No 1, is written for a different group of instruments: the tenor solo, timpani, double bass, cello, viola, and the 2nd violin. This section is composed based on two quatrains of the poetry in which Yunus Emre deals with the transitory nature of life and the unknowns of the afterlife. Just as in the first piece, this recitative expresses the depressiveness of the ephemerality of human beings by pronouncing the characteristic interval of the *karcigar* of the opening theme, the diminished fifth. Using the same modal and intervallic connections, Saygun creates an inner relationship between the different sections of the oratorio.

Ya-lan - cı dün - ya - ya

pp

Example 6.12 m.5, the diminished fifth in the tenor

Saygun begins the Recitativo with a four bar opening. Strings and timpani repeat a bar long motif of the darkness of the diminished fifth. Although the expected expression of this darkness and depressive atmosphere is heaviness and slowness, Saygun commenced it with the aggressive attitude of the timpani and strings with an *Energico* tempo. Then, the theme enters again an octave lower to darken the color. This opening theme almost functions as a frame of the 40 measure long piece by coming before, in the middle, and after the solo. The pronounced entrances of the theme states the sections of the ternary form, where the first section ends at measure 19; after the short transition, the second section ends at measure 30.

f

Example 6.13 The motif of the darkness in the strings and the timpani

Due to its repetitive symmetrical construction, the four measure opening creates an expectation of a hypermetrically regular structure. As a composer, Saygun loves to play with the metric and rhythmic perceptions of his audience. This expectation of an auditory symmetrical construction is quickly undercut by the presentation of the tenor solo's 5+5 bar theme.

The hypermetrical asymmetry causes a constant perceptive conflict, which contributes to the restless character of the movement and the poetry. Thus, Saygun constructs a parallel structure among the fluctuated hypermetrical organization, the darkness of the poetry, and the asymmetrical sub-divisions of the verse arrangement of the poem.

Although Yunus Emre used a syllabic meter with a strict 11 syllables in each verse, he built up his poem with varied length scansion, which forms an inner asymmetry. Yunus Emre alternates the positions of the sub-divisions and pauses. In order to grasp and express similar feelings, Saygun composed lines of different lengths, making his recitative understanding closer to the 17th century French style because of its "flowing" melodic character and "emphasized by the frequent change of time signature" (Westrup 2007-2015). This application also allows Saygun to design a more natural atmosphere because of the related sentence structure.

Yalancı dün**ya**ya/ konup göçen**ler**	6+5	11	The ones who left aworld, deceitful, lying,
Ne söyler**ler**/ ne bir ha**ber** verir**ler**;	4+7	11	They left us here, bereft remote, and lonely;
Üzerinde **tür**lü/ otlar biten**ler**,	6+5	11	Above their graves grass is like banners flying,
Ne söyler**ler**/ ne bir ha**ber** verir**ler**;	4+7	11	They left us here, bereft remote, and lonely;

Kimisinin üzerin**de**/ biter ot**lar**,	7+4	11	On some the daisies, like stars, now shine and glow,
Kiminin başın**da**/ sıra servi**ler**,	6+5	11	Others sleep beneath rows of cypress coldly,
Kimi ma**sum**/ kimi gü**zel** yiğit**ler**,	4+7	11	The innocent, the simple, or the hero,
Ne söyler**ler**/ ne bir ha**ber** verir**ler**;	4+7	11	They left us here, bereft remote, and lonely;

To give the recitative atmosphere and to maintain the naturalness of the expression, Saygun used an Anatolian form construction *Uzun hava*[179] because it is rhythmically not a defined structure and allows the relative free flow of the declamatory character of recitative. In order to highlight the textual stress, he consciously preferred this metrically vague form:

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[179] *Uzunhava* is a Turkish folk music form that has no particular character and its rhythmic structure is vague. This form of melodies is performed without having any *usul*, traditional rhythmic cycle. Mostly, texts are more important in *uzun hava*.

after I had chosen the poems from Yunus Emre's *divan*, I decided to use *uzunhava* for the recitatives because as a form, stylistically is the most convenient one. In steppes, as you know a speech-like style is essential, but it must be a musical *parlando* that allows unfolding sounds. Thus, with these ideas I planned to write the recitatives in our Anatolian *uzunhava* style. (Ahmet Adnan Saygun in Aracı 2001, 126)[180]

In one of his early publications on his expedition, *Rize, Artvin ve Kars Havalisi Türkü, Saz ve Oyunları Hakkında Bazı Malûmat* (1937) (Some Information on Rize, Artvin and Kars Region *Türküs*, Instruments, and Dances) Saygun gave detailed information and examples on the formal structure of *uzunhava* in the Rize, Artvin, and Kars regions. According to Aracı, Saygun used the examples of this publication as references while he was planning the recitatives of the oratorio (Aracı 2001, 126). In the Kars region, *uzunhava*s is sung with the accompaniment of the drum and *zurna* (Saygun 1937, 60-61).[181] Before the singing begins, the *zurna* plays a melody accompaniment by the drum; this melody serves as the backbone of the *uzunhava* melody. After the cadence is reached, the *zurna* is silenced and the singer starts to sing while the drum tremolos in a *p* dynamic. When the singer reaches the long held pitches, the drum plays mostly a triple time rhythm in *f* dynamic (Saygun 1937).

As for the melodic construction, Saygun preferred two inter-related *makam*s, *Karcigar* [182]as he did in the first piece and *Hüseyni*:
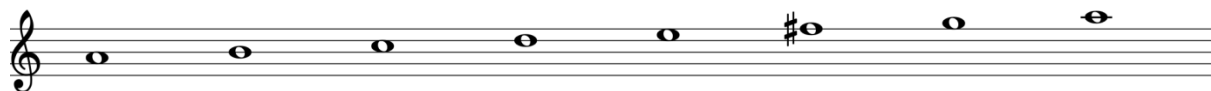
Example 6.14 *Hüseyni makamı.*

An insisting G pedal bass accompanies the tenor solo and the counter melody of the orchestra until the end. The pedal provides a solid ground for the two counterpointal lines of the tenor and

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[180] Translation is mine.
[181] Zurna: reed instrument with piercing sound color.
[182] p 16

the orchestra. While using only linear expression, Saygun contrasts this movement with the first one, although a firm harmonic accompaniment is more an expected expression for a recitative.

No 3. Aria: Alto Solo, Oboe, English Horn and Organ or Strings

After the recitative, as expected, Saygun continues his section with an aria. This aria is one of two solo pieces for female voice in the oratorio. According to Tatçı (Tatçı 1990), Saygun was reluctant to use pervasive female voices because of the historical and religious load of Yunus Emre hymns. In the religious context, these hymns are sung only by men in *tekke*s (Tatçı 1990, 368). Saygun's two uses of female voice can be explained by Yunus Emre's poetry, in which the world is identified as female—Saygun wanted to use the same symbolism of Yunus Emre.

Contrasting with the previous recitativo, the aria has sorrowful (*Dolente*) articulation, which reminds us of the depressive phase of the emotional stages of loss or grief (Axelrod 2014),[183] However, Saygun will return to his angry idiom in the second section of the oratorio to express Yunus Emre's rebellious anger. In the aria, Saygun's use of organ is also significant as it adds to the heavy mood.[184]

Even though Saygun uses chordal structures, the aria was constructed as a linear organization. The chordal arrangements mostly function as support to the horizontal lines. The piece starts with a six measure long introduction. Particularly the bass line of this introduction functions as a basso continuo and it will be heard seven times with some alterations or variants.

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[183] Swiss psychiatrist Elisabeth Kübler-Ross describes the stages of emotions of loss and grief in her book *On Death and Dying*, 1969. These stages are denial, anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance.
[184] He studied organ with Edouard Souberbielle, and in Paris he worked as an organist in a chapel (Aracı 2001, 58).

Example 6.15 Introduction of no.3

The inner section of the *cor anglais* and its interaction with the oboe are worth considering because of the constant exchange between the two instruments. On the bottom of the descending manner of the oboe, the *cor anglais* balances this gesture with a small three voice ascending motion in mm.1-2 (C-D-E). In measure 3, the *cor anglais* pushes its three voice ascending line to F. In measures 4-5-6, the *cor anglais* is able to break its four pitch boundaries, while the oboe for the first time changes its descending manner and accompanies the English horn. The left hand of the organ, on the other hand, changes its stationary position and descends a P5 within measures 5-7. These descending lines and gestures are preparing for the first word of the text *Ağlamaktır* (to weep).

After the exact repetition of the first 6 bars in mm 7-12, the same idea shows itself as a *stretto* within bars 13 and 17. After the *stretto*, the idea repeats with alterations. Between the recurrences, Saygun introduces transitional ideas in the measures: 18-21, 28-36, 37-39, and 52-60. Following the transitional sections, the main idea comes in a different tonal area. Here,

Saygun uses the relative relationship from C to Eb. In this movement, as he did in the previous movements, Saygun prefers to use transitional scaler systems. Even though the C area sounds like C minor, he adumbrated that this region should be considered as C *uşşak makamı*[185] because of the tonal implications of the coming transition of the movement.

This C *uşşak,* tonicizing to G *hicâz,* has a very strong modal identity because of its characteristic augmented second. After the *hicâz* transition, the main theme modulates to the Eb *uşşak* at m.38, which leads to the C *uşşak* area with an eight bar bridge. Saygun give hints that he wants to construct a bit of tonal vagueness by tossing in scales and modes that have diatonic or *makam* associations. To a Western ear, these fused scaler systems sound as chromatically altered majors or minors. Even though Saygun uses these systems in the tempered diatonic context and avoids using micro tones, he obviously intends to evoke a certain atmosphere. Although he uses the permeable natured melodic constructions, Saygun's approach towards the tonal regions is quite conservative. The fifth relations between C and G are established by the root –interval relations and highlighted by the insisting returns. The Eb region functions as a relative to C min-*uşşak* and *leittonwechsel* to G min-*hicâz*, where they share the constituent minor third. By using these relationships, Saygun creates close knit networks.
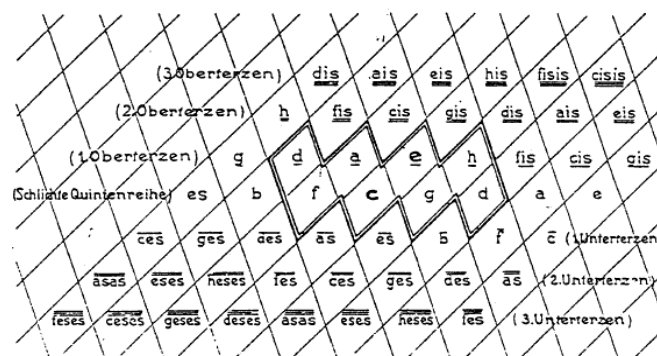

Illustration 6.1 *Tonnetz* (Hugo Riemann in Hyer 1995)

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[185] P 19

Other than using specific *makams* to form certain atmospheres, the timbre of the instrumentation expresses particular emotions. The parts of the oboe and *cor anglais* have a mimetic character of a mourning/crying gesture that implies the main idea of the poem. Saygun wanted to use this particular color of the instruments, where he balances the piercing bright color of the oboe with *cor anglais*'s melancholic character. The blending strings carry the basso continuo throughout the movement without interfering with the rest.

Ağla**mak**tur /be**nim** i**şim**,	4+4	Since to weep my fate must be,
Ağ**la** göz**üm**/ şim**den** ge**ru**,	4+4	Weep oh mine eyes for ever more,
Irmağ o**la**/ kan**lı** ya**şım**,	4+4	Then, tears of blood flow fast and full,
Çağ**la** göz**üm**/ şim**den** ge**ru**.	4+4	And blow salt tears for ever more.
Bil**me** yarin/neydüğü**nü**,	4+4	So ask not where the lov'd once laid,
Ö**mür** gülü/solduğu**nu**	4+4	Nor how life's roses droop and fade,
Gi**ce** gün**düz**/ olduğu**nu**	4+4	Nor if 'tis dawn, or light, or shade,
Bil**me** göz**üm**/ şim**den** ge**ru**.	4+4	Ask not, ask not mine eyes, for ever more.
Al**dan**ma/dün**ya** ali**na**,	3+5	Avoid the earthly gin and snare,
Ağu**dur**/sun**ma** bal**ına**,	3+5	The poisoned honey oh! Beware,
Dü**şüp** dün**ya**/hayal**ına**	4+4	Abandon dreams of other where,
Dalma göz**üm**/ şim**den** ge**ru**.	4+4	Look down, look down mine eyes, for ever more.

No 4. Bass solo, chorus and orchestra

This aria, unlike the others in the first section, is the most characteristically written in a hymn style. It is composed based on a variety of *makam*s, one modulating to another. This chain of *makam*s and the use of the instrumentation support the hymn characteristic. Saygun noted on the score that the opening flute solo can be played by a *ney*,[186] even though he never liked the idea of mixing traditional occidental and western orchestral instruments in the name of "East-West synthesis."[187]

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[186] The wailing flute.

[187] In 1961, Saygun participated to a folk music conference in Tehran where he sent a letter to his wife. In this letter, it is possible to observe his thoughts on that practice: "this region is so occidental that I cannot even describe. They

Yunus Emre's text for this aria uses quite common occidental imagery, that of a traditional rose-nightingale. The cry of the nightingale symbolizes a lover who is yearning but is not able to reach spiritual maturity. According to Tatçı, the nightingale is the lover in the *zikr* ceremony who fascinates the listeners with his beautiful voice while he is begging the dervishes (Tatçı 1990, 430). In Sufism, Schimmel states, the nightingale is a soul who is burning with love of God; tirelessly the nightingale sings compliments to the rose and reads the *Quran* from its pedals, recites hymns, and never complains about his sufferings because of the thorns (Schimmel 300).

Sen bunda/ga**rip** mi gel**din**?	3+5	Hast thou exiled hither come?
Ni**çin** ağlarsın/ bülbül **hey?**	5+3	Why art thou mourning, nightingale,
Yorulup/iz mi yanil**din,**	3+5	And art thou weary?
Ni**çin** ağlarsın/ bülbül **hey?**	5+3	Why art thou mourning, nightingale,
Hey ne yavuz/ iniler**sin**,	4+4	Ah! Thy sweet plaint my heart dothrend,
Be**nim** derdim/ yeni**ler**sin,	4+4	And so my sorrow no end;
Dost'u gör**mek** mi/diler**sin**?	5+3	Art thou too searching for the Friend?
Ni**çin** ağlarsın/ bülbül **hey?**	5+3	Why art thou mourning, nightingale?

This poem of Yunus Emre expresses his longing for the absolute presence of God. He conducts a passionate monologue about how much he wants to be united with God. In a spiritual context he calls himself *garip*, referring to a person who has devoted himself to the path of God. He feels very lonely in this world because of his separation from God; being cast away here makes him miserable since he has lost himself in the lack of Godliness in life.

In order to express the intense longing and pain, the aria begins on the instrument's solo opening with a diminished fifth that symbolizes death, darkness, and hopelessness. This aria is the third piece in the first section that opens with a tritone alone with No 1, No 2, and No 4. The

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mix *santour*s and *oud*s with European instruments for the sake of progressiveness in music; as I understand, their government supports these kinds of practices" (Ahmet Adnan Saygun in Aracı 2001, 123. translation is mine).

use of tritone shows us the significance of this motivic interval. The flute solo is reminiscent of a *taksim*, an improvisatory section and written based on a *bestenigâr makamı*. *Bestenigâr* is one of the compound *makam*s, which has more than one simple *makam* in the scale body. The structural properties of *sâba makamı* are also exhibited in *bestenigâr*.

Example 6.16 Flute introduction of No. 4

Example 6.17 *Bestenigâr/sabâ*

Even though Saygun wrote this aria for the bass solo and the orchestra, he did not give a place for the tenor part, but he uses a women's choir in the *divisi*. This choir symbolizes the nightingale and they reply to the bass solo's question, "why art thou mourning," which generates a question-answer structure. The nightingale, or the choir, never articulates a word, but as an expression of mourning only recites "a" in a *melismatic* style. With this poem, Yunus Emre's thoughts are changing towards the idea of death. The mournful crying is not an expression of the ephemerality of human beings; on the contrary, he has matured in his spiritual journey and wants to reunite with his Lover. Death is the only way for a devoted believer to rejoin God. Until death comes, the mystic abandons all the pleasures of the worldly life and gives up his self.

It makes sense for Saygun to use such a distinct hymn style and modal structure in order to express the poem's character. Just like Yunus Emre's articulation of his maturity, Saygun manifests that change through using the *ilahi* form and exploits all the possible components of a compound *makam.* Although Saygun constructs this movement in F# *bestenigâr*, during the *taksim*-like flute solo, he highlights the structural connections of the *makam,* where he draws attention to C in the first four measures that is the middle strong scale degree of a *sabâ*. In measure 8, Saygun pulls the polar opposite of the C again and concludes the solo in F#. The bass solo starts with the unison accompaniment of a double-bass and cello for almost 15 measures, the horn and timpani complementing the soundscape. Another constituent of *bestenigâr and ırak makamı*'s first pentachord is presented with the beginning of the bass solo. Thus, in the first ten measures of the aria, Saygun fully establishes the tonal signature, evoking an atmosphere that reminds us of both the feeling of the *Sabah ezanı* (morning call to prayer) and a ney *taksim* of a *Mevlevi* dervish, which might a distant recollection of his *Mevlevi* father.
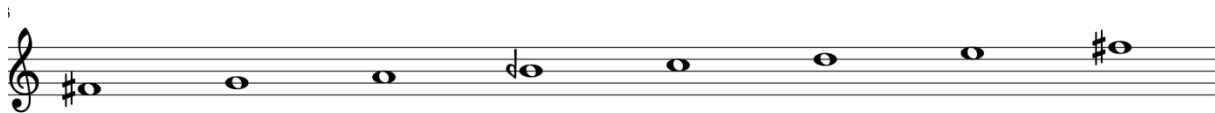
Example 6.18 *Irak makamı*

Other than working with *bestenigâr* and its constituent *makams*, Saygun introduced several more *makam*s. Some of these *makam*s make themselves heard in the context of the chromatic alterations, but it is enough to establish their particular feeling. It is possible to observe C *kürdî* in mm.18-24 through b natural and e natural.
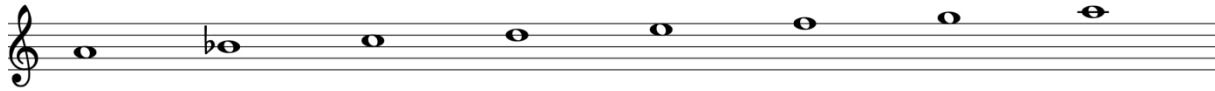
Example 6.19 *Kürdî makamı*

During the flute solo in mm.28-48, *hüseynî* appears with measure 37 and is suspended on its intermediate dominant[188] E, which creates a durational stress that emphasizes the scaler construction. Between mm 41-43, although it is quite brief, a C *nikriz* appears. This C *nikriz* tonicizes to F# *segâh* in mm. 44-46. Saygun makes the flute solo flow from one mode to another through transposing and using common pitches. Although he uses the F# as a tonic of the whole movement, Saygun achieves this through using different *makam* structures. For example, after projecting the F# in *segâh* and then briefly in *bestenigâr* in mm.47-49, in mm. 50-53, this time F# comes again in *segâh,* briefly behaving like a *kürdî* before turning into the F# *hüzzam*. The way Saygun constructs his modality perfectly fits with his intentions to design the aria in a hymn style.

The upcoming measures project a modal ambiguity that perhaps would be better to label as polymodality as Saygun uses two separate *makam*s simultaneously. In mm. 53-54, the melody of the bass solo is in *segâh*, where the accompanying chord has strong *hüzzam* color. *Bestenigâr* is re-established in m.60, the chord and the double-bass part openly displaying a modal construction. In the same measure, Saygun imitates his ascending figure that creates a short linear question-answer a P5 higher. At first, this linear figure sounds like an imitation, but it generates concurrent *Bestenigâr*s, one in F# and one in C#.

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[188] Intermediate dominant is semi-strong dominant chord in a *makam*.

At the end of the aria, after a short section of the flute solo theme, Saygun combines the flute with a *kudüm*[189] or tam tam. The pulses of the *kudüm* remind us of the rhythmic cycles of traditional art music, *usul*s.[190] There is no doubt that Saygun wanted to solidify the religious idiom and the idea of hymn by using the most significant instruments of the Islamic ceremonial context. The sound of the *Kudüm* symbolizes the first order of God when he created the universe: "become" or *Kûn*.[191] The sound also represents the lover because "without the touch of the beloved's fingers the drum would be silent" (Schimmel 1997, 14). Although there is no record that either *ney* or *kudüm* is used in one of the performances, Saygun's intention was to evoke a real spiritual context by joining these two instruments. The associations of this arrangement are not limited only by the idea of hymns; this organization has been used in other significant religious ceremonies such as *Mevlevi mukabele*[192] and *semâ* rituals because of the aforementioned spiritual connotations.

No 5 Chorale: Chorus and Orchestra

This section ends with a contemplation of the purpose of a spiritual journey—to give up worldly demands of the self and to gain self-awareness of the negative qualities of the ego so a person can focus on his/her positive qualities. Thus, a dervish could become mature through his sufferings of self-discipline, and thereby, according to Esin Ulu, reach the only reality—the

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[189] Kudum is a rhythm instrument made by copper and the cups were covered with camel or sheepskin.
[190] *Usul* is repeating rhythmic cycles that akin to Indian *ragas*. Similar to *makam*s, *usul*s could be either simple or compound; other than two simple *usul*s, the rest of the *usul*s are compound.
[191] Sufi Atilla Baran, Galata Mevlevihanesi [Internet]. Istanbul. [cited 2010 March 26] Available from: http://rumimevlevi.com/tr/roportajlar/2475-10-soruda-hz-mevlana-mevlevilik
[192] *Mukabele* is a larger bodied ceremony that has many layers and sections. It was performed on the particular days of the Islamic calendar in addition to regular ritual days like five holy nights and the religious festival eves. The ceremony involves to execute regular prays, musical sections, whirling dance ritual, *zikr*, and the Quran recitations. The musical sections begin with a ney player's *taksim* and it leads to singing hymns. After the hymns, another musical section begins with the performance of the *kudums*, kettledrums, and the other instruments that called *peşrev*. The instruments in these rituals carry a great amount of symbolic meaning. In Rumî's poetry and in *Mevlevi* order the sound of *ney* is always associated with the human being.

Almighty (Esin Ulu, 40). This is a journey of a transformation from ignorance to God-consciousness. Yunus Emre was, just as in his poem, similar to the groaning water wheel, once upon a time a tree on a mountain. He was reshaped by being cut and bent down. In other words, in order to reach the divine level, the divine light, he has to suffer and endure pain (Esin Ulu, 40).

Be**nim** ad**ım/** dert**li** do**lap,**	4+4	The groaning water wheel am I,
Su**yum** a**kar**/ ya**lap** ya**lap,**	4+4	From me sparkling waters fly,
Böy**le emr**/eyle**miş** ç**alap;**	3+5	So ordereth the Lord on high;
Onun i**çin**/ ben ağla**rım,**	4+4	For this I mourn, for this I weep,
Der**dim var**dır/ inile**rim.**	4+4	This my sorrow, that I must keep.
Be**ni** bir **dağ**da/ **bul**dular,	5+3	On mountain top a tree I stood,
Ko**lum** kana**dım/ kır**dılar,	5+3	My limbs spread wide as branches should,
Dolaba layık/gördüler,	5+3	They made me wheel and found me good;
Onun i**çin**/ ben ağla**rım,**	4+4	For this I mourn, for this I weep,
Der**dim var**dır/ inile**rim.**	4+4	This my sorrow, that I must keep.
Su**yum** alçak**tan/** çeke**rim,**	5+3	I draw the water from below,
Dö**nüp** yükse**ğe/** döke**rim,**	5+3	And from the height I make it flow,
Ben Mevla'yı/ **zikr** ede**rim**;	4+4	To the Lord my praises go;
Onun i**çin**/ ben ağla**rım,**	4+4	For this I mourn, for this I weep,
Der**dim var**dır/ inile**rim.**	4+4	This my sorrow, that I must keep.

According to Mehmet Tatçı, the circular motions of the groaning water wheel remind us of the circular *semâ* dance of a dervish who is in a *zikr* ceremony (Tatçı in Ulu, 42). For him, the way of the groaning water wheel draws the water from below and makes it flow from the height, describing the agony of the mystical way; moreover, the water symbolizes the tears that have been shed because of longing for God Almighty (ibid, 42).

Adnan Saygun used three Bach-style chorales in the oratorio to end the main sections. Chorale No 5 is the only piece in the oratorio that uses the original text and hymn melody. Saygun's treatment is reminiscent of the early Lutheran chorales written on the existing German translations of Latin hymns in order to create a strong sense of historical continuity and the "hope of securing wide popular support" (Marshall; Leaver 2007-2015). As in a traditional chorale, No 5 has a duple form. Saygun preferred to use the original *makam segâh* but transposed it into G# over a plain harmonic accompaniment. Although Saygun aimed at plain idiom for the chorale, the modal structure projects vagueness because of the transitionary nature of *makam* constructions. Certain sections project G# *kurdî* by highlighting the third scale degree of the mode, in the cases of mm.12, 33, and 53, on the *fermata*s, which is the intermediate dominant.

Saygun formed the chorale according to the poem's inner form. Although Yunus Emre designed his poem as three sets of five verses, the inner form of the set is a combination of a tercet and a strophe. As seen above, the syllables form 4+4 and 3+5 in the first set, and 5+3 and 4+4 in the rest. The syllabic structure also affects the melodic and rhythmic construction of the chorale.

Saygun followed Yunus Emre's syllabic organization in order to overlap the rhythmic downbeat to the prosodic strong syllable. The section opens with an *auftackt*. The first section of the chorale is written on the main tonal area, G#; accordingly, to establish and consolidate the tonal feeling of the chorale parts, it begins on the unison G# on a bass pedal. To widen their registral space, the parts try to push their limited boundary, but after reaching M3 in m.2 the melody returns to G# unison on the first *fermata*. This return anchors all the auditory expectations. This short plain section functions as the core idea of the movement. This chorale is designed as a theme and variations.

After the introduction of the theme, the second verse is more like the first variation of the idea in m. 5. Even though the first verse exhibits strict homophonic idiom and strongly gives the feeling that this will be the main expression throughout the chorale, the first bar of the second verse shows that it is only a first sight impression. Although Saygun avoids using full triadic writing, the introduced pitches function as non-chord tones. These linear elements are precursors of the upcoming linearity; these extra voices thickening the textural fabric of the second verse. Different than the first verse, an open P5 is introduced at the second *fermata,* where these contrapuntal additions hint at an approaching richer texture.

Example 6. 20 mm 1-4

The third verse begins with the first full triad of the chorale that emphasizes the uncertainty of the whole first part of the oratorio. Saygun gradually thickens the textural fabric in this verse while the *pp* dynamics balance things. As an effective musical device, he uses the pedal voice to create an archaic mood, and in order to avoid losing the effectiveness, he transforms it into B. As he did before, in this verse both contrapuntal and harmonic progressions interact. Through these associations Saygun juxtaposes motion and stability and creates musical organism. The first set of the poem ends on a first inversion of a fifth missing ninth chord that contradicts the plain *fermata*s and the progressions of the previous measures.

The ninth chord *fermata* leads to the refrain of the poem, where Saygun returns to the G# pedal. After the third verse, both the harmonic language and the texture get heavier. With

measure 18, the melodic structure changes to unison and Saygun tonicizes to *hüzzam*. This new chromatic color functions as a new *makam* color as well as a link to previous movements by the use of diminished fifth

Despite Saygun's homophonic looking writing, the chordal idiom changes when the second set of the poem begins. The first verse of the second set in m.21 is presented as a linear variation of the main theme of the chorale. As a parallel to the change of the syllabic structure of the poem, the 4+4 bar hypermetrical construction of chorale changes into 5+4 bars. Although this hypermetrical shift requires an adjustment of the auditory expectations, it does not sound as striking as it might be because of the analogous changes of metrical and durational scheme and the syllabic organization. These changes of hypermetric irregularities are mostly aligned strategically with the structural alterations of the poetry. Naturally, this 5 bar new event causes textural and registral accents as well as dynamic accents.

The melody of reprise in m.34 exhibits a diluted version of the previous reprise, the bass and the alto parts entering one measure delayed. These parts host the two dissonant pedal voices: F# and E. Just as in m. 17-18, *hüzzam* color shows itself without developing. The third set of the poetry begins after the *fermata* of the reprise. Saygun manipulates the small descending figures that symbolize the flowing water from the wheel in the first verse of this set where it is congruent with the poetry. After the descending figures, in the next verse the contrapuntal and homophonic idiom are interwoven with each other once again. Saygun, here, uses another musical symbol to emphasize the poetry although in this chorale the soprano part is almost sung in the middle register. In order to stress the word "God," the register presents its second climax after the first climax to highlight the word "mountain."

Saygun ends the chorale with an open P5 to stress the spiritual immaturity and instability. Thus, as it can be observed that none of the movements of the first section of the oratorio ends on other than an octave or a P5. Through these musical gestures, Saygun wants to intensify his musical communication with both musical and extra musical associations. The first section of the oratorio clearly shows Saygun's attitude towards the diverse musical materials that he employed. While he was constructing the oratorio, his attitude was quite conservative. He wanted to be within the proper limits of the oratorio form. However, this piece and Sayun's approach represent his attempts to reconcile his national, ideological, and musical background. He wanted to break the traditional use of tonality in his own musical lexicon by avoiding use of his contemporary musical language.

Because Saygun only used a full original text and hymn melody in his No 5 chorale, this section functions as an exemplary to his treatment of an existent melody. This is why the first section was chosen to be analyzed but not the second or third. The analysis demonstrated that Saygun did not hesitate to amalgamate multiple structures from different periods and different traditions. Through his oratorio, Saygun wanted to change the way national music had been produced. During the first two decades of the new Republic of Turkey, Saygun was integrating different aspects of folk music, which was the approach to the new Republic's cultural politics; the *Yunus Emre Oratorio*, on the other hand, generated an alternative national music. He made national Turkish music inclusive of all Turkish pasts. Instead of combining only Turkish folk music with western art music, Saygun also used traditional Turkish art music elements. The *Yunus Emre Oratorio* managed to change the negative perception of the nationalists on the aesthetic legacy of the Ottomans and helped the new generations to appreciate this part of their heritage.

Conclusion

      This dissertation aimed to shed light on Western art music during and after the demise of the Ottoman Empire and into the early decades of the Republic of Turkey. Music, Western art music in particular, functioned differently during these two periods, and is at times interpreted and understood erroneously. Western art music developed and was established in the urban Ottoman Empire as an instrument of entertainment. As discussed, after the second half of the 18th century, the previous negative view of the West was replaced by a new positive view of the West and Western elements; this change altered the Ottoman Empire's artistic life. The Ottomans were now convinced that European advancement was not only a result of the progressive technology but also a consequence of cultural, social, and political developments. Thus, the Ottomans wanted to benefit from all the advancement. The most significant effects could be seen in arts, architecture, and music, as Western music forms such as dramas, musicals, and operettas were embraced by the elites. In deciding to reconstruct the arts and culture, the highest authorities of the Ottoman Palace thus officially recognized the Westernization of the Ottoman Empire during the *Tanzimat*. Even though Western art music was not a part of the official Ottoman ideology, it was an inseparable part of the "modernization" efforts.

      Though the 19th century was significant for the Empire because of all the artistic developments, it was also important because the Ottomans went through a period of major turbulence of nationalist uprisings, separatist revolts, and wars. Even though the *Tanzimat* decree aimed to emphasize Ottomanness, among the minorities of the Empire, nationalist currents were too strong to resist. During these nationalist movements, the minority groups of the Empire heavily used cultural forms such as music, playwriting, and performing arts. Although many nationalist theories suggest certain criterion for nationalism, some of these conditions did not apply to the Ottoman example. According to the modernist approach to nationalism, certain

dynamics such as the transition to an industrial society played a significant role (Gellner, 1997; 2006), in addition to the "protestant-type" of religion, and "print capitalism." (Gellner, 2006; Anderson, 1983). Nonetheless, the romanticized view of a nation was a major contributor among the various *millets* and minority groups of the Ottoman Empire.

As a result of the process of a century long decline, nationalist uprisings, territorial loss, the disintegration of the Empire could not be postponed. Along with other nationalist movements, Turkish nationalism were suppressed under the Ottoman structure to protect the heterogeneous character of the Empire; however, this did not stop the development of a Turkish language for common people (Başgöz 1972). This focus on more "pure" Turkish language found its voice in the Turkish nationalist movement after WWI.

Unlike the Ottoman Empire's diverse structure, the new Turkish Republic was founded on the grounds of a nation-state. Thus, the nationalism in the new Republic shared more similarities with European nationalism. The fast industrialization and the structure of the nation-state required other economic and social means such as standardization of the language, homogenization, and state supported mass education (Gellner, 1997; 2006). In order to consolidate the new Republic's goals of modernization and Westernization, several top-down reforms such as secularism, dress code, women's rights, the new alphabet, and the unification of national education were put into place. Thus, the social, cultural, and educational remnants of the Ottoman Empire were replaced.

Following immediately after the destructive Independence War (May 19, 1919 – July 24, 1923), music reforms, along with other cultural, educational, and social reforms, were among the priorities of the newly established state. While these major reforms were fulfilled during the foundational years of the Turkish Republic, music and cultural reforms became essential aspects

of the state ideology ordered by the top strata of policy makers. During these years, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the most powerful person of the Republic, with the influence of Ziya Gökalp made music one of the most significant aspects of the process of constructing a new national identity.

Crucially, this newly constructed identity required the synthesis of *Doğu ve Batı* ("East" and "West"). According to Gökalp, the idea of the amalgamation required two significant concepts: *hars* (culture) and *medeniyet* (civilization).[193] While he differentiates these concepts, he also put forward a dichotomy. He defined culture as national, because it consists of "people's traditions, conventions, oral or written literatures, language, music, religion, morals, and aesthetic and economical productions" (Gökalp 1976, 96). In contrast, he defined civilization as international because it requires "educational refinement" (Karadas 2010, 48). Gökalp proposed that while the new Turkish nation should preserve its culture, it should also adopt the scientific, technological advancements of Europe. In suggesting that scientific methods and techniques should be embraced, he marked the technical aspect of civilization as a necessary part of modernization. Accordingly, when he proposed the necessity of creating a national music, he indicated that Western techniques should be synthesized with Turkish folk melodies. In short, he advocated that the national music could be Turkish in culture but Western in civilization. Because of this decision, some very well established musical styles and genres, such as Turkish art and *tekke*[194] music, were ignored and suppressed.

Gökalp's ideas on how to create Turkish nationalist music were consolidated by an unexpected authority—Bela Bartok. During his trip to Turkey in 1936, Bartok gave seminars on creating Turkish national music, proposing this music should be created by combining Western

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[193] Ziya Gökalp was influenced particularly by Émile Durkheim's ideas.
[194] The main reason of *tekke* music's suppression was the secularist politics and laws of the state. With the closure of *tekkes* and *zaviyes*, the educational environment of this musical genre was destroyed.

art music and Turkish folk music. This concept was put into practice by the first generation of composers of the Republic, most significantly by Ahmet Adnan Saygun, one of the major figures of the new Republic's composers who devoted himself to creating Turkish national music. Saygun's understanding of national music transformed into becoming more inclusive; thus, he used musical materials from different periods of Turkish history, contradicting the official ideology and embracing the aesthetic legacy of the Ottoman Empire.

In presenting the movement from Empire to Republic and the tensions through a musical lens, this dissertation has shown how Ahmet Adnan Saygun's music, specifically *Yunus Emre Oratorio,* mediates different periods of Turkish history and culture. As an ideologically motivated artist, Saygun was quite enthusiastic to contribute to constructing Turkey's national identity. During the first few decades of the new state, there was an artificially constructed conflict in the musical environment. Turkish art music was considered the contrasting musical genre to the more politically favoured re-constructed local practices of Turkish folk; such music was preferred because of the strong connotations of cultural homogeneity and authenticity. In order to make folk music a means of national expression, the ideologues and the first ethnomusicologists re-defined, refined, and then canonized it. Nationalist arguments by those such as leading sociologist Ziya Gökalp resulted in, according to Signell, Turkish[195] classical music "suffer[ing]from benign neglect and even hostility from the ideological purists..." (Signell 1976, 80). On the other hand, folk music studies and Western art music were ideologically promoted during the first decades of the Republic.

As a keen supporter of the reforms of the Republic of Turkey, Saygun undertook many politically loaded duties, for example his first opera *Özsoy*, his duties under *Halkevleri*, and his

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[195] Unfortunately, it is unknown at what point this music became known as Turkish rather than Ottoman art music, but it is also known as *Enderun müziği*, *İnce Sâz* (delicate melody), *Divân müziği*, *Osmanlı Saray müziği* (the Ottoman Palace music), and *Türk Sanat müziği* (Turkish Art Music).

major publications. As previously shown, in his compositions he was trying to contribute to the creation of a national Turkish music under the guidance of the ideologues Ziya Gökalp and Bela Bartok. During the developing of his national style, Saygun used mainly his Western music education, major Turkic musical elements such as pentatonic modes, Bartok's three tenets, and the musical materials of his country. Saygun used his music and publications to strengthen the nationalist consciousness, and the state, correspondingly, used his music to reinforce its official nationalist ideology.

As the historical background and the analysis of the *Yunus Emre Oratorio* has already shown, Saygun's piece mediates different periods of Turkish history, not the Republic of Turkey and the "Christian" West. In contrast to the official ideology of the 1940s, he was trying to merge a pre-Ottoman Turkish text with Ottoman musical materials and a European modernist musical approach. In fact, Adnan Saygun's composition functioned in Turkey as a political statement in a climate of strict nationalist approaches. He transformed unwelcomed, almost prohibited cultural and musical materials of Ottoman art music into a praised national piece. This compositional praxis allowed Saygun to mediate the aesthetic and cultural traditions of the past and the present as well as to break the artificial art and folk music binary. Even though his early understanding of nationalism was quite different, Saygun opened himself to the multi-periods of Turkish musical materials. Although Saygun's understanding of multi-periods of musical materials was not quite compatible with the new Republic's policies, he was able to change the prejudice against *makams*. Thus, for the composer, the oratorio functioned as a mediator between the past and the present.

Although this dissertation has addressed a small but significant aspect of modernism in Turkish music, there are many gaps in the research and analysis on Western arts and music

during the Ottoman Empire and the idiosyncratic synthesis that Ottoman artists created. Even though traditional Turkish art music is well studied, the developments of the Western forms and the original genres are not well documented. The other neglected area is the music of the minorities of the Ottoman Empire. In a multi-cultural Empire, all these minority groups somehow created and/or preserved their own characteristic music. However, this distinctiveness was also permeable, which could be seen in the music of the Palace and the music of the churches of the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. Finally, the music of the Turkish Five, particularly Cemal Resit Rey's and Ahmet Adnan Saygun's music, requires extra attention. Even though there are a few theses on Saygun in English, there is unfortunately nothing on the composer of beautiful melodies, Rey.

Although they were contemporaries, their music in form and function is quite different. As an aristocrat and a traditionalist, Rey believed that the French Revolution and the slaying of the King and the Queen was one of the worst things in world history. He even believed that the Republic caused cultural backwardness in the current nation-state of Turkey (Ali 1996, 24). Despite being in a strongly nationalist environment, Rey's traditionalist and aristocratic views never changed. However, his music and his contribution to Turkish cultural modernism were so significant that the general public and the state supported and appreciated his music. Worthy of study and certainly filling a gap would be an analysis of Rey's musical contribution as well a contrastive study of the Rey's and Saygun's music and ideologies.

Given both the lack of analysis and appreciation, especially in the West, and the resulting and problematic readings and interpretations of not only Saygun's music but its performance, location, and audience, clearly there is need for greater understanding, comprehension, and study of the context and circumstances. The majority of the sources focus on his biography or they

provide a brief survey of his works. This dissertation intended to aid in the understanding of his musical materials and the way he transformed and fused them, inviting a broadening of our perspectives on different parameters of music produced by a non-western composer. The analytical section of the oratorio attempted to broaden perspective on the oratorio form itself because of the Sufi text and the diverse musical materials. Further study of Saygun's early and later works to investigate his growing musical synthesis and transmutation are well warranted.

Coda

Even though through his *Yunus Emre Oratorio* Ahmet Adnan Saygun proposed a new approach to national music, it ultimately proved itself also quite international and enduring. After receiving great attention in Turkey, the oratorio was performed abroad. In France, the performances of the *Yunus Emre Oratorio* were arranged by the French pianist Lazar Levi, in Ankara to give a series of concerts. After the successful arrangement of the performances, Eugene Borrel translated the text into French immediately. A year later, in 1947, the French premiere was on Paris Radio with the Radio orchestra, choir, and soloists. Another performance in Paris took place in the Salle Pleyel by the Lamoureux orchestra, the St. Eustache choir and a soloist (Altar 1985, 283). Without a doubt, all the attention that Saygun's compositions were attracted outside of Turkey[196] were because of the aesthetic value of his music, and in the Oratorio's case, Yunus Emre's eternal message that resonated in the heart of so many.

Two particular performances serve as a means of both closing this discussion and opening the issues to further analysis and consideration. Not only did the *Yunus Emre Oratorio* change the negative perception of the Turkish nationalists' attitude towards the aesthetic legacy of the Ottoman Empire, as presented in the last chapter, it also affected the negative perceptions towards the Turkish Republic in highly politicized environments. In 1958, the UN was in the middle of discussing the Cyprus Issue. The Greeks were speaking out strongly against the Turks, saying such things as the "Turks are barbarians and [they] had not made contribution to the civilization of humanity" (Ahmet Adnan Saygun qtd in Tanju 2011, 18). The Queen of Greece was in Washington as the invitee of the President Eisenhower. Amidst such political fervor Saygun travelled to the US at the invitation of the Rockefeller Foundation, commissioned to

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[196] Hungary- Budapest, Austria-Vienna, Germany- Bremen and Berlin, Vatican City, and USSR- Moskow are some of the places that the Oratorio was performed.

write chamber music. Unknown to Saygun, the president of the United Nations General Assembly, Charles Malik, mentioned to Seyfullah Esin, the Turkish permanent delegate to the UN, that he was planning to organize a concert in honour of the anniversary of the UN. Esin, knowing Saygun was in the city, suggested *Yunus Emre Oratorio* and Malik approved of the idea.

Thus on November 25, 1958, in the presence of the Queen of Greece, Greek and other UN delegates, and secretary-general Dag Hammarskjöld, *Yunus Emre* Oratorio was performed with Leopold Stokowski conducting and Saygun sitting in the place of honor, not yet fully aware of the power of his composition:

> The performance was quite successful. The next day Mr. Esin welcomed me full of excitement and he told me that the negative atmosphere of the UN totally changed after the concert…. The last decision on the dispute was quite positive for Turkey…. Some of the delegates congratulated him while they were humming melodies from *Yunus*. (Ahmet Adnan Saygun qtd in Tanju 2011, 18-19)[197]

Clearly, not unlike affecting the negative perception of the nationalists on the aesthetic legacy of the Ottomans, Saygun's composition *Yunus Emre Oratorio* seemed to affect perceptions and mediate the murky political impasse.

The second performance of *Yunus Emre Oratorio* that served a different mediating role took place in 1991, the year that UNESCO designated as the "Year of Yunus Emre" in celebration of the 750th anniversary of Yunus Emre's birth, and coincidently the year of Saygun's death. Offered in conjuncture with a seminar on Yunus Emre, the Oratorio was performed in the Vatican in the presence of Pope John Paul II. While clearly the choice of such a piece being performed in such a place was an attempt to encourage and engage in inter-religious dialogue and perhaps allay the fallout from the behavior and words of the past Catholic leaders,

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[197] Translation is mine.

the Pope's own words offered an ecumenical olive branch and a tribute to the sustaining relevance of Yunus Emre:

> Yunus Emre . . . . sang of the universal brotherhood of all human beings and of the power of love to transform human life into a hymn of praise to God. He saw in the wonders of the natural world the signs which lead to an ever deeper knowledge of God and a desire to reverence and thank Him. These themes have lost none of their importance today. In a society too often closed to life's transcendent dimension, we need to be reminded of God's loving presence and nearness. A world too often torn by strife is in need of devout believers who, by word and deed, encourage understanding and union among all the members of the human family. We need to learn anew a respectful attitude towards nature, and extend our commitment to use its benefits with care and responsibility. The Oratorio has been a moment of profound encounter, of mutual understanding and friendship. . . . May the thoughts and sentiments inspired by this performance accompany us all in our work for a better world and for peace among its inhabitants. (Pope John Paul II in Korkut, Journal of International Affairs 1996-1997)

The Pope also drew attention to the connection between Yunus Emre and the spirituality of Saint Francis of Assisi, again attempting to create bonds of understanding and a place from which to begin to dialogue and perhaps even heal.

It cannot be denied that these occasions, locations, and the rhetoric surrounding the performances of *Yunus Emre Oratorio* had something to do with politics and the ethos of the day, or even that "the analysis of any public event featuring music from Turkey calls for a consideration of political meaning" (Woodard 2007, 552), or that there is some value in considering the "process for mediating politics through music (ibid, 562). However, it is binary and simplistic to argue that "the meanings for Saygun's music reside primarily in acts of performance" (ibid, 555). This kind of reading unfortunately shows a lack of awareness of Saygun's circumstances and motivations while he was composing the piece and the very nature of growing 19th century nationalism and the history of Western art music in Turkey that this dissertation has desired to address. Reducing Saygun's motivation to mere political maneuvering and his compositions to political necessity are to deny both his powers and artistry as a composer

as well as the power of the *Yunus Emre Oratorio* in text and music. Although Saygun and his music may have been "used" at times by the state for its ends, this does not diminish the mediating influence of his music that transcended both his intentions and his life.

And finally, although this dissertation in its inception was centered around and primarily is about music, the discussion has shown music cannot be deliberated on in a vacuum. History and politics and external influences all overlap and interact with one another. A perspective that focuses unidirectionally on "the intersections of performance, public discourse, and critical review play complex interrelated roles in establishing meaning, political or otherwise, for musical works" (Woodard, Music Mediating Politics in Turkey: The Case of Ahmed Adnan Saygun 2007, 560) largely denies or at least diminishes art's ability, in this case music's, to create at least the possibilities of new worlds and the mediating and merging of old and new and difference. Such a creating power that transforms stretches from early in the Ottoman Empire to current Turkish considerations of nation and state and place. Harkening back to the words of the 14th century mystic who inspired Saygun, we see that he extends his hand down through the ages offering an invitation to all:

> Come, let us all be friends for once,
> Let us make life easy on us,
> Let us be lovers and loved ones,
> The earth shall be left to no one.

Yunus Emre's words could be read as inviting the nullifying of difference and embracing of one another's humanity and humanism itself. Although echoing in the past, his invitation seems to extend into an ongoing present offering that

> The nightingale sighs and mourns;
> Its heart has burned with longing,
> As for my heart, O my soul,
> It reached out to God and will reach.

> Yunus speak these words;
> His nightingales make their complaint;
> In the garden of Friend he has plucked roses,
> And will keep on ever plucking.

So although some may complain and others sigh and mourn, the mystic or artist will "keep on ever" grasping after and reaching for the future. This longing, reaching, and "plucking" are echoed in the words of Turkey's most celebrated modern writer, Orhan Pamuk. Although Pamuk speaks of his own craft of writing, the composers and mystics of words and music certainly share the sentiments and vision he expresses:

> A writer is someone who spends years patiently trying to discover the second being inside him, and the world that makes him who he is: when I speak of writing, what comes first to my mind is not a novel, a poem, or literary tradition, it is a person who shuts himself up in a room, sits down at a table, and alone, turns inward; amid its shadows, he builds a new world with words. To write is to turn this inward gaze into words, to study the world into which that person passes when he retires into himself, and to do so with patience, obstinacy, and joy . . . . as if I am bringing into being that other person inside me, in the same way someone might build a bridge or a dome, stone by stone. The stones we writers use are words. As we hold them in our hands, sensing the ways in which each of them is connected to the others, looking at them sometimes from afar, sometimes almost caressing them with our fingers and the tips of our pens, weighing them, moving them around, year in and year out, patiently and hopefully, we create new worlds. (Orhan Pamuk in GurrÃa-Quintana 2005)

And it is this creating of new worlds that mediates the transformations, transitions, and tensions of life.

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