The Relationship between Art and Politics in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire

Institutionalization, Change and Continuity



Editors

Ayşegül KOMSUOĞLU **Hikmet TOKER** **Federica NARDELLA**

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ART AND POLITICS IN THE 19th CENTURY OTTOMAN EMPIRE: INSTITUTIONALIZATION, CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

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THE EDITORS

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Federica Nardella completed her BA degree in English Literature and Creative Writing at Royal Holloway and her MMus degree in Ethnomusicology at the School of Oriental and African Studies; with both degrees being a part of the University of London. From 2005 to 2018, she worked as a Musician, Teacher, and Translator in London. Between 2007 and 2012, she composed, arranged, self-produced, and performed two EPs (*And Yet I Was Happy, and Yet I Was Sad*, 2008; *Ishtar*, 2012) and one album (*Babylon Mood*, 2012), all while performing at various live music venues of London (Ain't Nothin' But, The Troubadour, Ronnie Scott's, The Spice of Life among others) and joining blues and jazz jam sessions as well as performing her own materials. In 2014, she began studying Turkish classical music under the guidance of Master Necati Çelik. She is currently PhD Candidate in King's College, London and moved to Istanbul in 2018 to conduct fieldwork for her PhD project. In 2020, she published a collection of poems titled *Songfield: Merging Beyond* for the online poetry journal *Still Point*. Several of her works on ethnomusicology and music history have been published in both international and national journals. Her current research interests include ecomusicology, environmental issues, and the impact of sound on ecosystems, environmental conflict resolution, and climate change.

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Okan Murat Öztürk completed his doctoral thesis titled "A New Approach to the Melody and Makam Relationship in Makam Music in Terms of Analysis and Interpretation: Tone/Fret Tunings and Melodic Makam Nuclei" in 2014. His main interests include researching the concept of maqam in theoretical and historical terms as well as various problems encountered in the field of music in Turkey together with the change from the Eastern civilization to Western civilization. He published his first book *Zeybek Culture and Music* in 2006. As an Editor, Writer, or Translator, his works can be found in several publications, such as Mehter (2020), Music Policies of the Republic (2019), Turkish Music Atlas (2019), Turkic Soundscapes (2018), Die Bağlama in der Türkei und Europa (2018), Tanburi Cemil Bey (2017), Illusion (2016), Maqam Traditions (2016), Writing the History of "Ottoman Music" (2015), Space of Mugham (2015), In Which Direction is Music Heading? (2014), The Kirsehirli Edvar (2014), The Maqam (2012), and Music Culture in Turkey (2008). He conducted joint projects with many distinguished domestic and foreign researchers and artists. In 1988, he founded the first bağlama trio in Turkey–the Bengi Bağlama Trio. In addition to the many album records, Öztürk produced and presented various TV and radio programs such as *Katre*, *Anonim*, *Eski*

Havalar for TRT. He worked as bağlama artist in the State Turkish Folk Music Choir of the Ministry of Culture and TRT Ankara Radio Yurttan Sesler Choir. He is also a member of various scientific and professional organizations, such as the ICTM, Ethnomusicology Association, and Müyorbir.

Armağan Coşkun graduated from the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography, Department of Eastern Languages and Literatures, Ankara University in 1986. After finishing a MA degree in the same department in 1989, she completed a second MA degree in the Department of Turkish Folk Literature, Gazi University in 1992 and a PhD degree in the same department. In 2012, Armağan Coşkun was awarded with the title of first Associate Professor ever held in the discipline of Turkish folklore in the field of music. She was also awarded the title of Full Professor in 2018 in the field of Turkish music. She is currently the Chair of State Conservatory, Department of Turkish Music, İstanbul University while holding solo concerts. Coşkun has conducted many field research works in Anatolia and Balkans while being the Project Manager and Project Consultant in many national and international projects. Her research interests include Turkish folklore, Turkish folk music, Âşık (Turkish Minstrel) music, Türkü. Coşkun has published various national and international book chapters, articles, conference proceedings and books; the latest among which are "Âşık Müziği–Âşık Şeref Taşlıova'nın Ezgi Repertuvarı" (The Melody Repertoire of Âşık Şeref Taşlıova), 2011 and "Anadolu Aleviliğinde Cem Âşıklığı/Zâkirliği" (Cem Âşıklık/Zâkirlik in Anatolian Alevism), 2017. Coşkun released solo albums titled "Şirindir" (Anadolu Halk Ezgilerinden Örnekler), 1993; "Deyişler ve Semahlar" 1996; "Atatürk'ün Sevdiği Türküler, Şarkılar/Kahramanlık ve Asker Türküleri" 2001 and 2006; and "Semahlar," 2009. Coşkun, who worked as a solo artist in the Ministry of Culture's Ankara State Turkish Folk Music Choir from 1986 to 2006, holds the title of "State Artist" (Republic of Turkey Presidency and Ministry of Culture) (awarded in 1998), Award of Service to Turkish Folklore (awarded in 1998), and Sensitivity to Ethical Principles in Turkish Folk Music (awarded in 2019) as well as many other awards.

Bilen Işıktaş was accepted into the Basic Sciences and Voice Training Departments of the Turkish Music State Conservatory at Istanbul Technical University in 2008. During the same years he founded "3 Dem Oud Trioe" with Dr. Bekir Şahin Baloğlu and Dr. Sami Dural. They then released the album "Geç" [Late] comprising a repertoire of musical instruments. In June 2009, he was the second prize winner in the oud competition organized by the Arab Music Academy and the Holy Spirit University of Kaslik located in Beirut. He completed his MA degree in 2011 and PhD degree in 2016 at ITU (Turkish Music). He has participated in major artistic events worldwide with his oud. In addition to his artistic studies, he continued academic studies without interruption. His main research areas include sociology of music, historical musicology, Ottoman/Turkish music, the effect of modernization on music culture, the Frankfurt School, and popular culture. His first book *Harflerin ve Seslerin Ruhundaki*

Seyyahlar: Mehmet Âkif Ersoy ve Şerif Muhiddin Targan (Travelers in the Soul of Letters and Sounds: Mehmet Akif Ersoy and Şerif Muhiddin Targan) was released in 2017, followed by *Peygamber'in Dâhi Torunu: Şerif Muhiddin Targan, Modernleşme, Bireyselleşme, Virtüozite* (The Prodigious Descendant of the Prophet: Şerif Muhiddin Targan, Modernization, Individualization, Virtuosity), which was published in 2018. Işıktaş is currently working as an Associate Professor of Musicology in the Department of Musicology at the State Conservatory of Istanbul University.

Nevin Şahin is Assistant Professor of Music Theories at the State Conservatory of Hacettepe University, Ankara. After completing her MS degree in Social Anthropology with an ethnographic research project focusing on music and migration among German–Turkish young women in amateur Turkish music choirs, she completed her PhD degree in Sociology in 2016 with her research based on music and power among performers of Mevlevi music, which was awarded the Thesis of the Year by the Graduate School of Social Sciences at Middle East Technical University. She has worked in several research projects, including comparative theoretical research on makam music and Byzantine music. She has published articles and book chapters mainly on traditional Turkish music. Besides her research profile, she taught courses on English, introduction to sociology, and religious music traditions. From 2018 to 2021, she worked at the Orient-Institut Istanbul as part of the Corpus Musicae Ottomanicae team, which is a digital humanities project for the critical editions of Near Eastern music manuscripts and an online source catalogue for manuscript and print music sources.

Cenk Güray received his BA degree in 1995, MA degree in 1998, and PhD degree in 2003 from the Mining Engineering Department of Middle East Technical University. He received his MA degree in Musicology from Başkent University in 2006 and PhD degree in Turkish Religious Music from Ankara University in 2012. Currently, he is working as a Professor of Music Theory in the Department of Music Theory of the Hacettepe University's State Conservatory, Ankara while mainly concentrating on "Turkish Music Theory," "Makam Analysis," and "Theory of Cycles." As a bağlama performer, he performed with ensembles like ABİS-Experimental Music Ensemble, Mediterranean Orchestra, Yağmur Öncesi, Dem Trio, Zeybek Havaları, Akis, Barok Miniatures, and METU Turkish Folklore Club Bağlama Orchestra. As a performer, composer, and researcher, he has also worked, performer, and director in many symposiums, conferences, concerts, seminars, workshops, masterclasses, TV–Radio programs, CD projects worldwide and wrote or edited many books, book chapters, papers, stories, and poems with regard to his area of interests. Cenk Güray is also the Director of the Ensemble for Anatolian Music Cultures.

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Nurettin Gemici is Professor of Islamic History in the Department of Islamic History and Arts at the Faculty of Theology, Istanbul University. He graduated from Marmara University in 1990. He holds a MA in history from the same university. After his graduation from the program, he undertook doctoral research in Bamberg University in Germany. He completed his doctoral dissertation entitled "Evliya Çelebi in Medina" in 1999. His main research areas are Evliya Çelebi, travel books of the Ottoman era, and history of culture. His recent publications are as follows: "Evliya Çelebi in Medina," Marburg,1999; "On Yedinci Yüzyıl'da Kadınlar: Evliya Çelebi'nin Gözlemleriyle (Women in the 17th Century According to Ewliya Chelebi's Observations), 2011; and "Osmanlı'nın Bilgeleri," Evliya Çelebi (Ottoman Men of Wisdom), İstanbul, 2018.

Hilal Akgül graduated from the Faculty of Economics, Istanbul University. She holds a MA degree in International Relations and PhD degree in Turkish History from the same University. She wrote a thesis titled "The Moratorium of 1958" and discussed the economic policies of the Democrat Party. Her research interests are Ottoman–Turkish politics and political institutions in Turkey, political parties and governments in Turkey from the 1920s to 1960. Since 1998, she has been a part of the academic staff at Istanbul Bilgi University. In addition to Istanbul Bilgi University, she teaches undergraduate and postgraduate courses at various universities, such as Istanbul University, Istanbul Technical University, Bahçeşehir University. She has published articles on Turkish history and politics in academic journals and academic books.

Erhan Özden graduated from the Department of Music Sciences, Faculty of Fine Arts, Atatürk University in 2001. He taught the Turkish Music Theory and Ney courses in the same faculty until 2009. Meanwhile, he joined the Turkish Music Choir of the TRT Erzurum Radio as a ney player. He completed his doctoral studies in the Institute of Social Sciences, Marmara University. Participating in several concerts and academic projects in both Turkey and abroad, Erhan Özden prepared albums of performances such as Neyzen I, Neyzen II, and Erzurumlu Kemani Haydar Telhüner Şarkıları. His books *Erzurumi İlahiler* (2016), *Ney*

Öğretim Programı (2016), and *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Konservatuvarı Darülelhan* (2019) were published by Atatürk University Press, Department of Secondary Education of the Turkish Ministry of National Education, and Atatürk Cultural Center Press, respectively. Erhan Özden is currently Associate Professor in the Department of Turkish Religious Music, Faculty of Theology, Istanbul University. He also teaches Turkish music at the Faculty of Fine Arts, Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf University and continues his work as a Founding Principal of Itri Fine Arts High School, Istanbul University.

Milad Salmani graduated from the Department of Turkish Language and Literature, Allameh Tabataba'i University, Tehran in 2010. He began his postgraduate studies in the Department of Modern Turkish Language and Literature, Istanbul University in 2013. After completing a master's degree in 2015, he pursued his PhD degree at the same university in the Department of Turkish–Islamic Literature, where he completed a doctorate in 2020. As of the academic year 2018–2019, he has taught music literature and Ottoman–Turkish in Haliç University Conservatory and Institute of Graduate Studies. In addition to teaching Persian to beginners and advanced learners, he coordinates Persian poetry reading courses at Kubbealtı Academy Culture and Art Foundation. Having an academic interest in the old Turkish literature, Turkish music, and Persian literature, Milad Salmani is a Translator of children's literature in both Turkey and Iran.

INTRODUCTION

In the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire's social, economic, military, and political structures changed. Military officers began to study the Western nations' technical and institutional structures to understand and resolve the causes of recent defeats and subsequent loss of land. Modernization efforts that began in the military field evolved into a movement to modernize all institutional structures. The Empire's intention to adapt to a rapidly changing world was evident in the widespread modernization of all fields, from art and agriculture to education and transportation. The reforms had some peculiar features. One such feature is continuity between old and new structures.

During this time, modernization caused an abrupt change in art. The most significant change was the institutionalization of plastic, visual, and performing arts. Many art institutions were founded between the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. New regulations were drafted to modernize art foundations. Musical ensembles were converted into formal establishments. However, these new establishments did not replace either old structures and educational systems or their traditional elements.

This coexistence of old and new allowed for continuity between the two, enabling different "worlds" to exist simultaneously. It also allowed different forms and mentalities across the Ottoman world to merge. Artists and administrators familiar with old and new systems played an important role in the construction of continuity in the Empire.

Another change was the politicization of art; for example, music was used to construct power symbols. Given its political use in the process of modernization of the Ottoman Empire, art can be seen as a significant component of the new Ottoman identity.

"The Relationship between Art and Politics in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire: Institutionalization, Change and Continuity" is an interdisciplinary reading of change and continuity in the Empire's period of modernization within the context of art and politics. We discuss how changes in the political, economic, and social spheres and the intervention of important figures and events affected various forms of art through different dynamics of change and continuity. The authors of this book are scholars working in different fields of the social sciences, bringing an interdisciplinary approach to the subject matter.

The first chapter, written by renowned Ottoman historian Bülent Arı, is a historical introduction to the Westernization and modernization of the Ottoman Empire. Arı presents the general political dynamics of the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century. He provides readers with an important preliminary overview, focusing on the political dynamics of Ottoman attempts at modernization from the late 18th century to the early 20th century. These historical events are described as attempts at either modernization or Westernization. They did not follow a linear timeline and were sometimes subject to fluctuations. Arı describes the military, legal, administrative, social, and institutional milestones of modernization

and Westernization. For instance, Selim III's attempts were mainly military, but from the Tanzimat onward, the developments were political, legal, and administrative. The article also touches upon the domestic and international developments that affected the process of modernization. The Russian wars, in particular, are considered the main factor to have influenced Ottoman statesmen until the end of the 19th century. Moreover, the Western powers did not fully support the Ottoman Empire during this period. In response, Ottoman statesmen worked against each other to sustain the Empire's diplomacy. The article ends describing the final developments of the nineteenth century and the inheritance of a state system.

In the second chapter, İnanç Özekmekçi, a political scientist, examines how the perception of art reverberates in the story of renowned painter Zonaro. The shift in perception reflects the Empire's political transformation from a classical patrimonial state into a centralized bureaucratic state with modern techniques for governance. Portraits of the sultans were placed in prominent public locations, enhancing legitimacy in public perception. Imperial art collections symbolized the Sultan's relationship with the Western art world and aristocracy. Özekmekçi discusses Abdülhamit's relationship with art through the story of Zonaro, a renowned painter, and his effort to create a modern image of a ruler through various forms of artwork and collections.

Okan Murat Öztürk discusses the effects of Comte's positivism, which resonated with the Ottoman intellectuals who were developing an empirical theory of Ottoman music. Öztürk examines the intellectuals' identities and relationships from a prosopographical perspective. He focuses on how those who aimed to develop a new theory for Ottoman music did so by relating their work to science, technology, evolution, progress, and civilization. Contrary to common claims on the subject, his research reveals that five people, not six, played an active role in the process. The role of positivism in the Ottoman world during the 19th century reveals that the development of a scientific theory for music originates from a strong belief in evolution and progress.

Poems composed by minstrels are a source of information about the era they were composed in. Armağan Coşkun examines the poems for a perspective on the political and military events of the time. She also analyzes the poems for more detailed information about economic and social developments. Coşkun's insightful use of poetry for a historical perspective extends beyond what is found in classical historical works, including details on the values of society, sentiment, and views of political and military events.

In the following chapter, Bilen Işıktaş scrutinizes the effects of political and social change on the vision and mentality of artists in the last century of the Ottoman Empire. Işıktaş focuses on the example of Şerif Muhittin Targan, an important musician and composer whose musical education and culture were first shaped during the end of the 19th century. He traces the political and social dynamics characterising the musician's life. Işıktaş also examines the

hybridity and continuity phenomena through Targan's pieces, which contain Western and Eastern elements. Finally, Işıktaş' study is an important example that builds on micro samples of the social sciences.

Music researchers Cenk Güray and Nevin Şahin explore changes in the Ottoman Empire within the framework of nationalism. The reform period of the 19th century led to significant changes in the identities of minority groups, from ethno-religious identities to a national identity. The authors consider the role of music theory and the music publishing tradition in the process. For this purpose, the authors examine the studies of Greek Orthodox theorists Apostolos Konstas (1800-1820), Konstantinos Protopsaltis (1843), and Panagiotis Kiltzanidis (1881). Şahin and Güray analyze music theories for signs of nationalism using a multidisciplinary framework. This study shows that musicological studies can yield original findings and results when they are carried out with a multidisciplinary vision.

Ivana Zenarju examines the relationship between architecture and reform in the territory of the Diocese of Raška and Prizren during the 19th century. More specifically, several reforms were enacted after the declaration of the Tanzimat. These reforms brought new regulations and rights to Christians, which led to the rise of ecclesiastical life and the development of church art in the Patriarchate. This renovation movement affected the whole territory, from little town churches to big urban basilicas. Zenarju applies visual examples to scrutinize the politically inclined renovation process. Additionally, she highlights the Russian and Serbian support for the renovations as proof that art was used as an international political instrument.

In the following chapter, Nurettin Gemici and Hikmet Toker analyze the phenomenon of continuity characterizing Ottoman reforms through the relationship between the preceding and succeeding foundations Mehterhane, and Musika-i Hümâyûn. The authors trace the adaptive mentality of the reforms by examining the continuity between the foundations. Additionally, they touch on the political motivation behind the reforms and how it affected these musical foundations. They discuss the mission, foundation, and management dynamics, as well as the music education, of both foundations.

Hilal Akgül explores the institutionalization of National Anthems in the Ottoman Empire. When the process of music Westernization began, the march became a favorite genre across the Empire. Foreign musicians began to dedicate compositions to Ottoman Sultans, dynasty members, and officers. Ottoman officers needed anthems to play at new Western-style ceremonies. They would perform different marches in place of a national anthem. Akgül examines the role played by anthems in the formation of an Ottoman national identity and as a symbol of "İttihat-ı Anasır," the aim of which was to unify all segments of society under an Ottoman identity. This was a concept dear to many Ottoman officers and intellectuals, in the 19th century.

Two other contributors to this book are Erhan Özden and Milad Salamani. They consider the motivation behind the nationalization of music academies and the political and social reasons for their founding. Additionally, they analyze the educational model used by academies. They trace the differences and similarities between the old and new systems of music education. Furthermore, the authors explore important aspects of the institutionalization of and continuity between the academies, specifically their foundation and work. Alongside the aforementioned relationship between old and new forms of music education, they present new information about the process of institutionalization with archival documents from the Empire's Ministry of Education. They also trace shifts in the Empire's cultural policies through the archival documents.

This book introduces five points that provide a framework for the role of art in the modernization of the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century:

1. Politics was a major influence behind the development of art.
2. Continuity existed between old and reformed structures.
3. Institutionalization was an important feature of reforms to the arts
4. Institutionalization occurred in all branches of the arts.
5. Art was used as a political instrument.

This book illustrates the importance of interdisciplinary studies. The chapters written by authors from different fields of the social sciences provide important insights on the role of art in a changing Empire. This book will be one of the first interdisciplinary volumes to study issues concerning the relationship between art and politics in the Ottoman Empire. We hope that it will inspire new research.

FOREWORD

We, Ayşegül Komsuoğlu and Hikmet Toker, scholars of the relationship between the arts and Ottoman-Turkish politics, produced this volume focusing on the effects of modernization on the art world of the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century, its "longest century." There have been a few collaborative and cross-disciplinary academic studies in Turkey, so we thought it would be valuable to offer an interdisciplinary contribution to debates on art and politics from a historical perspective. Federica Nardella, who is known for her work in the field, joined our editorial team as an international researcher.

Researchers from various fields responded to our call for contributions, allowing us to gather many papers by qualified scholars in this edited book. We believe that its ten chapters, which describe Ottoman-Turkish modernization both in its historical continuities and ruptures, will be an important reference for readers seeking knowledge in a comprehensive framework at the intersection of history, politics, and art.

We thank all of those who contributed to the development of this comprehensive volume. First and foremost, our profound gratitude goes to the chapter authors and co-authors for their contributions, their patience, and their valuable suggestions for improvement.

Finally, our families deserve particular thanks for allowing us the time needed to work on this project.

Ayşegül KOMSUOĞLU Hikmet TOKER Federica NARDELLA

CHAPTER 1

THE POLITICS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE 19th CENTURY: INSTITUTIONALIZATION, CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the political dynamics of Ottoman modernization attempts undertaken between the late 18th century and the 20th century. These historical attempts are generally classified in the political literature either as modernization or Westernization. This process was not linear; rather, it fluctuated. This study describes certain military, legal, administrative, social and institutional milestones of these movements. For instance, Selim III's attempts were predominantly military, while from the Tanzimat onwards, the reforms acquired political, legal and administrative tones. This paper also outlines domestic and international developments that systematically affected the modernization measures. Russian wars could be considered the main factor influencing Ottoman statesmen until the end of the 19th century. Conversely, Western powers did not fully support the Ottoman Empire during this period. In return, Ottoman statesmen played one power against another to sustain the empire's diplomatic existence. The paper concludes by evaluating the more recent developments of the 20th century to elucidate the inheritance of the state system of the new-born Turkish Republic.

Keywords: Ottoman modernization, Ottoman history, westernization, Ottoman reforms

Throughout the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, the Ottoman Empire was busy with the Central European and Mediterranean frontiers. From the last quarter of the 18th century onwards, Ottoman armies would engage in war mainly at the Russian borders. Excluding the Crimean war (1853-56), under an alliance with Britain, France and Piedmonte, Ottoman armies were heavily defeated by the Russians. Thus, most of the early Ottoman attempts at modernization can be summarized as the military struggle against Russia. From the early 19th century onwards, Ottoman statesmen were aware of the fact that this would not be possible without the support of England and France. This support was at first unofficially inaugurated in military matters. The Sublime Porte had taken into consideration individual demands, and tried to modernize its military organization, weapons, equipment and ammunition. The failure of these early attempts on the war stage caused the Sultan and the statesmen to take harsh measures. Ultimately, when the defeats could not be prevented, finding themselves in a desperate situation, policymakers determined to reform and modernize the whole state mechanism. Necessary legal regulations were made to establish a suitable context for modernization.

Nevertheless, while on the one hand England and France gave military and diplomatic support, on the other they dominated the Ottoman Empire financially, economically and commercially. Furthermore, they openly or secretly (with Russia), supported and encouraged the independence of rebellious non-Muslim minorities of the Balkans. When Sultan Abdulhamid II came to power in 1876, most of the Ottoman territories in Europe had been lost. The major territorial losses in the Middle East would happen after World War I, in 1917.

This chapter aims to give a broad picture of certain aspects of Ottoman modernization. These occurred mainly in the political, social, legal and administrative fields. This chapter will hopefully be beneficial for the readers of the book who are not competent in Ottoman history to acquire a historical perspective of the period.

Early Attempts at Modernization

The Russo-Ottoman war started during Mustafa III's reign (1767), and ended just before his death in 1774, with a heavy defeat and the loss of Crimea. His brother Abdulhamid I also suffered a series of defeats on the Austrian and Russian borders, which caused him to die under much distress (1789). Observing the mismanagement of the state, Mustafa III's son Prince Selim had already spent his youth in a state of anxiety. During the reign of his uncle, he would have liked to take France as a role model for Ottoman modernization efforts. To that end, he communicated with Louis XVI, before his accession to the throne (1786) (Zinkeisen, 2011).

As soon as he acceded to the Ottoman throne, he initiated a modernization process, starting from the army. The annexation of the Crimea in 1783 by Russia was not accepted by the Ottoman authorities. After almost 300 years of Ottoman maritime control throughout the Black Sea, Russia was now at the Northern shores. Furthermore, after the declaration of war on Austria, the Ottomans realized that Russia would also engage in war on Austria's side. Ottoman armies were far from capable to fight on two battlefronts. The Ottoman alliance with Prussia in the course of that war had no military advantage. After the peace Treaty of Zištovi with the Austrians (1791), the war with Russia acquired greater significance. The developments at the battlefronts gave Sultan Selim III enough elements for his future projects.

There was no hope for an Ottoman victory with an untrained and disorderly army. Both civil and military circles acknowledged the army's inability to fight in the war. Moreover, the statesmen feared the possibility of having no truce at all, in case the enemy to become aware of the situation. On the other hand, Ottoman commanders demanded an immediate truce. There was a boycott by the army who was resisting to fight, a situation that had never been experienced before throughout Ottoman history. Sultan Selim III was informed about the joint decision signed by the military and civil authorities. He commented that "they know we have no troops, no power", and signed the truce (August 11, 1791) (Beydilli, 2011; Beydilli, 2013).

Under such circumstances, the Sultan attempted a modernization movement, in every respect. While the army was on its way to Istanbul, he requested reports from prominent statesmen on reformation in the economic, political, military, financial, religious and scientific fields of the Empire (Çağman, 1992).

Soon after the Treaty of Zištovi, there was a short period of peace. The military activities of Selim III gained speed during this period. Compared with his ancestors, long-term reforms were managed and applied to all state institutions for the first time on a wide scale. Selim III believed in substantial and permanent reforms. In this respect, he closely followed the French model (Çağman, 1992). For some time, there had been hints at the necessity of inaugurating Western institutions within the Ottoman Empire. Selim III insisted on it and his efforts met with a strong opposition. The Sultan first changed all the military commanders who joined the Russo-Ottoman war, and assigned others from the outside as the sign of a new era (Beydilli, 2011).[1]

1 For an overall evaluation and social dynamics of the period, see for details (Karpat, 2002, pp. 77-118).

Reports on reforms generally emphasized the necessity for the existing land regime, which was the main source of revenue, to be changed, both for the people and for the state. In this respect, an equitable collection of taxes, together with the modernization of the army, navy, and their military armament technology, the re-organization of pious foundations, the attainment of additional sources of revenues for the state, the development of international trade with native subjects were also among the issues of reformatory reports. The public and the administrative cadres of the Empire were already aware of the mismanagement. Nevertheless, some pressure groups, who benefited from ongoing mismanagement were opposing the reorganization of the state.[2]

From the early years of the state, the lands in which grain was cultivated belonged to the state (except pious foundations). Peasants were granted the right of usufruct and of cultivating those lands for life. This right was also inherited by their sons. In return, tax revenues were allocated to timar holding sipahis (cavalry), on the condition that they would join the expeditions under the flag of the Sultan's army. However, since the beginning of the 17th century (for almost 200 years), because of the military transformation, there were no sipahis in their original form. The crop taxes were collected through the iltizam (tax-farming) system. The timar lands and their positions were being held by others. In time, the tax-farmers had also constituted local notables which could be loosely controlled by the central government.

The ayan had gained their wealth and power through leasing state-owned lands as well as by tax farming. The larger part of such lands ceased to be assigned to timar (fief) holders and were leased by the state to local notables, ayans and aghas, and more than 50% of agricultural lands in the empire were state held leaseholds. Large areas of endowed land, and land assigned to officials and favorites were similarly exploited. The ayan's influence on and close cooperation with local authorities favored them in these leasing operations. Later, in the 18th century, the leases were made for lifetime and priority rights to the leases were granted to the sons of lessees. Iltizam, too, was extended after the dissolution of the old timar system towards the end of the 18th century, and local notables benefited from their involvement in this profitable business (İnalcık, 1995).

The reformatory reports promoted the reformation of the timars. However, this system was far behind the requirements of the contemporary military system. Thus, the idea of a central army gained support. Nevertheless, the local notables, who considered themselves outside of the central government, opposed the idea. They were the immediate opposition group, who

2 Detailed information and the chronological development of events of the era can be followed from a contemporary source: (Ahmed Vasıf Efendi. 1994 and 2017).

resisted the modernization movement. When Selim III was dethroned and killed, and when his nephew Mahmud II acceded to the throne shortly afterwards, he had to sign a document -Sened-i İttifak (The Charter of Alliance)- recognizing the authority of the local notables (ayans), vis-a-vis the Sultan, (i.e. the central government) and limiting the authority of the Sultan. Sultan Mahmud became aware of how sensitive the situation was, then. In time, he would eliminate them one by one to stabilize the central authority.[3]

The political centre of gravity would shift to the Bâb-ı Âli [Sublime Porte] during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II. The Ottoman Empire would pay the political bill of such a preference with the imposition of one of its governors. The governor of Egypt, Kavalalı Mehmed Ali Pasha would remind the court of the military weakening of the Ottoman Empire, with a heavy defeat. However, Sultan Mahmud II had passed away in 1839 just on the eve of the defeat, and when his son accessed the throne, he fully surrendered to the West, and to his statesmen.

Selim III was able to establish a navy, and a modern and well trained (Nizam-ı Cedid/ New Order) army. He could soon inaugurate an independent financial institution and a fund (treasury of Nizâm-ı Cedîd). He released new taxes, and prevented the leakages. The New Order paid utmost importance to increasing savings, tightening the importation of luxurious utilities, increasing state revenues, and the development of trade.[4] In this respect, he promoted the state authorities and the wealthy in order for them to purchase ships and make overseas trade. Non-Muslim Ottoman subjects were also granted the status of "European Merchant", so that they could carry out commercial activities under equal privileges with European entrepreneurs. The contemporary source D'Ohsson reported that as a result of such attempts, a commercial fleet was constituted, composed of 82 ships (Beydilli, 2011).[5]

The main European countries such as England, France, the Netherlands, and Austria were carrying out a considerable amount of their foreign trade through companies. Under the advantages of capitulations, they were paying lower custom tariffs. Thus, they could purchase and convey cheap raw materials from the Ottoman dominions, while exporting expensive luxurious goods, which was a very profitable commercial activity. On the other hand, Ottoman merchants could make little revenues, which were restricted with profit margin regulations. The status of "European Merchant" was granted to overcome that restriction. These kinds of

3 The contemporary political developments during the reign of Sultan Mahmoud were followed by an eminent senior official of the time, Khusrev Pasha (Çelik, 2013; Jorga, 2005, pp 197-200)

4 For a general evaluation and critique of his reforms, also see Zinkeisen's (2011) study on the history of the Empire.

5 For the evolution of Ottoman economic philosophy, and transformatory attempts towards a capitalist market system see Ahmed Güner Sayar's (2000) volume on the Evolution of Economic Thought in the Ottoman Empire.

promotions continued during the reign of Mahmud II, but in the long run, the system would have little success.

The existing School of Naval Engineering had developed. In the Hasköy district in İstanbul, a cannon and tunnel division was established, together with military engineering, to be used as an academy of land forces (1795). A printing house was also established there (1797). Grand military quarters were constructed in the Levent and Üsküdar districts in Istanbul, and also certain locations of Anatolia to sustain the new military organization. These were significant military stages of the modernization movement (Beydilli, 2011).

The difficulty which Selim III faced in the process of modernization was the ongoing struggle between the "new" and the "old". The ancient institutions were not abolished, but they survived at a parallel level, alongside their modern versions. Since he was not able to abolish the Janissaires, who were the backbone of military institutions, in the end, they dethroned Sultan Selim III. Moreover, the New Army (Nizam-ı Cedid), which was established with great efforts, was entirely destroyed. Besides, the new financial and treasury models, together with the long-lasting efforts for a modern army, blew out.

Certain new practices went on. Among these, the presence of permanent ambassadors in the major capitals of Europe is of crucial importance. Their missions can be considered as the bureaucratic mechanism which advocated for the interests of the Ottoman Empire abroad. From 1793 onwards, permanent ambassadors were assigned to London, Paris, Vienna, and Berlin respectively. Although these missions were interrupted for a short period, in the long run, they came to constitute the Ottoman foreign bureaucracy.

Meanwhile, the political developments in France, under the rule of Napoleon, were having an impact on Selim III's attempts. He was disappointed with the occupation of Egypt by the armies of Napoleon in 1798, who was planning to blockade the English trade from the Indian route. The efforts to strengthen the central administration within the countryside had little success. Selim III was trying to contain the power of the local notable families (ayan) of Pazvandoğlu, Tirsiniklioğlu, Tepedelenli, İşkodralı, Canikli, Cezzar, and Kavalalı (Jorga, 2005; Beydilli, 2011).

In the meantime, many officers, technical staff, who remained unemployed after the dissolution of the French dynasty, were recruited with attractive salaries in the Ottoman army, navy, and engineering departments. They came from a wide span of occupations, ranging from ship-construction architects, and engineers, to pool constructors in the Arsenal, military trainers of troops, to cannon casting masters, drillers, carpenters and caulkers. In this regard,

the newly opened Ottoman residential embassies of London (1793), Paris, Vienna and Berlin, (1797) were beneficial. However, the struggle vis-a-vis revolutionary France also spread to the Ottoman territories. With Napoleon's occupation of Italy (October 1797), the Ottoman Empire and France became neighbours in the Adriatic. Soon after Napoleon's attack in Egypt (July 1798), the Ottoman Empire had a military confrontation with France (January 1799). French armies had to evacuate Egypt in 1802, under the auspices of the English and Russian alliance (Beydilli, 2011).

The recognition of Napoleon as an emperor, which was a long-lasting disputed issue in the diplomatic circles of Europe, costed Selim III his throne, and almost the whole of the modernization movement. The diplomatic tendency towards France meant abandoning the alliance with England and Russia. In 1806 the two states found themselves in a state of conflict. The passing of an English fleet from the Dardanelles without strong resistance and its anchorage in Istanbul was a strike to the political power of Selim III (February 1807). The blockade of the English fleet caused shortage of food in the city, and a peak in prices. Because of the reforms, the accumulated fury of the people became even stronger.

At the end of February, the English fleet withdrew, and the Ottoman army departed for the Russian expedition in April 1807. Köse Musa Pasha, who was against the reforms, and allegedly secretly in agreement with Prince Mustafa, remained deputy Grand Vizier in Istanbul. When the army reached Edirne, all preparations for a coup de etat against the Sultan were completed. Grand Vizier Ibrahim Hilmi Pasha and prominent statesmen accompanied the army. Thus, in all respects, it was an uprising organized by the secondary level of military and administrative cadres. The coup de etat, chiefly organized against the New Order by Köse Musa Pasha and Şeyhülislâm Topal Ataullah Efendi, lasted four days and ended in little bloodshed, and the dethronement of Selim III (25-29 May 1807) (Atâ, 2010; Beydilli, 2011).[6]

Some of Selim III's attempts at becoming involved in European politics had no success. He approached Napoleon because the Russian oppression had brought the relationship with England to a standstill. Enmity with Russia had deep historical roots. The Sublime Porte found itself between the Russo-English alliance and the diplomatic pressure of France. Just at that point, the removal of the Wallachian and Bogdan princes from office by the Ottoman court provoked Russia. Selim III was most probably finally expecting a victory over Russia under the alliance with France (Napoleon). Nevertheless, Napoleon was reluctant to form such an alliance. Ottoman armies had to fight alone. Istanbul was faced with an English blockade,

6 The uprising is known as "Kabakçi Mustafa İsyanı".

and the Ottoman armies went on war with Russia until 1812. To some extent, Napoleon's Moscow expedition in 1812 saved the Ottoman Empire. It should be remembered that in the meantime, Selim III had been dethroned, Mustafa IV had accessed the throne, Selim III had been then murdered with another rebellion, and Mahmud II had acceded to the throne in 1808 (Atâ, 2010).

Russia consented to peace with the Ottoman Empire with the Bucharest Agreement of 1812. Despite the Russian victories over the Ottoman army, Russia signed an agreement with moderate condition because it was aware that its dominions were under the threat of the French army. The Sublime Porte could save the political integrity of the Ottoman Empire only after Napoleon was defeated by the coalition Powers.

Russian Pressure on the Ottoman Empire

Since the end of the 18th century, Russia, now officially recognized as part of Europe, pursued a policy geared towards replacing the Ottoman Empire in Istanbul. The Tsar claimed to be the protector of all Orthodox Christian peoples of the Balkans. Under these new circumstances, being aware of the political and military danger, The Sublime Porte advocated the balance of power in Europe with every diplomatic effort (İnalcık, 2006).

After Napoleon's French threat to the European monarchies, Austrian statesman Clemence von Metternich proposed a new system to sustain peace and order in Europe. According to him, unity could be achieved only through the "co-operation of the states", not through the control of a "dominant state" (İnalcık, 2006). However, the Metternich system of the Vienna Convention in 1815 lacked the actual mechanisms to impose peace and order, or to deter any unjustified aggression, other than the irregular meetings of European leaders. Nevertheless, the following century would end without a major military collision (except the Franco-Prussian war during the unification of Germany) among the major Powers. This power balance strategy was called the "Concert of Europe".

The Ottoman Empire was not represented at the Congress of Vienna. The Ottoman government was deeply concerned about the rebellions of local notables. These local notables were financially and militarily powerful vis-a-vis the central government. They were so efficient that they were able to force Sultan Mahmoud II to sign a document (Sened-i İttifak) guaranteeing their de facto status at his accession to the throne (İnalcık, 2006). However, with the abovementioned political developments, the document lost its legal status within a few months.

Reforms of Mahmoud II

The roots of the Ottoman Empire were already shaken. The Ottoman ruling elite had to bear the attacks of the nationalist movements, as other empires did. Under such circumstances, Sultan Mahmoud II managed to partly clean up the political ruins with passion and energy. His efforts could be considered as the initial steps of the Tanzimat period. During the reign of Mahmoud II, Serbians had taken certain political rights after a series of uprisings (1804-1815). Consequently, encouraged by the Western Powers, the Greek subjects rebelled, which resulted in their independence in the Morean peninsula (1821-1829). The Greek rebellion pushed the Ottoman Empire into a deep political and diplomatic conflict situation with Europe. The joint Russian, British, and French fleets burned down the Ottoman navy, which was anchored at Navarino in 1827. Janissary troops were abolished only a year before. Now the state had no navy, and only an untrained army. The Sublime Porte had no choice but to recognize the legal independent status, demanded by the rebellious militants.

For the first time, the term "Eastern Question" began to circulate in European diplomatic circles. Russian armies attacked, benefiting from the unfavorable conditions (1828).[7] With the Edirne Treaty (1829), concluding the war with Russia, the Ottoman government had to recognize Greek independence (İnalcık, 1941; Zürcher, 1994).[8]

In this period, the revenues of most of the arable lands in the countryside were taken by the local authorities (viceroys and governors). Tax revenues of these great and vast lands were registered in the central treasury. This policy had already begun during the reign of Selim III, under the measures of the New Order (1791). Tax revenues of local cavalry (sipahis), who escaped from the army during the 1787-1792 expedition were removed and registered to the central treasury, as punishment. Approximately between 1600-1800, the tax revenues of those state lands were collected through tax-farming (iltizam). In time, a huge social group of tax-farmers who would exploit the poor peasants had emerged. In 1831, all the timar lands were transformed into state lands. This ended the unique Ottoman traditional land regime which had lasted for centuries. However, most of the state lands were under the control of powerful local groups, while many peasants had no lands. The main reason for the peasant uprisings especially in the Bulgarian territories was the feudal condition and regime. It was crucial for the decrease of Ottoman state authority in the countryside (İnalcık, 1941).

7 Although certain wise statesmen were against war with Russia, the war party dominated the State Council. A scholar and statesman, Izzet Molla had presented a report on the evaluation of diplomatic and military developments to the Sultan. However, he was exiled, and died in exile. (Atâ, 2010, pp 316-345).

8 For an overall evaluation of the Ottoman Empire by an English naval officer, see Sir Adolphus Slade's travels in Turkey (1945) and for battlefronts in this period, and military power of Ottoman army, also see David Urquart's (2014) study on Ottoman military power.

Further military and political developments regarding the Ottoman territories had shaken the initial format of the Concert of Europe. The Egypt events and the hostile attitude of governor Mehmed Ali Pasha pushed the major European states to become involved in Ottoman affairs. When Mehmed Ali Pasha's troops defeated the Ottoman Imperial army and occupied Anatolian territories (1832-33), Sultan Mahmoud II had no choice but to sign an alliance with Russia. At the initial stage of turbulence, England was reluctant to save the Sublime Porte from this desperate situation. English statesmen realized its gravity when a Russian fleet anchored its ships in the Bosphorus. When the threat grew, further Russian infantry was demanded by the Sublime Porte in order to remove Mehmed Ali Pasha's troops from Anatolian territories.

The treaty, signed at Hünkâr İskelesi in 1833 with the Russians, virtually turned the Sultan into a vassal of the Tsar. In the second phase of the Egyptian crisis, observing the different expectations of the major European Powers, England took the initiative to guarantee the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. However, in the meantime, it also gained vast commercial privileges in 1838. Soon, all the great powers (except France) agreed in London (1840) to put pressure on Mehmed Ali Pasha to abandon his plan to establish an Arab Empire. Afterwards, a new era began in the Ottoman Empire, in which England fully supported the Tanzimat reforms. Between 1839-1878, England's influence in the Ottoman Empire increased in all fields (İnalcık, 2006).

Tanzimat reforms were promulgated in 1839, under these diplomatic circumstances. The Sublime Porte realized the necessity of preventing the frequent intervention of foreign powers into Ottoman domestic affairs, causing the distress of the non-Muslim subjects. These interventions mainly originated from occupation aspirations. In the end, as a result of a serious and overwhelming defeat before its own governor of Egypt, the Ottoman sultan had to leave his fate into foreign hands. All possible anxieties were left aside and the Tanzimat Reforms were made public (3 October l839).

The Gülhane Edict was designed on the principle that the legislation which it envisaged be crucial in regenerating the state. The rescript introduced revolutionary ideas and institutions to Ottoman society. Among them was the Sultan's promise, confirmed by an oath, to respect the laws pursuing its principles and the establishment of a council for legislative activities with the guarantee of freedom of debate. When he composed the decree, Reshid Pasha had intended to impose limits on the despotic power of the Sultan. In his letter to Palmerston dated August 12, 1839, he confessed his intention (İnalcık, 1995).

The document was mainly based on the revival of religion, state, country and the nation. Nevertheless, it had the philosophy of a European state. From then onwards, all religious and ethnic classes within the Empire would have equal rights, before the law. This principle would be maintained throughout the Tanzimat period as the backbone of Ottoman governmental policies (İnalcık, 1941).

France believed that equality before the law would lead to the fusion among all ethnic and religious groups, so that a powerful Ottoman state could resist in the East against Russian aspirations. Although the Christian subjects were not confident, and sometimes even showed contempt towards such policies, the Sublime Porte had enough motivation and enthusiasm to realize them. In 1858, a circle of governors emphasized the absolute equality of all Ottoman subjects, and in this regard, during the execution of state affairs, reminded them of their obligations. In 1864, regulations gave non-Muslim subjects poll rights for local Assemblies. In 1869, when the Council of State (Shura-ı Devlet) was established, certain non-Muslims subjects were also elected as members. Christian governors were assigned to Lebanon and Crete (İnalcık, 1941).

However, despite intense desire for administrative reformation, Ottoman intellectuals complained about the oppressive ruling style of the bureaucracy. According to them, the Janissaries were the only power who resisted the malpractices of the absolute power. Then, after the abolition of the Janissaries, people became hopeful for freedom for some time. Nevertheless, when the bureaucratic elite felt safe from control, they established an oppressive administration over the people (Tütengil, 1969). The Tanzimat period reflected the authoritarian rule of the bureaucracy, especially among ordinary people.

Certain conservative intellectuals were also not happy with the artificial imitation of Western institutions. They believed that such an uncontrolled evolution from ancient customs to European life-style would corrupt and cause the decline of the deep-rooted Ottoman social structure. In this respect, the example of Ali Suavi[9], from his experience of the London higher class, is interesting: even some Westerners did not praise the superficial modernization movement among the Ottoman upper class. According to an English family in Istanbul, the Ottoman statesman Fuad Pasha[10] was not an Ottoman man, but on the contrary, a French man (Tütengil, 1969).[11]

9 He was a Western oriented but rebellious Ottoman figure.

10 Ottoman Foreign Minister and Grand Vizier during the reign of Sultan Abdulaziz.

11 For the political activities of the Young Turks, and the atmosphere of the age by an impartial observer please see Mordtman (1999).

Ali Suavi went on analysing the current political situation: most of the diplomatic problems depended on the Russian Tsar, who provoked the Christian subjects within the Ottoman Empire. His main goal was to depreciate the ruling capacity of the Ottoman government. His statement on the legal structure of the country was that, in England, there was only one English law, not a French and Russian law. However, in Istanbul, there existed many laws for different ethnic groups. In the case of a dispute, they would not apply to the Ottoman courts, but to French or English ambassadorial courts. The Sublime Porte should remove these various types of laws. According to him, non-Muslims should trust the Ottoman courts, and they should be proud of being Ottoman subjects (Tütengil, 1969).

The existence of many laws in the Tanzimat period is historically open to question. Although the currency of various laws was a fact, to some extent, it was not because of Ottoman legal and administrative failure, but of diplomatic abuses, and the exploitation of the capitulatory regime by the foreign Powers. Centuries ago, capitulations were granted to certain European states to facilitate their commercial activities throughout the Ottoman dominions (see: Laidlaw, 2010). The capitulations included certain privileges for ambassadors, consulates, and dragomans. As time went on, the foreign powers gradually extended commercial and legal immunities and exploited the rights that were given to them long before. In the case of a legal dispute, the non-Muslim subjects of Greek and Armenian origin could easily claim English and French nationality, and escape Ottoman law. The Sublime Porte was not powerful enough to follow such criminal cases (for details see: Serbestoğlu, 2010).[12]

The Sublime Porte insisted on the ideal of solidarity in the "Ottoman State". Nevertheless, the ongoing great mutiny in Crete, the activities of the Bulgarian and Greek brigands, and the more independent attitude of Serbia were desperate developments. Despite the situation looking hopeless, the papers claimed that the Ministry of Education could contribute to the fusion of diverse peoples within the Empire. In 1868, under the auspices of France, the Mekteb-i Sultani (The Imperial School) was established in Istanbul. All members of the ethnic and religious groups of the Empire could attend this new school. This new school was a fruit of Sultan Abdulaziz's journey to Paris, London, Berlin and Vienna in 1867. He must have been persuaded psychologically to open such a school after experiencing Europe's modern atmosphere.

12 To prevent frequent and illegal change of nationality, the Sublime Porte promulgated a bill to determine who really was an Ottoman subject: "Tabiiyet-i Osmaniye Kanunnamesi", *Düstur*, I. Tertip, vol. 1, Istanbul, 1289/1873, p 16-18.

During the following years, when riots in Bosnia Herzegovina and Bulgaria erupted, the Sublime Porte realized the necessity of shaping the "Ottoman" ideal in a strict form: the constitutional monarchy was adopted in 1876 (İnalcık, 1941; Zürcher, 1994).[13]

Conclusion of the Tanzimat Period

Halil İnalcık summarized the major characteristics of modernization in this early period as follows:

A program of modernization was first adopted by the state as a measure of self-defence against aggressive and imperialistic Europe. The superiority of European military techniques and organization was recognized as early as the end of the 17th century. This perception was a necessary psychological preparation for the later cultural adaptations from the West.

Secondly, systematic modernization started with military reforms in the 18th century, especially under Selim III. From 1830 onwards, the process was extended to the administration and public institutions, a trend which culminated in the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution of 1876.

Thirdly, throughout the modernization movement the state was the initiator, and changes were imposed from above, with the Sultan using his absolute power to create the bureaucratic machinery necessary to realise changes.

Fourthly, the masses, the great majority of which were living in a closed rural economy, were generally dependent on the ayan, aghas, and clerics, who were vitally interested in keeping them attached to traditional institutions. Even in the period between 1800 and 1850 these groups actively resisted the reforms imposed by the state; the Turkish-Muslim population of the Empire remained generally indifferent, or even refractory in the face of change (İnalcık, 1964, pp. 624-690.

Fifthly, a desire to satisfy non-Muslim subjects and the Western Powers definitely encouraged the Ottoman state to adopt secular laws and institutions. The Western powers were interested in establishing liberal institutions within the empire, which they thought would guarantee at once the integrity of the empire and their own economic interests in it.

Sixthly, around l860 a small group of Turkish patriots with a Western outlook emerged and carried out, in the newly introduced press and in a number of literary periodicals, a vigorous campaign against the Sultan's absolutism. His reform measures were, they believed, both arbitrary and contrary to the real interests of the Turkish-Muslim population (İnalcık, 1995).

13 To follow the developments of the age, also see following Works: (Lewis, 2002; Engelhart, 1999; Findley, 2011).

The Hamidian Era

The Ottoman statesmen's efforts in favour of equality and just treatment vis-a-vis the non-Muslim subjects had little effect. Mutiny in the Balkans continued. Serbia declared war, but it was easily crushed by the Ottoman troops. However, the military defeat of Serbia turned into a diplomatic crisis with Russia. Peace talks to settle the dispute in Istanbul had no result. The hostile Russian ultimatum dragged the Ottomans into a war that culminated in a tragic defeat. At the end of the war, Russian troops pressed forward, and camped before Istanbul. The peace treaty of St Stefano brought heavy economic and financial burdens. The proposal for conciliation by England, on reiteration of the peace treaty with Russia, was accepted by the Sublime Porte under more favorable conditions. The high expectations of the Ottoman statesmen were not met in Berlin, and meetings ended in disappointment. The Berlin Conference had had little positive impact on Ottoman politics and diplomacy. In return for conciliation, England occupied Cyprus, and had more commercial and strategic benefits (Zürcher, 1994).

Until the Russian war, the Sublime Porte still had hopes to keep the unification of the Empire through granting more rights to its Christian subjects. The policy of Sultan Abdulhamid II can be considered as a reaction to the insurrections of the Christian subjects, despite all political concessions. Abdulhamid, then began following a more conservative policy at home and abroad (İnalcık, 1941).[14] Any kind of opposition could hardly find a legal political platform. The parliament was suspended after the Russian war, and re-opened thirty years later, in 1908.

During Sultan Abdulhamid II's reign, the treasury became bankrupt. The dethronement of Abdulaziz was actually based on an economic, rather than a political crisis. Already in 1875, the Finance Minister had declared the inability of the Ottoman treasury to pay even the interests of the accumulated debts (For details see: Arı, 2001, Yeniay, 1936; İrtem, 1999). Abdulhamid was faced with the additional burden of the Russian war expenditures, and war indemnity. In 1881, a commission of "General Debts" was established to collect cash revenues, and reimburse the loans. Only the remaining amount would be spent by the Ottoman government. Sultan Abdulhamid II, at this initial stage, succeeded in reducing the total amount of debts by 50%. Through this step, he expected to guarantee the regular payment and prevent the intervention of foreign powers. The commission would represent the capitals of lending countries.[15] However, rather than reckoning with the past debts, the administration of "General Debts" tried to organize an Ottoman financial plan through imposing new rules.

14 Abdulhamid's domestic and foreign policies can be found in the observations of a bureaucrat in the court palace. (Örikağasızade, 2007)

15 The reckoned amount for the debts was about 30% of the total Ottoman budgetary revenues.

Under these circumstances, Abdulhamid II was careful enough to maintain peace. He was reluctant to engage in any war, except for the provocations from Greece (1897). Greek authorities must have expected European intervention in that war, as witnessed many times before. When unable to stop Greek aggression, the Ottoman troops advanced towards Athens. Within one-month, the Greek army was heavily defeated. A year before, Armenian terrorists in Istanbul had occupied and bombed the Ottoman Bank headquarters in Pera (1896). Furthermore, they were protected by the foreign embassies in Istanbul, so that they could flee without any persecution in the Ottoman capital. These two incidents alarmed the Ottoman Sultan to take strict security measures in all respects and security concerns affected his ruling practices.

During his reign, Sultan Abdulhamid II had spent great efforts to equip the capital and major cities in the countryside with modern schools of Administrative Sciences, Justice, Languages, Art and Sciences, Commerce, Agriculture, Veterinary, and Industry. In 1900, a university in Istanbul was also inaugurated. Sultans Selim III and Abdulaziz could opened only symbolic Western-style educational institutions. At the turn of the 19th century, the Empire would accumulate a well-educated group of intellectuals who would carry out the remnants of the collapsed state to build up the Republic.[16]

Sultan Abdulhamid II, who remained in power for 33 years, carried out a strict administration in many respects. His direct involvement with the state mechanism is controversial among historians. While some of them praise him as salvaging and sustaining the Empire for more than a quarter of a century, others severely criticize his practices and overall control on society. To some extent, both are true. The financial situation was already characterised heavy debts. The salaries could hardly be paid every two months. It was not easy to create new sources of revenues. Nevertheless, he was able to establish modern educational institutions all over the country. The construction of ports, railway lines, new roads, and irrigation projects, together with the purchase of modern weapons required additional financial support. He could attain these funds from foreign sources, generally at the expense of abuses, generated both from inside (high bureaucracy) and abroad (banks and entrepreneurs). Despite being aware of higher costs, he insisted on such investments. However, the Empire was vast, backward, and required huge amounts to achieve transformation of the whole country into a modern state. The Sultan implemented many of the profitable projects through playing one

16 The story of the Ottoman modernization process is well summarized with striking examples by a recent study by Jean-François Solnon on the Ottoman Empire and Europe in French. The volume is available in Turkish "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Avrupa" (2019). However, there were frictions between the educated and uneducated officers in the army, who were the offspring of an ancient system (See Ölmez, 2017).

European state against the other. He applied every diplomatic measure to benefit from the ongoing competition among them. Previous English-French economic rivalry on Ottoman lands escalated with the involvement of Germany. Especially railway construction was more than an economic investment, it was a strategic one. After years of playing chess behind diplomatic doors, Germany would be the winner. This choice also reflected the future of the Sublime Porte in the case of a long-expected great war. However, when the war broke out, Sultan Abdulhamid would no longer remain on the Ottoman throne.

Towards the end of his reign, Sultan Abdulhamid inaugurated the construction of the Baghdad railway line (for details see: Earle, 1923). Another strategic railway line was extended to Medinah for the pilgrimage. These lines would bring great sums of commercial revenues for the crops of peasants in the countryside. Throughout World War I, Ottoman armies could be easily mobilized thanks to these main railway lines.

The dethronement of Abdulhamid II in 1909 after a military revolt brought the long-expected peace atmosphere neither at home, nor abroad. The Balkan Wars resulted in desperate defeats. Soon afterwards, the World War put an end to the 600 years of the powerful empire that controlled Central Europe, the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, Anatolia, the Caucasus, the Persian Sea, the whole Arabian Peninsula, the Red Sea, and the whole of North Africa, from Egypt to Algeria. Losing these huge lands one after another naturally caused Turkish nationalism to rise. Most of the Young Turks movement's ideas in the political, sociological and cultural fields were inherited by the early Republican leaders.[17]

Conclusion

Ottoman attempts at modernization were interrupted by a number of internal and international crises. Those attempts lasted for more than a century. During the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II, many efforts could also be observed particularly in the fields of education, and transportation (especially railway construction). This period of almost a century and a half cannot be considered as a linear timeline for Ottoman modernization. The coup d'etats, rebellions, popular unrest, foreign involvements and interventions, together with long-lasting wars had crucial effects on these attempts. In this regard, Selim III was ambitious. However, most of these practices for modernization were carried out by the statesmen of Sultan Abdulmecid and Sultan Abdulaziz.

17 Both the internal and external political influences of the Western Powers (particularly Great Britain) on the late Ottoman Empire and early Republican period can be followed in P. Philip Graves's work "Briton and Turk" (1946).

This article emphasized critical international developments and military clashes which thoroughly affected the strategies of Ottoman Sultans and the bureaucratic mechanism. Throughout this period, because of these developments, the direction, methodology, necessities, and character of the modernization movement changed. One way or another, the Ottoman statesmen were able to coordinate the Westernization and/or modernization of the Empire. The Ottoman Empire was a modern state, -if not sociologically, and industrially, at least legally- on the eve of World War I. Because of this, although the Empire was heavily defeated and militarily and politically dissolved after the war, the remaining military and civil bureaucracy managed to establish a new and modern state: the Turkish Republic.

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CHAPTER 2

HIS MAJESTY'S PAINTER ZONARO: A PROFESSIONAL CAREER BOUND TO POLITICS

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ABSTRACT

Using alternative sources to examine the formation of the modern state in the context of Ottoman modernization reveals interesting nuances and enables a more intensive investigation of the topic. The art of painting and the relationship established between the visual arts, artists, and the Palace represent such resources, especially in the 19th century. The Sultan's visibility and the paternalistic discourse built through it created a new basis for political legitimacy in the 1800s. The Hamidian era is a challenging period to position within this framework in the process of Ottoman modernization because the 33 years of Abdulhamid II's reign evinced both continuity and estrangement from previous imperial attempts of modernization. This article discusses how Fausto Zonaro, Abdulhamid II's chief painter, contributed to the institution of the paternalistic discourse during his tenure. More specifically, the study traces the changes in the regime and the power relations in the Empire through Zonaro's experience. Indeed, Zonaro's ascendancy in the Empire occurred under the auspices of a sultan who attempted to organize the construction of the modern state and establish its influence on the public within the structures of the traditional understanding of power relations and legitimacy. Zonaro's professional career and expectations were bound to a relationship based on a conception of patronage that was inapt for his era: in such an association, the fate of the patron would inevitably reflect the destiny of those who received the patronage.

Keywords: Zonaro, Abdulhamid II, art and politics, Ottoman modernization, political symbolism

The Ottoman Ambassador Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi, who traveled through France in 1721, wrote about what he saw before leaving the country: "In the morning, two chamberlains put a large object right before us and said "This is a gift from our king". They had such a tradition. The king had his portrait made, had the frame decorated with diamonds and sent it to the ambassadors as a gift". Since it was not considered appropriate to present a portrait of the king as a gift for Muslims, the Ottoman delegation was offered expensive gifts (Mehmet Efendi, 1975, p. 65). Just about a century later, the Ottoman Sultans would have their portraits not only made with Western techniques but they would also either send them along with the missions of the Empire in Europe or would order for them to be hung in the country's government offices. This kind of transformation could not simply be explained with the concept of Westernization. This was also a reflection of the Empire's political transformation, in the early 19th century, from a classic patrimonial state into a centralized bureaucratic one that began to adopt modern governmental techniques. It was a rupture through which the Sultans attempted to gain public visibility by having their Western-style portraits painted.

It may be said that this visual rupture began with the Sultans ordering their own portraits to be painted with European techniques and be hung on the wall, a practice which began in the second half of the 18th century. This meant that the image became portable rather than remaining in handwritten books and albums. Similarly, in this era, the portraits of Ottoman Sultans were placed in lockets hanging from the branch of a tree similar to the family trees of European dynasties (Renda, 2002, p. 268). The Sultans' becoming "visible" through newly adopted public ceremonies, domestic or foreign trips, or via the self-portraits realized during the reign of Mahmut II until that of Abdülhamid II was a new way for the rulers to obtain legitimacy from society. This phenomenon occurred within the context of a new state order in which a new kind of relationship was established between the ruler and the governed. Creating a Western-style painting collection within the Palace during the Tanzimat era, either via recruiting painters or purchasing works from the art market, constituted another aspect of this "image policy". The collection itself, created to be exhibited in the Palace was significant for the creation of the image of a Sultan who cared about art like his Western counterparts.

The painter Zonaro's career in the Ottoman Empire, which is the main subject of this study, developed under the reign of Abdülhamid II, an important period of rupture as well as continuity characterising the Palace's modern contact with painting. This continuity and rupture could be found in the political arena as well. Indeed, Sultan Abdülhamit's autocratic reign was a period in which modernization peaked in terms of the creation of central, modern state institutions, and in which a fracture occurred in the search for the legitimacy of political

power. The Sultans' quest for legitimacy via being visible harked back to a classical power strategy, and Abdülhamid II consciously avoided being publicly visible. This does not mean that Sultan Abdülhamid II was completely rejecting the benefits of art with regards to the representation of power. On the contrary, painting remained important for conveying the meanings embodied by his own power -although it was gradually leaving its place to photography,- expanding the palace painting collection and creating the image of a modern ruler. Zonaro was granted the title of His Majesty's painter during this period. He became part of the Sultan's invisible power pool and rose professionally. The works produced by Zonaro, which will also be discussed in this study, were remarkable in terms of demonstrating the basic elements characterising the period's symbolic power. On the other hand, the professional career of the painter in the Ottoman Empire took shape under the patronage of Abdülhamid and collapsed when this patronage ceased to exist. Zonaro was not allowed to join in the new constitutional regime. This professional career story, which ended with Zonaro's return to Italy, sheds light on late Ottoman power relations.

A Visible Father: the Sultan's Public Portrait

Compared to European feudalism, the Ottoman Empire was a central state where sovereignty was held by the absolute ruler. That is why Machiavelli cited the Turkish Monarchy as an example to his "Prince," whose own person would be the centre of political sovereignty. It was of course not a coincidence that Bodin, also known as the theorist who developed the concept of sovereignty in Western political thinking, described absolute sovereignty by using the example of the "King of the Turks" (Ağaoğulları, 2015, pp. 331, 407-408). Just as the Sultan did not share his power with the privileged nobles, the empire's territorial and production regimes were designed to prevent such class from being born. Moreover, there was no external institution, such as the church, to which the sultan owed his power. In this context, it is possible to say that the pre-modern Ottoman Empire differs from the modern nation-states in three basic characteristics. The first is that the administration was directly managed by a small number of officials that cannot be defined bureaucracy in today's sense. These were the Sultan's servants rather than the civil servants of the modern state, and they lacked the professional, financial and life assurances that modern officers have today. Secondly, in the context of the political relationship between the ruler and his subjects, the responsibilities expected of the state, which was the property of the Sultan, and the tasks expected of those living on that property were different from the relationship established by the modern state. Rather, this relationship was determined to establish social justice in exchange for the subjects' payment of taxes to

the Sultan. Therefore, the Sultan or the state apparatus had no direct relationship with those governed. The relationship was carried out indirectly through the Sultan's servants and through the representatives of the socio-religious group to which each person belonged. In this sense, the classical period of the Ottoman Empire was like a social organism in which everyone knew his social position and the effort to change it was not welcome. Thirdly, the indirect political relationship also meant that not all those governed were equally subject to common and standard rules because of the different treatment for each different group. The logic of classical Ottoman rule was based on a scheme built on this relationship – a circle of justice, as it was called- that provided the Order of the World (*Nizam-ı Alem*).

In this context, the Classical Ottoman political system, upon which at least in theory the Sultan had absolute sovereignty, was based on a sharp distinction between those who governed and who were governed.[1] The Sultan's power was reinforced by the fact that he almost never appeared physically in public- that is, the distance between them was maintained as much as possible, because getting close to the people was considered the sign of the destruction of the state (*istinas-ı nas alameti iflas*) (Oktay, 2007, p. 223). Even in ceremonies with a certain degree of publicness, the Sultan's visibility was limited, watching the ceremonies from a distance from his mansion (Faroqhi, 2006, p. 194). [2] We also know that the Sultan listened to the *Divan-ı Hümayun* (Imperial Council) meetings from behind a caged window without being physically seen by its members. [3] On the other hand, getting close to the subjects meant not only a spatial closeness, but also being seen as an individual who physically resembled them. Gaining public visibility as an individual having human qualities meant that the Sultan, to whom were attributed divine qualities such as being omnipotent and omnipresent, had lost his "mystery". This "mystery" reinforced the understanding of politics as a privileged area, one not accessible to everyone.

However, in the 19th century, the Sultan's visibility and the paternal power discourse built through it would form the new basis for political legitimacy. This century was a time when absolute monarchies against rising modern nation-states were trying to support their regimes with methods they took from their rivals. Undoubtedly, one of the most important methods was the visibility of the Sultan and carrying state sovereignty out in a more public way through

1 For an example of the discussion about the characteristics of the Ottoman political regime see: (İnalcık, 1992, pp. 49-72).

2 See also: (Tansuğ, 1994).

3 Leslie Pierce shows that from the reign of Murat II, the Sultan's public visibility decreased. In particular, with the legal code adopted by Mehmet II the Sultan's visibility was increasingly restricted to both the symbolic area and the de facto management mechanism (Pierce, 1993, p. 174). In this context, presenting himself to the outside world as a powerful Emperor with his portrait while becoming gradually invisible is an interesting case.

the various symbols representing this sovereignty. Symbols that emphasized the sovereignty of the Sultan and conveyed it to the subjects were of course not a new phenomenon. In fact, Lewis highlights that Friday sermons or minting coins during the Sultan's ascension to the throne were among his means of communication with his subjects (Lewis, 1996, p. 9). We can add to these the Sultan's seal and monumental architectural works that reflected the power of the state. However, such means of communication were symbols expressing sovereignty indirectly (Stephanov, 2014, p. 476).

Moreover, making people feel the power through such symbols was sufficient for an era when the political relationship was indirect and conducted through intermediaries. However, it is necessary to mention that the pre-modern era did not possess the technical facilities in which the symbols of direct or indirect sovereignty could constantly be presented to the people occupying a vast geography. We need to ask why the Ottoman Sultan was in need of demonstrating his sovereignty publicly and physically through the symbols, and of reminding his subjects who the sovereign was. A first answer to this question was the gradual weakening of the central power at the heart of the *Nizam-ı Alem* system. In particular, the local notables (*Ayan*) at the periphery, who gradually began to develop the capacity to move autonomously from the Palace and, following the French Revolution, the non-Muslim subjects that began to direct their allegiances towards their ethnic communities as nationalism began to spread within the Empire and became a threat against the sovereignty of the center. Alongside a social and political environment where there was no concept of compulsory military service, the deterioration of the military power of the Empire and the dysfunction of agricultural relations on which it was based should be added as additional determining factors. The second factor that constituted the need for further emphasis on sovereignty was the realization that Western superiority was achieved not only simply through having military power, but by the modern state mechanism that made this power possible. As Şerif Mardin underlined, Ottoman envoys discovered that the West had taken "a protective measure that would increase the efficiency of the subjects into the usual policy of the state" (Mardin, 2004, pp. 83-84). This means that spaces that had extremely limited relations with the state in the traditional order were transformed into spaces that had a one-on-one relationship with it.

The population in the modern state is not described in compartments, but rather as a social body on which projections are made according to the needs of the state for the future, not a composition in which people are expected to fulfill the tasks traditionally attributed to them as appropriate and relevant to the compartments they are in. Within this framework, the ruler who had derived his dominance from divine laws would become an absolute monarch whereas

the subjects living as his property would be transformed into "the people". Individuals from this population must have had a sense of collectivity transcending their local and group ties so that they could be mobilized on behalf of the state.

In such a context, the Sultan had to necessarily make his power publicly visible and establish himself as the focus of loyalty in terms of being the sovereign of the state. The way to do this was to encode sovereignty and political power as a paternal relationship, and to equip the Sultan with the image of a sovereign who would protect and care about the welfare of his people. In return for working like a father in order to achieve the well-being of his children, the only thing that the Sultan expected from his people was obedience, loyalty and diligence. From this point of view, by making significant efforts to become publicly visible, the Ottoman Sultans carried the same concerns of their coeval monarchies, which responded to separatist tendencies and had to preserve their power against the rebelliousness of their politically ambitious or hostile subjects. Thus, becoming visible by these means appeared as a political investment for the continuity of power.

It was not a coincidence that Sultan Selim III, who was the first to try and gather political power to the center, was also the first one to get his self-portrait painted in 1793, in order to show who the sovereign was. In this sense, it is possible to say that Selim III was the first Sultan who noticed the potential of visibility to represent the existence of the Empire, especially in a world of changing politics and order (Renda, 2002, p. 269). It is also said that the Sultan gave Kapıdağlı Konstantin the task to replicate this painting in order to send it to high-ranking civil servants and also to Napoleon Bonaparte, the Emperor of France. According to Renda, some archival documents prove that Selim ordered portraits in European style and used them to strengthen the Image of the Ottoman dynasty by distributing them in and out of the Empire (Renda, 2002, p. 269).

The Sultan portraiture and the palace's relationship with the art of painting were of course not a new phenomenon. The portrait of Sultan Mehmet II painted by the Italian artist Bellini following the conquest of Istanbul is a very well-known example (Renda, 1999, pp. 7-17). With the portrait, the Sultan intended to show the outside world that he was a new sovereign who carried the Roman Imperial legacy on. Moreover, till the end of the eighteenth century, it had been an important tradition to involve painters in the patronage system at the Palace in order to portray the Sultans and remarkable events. These paintings, however, were neither realistic in representing the Sultan's physical characteristics nor were they works produced for public display.[4]

4 For the portraiture art in the Ottoman classical era see: (Necipoğlu, 2000).

There were the obvious effects of the Orthodox Islamic view which did not welcome figurative representation in art. A fixed and codified iconography was adopted in the visual representation of the sultans in miniatures because the main concern in this representation style was to underline the Sultan's belonging to the dynasty, rather than depicting what he looked like (Necipoğlu, 2000, pp. 31, 36). What is important in traditional legitimacy is to maintain tradition and keep it alive. That is why in the miniatures, due to his being the current sustainer of the dynasty that preserved the tradition, the Sultan himself was represented as a figure without any distinct individual qualities.

The Western-style Sultan portraiture or his lineage paintings appeared from the second half of the 18th century, yet they were not intended to be displayed publicly out of the Palace. The new Western-style Sultan portraits were too big to be hung on the wall, that is to say, the art became portable rather than being preserved within manuscripts or albums (Renda, 2002, p. 268). From this point of view, we can assert that the Sultan's suppressed individuality under the role attributed to him of being an invisible actor carrying a monarchical tradition became visible primarily within the walls of the Palace itself.

The abovementioned domestic and foreign distribution channels of Selim III's portrait show that the political message that the Sultan desired to convey through visual representation had two main axes. The first was the outside world, especially Europe, and the primary message given here was that the Empire was a powerful and modern state embodied by the Sultan himself. Although the way in which the Sultan reflected his sovereignty on the outer world varied, depending on time and the course of diplomatic events, the major concern was to prove that the Empire was still strong and in the process of modernization. It is necessary to mention foreign public opinion here as this was the target audience, and that the power of the written press to shape public opinion began to be realized especially after the mid-nineteenth century (Karateke, 2011, pp. 296-299).

Since the beginning of Sultan Mahmut II's reign, the audience for the Sultan's display of sovereignty were the government officials first, and then the people. From the perspective of the sovereign Sultan, representation was at least as significant as character itself (İnce, 2017, p. 444). Similar to the fact that rulers were "engaged in image problems" in a world where dynasties began to learn more about each other ever than before, publicized visibility of the sultan either physically or through an artistic representation occupied a significant place in this new and direct administrative relationship.

With the profile of an "enlightened monarch", Mahmut II was the first Sultan who became physically visible to his subjects (Berkes, 1978, p. 167). Through his travels throughout the country, between 1830 and 1837, he created the image of a powerful but human and earthly ruler and of a paternal Sultan who heard his public's grievances and approached them enthusiastically (Kırlı, 2009, p. 292). The Sultan's birthday and the anniversary of his ascension to the throne began to be celebrated both in the capital, in the provinces, and abroad. In these ceremonies, the portrait of the Sultan was displayed publicly (Stephanov, 2014, p. 476).

Influenced by the other monarchies of his time, Sultan Mahmud realized that public visibility was remarkably important in establishing modern centralized state institutions and in obtaining loyalty to the state as represented by his body. After carefully examining the tsar's portrait hanging in a Russian ship during his visit in 1829, the Sultan ordered medallions to be prepared on which he was depicted with his Western uniforms. Known as The Imperial Portrait (*Tasvir-i Hümayun*), these medallions became significant objects showing their owner as close and loyal to the Sultan (Eldem, 2004, p. 126). Hanging the portrait of the Sultan on the walls of public offices was both a European custom and also suitable to the "modern monarch" trend (Deringil, 2007, p. 57). However, it meant much more than this. All this cultural conflict was coming out of a political and cultural struggle between the actors of the classical state order, who were beyond the control of the center in the course of time, and the reformers aiming at centralization and modern state formation. Even transferring the Sultan's portrait from the Palace to another public space and the place where it would be exhibited show us the power relations of the time. Witnessing one of these ceremonies, Pardoe recounts the carrying of the Sultan's portrait to the barracks as follows:

> "We were wondering about the Sultan's attitude in this ceremony because as his portrait was sent to Üsküdar, some of his military guards had groused explicitly about such sort of violation of the Islamic principle that strictly prohibits any visual representation of human beings. What was more, this sin had been committed pompously and ostentatiously and the same reverence had been shown to the picture as it was for the Sultan himself. They complained that they were becoming infidels and heretics. (…) Moreover, it was also a matter that some of the military contingents were constituted by the sons of the janissaries. They could not be expected to have very positive feelings towards the person who had eliminated their fathers; it was inevitable for them to take advantage of this opportunity in order to spread their hatred. In this way, they would have the opportunity to reveal their feelings of hatred in the name of the Prophet and to impose the needs of religion. (…) Finally, the expected moment came. (…) Then, the Sultan's carriage opened among the infantry soldiers who walked in a double row. (…) Inside the carriage was His Majesty's

> portrait wrapped carefully in green tulle. The Sultan's young son-in-law Said Pasha was leading the carriage. He had a cavalry uniform on him and was riding a thoroughbred Arabian horse. Behind him, the Army Commander and Halil Pasha were following. And behind them all was a troop of the cavalry regiment" (Pardoe, 2010, pp. 492-493).

The practice of portraying the Sultan and the distribution of the portrait as a symbol of power, which now extended even to the far-away parts of the Empire, was maintained throughout the Tanzimat era. For instance, three large portraits of Sultan Abdülmecid brought to Cairo were taken to the castle to be exhibited, then hung in major public offices (Onaran, 2019). This is a remarkable example with regards to how the center tried to prove its sovereignty through the visibility of the Sultan in a province where modern bureaucracy was institutionalized by Mehmed Ali Pasha, who had appeared to be a rival to the center. The connection between the physical existence of the Sultan and his visual one in the portraits was provided by the ceremonial respect displayed during its move from the Palace to other relevant places. Those people who could not even imagine what the Sultan looked like in the classical period had now a concrete image which they could direct themselves to and display their loyalty.

As Renda points out, the function of Sultan Mahmud's modern portraits was to institutionalize the radical reforms he had just made and introduce them to his subjects so that they may be internalized by them. In the new iconography that emerged during this period, the Sultan was depicted standing as was common in the portrait of European rulers, holding a sword or a royal decree representing his power and reforms (Renda, 2000, p. 500). It shows us that the Sultan was the main political actor, both owning the right to use force by means of his sword and of codifying the new order with his edicts.

Reforms for the creation of a modern state institution were thus highlighted through crystallizing power via creating an image of the power behind these reforms as the sovereign power. Moreover, we can infer from Pardoe's account that the Sultan's portrait functioned as a way to measure the level of opposition of those whose social power had been undermined by the reforms of the Sultan himself, and somehow to monitor them. Indeed, in the anecdote mentioned, those who were complaining about the portrait were the sons of Janissary soldiers who had been disbanded by the Sultan. Similarly, Sultan Mahmud had sent his portrait to Sheikhulislam Yasincizade Abdülvahab Efendi, but the reactions of the high- level ulama caused his dismissal (Stephanov, 2014, p. 137). At this point, we should keep in mind the fact that the ulama were organized under a hierarchical institution by the Sultan and were deprived of their revenues after the establishment of the Ministry of Foundations (Zürcher, 2000, p.

65).[5]In short, as the new order was institutionalized under the Sultan's rule; it became a tool for determining the degree to which the actors of the old order would consider this transformation legitimate and would adapt to this. The Sultan himself probably shared Pardoe's curiosity, who wondered about the public reaction to the ceremony.

The modern visibility of sultans continued to increase in the period of the Tanzimat under the reigns of Sultan Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz. In this period, the Sultan's portraits reached monumental sizes. Portrait art during the Tanzimat period reflected the Westernization of the Empire and its symbolic power. Indeed, although monarchical patronage of the art and artists was an old tradition in general, it can be asserted that the content of this patron relationship began to transform with the beginning of the Tanzimat era. For instance, with the transferral of the centre of power from Topkapı Palace to Dolmabahçe under the reign of Abdülmecid, hanging paintings on the walls was a novelty (Köksal& Uslu, 2018, p. 621) both with regards to the works that decorated the palace, as well as making a painting collection with this aim by employing foreign painters as court painters or purchasing them from the market. Again in this period, the Manas brothers were given the task, at the Ottoman Embassy in Paris, to make portraits to be sent to other Ottoman embassies (Renda, 2002, p. 273). Thus, we can argue that the Sultan's making himself and his state visible through portrait production was adopted as a public policy at a more institutional level during this period. This was particularly functional for the Ottoman diplomacy, which sought to provide support against Russia by being considered a European state during the Crimean war. As it is known, the Ottoman Empire was recognized as a European state at the Paris Conference, which took place after the Crimean war. Although he had never been to Europe, it was not a coincidence that paintings showing Sultan Abdülmecid alongside European rulers[6] were made: it was rather the reflection of a conscious political image.

The connection of the Ottoman Palace with the painters reached a peak with the reign of Sultan Abdulaziz and collecting a work of art became a conscious act. Having visited the Paris International Exhibition on his European trip in 1867 and having also seen the art collections in Paris, London and Vienna, Sultan Abdülaziz invited many painters to Dolmabahçe palace to create a similar collection (Renda, 2002, p. 274). Again, pictures for the palace collection were purchased regularly from the Goupil Gallery in Paris (Köksal& Uslu, 2018, p. 621). Undoubtedly, the Palace's main concern here – apart from its embracing Western aesthetic pleasures - was to claim equality with other dynasties and palaces in Europe by creating a

5 See also: (Heyd, 1997, pp. 13-56).

6 See also: (Turan, 2014, pp. 361,387).

similar cultural capital as them. Created to be exhibited at the palace especially for foreign diplomats and guests, this collection was also intended to show foreigners a glorious past through the art of painting, and how deeply rooted its tradition was. Among them, the works portraying events in Ottoman history, which Sultan Abdülaziz commissioned to Chelebowsky, are the most known. In this sense, the relationship established with the art of painting became more comprehensive, considering its significant place not only for symbolizing political power but also for the construction of a state and a homeland concept embodied in the palace.

The Invisible Power of Abdülhamid II and His Painter Zonaro

Sultan Abdülhamid II is a challenging figure to position within the Ottoman modernization process. This is because his 33 years of monarchy involve both a continuity with and rupture from previous attempts at imperial modernization. On the one hand, administrative centralization and modern bureaucracy formation in the Empire that had begun during the reign of Mahmud II further penetrated into the periphery by the effective use of telegraphs, railways and steamships. Therefore, there was continuity in the sense of a formation and institutionalization of modern state organization (Zürcher, 2000, p.117-119). However, the reign of Abdülhamid was also a period in which the basic political power strategy within the state went in a different direction both inside and outside. As it has been mentioned before, the emergence of public opinion and its construction of a common collectivity via press and education took place before the Hamidian period. Indeed, the pre-Tanzimat Sultans' efforts aimed at centralization resulted in the culmination of power -not in terms of sovereignty but of the use of power- of the Sublime Porte bureaucracy. From the second half of the 19th century, an Ottoman public opinion emerged that was shaped against this authoritarian bureaucratic power and based on the idea of people's representation – i.e. an opposition to both the state bureaucracy and the absolute sovereignty of the Sultan. It was in the 1860s when the term public opinion (*efkar-ı umumiye*) became an explicit element of Ottoman political terminology (Kırlı, 200, p. 286). In a sense, the political power, which had indirectly based its legitimacy on the public since the 1830s, now faced the demands of that public which became quickly politicized and desired to be the main political actor. In this respect, Sultan Abdülhamid's distinctive feature when compared to his predecessors was that he set a new governance strategy to accumulate all the political power in his hand. At the heart of this strategy was channeling the loyalty of people not to a common homeland, nation or state, which could transcend or be perceived independently from the sultan's existence, rather to the ruler, thought to have gathered all these concepts within himself. Especially

after the demographic change that took place as a consequence of the Ottoman-Russian war of 1877-78, this strategy distinctly appeared in the increasing references made with regards to the caliphate in order to legitimize political power.[7] In this pursuit of legitimacy, there was an effort to prevent the public's interest in politics, considering that the holiness of the Sultan as caliph would also make him untouchable. In order to achieve this, the strict control of the press and the entire public opinion, which became the new decisive actors in politics, constituted another rupture in the Hamidian era through censorship and a daily report system directly bound to the Sultan himself. In this respect, it can be said that Sultan Abdülhamid used the traditional political legitimacy that operated through sanctity as a tool to protect the monarchy's sovereignty against the politicization of the people that arose through modern state organization.

This new political orientation also manifested itself in a new foreign political strategy, by which the Sultan now introduced himself as the protector of all Muslims against the outside world. Abdülhamid II's aim to address Muslims outside the Ottoman Empire through the caliphate institution revealed the concept of pan-Islamism as a defense against the pan-nationalist movements that emerged at the time (Deringil, 1991, p. 52). The way that the Ottoman Empire, which felt under threat with regards to the "Eastern Question" since the beginning of the 19th century, presented itself as a political actor that wanted to be taken seriously in the international political arena changed its direction in the Hamidian period. It was a period in which the Empire sought legitimacy against the outside world, but it began to do so through emphasizing the caliphate. Despite the aims of controlling the internal public and of intimidating the Western world, this new strategy did not prevent the Sultan from highlighting the fact that he was a modern ruler. The Sultan was also well aware of the importance of foreign public opinion in international politics since his ascension to power. During the 1877-1878 Ottoman- Russian war, the anti-Turkish campaign run by liberals in Britain prevented the government of that time from supporting the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, a strong anti-imperial public opinion flourished in Europe regarding the Crete crisis and the suppression of the Armenian incidents in Adana. In Georgeon's words, the image that the Western public had of the Empire and Abdülhamid II was that of a barbaric people, a fanatical religion, a medieval Empire led by an illegitimate despot. In this case, Abdülhamid II would also need to construct an image policy in order to appear as an enlightened ruler as part of his policy of persuasion and propaganda as the Western public opinion was full of false ideas about Islam and the Ottomans (Georgeon, 2006, pp. 317-319). Abdülhamid II would

7 About the new understanding of politics and image by Abdülhamid see: (Turan, 2017, pp. 394-401).

try to construct the image of a "modern monarch" as well as demonstrate to be much more so than his predecessors.

However, Abdülhamid II acted "as if he did not exist in the Empire"; he led a secluded life in his palace without excursions, public inaugural ceremonies, travels to the country or abroad (Georgeon, 2006, p. 147). His invisibility was not only physical among the public, but also extended to the press and art, and his representation was forbidden. This invisibility of the Sultan symbolically expressed that the era of the Tanzimat had also come to an end. Nevertheless, as Şükrü Hanioğlu correctly points out, the Hamidian period was not:

> "a simple reversion to the patrimonial, pre-Tanzimat style of government. To be sure, the sultan yielded paramount authority; he often made arbitrary decisions; he emphasized personal loyalty to the sovereign, and he reduced the Sublime Port to subservience. But at the same time he clearly sought to be more than the uppermost link in an inefficient chain of patronage. (…) he was, in other words above the law-the actions of all other bureaucrats (…) were bound by the law" (Hanioğlu, 2008, p. 128).

At this point, however, a dilemma arose for Abdülhamid II. On the one hand, the influence of the modern central state on the periphery continued at great speed, on the other, the Sultan lacked the legitimacy that his predecessors derived from being publicly visible. He wanted to create a modern Sultan profile despite the "Terrible Turkish or Red Sultan" labels attached to him, while he was caught up in a challenge created by himself, such as breaking away from the internal and external public (Deringil, 1998, p. 18). Therefore, the Sultan chose to make his existence felt by the public without being visible in order to fill the "legitimacy gap" through a symbolic system that could "create a vibration of power around himself" (Deringil, 1998, p. 18). In short, the bonds established with the public were transformed into a communication performed through symbols which were significantly supported by the Islamic characteristics of the Empire and the Caliphate. As a matter of fact, portraying the sultan came to a halt in this period and instead, calligraphic signs bearing the phrase "Long Live the Sultan" were hung on the walls of state offices (Deringil, 2007, p. 57).

It is possible to trace the Hamidian regime's continuities with and ruptures from the past in the Palace's relationship with painting and painters as well. With regard to continuities, it can be easily asserted that Abdülhamid II was as aware of the importance of "image" in political communication as his predecessors were. This was carried out, on the one hand, by giving political messages associated with sovereignty to domestic and foreign publics through certain symbols and ceremonies. But at this point, it is necessary to keep in mind that in this period visibility and forms of representation and power had shifted to the field of

photography.[8] The Sultan had realized the mass communication power of photography. It was an easy instrument to portray an image and for propaganda activity (Georgeon, 2006, p. 320). Although he asked his own painter to make portraits of his daughter Refia Sultan and his son, Şehzade Abdürrahim Efendi, Sultan Abdülhamid's attitude towards drawing his own image was extremely strict. This attitude was also valid for photography (Pinquet, 2012, p. 146). At a first glance, this was because of a strict traditional Islamic interpretation of aniconism. There should have been harmony between the worldwide Islamic discourse and its reflection in practice:

> "When I was charged with the task to be the Sultan's court painter in 1896, I was informed that I should not paint His Excellency the Caliph Sultan because of his religious authority and there would be unpleasant consequences if I did not comply with the ban. For me, being a sultan's painter and not being able to paint him seemed rather unusual and a sort of humiliation. I bowed to the task and never thought about it again, as the exciting events of my new life turned me upside down (Zonaro, 2008, p. 295).

However, this had much to do with the ruling strategy, which took its legitimacy from the sanctity adopted by the Sultan. As a matter of fact, the memoirs of the Sultan's chief painter show us that the Sultan's image was prevented from becoming public with a strict censorship applied both to publications within the Empire and to the circulation of publications from abroad. Moreover, it was forbidden to foreign guests to use binoculars to better see the Sultan in Friday ceremonies, "with the idea that a lens may be hidden in the binoculars". (Zonaro, 2008, p. 295). Foreign magazines that printed the portrait of the Sultan were either using his youth pictures, and in that case they were not being allowed to enter the Imperial borders, or they were just sketching something completely imaginary (Zonaro, 2008, p. 295).

The arrival of the Italian painter Zonaro in Istanbul in 1891 occurred at a time when the Sultan began to implement strict measures to oversee public space. In his early years in the city, he was quite suspicious as a foreign painter who painted the city's public spaces (Zonaro, 2008, pp. 84, 119,127). He is considered to be a member of the orientalist painting movement that lasted from the late 18th century to the early twentieth century. Caught up in the charm of the East, the painter decided to move to Istanbul, especially under the influence of Edmondo de Amicis and Théophile Gautier's books about Istanbul and again at the suggestion of his wife-to-be Elisa (Öndeş & Makzume, 2010, pp. 25, 28). However, Zonaro's moving to Istanbul cannot be described simply as the desire of a painter to experience an Oriental adventure. Firstly, he was probably aware of the new art market developing in the city since

8 See also: (Gavin, 1988)

the end of the 19th century. Besides, the personal relationships he established during his career in Istanbul that led him to be the Sultan's painter show that he was capable of "reading" political balances and patronage networks in the Empire. Indeed, he was not the first Italian painter recruited at the Palace. From this perspective, I believe that Zonaro came to Istanbul conscious of the patronage and art relations in the city and knew that he could develop a successful career thanks to them.[9] As a matter of fact, in his memoirs Zonaro clearly expressed that what he had been waiting for in the city was the Turkish diplomacy surrounding him with kindness and grace (Zonaro, 2008, p. 65). Having experienced financially difficult times during which he had sold low-priced city pictures he painted for European travellers to earn his living, he managed to establish a personal network made of foreign diplomats and native high ranking bureaucrats (Zonaro, 2008, pp. 58-63, 73).

Zonaro, His Majesty's Painter and His Contributions to Symbolic Political Power

The rigorous artist, known in Italy as the painter of delicacy, was called, in Istanbul, the painter of power too (Zonaro, 2008, p. 239). If the Sultan wanted to establish his power without being visible, then what was Zonaro supposed to do as His Majesty's painter? Zonaro's task as an Imperial painter naturally was to satisfy the Sultan's personal wishes. But he was not always painting portraits. Primarily, he was functional towards the Sultan's interest in promoting his image as the owner of a painting collection and a personal painter and therefore being able to show him as an art lover and a modern personality. In Zonaro's memoirs, it is said that visitors accepting invitations and attending various events in Yıldız Palace were personally taken on a tour by the Sultan: "It seems that the Sultan has done so to prove to Europe that he protects and supports art" (Zonaro, 2008, p. 239). On the other hand, the image compositions by Zonaro were utilized in the Yıldız Porcelain Factory, located in the Palace complex which foreigners visited through official tours and where porcelain souvenirs were prepared for them as well. In some other cases, His Majesty's painter had different duties assigned to him. For instance, it was decided that one of his watercolors would be printed on silk handkerchiefs to be sold in an aid exhibition for the benefit of the families of war veterans and martyrs following Dömeteke War (Öndeş &Makzume, 2010, p. 44). It was Zonaro's duty to decide which paintings should be hung on the walls of Şale Mansion, where German Emperor Kaiser Wilhelm would stay during his visit to Istanbul. Zonaro,

9 Since the *Tanzimat*, European artists had been organising various events in order to gain appreciation of the newly rising *Tanzimat* bureaucracy and the palace environment. This was not only true for painters, but also for musicians. The atmosphere that the great piano virtuoso Liszt descirbed in his letters to his friends after the Istanbul concerts was encouraging for the artists (Turan, 2011, pp. 22-25). Seel also: (Egecioğlu, 2012).

having placed paintings of various painters on the mansion's walls before the Kaiser's visit, learnt that some of the paintings were removed by order of the Sultan the next day because of political concerns as German-Russian relations were not good at that time. Accordingly, the paintings of Russian painters in the Ottoman Palace would not have a positive effect on the Kaiser (Zonaro, 2008, p. 184). Undoubtedly, the Imperial symbolism contained a diplomatic sophistication that spread across all fields.

Being the personal painter of the Sultan did not prevent him from making a financial gain through his own personal works. It can even be said that the painter's personal art and his personal reputation in the national and international spheres was an easier and less expensive occupation than working for the sultan, who was his patron, in terms of the image he was expected to create. Zonaro's house, where he organized exhibitions, became a popular place for local and foreign high-level officials in the city. On the wall of his building there was a plate with the inscription "His Majesty's Painter (*Ressam Hazret-i Şehriyari*)". For example, Mehmed Sadık, one of the writers for the Servet-i Fünun magazine who visited the house, described the exhibition to his readers as a symbol of human intelligence and the value that Western nations attached to art, and of course highlighted the fact that Zonaro was the painter of the Sultan (Öndeş &Makzume, 2010, p. 49; Zonaro, 2008, p. 179). Moreover, the foreign exhibitions in which Zonaro took part and the related news published in the foreign press contributed much to the official image policy of the Empire. For example, in the Spanish La Ilustracion Artistica magazine, an article addressing the painter in 1899 praised not only Zonaro's artistic skills but also his contribution as an imperial painter of the change and evolution of the Turkish people who wanted to be part of the contemporary world by leaving the Sharia traditions (Öndeş &Makzume, 2010, pp. 53-54).

As mentioned earlier, Zonaro's relationship with Yıldız Palace was also linked to the bureaucratic environment he had associated with after his arrival to the city. Zonaro's first connection with the Palace was established thanks to the Director of Ceremonies (*Teşrifat-ı Umumiye Nazırı*) Münir Pasha's advice about making paintings to be presented to the Sultan. He would be awarded the fourth-grade of the Mecidi imperial medal in 1893 for his first works presented to the Palace. Three years later, Zonaro began to work on the painting Ertuğrul Cavalry Regiment. The reason for the creation of this painting was a possible strategy he adopted, consisting in - even if he does not express this in his memoirs – indirectly influencing the Palace in order to gain the patronage of the Sultan through this. Zonaro's choice of such a theme to obtain the Sultan's patronage shows that he was conscious of the patronage tradition and that he was also good at decoding this tradition in terms of the existing codes

of power. When Russian Ambassador Nelidov asked him what he would do after he finished this painting, Zonaro did not give a clear answer, replying only with a smile and saying "who knows" (Zonaro, 2008, p. 119). Understandably, the Palace closely followed the artist who was depicting this important military troop of the Empire (Zonaro, 2008, p.119, 131). After the painting was completed, the work was presented to the Sultan after the advice of Russian ambassador Nelidov and the Director of Ceremonies Münir Pasha. Zonaro was rewarded with a first grade Mecidi imperial order this time. In addition, he was appointed as the Imperial Painter with an imperial decree in 1896. This position remained vacant since the death of Luigi Acquarone, an Italian painter like him.

The establishment of the Ertuğrul Cavalry Regiment, the theme of the picture, had a distinct symbolic importance for Abdülhamid and for the expression of his sovereignty. First of all, the Ertuğrul Regiment was a part of the Friday Salutation ritual, one of the rare occasions during which Abdülhamid was seen outside the Palace. Entirely composed of Turks and founded by Abdülhamid II, this cavalry regiment oversaw the Sultan's personal protection in the public space. Therefore, the regiment depicted had an important symbolic value due to the mission of protecting the sovereignty of the Sultan. The formation of the Ertuğrul regiment originated from Abdülhamid II's attempt to remythologize the foundation of the Empire by creating an Ottoman cult through Ertuğrul Gazi, who was considered the founder of the dynasty. Named after "the father of the founding father", this military unit was equipped with white horses as the ones ridden by Mehmed when conquering İstanbul and the soldiers wore Western uniforms. During the reign of Abdülhamid, and in particular for the creation of the official founding myth for the state, Ertuğrul's tomb in Söğüt was repaired and commemorations were held every year for him. Again, in these ceremonies, the "original Ottoman tribe" Karakeçilis entered Söğüt in their Central Asian nomadic clothes, chanting "we are soldiers of the Ertuğrul Regiment... we are ready to die for Sultan Abdulhamid" (Deringil, 1998, p. 32).

In a reception given for celebrating the anniversary of the enthronement of the Sultan, which held an important place in the symbolic and ceremonial world of Abdülhamid, this painting was gifted to the President of the French Parliament, Paul Deschanel. Il Veneto newspaper announced the event by describing this painting as "a gift from a strong sultan to symbolize respect for a strong nation" (Öndeş &Makzume, 2010, p. 57). Therefore, it can be said that the painting served exactly the intended purpose as it was gifted to an important diplomat and the public was informed about it. After this painting, which was exhibited in the French Parliament building at the time, the Sultan ordered the repainting of the same picture.

The Ertuğrul Cavalry Regiment currently exhibited at the Dolmabahçe Palace is the second painting that Zonaro made in 1901.

In his first painting, Zonaro had placed ordinary people in front of the soldiers parading on the bridge. In the foreground of the picture, there was a bare-footed boy holding a stick in his hand like a rifle and imitating the soldiers, and a group of gypsies. Zonaro tried to construct the composition around its ordinariness. There was a contradiction between the ordinariness in the picture and what a picture should include in order to be accepted by the Palace. In fact, examining the work before its presentation to the Sultan, the Director of Ceremonies Münir Pasha warned Zonaro and asked him whether there was a way to "dress the bare-footed boy beautifully" stating that the sultan did not like poverty at all, and could not think that there were people walking around barefoot. Although the painter did not accept this, he promised to make changes in the painting if the Sultan himself wanted it (Zonaro, 2008, p. 145). Such a detail was considered negative because it could damage the paternal image of the Sultan and all the positive features associated with it, even if it was only symbolic. However, it should be a holistic and glorious image, not the usual one. In his memoirs no mention is made of the changes made to the painting dated 1901 although two remarkable details are apparent. The first is a Western couple watching the cavalry regiment, which is the self-portrait of Zonaro and his wife Elisa. And the other belongs to a Muslim woman, -possibly a mother- her hand pointing towards the regiment as she shows it to her child.

Thus, Ertuğrul Cavalry Regiment's crossing on the bridge was portrayed as if it were during a ceremonial performance. The Friday Salutation was, in fact, a touristic performative event the political and strategic importance of which was already well-known to Abdülhamid and was popular among the Western tourists and foreigners in the city. Therefore, in the new version of the painting, it was meaningful to focus on a Western couple following a ceremony that reflected military glory, just as the Sultan would wish. The new figure of the child that replaced the barefoot children represents the future generation, which is expected to have political values such as loyalty to the state, obedience to power. And the mother figure in the painting represents the women who are expected to transfer these values to the family - that is, to actuate ideological reproduction (Yuval-Davis, 2016). Another symbolic detail that catches the eye in the painting is the child wearing the navy outfit. Although it became common for children to wear uniforms since the Tanzimat period, it is known that the "navy fashion" started to spread among children after Celaleddin Efendi, Sultan Abdülhamid II's son, had dressed in this style (Okay, 1998, p. 81). In the light of all these, this work by Zonaro speaks the symbolic language of the Sultan. The symbolic meaning of the painting is not limited to

this, and the perspective in which Zonaro placed the cavalry regiment is also important in this context. The Galata Bridge was a place that Zonaro generally liked to use in his paintings. In this painting, the painter used a perspective by which he could locate the New Mosque and the Beyazıd Tower, a little further away on the right. It is possible to say that the cavalry regiment is moving from the old city in the fog and a glorious past represented by monuments, to the future, to the new city, Pera. It appears as a military unit from the "old city", which had been the location of the "old power" - perhaps, in a sense, the historical heritage of an Eastern empire – moving to Yıldız Palace, which was located next to the spatial and cultural area of the West.

Zonaro's other painting the Attack (*Hücum*), in which he depicted the Ottoman-Greek War of Dömeke in 1897, is as remarkable as the Ertuğrul Cavalry in terms of the political symbolism it bears. Apart from being the first victory that the Empire won after a long time, the war provided the Sultan with an important political advantage by which he could reuse the Islamic title of Gazi and alleviate the trauma of the war of 1877-1878 (Georgeon, 2006, p. 387). The painting was ordered directly by the Sultan himself when the first news of victory arrived from the front. The Sultan attributed so much importance to this painting that he had allocated a separate mansion in Yıldız Grove for Zonaro to work on it. In the work is depicted the moment of the attack by an Ottoman troop in the bayonet thrust position, directed by cavalries. Dead Greek soldiers in their evzons lie in front of the attacking Ottoman troop.

Today, Zonaro's Attack is not the only work related to the Battle of Dömeke on display at the envoy reception room in Dolmabahçe Palace. Exhibited along with Zonaro's work, the "story" of the German painter Theodor Rocholl's Battle of Domakos painting, dated 1898, is also important for this study. Despite the fact that some time had passed since the victory of the Dömeke war and Zonaro's painting had already been realised, Theodor Rocholl, known for his illustrations for German newspapers, was invited and asked to produce paintings of the victory. This invitation also coincided with Kaiser Willheim's second visit to İstanbul, and the paintings to be made by Rocholl were to be exhibited on the occasion of the reception for the Kaiser's honor (Christensen, 2017, pp. 37-38). The victory of Dömeke was an important symbol of Ottoman-German relations, as it was the result of the Ottoman army being trained and modernized by German officers. A scene in which Ottoman soldiers successfully repulsed the attack of the Greek army is depicted in the painting. However, the Palace had refused to purchase some of the paintings it had commissioned to the artist with this war as the subject on the grounds that they were expensive. After some of his paintings were rejected, the painter's name was not included among the invited guests at the reception in honor of Kaiser.

Christensen reveals that the reason why the paintings were not bought was not only financial, and that in fact the pictures were rejected due to the image criteria that the Sultan would have liked to be followed. One of the paintings that were not purchased was Prayer of the Turks at the Grave of the Perished at Domokos[10] The painting depicts a funereal prayer performed by the soldiers en masse for those who lost their lives in the war. Even though the war had been won, any reference to or detail about defeat was not in accordance with the symbolic language of the Sultan. Christensen explains this as follows:

> "In placing the Ottoman soldier, and hence the Ottoman state, within a life-death continuum, and hence in time, Rocholl unknowingly tapped into one of Abdülhamid's deepest insecurities. Painting, like rhetoric, had to affirm the vitality and longevity of the state" (Christensen, 2017, p. 38).

Thanks to The Attack painting, Zonaro was rewarded with an Ottoman order and was granted an apartment in Akaretler, a central neighborhood in İstanbul. Considering that the painting was published in Servet-i Fünun and aroused great interest (Zonaro, 2008, p. 182), it can be said that the symbolic message that Zonaro's work wished to convey successfully reached the public. In 1903, Zonaro painted the passing of the Imperial Pilgrimage Caravan (S*urre Alayı*) from the Yıldız Palace to the Holy Land, as a gift to Abdulhamid. In return for this gift, he ensured that his son would be accepted to the Imperial school with a scholarship.

The legitimacy struggle through the glorification of the past in the quest for a golden age helps us to understand the visual references made to the conquest of Istanbul during the final years of the Empire. Abdülhamid asked Zonaro to remake Bellini's portrait of Mehmed II the Conqueror. Thus, the Imperial tone found in the original portrait was recreated by an Italian painter and the bond between the past and present was represented and reestablished. By referring to Mehmed II, who had conquered Istanbul and transformed the state into an empire, Abdülhamid was trying to establish himself as "the continuation of the imperial heritage". Two more paintings about the conquest of Istanbul by Zonaro should be mentioned. Despite being a reproduction of the original portrait, it was important to own that symbol at home rather than abroad. When Sultan Abdülhamid requested paintings with historical themes, Zonaro completed two works. One portrayed Mehmed II walking from Edirne to Istanbul with his army and the other depicted his entrance to Istanbul from Topkapı after the conquest.

10 The original name of the painting is "*Gebet der Türken am Grabe der Gefallenen von Domokos*" and today it is exhibited in the Hofgeismar city museum in Germany.

When Absolute Power Became Limited: The End of Zonaro's Ottoman Career

While Zonaro depicted the political climate after the promulgation of liberty in July 1908, he expressed the following thoughts on the political culture that formed the background of Turkish modernization:

> "There is only room for one party in Turkey; there is no opposition: Those who oppose are either in prison, under pressure or in exile. For this reason, when there is a change, precautions are taken radically, all that belongs to the past is spoiled and destroyed. Censorship is gone. Scary caricatures of former ministers, printed pictures of the revolutionary heroes Niyazi and Enver Bey are seen everywhere in the Capital " (Zonaro, 2008, p. 182).

The works and symbols that a Sultan's artist produced through his relationship with political power would inevitably change as the regime evolved from absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy. It was now necessary to convey the new political regime to the masses through new symbols and to "invent" new traditions. Perhaps one of the breaking points in the constitutional order was when Zonaro had the opportunity to portray Sultan Abdülhamid thanks to the new regime. After seeing that some "strange" paintings titled "The First Sultan of Constitutionalism" in both Turkish and French were being sold on the Galata Bridge, the painter directly asked the Sultan for permission to make his portrait: "Your people want your portrait, and I hope to be able to do something worthy of His Majesty and His glorious state… " (Zonaro, 2008, p. 297). [11] The approval of the Sultan, who had established all his power through the strategy of not being publicly visible, was a breaking point and it had a symbolic meaning. Politically, the sovereign state was no longer an institution that would be imposed on its own. Contrary to the sovereign in Mahmut II's portrait, the depiction of the Sultan now meant making the portrait of a "ruler" of the people, upon which sovereignty was based. Behind making this change visible was a desire to reflect the change itself. Although the fate of the original portraits is uncertain, the portrait photos captured by Elisa's lens leave the impression that Zonaro's Abdülhamid portrait was far from magnificence compared to previous Sultan portraits.

11 According to Erol Makzume, Zonaro had completed three paintings when Sultan Abdulhamid was deposed. One of them, handed over to the Palace, is missing and was probably demolished during the dethronement of the Sultan or lost during the Reign of Sultan Resat. The other two paintings were taken by Zonaro with him when he left the country (Makzume, 2005). "Tablolar Zonaro'nun değil, Kürkciyan'ın" ["The Paintings are not Zonaro's, but Kürkciyan's", *Hürriyet,* 15.02.2005. https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/tablolar-zonaro-nun-degil-kurkciyan-in-38696661 [Accessed: 2.05.2020]

The production of new symbols of the new regime is seen in the *Hürriyet* (Liberty) portrait, which Zonaro aimed to present in the newly built parliament building at the opening festivities of the Assembly (Zonaro, 2008, p. 302). It is obvious that Zonaro was inspired by Delacroix's "Liberty Leading the People" (Belge, 2017, p. 124), which used to be the symbol of the French Revolution and later turned into the symbol of the "homeland". As in Delacroix's painting, Zonaro illustrated the concept of freedom entirely in white and as higher, above the men who follow it, guiding them. The woman symbolizing freedom, who holds a branch or a bouquet in her hand, has her hair slightly uncovered and stands over an edge overlooking the Bosphorus and the city - just like the location of the Yıldız Palace. Behind the woman, men, distinguishable from other layers of society by their hats and carrying the green banner of Islam and the Turkish flag, represent the people. The men's hands are stretched forward, as if to overcome an obstacle, like in the barricade in Delacroix's work. The political message that Zonaro wanted to give with the image of the woman, for whom men who have been freed from danger and regained their freedom fought, is clear: the enthusiasm of people who are freed from autocracy and feel ecstatic. However, an interesting aspect here is that the work was presented along with the artist's aforementioned portrait of Abdulhamid in a Zonaro exhibition organized for the benefit of the Hamidiye School. After the declaration of the Constitution, representatives, members of the Committee of Union and Progress as well as the Palace staff participated in this first art event in the Capital. Therefore, the exhibition also included a publicity that enables us to trace the chaos of the period of transition into the new regime. Thalasso, who writes in L'Art et Les Artistes, regards the exhibition as the new Turkey's performing two miracles. On the one hand, the Sultan's artist can freely paint liberty, and on the other hand, a prince from the empire can freely participate in the unveiling of the work. Described as an "event with traces of liberalism" by Thalosso, the hopeful atmosphere in this exhibition would soon be replaced by a power conflict among the actors represented in the exhibition that would shape the destiny of both the country and Zonaro himself (Zonaro, 2008, pp. 302-305).

The Constantinople issue of the Figaro Illustré Magazine conveyed the political change in the Empire to the Western public by illustrating Zonaro's "New Turkey" painting (dry pastel over paper) on its cover. In this work, Zonaro portrayed the new political state of the country through the image of a woman, as he had done in the Liberty Painting. This time, however, the emphasis on freedom in the work was conveyed through the smiling facial expression of a woman who seemed to lift the veil from her face. Instead of enthusiasm, as in the Liberty Painting, a sense of skeptical relaxation prevails in the artwork. The gaze of the woman is

towards the ground and she seems to stare at an uncertain future. This uncertainty applies not only to domestic political relations, but also to the artist himself, whose fate depended on these relations. When the power of an absolute sovereign, who claims to be the state himself, comes to an end, what will the fate of an artist bound to his patronage be? Moreover, this was not a simple change of political power, it was the establishment of a new form of government that recognized that the people were the source of power, or at least some of it. This was recognized by the declaration of the Constitution and the opening of the Assembly, because of which it was now impossible for the state to grasp the power as the property of the sultan.

In this context, Zonaro's first attitude towards the regime change was relatively more positive. Immediately after the declaration of the constitution, while "respected physicians, foreign teachers and architects were being shown the door", he was regarded as "non-disposable and maintaining his own position" for both the sultan and the constitution (Zonaro, 2008, p. 293). However, he was also aware of the state of uncertainty that his "New Turkey" Painting reflects. "But there was also the Committee of Union and Progress. And it was necessary to be close to the Young Turks" (Zonaro, 2008, p. 299). Although Zonaro was acquainted with the Unionists before the declaration of the Constitutional Monarchy, it was after the 31 March incident, during which the Sultan was deposed from the throne, that he had the chance to build a direct relationship with the leading members of the committee for his own career.

The sultan's or patron's absence from power brought up alternatives for the artist, whose career depended on this relationship to guarantee his own future. The very next morning after the night when the Movement Army captured Istanbul, during the 31 March Incident, Enver Pasha went to the "Hero of Resne" with his father and promised to pose for "a portrait that would remain as a souvenir to his country." We have already learnt from his memoirs that Enver Pasha had known Zonaro for some time and knew the subjects of his paintings by heart. The artist was close enough to the family to hide Enver Pasha's father in his own home during the 31 March events. In the making of the portrait of the Hero of Liberty, in which he was depicted in uniform with the armed Albanian soldiers behind him, such a sincere relationship was established that Zonaro even hinted that Enver Pasha would be arrested and sent to Salonika on the night of 31 April (Zonaro, pp. 317-320). Of course, we do not have the chance to confirm the accuracy of this event through memoirs, but this narrative shows us how the artist had to act in response to the loss of his patron in the context of new power relations. The fact that Zonaro demanded to make a portrait of the Army Commander of the Movement Army immediately after the 31 March and completed it in his own room in the Ministry of War supports the argument that the artist was clearly aware of the power relations.

Although Zonaro expected that the Union and Progress would not be indifferent to his works of art and that his works of art would be conveyed to a suitable institution connected to this environment (Zonaro, 2008, p. 324), his strategy to maintain his position after Abdülhamid was not successful. Regarding the fate of the Sultan's artist, although Enver Bey indicated that valuable people such as Zonaro were needed to "carry out the development program of Turkey, particularly young Turkey" (Zonaro, 2008, p. 324) and a new position could be created for him, this was not accomplished due to Enver Bey's being deployed to Berlin. Again, when he proposed his professional services to Mahmud Şevket Pasha, he could not get any guarantee (Zonaro, 2008, p. 325). For Zonaro, it was understood that there was only one way to find a protector and continue his professional life through political power: to work under the patronage of the new sultan Mehmed Reşad and to be appointed as his artist. For this purpose, he presented his work named Mehmed II Directing the Ships to War and framed it in flamboyant Eastern Style in anticipation of being re-appointed as the Palace artist. The picture depicts Sultan Mehmed's hauling the navy from the slopes of Kasımpasa to the Golden Horn during the conquest of Istanbul. It is seen that the Sultan, who is on the Imperial iconic white horse, is standing on the shore, conveying his instructions to his entourage, or pointing to something. Galleons hauled with animal carts on the hills are depicted and, in the distance, the domes of Hagia Sophia, the symbol of the Byzantine Empire, are vaguely visible. However, things did not develop as Zonaro had hoped. The Palace paid merely 40 Liras for the painting (Zonaro, 2008, p. 326). [12] The painting, which exalted the past and depicted the combination of imperial power and technical intelligence and which would have likely gratified the artist under the reign of Abdülhamid, was now a commodity that was purchased exclusively for the palace and did not generate excitement. The artist's attempt to gain the protection of the Emperor, similar to the strategy he used when depicting the Ertuğrul Regiment, was no longer useful in the new political climate. It is understood that Zonaro's themes, which used to be important for the symbolic power of the old regime, were far from being meaningful for the new political actors of the new regime. For example, the "10 Muharram Month" painting ordered by Abdülhamid to be given as a gift to Razik Han, the Shiite sect leader, can be discussed within this framework. After Abdülhamid was dethroned, while Zonaro wanted to sell this painting by means of Enver Pasha to the "new owner of the state", i.e. the Committee of Union and Progress, he could not do it. Similarly, years after this event, when the regime changed once again, the Italian artist would write a letter to Mustafa Kemal in November 1927, requesting an evaluation of the works of art in his possession:

12 As Makzume has revealed, the names in Zonaro's wife Elisa's notebook show that the artist strove to find a new patron, from palace employees to the governor of Istanbul and to the sons' of Sultan Reşad.

> "My name is worthless, but I hope it won't be unknown for Your Excellency. In many countries, I have painted pictures of the traditions and beauty of Istanbul and the Bosphorus, of the glorious history of Fatih Sultan Mehmed, the Turkish-Greek war, religions, the army, in short of everything that honors your homeland. "Illustrated Figaro" and "Dersaadet" (magazines) dated February 1907 and all the important newspapers in the world enriched the honor and glory of your country through my hard work and art. But political events have finally forced me to leave the position of "National Ottoman painter", which I had gained with love, propriety and righteousness. (…) now that I've reached an advanced age, I don't expect to be invited to a mission in Ankara. Many works about the contemporary history of your country and of its nature, and among them the only current picture of Abdülhamid, the lead actor of the era, are here under my possession. Because His Majesty had only deigned to pose before me during the short Constitutional period. (…) I also have paintings of the oversized "Fire Brigades on the Bridge" and " 10th Muharram", and people's customs and religious traditions were depicted in these. I hope that by taking into account my request and plead, you will give the necessary orders for some of my works to return to their natural places at the Museum of Istanbul" (Bardakçı, 2018).

Sending this letter, which he signed as "your subject", to a president shows that Zonaro perceived the events only as a simple change of power, but could not grasp the great mental transformation behind this change and its actual meaning in the concrete political sphere. He probably thought that he should be considered as an artist who transferred the history of a continuous state and nation onto the symbolic plane, creating a memory for the country and introducing the country to the international arena. The fact that he mentioned the seemingly prestigious term "National Ottoman artist", an oxymoron during that period, to the Republic of Turkey, established upon the rejection of the Imperial heritage, also confirms this. Regarding his recollection of the Sultan and the looting of Yıldız Palace, Zonaro thought that the Committee of Union and Progress had perhaps pillaged Yıldız Palace to make a new one and had done this as the result of suffering a frightening attack. Meanwhile, he asked: "How could one plunder his own house? " (Zonaro, 2008, p. 299)

From the perspective of the actors of the new regime, neither Yıldız Palace nor the accumulation of cultural artifacts was seen as an appropriation on the part of the homeland and state. They probably did not regard what they ransacked as their home, but instead saw it as the fortified site of a despot in their original home. Therefore, Yıldız Palace was a personal place belonging to the Sultan and the elements of that place belonged to the Sultan, not the state. The discussion of the accuracy of such an argument goes beyond the scope of this study. However, Zonaro's attempts to find a new protector after the 31 March Incident proved fruitless.

Thus, Zonaro now faced the bureaucratic mechanism of a state that was not formulated as "Sultan as the state itself" and the relations that were expected to be established were proceeding in a formal-written manner rather than the traditional one. As Ürekli states, there was no long-term contract with any artist invited from abroad during the Hamidian period and, similarly, Zonaro's position in the Palace was not a contract, but an Imperial decree that did not determine anything (Ürekli, 2017, p. 35). [13] In short, Zonaro was closer to being a "servant" to the Sultan in the classical patrimonial state rather than a contemporary civil servant. It would certainly be an option to appoint Zonaro as a civil servant to the state agency, through which he could enjoy more independence compared to the absolute sovereignty of the Sultan. Indeed, "L. F. Mizzi", who wrote in the Osmanischer Loyd, asked if a positive outcome could be drawn from the numerous situations that allowed the famous artist to come and settle in the country. He also added the following: "Isn't the eighteen years which he spent serving Turkey rather than Sultan Abdulhamid sufficient for us to show him some gratitude and a little respect? (…) He served Turkey and not the Sultan. While he also served Abdulhamid, this does not overshadow the splendor and patriotism of his works " (Zonaro, 2008, p. 334)

Zonaro also tried to take part in an alternative official post before being officially notified that he had been dismissed. In his petition to the government in May 1909, he demanded to be "employed in a job appropriate to his ability and dexterity". He asked to retain his salary and take part in certain areas in exchange for living rent-free in the house bestowed by the Sultan. This included making paintings to be ordered by the Sultan or government officials, paintings on the subject of freedom and legitimacy, making portraits of freedom martyrs, officers and high-level civil bureaucracy. The demands in his petition also included establishing an art museum with the works of renowned artists at Yıldız Palace, having students who would graduate from the Fine Arts School to do an internship with him, and to be appointed as an inspector of art education in Ottoman schools (Ürekli, 2017, pp. 226-228). Zonaro's petition was forwarded to the Ministry of Education, which conveyed the matter to Osman Hamdi Bey, the director of the Fine Arts School, citing that the demands were not in its competence. Osman Hamdi Bey's response – another important artist of the Abdulhamid era, - showed that the Sultan's artist was actually labeled as the Sultan's man rather than an artist.

13 The *irade-i seniye* (imperial decree) is the phrase used for the Sultan's order for doing or not doing an act (Pakalın, 1993, p. 79).

> "I examined the petition for compassion and the help request presented by the artist Monsieur Zonaro. Although it is known that the Sultan used to support his people for the development and advancement of fine arts, I had not heard that he had his own artist. (…) Since I have not seen any of the historical and military paintings that artist Zonaro dedicated to this country, it would not be possible to express my opinion on this matter" (Ürekli, 2017, p. 229).

This response by Osman Hamdi, who then had a personal friendship with Zonaro, gives clues as to why the artist could not find his place in the new regime. Osman Hamdi also used to receive painting commissions by the Palace and was even mentioned as an artist in 1880 (Eldem, 2019, pp. 66-67). Osman Hamdi, who was the director of Fine Arts and the Imperial Museum when the Constitutional Monarchy was declared, maintained this duty in the new regime. The response given on this occasion is meaningful in terms of showing how the appointment of the two artists at the Palace affected their future career. What distinguishes Zonaro from the other artists who had paintings commissioned by the Palace is that he was appointed as His Majesty's painter rather than the painter of the Palace. As a matter of fact, Osman Hamdi deemed it normal for the artist to receive awards or be encouraged by the Sultan but found it unacceptable for this to turn into a personal service relationship. As Edhem Eldem pointed out, Osman Hamdi was "in a position in which he was cooperative enough to secure his place in the museum, but too independent to be a Pasha in an environment where everyone was trying to make it up to the Palace" (Eldem, 2019, p. 69). This answer also ignores Zonaro's contributions to symbolic power. It can be argued that Osman Hamdi held off his old friend with the thought that it might affect his own personal career, but the main issue here is that Zonaro was considered by the new regime not only as an artist who did business with the Palace or was blessed by its power, but as a political figure identified with its power. Mery Roberts states that Zonaro produced his own self-portrait like many contemporary painters, but he did so attempting to identify himself with the Ottoman Palace and society (Roberts, 2015, p. 38). Zonaro appeared both in the painting of the Ertuğrul Regiment and in the portrait of the Rifai Dervishes, and in a self-portrait he wore his fez and the insignia that the Sultan had given him. Again, in a Friday Salute photo taken by his wife Elisa, he was among the leading walkers in the row just behind the sultan's car. This shows us that he was among the "attendants". The house where he lived for free and used as an exhibition space and his son's scholarship to the Imperial School were all granted to him by the Sultan. Not only Zonaro but also his wife, Elisa, had the Sultan's Compassion Order. Hence, in the eyes of the decision-makers of the new regime, Zonaro was not only an artist who contributed to the symbolic power of an absolute Sultan, but also a part of that symbolic power.

In November 1909, six months after Abdülhamid was dethroned, Zonaro was summoned to the palace and informed of his termination. Moreover, he was informed by the Ministry of Finance that he would be able to continue to live in the house bestowed to him by Abdülhamid if he paid six-month rent in return. Understanding that he no longer had a chance to stay in İstanbul, Zonaro decided to return to Italy, and demanded the compensation given to those appointed like him but later dismissed by the CUP. While he was allowed to stay rent-free at the house until he left Istanbul, his request for compensation remained unanswered. Although Zonaro wanted to intervene in the situation through the Embassy, the Embassy did not have any reputation in the eyes of the new regime because it had helped Selim Melhame Pasha, one of the ministers of the Abdülhamid era, escape the country (Roberts, 2015, p. 330). Moreover, the war in Tripoli was at hand, and relations with Italy remained tense. He left Turkey in March 1910.

Conclusion

When Zonaro was appointed as His Majesty's painter, he described his feelings in his memoirs as follows: "So, as an artist, my protector would be the Ottoman Sultan…What difference does it make if there is no President or His Majesty King Umberto to do this" (Zonaro, 2008). However, with the promulgation of the Constitution on 23 July, it became clear to Zonaro that the idea that everything would be the same as long as there was a patron was not so simple. The current conditions were decisive in terms of the artist's career. As a result, Zonaro's rise in the Empire was under the auspices of a sultan who tried to organize the formation of the modern state and its influence upon people within the framework of a traditional understanding of power relations and legitimacy. Zonaro bound his entire professional career and expectation to a patronage relationship that no longer fit into the era. Therefore, the fate of the patron would inevitably be the fate of those under his patronage. Zonaro, on the other hand, was a foreigner. When he came to Istanbul, he was an unrecognized painter in his own country. He was later appreciated in his homeland, but this would develop in parallel with his successful service as the Sultan's painter. But the same period was also a time when the state sovereignty began to be questioned by a generation of graduates of the sultan's schools. To which extent this opposing generation could/should integrate the inheritance of the past and the relations that provided this legacy into the new regime should be discussed. For now, however, let us point out that Zonaro's works and his career story show that the political background is as decisive as the artist's personality and skills in terms of how and by whom the concepts of state, homeland, nation, and sovereignty are defined.

And yet, perhaps as a more striking result, the importance of rights and gains defined on a legal-rational basis should be emphasized in this context, not as based on personal grace and will, but as formal legal relations independent of individuals.

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CHAPTER 3

INVENTING SCIENTIFIC FOUNDATIONS FOR OTTOMAN MUSIC: ON THE WAY TO 'CIVILIZED NATIONS' WITH THE HELP OF 'POSITIVIST FAITH'

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ABSTRACT

The 19th century is conspicuous for the Europeanization movements that were introduced to the Ottoman world. The domain of music theory exerted a predominant and specific influence on Ottoman music in the 1800s. A series of events related to an individual named Rauf Yekta occurred in the second half of the century. These occurrences evince the course that established the content and framework of present-day Turkish music theory. The world views and attitudes of 19th century Ottomans educated according to the European style primarily exhibited an understanding of modernization based on concepts such as science, progress, evolution, positivism, and measurement. Auguste Comte promised that the transition from the theological stage, which indicated a state of backwardness, to the positive stage could only be achieved through science. Believing in this promise, Yekta adhered to the tenets of Comtean positivism, which appeared dominantly positioned in his scientific orientation and allowed him to conduct his music theory studies completely within this framework. This chapter focuses on the individuals engaged in theoretical investigations initiated with the claim of discovering the scientific foundations of Ottoman music. It further evaluates the roles discharged by these researchers. This prosopographical study aims to construct a unique history of events and to highlight the significant difficulties and deficiencies in contemporary circumstances. Historian Yılmaz Öztuna, one of Arel's best-known students, wrote a stereotypical and fictional narrative claiming that three Mevlevi sheikhs and three followers accomplished studies in music theory. However, Öztuna confused the names of Ataullah Dede and Hüseyin Dede when he was a student in Paris; this major inaccuracy caused the publishing and dissemination of erroneous information. Apparently, Öztuna preferred to silently witness the proliferation of his invented misinformation throughout his long career as a writer rather than rectify the simple mistake. It was subsequently revealed that a process that began with Yekta's efforts to introduce scientific theory to Ottoman music transmogrified, especially by Arel, into content that completely imitated European harmonic tonality. The study disclosed that individuals desirous of modernizing Ottoman music theory were intimately linked with diverse political and social groups,

including bureaucrats, sheikhs of religious orders, foreign schools, political parties, missionaries, foreign embassy officials, literary circles, freemasons, and especially the press. The chronological exposition of the findings of the study elucidates the significant functions performed successively by Rauf Yekta, Ataullah Dede, Celaleddin Dede, Suphi Ezgi, and Sadettin Arel to shape music theory studies in Turkey. Further, Salih Zeki Bey, Mihail Mishaqa, S. Murat Uzdilek, and Yılmaz Öztuna were indirectly involved in the process, discharging diverse roles over varied time periods.

Keywords: Ottoman/Turkish music theory, westernism, modernization, comtean positivism, science, evolution, progress

> *I have no doubt that those who cast their first astonishment over them would see positive religion as an unexpected solution to their fundamental concerns. Moving directly from Islam to positivism without any metaphysical transition, they will feel directly as an honorable follower of their great prophets, who methodize the love of humanity and universal happiness. Thus, they will refuse to regret the inevitable dissolution, accepting the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire as an ordinary practice of social law restricting the living space of temporal administrations, turning to rejecting unnecessary political unity.*
>
> ***A. Comte, 1853***[1]

> *I say with deep regret that Turkish music, which has a wide scientific field, a wide range of makams and meters, is dead.*
>
> ***Dr. Suphi Ezgi, 1933***

Today, those who want to learn the theory of Turkish music come across a Westernist theory whose intellectual foundations are based on such concepts as 'civilization', 'progress', 'evolution', 'scientific positivism', and 'certainty' at the end of the 19th century.[2] There is a widespread and stereotypical narrative about the development of this new theory. According to this narrative, three Mevlevi dervishes 'in favor of modernization', Ataullah, Celaleddin, and Fahreddin pioneered these new studies in the field of music theory. They believed that the scientific foundations of Oriental music must be re-learned from pre-Ottoman sources, such as Safiyüddin Urmevi and Abdülkadir Meragi, and that a new theory should be constructed in

1 From the letter which was written to the Grand Vizier M. Reshid Pasha by Comte. See Demir (2004).

2 There are various qualifications for this theory, such as 'Arel's theory' (Akdoğu, 1993), 'Arel's system' (Signell, 1977; Tura, 1988), 'Arel's school' (Behar, 1987), 'Arel-Ezgi's system' (Özkan, 1987), 'Arel-Ezgi-Uzdilek's system' (Can, 2002), 'modern Turkish music theory' (Zeren, 1999). For some studies dealing with the various effects of the specified concepts and processes on Turkish modernization, see (Aksoy, 1985), (Can, 2019), (Çam, 2013), (Doğan, 2013), (Ederer, 2010), (Göçek, 1996), (Güler, 2019), (Hanioğlu, 1997), (Korlaelçi, 2014), (Lewis, 1961), (Mardin, 2000), (O'Connell, 2013), (Shaw, 1977), (Uyanık, 2011).

accordance with the 'spirit of the times'. By transferring these beliefs to their young followers, Rauf Yekta, Suphi Ezgi and Sadeddin Arel, they encouraged them to study in this direction.

Since this narrative is repeated without being questioned in many publications by Turkish and foreign researchers, it must be investigated and addressed through primary sources that testify to its chronological course. This research aims to clarify the process of constructing a new theory in light of historical documents and information, and to reveal some important aspects of the current clichéd narrative that remains in the background. Here, (i.) information on the six names involved or claimed to have played an active role in the process has been compiled and evaluated, and, (ii.) the main orientations and environments that have had an impact on the understanding of the new science presented by these people are emphasized.

Leading Names in the Initiative to Construct a 'Scientific' Music Theory in Ottoman Istanbul

Rauf Yekta (1871-1935): 'the protagonist'

The first efforts to construct a European-style scientific and modern theory for Oriental/Ottoman music dates back to the last quarter of the 19th century. All the documents and information, including various statements by Yekta, clearly show that he was the person who initiated this process.[3] In 1899, Yekta, in an article addressed to the respected journalist Ahmet Mithat Efendi[4], explained his personal attempts to reveal 'the scientific foundations of Ottoman music' and expressed clearly that those efforts in the field should be appreciated. Rauf Yekta claimed to be 'the first to speak of the theory of Ottoman music', which no one had ever known before.[5]

The 'scientific positivism' tendency of Yekta in 'discovering the theoretical foundations of Ottoman music' certainly has aspects that need to be explained. First of all, Yekta, with some scorn and prejudice, thought that the contents of the works written under the title of

3 See (Akdoğu, 1993), ([Arel], 1909), (Batanay, 1950), (Baykara, 1950), (Erev, 1950a), (Erev, 1950c), (Erguner, 2003), (Ezgi, 1933, 1950a, 1950b), (Nettl & Bohlman, 1991), (Özalp, 2000), (Özkan, 2010), (Öztuna, 1969, 1986).

4 Ahmet Mithat Efendi (1844-1912): A leading journalist, writer and publisher of the *Tanzimat* period. Especially with his articles in the newspaper *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* [The Dragoman of Truth], he became one of the important spokesmen of Ottoman modernization. In 1899, he actively participated in a series of discussions with Rauf Yekta on the past and present condition of the subject of music theory in the Ottoman world.

5 Yekta expressed his pioneering role in an article from 1899: "if it is accepted that the discovery of our music theory is somehow a success that has not been achieved so far, and it is also appreciated that it is more or less an honor for its owner -because it is the product of a serious work of ten years-, this honor which is my clear right […]" (Çergel, 2007, p. 429).

edvâr [the cycles] in the Ottoman world were 'full of superstitions'. According to him, in the Ottoman world the theoretical dimension of music had not been given the importance it deserved. Therefore, the theory developed by theorists such as Safiyüddin and Meragi had been completely forgotten in time. Finally, Yekta believed that music maintained only by the traditional method defined as '*düm-tek*'[6] syllables 'puts it in serious danger of becoming extinct'.

In accordance with his European education, which had a decisive role in his personal training, Yekta, before anything else, understood 'science' as a quantifiable and measurable concept based on physics and mathematics. In this context, it is understood that the foundations of Yekta's concern for science were based entirely on a 'positivist' perspective. The reflections of the Pythagorean music theory tradition[7] in the works of Safiyüddin[8] and Meragi[9] appeared to provide an important basis for his numerical-oriented modern scientific approach. Therefore, with his own positivist understanding, Yekta accepted the theoretical approach and content in the works of Safiyüddin and Meragi, which were written in the 13th and 14th centuries (pre-Ottoman period) as 'basic and principal'. For the same reason, he claimed that this scientific approach had not been known by anyone in the Ottoman world. Together to this, scientific positivist thinking seemed to have had great importance for Yekta.

Rauf Yekta, who pioneered the development of studies in the field of music theory with his own efforts, reports that his first guide and master was Mehmed Ataullah Dede (d. 1910), the sheikh of the Galata Mevlevihane. The year was 1889[10]; it had been five years since Yekta had graduated from the School of Languages [*Lisan Mektebi*][11], where he studied French when he was eighteen years old. In 1885, he started to learn classical pieces from reputed composer

6 *Düm-tek*: Theoretical oral notation syllables representing the strong (*düm*) and weak (*tek*) strokes of the Oriental rhythmic cycles (*usul*s).

7 For some basic publications on this subject, which has a wide literature, see (Barker, 2000, 2004, 2007), (Burkert, 1972), (Crocker, 1963), (Godwin, 1993), (Guthrie, 1987), (Mathiesen, 1999), (Wuidar, 2010), (Zhmud, 2012).

8 About Safiyüddin's writings on music theory, see (Shiloah, 1979), (Wright, 1978, 2019c).

9 For Meragi's life and his works on music theory, see (Agayeva, 2015), (Fallahzadeh, 2005), (İhsanoğlu & Şeşen, 2003), (Wright, 1994, 2019b).

10 Bardakçı (1986, p. 9) gives this date as 1895.

11 The School of Language is a school that the Ottoman Empire officially opened and closed three times in order to train cadres who knew foreign languages, which were needed in the fields of foreign affairs and diplomacy. The adventure of the school, which started in 1866, ends in 1892 (Balcı, 2008). Yekta, whose biography sources seem to be uncertain about the date he graduated from this school, is very likely among its last graduates. The fact that in 1894 he was invited to Aleppo because of his French, confirms the specified date for his graduation (Yekta, 1986, p. 9).

Zekai Dede[12] and during those years he became interested in the theoretical aspects of music. The need for a master to lead him in this field opened the way to meet Ataullah Dede.

> While I was working with the late, famous composer Zekâî Dede, I was also looking for a teacher who would explain the rules set by Turkish theoreticians like Farabi and his followers. I finally found what I was looking for with the late Ataullah Efendi, the sheikh of the Mevlevi lodge in Beyoğlu. […] He was a person of very high rank in science; he knew French and Italian, and he was an extraordinary player of the *kanun* [psaltery] and *ud* [lute]. He had studied the works of old Turkish, Arab and Iranian theoreticians; but […] he had not deepened his theoretical observations. Upon my request, he agreed to give me private theory lessons once a week. […] After a year, I was as strong as my teacher in music theory. […] Then, he invited me to publish the results of our research. (1986, p. 54)

Another statement by Yekta, pointing to Ataullah Dede's pioneering role in the field, is in the form of a dedication found in Abd al-Rahman Jami's manuscript, which he translated himself. "This translation is a gift from his apprentice, to the soul of the late Ataullah Efendi, the mature tempered Master, Sheikh of the Kale Kapusu [Galata] Mevlevihane, as grateful remembrance of the first music theory lessons I took from him".[13]

From 1897 onwards, Yekta's studies in music theory and history, in addition to his articles in various newspapers of the period, clearly showed the extent of his intensive efforts. Yekta was fully committed to these issues and developed the idea of discovering and revealing the scientific foundations of Ottoman music. He overcame several challenges as he learnt about musical issues with enthusiastic desire and determination. He brought French books from Europe and read them carefully, took detailed notes, made some comparisons, and strove to support scientific thought. It is possible to find traces of the wide scope of his interests in M. Mishaqa's study[14] that discusses the 25 equal-tone system of Arab music. It appears that Mishaqa's study contributed to Yekta's scientific efforts in measuring and naming the frets or sounds of the *tanbur*.

In light of these clear statements, we need to examine the guiding role Ataullah Dede played at the beginning of the process. It is clear that Ataullah Dede's 'positivist' tendency

12 Mehmed Zekai Dede (1824-1897): Turkish music composer, performer and music master. He was attached to Osman Selahaddin Dede, the sheikh of Yenikapı Mevlihane, in 1864. Between 1845 and 1858, he went to Cairo, becoming a subject of the Egyptian Mustafa Fazıl Pasha. He gave music lessons in *Darüşşafaka*, which provided Western-style education. His son Hafız Ahmet Irsoy, Sheikh Hüseyin Fahreddin Dede, Rauf Yekta, Suphi Ezgi and Ahmed Avni Konuk were among his students.

13 For whole text, see (Verdemir, 1998, p. 82). For some basic information on Euclid and the monochord in relation to the subject, see also (Adkins, 1963), (Barker, 2004), (Creese, 2010), (Mathiesen & Euclid, 1975), (Shehadi, 1995).

14 For detailed information and some evaluations about Mihail Mishaqa and his studies, see (Bardakçı, 1986, 2001), (Maalouf, 2003), (Marcus, 2019), (Öztürk, 2020), (Tura, 2017), (Wright, 2019a).

has some background aspects that need to be explained, especially considering the fact that he was a Sufi sheikh. Therefore, it is important to focus on some details of his life to understand the reasons for this modernist tendency.

Mehmed Ataullah Dede (1842-1910): 'the first guide'

Ataullah Dede, one of the most interesting personalities in the development of 'scientific' music theory, was the Sheikh of the Galata [Pera / Kulekapısı / Beyoğlu] Mevlevihane. He studied Arabic and Persian as part of his traditional Mevlevi education but he was also educated according to European style, learning French, Italian, German and English.[15] He ordered many books from Europe and read them with great interest. The fact that he had numerous opportunities to come into contact with Europeans in the Galata environment, of course, significantly differentiated him from the other sheikhs who had gone through an exclusively classical Mevlevi teaching.

The Galata Mevlevihane had a peculiar place among the other lodges in Istanbul. Throughout its history, Galata had maintained an extremely cosmopolitan structure and culture. Describing the Galata Mevlevihane as one of the main cultural centers of Istanbul, Küçük (2003) states that this lodge had a cultural structure open to 'the Westernization movements' in the Ottoman Empire (p. 86). One of the leading researchers in this field, Işın (2010)'s assessment is as follows:

> The İstanbul-based post-*Tanzimat* Mevlevi order progressively followed the political lines of the Ottoman constitutionalist trends; its members assumed an active role in these movements and as a consequence of the close ties set with the *Ittihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (Committee of Union and Progress), starting with the ideology of Turkism, the Western schools of thought found an audience within the Mevlevi organization. (p. 40)

The fact that Ataullah Dede had been exposed to European culture since his youth seemed to have influenced his understanding of science. His acceptance of the theoretical content of *Makasıdülelhan*, written by Abdülkadir in the 15th century, was an important indicator of his Comtean positivistic tendency. Therefore, it is noteworthy that he chose to turn to pre-Ottoman sources such as Safiyüddin and Meragi with the claim that they were 'essential', instead of the works of innovative Mevlevi theorists such as Nayi Osman and Abdülbaki Nasır, who were his ancestors.

However, what really set him apart from the other Mevlevi sheikhs was his entry into

15 For some sources that provide information about Mehmed Ataullah Dede's life, see (Ambrosio, 2010), (Işın, 2010, 2013), (İnal, 1958).

the Freemasonry, in the lodge that British Ambassador Lord Henry Bulwer had established under his own name at that time.[16] This difference had significant effects on Ataullah Dede's intellectual development and positivist tendencies.[17] Ataullah Dede had a strong interest in geometry, philosophy, and sociology, as well as music theory. As it is well known, the name 'sociology' was given to the new 'science of society' by Auguste Comte (Wright 1941, p. 417). Comte's primary publications in this area began in 1830 and he gave a definition and scope to this new science in 1851. Ambrosio (2012) and Zarcone (2010) agree that the sociological interest of Ataullah Dede stemmed from his reading of Comte and Durkheim. Both the understanding of the 'religion of humanity' and the approach of 'mind in the service of the heart' obviously played a key role in Ataullah's adoption of 'the positivist faith.' When the Masonic discourse of 'the universal brotherhood and peace' is added to this background, it can be easily understood that Ataullah Dede had an understanding that comprised such concepts as 'progress', 'evolution', and 'science'. Various sources clearly point out that there were close ties between scientific positivism, liberal republicanism, and Freemasonry.[18]

The culture acquired within the Freemasonry had an important place in Ataullah Dede's interest in subjects such as geometry and music theory. However, geometry is especially noteworthy here because it is an 'art' that is closely related, or even identical, to Freemasonry. According to Case (1981): "In the old Masonic constitutions, it is specifically stated that Masonry and geometry are one and the same" (p. 2). Mackey (1996), one of the main scholars to comprehensively discuss the relationship between Freemasonry and geometry, describes it in the following terms:

> The manuscript continues by a declaration that Geometry and Masonry are identical. Thus, in enumerating and defining the seven liberal arts and sciences, Geometry is placed as the fifth, 'which science,' says the Legend, 'is called Masonrye.' Now, this doctrine that Geometry and Masonry are identical sciences, has been held from the time of the earliest records to the present day by all the Operative Masons who preceded the 18th century, as well as by the Speculative Masons after that period. In the ritual of the Fellow Craft's degree used ever since, at least from the middle of the last century, the candidate is informed that 'Masonry and Geometry are synonymous terms.' (p. 41)

16 See (Ambrosio, 2012), (Apak, 1958), (Layiktez, 1999), (Soysal, 1988), (Zarcone, 2010).

17 According to the observations of A. D. Schinas, the Great Master of the French *l'Union d'Orient* lodge in 1842, Freemasonry was used in Istanbul as a synonym for infidelity, revolutionism, and atheism; Freemasons were also seen as disgusting 'hell demons' (Dumont, 2007, p. 146). When these observations are especially taken into consideration, despite the change in time and understanding, the shocking and exceptional nature of Ataullah Dede's Freemasonry can be better understood.

18 Some of the most important works on these connections are the following: (Hanioğlu, 1989), (Lomas, 2003), (Nord, 1991), (Pickering, 2019), (Steele, 2002, 2019), (Turnaoğlu, 2017).

Ambrosio (2012) discusses the relations developed by Ataullah Dede through Freemasonry and makes some important points:

> Thanks to Ataullah, the Mevlevi Order has demonstrated the capacity to adapt to different social and political situations and has shown that it is open to other spiritual and esoteric cultures and experiences. Just as Shi'ism influenced the sect in the 16th century, European thought and esoteric forms of the West were influenced the sect at the end of the 19th century (not only for the Mevlevi Order). Ideologically so open-minded, the Mevlevis spent the 19th century devoting themselves to the search for their spiritual path. He [Ataullah] has a special interest in European culture and philosophy. Speaking French and German enables him to read important philosophical and sociological works of the period. He read the works of writers such as Comte and Durkheim. His private library, which has been sold piece by piece due to a financial crisis, (perhaps because of his great interest in the Mason brothers) reflects this man's vast culture. […] At the end of the 19th century, Ataullah became close to British Freemasonry. He joined the United Kingdom Grand Lodge, which was active in Istanbul from 1861 to 1895. This lodge, […] would have expressed his belief in God. At the age of 26, on 10 March 1870, Ataullah enrolled in the Bulwer Lodge under the name 'Atta Efendi', and his profession was recorded as a 'dervish.' (pp. 80-82)

When considering Ataullah Dede as an 'unusual' and 'extraordinary' Mevlevi sheikh, two names must be mentioned. The first is Sir Henry Bulwer (1801-1872), the British ambassador of the time, who established the first Masonic lodge in Istanbul under his own name (Mardin 2000, p. 116), (Koloğlu n.d., pp. 45, 61).[19] As a very effective diplomat and politician, he was also the master of the Turkey Grand District of the Grand Lodge of England. Bulwer built two castle-style mansions in Yassiada, which he had bought in 1857. These mansions had been hosting various private meetings for years. As mentioned above, Ataullah Dede's entry into freemasonry took place in the lodge of this ambassador. In 1865, he opened another lodge of the same name in Cairo under the supervision of the Egyptian Abdülhalim Pasha[20]. The members of these two lodges named Bulwer had an important place in the musical and political relations between Cairo and Istanbul in terms of Europeanization.

19 For Henry Bulwer's personality as a diplomat and his important roles in the Ottoman-British relations, see (Bell 2019), (Guymer 2011).

20 The Egyptian Abdülhalim Pasha (1830-1894): He was one of the sons of the Egyptian Governor Mehmed Ali Pasha. He was influential in the spread of English Freemasonry in Istanbul and Egypt and took part in political events. He played a role in the abdication of Sultan Abdulaziz and supported the rise of Murad V to the throne. As a composer and musician, Abdülhalim Pasha was also known for his encouragement to transcribe Ottoman classics in European notation. In his own time, he ensured that a significant number of classical Ottoman works were transcribed in European notation and thus also had a valuable collection.

The second, important figure for Ataullah Dede was John Porter Brown (1814-1872).[21] He served as a consul, translator, lawyer, and secretary at the American embassy in Istanbul between 1835 and 1872. He was also an important Orientalist, Protestant missionary, and Masonic master. He published *The Dervishes: or Oriental Spiritualism* (1868), and the cover of the book contained a painting of Ataullah Dede's father, Seyyid Kudretullah, with the inscription 'the Mevlevi Sheikh of Istanbul Pera'. We understand that Brown had a close friendship with Ataullah and his father, and collected most of the information about dervishes and Mevlevis from them (Ambrosio, 2010; Zarcone, 2008).[22]

The Freemasons' Monthly Magazine (2019), which was published in the same year (1868), also featured an extensive article on *Dervishes and Masonry*, which included the introduction to Brown's work. Through this article, it became known that Brown granted admittance to a 'dervish' in the Bulwer Lodge. It is obvious that this dervish was no one else but Ataullah Dede. All of these connections show that strong and concrete relations between various groups such as the 'Young Turks', the Mevlevis and other dervish orders like Naqshbandis, the Freemasons, and Protestant missionaries had been established in the political, social, and cultural climate of the time. In other words, from a sociological point of view, intense connections between various 'reformist' groups within the Ottoman political opposition existed at that time.

All these acquaintances, connections and interactions, which were unusual for a Mevlevi sheikh, undoubtedly enabled Ataullah Dede to look differently at the social, cultural, and artistic issues of the society in which he lived. Some examples of this approach were Ataullah Dede's interest in pre-Ottoman sources for Oriental music and evaluating their contents as scientific. Inspired by these sources, the fact that he used a sonometer and made musical interval measurements on this instrument reflected another typical tendency of his encouraged by the new conception of science-based 'experimentation'. In 1899, Yekta wrote about his teacher:

> Ten years ago, my master Ataullah Efendi, who had a high understanding of the secrets of sciences and techniques, turned his attention to a small treatise found in a mock book that circulated as a decoy, and bought it with the other books. And guess what this treatise was

21 For a comprehensive study about the life and works of J. P. Brown in Turkey, who also known as 'the father of Turkish-American relations', see (Conn, 2019). For some information about the relationships between Bulwer, Brown and Abdülhalim Pasha through Freemasonry see (Koloğlu, n.d.).

22 His statement on this subject is as follows: "I have endeavored to obtain my information from the most authentic sources within my reach, both oral and written, as well as printed. To offer a criticism on the belief of my Mussulman friends (for among the Dervishes of Constantinople I have several estimable and valued friends) […]" (Brown 1868, p. 58).

> about? The name of the book was *Makasıdü'l-elhan [The purposes of melodies]* and its author was Hoca Abdülkadir-i Meragi! He thought that music, like any science, should of course have a theory, since he had already worked on the books written by the great old masters. He began to study the book very gladly after this coincidence. When it was understood from the first lines that *Makasıdü'l-elhan* was a serious scientific book, he gave more weight to its study. […] In fact, we must all be grateful to His Holiness, as he determined the proportions between the sounds used in our music on the sonometer for the first time. […] Therefore, there is no doubt that his supreme name [of Ataullah Dede] will decorate the first pages of the history of the progress of our music. (Çergel 2007, pp. 423-424)

Yekta clearly stated Ataullah Dede's leadership in his writings about the development of music theory studies. This pioneering role made Ataullah Dede the initiator of and even an arbiter in this approach. He encouraged Yekta to publicize their theoretical studies. This point is extremely important. While Ataullah Dede paid attention to the widening of Rauf Yekta's modern and scientific horizon, it is clear that he was greatly influenced by the positivist tendency he himself had newly come across. In addition to that, his involvement with the Masonic brotherhood network suggests that he was more than a Mevlevi, adopting the belief in Comte's 'religion of humanity', which formed the basis of the latter's 'positive philosophy'.[23]

Details about Ataullah Dede's remarkable involvement with the freemasonry can be found in the research works of Ambrosio and Zarcone.[24] According to them, Ataullah Dede frequently organized events displaying complete 'Oriental hospitality' towards his Masonic brothers and other European or American –Protestant missionary– friends.[25] However, after

23 The subject of Ataullah Dede's Freemasonry seems to have caused both silence and condemnation in Mevlevi circles. The most common example of this can be seen in the following words of Mehmet Ziya, published in the *Yenikapı Mevlevihanesi* in 1911:
In these days, it is heard an effort has been made to participate in a community which supposedly serves mankind. [Moreover], we have even heard that some of our fellows connected with our mystical order were invited to join in this community too. We were astonished by this. […] How can we, [as Mevlevis], dare to include Freemasonry in Islam? Our religion is, essentially and truly, sublime and always commands to advance and rise. In short, [it is such a religion that] it has gathered all kinds of ascents, physical and spiritual, in its own wisdom and perfection. (pp. 232-33)
Another issue to be addressed and to be meticulously paid attention to are R. Yekta's dedications. He first used the title of 'first teacher' for Celaleddin Dede, in contradiction with his previous statements, in the dedication of his theory book published in 1924. As can be seen in the related section, he made the same declaration to Celaleddin Dede's grandson Gavsi Baykara in 1930s. This change in attitude on the part of Yekta requires further investigation and explanation. The statements of Mehmed Ziya show that the phenomenon of a Mevlevi sheikh being a freemason was perceived as unacceptable for at least some Mevlevis.

24 P. Dumont, one of the foremost experts in the field, gives the following description of the Masonic lodges: "The lodges were also places for the discussion and exchange of ideas about current themes: socialism, feminism, venereal diseases, progress of science, etc." (2005, p. 481). For some works on Freemasonry and modern science, see also (Lomas, 2003), (Lynch, 2001), (Steele, 2002).

25 For some basic sources on the development and organization of Freemasonry and Protestant missionary in the Ottoman and Islamic world in terms of imperialism, see (Ambrosio, 2010), (Conn, 2019), (Haksever, 2009), (Hanioğlu, 1989), (Koloğlu, 2012, n.d.), (The Freemasons' Monthly Magazine, 2019), (Sommer, 2016), (Soysal, 1988), (Zarcone, 2010, 2014).

all these events, the Galata Mevlevihane was dragged into a serious economic crisis. The following passage shows how Ataullah Dede's 'worldly experiences'[26] within the framework of the Masonic 'universal brotherhood' had caused both him and his Mevlevihane to collapse.

According to Zarcone (2010, pp. 68-70):

> There exists a lesser-known account on Ataullah and the Mevlevihane of Galata written by a Persian traveler, Hajji Muhammad Ali Pirzada, who visited the tekke in 1870-71, […] He confirms that the sheikh enjoyed associating with the Europeans (*ferengi*) and that he was affiliated to the Freemasonry upon their advice. […] Ataullah began to increasingly keep company with the Europeans and through his close contact with them, lost his dervish spirit. He entered the Freemasonry (*Faramuşhane*) and organized banquets at his place […] As a consequence; he sold the library and other properties of the tekke. He covered the expenditures of the Europeans. He fell ill and suffered from attacks of paralysis and convulsions.

Additional remarkable evidence confirming this state of affairs is found in İnal's book, *Hoş Sada* [*The Pleasant Voice*]:

> Although the lodge had enough wealth, it was damaged by the negligence and mismanagement of the rulers, so that Sheikh Efendi [Ataullah] and the other dervishes were devastated. Those who knew the situation would say that the blame mainly belongs to the director of the lodge, but that some of the blame came from the Sheikh, who could not, for some reason, get rid of that dishonor. (1958, p. 86)

Mehmed Celaleddin Dede (1849-1908): 'the second master'

Dervish Celaleddin Dede was the second teacher of Rauf Yekta who made important contributions to his theoretical studies. When Celaleddin Dede's grandson Gavsi Baykara asked to study theory with him in the '30s, Yekta gave him the following answer: "We have received the science of music as a bond from your grandfather, the late Celâleddin Efendi. By giving it to his grandson now, we will return this trust to the owner and therefore, we will have done our duty" (1950, p. 22). In his dedication in a theoretical book published in 1924, he made the following statement: "I consider it a conscientious duty to glorify and celebrate

26 Sayyid Ahmed Rifat bin Ismail (d. 1876), who has important works in the field of Sufism, makes a radical distinction between 'real dervish' and 'so-called dervish'. This distinction is based entirely on the 'worldly tastes' and he makes the following assessment: "The asceticism of the 'so-called dervish' is only in his tongue. Their hearts depend on worldly greed. They are engaged in bodily flavors day and night and are proud and accustomed to the world property. They […] are frustrated and wasted because they have spent their lives for the sake of the temporary world desire" (2014, pp. 76-77). As evident in this quote, Ataullah Dede's increasingly secular life experience, due to his positivist and rationalist tendencies, was in clear contrast to traditional dervish morality. It seems that Ottoman daily life, which was becoming increasingly positivist, had significant effects on the traditional morality and behavior of the dervishes. Ataullah Dede seemed to be consciously willing to go beyond this traditional attitude.

the sacred remembrance of the late Celaleddin Efendi, my teacher, who gave the first ideas to the author of this book about the theoretical rules on which our national music is based" (Yekta 1924, p. 3). In a reply letter to Mehmed Ziya on April 18, 1909, he wrote about the role of Sheikh Celaleddin Dede in his theoretical studies (2005, pp. 189, 206, 209):

> Celaleddin efendi […] was ahead of his predecessors in terms of his scientific and practical ability in the science of music. […] He was also my second teacher for music theory. Many theoretical issues unknown in our music so far were discovered by his efforts. His superiority on the theoretical side of the science of music was derived from his own efforts and readings.

Gavsi Baykara describes his grandfather Celaleddin Dede's participation in theory studies as follows:

> The late Rauf Yekta Bey undertook theoretical studies with Sheikh Celaleddin Efendi at the Mevlevihane of Kulekapısı [Galata]. Once, Celaleddin Efendi took a book from his personal library and showed it to Rauf Yekta Bey, and he said, " – I myself have been dealing with theory for quite some time. If you wish, let's work together, hereafter." […] since then, the triangle of Celaleddin Efendi, Ataullah Efendi, Rauf Yekta Bey formed [...] and they managed to identify many principles in the scientific field. (1950, pp. 2-3)

Yekta made the following statements, published in the newspaper *İkdam* in 1899, regarding the pioneering and encouraging roles of both dervishes: "Among Ottoman musicians, there is no one who knows our music theory except two virtuous figures whose distinguished names are written above with respect [Ataullah and Celaleddin]" (Çergel 2007, p. 428). Yekta reiterated this in his article on Turkish Music, which he wrote in 1913 for the *Encylopedie de la musique et dictionnarie de conservatoire*: "There are only two people in Istanbul who know the theory of Turkish music; one is the Sheikh Ataullah Efendi of the Beyoğlu Mevlevihane and the other is the Sheikh Celâleddin Efendi of the Yenikapı Mevlevihane" (1986, p. 56).[27] Among the Mevlevihanes of Istanbul, these two were known to have a leading and privileged places in the movements of Westernization and political opposition. There was also a deep-rooted kinship (Figure 1) between the sheikh's families of these Mevlevi lodges.[28] Among these, the Galata lodge was at the forefront of Westernization and contact with European

27 R. Yekta himself wrote two important texts, which included his personal experiences of studying music theory. The second is a summary and confirmation of the first. In both texts, Yekta describes the series of events he was personally involved in, with some definite chronological references. See (Yekta, 1899, 1986). For two important texts that reiterate the truth of Yekta's remarks, see also ([Arel], 1909), (Ezgi, 1933).

28 For detailed information about the sheikh families of these two Mevlevi lodges, see (Küçük, 2003), (Mehmed Ziya, 2005).

culture, while Yenikapı became one of the most important centers for Young Turk political opposition. According to Işın (2010):

> Yet, among these, the one Mevlevi family that has had a profound impact on the Ottoman modernization process in both a political and cultural sense is the family of Ebubekir Dede, the postnişîn of the Mevlevihane of Yenikapı. […] The said Mevlevi family gained political power by supporting reformist sultans such as Selim III and Mahmud II and later actively took part in politics through the Young Ottoman and Jön Türk (Young Turk) movements. (pp. 30-31)

It is not possible to separate the Yenikapı Mevlevihane from the political developments of the period, particularly during the reign of Sheikh Osman Selahaddin[29], father of Celaleddin Dede. Besides the Young Turks and Unionists, the freemasons, the '*dönme*s'[30] (Sabbatians), the Mevlevis were also included in the Ottoman political scene.[31] For this reason, it is clear that these general 'modernizing positions' are a major determinant behind the support for both Ataullah and Celaleddin Dedes in relation to their innovative studies in the field of music theory.[32]

29 Osman Selahaddin Dede (1819–1886): He belonged to the famous sheikh family of Ebubekir Dede and became the sheikh of the Mevlevihane of Yenikapı. He is one of the Mevlevi sheikhs about whose life we have most information. From 1831 onwards, at a young age, he took up the position of sheikh. He was in close contact with the most influential figures of the political opposition of his time and led the lodge to become an important meeting center. The Grand Viziers Keçecizâde Fuad Pasha, Mehmed Ali Pasha, Midhat Pasha, Egyptian Kamil Pasha, Prince Mustafa Pasha, Adile Sultan's husband Damat Mehmed Ali Pasha, Sheyhülislâms Mehmed Sâdeddin and Mehmed Refik were among the names that the Sheikh was in close contact with.

30 The *Dönme*s (Jewish Converts): The Crypto-Jews under Turkish rule. Since they were the followers of the so-called Messiah Sabbatai Tsevi (1626-1656), they were also known as Sabbeteans. Tsevi became the religious leader of the biggest messianic movement in the Ottoman Empire during the second half of the 17th century. After his death in 1676, his followers divided into three sects (Yakubi, Karakaş, and Kapancı) and played active roles in the social, economic and political life of the Ottoman and Republican periods. "The first known Dönme Mevlevi dervish (later, the sheikh) was Karakaş İshak Efendi/Dede, who was affiliated with a sufi convent (Mevlevihane) in 1825. Due to his erudition in mysticism, Ishak Efendi is said to have been a Sufi sheikh and ogan (rabbi) of the Dönme community at the same time. Among those Dönmes who were actively involved in Sufi orders, Mehmed Esad Dede (1843-1914) was perhaps the most interesting" (Sisman, 2015, p. 239). Baer makes the following assessment: "This was also a period when some Dönme became leading Mevlevis. Mehmet Esad Dede, for example, […] became one of the leading turn-of-thetwentieth-century Mevlevi sheikhs in Istanbul" (2010, p. 59). It is useful to look at the following sources about this subject which has a wide literature because of its connections with freemasonry, sufism, and politics: (Baer, 2010), (Bali, 2008), (Kedourie, 1971), (Sholem, 2016), (Sisman, 2015).

31 According to Baer (2010), "[m]any prominent Dönme were Freemasons as well as Sufis, which facilitated their entry into the CUP [Committee of Union and Progress] (p. 94). For detailed studies on this subject, which is important for the history of Ottoman society and politics, see also (Bali, 2008), (Gündüz, 2008), (Haksever, 2009), (Hanioğlu, 1989), (Iacovella, 1998), (Kedourie, 1971), (Koloğlu, 2012), (Landau, 2007), (Sholem, 2016).

32 As regards the Freemasonry of Murad V, Eldem gives the following assessment in terms of the 19th century Ottoman politics: "[…] in the second half of the nineteenth century, freemasonry played an important role in expanding the field of politics and opposition that was felt to be incompetent and lacking in the Ottoman territory, but also enabled the interaction with certain political actors in Europe at the same time" (2019, p. 19). For a similar evaluation see (Zarcone, 2014, pp. 238-239).

It is understood from various sources that the works of Yekta and Celaleddin Dede are not merely dependent on the reading and interpretation of old theory books. An important part of these studies consisted of research, experiments and measurements of the system upon which the frets on the neck of the *tanbur* were based. This aspect was related to the scientific discoveries and efforts in the construction of the 25-tone system, believed to be more consistent with the practice of the day, leaving aside the 18-tone system through which information had historically been acquired. As one of the leading *tanbur* players of the period, it is clear that Celaleddin Dede's views, experiences, and evaluations on the sound system had special importance for Yekta because he paid particular attention to the comparison between experimental measurements he made himself on the sonometer and the information from old theory books and the *tanbur* practice of the time. Celaleddin Dede's confirmation and positive attitude on these issues seemed to encourage Yekta more and more (Ezgi, 1950a; Yekta, 1899).

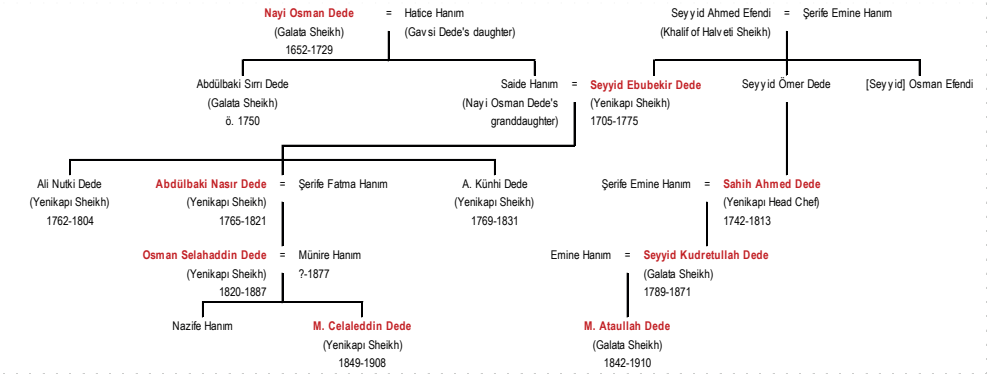

Figure 1. Kinship chains between the sheikh families of the Mevlevihanes of Galata and Yenikapı (Fahreddin Dede is also brother-in-law of Celaleddin Dede).

Suphi Ezgi (1869-1962): 'the meddlesome Jacobin'

After the death of Yekta, S. Ezgi became a prominent figure and author of the most radical interventions not only in the theory of Ottoman music but also its classical repertoire. Adapted various aspects of Western music theory to Turkish music and 're-composed' some of the classical works claiming that he had repaired them. Together with Arel, they set forth the Western C-major tone as the 'main scale of Turkish music' under the name of *Çargah makam* and reduced the traditional 'complete tones' (*tam perdeler*) such as *segah* and *eviç* to the status of half-tone.[33] Ezgi is the person who contributed to the development of the Arel theory, which is widespread today, and who laid its foundations.

33 For a comprehensive review of this application, see (Wright, 1990).

He met Yekta at the age of seventeen and took advantage of his knowledge throughout the process. He describes those times as follows:

> My music friend, Rauf Yekta, gave us the interval ratios of twenty-five tones […], which consisted of unequal divisions of the octave, which I guess has been used in our music since ancient times. We also accepted these proportions, which were calculated by the information obtained from Safiyüddin's *Kitabüledvar* (*Kitab al-adwar, 'Book of cycles'*) and *Şerefiye* (*Risāla al-Sharafiyya*) and from Abdulkadir's *Camiülelhan* (*Jami al-alhan, 'Compendium of melodies'*). (1933, p. 6)

In the same page, Ezgi uses the expression 'the ones who first examined the proportions and sounds of the unequal-24-intervalled-system recently', for Ataullah, Celaleddin and Yekta.[34] As it can be noticed from the passage, he took a different stance, especially against Yekta. Ezgi, in principle, always used adjectives full of praise and gratitude for the masters and friends he personally worked with. For example, he referred to Arel as 'the music scholar', 'our high composer', 'my old friend', and Fahreddin Dede as 'my friend and master', while mentioning Yekta – only once – as 'my music friend.'[35]

When we look more deeply into his attitude against Yekta, an interesting situation comes to light. According to Ezgi, Yekta had fallen out with Arel during the First World War and interrupted their collaboration as a result. Ezgi and Arel had continued to work together; however, Yekta was not aware of the alternative ideas they had developed during their studies. In the section titled 'The critics of Rauf Yekta'[36] in volume 4 of the *Nazari Ameli Türk Musikisi* (The Theoretical and Practical Turkish Music) and, in 1950, in his responses to Muhittin Erev in various issues of *Türk Musikisi Dergisi* (The Turkish Music Magazine) he explicitly accused Yekta and did not hesitate to list his 'mistakes.' In these responses, Ezgi

34 Another important figure who witnessed the pioneering roles of Ataullah Dede, Rauf Yekta and Celaleddin Dede in the studies of music theory is Akmed Avni [Konuk]. In 1900, he made the following statements in his famous anthology, *Hanende*: "In our time, knowing the theory of Oriental music in the full sense is exclusive for the Galata Sheikh Ataullah Efendi, Rauf Yekta Bey and so on, and we hope that a distinguished work will be published together with their superior efforts" ([Konuk], 1900, pp. 4-5).

35 In 1950, Muhittin Erev criticized Suphi Ezgi for his distant attitude towards Rauf Yekta in the 28th issue of The Turkish Music Magazine. As a result of this criticism, the quarrel between Ezgi and Erev continued in the same magazine for six issues. Throughout and despite these controversies, Ezgi gave provided important information about the development of music theory studies, especially for himself and the Arel front. This information is significant in terms of determining the differences of opinions between Yekta and Ezgi-Arel couple. See (Erev, 1950a, 1950b, 1950c, 1950d), (Ezgi, 1950a, 1950b, 1950c, 1950d, 1950e, 1950f). In fact, the same attitude against Yekta, which is the subject of Erev's criticism, can be seen in Arel's writings. Arel did not mention Yekta's name in his articles which were published in the magazines of *Türklük* (The Turkishness) and *Musiki Mecmuası* (The Music Magazine). See (Arel, 1969, 1993).

36 For Ezgi's criticism against Yekta, Öztuna (1974) makes the following assessment: "Rauf Yekta worked with Ezgi and Arel for many years. […] Then all three were scattered, […] Rauf Yekta Bey worked alone. He was deprived of the exchange of ideas and put forward some of his own assumptions as theory. Some of it was criticized in the final volume by Subhi Ezgi with a somewhat harsh expression" (p. 170).

accused Yekta to be ambitious, especially for his old age, and someone who would not admit to have made mistakes in various subjects, primarily the main scale and rhythmic cycles of Turkish music (1950d, p. 23).

In his work with Arel, Ezgi thought that they had corrected various mistakes made by Yekta, putting forward more mature approaches not only in relation to theory but also to notation, classification and nomenclature.

> […] three people [Ataullah, Celaleddin, and Yekta] determined the intervals and proportions of sounds with the help of old books and by using tanbur frets extending for an octave, and were inspired by the use of those sounds in our music; however, they did not know the scientific reason for the division of an octave into 24 unequal intervals; when we asked Rauf Yekta Bey about the scientific reason and necessity of this division, he replied by showing evidence of the presence of 25 frets on the necks of the *tanbur*s and the use of those sounds in our music as evidence. […] Although Bedr-i Dilşad […] wrote that 24 intervals were used in an octave, he did not report its scientific reason. Sadettin Arel and Doctor Suphi Ezgi have discovered its true and scientific reason […] for the second time (1936-1937) […]. (Ezgi, 1940, p. 186)

In another statement made by Ezgi in 1950, it is seen that there are unclear aspects to his evaluations of the process. This time, Ezgi relegated Yekta to the second place and surprisingly claimed that he was the real explorer of the unequal 25-tone 'scientific' system:

> These discoveries of the Sheikh efendis and Rauf Yekta Bey were of secondary importance. After forty or fifty years passed, and after Rauf Yekta Bey passed away and after three volumes of the Theoretical and Practical Turkish Music were published, seven or eight years ago, the first real reason for the division of an octave into 25 sounds was discovered by Dr. Suphi Ezgi, accompanied by Sadettin Arel.

It is clear from these lines that after Yekta, Ezgi developed a belief that he was the main actor or 'the founding father' of the whole 'scientific' process with remarkable 'egocentrism' and began to make declarations in this direction.[37] Thus, Suphi placed himself at the forefront of the construction process of scientific music theory, minimizing Yekta's role. This attitude most likely arose from the differences of opinion between Ezgi and Arel. While the publication of Ezgi's five-volume work was in progress, Arel went into a different direction from Ezgi's. The results of their collaborative work were transformed into a different theory based entirely on Arel's construction. Thus, Arel gained the reputation of being the sole founder of 'modern

37 In this context, it is noteworthy that Arel stated that the truths about the 25-tone system had been revealed through Ezgi's researches (1993, p. 33). As this expression clearly shows, Arel and Ezgi agreed in considering Yekta to have had a secondary role.

Turkish music theory'. The 'Arel system' was used without hesitation as the new theory clearly shows.

> In 1948, he began to publish the *Musiki Mecmuası* (The Music Magazine). He also published […] his thoughts on the theory under the title of Turkish Music Theory Courses […] in this magazine. Some reasons such as the distribution of the magazine within the subscriber system, its low price, and that it was sent to people by direct mail suddenly made this magazine the most important music publication in Turkey. From this point of view, Arel became the first person to inform the music community extensively in the field of theory since the second half of the 20th century. (Akdoğu, 1993, p. xiv)

One of Arel's loyal students, Yılmaz Öztuna, praises the theory developed by his teacher as the only theory that has achieved 'excellence' among others:

> First, Rauf Yekta Bey published his works. It is the first real work of Western methodology and Turkish musicology. But it is scattered and carries the flaws and [tolerable] mistakes of being the first publication. Then Dr. Subhi Ezgi published his huge 5-volume work. His progress in this work is clearly seen when compared to Rauf Yekta's work. However, it is deprived of and differentiated from the logic and the methodology of Arel. Arel's Turkish Music Theory Lessons are excellent, and they are published after a time period long enough to correct the mistakes of his two friends. (1986, p. 89)[38]

It is clear here that the process that started with Yekta and continued with the participation of Ezgi and Arel actually resulted in the emergence of three different approaches, which differ from each other at various levels. Figure 2 shows the time period and types of publications of Yekta, Ezgi and Arel on music theory and history.

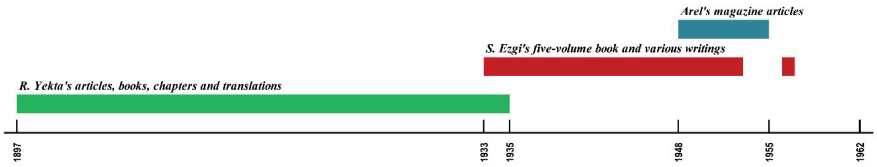

Figure 2. The date ranges of the main publications of Yekta, Ezgi and Arel on music theory and history.

38 His other statements on the same subject see, (Öztuna, 1969, 1987).

Fahreddin Dede (1854-1911): 'the fictional narrative's third sheikh'

Although Fahreddin Dede was included in this fictional narrative as the third sheikh, it is noteworthy that Yekta, who is the central figure in these theoretical studies, never mentioned in his writings that Fahreddin Dede had been part of the process. Although Yekta does not give any information about his active participation in theoretical studies, he praises the mastery of Fahreddin Dede in 'various sciences', 'musical practice', and 'composition' in 1902 (2000, p. 35). Therefore, there are some obvious differences between the assessments of Ezgi and later Arelist sources (particularly Öztuna, 1969) about who dominated the field after Yekta, but most believe that pioneering work in music theory belongs to the 'three' Mevlevi sheikhs.

Ezgi seems to have been influential in the efforts to include Fahreddin Dede as a historical reference of the Mevlevi sheikhs who led pioneering theoretical studies. As mentioned above, Fahreddin Dede was not actively involved in those studies. However, there are some pieces of information revealing that Ezgi and Arel learned various religious pieces from him. As one of the leading *ney* players of his time, Fahreddin Dede was an intellectual person also interested in Western music, knew European notation, and spoke French.[39] However, all of these characteristics are not sufficient to show Fahreddin Dede as an 'active participant' or a 'pioneer personality' in theoretical studies. References to him are only found in the 'fictional narrative'.[40] Indeed, as noted by Tura (2017, p. 320), Ezgi (1940, p. 278) did not count Hüseyin Fahreddin Dede among the names involved in the tone system inquiries, which constituted the basis of the 'Europeanized Ottoman music theory' studies, and mentioned only five people: Sheikh Ataullah, Sheikh Celaleddin, Rauf Yekta, Sadettin Arel and Suphi Ezgi. As shown by Öztürk (2020), in the 67th issue of The Music Magazine, Y. Öztuna (1953, p. 197), when referring to that statement of Ezgi, obviously confused the names by writing Fahreddin Dede instead of Ataullah Dede. However, in his later publications, instead of correcting this simple mistake, he revealed the misleading narrative, still widely used today and which is entirely his own fit, about three sheikhs and three followers. Therefore, there is an obvious problem regarding the reliability of this information. It is a fact that references to the dedication of Fahreddin Dede to theory are based largely on Öztuna's writings. This is, clearly, an issue. For this reason, it should be taken into consideration that Yekta did not include him among the names involved in the process. In the fictional narrative that appears to have been shaped

39 For some information about Fahreddin Dede, see (Ergun, 1943), (İnal, 1958), (Kaya, 2019).

40 Öztuna expresses a version of his own fictional narrative as follows: "It was the two Mevlevi sheikhs who first paid attention to the decline of Ottoman culture. Because they speak Arabic and Persian well, they read the old *edvar*s. They learned that excellent books were written before the 16th century, [but] that the information included there was not known in their time. Moreover, they also knew French. […] Arel's teacher […] Hüseyin [Fahreddin] Dede should be added to these names" (1986, pp. 87-88).

by Öztuna on a large scale, the inclusion of Fahreddin Dede along with other sheikhs and the underestimation of Yekta's role compared to Ezgi's constitute evident problems.

H. Sadeddin Arel (1880-1955): 'the only founder of the excellent theory'

Arel, after meeting with Yekta, became interested in the work that developed around Yekta, regarding both his identity as a publisher and his intellectual persona. Arel participated to certain stages of these studies. Arel, however, was neither the initiator of the process nor the pioneering personality in perfectioning the theory. The theory, commonly known as the 'Arel system', has been subject to various reviews and reforms by 'the Arelist names' themselves in order to survive until the present day. Among the reformers of his theory in the post-Arel period, the names of Şefik Gürmeriç (d. 1967) and İsmail H. Özkan should be mentioned.[41] Today, Özkan's book, which is used as the main textbook in many Turkish music conservatories, is a mirror of these concrete changes. So the role of Arel in theoretical studies should be emphasized separately.

Neither Arel nor Ezgi participated to the initial studies that claimed to reveal the scientific foundations of Ottoman music, and which were begun by Yekta. Yekta began to transfer his work, which he had started with two sheikhs, enriched by notable mathematician Salih Zeki's knowledge, to Ezgi and Arel in 1906, as stated by Ezgi (1940). Prior to this date, these two researchers did not have any theoretical works like Yekta's studies that were the subject of a concrete document or narrative. Ezgi, primarily as a singer, performed various classical and religious *fasıl*s under the guidance of Zekai Dede and learned the old *tanbur*-playing style from Abdülhalim Efendi[42]. Thus, the kind of motivation or orientation that Yekta exhibited regarding the theory was not available to Ezgi in those years. Arel, while writing articles for *Şehbal* (Shehbal), mostly under the pseudonym 'Bedi Mensi', about the necessity for music to be promoted throughout the process of Ottoman modernization, was not interested in research that focused specifically on the question of theory.[43] Issues such as 'applying the science of harmony to Oriental music', 'the progress of our music', 'Turkish Opera', and Western- style polyphonic composition were priorities in Arel's writings.[44] For this reason, Ezgi and Arel

41 For some details, see (Aksoy, 1997).

42 Sheikh Halim Efendi (d. 1896): He was the Sheikh of Kozyatağı Rifai Tekke in İstanbul, music teacher, and *tanbur, ney* and violin player. He was one of the last representatives of the old style of *tanbur*-playing, and also became music, *tanbur* and *ney* teacher of Suphi Ezgi and Fahreddin Dede.

43 For detailed information about *Şehbal* (Shehbal) magazine and its staff, which had a special place in the history of Ottoman modernization, see (Ahmetoğlu, 2010), (Ataman & Pekman, 2008).

44 See (Arel, 1911, 1948, 1949, 1964).

only later became aware of Yekta's theoretical studies and also became familiar with some of the details of his work.

Arel was a highly intellectual figure who had received elite, European style education in the European in terms of upbringing, and he had a great interest in music. Signell's assessment of Arel's place in theory studies is as follows: "In 20th century Turkish music theory, three names stand out [the system]: Yekta, Ezgi and Arel. […] The third and by far the most influential member of the trio was H. Sadettin Arel" (1977, pp. 7-8). Yekta made clear, in his footnote no. 154 of the text he wrote in 1913, that he had benefited from Arel's 'scholarly views' in his specific investigations of the elements constituting the *makam* (1986, p. 67). Arel was strongly influenced by the theoretical work led by Yekta and took his participation as an intellectual endeavor. However, after a short while, it seems that the differences between the two began to emerge and Yekta preferred to follow his own path.[45]

Yekta's loss enabled Arel and Ezgi to continue as a duo. This was cause for the development of a more competitive process. Arel did not work with such masters as the ones who had guided Yekta or Ezgi. He took lessons from two different oud instructors, first in Izmir and then in Istanbul. However, he did not have a specific reference for learning classical works and also did not have a traditional teacher to lead him in the field of theory. Therefore, there were important differences in Arel's musical education compared to the other researchers. It is clear from this that the learning process itself played a major role in the infrastructure of Arel's total Westernist orientation. Arel seemed to have tried to compensate for his personal insufficiency through his connection with Ezgi. However, it is a fact that Arel had the opportunity to compare and enrich his wide culture of European music through sources in English or German, whereas Yekta had known such sources only through French. Arel also studied composition and harmony with E. Manas, which led him in a different direction, towards Western music. In this way, Arel should be considered completely apart

45 Öztuna, who played a major role in shaping the fictional narrative, claims that these three names worked together until 1920. However, Ezgi stated that Yekta was disappointed with Arel during the First World War and left the collaboration; however, he himself and Arel continued as colleagues. The time frame of the trio's collaboration should be placed between 1906 and 1918. But what is certain is that the trio's study did not last until 1920.

from Yekta's attitude, as he is a loyal representative of total Westernization[46]. Although Yekta believed in scientific positivism and rationality, he did not see Westernization as a major goal. However, in every sense, Arel was a total Westernist[47] and his basic views were to simplify music theory as much as possible[48] and to turn all the elements of Ottoman music into musical materials for a Western understanding of composition.

Unlike Yekta and Ezgi, Arel had a more simplified theoretical orientation. His theory was the closest one to Western music theory, for it included all the positivist tendencies of the previous approaches. He believed that the only condition for survival of Ottoman music was the Westernization of all its elements. For instance, Arel's tendency to consider the *makam*s within Western tonality was, in fact, a typical reflection of his efforts to bring the Ottoman classical tradition to Western culture. In this sense, he seemed to prefer integration to originality. Although Arel himself said that he had no contact with Mevlevism[49], the fictional narrative is that the entire process was developed primarily under the guidance of the three Mevlevi sheikhs, which is suspicious, in this sense. Here, it is clear that there is a mindset of underestimating Yekta's role and giving the pioneering role to 'three' Mevlevi sheikhs. In fact, it has been determined that the fictional narrative was developed by Arel's student Yılmaz Öztuna but it does not fully reflect the process and even contains some serious distortions.

Discussion

When the process that Yekta personally experienced and embodied in his publications as well as his witnessing of events is carefully followed, extremely interesting pieces of information, names, and neighborhoods can be uncovered. In fact, a significant portion of

46 In the debate that characterised Ottoman modernization, there are two basic attitudes in terms of Westernism. The first one advocates total Westernization, while the second states that partial Westernization will be sufficient and appropriate. In terms of both attitudes, the scientific and technological superiority of the West has been accepted as a fundamental aspect. But those who advocated partial Westernism favored the preservation of traditional values in fields other than science and technology, in particular in culture and the arts. When evaluated within this framework, it is clear that Arel was a total Westernist. Yekta, on the other hand, was a supporter of partial Westernism. For some important considerations on the subject, see (Ayas, 2018), (Öztürk, 2018a, 2018b).

47 According to the statements of Öztuna, who earned preeminence with his career as a musicologist and historian among Arel's students: "He [Arel] is the founder of the movement called the Arel School which advocates principles such as polyphonic composition and orchestral performance of Turkish music, besides training in Western musical sciences" (1987, p. 109). As one of Arel's passionate followers, Öztuna reveals Arel's total Westernist approach in a way that does not require interpretation.

48 It is possible to see Arel's latest ideas about not only Westernizing the theory of Oriental / Turkish music but also giving it the simplest possible content, in his utopian writings titled '*Bu bir başka âlem* (This is another world)' published the *Musiki Mecmuası* in 1954. For details see, (Arel, 1954).

49 See (Arel, 1969, p. 82). Although Arel composed 51 Mevlevi Ayini, none of those works are included in the Mevlana ceremonies even today. His statements may have a place in this negative attitude against the performance of his works.

this documentary evidence contains information that clearly refutes the fictional narrative mentioned above. The first important evidence of Yekta's personal learning and research experience is the claim that 'the scientific foundation of Ottoman music' is related to dervish Ataullah Dede.

Interestingly, in Europe, mathematicians and physicists such as J. Sauveur (d. 1716), L. Euler (d. 1783), E. Chladni (d. 1827) worked in the field of sound physics in the 18th century, when music was the subject of scientific research. Among the priorities they focused on in order to research music scientifically, were that the calculations related to a tone/sound system were the most important ones (Christensen 2006). In a similar effort, Yekta and Ataullah Dede also performed calculations for the acoustic field in order to give Ottoman music a scientific character. In this context, it seems that some of the main issues they faced were: (i) finding the exact, correct and available octave division for Ottoman music through the frets used in the *tanbur*s of that time, (ii) making measurements of the tone system (the invention of the sonometer first by Ataullah Dede and then by Yekta), (iii.) correct matching of the Ottoman *perde*s (pitches, sounds) with European notes to transcribe Ottoman music with European notation, (iv.) making new alteration signs for the adaptation of 'incomplete notes' (the half tones) used in Ottoman music. It is very clear that the idea of presenting European science as the most advanced science had undoubtedly been widely accepted by the 19th century Ottoman world (especially among those with a European-style education). This conception also appeared as a dominant feature in almost all ideological groups that carry the Young Turks' spirit together with components such as positivism, materialism, naturalism, and rationalism.

> The entrance of positivism to our country was not directly through a philosophical channel but through literary movements, courses about positivistic science were put into school programs of that period, schools provided education directly in French, some students were sent to Europe, foreign experts came to our educational institutions, various associations, and so on. (Korlaelçi 2014, p. 143)

The Westernist Young Turks, who literally adopted the recommendations of Comte in his letter to the Grand Vizier Mustafa Reshid Pasha, tended to consider the relationship between Islam and positivism as a legitimate and constructive basis for the new order they wanted to establish.[50] This attitude seems to have played a central role in all approaches to Islam and progress since the *Tanzimat* period. This tendency to use Islam as a tool for the

50 There is a comprehensive literature on the relation of concepts such as progress, evolution and civilization with music and its place in Turkish modernization. For some of the sources based on this study, see (Behar, 1987), (Can, 2019), (Doğan, 2013), (Ergin, 1977), (Flotzinger, 2012), (Göçek, 1996), (Güler, 2019), (Gündüz, 2008), (Kabakcı, 2008), (Kurmuş, 2007), (Lewis, 1961), (Mardin, 2000), (Pickering, 2019), (Salgar, 2015), (Shaw, 1977), (Steele, 2002), (Uyanık, 2011), (Zurcher, 2003).

transition to the Comtean 'positive religion' is clearly seen particularly in the case of Abdullah Cevdet[51] (Hanioğlu 1997). According to Işın, "the most important point made by Ottoman intellectuals, who advocated positivist and materialist views and united in order to save the state from collapse, was that the pathway to change should be realised according to reasoning and science" (1985, p. 352). Looking at their attitude towards reform movements of the 19th century, it is seen that the Mevlevihanes of Istanbul openly supported the initiatives towards modernization. Although the sheikh of the central lodge of Mevlevism in Konya, Mehmed Said Çelebi opposed Selim III's attempt to form a new army called *Nizam-ı Cedid* (The New Order), the sheikh of Yenikapı, Galib Dede supported the Sultan in every respect. Osman Selahaddin Dede, who was the sheikh of the same Mevlevi lodge, took part in the Young Turk opposition against Abdülhamid II; and because of this attitude, he incurred the displeasure of the Sultan for a long time.[52] It is remarkable in all respects that the basic attitudes of the Mevlevi sheikhs in these positions were on the side of 'innovation' and 'change of order.' During the 19th century, the Mevlevi sheikhs in Istanbul made significant contributions to the reformist movements. The pioneering and central role undertaken by Yenikapı Mevlevihane, in particular, has been documented (Gölpınarlı, 1983), (Kaya, 2019). For this reason, the sheikh's families' intense contacts with political opposition in Istanbul, starting with the Galata Lodge, also played a key role in attempts for innovation in music theory. From this point of view, it becomes even more meaningful that Rauf Yekta and Ataullah Dede's beliefs about 'making progress in Ottoman music' in accordance with 'the requirements of the age' and saving it from 'collapse' were directly based on the idea of 'scientific positivism.' It is possible to see reflections of this tendency in Ataullah Dede's approaches, such as finding an old text written at the beginning of the 15th century which includes numerical proportions and, for the first time, making measurements on the intervals used in Ottoman music by means of a sonometer. As previously mentioned, the issues such as measuring pitches and intervals, determining the 'ideal' octave division and discovering the 'real' tone/sound system had all become the basic problems that must be solved due to the newly adopted scientific positivism approach. In light of the information gathered from these discussions, it is possible to determine the important 'key' events of this progression between 1885 and 1913 in a chronological order. While the First World War interrupted these studies, it is possible to

51 Dr. Abdullah Cevdet (1869-1932): he was the leading defender of total Westernization movements in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey, journalist, ophthalmologist, and politician. He was one of the first founders of the Committee of Union and Progress. He was the editor-in-chief of the *Ichtihad* newspaper and had left very deep impressions on the Ottoman political circles with his Westernist and positivist writings and ideas.

52 See (Haksever, 2009, pp. 28-29), (Küçük, 2003, p. 126), (Ösen, 2015, pp. 242-244), (Mehmed Ziya, 2005, pp. 146-153).

follow the chronological order of events until 1913, as shown in Figure 3 in the light of the information collected from various sources.

Furthermore, it should be mentioned that the 'fictional narrative' presented two groups working in the field of theory. The first was represented by Yekta-Ataullah-Celaleddin and the second consisted of Ezgi-Arel-Fahreddin. The second group finally excluded Fahreddin with only the names of Ezgi and Arel remaining. Including Fahreddin Dede was due to an effort to establish an alternative connection with Mevlevi roots. It is understood that Ezgi used names such as Fahreddin and Abdülhalim Dedes to ensure the historical legitimacy of his knowledge and opinions. Fahreddin Dede and Ahmed Avni Konuk had very similar positions in narratives on theoretical studies. Both were among the names in Yekta's circle and would have certainly heard about these studies in the context of friendly conversations. It is possible that these conversations led them to develop interest towards some theory-related issues.

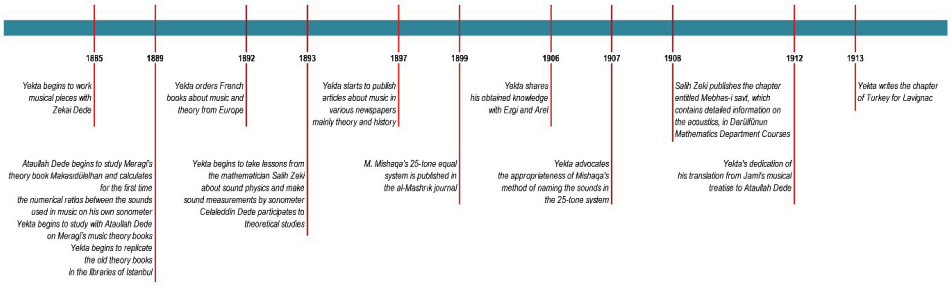

Figure 3. Chronological order of the main events in the 'scientific positivism' oriented studies in the field of music theory (1885-1913)

Moreover, it is known that Abdülkadir [Töre] (d. 1946) and Muallim İsmail Kazım [Uz] (d. 1943) carried out studies in the field of theory.[53] The two theorists of the second group, Ezgi and Arel, considered the work of the first group scientifically inadequate and thus, paid more attention to their own approaches and preferences. The 'fictional narrative' declares that the second group is the main originator of the process. For Ottoman music theory, which had turned into a bundle of patchwork by the end of this process, the following evaluation seems to be very accurate: "If there has been one dominant, quasi-official theory for Turkish music in the second half of the twentieth century, it is that particularly associated with Ezgi and Arel" (Wright 1990, p. 224).

53 Starting from the late 19th century, for the main figures who carried out studies and suggested alternative models to the sound/tone system and theory of Turkish music, see (Aksoy, 1997).

Another striking aspect of the fictional narrative is the contradictory and inadequate evaluation of the reputed mathematician Salih Zeki in the process. Öztuna, in his famous encyclopedia, used only the phrase, "Turkish musician" (1974, p. 203) for Salih Zeki, while he defined Salih Murad Uzdilek as a "Turkish scholar of mathematics and physics", presenting a wide biography full of praise (1974, pp. 357-358). However, in the article related to Rauf Yekta in the same volume, he stated that he had learnt the physics and acoustics of music from 'the great mathematical scholar Salih Zeki Bey'. This contradictory attitude on the part of Öztuna seems to have led him to make obvious mistakes in his later publications and, perhaps unwittingly, to subvert some important details of the subject: "[…] Arel saw the help of Uzdilek, his two friends [Yekta and Ezgi] who worked before him were deprived of the help of such a scientist" (1986, p. 89). However, Salih Zeki not only actively participated in the discussions between Yekta, Ahmet Mithat Efendi and Nuri Şeyda on the sound/tone system, music theory and in particular the Pythagorean scale, but also published the first book entitled *Hikmet-i Tabiiyye-i Umûmiyyeden Mebhas-ı Savt* (*The Acoustics in General Physics*).

However, Rauf Yekta, in a chapter he wrote for the French encyclopedia, described the active role of Salih Zeki in a detailed manner:

> This time, there was a debate between Salih Zeki and Ahmet Mithat about the physics of music. At the beginning of his literary life, Ahmet Mithat Efendi, who bravely touched all the scientific issues, felt very sorry for the fundamental criticisms of the famous physicist Salih Zeki Bey. Readers began to say that the reputation of this very pedantic scholar was over and that the time for specialization for the Turks had now emerged. […] In his book of physics, which was accepted by the Ottoman Ministry of Education for schools, Salih Zeki Bey wrote on the subject of acoustics according to Western writers. And while writing this, he showed interest in recognizing the proportions among the sounds used in Eastern music. This quarrel gave him the opportunity to communicate with me. I explained the results of my research to a famous physicist on a sonometer I made myself; he found them correct and congratulated me publicly for the first time in many of his articles, having shown the courtesy of praising my work, but for the first time explaining the physical foundations of the theory of Eastern music, which had been dealt with in the form of purely imaginary science. He also told his students at length in the course of physics classes in the *Darülfünun* [University]. (1986, p. 56)

Conclusion

This study initially focused on the pioneering men and the stages of development of a process that aimed at revealing the scientific foundations of Ottoman music, but some important issues became clear. The first was to determine how and by whom the process was

developed. It was possible to produce a detailed chronology of the steps related to the search for a 'scientific theory' for Ottoman music, and the data available from various publications in the bibliography were evaluated together with important events of the Ottoman 19th century Europeanization- Westernisation process, which shaped this article. As a result, the chronological order presented in the appendix (Table 1) gives a concrete idea about the course of events related to theoretical studies within the horizon of modernization. According to this study, the people who aimed to make the field of music theory scientific in a European sense grew up with a positivist frame of mind. One question to ask is what these people understood about innovation, science, and civilization. It is evident that the events of modernization cannot be considered separately from the sociological and cultural contexts in which people lived. The situation does not seem to be different in terms of the modernizers discussed here. A great deal of European and especially French-system based learning shaped their views of modernization. The modernizers Yekta and Ezgi speak only French, while Ataullah Dede and Arel speak other European languages such as English, Italian, and German. According to this viewpoint, these theorists tried to follow a path based on their own personal experience and understanding of how to make Ottoman music theory scientific. The preferences here were directly influenced by personal traits and dispositions, including political attitudes. These views of education, science, civilization, progress, and evolution developed according to the European values of Yekta, Ataullah Dede, Ezgi and Arel. This may have been both the main determining and the limiting factors in their studies of music theory.

Accordingly, the leading theorist of this whole process, which developed as a passionate and even obsessive ideal, was Yekta. From 1889 onwards, he and his guide Ataullah Dede shared an understanding shaped entirely by the ideas such as 'scientific positivism', 'civilization', 'progress', and 'evolution'. During the process, Yekta also received some assistance from renowned mathematician Salih Zeki Bey[54] and prominent *tanbur*-player Celaleddin Dede; but ultimately he was the one who made the greatest effort in the initiative of building a modern and scientific theory for Ottoman music. An important part of his intensive efforts was to read and analyze French books on music acoustics, history, and theory, while studying manuscripts written in Arabic, Persian and Turkish.

54 Salih Zeki Bey (1864-1921): He was a well-known mathematician, physician and astronomer. His first education was in Darüşşafaka. He studied electrical engineering in Paris. He became manager of the Galatasaray High School, and was the Rector of Darülfünun. After meeting with Yekta, he published scientific articles and book chapters on sound physics. The first article introducing Comte's positivist understanding of science and philosophy was written by him. For detailed information see (Saraç, 2001).

It is noteworthy that until 1935, the year of Yekta's death, Ezgi and Arel had not yet produced the greatest part of their alternative studies. However, when the first volume of his book was published in 1933, Ezgi began to develop a 'new narrative' that did not emphasize Yekta's pioneering role in the process and highlighted instead the theme of 'common study' with Yekta, including himself. Although they did not work with Ataullah Dede or Celaleddin Dede, they filled the gap represented by religious works with the help of Fahreddin Dede. The fact that Yekta never mentioned the name Fahreddin Dede in his studies in the field of music theory makes it impossible to overlook this important difference of the inclusion of Fahreddin Dede in Ezgi's statements. As mentioned above, the information that Fahreddin Dede participated in theory studies became widespread as a result of a simple mistake of Yılmaz Öztuna. Why did Öztuna prefer to propagate his fictional history instead of correcting this mistake? This question seems reasonably critical for Öztuna, who tries to fit the events around Rauf Yekta into an Arel-centered historical fiction.

The newly acquired positivist belief of the main actors, Yekta, Ataullah Dede, Celaleddin Dede, Ezgi and Arel has, above all, caused them to misunderstand and ultimately not find a suitable scientific approach for the real model of Ottoman music, the melodic motion-oriented one, which is the product of a completely different paradigm shaping the works of Ottoman music theory. They had identified the sources of this as a pile of superstitions and a chaos of contradictions because of the various 'expressions' contained by them that were not deeply analyzed by these researchers. According to them, these sources lack numerical proportions and also make various esoteric connections between music, the cosmos, time and medicine. Their over-confidence in their newly acquired European mentality caused them not to take into account the possibility of confronting an original theoretical model shaped in a different direction. Within this framework, it is possible that all three, Yekta, Ezgi, and Arel, shared a kind of blindness caused by the positivist orientation they adopted. This shows that the positive orientation is not only considered to be the only solution to the problems they face, but also widely accepted as a fundamental 'ideology of salvation', just as Comte had suggested to the Grand Vizier Reşid Pasha. In terms of the modern scientific thought they were trying to keep up with, it is a fact that all three approached the Ottoman world in which they lived with completely Orientalist prejudices. Typical reflections of this approach are particularly evident in their view about the sources for music or music theory written in the Ottoman world. Since Yekta, all acquired prejudices that the theory of music was an area that had been forgotten, ignored, filled with superstitions or never known by Ottoman musicians, and this seemed to have been an obvious obstacle to their correct understanding of these

original texts. The fundamental tendency that dominated the whole process was linked to ideas such as innovation, modernization, civilization, progression and evolution. All these concepts were seen as imperative and inevitable necessities in order to relate to a superior civilization. The fact that this understanding became a passionate obsession reveals less an original approach to the production of scientific knowledge than the tendencies of the Western civilization defenders who were involved in the process.

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Appendix

Table 1. A comparative chronology for the idea of 'finding the scientific foundations of Ottoman music' (modified from Öztürk, 2020).

Music – Culture – Mevlevism	Year	Society – Politics
Ataullah Dede's father Kudretullah Dede became sheikh of the Galata Mevlevihane	**1816**	
Birth of Osman Selahaddin Dede, father of Mehmed Celaleddin Dede	**1820**	Lord Stratford Canning's first visit to Istanbul as British Ambassador (until 1828) The arrival of the missionaries Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons to the Ottoman Empire to organize The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) activities
	1821	The Greek Rebellion The establishment of the *Babıali Tercüme Odası* (The Translation Chamber of Sublime Porte)
	1822	The execution of Mehmed Said Halet Efendi during his exile in Konya because of his significant role in the Greek Rebellion
Birth of Mehmed Zekai Dede	**1824**	The establishment of the ABCFM Syrian Protestant College
	1825	The establishment of the *Beşiktaş Cemiyyet-i İlmiyyesi* (The Beshiktash Scientific Society) hosted by İsmail Ferruh Bey, who was accepted as a freemason during his ambassadorship in England
The establishment of the *Musıka-yı Hümayun* (The Royal Music Ensemble) as European military band and orchestra	**1826**	The abolition of the Janissary Quarry and slaughter of janissaries The prohibition of Bektashism The prohibition of Freemasonry
	1829	The death of İzzet Molla, father of future Grand Vizier Keçecizade Fuat Pasha and close friend of Halet Efendi, in his exile in Sivas
Osman Selâhaddin Dede became the deputy sheikh of the Yenikapı Mevlevihane	**1831**	The establishment of the first ABCFM mission schools in Istanbul
	1832	The rebellion of Mehmed Ali Pasha of Kavala in Egypt
	1833	Signing of the Treaty of *Hünkâr İskelesi* [The Sultan's Pier] between Ottomans and Russians due to the Egyptian Rebellion Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha's entrance to the Translation Chamber of the Sublime Porte
	1834	Mustafa Reşid Pasha's appointment as ambassador to Paris The establishment of Pera Boys' School by ABCFM
	1836	The establishment of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Mustafa Reşid Pasha's appointment as ambassador in London and his entry to Freemasonry
	1837	Mustafa Reşid Paşa's appointment as the Minister of Foreign Affairs Keçecizade Fuat Pasha's entrance to the Translation Chamber of the Sublime Porte
	1838	Signing of the Balta Port Trade Agreement, granting British commercial concessions

	1839	Death of Mahmud II Abdülmecid's sultanate Mustafa Rashid Pasha's appointment as the Grand Vizier The proclamation of the *Tanzimat*
Mihail Mishaqa's presentation of the 25-tone equal system in Arabic, entitled *Risâletü'ş-şehâbiyye fi's-sınâati'l-mûsikiyye* [The Shehabian treatise on the art of music]	**1840**	The establishment of the Bebek Protestant Theological School by Cyrus Hamlin
	1841	Lord Stratford Canning's second British ambassador to Istanbul (until 1858) Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha's appointment as ambassador in London
Birth of Mehmed Ataullah Dede	**1842**	
Zekai Dede's visit to Cairo under the auspices of Mustafa Fazıl Pasha	**1845**	The permission of the Ottoman Empire to establish a Protestant Church in Jerusalem Establishment of the ABCFM Pera Girls' Boarding School Establishment of ABCFM Pera Girls Boarding School
	1846	Mustafa Reşid Pasha became the Grand Vizier for the second time Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha's appointment as the Minister of Foreign Affairs Establishment of the first Evangelical Church in Pera
Mishaqa's conversion to Protestantism	**1848**	Lord Stratford Canning's second visit to Istanbul as ambassador
Birth of Mehmed Celaleddin Dede	**1849**	
	1850	With the support of British ambassador Stratfod Canning, the Ottoman Protestant community gained national status
A short summary of Mishaqa's work in English by Eli Smith, published in the *Journal of American Oriental Society*, titled *A Treatise on Arab Music by Mikhail Meshakah of Damascus*	**1851**	Establishment of the Consulting Council
Publication of Haşim Bey's *Mecmûa-i kârha and nakşha and şarkiyyât* (*The collected works of various compositions*)	**1852**	Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha's appointment as the Grand Vizier and dismissal in the same year
Birth of Hüseyin Fahreddin Dede	**1853**	A. Comte's letter to the freemason Grand Vizier Mustafa Reşit Pasha inviting Islam to positive religion and politics The Crimean War
	1855	Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha' appointment as the Grand Vizier for the second time Keçecizade Fuad Pasha's appointment as the Foreign Minister
	1856	Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha's dismissal from the Grand Vizier for the second time Mustafa Reşid Pasha's appointment as the Grand Vizier again The Treaty of Paris The announcement of Islahat Edict The establishment of the Oriental Lodge connected to British obedience (until 1949)

	1857	Opening of the *Mekteb-i Osmanî* providing education in French, in Paris The establishment of the Grand Lodge of Turkey connected to French obedience in İzmir (until 1949) Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha's appointment as the Foreign Minister Abdurrahman Sami Pasha of Mora's appointment as the Minister of Education
	1858	Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha's appointment as the Grand Vizier for the third time and dismissal the following year The establishment of the *L'Etoile du Bosphore* Lodge connected to French obedience (until 1901)
Mishaqa began to work as a deputy at the American Consulate in Damascus (until 1870)	**1859**	
	1861	The establishment of the Old and Adopted Scottish Rit in Istanbul with the help of the French Supreme Council under the leadership of Egyptian Prince [Kavalalı] Abdulhalim Pasha The establishment of the Bulwer Lodge by the British Ambassador Sir Henry Bulwer in Istanbul-Buyukdere, under the United Great Lodge of England The establishment of the *Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye* (The Ottoman Society of Science) Death of Abdülmecid Abdülaziz's sultanate Keçecizade Fuad Pasha's appointment as the Grand Vizier, his dismissal and as the Grand Vizier again Mehmed Emin Ali Pasha's appointment as the Minister of Foreign Affairs for the sixth time
Upon the death of his father Nazif Dede, Hüseyin Fahreddin Dede's appointment as the Sheikh of the Beşiktaş Mevlevihane	**1862**	
The second edition of Haşim Bey's treatise	**1863**	Sultan Abdulaziz's visit to Egypt with *Şehzade*s Murad and Abdulhamid The establishment of Robert College, the American Missionary School providing education in English by Cyrus Hamlin The establishment of the *L'Union d'Orient* Lodge connected to French obedience (until 1901)
Birth of Salih Zeki	**1864**	The establishment of the *Cemiyyet-i Tedrîsiyye-i İslamiye* (The Islamic Education Society) (later '*Darüşşafaka*') The prohibition of all Protestant missionary activities by Supreme Porte
	1865	The establishment of the *Yeni/Genç Osmanlılar Cemiyeti* (The Young Ottomans Society) The establishment of Cairo Bulwer Lodge
	1866	The first opening of the School of Languages, which provided education in French (*Elsine Mekteb*')
		The establishment of the Assembly of Sheikhs (*Meclis-i Meşayih*) and the presidency of Osman Selahaddin Dede The establishment of the Ser Lodge

	1867	Sultan Abdulaziz's visit to England The formation of the Young Ottomans in Paris under the auspices of freemason Kavalalı Mustafa Fazıl Pasha Abdullatif Suphi Pasha, son of Abdurrahman Sami Pasha of Mora, became the Minister of Education
Zekai Dede's affiliation to Osman Selahaddin Dede Ataullah Dede's entry to Freemasonry at the Bulwer Lodge The publication of John Peter Brown, US Embassy Secretary and Dragoman in Istanbul, entitled *The Dervishes: or Oriental Spiritualism* Publishing a detailed report about Brown's book in *The Freemasons' Monthly Magazine* (4th July)	**1868**	The establishment of the *Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultanisi* providing education in French The establishment of the *I Proodos* Lodge, where many names that played important roles in Ottoman political history were members The initiations of İbrahim Ethem Pasha and the Egyptian Prince Mustafa Fazıl Pasha to the Freemasonry at the French lodge of *l'Union d'Orient*
Birth of Suphi Zühdi Ezgi Upon the call of H. Bulwer to London, J. P. Brown's appointment as the Grand Master of the Bulwer Lodge	**1869**	Death of Keçecizade Fuad Paşa Adoption of the Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi, which allowed the opening of foreign schools and which was modeled on French education Opening of the Suez Canal
Birth of Rauf Yekta Upon the death of his father Kudretullah Dede, freemason Ataullah Dede's appointment as the Sheikh of Galata Mevlevihane	**1871**	Death of Mehmed Emin Ali Paşa
	1872	The initiations of the Şehzades Murad, Kemaleddin and Nureddin to freemasonry at *I Prodoos* Lodge Death of John Porter Brown
Salih Zeki's enterance to the *Darüşşafaka*	**1874**	
	1876	The assasination of Sultan Abdulaziz Three-month sultanate of freemason Murad V Abdulhamid II became the sultan The adoption of the *Kanun-ı Esasi* (First Constitutional Monarchy) The Grand Vizierate of freemason Midhat Pasha Opening of the ABCFM Antep Protestant School and Üsküdar Girls' College
	1877	The Ottoman-Russian War
	1878	The Grand Master Freemason C. Scalieri's unsuccessful attempt to reinstate Murad V to the throne Cyprus under British administration according to the Berlin Conference
	1879	Second opening of the School of Languages
Birth of Hüseyin Sadeddin Arel	**1880**	
	1882	The British occupation of Egypt
	1884	The appointment of Celaleddin Dede as *Meclis-i Meşayih* (The Assembly of Sheikhs) Death of Midhat Pasha
R. Yekta began to study with Zekai Dede	**1885**	
S. Ezgi joined to Zekai Dede's musical performance lessons and meeting with Rauf Yekta	**1886**	

Upon the death of his father Osman Selahaddin Dede, Celaleddin Dede's appointment as the Sheikh of Yenikapı Mevlevihanesi	**1887**	
R. Yekta's meeting with Ataullah Dede , his work in the *Divan-ı Hümayun* Office, his education at the Languages School Death of M. Mishaqa	**1888**	
Ataullah Dede saw and bought A. Meragî's *Makasıdü'l-elhan* (The purposes of melodies) Beginning to study on this book with R. Yekta R. Yekta begins to copy various music theoretical boks in İstanbul libraries (until 1892)	**1889**	The establishment of the *İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (The Committee of Union and Progress)
R. Yekta's graduation from the Languages School (?) Ataullah Dede and Yekta began to make detailed readings on copied theory books R. Yekta brought books from France to learn more about the European music S. Ezgi's enterance the Military Medical School	**1892**	Closing of the Languages School The affiliation of Mehmed Ziya, the author of the book *Yenikapı Mevlevihanesi* (1911) to Celaleddin Dede
R. Yekta made a sonometer in light of his work with mathematician Salih Zeki Bey Celaleddin Dede's participation in theory studies S. Arel began to study oud and musical repertoire from the Sheikh Cemal Efendi in İzmir	**1893**	
R. Yekta's official assignment to Aleppo	**1894**	
Yekta returned to Istanbul and continued his theoretical studies with Ataullah Dede	**1895**	Closing of the Bulwer Lodge in Istanbul
Arel returned to Izmir from Istanbul and started taking oud lessons from Udî Şekerci Cemil Appointment of Salih Zeki as the Director of the Observatory (until 1909)	**1896**	
Appointment of Salih Zeki Bey to Resimli Gazete (Illustrated Newspaper) as a manager R. Yekta began to publish various articles on music theory under the title of *Lisan-ı elhan* (The language of melodies) in Resimli Gazete Death of Zekai Dede	**1897**	

R. Yekta began to publish articles in *Ikdam* newspaper about music, theory and history	**1898**	
Debates on 'Pythagorean Scale' between Salih Zeki, Ahmet Mithat Efendi and R. Yekta Publication of Mishaqa's work in the third issue of *al-Mashrik* magazine R. Yekta's detailed article on 'the Pythagorean Scale II' published in İkdam, addressed to Ahmet Mithat Efendi, giving information about the beginning and development of theory studies	**1899**	
S. Ezgi's meeting with S. Arel	**1901**	
	1902	The establishment of the *Macedonia Risorta* Lodge in the Italian Grand Orient in Thessaloniki
	1904	Death of Murad V The establishment of the *Veritas* Lodge in the French Grand Orient in Thessaloniki
R. Yekta's presentation of his studies on the 25-ton system to S. Ezgi and S. Arel and their adoption of this system Yekta's taking segah and eviç pitches as the complete notes and not using alteration signs for them Unlike Yekta, S. Ezgi and S. Arel's naming Western C Major as Çargâh makam and accepting it as the main scale of Turkish music	**1906**	The establishment of the *Labor et Lux* Lodge in the Italian Grand Orient in Thessaloniki
Yekta's modeling the method of M. Mishaqa for naming sounds in Turkish music in his article titled *Tanburda nagamatın mevaki-i fenniyyesi* [Scientific positions of pitches on the tanbur neck] which was published in İkdam on May 31 The publication of Yekta's various articles on music theory in the magazine of *La Revue Musicale* Death of Celaleddin Dede S. Arel started to take private lessons on harmony, counterpoint and fugue from E. Manas	**1907**	The establishment of the *Phillipos* Lodge in the Greek Grand Orient in Thessaloniki The establishment of the *Persevencia* Lodge in the Spanish Grand Lodge in Thessaloniki
Salih Zeki's publication the chapter entitled *Mebhas-i savt* (The subject of sound), which contained detailed information on the physics of phonics, in Darülfünun Mathematics Department Courses The publication of Salih Zeki's article introducing Comte and his positivist philosophy in the *Ulûm-i İktisadiyye and İçtimaiyye* (Journal of Economic and Social Sciences)	**1908**	The declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy Government of the Committee of Union and Progress (The Masonic State period, 1908-1918) Mehmet V's sultanate The establishment of the *Steaoa Salonicului* Lodge in the Romanian Grand Lodge in Thessaloniki The establishment of the *l'Avenir de l'Orient* Lodge in the French Grand Orient in Thessaloniki

R. Yekta expressed his views on Celaleddin Dede in a letter to Mehmet Ziya Arel began to publish the *Şehbal* magazine, which brought together writers known for their proximity to the Committee of Union and Progress. Arel praised Yekta and his studies with a title 'About a contemporary music writer' in the first issue of Şehbal, March 8 Arel's introducing Subhi Zühdi [Ezgi]'s works in the field of music in the fifth issue of March 28, entitled 'An unrecognized master of music'	**1909**	The establishment of the Ottoman Grand Orient (*Maşrık-ı Azam-ı Osmanî*) The Freemason Talat Pasha became the first Grand Master of the Lodge
Death of Ataullah Dede	**1910**	
Death of H. Fahreddin Dede As one of Celaleddin Dede's associates, Mehmed Ziya's publication of the book, *Yenikapı Mevlevihanesi*	**1911**	Tripoli War
R. Yekta's publication of his own translation from A. Jami's musical treatise and dedication to his first master, Ataullah Dede	**1912**	The First Balkan War
Chapter about Turkey in *the Encyclopedie de la Musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire* written in French by R. Yekta (published in 1922) Publishing of the French translation of Mishaqa's treatise in the 6th issue of the *Melange de la Faculte Orientale* by Sebastien J. Ronzevalle, born in Edirne	**1913**	The Second Balkan War
R. Yekta's separation from S. Ezgi and S. Arel (before 1918) Preparations for the establishment of *Darülbedayi*	**1914**	The First World War Entry of the Ottoman Empire into the First World War
The establishment of *Darülelhan* (Ottoman National Conservatory) and the appointment of Yekta as a teacher of Turkish music theory and history	**1917**	
	1918	The defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the First World War The Committee of Union and Progress ceased its activities Wilson Principles The establishment of The Association of Wilson Principles
[The end of the collaboration among Yekta, Ezgi and Arel (?) (according to Y. Öztuna)]	**1920**	
Death of Salih Zeki	**1921**	
	1922	The collapse of the Ottoman Empire Abolition of the sultanate by Parliament's decision
Continuation of the collaboration of Arel and Ezgi in Izmir	**1923**	Treaty of Lausanne Declaration of the Republic of Turkey Republican People's Party rule

Yekta's publication of Turkish Music Theory ('Gavsiyye')	**1924**	Abolition of the caliphate by decision of the Grand National Assembly
	1925	Abolition of Dervish lodges The Hat Law
Conversion of Darülelhan's name to Istanbul Municipality Conservatory by decision of the Fine Arts Board and end of Turkish music education Yekta's appointment as the chairman of a committee established under the name of the Board for the Transcription and Classification of Historical Turkish Music Works	**1926**	The Civil Law
Arel's two lectures on the advancement of Turkish music at Izmir Turkish Hearth	**1927**	
Returning of Arel and Ezgi to Istanbul and the continuation of their collaboration here	**1928**	Acceptance of the new Turkish alphabet
The appointment of Ezgi as a member of the Classification Committee of the Istanbul Municipal Conservatory thanks to Arel's support	**1929**	
Beginning of the collaboration between violinist Abdülkadir Töre and Ekrem Karadeniz on an alternative theory for Turkish music	**1930**	
Yekta's participation to the Cairo Congress of Arab Music with Mesud Cemil, where he chairs the Committee of Maqams, Usuls and Composition	**1932**	
Publishing of the first volume of Ezgi's *Nazari Ameli Türk Musikisi-NATM* (Theoretical Practical Turkish Music)	**1933**	
Ending the broadcasting of Turkish music on the radio by decision of the Ministry of Interior	**1934**	The Surname Law Women given the vote and the right to hold office
Death of Yekta Publication of the second volume of NATM	**1935**	Closing of Freemason lodges
Publication of the third volume of NATM	**193?**	
		Death of Atatürk
	1939	World War II (until 1945)
Publication of the fourth volume of NATM	**1940**	
Appointment of Arel as Director of Istanbul Municipal Conservatory	**1943**	
Publication by Arel's close friend physicist S. M. Uzdilek, entitled *Science and Music: Studies on Turkish Music*, by the Istanbul Municipality Conservatory	**1944**	

Y. Öztuna's beginning to prepare a dictionary for Turkish music	**1945**	
	1946	USS Missouri battleship's visit to Istanbul Establishment of the Democratic Party
	1947	Marshall Plan Truman Doctrine Economic and Technical Cooperation Aggrement between USA and Turkey
Arel's resignation from Istanbul Municipal Conservatory Arel founded the Association of Advanced Turkish Music Conservatory in Istanbul and began publishing the series-articles on Turkish music theory in the *Musiki Mecmuası*, which is the organ of the Association Öztuna's began to publish his dictitonary for Turkish music in *Musiki Mecmuası* as a series-article	**1948**	The resumption of Turkish Freemasonry
	1950	Democratic Party rule Turkey's sending troops to Korea
	1952	Turkey's accession to NATO
The publication of the fifth volume of NATM	**1953**	
Death of Arel	**1955**	
	1957	The Treaty of Rome and the establishment of The European Economic Community (EEC), or 'Common Market'
	1959	Turkey's application to the European Economic Community
Death of Ezgi	**1962**	
Publication of Arel's Two conference presentations on Turkish Music as a book, by the Association of the Advanced Turkish Music Conservatory	**1964**	
Publication of an alternative book on Turkish music theory by E. Karadeniz, under the title of *Türk Musikisi Nazariye ve Esasları* (*The Theoretical principles of Turkish Music*)	**1965**	
Publication of Arel's articles on *Turkish Music Theory Courses* as a book, by the Association of the Advanced Turkish Music Conservatory	**1968**	
Publication of Arel's articles about *Whose is Turkish Music?* The publication of the first volume of *The Encyclopedia of Turkish Music* by Öztuna	**1969**	
	1974	Cyprus Peace Operation
Establishment of the Turkish Music State Conservatory, also known as 'the Arel Conservatory ' in Istanbul by initiative of Arel's students and friends	**1975**	USA embargo against Turkey

Publication of Ahmet S. Teymur's book about Turkish music theory based on Arel theory	**1979**	
	1980	Military Coup of September 12
Publication of Özkan's book, *The Theory and Usuls of Turkish Music*, based on Arel theory	**1984**	
Publication of the Turkish translation of Yekta's French chapter on Turkish music written for Lavignac's Encyclopedia by O. Nasuhioğlu Publication of the book *Sadeddin Arel* by Öztuna	**1986**	
Publication of Arel's article series about *Turkish Music Theory Courses* as a book, edited by Onur Akdoğu	**1991**	

CHAPTER 4

TRACES OF OTTOMAN POLITICAL INCIDENTS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY WANDERING MINSTREL EPIC POEMS

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ABSTRACT

Epic poems represent the oldest genre of Turkish literature inherited by the ozan-baksı and wandering minstrel traditions. As in previous periods, epic poems of the 19th century were works of art relating political incidents that occurred within the Ottoman State. They recorded the personalities who influenced the empire in the19th century and specifically described a society in flux, detailing the evolution of social, political, and cultural dynamics across the Ottoman territories. The epics of the period represent one of the most significant sources for the structural and functional analysis and understanding of this process of sociocultural change. Epic poems recounted historical incidents and were not influenced by artistic anxieties; hence, they could reflect past and present social realities. The first anonymous tellers of the epic poems were wandering minstrels. The epic poems represent the origins of social history in Anatolia in terms of their contemplation and analysis of cultural changes. They describe social shifts and developments, explain the social structures of the period in which they were performed, and reveal the psyches of their contemporaries. They disclose the ideas, lifestyles, beliefs, and values of their times. Apart from being valued as living representatives of an ancient wandering minstrel tradition, many wandering minstrels trained in the nineteenth century can also be viewed as significant sources of political and social events. Given their sensitivity toward political and social incidents they had experienced, the wandering minstrels of the 19th century produced numerous works of epic poetry. They perceived it as their duty to perpetuate the essence of folklore, recount historical incidents, and narrate the events of the Ottoman wars. The wandering minstrels experienced or witnessed these historical incidents and transformed them into poetry in their epics, which reflected the 19th century as supplementary sources of history. Thus, epic poems can substantially establish the connections between art and politics. They can also be viewed as oral historical texts that may be utilized as research sources in history and other disciplines to achieve a comprehensive basis for the reconsideration and re-establishment of extant theories.

Keywords: Wandering minstrel, epic poems, epic poems as the texts of oral history, the political incidents of the Ottoman empire

Âşık (Wandering Minstrel) literature was accepted as a new synthesis suitable to Islamic rule. In Anatolia, it remained under the influence of Sufi movements and the tariqa literature of the *ozan-baksı* poet type (*ozan, baksı, kam* and *şaman* were the names of the poets who sang together with their *saz*es {stringed instruments that resemble a lute} on subjects such as poetry, love, nature and heroism prior to Islam; they were called *aşık* or *saz şairi* after accepting Islam) and the literary traditions of which these were part, and which are the first examples of Turkish literature. The literary tradition of every nation shows a movement from religious subjects to non-religious subjects, and this is also the case for Ottoman literature. The first *saz* poetry emerged with the need for a secular literature close to the people alongside the dervish lodge literature brought by the dervishes and holy men from Khorasan and Turkistan, and thus national and religious works were produced. Although it is known that many *destan* (epics, epic poems, epopees, ballads, songs) were recited after the establishment of the Janissary Corps, texts about these works do not exist. The works we have today belong to the reigns of Sultan Selim I and Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent. The folk songs, Janissary songs of heroism, war songs and epic poems composed prior to the sixteenth century have almost completely disappeared today. Those who served in the establishment of the dervish lodge literature and the Kadirî, Bektâşî and Nakşî dervishes, who were our first Sufis, were a source for the wandering minstrel genre by remaining under the influence, with great probability, of Hoca Ahmet Yesevi and his followers. The wandering minstrel genre and the dervish lodge literature, which was a source for this, were established with the purpose of influencing with propaganda the intellectual and political milieus of Anatolia. Alongside the influence of the dervishes coming from Khorasan and Turkistan in the periods of the Konya Seljukids and the Anatolian Beyliks, the conditions required for preparing the development of the dervish lodge literature during the thirteenth century remained the same after Ottoman independence. Moreover, with the patronage and financial support of the Ottoman sultans and the high governmental officials, the dervish lodge literature, which was established with the love and devotion of the people, was enriched with the use of Arabic and Persian in the period of Orhan Bey and Osman Bey. In addition to the dervish lodge literature during the reign of Yıldırım, when a separate classical literature was formed with the growing need for the recitation of war epic poems, *koşmalar* (free-form folk poems/songs about love/nature), folk poems and *kayabaşılar* (rural ballads, shepherd's songs), a wandering minstrel literature arose which was different from the dervish lodge literature, but which shared its color and guise (Günay, 1993, pp. 8-11).

In the nineteenth century,[1] when the Ottoman State was undergoing a process of dispersion, the wandering ministrel tradition went through a bright and productive period, drawing abundantly on political and social incidents. The wandering minstrels in this century produced works of high artistic value conveying the emotions and thoughts of Ottoman society and referring to many subjects characterizing the lives of the Ottoman people, including many political, historical and social incidents experienced due to the Empire entering a new phase of chaos. These incidents included all the rituals of passage from birth to death.

In the nineteenth century, the wandering minstrel tradition, which had until then been "local" started to become distanced from the sole enjoyment of the people, becoming popular among the upper classes. The effect of city life and culture was particularly observed during this period and the wandering minstrels gave space to Arabic-Persian words, forms and noun phrases, by using classical literature verse forms and prosody measures. The poets trained in the dervish lodges belonging to tariqas functioned as a bridge between folk literature and classical literature. On the other hand, the *saz* poets also became acquainted with the classical, traditional Turkish music and poetry by breathing the air of free knowledge they sought in the dervish lodge circles, which were distant from the madrasahs (Köprülü 1962, pp. 525-527). Alongside the effect of classical literature on folk poetry, the effects of the folk poets on the enlightened milieus could clearly be seen as well (Köprülü, 1989, p. 22).

There were four main types of coffeehouses existing in the nineteenth century: Janissary coffeehouses, fire brigade coffeehouses, wandering minstrel coffeehouses and folk poet coffeehouses (Aktan 1997: 53). Upon the closing of the Janissary Corps during the reign of Sultan Mahmut II, the Janissary coffeehouses were also closed. The coffeehouse culture of this group of people was kept alive by being transferred later to the fire brigade organization.

These types of works emerged in response to Westernization after the *Tanzimat* (the political reforms made in the Ottoman State in 1839). The dervish lodge and wandering minstrel genre traditions, which were previously opposed to each other, also took the wandering minstrel genre of the members of the madrasah as a common expression. Immediately after, while assimilating the wandering minstrel genre, the use of the syllabic meter acquired a prevalence never observed before. In parallel with this, the madrasah became close to the dervish lodge,

1 The names of the wandering minstrels known and trained in this century are as follows: Beşiktaşlı Gedai, Bidari, Esrari, Gülzari, Harabat Hacik, İkrarî, Karari, Nami, Neşeti, Rami, Reşidi, Sabri, Sarkiş, Selisi, Serveri, Seyit Ali, Şemsi, Sururi, Tanburi Niyazi, Tosyalı Ali Mustafa, Üryani, Ahmet Şeyda, Âşık Mehmet, Arifi, Baybutlu Zihni, Ceyhuni, Dertli, Develili Seyrani, Erzurumlu Emrah, Fedai, Haki, Hasankaleli Âşık Dursun, Hergami, İbrahim, İlhami, Ispartalı Seyrani, Kemali, Lütfi, Meydanî, Muhibbi, Niyazi, Pesendi, Rifat, Sabri, Safranbolulu Hacı and Sıtkı (Aktan 1997: 170).

and wandering minstrel genres began employing prosodic types in the nineteenth century. In the clash between the Western sociocultural values and institutions and the local cultural values and institutions, the wandering minstrel genre became the advocate of the latter by receiving their support. In particular, the emergence of the criticism-complaint epic poems in response to sociocultural changes, and especially these being circulated in the written-culture milieu by means of the printing press as well as their sales to extensive masses, played an important role in the wandering minstrel genre assuming the advocacy of local values and institutions in the nineteenth century (Çobanoğlu, 2000, p. 141).

Despite the radical changes and developments which began with the *Tanzimat*, people listened to the wandering minstrels in every environment. They were the representatives of a past lifestyle. Istanbul provided a very important milieu for the development of the wandering minstrel literature in the nineteenth century. The role of Sultans Mahmut II, Abdulmecit and Abdulaziz in protecting the wandering minstrels was great and it reinvigorated the wandering minstrel literature. Especially in the nineteenth century, works in the epic poem genre were produced, and became a source of livelihood. In this century, the wandering minstrels were organized under the control of the government and the sultans, because of their effect on people. They used the performances to their own advantage by remaining close to the minstrels. Furthermore, to prevent negative propaganda that would be made by the them, they established the Society of Wandering Minstrels at the Chicken market to provide performances. The leader of the wandering minstrels, who was selected from among them, handled the communication between the palace and the wandering minstrels. The Folk Poet coffeehouses or Live Musical Entertainment coffeehouses, which were established during the *Tanzimat* in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, included typical Istanbul residents, the majority of whom were impromptu poets connected to the fire brigade organization, rather than wandering minstrels wh travelled the lands of the empire. A similar development to that of Janissary coffeehouses being transformed into fire brigade coffeehouses was also observed in the transformation of the wandering minstrel coffeehouses into folk poet coffeehouses. If one thinks that the interaction among wandering minstrels was between Anatolia and Istanbul up until the eighteenth century, and that the wandering minstrel art tradition was carried from Anatolia to Istanbul, in the nineteenth century, it i observed that the direction of the interaction changed, poceeding from Istanbul to Anatolia (Aktan, 1997, p. 353).

Just as the nineteenth century wandering minstrel literature was accepted outside the palace, it was also accepted within the palace. The *Şairân-ı Hassa* (Imperial Poets) were based at the palace and performed during the reigns of Sultans Mahmut II, Abdülmecit and

Abdülaziz. Toker, (2014: 169-184; 2017: 443-450) in studies that were solidly based on the data obtained from the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, reported important information about the wandering minstrel music and literature of many musicians around the end of the nineteenth century who continued their lives supported by patronage, and about the group called "*Şâirân-ı Hassa*" that employed *saz* poets, and which was established at the palace, thanks to the founding of new musical institutions due to the changing palace system and the transition of the Ottoman Dynasty from Topkapı Palace to Dolmabahçe Palace. Contrary to the view that there was no place for folk music at the Ottoman Palace, Toker documented that wandering minstrel music was performed there in the nineteenth century. However, besides giving information about the institutional structure and presence of this group, definitive data was not gathered regarding their performances. However, it was concluded that the performances here could have displayed a similarity to the performances made at the folk music coffeehouses. Furthermore, we find information related to the *Şairân-ı Hassa* in Köprülü (1962, p. 527) and partially in Ergun (1933, p.9): "...According to tradition, twenty-thirty wandering minstrels, who had special permissions from the palace, were active during the reigns of Sultans Mahmut II, Abdülmecit and Abdülaziz, and from time to time, these wandering minstrels would perform a program of musical pieces in the presence of the sultan. Also, according to tradition, Âşık Hüseyin from Istanbul was at the head of the *saz* poets at the palace for thirteen years, and Gedai from Beşiktaş led the wandering minstrel programs of musical pieces in the presence of Sultan Abdülaziz. We know that Âşık Sururî was also among the wandering minstrels employed at the palace."

Sakaoğlu (1992, p. 294) highlighted that the beginning of the breaking up of the empire in this century and the realization of some political and social reforms paved the way towards new horizons for our wandering minstrels. From now on, not only poems on love, nature and war were recited, they were virtually setting forth new ideas and opinions on each of those topics. Some important incidents were evoked in the poems: social occurrences, such as the Kabakçı Mustafa Rebellion, the murder of Alemdar Mustafa Pasha and the abolishment of the Janissaries. Furthermore, historical occurrences, such as the Serbian uprising, the Morea rebellion, the Herzegovinian rebellion, etc. were among the subjects of the wandering minstrel poems.

Epic Poems as Texts of Oral History

It is not known when the word *destan* (epic, epic poem, epopee, ballad, song) was first used by the Turks. It is believed to have been employed in various genres of written literature

between the ninth and the eleventh centuries. The real form of the word is dâstân[2] from Persian (Dizdaroğlu, 1969, pp. 91-92). Terms, such as *manzum hikâye* (story, tale in verse), *hikâye* (story, tale), *kıssa* (anecdote, story, tale, fable, legend), *kıssa hikâye* and *sergüzeşt* (adventure) were used for *destan*. They carry close meanings in various sources. Due to the Ancient Greek poets calling *epos* the poems they recited to the accompaniment of the *saz,* the word *destan* is translated as "epopee" in Western languages. The term *destan* first appeared in the *divan* (classical school of poetry) literature due to the influence of Iran, then passing to folk literature thanks to the influence of *divan* literatüre, and it became an important genre of folk poetry by being mesterfully developed by the wandering minstrels. The word *destan* has been found in a number of different genres from the thirteenth century to the present-day.

Besides the stories and tales written in the *mesnevi* form (a poem made up of rhymed couplets, each couplet having a different rhyme) following its prosody measure as found in *divan* literature, there are history books written in verse, as well as advise and history books written in prose. In folk literature, we find fairy tales, folk tales and fables written in verse, biographical novels in prose and epic character novels written in prose, and they appear in folk poetry as the name of a literary genre (Dizdaroğlu, 1969, pp. 92-93). Epic poems were mostly organized in verses. With the onset of written culture, rhetoric's product, taking the name of "literature," can be thought of within the framework of the word, melody and theatrical narration in the eras prior to writing. Due to this aspect, epic poems should be recited in a measured manner, in a form that is most suitable to be accompanied by ancient melodies. In fact, in the living epic poem traditions experienced in the present-day (for example among the Kyrgyzs), the epic poem is narrated entirely with measured words. However, the existence of epic poem forms where a measured word and plain speaking language narration is found and is complex in some oral traditions, and the existence of such forms in the texts which are old examples of this type of narration (for instance, the *Dede Korkut* Book), makes one think that some nations could have used plain words mixed with measured words for a long time (Boratav, 2003, p.49). Ö. Çobanoğlu defined the epic poem in the form of "making a story, tale or narrative of an incident, a thing or concept found to have value in the making of an epic poem by the wandering minstrel without limiting the subject, which is narrated in the context of an oral-culture environment and that is a type of verse performed to the accompaniment

2 These names are encountered in various Turkish clans: *dastan* in Azerbaijan, Bashkortostan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tatarstan and in the Uighurs. Furthermore, it is *jır* in Kazakhstan, *rivayet* in the Uighurs and *epos* in Tatarstan (*Karşılaştırmalı Türk Lehçeleri Sözlüğü* (Comparative dictionary of Turkish dialects) 1992: 166-167). It is called *olongo* in the heroic deed poems and heroic deed life stories of the Yakut Turks and is *comok* in the heroic deed epic poems and is *comokçu* for those who narrate the epic poems in the Kyrgyz Turks (Elçin 1988: 34).

of traditional wandering minstrel melodies connected to the behavior of the narration of the subject treated by the wandering minstrel" (2000, p. 3). It comes into existence from stanzas made of four lines of poetry. Just as there are epic poems with the number of stanzas reaching 100, there are also those whose stanzas do not surpass 8 to10. The measure is mostly hendecasyllabic.

Poems with eight lines are encountered infrequently. The rhyme order of the epic poem is that of the free-form folk poem/song. The technique of narration in the epic poems is varied. In some of them, the wandering minstrel is satisfied with narrating on his own behalf, while in some, the main characters of the epic poem are made to talk after a short introduction, one of the characters talks in each stanza, and at the end of the epic poem, once again the wandering minstrel, giving his name and his own words, finishes the epic poem. Wandering minstrels also create "epic poem parodies" (narrating with the manner of an epic poem a subject that is not serious): mosquito, flea epic poems, pennilessness epic poems, etc. In these, the wandering minstrel adds irrational elements or comic exaggerations on purpose (Boratav 2003, p. 37-38).

Although most of the epic poems fit the free-form poems/songs type, some comprised of the quatrains found in the *mani* (traditional Turkish quatrain) type of the *saz* poets. The oldest example of the free-form poems/songs type epic poems in Anatolian folk poetry are registered on behalf of a poet from Kars, who used the nickname Baykan. This epic poem, which was recited upon Tamerlane's conquest of Kars from the Karakoyunlus in 1386, was in the free-form poem/song type with eleven syllables and eight stanzas/quatrains. The oldest creator of the *mani* type epic poem was a *saz* poet named Bahşi. This epic poem -or part of an epic poem- relates the Egyptian campaign made by Sultan Selim I in 1517, and has five quatrains. Although the core of the epic poems was based on an incident, it should not be thought that what was narrated completely reflected the truth. However, it was observed that especially the war epic poems remained faithful to the truth (Dizdaroğlu, 1969, pp. 91-101).

The subject in epic poems is treated following a systematic order, such as introduction, development and conclusion. Folk poetry, frequently makes use of prepared templates, also called poetical motifs. Epic poems based on reciprocal narration use mostly prepared templates, such as "said", "say" and "say that". Yardımcı (2013, pp. 303) classified the epic poems with regards to the subjects in the following manner: 1. Written documents on poetry, 2. Mourning epic poems, 3. Epic poems narrating women and family life, 4. Drummer and watchman epic poems, 5. Epic poems related to commercial life and professions, 6. Advice epic poems, 7. War epic poems, a. Epic poems narrating external wars, b. Epic poems narrating

internal clashes, 8. Epic poems related to prison, 9. Animal epic poems, 10. Epic poems related to natural disasters, 11. Comic epic poems, 12. Epic poems having the attribute of societal satire or criticism, 13. Epic poems complaining about the world, the universe and fate, 14. *Elifnâmeler* (written documents about letters) and 15. Epic poems on different subjects. Since the subjects treated in epic poems stem from a known incident, to weave a story or tale around the incident is at the forefront. That is, the real aim is to narrate an incident. The main rules of the epic poem genre are that all the epic poems treating important wars in history are based on real and historical incidents.

The wandering minstrels took great care to faithfully narrate historical facts with their *saz*es and words when treating the subjects of wars, migrations, heroism, etc., which deeply affected society. Koz (1985: 96) pointed out that epic poems were a link between the old and new culture, due to their documenting the way of living, way of thinking and the beliefs characterising the time in which the narrated events took place. It is likely that the wandering minstrels presented, in the epic poems, the material provided by history with details which remained true to the reality of the historical and political incidents which they witnessed in their own lifetime. The wandering minstrels shone a light on the collective past of the nation to which they belonged by transferring it to a written setting (the *cönkler*, manuscript collections of folk poems).[3] The epic poems that they composed in an oral setting caused them to gain the peculiarities of written historical documents and texts. In the process, memory/mental faculty, words, melody and rhythm became the most important instruments. Mnemonic transmission is a basic component in the formation of a society's pure, original musical tradition, located in this or that geography. These historical texts transmitted by the wandering minstrel as templates acquired their form by means of melody and rhythm, and facilitated their memorization of words. Being firmly rooted in the melody/rhythm pattern and in the syllabic meter of the poem serves to integrate both words and melody. In epic poems, the integration of the words and melody shows the suitability of the development of the melody to the contents of the words (Coşkun Elçi 2015, pp.14-33).

There is a historical incident at the heart of all genres of folklore (Türkmen 2005: 294). In this context, the epic poems have also become firmly rooted in a historical incident. Artun discussed, as indicated by Vial, the relationship between the folklore as a by-product of history

3 The notebooks in which the folk poets wrote their poems, and which generally opened from bottom to top, are called *cönk*s (manuscript collections of folk poems). In the *conks* there are generally the epic poems, free-form folk poems/songs, *semai* (poetic form favored by folk poets and used to create songs) and *varsağılar* (types of folk poems) belonging to various poets (Elçin 1997: 11).

and other disciplines. The historian uses all techniques for examining in detail a cross-section of the past; s/he feels the need to apply it to all branches of the human sciences, each of which is a separate area of research, in order to be able to make a sound synthesis. The historian also makes use of literary analyses when needed according to the area of research (Artun, quoted from Vial:2002, p. 37). Yıldırım (2004, p.139), in the context of the oral/verbal environment, by treating the relationship of history with folklore by-products, evaluated the historical documents in three groups:

a. Verbal environment creativity documents/texts created completely from words,

b. Verbal environment creativity documents/texts created half from words and half without words, and

c. Verbal environment creativity documents/texts created completely without words.

In Yıldırım's (2004, p. 39) classification, the epic poems are in the section of verbal environment creativity documents/texts created completely from words, and are resources that shed light on dark points of history. Thomson (1999, p. 132) explained in the following manner the relationship between the epic poems having the attribute of oral sources and having been created in a verbal environment and the historical sources: all the historical sources obtained from what is perceived by individuals are subjective. However, the challenge of the subjectivity of oral sources gives us the chance to descend into the layers of memory and to enter dark places with the hope of reaching the secret truth.

Most of the works in the epic poem genre were realized in the nineteenth century, and the type of epic poem in which we find traces of political incidents were the war epic poems. Just as war epic poems were recited and based upon the victory of the army, the painful aspect of the defeats were also recited and based upon the sorrow of the people. In these epic poems, assistance was requested from the sultan by narrating the oppression and bad conditions suffered by the people. The epic poems were moulded from life experiences in that they narrated events and figures they valued in society, as well as reflecting the hopes and wishes of the people (Koz 1985, p. 104). The epic poems, which provided a significant contribution to Ottoman Turkish culture, hold a mirror to history due to their reflecting the everyday political and social incidents of the period in which the wandering minstrels lived or which they witnessed.

The Viewpoints of the Nineteenth Century Wandering Minstrels on the Political Incidents in the Ottoman Empire

The epic poems, some of the oldest types of Turkish oral poems, were produced extemporaneously most of the time by the wandering minstrels between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries, and were performed to the accompaniment of music in the framework of oral culture environments and face-to-face with the audience. Those who were in this environment either memorized them or, after they were put into writing, read it to others, or circulated them by copying and writing the epic poems (Çobanoğlu 2000: Foreword). Just as in previous periods, the epic poems stand before us as artistic works of art narrating political incidents and figures who lived in the Ottoman era, especially reflecting a society undergoing change and the development of social, political and cultural dynamics in the nineteenth century Ottoman geography. As such, they are included among the most important sources for the analysis and the understanding of this process, both structurally and functionally.

The epic poems reflected historical and social realities. The first tellers of epic poems, who have stayed anonymous to this day, were the wandering minstrels. The epic poems are a source of social history and provide material to analyse the cultural change and development of Anatolia, the social structure of the period in which they were told, the psychology of the people, their way of thinking, their way of living and their beliefs. On this point, the epic poems are important sources for many branches of science, first of all the science of history. There exists a close cooperation among Folklore, Music, Anthropology, Literature and other branches of science. They give and take materials from each other.

Öztelli (1976, pp. 10-13) and Türkmen (2005, pp. 293-294) stated that the Ottoman historian was a government official. The historiography of the Ottoman period was indifferent to the lives of people. Historians such as Kâtip Çelebi and Nâima were criticised. What Ottoman historians did not write was recited by the folk poets, who used the language of the people. These poets lived among the people, experiencing all kinds of historical incidents. Throughout the frontiers, in the army and amongthe people, they traveled throughout the Empire with their *saz*es. They were well-received everywhere. They were the people's consolation from the village rooms to the aga mansions. The poets, who recited epic poems and tales of Oghuz and his wonderful exploits prior to Islam, traveled from group to group of nomads with their *saz*es and in the period of the Ottoman Empire, they always took their place among the people of the Alevite-Bektashi dervish lodges, they continued these functions among the Janissary Corps, during rebellions and wars. They poured out epics poetry lines

about the political and social incidents experienced in this period. Our study, in which we will give examples of the epic poems which included the political incidents experienced in the Ottoman nineteenth century, we took from studies titled *Türk Destanları* (Turkish Epic Poems) by Kemal Zeki Gençosman (1972) and *Uyan Padişahim* (Wake up My Sultan) by Cahit Öztelli (1976). Both authors obtained the epic poems from the resources and manuscript collections of folk poems they found and transcribed them into Roman characters.

1. French-Ottoman War (1797-1800) and Defense of Acre (1799)

France occupied Egypt in 1798 to crush England's power, which had become stronger in the Mediterranean and the Far East. France, however, lost the war which had lasted for three years to the alliance between England and the Ottoman State. Napoleon Bonaparte, who was stopped by Cezzar Ahmet Pasha at Acre, returned to France.

In the epic poem recited by the Wandering Minstrel Lüccetî Yusuf Pasha, he gives advice to the soldiers in order to keep their morale high (Çoruk, quoted from Elçin, 2007: 24-26):

Fıransız söyledi Ey Yusuf Paşa
Mısır beldesinde kuram mekânı
Şam'ın illerini bütün alırım
Halep sınırına dikem nişanı

Yusuf Paşa der ki: Be kafir n'oldun
Tâ Cebel-i Cûş'da soluğun aldın
Gecenin nısfında Mısır'ı buldun
Hele sabah olsun kuram divanı

Yusuf Paşa der ki: Fıransız kafir
Hali buldun aldın sen bu meydanı
Mısır' da bu sene otur müsâfir
Görelim ne eyler Yaradan Gani

Fıransız der: Ben bu yana sapmışım
Mısır'ı ben sizden şikar kapmışım
Ariş'te bir metin kale yapmışım
Üstüme al getir mir-i mîrânı

Fıransız söyledi: Mekr ü fend ettim
Yerlisin köylüsün bana bend ettim
Vermezim Mısır'ı böyle ahd ettim
Korkmazım getirsen halk-ı cihânı

Yusuf Paşa der ki: Laf etme boşa
Nil yalısın aldım hep baştan başa
Deryayı kesmiştir Hüseyin Paşa
İngiliz'in çoktur nâr-ı sûzânı

Fıransız söyledi: Askerim hezâr
Cenk gününde ana eyle bir nazar
Bende olan asker on ordu bozar
Zerrece Mısır' dan kesmem gümânı

Yusuf Paşa der ki: Tedbirim saklı
On bin Arnavut var kolu kolçaklı
Askerimin hepsi yalın bıçaklı
Senden akıtırım sel gibi kanı

Fıransız söyledi: Bana noluyor
Balyemez topların ciğer deliyor
Fıransa' dan yüz bin imdat geliyor
Ol zaman seyreyle tozu, dumanı

Yusuf Paşa der ki: Kibr-ile uçtun
Dayanıp sırtıma ateşler saçtın
Salihiye' deki kaleden kaçtın
Hariçte de tutamadın tabanı

Fıransız der: Bir tuzağa girmeyiz
Boş yere düşmana fendi kurmayız
Haşr-olur da biz Mısır'ı vermeyiz
Böylece kurmuşuz ahd-ü amanı

Yusuf Paşa der ki: Edelim düğün
Canın kurtulursa bir zaman öğün
Mısır'ın içinde elli yedi gün
Her saat yalvarıp edin amanı

Fıransız söyledi: Yol ver geçeyim
Kendi erliğimle bari göçeyim
Al anahtarlardan bir su içeyim
Ağlayıp Mısır için kılam figanı

Yusuf Paşa der ki: Ederim sena
Bu Mısır'ın halkı gerekmez bana
Neyleyim ki Şeyh'ler eyledi rica
Padişah başıçin kıldım ihsanı

Yusuf Paşa Mısır'a girdi ol dem
Ehl-i İslam oldu şâz ile hurrem
Okundu ezanlar, halk etti kerem
Vezir-i âlişan kesdi kurbanı

Yusuf Paşa der ki: Çeksin yedekçi
Tamam altmış bindir deli tüfekçi
Enderun ağalar serâpâ cenkçi
Seyr-eyle asker-i Âl-i Osman'ı

L'ûcceti medhini eyledi takrir
Dilerim Mevla'dan ola dest-i gir
Var mıdır böyle bir âli-şan vezir
Bu devr-i zamanın bir kahramanı

Lüccetî, in the epic poem that we gave as an example, by having the Grand Vizier Yusuf Pasha of that period talk with the French, gives detailed information about the war. The war lasted for 57 days, with a sixty thousand-strong Ottoman army, ten thousand soldiers of which were Albanian. On the other hand, the French army was composed of one hundred thousand soldiers. The French behaved in a belittling and arrogant manner with the people. The minstrel praised Yusuf Pasha, and related that the Ottomans won the war.

Zâhir el-Ömer, who rebelled against the Ottomans, seized Acre, and after increasing its commercial importance, the French started to establish new trade colonies there. Cezzar Ahmet Pasha recaptured Acre. Subsequently, Napoleon Bonaparte, who brought soldiers to Egypt, wanted to besiege Acre (18 March 1759). He withdrew, encountering defeat. Acre was rebuilt under the administration of Cezzar Ahmet Pasha (Çolak, 2008, pp. 141-183).

Wandering Minstrel Zihnî turned the experience into an epic poem (Sakaoğlu 1988: 105-109):

Hazret-i Sultan Abdülmecid Han
Zıll-ı Hudavendi Perverdigarı
Münteha meskendir hümâ-yı kadri
Sidrede beslenir izz ü vekarı

Ata binse o İskender-cenabın
Cem inanın tutar Hüsrev rikabın
Eşheb-i lutfunun görse şitabın
Rüstemler olurdu gaşiyedârı

Çünkü ferman etti o şah-ı kişver
Feth-i beriyyetü ‘ş-Şam’ı ser-a-ser
Denizden donanma karadan asker
Yürüdü Beyrût’a yemin yesârı

İngilizle maan bizim donanma
Çıktı Akdeniz’e urs alabanda
Çözüldü yelkenler dizildi güya
Bir bir ardı sıra turna kataı

Beyrüt’a bir atım barut attılar
Ertesi Sayda’ya Sûr’a attılar
Akka limanına lenger attılar
Üç alabandalar saçtı şerârı

Şefine-i hûmâyun evvel yanaştı
Kopuz havar gülle sağdı savaştı
Makas salkım birbirine dolaştı
Ateşlere yaktı burc u hisârı

Akka’nın başına çöktü bir duman
Sanki Behram idi felekte kıran
Adünun başına teng oldu cihan
Fark olunmaz oldu Leyl ü nehârı

Ser-asker-i Hazret-i Mustafa Paşa
Gönderdi askeri bunda savaşa
Ya Rab bu ne dava bu ne temaşa
Gözler görmüş değil bu kâr ü zârı

Öbüsler döğdüler abûs çehreyi
Sağdı tamam yetmiş beş bin gülleyi
Üç buçuk saatte aldı kal'ayı
Akka'nın göklere çıktı gubarı

Humbara rast geldi yandı cebhâne
Kalmadı teslimden özge bahane
Selim Paşa ile asker yanyana
Girdiler kal'aya yatsı kararı

Akka'nun başına koptu kıyâmet
Mısır askerine oturdu heybet
Sözleri bir anda şehbaz-ı şevket
Kaf-ı şeca'atten aldı şikârı

Kanla yuğrulmuş turâbın Akka
İmarından çok harabın Akka
Kan dökmede vardır şitabın Akka
Hâkin tecellisi hikmet-i Bâri

Toprağın fitneli taşların kanlı
Başın kavgalıdır gözün dumanlı
Çok yiğitler yedin ejder dehânlı
Su'al edenlere bastın inkârı

Hass-ı hasin bir kal'asın güzelden
Sana düşmen zafer bulmaz tez elden
İmarına mıstar çekmiş ezelden
Mirrih sa'atinde ezel mi'mârı

Bir metin kal'asın yoktur akranın
Çare-saz olamaz değme düşmanın
Çerdeh Tepesi'nden çoktur ziyânın
Sana havalelik eyler eyler her bârı

Sen bir kal'asın ki kal'a-i hakan
Müstahkem metinsin her medhe şayan
Yoktur senin gibi bir cennet mekan
Çünkü sensin Arabistan kiları

Eğerçi dünyaya çok zararın var
Lakin mu'tebersin ne haberin var
Salih Nebi gibi peygamberin var
Seni kabz ederler Rümun diyarı

Likin fitne sende felaket sende
Kavga-yı kal sende kıyamet sende
Kimse bilmez nedir bu halet sende
Olur üç günde bir gülle bâzârı

Sende çok sakamet emraz-ı şetta
Muhalif ruzigar vehâmed hava
Her milletten adem sende hüveydâ
Türk(ü) yehud (ü) fellah kıbti-i har

Bezzazları her esnaftan ziyade
Şeytana ders verir bey' ü şirada
Terzisi batakçı berberi sâde
Bakkalı kassabı çok hilekarı

Ekmekçibaşının hali mükedder
Buğdası nûr gibi ekmeği esmer
Unutmuş Mısır'da bırakmış meğer
Edebi hayayı namüs u ârı

Kassabbaşı meymûn katibi defçi
Hammamcı kahveci hep entipüfçi
Dellal ve kayıkçı hammalı keyfçi
Yük sırtında duman baştan yukarı

Bu sözü söylemiş ezelde pirler
Arslan yatağından bellidir derler
Taht-ı ammâridir bütün bu yerler
Ya'ni Merhüm Ahmed Paşa Cezzarı

Bir cami'-i şerif eylemiş binâ
Ne cami' Akkaca Ka'be-i ulyâ
Ahsen-i takvimde Mescid-i Aksa
Mermer direk medresedir civarı

Kevser ırmağını almış yanına
Selsebil akıtmış şadırvanına
Katresi düştükçe rahmet cânına
Eylemiş tahsi1-i rızâ-yı Bârî

Ez-cümle Abdullah Paşa bahçesi
Susamı sünbülü gülü goncesi
A'la portakalı çok turuncası
Üzümün envâ'ı rüy-ı nigârı

Böyle bağ bahçeli tutar kendini
Karaya deryâya atar kendini
Günde bir âşıka satar kendini
Yüklenir gam yükün hicran katarı

Bir havz-ı mu'azzam eylemiş icad
Nâzirini ne Ad gördü ne Şeddâd
Musanna' kasırlar nakşi-i Bihzad
Yaldızlı saksılar havzın kenarı

Şikesteliğin çok burc-ı bedende
Lik şöhretin var Hind ü Yemen'de
Sultan Abdülmecid nüfüsu sende
Uslu dur taşırma bu itibârı

Reşid Paşa gibi feriki zira
Muhafız göndermiş hıfz eden Huda
Müdebbirû'l-umûr ferik-i yek-tâ
Devlet-i aliyye mehâm-güzârı

Getirmemiş mislin bu çarh- ı gerdûn
Çırağ-ı himmeti haddinden efzûn
Birisi ez-cümle bu kalb-i mahzûn
Katib-i divan-i Zihni-i zârı

Zihnî, in the epic poem in which he praised Abdülmecit, narrated the hardship experienced during the defense of Acre, fought by the English on the side of the Ottomans, on the sea with their navy and on land with their soldiers. The fortress was taken in three and a half hours, and by praising Acre, Zihnî highlighted that a lot of blood was shed.

2. The First Serbian Uprising (Kara Yorgi Rebellion) (1804)

The Serbian rebels, under the leadership of a pig merchant named Kara Yorgi (Black George), began the uprising in the Şumandıya (Šumadija) forests in February 1804. The First Serbian Uprising took place in the years between 1804 and 1813. Whereas, the Second Serbian Uprising started in 1815, and continued until 1833 (Koyuncu, 2007, p. 177). Bekir Pasha, who was also known as the Bosnian Governor Captain Pasha, was sent to Black George. Serbia and Montenegro were lost:

Dayan Kara Yorgi, gelirim üstüne
Elimde fermanım vardır kasdına
Bayraklar da gelsün beden üstüne
Vurun gazilerim, der Kaptan Paşa

Kaptan Paşa der, gurur gelmiş kendine
Dahi çatmamışsın sen de dengine
Yedi kıral baksın İslam cengine
Vurun gazilerim, der Kaptan Paşa

Kara Yorgi der, dönmezim sözümden
On bin Arnavut da aylık yer benden
Bu kavgaya başladım, geri dönmem
Dönmezim sözümden, der Kara Yorgi

Kara Yorgi der; sonuna bakarım
Gelmeniz üstüme, sizi yakarım
Galip gelürseniz lâgım atarım
Dönmezim sözümden, der Kara Yorgi

Kaptan Paşa der ki, sözlerim haktır
Yedi kıral içre akranım yoktur
İpsala üstünde Arnavut çoktur
Vurun gazilerim, der Kaptan Paşa

Gazi bekçileri ateştir Sönmez
Arnavut askeri kavgaya gelmez
Küffârın ettiği yanına kalmaz
Vurun gazilerim, der Kaptan Paşa

Kara Yorgi der ki, karadır gözüm
İsâ hakkı için dönmezim sözüm
Şimdiden sonra ben efendinizim
Dönmezim sözümden, der Kara Yorgi

Kara Yorgi der ki, kal'a açarım
Nice gemilere yelken açarım
Galip gelürseniz durmaz kaçarım
Dönmezim sözümden, der Kara Yorgi

Kaptan Paşa der, alkış ettiler beni
Din yoluna feda ettim bu canı
Kuş olsan da uçma, kaçırmam seni
Vurun gazilerim der, Kaptan Paşa

Benim gazilerim zahmet çektiler
Saat on birde de asker döktüler
Bayrakları bedenlere diktiler
Vurun gazilerim der, Kaptan Paşa

Kara Yorgi der ki, lâgım kazarım
Balyemez topları bir bir dizerim
Şimdi Osmanlı'nın fendin sezerim
Dönmezim sözümden der, Kara Yorgi

Kara Yorgi der ki, Osmanlı geldi
Yirmi dört saatta önümü aldı
…….
……..

Due to the fact that quatrains are missing, it is not known who the epic poem belongs to. In the manuscript collection of folk poems dated 1279-1862 belonging to Öztelli, the wandering minstrel related the success of Bekir Pasha and the battle from beginning to end by having Bekir Pasha (Captain Pasha) and Kara Yorgi (Black George) talk,

3. The Kabakçı Mustafa Pasha Rebellion (1808)

This rebellion drove the Ottoman State to an even worse situation during the period of its dissolution. At the end of the rebellion, Sultan Selim III was dethroned, and Sultan Mustafa IV took his place. The Janissaries, by putting pressure on the sultan, caused the rebellions to completely upset the order and manner of life of the state. Sultan Mustafa IV Alemdar Pasha intervened, and he brought Sultan Mahmut II to the throne, rather than being dethroned himself (Satır, 2006, p. 1).

The epic poem found in the folk poems manuscript collection examined by Öztelli is given as an example (1976, p. 205-209). Öztelli thought that the person who composed the epic poem had also participated to the rebellion. The wandering minstrel, who backed the Janissaries, stated that much blood was shed, narrating the struggle between the Janissaries and the *Nizâm-ı Cedit* (the new regular troops):

Fıransız kâfiri tuttu bu işi
Ali Efendi'dir fitnenin başı
Cihanda gelmemiş bunun bir eşi
Görün gaziler, der Yeniçeri

Mustafa Paşa fermanlar yazar
Defterdar Efendi tedbirin düzer
Ocaklı kulları hilesin sezer
Yürün keleşlerim, der Yeniçeri

Geldi Rumeli'den nice bin çıtak
İslâmbol içinde kanlar akacak
Kadir gecesinde yediler bıçak
Kesin kelleleri, der Yeniçeri

Açıldı bayrakları yürüdü asker
Hacı Bektaş Ocağı kahraman besler
Nizam-ı Cedit'ler bir satır ister
Urun aslanlar, der Yeniçeri

Sahur taamında yediğim yağlı
Dört yanım ateştir, kollarım bağlı
Kara kın içinde kılıçlar zağlı
Kıymayın canıma, der Mustafa Paşa

Alın emaneti, kıyman canıma
Nazlı kölelerim gelsin yanıma
Defterdar Efendi girdi kanıma
Aman gaziler, yazıktır bana

Mustafa Paşa da kaldı arada
Ocaklı da der ki, mühür nerede
Ölmüşse vezir de eğer kule'de
Leşini sürüyün, der Yeniçeri

Kaptan dedikleri bir süflü Tatar
Süleymaniye'ye gülleler atar
Yeniçeri Ağa'sı meydanda yatar
Köpekler de yesin, der Yeniçeri

Hacı Bektaş Ocakları uyandı
Yeniçeri cephaneye dayandı
Eğri kılıç al kanlara boyandı
Dayanın gaziler, der Yeniçeri

Ocaklılar cephaneyi bastılar
Yoldaşlar kılıcı arşa astılar
Hacı Ahmed oğlun kıyma kestiler
Kesin gazilerim, der Yeniçeri

Askerin elinde bilenmiş satır
Cephane önünde buryanlar yatır
Nizam-ı Cedid'e iftarlık götür
Götürün gaziler, der Yeniçeri

Nizam-ı Cedid de girdi saraya
Ocaklı kulları aldı araya
Kadı Paşa der ki, emir nereye
Kesin kellesini, der Yeniçeri

Sekbanları tutup azat eyleme
Alıp şobarasın mezat eyleme
Kesin kellesini, cevap söyleme
Varın keleşlerim, der Yeniçeri

Öksüzler babası dünyadan göçtü
Mektep çocukları duaya geçti
Ocaklı kullara mahzunluk düştü
Onun'çin ağlarım, der Yeniçeri

Bir Kırım Tatar'ı girdi araya
Çarhacı Ali Paşa düştü oraya
Nazlıdır Kethüda Bey, gelmez buraya
Sürüyüp getirin, der Yeniçeri

Yaşa Kul Kethüdası, sen binler yaşa
Yeniçeri kullar çıktılar başa
Üsküdar kışlası yandı, ateşe
Tılısım bu imiş, der Yeniçeri

Saray kapıları birden açıldı
İslambol içinde ateş saçıldı
Sultan Mustafa'ya, hulle biçildi
Ağlaman gaziler, der Yeniçeri

Derviş Osman bunu böyle söyledi
Hızır geldi, bize imdat eyledi
Behiç ile Ramiz firar eyledi
Tutun mel'unları, der Yeniçeri

4. The Pehlivan İbrahim Pasha Incidents (1810)

During the Russo-Turkish War, which started in 1806, Pehlivan İbrahim Pasha acquired great fame because of the resistance he showed for three years at the İsmail fortress against the Russian army. He played an important role in the definitıve defeat of the Russian army at Tatariçe (Lipovan, Bulgaria), close to Silistre (Silistra, Bulgaria) in 1809 and was given the title of vizier. However, in 1810, he could not be saved from being taken prisoner by the Russians. Baba Pasha, who returned towards the end of 1812 after his Russian captivity which lasted for three years, was ordered by Sultan Mahmut II (1808-1839) to eliminate those inciting uprisings against the state and to re-establish the centralized authority in Anatolia. For years, he suppressed several uprisings (Erol ,2007, p. ii).

When Küşâdi was taken prisoner, he composed this epic poem for Pehlivan Baba Pasha, whose losses due to the enemy had reached the thousands (Gençosman, 1972, p. 278):

İsmimi bilmez var ise âlemde
Aslım Bozoklu'dur, ismim Pehlivan
Pederim tarafı Battal Gazi'dir
Validem tarafı Ahmed-i Târan

Al(i) Paşa kap(ı)sında sürdüm devrânı
Tersenkli kap(ı)sında açtım meydanı
Kendime bendettim Deli Osman'ı
Vurup da Kuzgun'da tutmuştum mekân

Darb-ı âli ile açtım bu dağı
Yiğit için yaptırmıştım konağı
Haramdır tilkiye arslan yatağı
Helal olsun ana gelirse arslan

Bir mahzunluğum oldu, etmem inkâr
Çıkmazdım Kuzgun'dan gelseydi küffâr
Pek belimi büktü o Gazi Hünkâr
Bakalım ne sûret gösterir devrân

Köt(ü)ye meyletmedim, işim merd ile
Kötüler aradan çıksın ders ile
On yıl yürttüm koyunu kurd ile
Tecelli eyledi ol ganî Yezdân

Hatt(ı) şerif okunur, dinleyen yoktur
Fetvâları dinlemeyenler çoktur
Âleme bir felâket olacaktır
Yazmadan usandı ol Şâh-ı devrân

Fitnelik edenler bulsun dermânı
Kurtarsın kâfirden Deli Orman'ı.
Yine geldi Padişah'ın fermanı
Benim ma'mur dünyam oldu Tutrakan

Sinne Boğazı'ndan açmıştım meydan
Çıraklarım vardır etmiştim âyân
Padişah uğruna beslerdim her ân
Sayesinde rahat etmişti sıbyân

Dayılarım vardı arslan yürekli
Belleri kılınçlı gümüş tüfenkli
Yanları çıraklı önü yedekli
Nice bir beyzâde, hep ehl-i irfân

Aldım askerimi, sökün eyledim
Ol kahbe Moskof'a oyun eyledim
Olduğum Kuzgun'u metîn eyledim
Bir fitnelik düştü Ulah'a yaman

Havâriç devri gibi gün açıldı
Yiğ(i)t olan yanımda kaldı seçildi
Çok kavgalar oldu, kanlar saçıldı
Yetişip gelince Ordu-yu Osman

Geldi kâfir Silistre'yi sardı
Ordu-yu Hümâyun imdada vardı
Yeniçeri yaya dayandı durdu
İmdad senden bize ey ganî Yezdân

Nasıl vasf edeyim, uzun hikâyet
Ben görmedim dostlarımdan riâyet
Düşmandan kurtardığımdı şikâyet
Destûrlar yakıptır bu fâni cihân

Usandım âleme ben yaza yaza
Bir gazab var idi görünür göze
Her kaçan ki Moskof geçti bu yüze
Ol vakit dediler bana, el'aman

Almış idim şu Moskof'un huyunu
Niyet etmiş geçmeğe Turla suyunu
Metânet eyledim Tuna boyunu
Varınca İsmail'e geldi düşman

İsmâil'de cengim bilir âlemler
Kâfir, ülkesinde çekti elemler
Âcizdir yazmağa bunca kalemler
Söylesin cengimi edenler seyran

İsmail çölünde kanlar çağladı
Kâfir ülkesinde canlar ağladı
Hiylesinden kâfir sulha bağladı
Tek elinde kalsın Eflak'la Buğdan

Kâfir bu hususta buldu çok ruhsat
Sandı ki Âl-i Osman tutmaz kuvvet
İsmail İbrail ol iki serhad
Çağrışarak gitti Baba Pehlivan

Bilmeyenler sandı kâfir barıştı
Rumeli içine istiylâ düştü
Yıllık Oğlu geldi, Balkan'ı açtı
Artık benim fırsat dedi bu devran

Dörtbin kişiyle Pazarcık'ta n'idem
Din-i islâm uğrunda gayret güdem
Devlet eli ile esir mi gidem
İnayet sendedir ey ulu Sübhân

Küşâdî çağırır ey Kara Baba
Din yoluna şu şan olur mu hebâ
İnşallah kurtarır ol cömerd Hudâ
Destgîrin olsun ol Şah-ı Sultan
(Gençosman 1972: 278-282).

Küşâdi dedicated this epic poem to Baba Pasha and recounted episodes from his life, such as his defense of the Hacıoğlu Marketplace, or his being taken prisoner by the enemy after becoming the victim of betrayal. He also prayed for Baba Pasha.

5. The Wahhabi Rebellion (1810-1813)

Necidli Abdülvehhaboğlu Mehmet, who lived in the second half of the eighteenth century, established a religious sect in Damascus, and the name of *Vehhabi* (Wahhabi) was given to those who pledged themselves to it. The Wahhabis, since they accepted and acknowledged allegiance to the Holy Koran and the hadiths and no sources other than these, put to the sword many Sunnite, Shi'ite *ulema* (Muslim theologians and scholars) and people, and destroyed religious, historical and literary works. Subsequently, Wahhabi Abdülaziz proclaimed himself the *Necid* (Nejd) ruler. In 1810, Sultan Mahmut II sent Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Pasha as governor to Egypt to suppress the rebellion. Mehmet Ali Pasha, with his sons Ahmet Tosun Pasha, Kâmil İsmail Pasha and İbrahim Pasha, suppressed the rebellion in 1813 (Çağatay, 1986, p. 262).

The oldest historical epic poem related to the Wahhabi rebellion belongs to Âşık Esrâri, and the epic poem is in the manuscript collection of folk poems written by Hafız Seyyit Mahmut and dated AD 1827 (AH 1243) (Artun, 1999, p. 36). Esrâri narrated the rebellion in the voices of Wahhabi and Mehmet Pasha.

The Wahhabi Epic Poem is as follows:

Vaktine hazırol dayan Vehhabi
Hicaz'ı görmeğe arzumanım var
Ol Hakk'ın beytine yüzüm sürmeye
Yaradan'la böyle ahd amanım var

Vehhabi de der ki gelüp yorulma
Mısır kapusunda bir seyranım var
Deryadan karadan dahi yetiştim
Arabistan üzerine bir tufanım var

Mehmed Paşam der ki ya bir Yaradan
Kaplanlarum vardır sak ol deryadan
Sen nasıl gelürsün bunda karadan
Seni yolda yırtar kurt kaplanım var

Vehhabi de der ki işleri sezdim
Bağdat'tan Yemen'e urbanı yazdım
Senden evvel Bağdat valisini bozdum
Acem sınırında bir nişanım var

Mehmet Paşam der ki uludur Yezdan
Öyle lafınızı dinlemezem ben
İki kıral bozdum üçüncüsü sen
Mısır beylerinden çok kurbanım var

Vehhabi der ki çöllerim kim şahı
Pençeme girenler çıkmaz bir dahi
Bir urbanım zabt eylemiş külahı
Zalü Rüstem gibi Şeyh Osman'ım var

Mehmet Paşam der ki Hakk ile işim
Dahi yanmamışken benim ateşim
Şeyh Osman'ın bozdu zor Delibaş'ım
Mustafa Bey gibi kahramanım var

Mehmet Paşam der ki açıldı nusret
Vurun gazilerim vermeyin fırsat
Adımızı duysun ol sahip devlet
Sultan Mahmut gibi adil hanım var

Vehhabi der ki beni bilmeyen bilemez
Meydana girmeyince yiğit belli olmaz
Harbim bir girdabdır giren kurtulmaz
Amansız zamansız çok çöllerim var

Vehhabi der ki hele gel hele
Suları zabt itdim kalalar bile
Vehhabi dimeklik kolaydır dile
Benim yer götürümez çok askerim var

Mehmet Paşam de ki müjdecim geldi
Bonapart (a) yetişti Medine doldı
Cidde'yi Mekke'yi Tosun'um aldı
Ahmet Paşa gibi genç aslanım var

Mehmet Paşam der ki azim cenk kurun
Yöğrük alemdarlar ileri yürün
Dilliyle tüfenkçim durmayın vurun
Kelle kesenlere çok ihsanım var

Vehhabi der der ki hasmım arayım
Askerini çöllerde susuz kırayım
Tuttucağım zarrak ile (?) yarayım
Benim bu çöllerde yüz bin kanım var

Vehhabi (de) der (ki) büyük söyledim buldum
Urbanlar içinde hem rüsvay oldum
Dört yanım kesildi çaresiz kaldım
Ne takadım kaldı, ne dermanım var

Mehmed paşam der ki bilürem seni
Askerim kasaptır keser insanı
Eğer su bulunmazsa içerler kanı
Haytalardan bozma çok merdanım var

Mehmet paşam der ki kaddin bükerim
Kazma vurup temelini sökerim
Urbanların dış denize dökerim
Hindistan'a kadar meydanım var

Vehhabi der ki Osmanlı erişti
Bir ateş püskürdü çöller tutuştu
Yazık urbanıma bir kıran düştü
Ben de bil(e)medim böyle zor düşmanım var

Vehhabi de der ki kande kaçayım
Kırıldı kanadım nice uçayım
Bari bir agu ver ben de içeyim
Zulmette kalmışım çok figanım var

Mehmet Paşam der ki nasılsın harici
Basra'dan Yemen'e aldın haracı
Şimdi var mı kurtulmanın ilacı
Cismin kaldırmağa bir fermanım var

Vehhabi de der ki çektiğim zahmet
Var imiş Osmanlıda hakk(a) bir heybet
Aman sahip(i) devlet eyle merhamet
Hakıpaye geldim bir amanım var

Esrari medh bu cengi bari
Gazi Mehmet Paşam sözünün eri
Yazın tevarihe bu cengi bari
Hicaz'ın fethine bir destanım var
(Baki prayer) Âşık Esrâri.

Esrâri, in the epic poem in which he had a Wahhabi talk with Mehmet Pasha, narrated how the Hejaz was taken from the Wahhabis, that the Wahhabis murdered thousands of Muslims, demolishing the graves of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad, that the people were saddened by this, rejoicing at the suppression of the rebellion, and that they saw the Ottoman State as strong-minded, powerful and just, with a well-trained army that had the skill to engage in battle.

6. The Mora (Morea) Rebellion (1821)

The Greek uprisings, which had resulted in failures up until the beginning of the nineteenth century, entered a new period with the uprising which started on the Mora (Morea) peninsula in 1821. The uprisings spread all over the islands and Greece. The 1821 Morea uprising played an important role in Greece gaining independence. The first uprisings at Morea were not considered to be important, and the required precautionary measures were not taken. The Ottoman State was forced to request aid from the Egyptian naval forces. The interventions of the European States and the burning of the Turkish-Egyptian naval forces at *Navarin* put an end to it (Navarino, Pilos) (Toprak, 2011, p. 317).

The epic poem example, which was written regarding the Morea rebellion, belongs to Âşık Neş'eti, who personally participated in the battles, and has been quoted from the manuscript collection of folk poems found by Öztelli (1976, pp. 433-435):

Akdeniz üstüne sefer olanda
Donandı donanma, çıktı ummana
Eş, dost geldi, helallaştık, konuştuk
Cümlemiz sığındık Ganî Yezdan'a

Beşiktaş'tan kalktık Çanakkale'ye
Ferman geldi, tâyin olduk Mora'ya
Teslim olduk hep İbrahim Paşa'ya
Niyetimiz vurmak Urum yabana

Darılmış şevketli Devlet-i Sahip
Küffar çok dayandı, bizlere galip
Okundu buyrultu, kuruldu tertip
Cümlemiz itaat ettik fermana

-İngiliz de der ki: Düşme peşime
Kişinin ettiği gelir başına
Dinle nasihati, gel git isine
Ben rica eyledim Mahmud Sultan'a

-Tahir Paşa der ki: Kâfir İngiliz,
Kalbinde meramın nedir biliriz
Sağ olursak çok ganimet alırız
Hıncımız koymayız biz de düşmana

-İngiliz de der ki: Nedir maslahat?
Türk'ü ben severim, sende kabahat
İşittim, vaktına hazırmış millet
Döğüş benim ile merd-i merdane

-Tahir Paşa der ki: Aldım haberi
……
İznim yok, girme limandan içeri
Yakarım seni âteş-i sûzana

-İngiliz de der ki: Bekle sahrada
Gemimi gördün mü asla rûyada
Yedi kıral korkar benden deryada
Gör, ne heybet ile girdim limana

-Tahir Paşa der ki: Gözet karayı
Vard (ı) ibrahim Paşa, aldı Mora'yı
Gelir yetişirse seyret kavgayı
Deryalar boyansın al kızıl kana

-İngiliz de der ki: Sözün hilaftır
Dinlemezim asla hep kuru laftır
Yedi kıral hepsi benden taraftır
Gör, neler işlerim ben Müslüman'a

-Tahir Paşa der ki: Dini yok küffar,
Bizlere yardımcı ol Ganî Settâr
Donanmada cenge meydan bizde var
Tâ seni yürüttü Firengistan'a

-İngiliz de der ki: Gör, günüm doğdu,
Topların dumanı çok insanı boğdu
Gök gibi gürleyip yağmur gibi yağdı
Misket ile gülle küfrü revâne

-Tahir Paşa der ki: Gürledi sadâ
Savletin bu mudur, kâfir, iptida
Vurun kaptanlarım, yardımcı Hüda
Gökteki melekler dursun seyrana

-İngiliz de der ki: Toplar atıldı
Tatlı canlar ucuz yere satıldı
Bir zulmet koptu da güneş tutuldu
Ol zaman başladım ah-u figana

-Tahir Paşa der ki: Nedir inadın,
Daha cenk etmeye var mı muradın
Döktüm adamların, kırdım kanadın
Deli Batur yelde benzer aslana

-İngiliz de der ki: Edeyim yemin,
Cengin şiddetinden titredi zemin
Bir ateş serptirdim, tutuştu gemin
.....
(Tahir Pasha's words could not be read here.)

-İngiliz de der ki: Mihnet yetişir
Bu kadar çektiğim zahmet yetişir
Çok can telef ettik, gayret yetişir
Bir yiğit kırk yılda gelmez meydana

-Tahir Paşa der ki: Yeter, hey yezit
Bunda iy(i) kahpelik ettin, kaç da git
Bu kadar yaralı, bu kadar şehit
Yaptıkların ayâ kalır mı sana

-İngiliz de der ki: Oldu olacak
Kişi ettiğini elbet bulacak
Dahi başımıza neler gelecek
Yeni duydum, dünya kalmaz insana

Neş'eti der: Yâ Rab, cûd ile kerem
Bu cengi dâsitan etmeye meram
Sene bin iki yüz kırk üçte tamam
Yazın bu tarihi, kalsın nişane

(Öztelli 1976, pp. 433-435).

Âşık Neş'eti, who was in İbrahim Pasha's naval force, and who narrated the battles in detail, related how the battle could be successful by having the English talk with Tahir Pasha.

7. The Abolition of the Janissary Corps, the Founding of the Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye (name of a military body founded by Mahmut II) (Vaka-yi Hayriye – abolition of the Janissaries by Mahmut II) (1826)

Sultan Mahmut II was progressive, and he was the person who began the process of Westernization. He benefitted from the wandering minstrels in gaining people's acceptance of the implementations he made during his reign. The Janissary Corps were abolished by Mahmut II in 1826, and in their place, a corps was established under the name of *Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye.*

İspartalı Seyrani, in the epic poem where he narrated the reasons for the abolishment of the Janissary Corps, also praised Mahmut II (Öztelli 1976, pp. 110-114):

Bir destan nakledem size bu sene,
Dehr-i dûn içinde ola hikâyet.
Döndü lâtif devran her ehl-i dine
Hak Ganî Mevlâ'dan lütf-ü inâyet

Burc-ı âsûmânın bu mihr-ü mâhı
Bu rû-yi zeminin hem şehinşâhı
Ümmet-i Resûl'ün devlet penâhı
Dualar edelim, ehl-i cennet

Niyazı kılarım ulu Suphan'a,
İnşallah eriştik bir hûb zamana
Habib'in ümmeti ehl-i imana
Hak Taalâ verir tâb-ü letafet

Dem-be-dem vird-eder ulu Mevlâ'sın
Gazi Sultan Mahmud okur esmâsın
Şeb içre vahdette görün sefâsın
Güzel mâlum etti Kur'an keramet

Hazır olsun pîrler her civarlardan
Enbiya, evliya, Çıhar-yâr'lardan
Şehr-i İslâmbol'un kem nazarlardan
Saklasın hatâdan Mevlâ her saat

Gelelim bir gûna kelâma tekrar
Padişaha âsi oldu bazılar
Çeri Ağası'nı çağırdı Hünkâr
Pend-etti gûşuna, etti itaat

Okuyalım ismin ulu mâbudun
Sâdık müminlere verir maksûdun
Gönlü keder görmez Sultan Mahmud'un
Mezîd etsin ömrün cenâb-ı hazret

Şaha mutî olur mâh-u mehrûlar
İnanmadı Yeniçeri bed-hûlar
İndirelim, dedi tahttan adûlar
Hak Taalâ vermez anlara nusret

Şehr-i İslâmbol'a düştü vâveylâ
Münâdîler bir bir eyledi nidâ
Başladı müminler etmeye duâ
Sultan Mahmud için çekeriz gayret

Lânet olsun düşmanların canına
Doldular cümlesi At Meydanı'na.
Anların da şeytan girdi kanına,
Tâife-i Yeniçeri melâmet

Sultan Mahmud Hakk'a eyledi kıyam
Hünkâr'ın indinde hem Sadrıâzam
Buldu fetvâsını ol Şeyhül'islâm
Böyle kuvvet buldu bâb-ı şeriat

Biraz Yeniçeri âsi oldular
Necip Efendinin malın buldular
Varıp At Meydanı içre doldular,
Bulsun belâsını olan hıyanet

Ehl-i din bend-oldu Sultan Mahmud'a
Dedi, can verelim din-i Muhammed'e
Cümleten vardılar Sultanahmet'e
Açıldı Sancağ-ı Şerif şerâfet

Yeniçeri dedi, sancak bizimdir
Dediler, ezelden el-hak bizimdir
Söylediler, kadim Ocak bizimdir
Yandılar nârına olan muhannet

Padişah, ülemâ, fudalâ bile
Serasker Hüseyin Paşa da güle
Boğazdan Mehemmed Paşa da gele
Hem birlik oldular, şerif cemâat
Yeniçeri her illete erdiler

Âl-i Osman asker cemin gördüler
Havf-eyleyip Kışlalara girdiler
Dediler, nedir bu bize alâmet

Topçulara, Hünkâr dedi, gel beri
Topçubaşı vardı öptü hem yeri
Dedi, ateşleyin cümle topları
Başladılar birden vermeğe şiddet

Yeniçeri benlik tuttu içerden
Bir vâveylâ çıkar oldu her yerden
Anlar belâsını buldular birden
Geldi başlarına türlü felâket

Şâd oldu ol demde Gazi Mahmud Han
Allah Allah, dedi, hep ehl-i iman
Topçu, kumbaracı saçtılar sûzan
Yeniçeri buldu ol dem nedâmet

Yeniçeri, dedi, el-aman solduk
Ettiğimiz başa gelince bulduk
Padişahım, sana biz âsi olduk
Koptu başımıza yevm-i kıyamet

Padişaha yardım eyledi Suphan
Melekler bu işe oldular hayran
Deryanın yüzünü bürüdü al kan
Âsi olan nâr-ı cahimde elbet

Âl-i Osman olan din yolunda pâk
Adû olanları ettiler sad çâk
Şaha kem bakanlar oldular helâk
Ettiler, buldular bunca ukubet

Yeniçeri nâmı bî-karar oldu
Dahi kışlaları târumar oldu
Yeniçerilere inkisar oldu
Bulamaz adûlar bir dahi şöhret

Çerilere sebep oldu bu azap
Erenlerde olmaz kıyamet bî-tap
Bazı tekkelerde olundu harap
Kusuru şeyhlerin çektiği sıklet

Rabbânî yüzünden cihan ola nur
Hak taâlâ ede âlemi mâmur.
Muhammed yoluna Asker-i Mansur
Oluruz, dediler, yetmiş üç millet

On sekiz bir âlem Suphân'a bağlı
İns-ü cin cümleten Kur'an'a bağlı
Yedi kıral Âl-i Osman'a bağlı,
Çâr köşe hem yedi iklim vilâyet

Mevlâ'dan atâlar Sultan Mahmud'a
Hayrandır semâlar Sultan Mahmud'a
Duâlar, senâlar Sultan Mahmud'a
Verildi ervahta tac-ı saadet

Şen etsin gönlünü Bâri Taâlâ
Tahtı gülşen olsun gonca-yi râna
Nüfuzu kimyadır, hükmünü icra
Görünsün cihanda hak-u adalet

Nur yağsın semadan diyar-ı dehre
Yürüsün adalet iklim-ü şehre
Bin iki yüz kırk bir senesi içre
Cedid-Nizam verdi Şahımız devlet

Seyrânî, göründü bu seyrânımız
Hiç keder görmesin Mahmud Han'ımız
Enbiya, evliya, Hak Suphân'ımız
Şehadet eylesin cümleye himmet
(Öztelli 1976, pp. 110-114).

The wandering minstrels of the period considerably contributed to the assimilation by the people of Mahmut II's reforms. The wandering minstrels, who reacted to the Janissaries instigating an uprising, praised the newly established unit.

8. Russo-Ottoman War (1828-1829)

As Czar Peter the Great had done previously, subsequently Katherine II and Czar Paul and Alexander I, as well as others like Nicholas I, remained loyal to Peter's last request and incited Turkish enmity. Soon after the abolition of the janissaries in the Ottoman State and the destruction of the entire naval fleet at Navarino, together with the Egyptian naval fleet, the Russians took the opportunity and declared war on the Ottoman State to prevent developments and with the hope of winning new lands. The Russian army, which came under the leadership of General Paskeviç, besieged Kars on 27 June 1828. After violent battles, the city of Kars was occupied for the first time by the Russians on 7 July 1828. Mehmed Emin Pasha, who withdrew to the inner fortress together with his military, was forced to surrender the inner fortress to the enemy on 14 July. After Kars, Anatolia's important centers and fortresses, such as Ahılkelek, Ahıska, Ardahan and Beyazıd, were subjected to occupations by the Russians (Kop 1999, pp. 139-140).

Âşık Ali recounted to the sultan, in the following epic poem, in a very sharp style and with an open language, how corrupt the commander and soldiers were:

Acem sınırından bir sada geldi
Arttı derdim, eskisinden ziyade
Arzuhaller yazsam Sultan Mahmud'a
Tebdil ol, cihanı gez, elden gitti

Bunda belli vezirlerin hilesi
Hiç mi gayret yoktur Hak'tan bulası
Yedi kattır derler Kars'ın kalesi
Sattılar Moskof'a, tez elden gitti

Bu sene de baş kaldırdı Uruska
Kimi gülle atar kimisi fiska
Yedi gece cenk eyledi Ahıska
Nice yiğit gelin, kız elden gitti

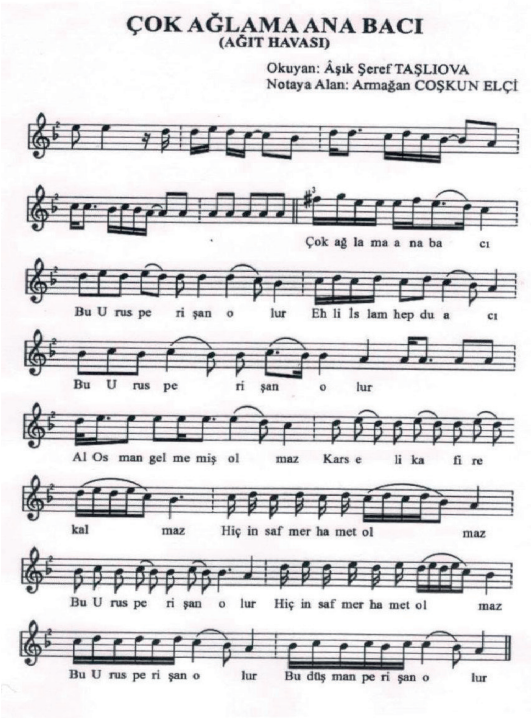
Eski seferciler sefere gitmez
Nefir-âm askeri yiğitlik etmez
Azap, çoban tutmayan işi bitmez
Çal kılıç askerin, baz elden gitti

Oğlan, uşak maslahata karıştı
Puşt, pezevenk kalmadı sadra geçti
Çürüksu'ya dek de Moskof savuştu
Uyan Sultanım, ırız elden gitti

Hacı Bektaş Veli cümlenin pîri
Hanya Hazret Ömer Ocağı deli
Sen yetiş Allah'ın Aslanı Ali
Ağlattık şeksârı, baz elden gitti

Âşık Ali'm eydür, yürek yaralı
Arttı derdim bu günleri göreli
Kimi şehit düşmüş, kimi yaralı
Şehitler makamı kaz elden gitti
(Öztelli, 1976: 336-337).

Let us give the notes together with the epic poem of Âşık Şeref Taşlıova and quoted from Âşık Kahraman. The epic poem that we will present, along with being included in the study called "Âşık Şeref Taşlıova'nın Ezgi Repertuvarı" (The Melody Repertoire of Âşık Şeref Taşlıova), which was published by us in 2011, was collected from Âşık Şeref Taşlıova and the notes were taken and analyzed[4] (Coşkun Elçi, 2011, pp. 460-462):



Score 1. The note of a folk song about the Russian War.

4 Within the scope of the Turkish Language Institution's (TDK) Determination of the Turkish World Epic Poems, Transfer to the Turkish of Turkey and Publication Project, official permission was obtained from the TDK for the epic poem recordings collected from Âşık Şeref Taşlıova on 16 January 2001 by Fikret Türkmen, Nail Tan and Mete Taşlıova. Besides these, a portion was also listened to from Şeref Taşlıova.

Çok ağlama ana, bacı
Bu Urus perişan olur.
Ehl-i İslam hep duacı
Bu Urus perişan olur.

Âl' Osman gelmemiş olmaz
Kars eli kâfire kalmaz
Hiç insaf, merhamet bilmez
Bu Urus perişan olur.

Hep hicrete şitendirir
Çok ocakları söndürür
Ermeni'yi sevindirir
Bu Urus perişan olur.

Nice köyü etti talan
Hanedanlar oldu yalan
Çekildi gitti baş bilen
Bu Urus perişan olur.

Böyle imiş yazı, kader
Bir müddet çektirir keder
Kadir Mevla'm imdat eder
Bu Urus perişan olur.

Şeyhülislam söyler öğüt
Verir mi hiç sultan Hamit
Mevla'dan kesilmez umut
Bu Urus perişan olur.

Kars'ta yatar nice şehit
Hasan-ı Hırkanî şahit
İnşallah olur nâbedit
Bu Urus perişan olur.

Gidenlerin çoğu pişman
Yok yere hiç hayâ düşman
Burada çok kalmaz düşman
Bu Urus perişan olur.

Secdeye varmış Beytullah
Dilek diler Habibullah
Mümine yardımcı Allah
Bu Urus perişan olur.

Kahraman'ın çıkar sözü
Tevarihte vardır yazı
Mevla'm tez kurtarır bizi
Bu Urus perişan olur.

Âşık Kahraman, by stating his trust in the Ottoman State and Sultan Hamit (Abdülhamit), narrated that since a lot of blood was shed, the mothers and wives had cried, so much so that he wished the Russians to be miserable and that the war passed with great difficulty.

9. The Death of Sultan Mahmut II (1839)

During the reign of Mahmut II, who remained in the sultanate for thirty-one years, many innovations were made due to internal and external factors. Mahmut II, who was appreciated by the people, died of tuberculosis in 1839. His death caused great sadness. The example we will give belongs to Âşık Gülzâri (Pamukciyan 1990: 1065-1069). Some of the sections in the epic poem, which has the function of conveying a sense of mourning, were in the Sultan's voice. We gather the depth of the sadness felt from the statements in the epic poem, "the angels and birds cried", "the *huri*s (houis-beautiful virgins inhabiting paradise, destined to all faithful Muslims) in paradise cried" and "the seas and oceans cried":

Şevketlü, Mevlâ'dan oldu nâ-mizaç
Ciğer kebap, sîne uryan ağladı
Aradı zahmına, bulmadı ilac
Hazret-i Eyyub gibi giryan ağladı

Dedi: "evlâdımı bana getirin,
Hep beyler, paşalar gelin oturun.
Ben yolcuyum, menzilime getirin"
İşitti bu hâli sultan ağladı

Hasta düştü asla yüzü gülmedi
Ne olduğun kendisi de bilmedi
Aradı derdine derman bulmadı
İbtida tabib-i Lokman ağladı

Dedi: "fukarayı incitme evlâdım.
Ben göçeyim, cihanda kalsın adım
Arş-ı âsumâna çıkdı feryadım."
Yıldız, kamer, şems, rahşan ağladı

Dedi: "Âl-Osman'ın yazık şanına
Behey melek nice geldin yanıma
Akıbet pençeni taktın canıma"
Teni depüp damarlar kan ağladı

Dedi: "böyle öleceğim bilmezdim.
Elden gelse şu cihana gelmezdim.
Zan ederim ben bu derdi bulmazdım"
Ciğer paralandı, hicran ağladı

Figani erişti arş-ı âlâya
Terk etti sarayı çıktı sahraya
Mecnun tek sığındı ganî Mevlâ'ya
Kerbelâ yolu ulu meydan ağladı

Ah edince baştan çıktı dal-fesi
Şeyhler, meşayıhler eyler nefesi
Can bülbülü uçtu, kaldı kafesi
Uçmakta açılan gülşan ağladı

Emr-i Hak'la ecel cana erişti
Tabut hazırlandı, kefen biçildi
Bağ-ı cennet gonca güller açıldı
Tûba dalı, hûri, gılman ağladı

Üç gün keşf olundu mevti ortaya
Fermanlar buyruldu bay-u gedaya
Cihan âciz kaldı yanık sadaya
Hep işiten ehl-i îman ağladı

Girmiş idi elli yedi yaşına
Felek zehir kattı halkın aşına
Bir şah iken gör ne geldi başına
Hali görüp taht-ı revân ağladı

Etraftan da öldüğünü duydular
Gelip zinet gömleğini soydular
Mevtasını beş çifteye koydular
Hem silkindi, bahr-i umman ağladı

Göründü ol vakıt Hakk'ın dîdârı
İşitenler kıldı ah ile zârı
Bâb-ı Hümâyun'dan çıktı dışarı
Ol vakıtta sabî - sıbyan ağladı

Vezir, vüzerası tabut kolunda
Mollalar, hocalar sağ ve solunda
Merkad-i şerifi Divanyolu'nda
Hasret imiş hem kabristan ağladı

Böyle Hakk' ın ol emrine gittiler
Etrafında yüz bin tevhit ettiler
Varıp mahalline teslim ettiler
Ayrılınca cümle ihvân ağladı.

Kudretten dikildi bir yeşil sancak
Verildi talkını, düştü bir firak
Erdi muradına ol kara toprak
Hamd-edip hâk ile yeksân ağladı

Medet, şimden geri halimiz yaman
El çekti fenâdan bunca Süleyman
Hakk'ın Habibi'ne kalmadı cihan
Onun için Sultan her an ağladı

Şevketlü Hak yoluna verdi seri
Yaş döküp çeşminden akıttı teri
Mansur-ı Muhammediye askeri
Sade biz değil, cümle cihan ağladı

Bu bir nasihattır dinlen kardaşlar
Gökte melekler, havada kuşlar
Yedi iklim, dört köşe, dağlar, taşlar
Halep, Mısır, Arabistan ağladı.

Dediler: "yekün abd-olduk sana"
Medet senden, kerem senden Rabbenâ
Okudu hafızler "inna fetahnâ"
Zikr-eyleyip bunca lisan ağladı.

Fikr eyleyip hayır senden geleni
Hak rahmet eylesin, dedik, öleni
Hatadan saklasın geri kalanı
Deyip bunca ehl-i îman ağladı.

Atasından geçti şahî devleti
Yedi kıral alsın bundan ibreti
Sultan Mecid Han'a pirler himmeti
Eyleyip ehl-i tugyan ağladı.

Dediler: "Efendim, sen binler yaşa
Nüfuzun yürüsün dağ ile taşa"
Patrona Kapan ol Ahmed Paşa
Her yerde ah ile efgan ağladı

Donandı yollar hep baştan başa
Şevketlü sultanım sen binler yaşa
Kuşatmış tahtını güzel kumaşa
Sultan ile hem zernişan ağladı

Şehit, şühedalar, Üçler, Yediler
Cem oldu yanına Kırklar, veliler
Eyleyip duayı "âmin" dediler
Tekbir çekip kesti, kurban ağladı

Kuşandı kılıncı şahlar serveri
Nur ile donattı bütün her yeri
Sultan Mecid, kemâl-i hüsnü eri
Ziyaret eden insan ağladı

Seyrine gitti hep bay ile gedâ
Peygamber sünnetini etti ihyâ
Hatadan saklasın Hazret-i Hüdâ
Müminler şad olup düşman ağladı

Gel gözüm sen gafletten uyan
Nafile yürürsün bu yere yayan
Sene bin iki yüz elli beş tamam
Şan oldu dillerde destan ağladı

Gülzârî, devr etti kalem cihanı
Ezel budur kıyametin nişanı
Hak alır elbette verdiği canı
Bâki değil, çok kahraman ağladı

10. Proclamation of the Tanzimat (1839)

On 1 July 1839, Abdülmecit, who became the sultan at an early age, proclaimed the *Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümâyûn* (firman read by the Foreign Minister Mustafa Reşit Pasha in Gülhane Park, declaring the political reforms of Sultan Abdülmecit) and the *Tanzimât-ı Hayriye* ("Beneficial Reforms"is the translation of the name of the 1839 law introducing

constitutional reforms) (3 November 1839). The aim was to bring a new order to the empire, with a Western imprint. Meanwhile, five years passed, and Âşık Şevki (1761-1845) expressed in this epic poem that the people had great difficulties (Öztelli 1976, pp. 129-131). However, he still encouraged them "to obey the "Beneficial Reforms":

Vasf-edem dinleyin zaman halini
Bu cihanın âhir devri yakındır
Cümle nâs birbirin zemmine dalmış
Hazer kıl anlardan, kendin sakındır

Sakınır, kendini âlâ isteyen
Konşuya hiç gitmez en dostu olan
Akl-olan gezer mi samur postınan
Âhiri bir top bezden kefen hakkındır

Kefenle gitti nice evliyâlar
Kalmadı dünyada bir doğru söyler
Yıkıldı şehirler, yakıldı köyler
Havf-edin, hurûc-ı Deccal yakındır

Deccâl' ın çıkması geldi erişti
Anınçün cihana müsibet üştü
Gark oldu bahçeler, bunca sel düştü
Ref' oldu kısmetler, göğe yakındır

Gökten iner idi rahmet ezelden
Yerler ihyâ olur idi güzelden
Yağınca sel gelir şimdi tez elden
Demez ki, bu bağdır, tarla ekindir

Tarla değil, bostan dahi kalmadı
Fi'limizden oldu, rahim kılmadı
Nice nimet verdi, şükür olmadı
Anınçün hayr gitti, şerler yakındır

Şer alâmet değil mi şimdi haller
Ne türlü icad oldu lapçin, şallar
Kadınlar belinde püskülün sallar
Entarin kolları yere yakındır.

Kolları doğrama sırma harçtandır
Parası kendinin değil, borçtandır
Zenginlere ayıp değil, harçtandır
Fakirlerin ev satması yakındır

Satmak olmaz, her şey almak lâzımdır
Nasihat dinlemez, kibir azîmdir
Değme, bir kimseye tanımaz kimdir
Zan-eder ki, başım göğe yakındır
Göğe dikmiş başın, havada gezer
Amana gelmiştir, hep okur yazar
Mahmuzun vurunca taşları ezer
Görenler zanneder bu bir hâkimdir

Hâkime, zabite kalmadı rağbet
Hep ayağa düştü şimdiki sohbet
Küçükten büyüğe çok oldu zahmet
Evlâdı, babasın döğmek yakındır

Döğme, döğülme bir eyilik değil
Ettiklerin gelir yoluna sen bil
Farz ile sünnetin terk eyleme, kıl
Havfeyle nârdan ki, gayet yakındır

Gayet tebdil oldu zamane halkı
Başı kavuklular dinler çalgı
Yosmalar başına sarılan sarığı
Örtmüştür gözünü, ağza yakındır

Ağza söğmek şimdi mübah olmuştur
Anınçün cihana zulum dolmuştur
Fukarayı cümle ateş almıştır
İhrak olup büryan olmak yakındır

Büryan oldu ehl-i kâmil olanlar
Gayet tuğyan oldu câhil olanlar
Hiç yüzü güler mi âkıl olanlar
Cihan nısıf gâvur olmak yakındır

Gâvurla Müslüman seçilmez oldu
Memleketli azdı hep ülke oldu
Haftada bir kadı, bir paşa geldi
Bilin ki dünyanın sonu yakındır

Sonudur dünyanın, vakıtlar doldu
Nice kimselerin gül benzi soldu
Âsî ve mücrimlik kemâli buldu
İnşallah eyi olması yakındır

Ey(i) olmak istersen şaha, vezire
İtaat eylen Tanzimat-ı Hayr'a
Tarihimiz vardı hem altmış bire
Şevkî'nin sözleri kitaba yakındır

11. Kavalalı Mehmet Ali Pasha Uprising / Battle of Nezib (1831-1841)

Egyptian Governor Mehmet Ali Pasha organised the first uprising in 1833. The second uprising was in 1839. When what he had demanded from the Ottoman State was not fulfilled, Mehmet Ali Pasha proclaimed independence. War started when, with an excuse, Mahmut II had the Ottoman army under the command of Hafız Pasha enter Syria in 1839. The Ottoman army wasted time by not listening to the important suggestions of the Prussian general staff officers. Hafız Pasha and his army lost the war against the Egyptian Army (Hocaoğlu 1995, p. 204).

Hazır ol vaktine dayan İbrahim
İn(i)yor çarhacılar, meydan benimdir
Mısır'dan aşağı sürmek muradım
Bin hilâle kadar seyran benimdir

İbrahim Paşa der: Dursun varayım
Adûlar türemiş nice durayım
Eğer harb istersen topu kurayım
Havaya çekilen havan benimdir

Hafız Paşa der ki: Ordum üç yerde
Bir gece yatırım Yafa'da, Sur'da
Bir darbe vururum, komam Mısır'da
Bütün Arabistan, Yemen benimdir

İbrahim Paşa der: Vatan ırakta
Yüz bin merm(i) atarım bin oturakta
Çok düşmanı işletirim kürekte
Hem sürgün ederim liman benimdir.

Hafız Paşa der ki: düştüm bu hale
Sağımdan solumdan kuvvetim gele
Nice zorbalara beklettim kal'e
Atarım mahbusa zindan benimdir

İbrahim Paşa der: Düzdüm orduyu
Arab'a çektirdim çengi, harbiyi
Parmak gibi kıya süngü süngüyü
Koparsan zelzele tûfan benimdir

Hafız Paşa der ki koymuşum seri
Mıs(ı)r elden giderse gelirim beri
Basarım ordunu gece bir yarı
Hem hücum ederim cevlân benimdir

İbra(hi)m Paşa der ki Humus'a geldim
Hama'nın kuvvetin ikiye böldüm
Mısır'dan vezirin üçünü aldım
Acım, Erzurum, Erzincan benimdir

Hafız Paşa der ki ya ben nideyim
Başım alıp ne diyara gideyim
Bâri verin bana zehir yudayım
Hâk-i pâye geldim eman benimdir

Aşık Ali der ki söylerim dilde
Binikiyüz ellibeşinci yılda
Çekerler havfını yedi kıral da
Nezib'in üstüne destan benimdir

Âşık Ali turned the Battle of Nezib into an epic poem (Gençosman 1972: 216-218):

Âşık Ali quoted in detail the course of the Battle of Nezib, having İbrahim Pasha and Hafız Pasha speak reciprocally.

12. The Crimean War (1853-1856)

England allowed their naval fleet to enter the Dardanelles Straits on 8 October 1853, and France followed England. The Ottoman State demanded on 4 October from Russia, which had entered Wallachia – Moldavia, that they withdraw the Russian forces within 15 days. When Russia did not accept this, the Ottoman State declared war (23 October 1853). On 27 October, Ömer Pasha passed the Danube River at Vidin, and entered Romania. The twelve ships of the Turkish fleet, which had taken shelter at the Sinop Harbor, were destroyed by the Russian Admiral Nakhimov. Besides the fleet, they also mercilessly murdered the people living in Sinop. At the end of the war, Russia was prevented from achieving superiority in the Black Sea, and their dream of entering the Mediterranean fell apart (Akbulut 2014, pp. 330-350).

Zıllullah-ı Âlem gösterdi gaza
Beyan eyledi ümmet ü eshaba
Rıza-yı Hak için cümle enbiya
Çekip Sancağı revan eyledi

Gazanın delili Allah-ul Habîb
Hamd-ü senâ olsun, oldu bir nasîp
Dini bir uğruna görüldü tertip
Şevketli cihan fermân eyledi

Yok idi cihanda böyle nişane
Şayi oldu sonra çarh-ı cihana
Okundu fermanlar ehl-i imana
Onu âlem duyup hayran eyledi

Görüldü tertipler yürüdü asker
Çıktılar meydana er oğlu erler
Enbiya, evliyâ ol büyük pîrler
Onlar da yürüyüp cevlân eyledi

Donanma donandı oldu hâzıran
Bindip asakir oldular revan
Karadeniz içre çıktılar el'an
Bir vakit Varna'da mihman eyledi

Kalktılar Varna'dan düştüler yola
Katar katar oldular Sivastopol'a
Attılar demiri eyledi mola
Başlayıp donanma sûzan eyledi

Donanma nısfı geldi bir emri
Ol mahalden kalkıp ettiler devri
Kırım ülkesinde Gözleve şehri
Vardı sabahleyin seyran eyledi

Bend ettiler şehiri çekildi ağyar
Cephaneye olmadı asla zarar
Gafur u rahîmdir ol gani Settar
Kâfiri kâfire düşman eyledi

Olvakit deryanın havası hoştu
Sonradan mevç olup coştukça coştu
Bir mahzun donanma karaya düştü
Hudâ bir şiddetli tufan eyledi

Alındı ol mahal yaptılar tabya
Cenk etmeden nasip eyledi Hudâ
Bıraktı kâfirler bu kadar eşya
Aklı ol kâfire noksan eyledi

Havalar kış idi geldi eyyamı
Bir gecenin nısfı oldu encâmı
Ol vakit sabahleyin bastı İslâmı
Kendisi kırılıp pişman eyledi

Başlandı ateşe ardında siper
Üç hücum eyledi kalmadı medar
Deryadan donanma, karadan asker
Maşatlık Boynu'nu alkan eyledi

Hak emriyle geldi yüce bir nidâ
Kâfiri tarümar eyledi Hudâ
Fakat Selim Paşa oldu şüheda
Anı Hak cennette gılman eyledi

Rusyalı der ki biz çıktık denize
Kıraldan bir haber geldi bize
Gözleve şehrini bahşettim size
Sivastopol bana derman eyledi

Ömer Paşa der ki gez sağda solda
Gözleve'yi aldım, gözlerim yolda
Hazır ol vaktine Sivastopol'da
Zira ordularım devran eyledi

Rusyalı der ki ejderdir şekli
Benim topçularım gör nasıl eder cengi
Dört milyon piyadem, elli bin tüfekli
Sivastopol için el'an eyledi

Ömer Paşa der ki seyreyle nârı
Beş milyon piyadem, yüzbin süvari
Üç milyon Fransız beyler civarı
Bu tertip üzere her'an eyledi,

Rusyalı der ki söyleyim sana
Altı düvel, yedi şah gelirse bana
Hiç vermem Sivastopol'u bir yana
İstersen düşmanım cihan eyledi

Ömer Paşa der ki sözüme bakın
Sivastopol şehrini bu gece yakın
Askerim gaflette olmasın sakın
Böyle zabitanı divan eyledi

Rusyalı der ki sözüm aşikâr
Üç bin pâre toplar kundakta yatar
Seksen dört senelik metanetim var
İsteği olan gelsin! meydan eyledi

Ömer Paşa der ki dinle bu sözü
Gelsin kavgaya görsün kör gözü
Dumandan tutuldu güneşin yüzü
Semada figanı rahşan eyledi

Rusyalı der ki ordumu kırayım
Tek tek çıkın siz meydana göreyim
Dört düvele nasıl karşı durayım
Akıbet bizleri harman eyledi

Ömer Paşa der ki açtım meydanı
Sel gibi akıttım al kızıl kanı
Evvel kimi sandın Âl-i Osman'ı
Onu Hak taalâ arslan eyledi

Rusyalı der ki düştüm figana
İsa bakmaz oldu, söylen bu yâna
Üç bin pâre toplan kaldı düşmana
İşimi âh ile efgan eyledi

Ömer Paşa der ki söliyeyim ilden
Üç milyon askeri aşırdım belden
Sivastopol şehri gidince elden
Kâfire perişanlık nişan eyledi

Rusyalı der ki aldın da deryayı
Kuds-i Şerif için ettim kavgayı
Ben neden istedim Ayasofya'yı
Cihanı başıma zindan eyledi

İngiliz Fıransız devlet emrine
Tertipler görüldük Kazak bahrine
Üç yüz pâre tekne Kereç şehrine
Ahmet Paşa anda kaptan eyledi

Yürüdü vapurlar, çektiler seri
Asla kör Moskof'un yoktur haberi
Evvel Fenerburnu'undan girdi içeri
Kâfir Akburun'dan duman eyledi

Kâfir tabyaların etti küşadı
Topları karaya döktü imdadı
Bir ateş ettiler, yer gök oynadı.
Sanki gökten Mevlâ bârân eyledi

Ol dem yılan gibi geriye aktı
Bu kadar eşyayı, malı bıraktı
Kendi cephanesini kendisi yaktı
Hep kırdı topları, ziyan eyledi.

Yıktılar kâfirin hep siperini
Alup kaçtı Rusyalı askeri
Nasıl tarif edeim Kereç şehrini
Yıktılar büsbütün viran eyledi

Ol Kereç şehrinin nice oldu hali
Görenin gözünden gitmez hayali
İngiliz Fıransız bu kadar malı
Soydular andan da üryan eyledi

Bir yerde görmedim böyle binayı
Yıktılar büsbütün beş buçuk ayı
Cemre oldu da bitti hep buğdayı
Yandıkça ol nimet figan eyledi

Yeni Kal'a derler bir metin kal'a
Alınmak ne mümkün böyle bir bina
Allahın emriyle alındı amma
Sanki bir barutu gülşan eyledi

Akburun sahradır şehirden taşra
Yaptılar kal'ayı baştan başa
Altı tabur ile Mehmet Paşa
Söyleyen dillerde mesken eyledi

Bir Kal'a eyledi tebârek Allah
İngiliz, Fransız dedi eyvallah
Ehl-i İslâm olan yazdı Maşallah
Resmini dillerde ilân eyledi

Mehmet Paşa oldu Kal'aya mecbur
Yaptırdı misli bulunmaz ne meşhur
Fakat zahmet çekti ol altı tabur
Sonradan da rasta zindan eyledi

Dillerde söylensin namı bir zaman
Hep denizlerde bağlandı el'an
Şimdiden sonra sende çok asker nihan
Bir güzelce yere vatan eyledi

Kal'anın mimarın edeyim beyanı
Bir tabur Ankaralı olup insanı
Bir tabur Kengırı şöyle merdanı
Dört tabur da gayrı erkân eyledi

Bu Kal'ayı gören akıllar şaşa
Söyleyin düşman gelmesin boşa
Kal'ayı da yaptıran Mehmet Paşa
Çok adam Allah ihsan eyledi

Bu bir nişan olsun söylensin halka
Bir bir beyan edeyim gelirsem aşka
İnşallah muhabbet yaparım, başka
Ey meded arada zaman eyledi

Bin ikiyüz oldu bulmakta eyyam
Sene yetmiş iki tahriri zaman
Ehl-i İslâm bu sene gelmek meram
Canını burada kurban eyledi

Bu bir bergüzardır yazdım iptida
Okuyan âh ile eylesin nida
Derdime bir sima söyleten Huda
Böyle kavgalara destan eyledi
(Gençosman 1972: 249-256).

Âşık Bezmî turned the experience of the Crimean War into an epic poem (Gençosman 1972: 249-256):

Âşık Bezmî related the entire course of the Crimean War from the perspective of Ömer Pasha, narrating the enemies' flee without even taking their belongings, and that there was a torrential rain as well as the struggle for Sivastopol.

13. The Settlement Rebellions

During the *Tanzimat* (1839-1876) period, the Ottoman State made an effort to settle the nomadic tribes and sent the *Fırka-i Islahiye* (Renovation Division) military units upon them. In response to this, the nomadic tribes rebelled from within their settlements. The example we will give on this subject is taken from Dadaloğlu. Derviş Pasha, the commander of the unit, settled Dadaloğlu's nomadic tribe in the Aziziye County of the Sivas Province. During the rebellion, to which Dadaloğlu also participated, the Avşar nomadic tribe resisted for a long period of time. In 1865, with the settlement and subjection campaign in which Ahmet Cevdet Pasha was assigned duties, a great number of nomadic tribes were settled. Dadaloğlu related in the epic poem the anger he felt towards the Ottomans by criticizing them (Çoruk quoted from Yağcı 2007: 157):

Ilgıt ılgıt seher yeli esiyor
Gâvur dağlarının başı dumanlı
Gönül binmiş aşk atına aşıyor
Bire beyler, cünunluğun zaman mı

Aşağıda akça çığın ötünce
Katar başı mayaların sökünce
Şahtan ferman, Türkmen iye göçünce
Daha da hey Osmanlı'ya aman mı

Aşağıdan iskân evi gelince
Sararıp da gül benzimiz solunca
Malım mülküm seyfi gözlüm kalınca
Kaypak Osmanlılar size aman mı

Dadaloğlu'm sevdası var başımda
Gündüz hayalimde gece düşümde
Alışkan tüfekle dağlar başında
Azrail'den başkasına koman mı

Aşağıdan iskân evi geliyor
Bezirgânlar koç yiğide gülüyor
Kitabın dediği günler geliyor
Yoksa devir döndü âhir zaman mı

14. The Herzegovina Rebellion (1875)

In 1875, one hundred sixty Christians in the Herzegovina *Sancak* (sanjak, subdivision of a province), connected to the Nevesin *kaza* (subdivision of a province), rebelled by using the heavy taxes as an excuse. Upon this, the Ottoman State preferred to send an advisor to the rebels. The number of rebels increased rapidly, and the rebellion spread to an extensive area. There were major clashes between the Ottoman forces and the rebels (Çakmak 2003, p. 241).

Âşık Dildârî turned this rebellion into an epic poem (Öztelli 1976, p. 243-248):

Dinle vasfedeyim hâl-i dünyayı
Murad müşkül hali etmek beyana
Hem zikreyleyeyim bay-u gedâyı
İtibar ederler kavm-i nâdâna

Belde-i İstanbul bilâd-ı cesim
İslâm birbiriyle oldu pek hasım
Büyükte küçükte kalmadı tâzim
Gayetle bozuldu şimdi zamane

Utanmak, ar, namus kalktı aradan
Zen rûyi görünmez asla boyadan
Kimse hayâ etmez ana, atadan
Bulunmaz bir asil merd-i merdâne

Hasılı olmakta halimiz zelil
Olduk meydan içre pek mahzun, melil
Yardımcımız olsun Cenâb-ı Celil
Merhametler versin ehl-i imâne

Gittikçe bozulduk, olmadık mâmur
Günden güne düşman etmekte zuhur
Her zaman bizdedir kabahat, kusur
Kendi kendimizi koyduk isyana

Bir yandan Karadağ gösterdi nişan
Ehl-i İşkodru'ya vermeyip aman
İslâm din yoluna oluruz kurban
Deyip cenk ettiler can-siperane

Duydu bu ahvali zat-ı Şahane
Yazdı her tarafa gönderdi nâme
Dedi, şimdi gerek gayret bu dine
Böylece bildirdi ehl-i vatana

Duydu bu ahvali Rum ve Anadol
Gönüllü yazılmağa geldi kol kol
Emr-i Padişahı ettiler kabul
Yüzlerin sürdüler anda fermana

Talebe-i ulûm ol ehl-i insaf
Gönüllü bayrağın çektiler saf saf
Etbâ-i ketebe hem dahi esnaf
Terk-i can eyleyip çıktı meydana

Beykoz sahrasına ordu kuruldu
Her bir tedarikler anda görüldü
Gönüllü askere silah verildi
Of merd-i şahbazlar döndü aslana

Padişah aslanı ol Âdil Paşa
Eşkiyaya karşı girdi savaşa
Tuttuğunu vurdu, yaktı ateşe
Çok eziyet etti anda Mervâne

Hersek de bir yandan çıkardı başı
Eşkiya şeklinde verdi telâşı
Voyvo'da Lazar'dır anların başı
Düşmek istediler nâr-ı sûzâna

- Derviş Paşa der ki, ey kavm-i küffâr
Sizlere açcak çok işlerim var
Eğer bana fırsat verirse Settâr
Düşürem canınız rûz-i Tufân'a

Ahmet Muhtar Paşa bir yandan girdi
Sentine şehrinde gözüm var, dedi
Kelle getirene çok ihsan verdi
Karamiç altını on beşer tane

- Voyvoda Lazar der, ben laf dinlemem
Setine şehrini hem sana vermem
Çıkmışım meydana geriye dönmem
Bunca kâfir içre ayıptır bana

- Derviş Paşa der ki, gördün mü beni
Askerim avcıdır, vururlar seni
Padişaha râm ol, kurtar kendini
Kimseler dayanmaz Âl-i Osman'a

- Karadağlı der ki, dönmeyiz geri.
Hersek'ten Sırpacak döktük askeri
Bizde her kıralın bulunur eli
Hiç tükenmez bizde silah, cephane

- Derviş Paşa der ki, dağlar yararım
Temelin sökerim, kolun kırarım
Memleketin, malın, milkin yakarım
Bâdehû başlarım kıymağa cana -

Karadağlı der ki, gayrı yoruldum
Askerim kırıldı, târümâr oldum
Edip ettiğime çok pişman oldum
Ne çare evveli uydum şeytana

- Derviş Paşa der ki, sözüne kanmam
Dilinle kuş tutsan gayrı inanmam
Döktüğün kanları yanına koymam
Zira sen evvelden kıydın çok cana

- Şimdi Derviş Paşa Hersek'e geldi
Teslim olun deyü haber gönderdi
Size yine beylik vereyim, dedi
Boş yere kıymayın bunca insana

- Ehl-i Hersek der ki, geri dönmeyiz
Biz İslâma asla vergi vermeyiz
Derviş Paşa biz tuzağa girmeyiz
İşittik ettiğin Kozanistan'a

- Derviş Paşa der ki, böyle halt yeme
İnsaf etmem, sonra duymadım deme
Mel'un ikrarından geriye dönme
Karadağlı gibi düşme amana

- Ehl-i Hersek der ki, Sırp'a dayandım
Anların verdiği ikrara kandım
Geri dönmem, dedi, hem senet aldım
Bâdehû ben dahi girdim meydana

- Derviş Paşa der ki, açıldı nusrat
Vurun aslanlarım, vermeyin fırsat
Helaldir yediğiniz nân ile nimet
Binlerle yaşasın doğuran ana

- Ehl-i Hersek der ki, Sırp'a gelsene
Sen de kendi başın kaydın görsene
Can-alıcı geldi, karşı dursana
Dağları eritir hükm-i Şahane

- Sırplar der ki, bizde tükenmez asker
Darbile askerim can, ciğer söker
Benim ile acep kim başa çıkar
Gelmemiş emsâlim asla cihana

- Derviş Paşa der ki, ömrün azaldı
Galiba dünyada müddetin doldu
Saf bağladı ordum, ileri durdu
Şimdi aç kurt gibi salarlar cana

- Cernayif der, gayrı bağlandı elim
Askerim kırıldı, lal oldu dilim
Harap oldu artık iklim ve ilim
Duş-oldu canımız bâd-ı hazâna

Derviş Paşa der ki, asker-i İslâm
Su yerine her gün içtikleri kan
Padişahtan bende böyledir ferman
Alıp vilayetin, kılmak virane

- Cernayif de der ki, gayrı el-aman
Âkıbet bende de kalmadı derman
Uğradım bir derde, bulunmaz imkân
Düşmüşüm amana, Şah-ı Cihana.

Derviş Paşa der ki, İslâm böyledir
Daima hasmına kanlar ağlatır
Hem çoğunu gelmez yola yollatır
Süründürür encâm toza dumana

Binlerle yaşasın Sultan Hamit Han
Adaletler etsin tahtında müdâm
Yardımcısı olsun Habib-i Subhan
Hem mahşerde kılsın şefâat ana

Gör bana neyledi ol çarkı felek
Mahbus-hanelerde belim bükerek
Dildârî, gözümden kanlar dökerek
Söyledim destanı hem yana yana

Yedinci ordudur, alayım da dört
Taburum üçüncü, bölüğüm de dört
Ser-asker Kapısı mahbusunda dert
Mecbur etti beni böyle destana

Âşık Dildârî, who had Derviş Pasha talk with the Herzegovinian people, narrated by praising and praying for Sultan Abdülhamit, that in the period when the rebellion occurred, the general situation and the administration had stopped working properly, that the moral of the people had worsened, and that voluntary soldiers were sent to suppress the rebellion.

15. The death of Sultan Abdulaziz and the Çerkez Hasan Incident (1876)

Sultan Abdülaziz, who was dethroned on 30 May 1876, committed suicide or was murdered by having his wrist cut on 4 June. People believed that he had been murdered. Çerkez Hasan, who was saddened by this, by attacking suddenly the mansion of Mithat Pasha on 15-15 June, murdered Hüseyin Avni Pasha and several other people. Two days later (17 June), Çerkez Hasan was hanged at Beyazıt Square. Many epic poems, dirges and folk songs were recited for Çerkez Hasan, whom the people liked.

Âşık Said expressed in this epic poem the ease that people felt thanks to Sultan Abdülaziz, the removal of Abdülaziz from the throne during the civil turmoil experienced in that period, and the transition to Murat V's reign (Çoruk, quoted from Kırımhan, 2007, pp. 169-170):

El evvelini velahiri ahed
Kendi kudreti ile bir nişan oldu
İptida halketti cilve-i samet
Hikmet-i râbbani rayegân oldu

Emri ilâhile cihan bozuldu
Doksan kıtlığında canlar üzüldü
Ervah-ı ezelde böyle yazıldı
Taktiri bilmeyen perişan oldu

Sultan Aziz han yetişti cane
Sayesinde rahat etti çok hane
Mevlâ zeval verme nesli sultana
Etrafı iklime çok ihsan oldu

Vüzera ulema bilmedi işi
Dediler olmadı aziz gidişi
Bir karar gitmiyor felek revişi
Karar ile cümlesi kaiman oldu

Bunda bir iş vardır bir kimse bilmez
Bu gidişle kimse hiç razı olmaz
Çoğaldı arada müfsitle gammaz
Bunların ifsadı daiman oldu

Sırp ve Karadağ açtı yareyi
Sandılar hali bulduk areyi
İkiliğe düştü Hünkâr sarayı
Hakkı hak bilenler müminan oldu

İttifakla indi tahtından Hünkâr
İfsat sahipleri eyledi efkar
Dediler bu yolda ölürsekte kar
Diyenin rehberi kör şeytan oldu

Bu işi böyle yaptıran Hüda
Şeyhülislam buna yazmıştır fetva
Hâlık ile hizmeti ettiler eda
Zillullâhı alem Murat han oldu

16. The Russo-Ottoman War (93 War) (1877-1878)

The Russo-Ottoman War, which was known among people as the "93 War" due to its corresponding to the year 1293 on the solar calendar, was an important war, which determined the future of the Ottomans. The reasons for the war, which occurred on the Danube and Caucasian fronts were Czarist Russia's desire to increase its lands by removing the Ottomans from Europe, their plan to descend to the warm seas, their desire to take revenge for the 1853 Crimean War and to protect the Christian and Slavic minorities. The war ended with a heavy defeat for the Ottomans and with the Edirne Armistice, which was signed by Sultan Abdülhamit II on 31 January 1878. The Treaty of San Stefano was signed on 19 February (3 March) 1878 (Eltut 2009, p. 119).

Âşık Ruhsatî, who personally participated in this war, narrated it in an epic poem as follows:

Her kazaya üç beş atlı dağıldı,
Elediler ince elekten eleyi eleyi.
İlahi zabitler ne diyem size,
Siz mi büyüttünüz yavrularım beleyi beleyi.

Kars'ın üzerini bürüdü tütün,
At ayağı altında kaldık büsbütün,
Nice şehit oldu çocuklu hatun,
Ağlar körpe kuzularım meleyi meleyi.

Zâlim üstümüze topu salladı,
Ciğerciğim delik delik dağladı,
Kaptan paşa bunu görüp ağladı
Dedi çocuklarım nedir kolayı kolayı.
Üç beş paşa bir araya geldiler,
Ortalığın ahvalini bildiler,
Kör Moskuftan uruşvatı aldılar,
Elden teslim ettiler Kars'ı kaleyi kaleyi.

Gümrü kalesinden toplar atıldı,
Piyademiz süvariye katıldı,
Her bir nefer on paraya satıldı,
Ölen öldü, sağ kalanlar arzuluyor sılayı sılayı

Ruhsatî"yim yine ömrüm söküldü,
Gencecik yaşımda belim büküldü,
Koçyiğitler armut gibi döküldü,
Çok gelinler siyah çaldı valayı

Ruhsâti mentioned that the war passed with great difficulty, that alongside young men, many women and children were killed, and that the Kars Fortress was lost as the result of the pashas receiving bribes.

Also, Âşık Şenlik, who witnessed the "93 War", wrote this epic poem as soon as the threat of the occupation of Kars became obvious and before the Russians declared war (Şenlik 1954: 19):

Ehli İslâm olan işitsin bilsin,
Can sağ iken yurt vermeniz düşmana.
İsterse Uruset ne ki var gelsin,
Can sağ iken yurt vermeniz düşmana.

Kurşanın kılıcı giyinin donu,
Kavga bulutları sardı her yanı,
Doğdu koç yiğidin şan alma günü,
Can sağ iken yurt vermeniz düşmana.

Asker olan bölük bölük bölünür,
Sandınız mı Kars kalesi alınır?
Boz atlar üstünde kılıç çalınır,
Can sağ iken yurt vermeniz düşmana.

Kavga günü namert sapa yer arar,
Er olan göğsünü düşmana gerer,
Cemi ervah bizlen meydana girer,
Can sağ iken yurt vermeniz düşmana.

Hele Alosmanın görmemiş zorun,
Din gayreti olan, tedarik görün,
At tepin, baş kesin, Kazağın kırın,
Can sağ iken yurt vermeniz düşmana.

Şenlik ne durursuz atlara binin,
Sıyra kılıç düşman üstüne dönün,
Artacaktır şanı bu Alosmanın,
Can sağ iken yurt vermeniz düşmana

Benesferdir bilin Urusun aslı,
Orman yabanisi balıkçı nesli,
Hınzır sürüsüne dalıp kurt misli,
Can sağ iken yurt vermeniz düşmana.

This epic poem by Âşık Şenlik was written and distributed to provinces, counties and villages in order to strengthen the morale, unity and spirit of cooperation of the people in the region (Çobanoğlu, quoted from Şahin 1999: 90). It was sung as a march by the famous "Kars Volunteer – Cavalrymen", who gathered to fight against the enemy (Çobanoğlu, quoted from Kırzıoğlu 1999: 90). Just as in the other examples, we observe that the epic poems given here had the functions of keeping the morale of the soldiers high and of structurally organising the people in the regions under occupation. When the war was lost, the wandering minstrels would inform the external world through the epic poems and the records they made of the atrocities perpetrated by the Russians, as well as, after Kars was abandoned to the Russians, encouraging those who experienced the war in the region and the youth which had recently risen not to forget what had happened and to be prepared for fighting.

Also, Âşık Fakiri, who participated in the Russo-Ottoman War, narrated in the Vidin epic poem how the Ottomans under the command of İzzet Pasha had endured with heroism for twelve days the Romanians' attack (Öztelli, 1976, pp. 384-387):

Gidi Vidin senin başın kavgalı
Balyemez topların altın halkalı
Böyle cenk olmamış dünya duralı
Ahrete kalmıştır işi Vidin'in

Vidin'in etrafı dolanı sazlar
Üstünde uçarlar turnalar, kazlar
Şehit oldu nice gelinler, kızlar
Kanlara bulandı taşı Vidin'in

Vidin'in içinde çoktur erenler
Hadd-ü hesapsızdır cenge girenler
Kumbarayla seksen kişi kıranlar
Ah eyleyip düştü başı Vidin'in

Fethi Baba derler, kalenin başı
Gülleyle yıkıldı duvarı, taşı
Kuru peksimettir cümlenin aşı
Zâr eyledi, düştü başı Vidin'in

Atılan gülleler hiç vermez ara
Kadı ile müftü verdiler vire
Ulah bekler imiş böyle bir sıra
Kan ağlayıp aktı yaşı Vidin'in

Vidin'de olanlar mahzenler kurdu
Attı Ulah, gülle üstüne vurdu
Kimin deldi, kimin yanında durdu
Kan ağlayıp aktı yaşı Vidin'in

Cümle istihkâmlar buldu metanet
İzzet Paşa etti bir nice gayret
Şükr-olsun İslâmlar buldu selâmet
Hamd-ü senâ oldu işi Vidin'in

Zengin, fakir girdi yerler altına
Vidin kaldı şimdi kara bahtına
Arzuhal tapşursam Hünkâr tahtına
Hamd-ü senâ oldu işi Vidin'in

Vidin'in etrafı yüksek kayalar
Baş başa vurmuştur ağlar analar
Bayrağını çekip gitti yayalar
Kan ile yuğruldu aşı Vidin'in

Karıştı bilcümle cihan-ü âlem
Denizler mürekkep ağaçlar kalem
Vasfını yazamaz hâfız-ı kelâm
Kan ile yuğruldu aşı Vidin'in

O Vidin şehrinin yüksek kalesi
Bizim çektiğimiz mürted belâsı
Kabul oldu sabi, sübyan duası
Ahrete kalmıştır işi Vidin'in

Hasmımız karşıdan çağlayıp akar
Vidinli yalıda imdada bakar
Ulah galip geldi, durmaz top atar
Ahrete kalmıştır işi Vidin'in

Vidin dedikleri bir düz ovada
Sabi, sübyanların eli duada
Yavrucuklar öksüz kaldı yuvada
Kanlara bulandı taşı Vidin'in

Murat Baba, diyen murada erdi
Kale kapısından gülleler girdi
Kimin şehit etti, kimin vurdu
Kanlara bulandı taşı Vidin'in

Medhini eyleyim garip kulların
Mevlâm fırsat verip açsa yolların
El'aman, düşmanın gördük hallerin
Var mıdır cihanda eşi Vidin'in

İzzet Paşa idi ordunun başı
Tuna'ya karıştı gözünün yaşı
Hem asilzadedir, bulunmaz eşi
Hamd-ü sena oldu işi Vidin'in

Bir Tuna'dan bir Tuna'ya bağladı
Gülle ile kurşun ciğer dağladı
Bir Ulah köpeği bunu eyledi
Bağlandı Hüda'ya başı Vidin'in

On iki günde biz bulduk selâmet
Bize erenlerden oldu himmet
Bunca cephane ile bunca mühimmat
Kan ile yuğruldu aşı Vidin'in

Ahali sancağı çekip yürüdü
Hak erenler içimizde var idi
On iki gün muhasara sürdü
Ah eyleyip düştü başı Vidin'in

Bize Hak'tan oldu bu işler heman
Böyle cenk olmamış çoktur zaman
Atıldı nice top, nice bin havan
Hakk'a yarar geldi işi Vidin'in

Asâkir, ahali de çıktı burca
El attı cümlesi birden kılınca
Perşembe günüydü, hafta gelince
Kan ağlayıp aktı yaşı Vidin'in

Fakırî, bu cengin destanın yazar
Kâfirin derdinden olmuştur bîzâr
Kulların hak etsin affa sezâvar
Vasfını edemez kişi Vidin'in

Sultan Abdülhamit, sen binler yaşa
Üç tuğa müstehak bu İzzet Paşa
Görülmeyen işler hep geldi başa
Kalmadı yolu, yoldaşı Vidin'in

Âşık Fakiri narrated all the difficulties suffered in the war, the heavy bloodshed, and that the fight lasted for twelve days, and he praised Abdülhamit and İzzet Pasha.

17. The Greco-Turkish War (1897)

With the rebellion of the Cretan people between 1866-1869, fomented by Greece and England, autonomy was given to Crete. Sultan Abdülhamit suppressed the rebellion that took place in 1889 by sending an army, and a period of authoritarian administration began. The Cretan Greeks once again rebelled towards the end of 1895. Despite the fact that they had been given significant rights, they were not satisfied with these rights, and Greece, which wanted Crete to be completely connected to it, by sending weapons to the island continued to incite it against the Muslims, and clashes started between the Muslims and the Greeks in 1897. The Greco-Turkish War of 1897, which was won by the Ottoman Empire by showing great superiority, was concluded with a peace agreement that was signed in Istanbul on 4 December 1897.

Âşık Mahmut narrated this war in the following epic poem (Gençosman, 1972, p. 220):

Dinleyin ahibbâ edeyim beyan
Dillerde daima söylensin heman
Bin üçyüz onüçte bilin ki tamam
Yunanîler ile olan kavgayı

Daim kahbelikle çıkar meydana
Eşkiyadır diye eder bahâne
Kadın, erkek demez kasdeder câne
Hiç mi düşünmezler ganî Mevlâ'yı?

İptida Girid'e bir parmak vurdu
Miralay Vaso'yu kumandan koydu
Cezîre usâtı bunlara uydu
Şüphesiz anlar da bulur belâyı

Devletlere hemen haber erişti
Cümlesi hep birden telâşa düştü
Harp sefineleri çabuk yetişti
Abluka ettiler heman Ada'yı

Vaso'ya nasihat hiç kâr etmedi
Fenalıklarından hiç vazgeçmedi
Henüz oradadır çıkıp gitmedi
Lâkin kaptırmazlar hazır lokmayı

Yunanîler kat'en karar verdiler
Hayır yok Girid'den bize, dediler
Hudut boylarına yüz çevirdiler
Bak şimdi yediler tatlı helvayı

Hududu boş sandı bu serseriler
Açlık, susuzluktan canları inler
Görsünler vahşilik anları neyler
Tâciz eylediler bütün dünyayı

Giriştiler hudut tecavüzüne
Cesur görünmeğe halkın gözüne
Nasıl çıkacaklar insan yüzüne
Şiddetli gördüler müdafaayı

Pek çok tecavüze cür'et ettiler
Hayli leş bırakıp geri gittiler
Kaçarken birbirin sürüp ittiler
İslâmlar arkadan çekti yuhayı

Hudâ-yı Lemyezel haksız iş yapmaz
Mazlumların âhin yerde bırakmaz
Yakında gösterir pek çok uzatmaz
Bir anda mahveder kavm-ı âdâyı

Padişah tahtında çok sabır etti
Elbet bu sabrın da vâdesi yetti
Umum kumandana irâde etti
Görsünler düşmanlar şimdi kavgayı

Beş rumî nisanda harp ilân oldu
Düşmanların yüzü sararıp soldu
Yunan askerleri aceb ne oldu
Bırakıp kaçtılar koca ovayı

Ol saat çalındı hücum borusu
İslâm askerleri arslan yavrusu
Eğer isterseniz sözün doğrusu
Bunlara lâyıktır demek fedâyi

Her taraftan girişildi kavgaya
Otuzaltı saat sırtı sıraya
Top tüfenk sesleri çıktı semâya
Zabitler kesmedi hiç kumandayı

Edhem paşa geldi meydan-ı harbe
Askere buyurdu korkmayın aslâ
İstirahat edin var asker burda
Teneffüs ediniz biraz havayı

Asker dedi Paşam rica ederiz
Biz cengü cidalde rahat ederiz
Ölür isek dahi rahat ederiz
Biz istemeyiz işbu tâbiyeyi

Gelürken anamız eyledi nidâ
Ayallerinizle edin elveda
Yavrularınızı gözetsin Hudâ
Allah açık itsün sizlere râhı

Ömrümüz var ise yine geliriz
İnşaallah sizi hep sağ buluruz
Ya şehit veyahut gazi oluruz
Hemen biz bu yolda olduk fedaî

Babalarımızın öptük elini
Kimimiz bıraktık taze gelini
Bu devlet uğruna verip serini
Canlar atıp geldik bizler buraya

Böyle söylenerek hep vedalaştık
Hududa gelince bunca dağ aştık
Kimimiz kurşuna sinemiz açtık
Biz hiç düşünmeyiz artık dünyayı

Yaşasınlar şeci' arslan askerler
Cesur kahramanlar er oğlu erler
Şecaatlerinden titriyor yerler
Edelim onlara hayır duâyı

Hayri paşa eydür haydi ileri
Gün bugün evlâtlar kalmayın geri
Memnun eyliyelim Hak Peygamber'i
O emir kılmıştır bize gazayı

Bir taraftan Neset Paşa fırkası
Bulunduğu mevki hudut ortası
Göründü karşıdan düşman noktası
Verelim düşmana şimdi cezayı

Memduh paşanın da çoktur gayreti
Görenlerin mutlak artar hayreti
Bir başka kuvvettir hak din kuvveti
Târümâr ettirir bütün âdâyı

Hakkı Paşa dâim gözetir hakkı
Hatırdan çıkarmaz Cenâb-ı Hakk'ı
Yedirir askere güzel erzakı
Gayreti tuttu kubbe-i mînâyı

Haydar paşa dahi vezir-i sâdık
İsmi müsemmaya hem de mutabık
Askeri kendin düşmüş muvafık
Hatırdan çıkarmaz Ulu Mevlâyı

Gazi Osman Paşa hem Osman Paşa
Nüfuzları geçer dağlara taşa
Korkmaz bu askerler salar ateşe
Memnun eylediler bütün dünyayı

Erkânı Harpler de hep gider önde
Fenni harple çektik düşmana perde
Sıkıştı düşmanlar hem üç dört yerde
Aldık ellerinden biz Tesalya'yı

İlerde bütün suvari kolları
Muayene etti bunlar yolları
Dehşete gelirdi gören bunları
Toz duman ettiler bütün ovayı

Az uzak durdular Yeni Şehir'den
Piyadeler dahi geldi nehirden
Arş ileri etti cümlesi birden
Kaçtı Yunanlılar bırakt(ı) orayı

İstikbale çıktı ordaki Türkler
Birlikte Rumlarla hem yahudiler
Buyurun diyerek dâvet ettiler
Çok ettiler Yunanlıdan şekvâyı

İnâyet-i rahmet yetişti bize
Üçlerle yediler hem Kırklar bile
Birlikte girdiler Yeni Şehir'e
Şükür fetheyledik diktik Bayrağı

Mehmed âcizleri söyledim yani
Lisan-ı acz ile işbu destanı
Kusurum bilirim çoktur noksanı
Görünüz fakiri afve sezâyı

By providing dates for the events which occurred during the war, Âşık Mahmut narrated in the epic poem that many people were killed without discriminating between women, men and children, the cruelty of the Greek Timóleon Vássos, the efforts of the Ottomans Necat Pasha, Memduh Pasha, Hayri Pasha, Edhem Pasha, Hakkı Pasha and Gazi Osman Pasha, and how the Ottomans won the war.

The epic poems produced following political incidents and for personalities in the nineteenth century, of which we have given examples, have great functional importance. Çobanoğlu (2000, p.91) examined under two general headings the functions of the wandering minstrel epic poems. He spoke of "intended functions" with regards to what the wandering minstrel intended, and in the context of the creation and composition process which informed this; and of "incurred functions" with regards to the context of performance of the epic poem, which also included the listeners. As to the intended functions, the subjects selected comprised seven factors, such as laughing and entertaining, complaining, praising, criticizing, advising, informing and mourning. The attributes of the epic poems' functions were divided in five points (Çobanoğlu 2000:112):

1. Uses for constituting a public opinion,

a. Uses for military aims,

Epic poems for keeping the morale of the soldiers high,

The role of epic poems in the organization of the people in regions under occupation,

b. Uses for civilian aims,

Propaganda of the government's achievements aimed at people,

Uses for challenging the government,

Reproachful criticisms having the true nature of counter propaganda,

Social criticism having the true nature of unreproachful criticisms,

Uses for making one's own views known,

2. Uses of epic poems aimed at advertising,

3. Uses of epic poems aimed at education,

4. Uses of epic poems aimed at reporting, and

5. Uses of epic poems aimed at entertaining.

The wandering minstrel epic poems that confront us as artistic works depicting people and political incidents in the nineteenth century were written with the aim of informing, educating, and they were also aimed at the military (to keep the soldiers morale high, to contribute towards the organization of the people in regions under occupation) and civilian public (propaganda of the government's achievements aimed at people, uses for challenging the government, criticism having the true nature of social criticism, criticism having the true nature of counter propaganda and uses for making one's own views known).

Conclusion

The wandering minstrels, who are the primary sources of Turkish music, besides being the creators and transferrers of the wandering minstrel tradition, have also performed the function of living memories of this tradition. The wandering minstrels, who were trained in the context of master-apprentice relationships, by making the incidents they were involved in or witnessed into the subject of poems have carried them to the present-day with their voices and *saz*es. The wandering minstrels, who were the language, eyes, ears and brains of the society in which they lived, shed light on many subjects regarding the life of the people in their periods. The poetry that they transmitted with their strings and language have performed an important function in the transmission of the social and political incidents experienced in Ottoman society as an important dynamic element in the formation of Ottoman Turkish culture. They served as a bridge, contributing to the relations between groups of people by establishing ties between classical poetry and the dervish lodge poetry, bringing the people and the intellectuals together. In this respect, the epic poems are in the forefront. The epic poems, which are the oldest poetic forms of Turkish literature, were inherited by the *ozan-baksı* tradition and the wandering minstrel tradition.

Many wandering minstrels who were trained in the nineteenth century, together with being active in the wandering minstrel tradition, also personally experienced the political and social incidents narrated. The wandering minstrels in this century, showing sensitivity towards

the political and social incidents they witnessed, produced many works in the epic poetry genre. They perceived as their core duty the wars and the historical incidents in Ottoman history. Folklore elements were added to the historical incidents at the core of the poems. The wandering minstrels, who had either experienced or witnessed these historical incidents, were pouring them into poetry and made them into epic poems. Sometimes, the minstrels who first recited them did not use their pseudonyms in the final quatrain. In other words, while the material transmitted by the first teller/reciter decreased in time, the poems became folk songs accepted by the people and shaped with what was added to them. We think that the number of the poems was high. A portion of these was transmitted by means of manuscript collections of folk poems which were obtained and collected by Kemâl Zeki Gençosman (1972) and Cahit Öztelli (1976) and it is possible to add new ones to the store of knowledge/information about these epic poems by a study of the manuscript collections of folk poems and the archives. We can find the first examples of this genre of poems prior to the two studies mentioned above in the article by M. Fuad Köprülü (1930/1962-1965) titled *Türk Saz Şairleri* (Turkish *Saz* Poets), later published as part of a book. Here, Bahşî narrates the Egyptian Victory of Sultan Selim I (Türkmen, quoted from Köprülü 2005: 295):

Şamlu çıkıp kaçar köyden

Sofu beri bakmaz Hoy'dan

Mert var ise işte meydan

Gele dedi de yürüdü.

The wandering minstrels and the wandering minstrel epic poems are important sources for the discipline of history. From the point of view of style, language, subject, etc., the epic poems have characteristics of the period in which they were recited and consequently, the wandering minstrel tradition has an important place within Ottoman Turkish culture. From the epic poems, we learn everything about the people of the period, such as their perceptions, emotions, thoughts, aesthetic viewpoint, perspective on life, morals and perception of society, points of view about the world, value judgements, etc. The wandering minstrel, by showing sensitivity to the political and social incidents experienced in his own period, passed them through his own strainer and expressed it together with reflections on the people. We find in the epic poems the desires, hopes and positive and negative feelings of the people and the persons whom they valued or did not value.

The epic poems, as supplementary historical sources, hold a mirror to the nineteenth century by narrating and transmitting social and political incidents. Folklore, history and other social science experts benefit from the products of folklore in the context of re-establishing the theory of history and holding a light to the dark periods of history. The epic poems, which are among the sources used as oral historical texts, also have the quality of an artistic work narrating the political incidents and important figures of the nineteenth century.

The wandering minstrel epic poems, which have many functions and in which we find traces of the political incidents experienced in the nineteenth century, were written for information, education, and were sometimes aimed at military and civilian publics. Since the epic poems, which performed the function of newspapers, were written with the aim of financial gain, the artistic aspect of this genre of epic poems was not taken into consideration. The examples we gave showed that they transmitted views in order to keep the morale of the soldiers high and contribute towards the organization of the people in the region under occupation, making propaganda aimed at the people regarding the accomplishments of the state or criticizing the accomplishments of the state by praising the just victories of certain historical figures and by satirizing injustices and mistakes. We can give as an example the epic poems written on the acceptance of the fez by making propaganda aimed at the general public regarding the accomplishments of the state. During the reign of Sultan Mahmut II, the wandering minstrels were ordered to recite epic poems praising the fez and for the fez to be accepted by the people:

İftihar-ı Padişahî âkıl-i dânaya fes

Tac-ı rif'attır, gey ki a'lâya fes, ednâya fes

Âşık Şem'î (Öztelli 1976, pp. 117-118).

Al renkler bahş eder ruhsâre-i hûbana fes

Benzemez mi şâh-ı gülde goncai handana fes

……

……..

Âşık Dertli (Öztelli 1976, p. 119).

There were also epic poem examples which criticized and satirized the accomplishments of the state. While Âşık Figâni praised the reign of Sultan Abdülhamit II, Âşık Ruhsati criticized the reign of Abdülhamit:

Bu nasıl hükümet, bu nasıl gidiş

Yarım kıl bütünü soracak Allah

Semaya çekildi insaf, adâlet

Bir dahi hükümet kuracak Allah

…..

Âşık Ruhsati (Aşkın 1995, pp. 102-103).

The wandering minstrels, by preserving, in the epic poems, the liveliness of the incidents they participated in and the historical figures they witnessed and by also transmitting and writing about the changes in the political milieu, left materials for the present-day. The wandering minstrel epic poems of the nineteenth century, a period in which the Ottoman Empire entered into a process of dissolution, contributed to the strengthening of consciousness of Turkishness and the national spirit in the many rebellions, wars and battles experienced and they also contributed to social organization by keeping the morale of the people high; they were also crucial for the continuity of Turkish culture; and contributed to the richness of Turkish culture, the Turkish language, Turkish literature, and Turkish history, sociology, philosophy and many disciplines.

By treating the political incidents experienced in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, the epic poems, which are regarded as works of art, are of great importance in that they show a connection between art and politics. Alongside these, they also have a place among the sources used for historical research and other disciplines as oral historical texts and they can contribute towards reaching sounder conclusions, and towards re-establishing the theory of history.

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CHAPTER 5

ŞERIF MUHIDDIN TARGAN: A VIRTUOSO WHO JOINED EAST AND WEST ON THE SAME STAGE AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

The effects of modernization had reached their peak by the nineteenth century. By this point, major changes in the approach to fine arts had taken place, both in the East and the West. These reforms were particularly evident in the domain of fine arts, especially music. Many Muslim writers, thinkers, and artists belonged to the Eastern branch of European Renaissance. The centuries that followed the Renaissance also witnessed the emergence of personalities who established such connections, highlighting the existence of permeable borders between two civilizations. Simultaneously, these towering figures brilliantly articulated the cultural sphere they represented. On January 21, 1892, at the dawn of the 20th century, a privileged, 37th generation descendant of Prophet Muhammad's family was born in Çamlıca, an elite neighborhood in Ottoman Istanbul. This individual grew up to become the reputable master Şerif Muhiddin [Haydar] Targan, whose music influenced both Eastern and Western cultures. Targan earned the title Rabb'ul Ud (Lord of Oud) as a virtuoso performer of the Islamic world even as the two major world civilizations became lost in the tumultuous birth throes of a new concept of human culture that emerged during the "longest century of the Empire." Over time, Targan created a unique school in the oud style as he performed and advanced his instruments to meet global standards. He made history as a great artist by training students and passing on his legacy to the present. He impressed the greatest talents of his time with his personal qualities as well as by his skills and depth as a musician. This study does not advance a single "grand theory." Instead, this paper offers insights into comparable experiences of two global contexts by allowing a superior sociological and theoretical understanding of the ways in which Targan's musical experience was culturally sustained, contextually produced, and internationally processed.

Keywords: Şerif Muhiddin Targan, music, east, west, culture, modernization

Renowed Ottomonist Quatatert states that "During the long nineteenth century, 1798–1922, the earlier Ottoman patterns of political and economic life remained generally recognizable. In many respects, this period continued processes of change and transformation that had begun in the eighteenth century, and sometimes before." (Quataert, 2005, p. 54). The events and developments that took place in the 19th century were crucial for the Ottoman Empire's modernization process. These changes and modernization in the daily life of Ottoman society led to the entire transformation of the political agenda and economic structure of the country. It was also a period of growth and differentiation in economic and social fields, and of ideological transformation. During the days that followed the adoption of the Second Constitution, the introduction of recording technology brought along technological musical products as well, helping a virtuoso such as Tanburî Cemil Bey to go beyond the confines of his own space. Historical information and documents about the musical metamorphosis taking place were now recorded in audio archives as well. Music was no exception during the transition period from the Ottoman Empire to the Republican era.[1] Following Cemil Bey, the most important virtuoso performer of Turkish instrumental music was Şerif Muhiddin Targan. This work will review his place within music history. This article will investigate interpretations of virtuosity by discussing his skills. He was a virtuoso of the oud and the cello, one who united the East and the West on the same stage.

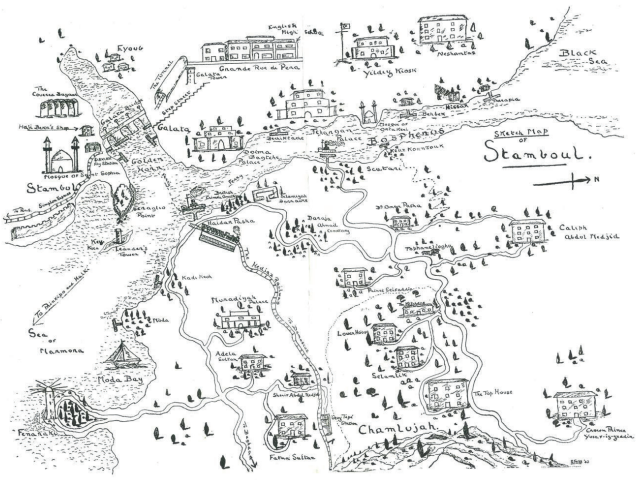

Figure 1. Details of the bustling life in the streets of Istanbul in a map dating from the end of 19th century (Haidar, 1944).

1 The effect of modernization had been extensively felt in Turkish music particularly during the second part of 19th century, which is called "the romantic period." This was an era of irreversible changes in structures, with new melodic structures borrowed from the West.

A Sociological Perspective: The Cultural Side of Music

Şerif Muhiddin Targan is one example of an individual from a society caught within the struggle for modernization in the period of transition between the 19th and 20th centuries; a character with full awareness of his age that was no different from that of Tanburî Cemil Bey. Şerif Muhiddin Targan is an artist who conceived a different world with a modern perspective without turning his back on "tradition," or causing the old to clash with the *new,* without letting the previous world be demolished, but also changing that other world. He was an oud[2] and cello virtuoso who used his pick and string to record, in the history of music, the voices of a culture stored somewhere "between two worlds," expressing the origin of notes the way no one else had expressed it before.[3] In particular, he radically changed the oud and emerged as a cultural, mythical hero expected to return, and he is still closely associated with this instrument.[4] A generation in advance, he sensed what was to come, and went after things that he was yet unable to express with his superior talents, with the extraordinary wish he made about music as a child. The moment he joined his inner boundaries with an independent artistic nature and artmaking, he found autonomy and success. The originality of his "unique" works of art, expressed with imagination, was in their showing traces of modern themes in music ahead of his contemporary society and age. Something new manifested in him. Şerif Muhiddin became the subject of artistic performance. His signature was impressed on each of his notes. The amount of emotion and the structure of the harmonic movement he built could be easily observed in his *taksim*s [improvisations].[5] In his music, a style that emphasized live musical performance, he gave prominence to instantaneous modal creations, and treated music as an ecstatic experience. He touched on an immense variety of musical subjects in it.

2 The oud is a fretless, plucked short-necked lute with a half pear shaped body and 11 or 13 strings. More specifically about the oud and making music in the Arab world, see (Touma, 1996 and Racy, 2003). For more information on the history of musical instruments and their classifications, see (Sachs, 1940; Kartomi, 1990 and Baines, 1992).

3 For a study of virtuosity and its criteria in traditional Ottoman/Turkish music, and a discussion of the identity of the virtuoso performer based on the examples of Tanburî Cemil Bey (1871-1916) and Şerif Muhiddin Targan, see (Behar, 2015).

4 The association is to such an extent that in an interview with Hıfzı Topuz, a correspondent of *Akşam* newspaper, Gaspar Cassado (1897-1966), a world-famous cello virtuoso whom I frequently visited in Istanbul for concerts, talked about how impressed he was by Şerif Muhiddin: "This time in Istanbul, I had the chance to listen to the oud. Mr. Şerif Muhiddin gave me an oud concert. It was the first time I listened to this instrument but I am still under its spell. Most certainly the oud is a fantastic instrument and Şerif Muhiddin plays it magnificently. The sounds of the oud still ring in my ears. Three years ago, I'd listened to the kemancha and tanbur and was under their spell for days on end. The oud and Mr. Şerif Muhiddin too will leave indelible traces on me." (p. 3).

5 Taksim is a solo instrumental improvisational genre in Turkish and Arabic music. It is based on the *makam* of the vocal or instrumental piece. For a study on Şerif Muhiddin Targan's distinctive qualities compared to other oud players through an analysis of composition in 6 oud partitions and *maqam* analyses, see (Işıktaş, 2011). For more information on these and other expressions in taksim and their connotations see (Racy, 2003).

Having discovered a new style, he blended in with the sounds, like a traveler. His singularity (individuality) went even beyond himself and reached the historical universality of the oud. His transformative power over sounds can only be explained by his ability to render things visible.

For Targan, an indispensable way to reach his ideals was to use his potential talent to its full extent with a desire to change artistic conditions. Entertaining the idea of a micro-cosmos, matchless melodies reaching from recordings to ears and motifs with prominent characteristics interlace with a separate *selfhood* that yearns for eternity along with the personal world of Targan. From a blessed and noble family, he most notably inherited a rich personality, an intense inner world, a sensitivity to everything around him that affected his thoughts, feelings, and concepts. Emotions, those raw materials of nature, came out in his pieces with an intense and delicate vigor like a panorama of madness, joy, yearnings, passions, and reunions. This musical aesthetic emerged from the victorious spirit of dreams, fantasies, time, and space. In a sense, his aesthetic was one and the same with that very victorious spirit. He developed a style of artistic performance that he considered a form of prayer. If only the oud could speak, imagine the many things it would tell. Şerif Muhiddin Targan traveled to many places: Baghdad, Beirut, Boston, Medina, Mecca, Egypt, New York, Paris and Syria, to name a few. These are only the ones we know of. We must keep in mind the fact that, deep down, he lived another, secret life. Dynamic processes of his spiritual life triggered spontaneous action and were further enriched by the sources he nurtured himself with as well as with the people around him. He is the son of Şerif Ali Haydar Pasha[6], the last Emir of Mecca. His notable best friends included pianist Leopold Godowsky, national poet Mehmed Âkif Ersoy and Tanburî Mesud Cemil [Tel]. No information separating him from his environment can explain his level of understanding fueled with imagination. To come up with an intellectual landscape of Targan, one needs to resort to his experience in the context of cultural and artistic developments. He added new value to an inner, spiritual reality. Needless to say, external things also gained new value with him. In the words of John Dewey (2005), an inheritor of the Enlightenment, "in music we see intervals and what they represent, we hear distances and the power of sound" (p. 191). Targan heard the sounds of the time that came before him, took his oud far beyond ingenious hand work, and shortened the distance between sounds in different

6 A Şerif of Mecca, which meant he was a direct descendant of the Prophet Muhammad. Ali Haydar, who become the deputy head of the Ottoman upper chamber of parliament, was an open, generous and loyal man. See the biography of his life which has been compiled largely from his diaries (Stitt, 1948). Also see *Arabesque*, which was written by the sister of Şerif Muhiddin Targan. It provides an insider's view of life in the final years before the foundation of the Turkish republic. The book shows a unique and extremely well-informed window onto the social, cultural and political events unfolding around her.

centuries. His *ability to sustain the tradition he took over* is what stands out especially in the works he composed in saz semai form.[7] He had the capacity to bring together sounds in the common reservoir of music and culture to create images with a constructive, non-mechanical technique and incorporate patterns he reproduced and distilled from the past.[8]



Figure 2. He did not consider the oud solely as a musical instrument and a technique-based product, but he assigned an exclusive personality and individuality to it.[9]

7 For centuries, the oud was the basic instrument of reference for the music theory and performance of the Middle Eastern/ Islamic civilization, and el-Kindî called it "the instrument of philosophers." From the early seventeenth century onwards, the tanbur became the main Ottoman/Turkish instrument. Kantemiroğlu described it as the embodiment of "Ottoman style." These two instruments went far beyond their theoretical descriptions in classical circles; they penetrated intellectual, literary and artistic practices, earned a social identity and became instruments of *soloists* (Şerif Muhiddin Targan with the oud, Cemil Bey with the tanbur).

8 Richard Sennett (2008) considers playing an instrument in perfect harmony as the result of intellectual comprehension and technical dexterity. In his words, concentration completes just one dimension of the technical development of dexterity. The hands are in the service of experiment, but this happens only with an objective standard; hands have learned how to coordinate, how to exert minimum power and how to relax. Therefore, hands are also a repertory of learned hand movements. Hand moves can be improved and refreshed with rhythmical processes through exercises which may perpetuate these processes. Comprehension guides every technical move and its every move has ethical consequences (p. 178).

9 Taha Toros Repository of Marmara University, http://openaccess.marmara.edu.tr/handle/11424/141113/ 08.06.2021.

Sophisticated Notes and Inspiration

Why does Şerif Muhiddin's music move us so profoundly? What makes it special as a listening experience? How does it really affect us? His understanding of music fell between theory, practice, technique, and expressiveness and focused on working and reflecting the experience of East and West on an instrument. These spheres of influence he created with a leap of imagination came closer to each other. This genuine, intuitive leap foreshadowed the conclusion with a studied calculation and design. He demonstrated his productivity with awareness and reason. This had to do with his aura. He created a spiritual electromagnetic field when the century was at a crisis and turned it into something "awash in its own light." He adorned every corner of this field of imagination with as many cultural materials as possible.

A special position was given to Targan by his contemporaries, who considered what he did with the oud equal to what Italian virtuoso Niccolo Paganini (1782-1840) did with the violin. One must note that these artists lived in different ages and that these instruments evolved.[10] Both of them are members of a *community of creative geniuses*. Neither Paganini nor Targan gathered speed supernaturally but listened to traditional oral stories, epics, and mythological narratives from centuries before. Their talents lay in the deep roots of musical, vocal expression. These tangible steps go beyond a faith in the magic of images. Notes and recordings are two vocal substances that break this magic spell. They are independent pieces of evidence that do not serve a psychological basis. "Viewing the artist as a demigod may be considered a vestige of the Shamanic era when the creator was a doctor, judge and a magician all at once. Or perhaps it may be linked to opinions that held sway in the Romantic era when *inspiration* was deemed godly and the creative act was considered an *inspirational* effort. Some artists strive to develop current social and cultural values while others strive to change them. The latter ones are made to feel out of place and odd due to their behaviors and breakthroughs that run contrary to acceptable values (Velioğlu, 1978, p. 71). Thanks to the virtuosity that played a great role in his artistic skills, Targan declared independence in a cultural atmosphere built on interpersonal relations.[11] He faced up to danger and risk. Targan sought what lay behind the notes. He was going through a process in which he was considered a novelty. With patient study and an awareness of knowledge and experience, he opposed established values, patterns and dogmas by paving the way to a whole different universe. He brought a different kind of sound

10 According to Curt Sachs (1955), "virtuosity, indeed, had its heyday in the eighteen thirties and forties. Virtuosos in the sense of accomplished masters of the voice or some instrument had always existed. All the great composers of whom the history of older music speaks were singers or players, but their ability was in the service of creative work." (p. 280). Nineteenth century was characterised by the cult of *genius*, as in the example of Liszt and Paganini and the idea of virtuosity, see (Samson 2003).

11 For a discussion on the concept of virtuosity in Turkish music through Şerif Muhiddin Targan, see (Işıktaş, 2015).

to wood which was never heard before. Those who understood him best apart from Mehmed Âkif were the ones who lent an ear to music in societies abroad.[12] "An artist is not just a selfish creature immersed in his own, individual passions. He too wants to express himself and be understood, likes to see how his sentiments spread around and affect others. In other words, he too presents his works to the society. Only developed societies and individuals with developed aesthetics can comprehend the meaning and values of artworks and show the ability to notice the storm and the dynamic tragedy in the soul of the artist" (Sena, 1972, p. 155). Needless to say, being understood, joining territories with sounds, removing borders and replacing them with the strings of oud and cello were not easy tasks for Targan. One must remember the evolution in taste. Although the term *zeitgeist* (spirit of the age) refers to the shared gusto and habits of an age, the important thing is the level to which those who share the same spirit are understood in their own time. Remarks on Şerif Muhiddin can be linked to the intellectual, philosophical, and artistic climate of late-nineteenth-century Europe.



Figure 3. Targan put forth what was historically "new" with his cello.[13]

12 Having defined Şerif Muhiddin as the "Sole Genuis of the East" Mehmed Âkif eternalized his admiration for Targan by dedicating the poem "Gölgeler" [Shadows] to him in Volume VII of Safahat. For a study that portrays this friendship in various dimensions, see (Işıktaş, 2017).

13 Taha Toros Repository of Istanbul Şehir University, http://earsiv.sehir.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/ 12.03.2018.

Oud and cello are instruments representing two distinct worlds with different musical styles, fashion choices, languages, lives, and cultures at large. Targan brought them to the stage without falling into class polarities, reflected their commonalities in an objective, spiritual field built on a singular life experience. He brought worlds closer and introduced a *new* way of understanding symbols. His music was enriched by and adorned with lyrics. The sharp contours of his music remained outside the discussions of the age, they were not split apart like the Great Wall of China. A synthesis of East and West could be achieved with these two instruments he mastered.[14] On December 3, 1928, he performed pieces from both cultures on the stage of Town Hall, one of the most popular art centers of New York.[15] On one side was the cello, together with compositions by Saint-Saens, Locatelli, Bach, Debussy, Ravel and on the other side was the oud and his own compositions entitled *Kapris (Caprice), Ferahfeza Saz Semai* and *Koşan Çocuk (Running Child)*. Just like Şerif Muhiddin Targan, Viktor Shklovsky (1893-1984) also thought that the meaning of art was found in the advent of the *new* and the originality of works that have a sense of form and an aesthetic sense: "Art exists to communicate a feeling of life and of objects, a feeling of how a stone is made of stone. The purpose of art is to communicate a feeling of the object as a visible thing. The artistic technique lies not in rendering objects familiar and known but *changing* (alienating) them, rendering form incomprehensible and perception difficult and longer. The act of perceiving art is an end in itself and needs to take longer; art is an instrument that makes one feel the formation of the object, whatever is already "formed" has no significance for art" (Todorov, 2005, p. 78). The artistic creativity of Şerif Muhiddin is not limited to his dominance over sounds. He also depicted the world he lived in and reflected his inspirations through canvas and with the colors of his palette. Although it is little known, lines he scribbled in notebooks that contain personal details demonstrate his interest in poetry as well. His pursuit of a broader identity as a virtuoso led him to impressive technical innovations. He developed colors, textures, articulations, and sound effects that had never been heard from the oud before.

14 While doing this, Şerif Muhiddin drew attention to the sources that nurture an artist. In an interview in March, 1954, Z. Kâmran Noyan asks him: "What do you think of folk music?" he answered: "in every country, the seeds and the real beginning of music lies with the public, with the folk. Folk music will be the most important source for future composers as well" (p. 13) With these words, Şerif Muhiddin argues that one must benefit from the roots of a culture.

15 Concerts and Recitals. (1928, December 14). *New York Evening Post*, p. 15. John Morgan O'Connell also (2013) mentions the concert details of Şerif Muhiddin Targan in New York (p. 146). Actually, the focus of O'Connell's book is the exclusive public figüre of the Turkish singer Münir Nurettin Selçuk (1899-1981) who put a greater effort into devoloping a vocal style in Turkey. O'Connell's is an analysis of the *alaturka* - as a Turkish style musical genre - versus *alafranga* debate on music. In describing them, O'Connell points out that Münir Nurettin Selçuk and Şerif Muhiddin Targan were "both artists hoping to develop a modern style for a modern state." (2013, p. 147).

True Passion and Emotion

Musical instruments are among the most important cultural tools to enable societies to develop an independent and distinguished spirit through truth and creativity. Şerif Muhiddin hoped to cure his pain with the unique charms of his imagination, rising with the wings of the sounds of his instruments. According to psychoanalyst Hanna Segal (1918-2011), the creative process "is the act of recreating an object –a worn-out inner world and selfhood- that was loved before and was whole, but now is lost and worn out. When our inner world is damaged, dead and loveless, those we cherish most are split into a thousand pieces and we fall into an exitless despair, that's when we need to recreate our world; reconnect the pieces, give life to dead pieces and recreate life." (Jacquet quoting form Segal, 2017). Sounds which gave direction to his feelings gave him courage in his works. He took them far beyond words and even images. As a sign of individuation, Targan drew a modern portrait in the context of Turkish music. [16] He was "free" and aware of his distinction but what does freedom mean in this context? "Freedom is one's ability to be in command of one's own development. His capacity to shape himself. Freedom is the other side of our sense of selfhood." (May, 1997, p. 150). He had a chance to plan and guide with such willpower. Through rational life and intellectual values, he used the techniques of the West in his instruments. He did so without changing his identity and by preserving his historical reference points with true passion and emotion. With an awareness of his experience, he was able to look back as well as ahead of his time. Last but not least, I must note that the expressions of Şerif Muhiddin, who passed away in Istanbul on September 13, 1967, his music, his life and his tastes fused into "a concept of beauty of Divine Aesthetics."

Conclusion

In the light of the developments in the last period of the Ottoman Empire, Şerif Muhiddin benefited from Ottoman music tradition as well as updated his knowledge, in a process characterised by continuity. He believed that his modern, Western education, his knowledge of Europe and his languages, gave him the tools neccesary to take his abilities into the modern world. The key to an understanding of the modernization process on his music may be the fact that he joined compositions in a new style together with new methods, both advanced

16 Notes, analyses and the characteristics of performance are naturally the main areas representing the world of sounds in texts that deal with music. Biographical studies on Şerif Muhiddin Targan emphasize solely his musical side or his basic life story. For an interdisciplinary (musicology, sociology and history) study that focuses on Şerif Muhiddin Targan in detail from the point of view of modernization, individuation and virtuosity from the Ottoman Times to the Republican Era, see (Işıktaş, 2018).

and original. For example, in Ottoman/Turkish music culture the musician as a performer was not confronted with the neccesity of interpreting a written text (scores, notes). He had been playing his music by using all the musical tools he had always known, reproducing a melody from his memory. But throughout the nineteenth century the men of reforms were struggling to create modern principles. Şerif Muhiddin launched a new programm of reforms which included techniques for his music, instrument and written sources. The most significant outcome of these changes was the creation of a new strategic individualization and virtuosity.

If we consider Targan's musical vision, we can find some traces of the adaptive nature of Ottoman reforms in it. When we look at his music, we can see it is characterised by elements from both Western and Turkish music. Some musicians adapted Western music elements to Turkish maqam music in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Targan himself incorporated chords, ornaments, dynamics and harmonic movements that were commonly found in Western classical music to Turkish maqam music. This practice cannot be understood without thinking about the political and social changes occurring throughout the years these musicians grew up in.

Targan and other musicians grew up in the late 19th century. Tanburî Cemil Bey was a major performer during the era of transformation in Ottoman/Turkish music. The reforms, which had started for political and military reasons, affected all aspects of social life. The musical vision of the musicians was also affected by this period of catastrophic transformation. Targan's music is a good example of its effects on the musical vision of the musicians living in the late 19th and 20th centuries.

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CHAPTER 6

THE FINAL PERIOD IN THE CYCLE: EVALUATING THE WORKS OF GREEK-ORTHODOX MUSIC THEORISTS OF THE 19th CENTURY OTTOMAN MUSIC SCENE AS A CULTURAL MEDIA FOR CONSTRUCTING OR PRESERVING NATIONAL IDENTITY

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ABSTRACT

This chapter compares music-related treatises of Greek-Orthodox theorists to elucidate the effects of the dominant 19th century nationalist ideologies on music theory. The shift in the Greek-Orthodox community in the Ottoman Empire from ethno-religious identification to a national identity paralleled the political developments of the era. Subsequently, this transferal played a role in shaping a Greek national music within the Ottoman Empire, utilizing ecclesiastical and folk music traditions. The influence of these developments on music theory was, however, directed toward geographical and transcultural connections rather than toward efforts to establish a national music theory congruent with the music traditions in question. The chapter examines the ideas generated by 19th-century Greek-Orthodox music theorists Apostolos Konstas, Konstantinos Protopsaltis, and Panagiotis Kiltzanidis against the work of their 18th-century counterparts, Panagiotis Chalatzoglou and Kyrillos Marmarinos. It especially scrutinizes connections to the multicultural work of Tanburî Küçük Artin and contemplates the influence of the 18th century theorist Dimitrie Cantemir. These analyses reveal the emergence of a line of Greek-Orthodox theory that also nourished the theoretical conventions of Ottoman music, distinguishing the Istanbul musical tradition from Arabic and Persian music practices. The study also ascertains the transculturality of forming a music theory influenced by Turkish-Muslim, Greek-Orthodox, Armenian, and other multicultural perspectives.

Keywords: Music theory, Greek-Orthodox music theory, Ottoman music theory, 18th and 19th century music manuscripts, music and nationalism

In the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire faced a transformation in political and cultural domains which mainly revolved around the agenda of nationalism. The terminology "millet," which is the most direct marker of developments related to nationalism, hence entered the literature in the 19th century under the influence of constitutional reforms in 1839 and 1856 (Anagnostopulu, 2011, pp. 2-5). While empowering the Roman Patriarchate[1] over all Orthodox minorities within the empire, the reforms on the other hand secularized its status, and thus played a role in the transformation from ethno-religious minorities towards national identities (ibid. 5-8). In terms of ethno-religious identification, Greeks were dominant among minorities in the Ottoman Empire not only demographically but also culturally. The publishing tradition dating back to the 16th century provided linguistic dominance to Greeks in that Turkish and Armenian texts would be written with the Greek alphabet, and Bulgarian communities would adapt the Greek identity for its hierarchical advantages, which rested both on the power of the patriarchate and that of the publishing tradition. (Clogg, 1982, pp. 188-189). Moving from ethno-religious identification to national identity, the Greek-Orthodox community also sought a way of identification through music. Against the backdrop of the efforts of Turkish-Muslim musicians to develop a national music by categorizing non-Turkish and non-Muslim traditional elements into "Ottoman music," the Greek-Orthodox community embraced the ecclesiastical music and folk songs to form their own national music (Erol, 2015, p. 150).

Was this trend of nationalization followed in the domain of music theory during the 19th century as well? The traditional music theory of Anatolia based on the "theory of cycles" had already experienced radical changes after the 17th century, especially under the influence of the treatise of Dimitrie Cantemir (Popescu-Judetz, 1999; Tura, 2001). Departing from the relationship between music theory and nature, the theory moved towards interpreting makam structures as melodic contours between specific fret intonations. Despite the change, the theoretical works of the 18th and 19th centuries kept reflecting the multicultural heritage of Istanbul. This article delves into the function of music theory as a means of constructing or preserving national identity and analyzes the contributions of Greek-Orthodox theorists to makam theory. The works of Apostolos Konstas (1800-1820), Konstantinos Protopsaltis

1 From the 4th century onwards, the Eastern Orthodox Church of Byzantium was organized into Patriarchates, the one located in the capital city of the Eastern Roman Empire being hierarchically superior as unifying all Orthodox churches (primus inter pares-first among equals) and central to the empire (Οἰκουμενι-oikoumeni, "household" of the empire), hence being named the Ecumenical Patriarchate (Οἰκουμενικόν Πατριαρχεῖον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως). The status of the Roman Orthodox Patriarchate did not change after the conquest of Istanbul by Sultan Mehmed II, although it was relocated several times to different churches within the city. Since the 16th century, the patriarchate has been located in Phanar, hence being named as The Roman Patriarchate of Phanar (Fener Rum Patrikhanesi) in Turkish. See Ortaylı, 2018 for further details.

(1843), and Panagiotis Kiltzanidis (1881)[2] are taken into account in terms of the "expressed" similarities and "indicated" differences between Ottoman music culture and Greek-Orthodox music tradition referring both to the "strong" relation between these two music cultures and to the "newly" emerging "dilemma" between the Ottoman and Greek-Orthodox identities due to nationalism, which was a dominant force of the era.

The Chronological and Theoretical Interaction of Greek-Orthodox Music Theorists

Makam structures can be traced back nearly 5000 years to Ancient Mesopotamian music culture and have been the musical material of Asia Minor, used throughout the Ancient Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman Empires and the Turkish Republic as well as the surrounding Muslim and Jewish cultures. This historical connection between different cultures, especially the interaction between Turkish-Muslim and Greek-Orthodox music traditions, made its way into comparative theoretical approaches in the 18th century. Panagiotis Chalatzoglou pioneered the comparative studies in his treatise which compared the Byzantine echoi and "Persian" makams (Popescu-Judetz & Sirli, 2000). The path opened by his treatise in the early 18th century was followed by his student Kyrillos Marmarinos and the 19th century witnessed a blossom of comparative theoretical works. The chronological and theoretical connections of three of those works by Apostolos Konstas, Konstantinos Protopsaltis, and Panagiotis Kiltzanidis, which were analyzed within the scope of this article, are provided below with summary information on their treatises and example comparisons of their fret identifications with one another and with preceding multicultural works by Dimitrie Cantemir and Tanburî Küçük Artin (Popescu-Judetz, 2002).

Apostolos Konstas (1770?-1840) was a significant contributor to the musical life of the Greek-Orthodox community in the early 19th century. As a student of significant church musicians of the era (Pappas, 2007, pp. 10-11), Konstas made his name as an important transcriber of music treatises and a tanbur player (Pappas & Beşiroğlu, 2007, p. 36). Experiencing the context that led to the reform in Byzantine neume notation in 1814, Konstas made an effort to identify the problems of the Old Method[3] (ibid. 36) as well as

2 There are other Greek-Orthodox contributors in this century like Ioannis Zografos from Geyve (Kılıçarslan, 2013), and Stefanos Mihail (İhsanoğlu, 2003,p. 146). Cem Behar (1994, p. 46) claims that Ioannis Zografos's work "Mousikon Apanthisma-Mecmua-yı Makamat" is a copy of his Turkish-Muslim contemporary Haşim Bey Mecmuası, and Miltiadis Pappas (1997, p. 4) claims that Konstantinos Protopsaltis's work (written by Stefanos Mihail under the supervision of Konstantinos according to İhsanoğlu) is a copy of 18th century theoretician Kyrillos Marmarinos's work.

3 Thomas Apostolopoulos (2002) did an extensive research on Konstas's contribution to Byzantine music theory with reference to his comparative approach on "technical elements of European and Arabic-Persian music."

providing theoretical definitions and explanations about "external music" in his treatise named Technology (Τεχνολογία του Απόστολου Κόνστα Χίου). When doing so, he clearly benefitted from the treatise of Cantemir although he did not openly say so in his manuscript. He mostly agreed with Cantemir in the 17-fret pitch scale and he borrowed the term "babet-babet" from Cantemir's "bab" with the same meaning, "section" (ibid. 40). One slight difference found in Konstas is that unlike Cantemir, he included another fret between Yegah and Aşiran, which he named Pest Bayati in the ascending scale and Pest Hisar or Sorizen in the descending scale (ibid. 40). Although Pappas and Beşiroğlu claim that Konstas was the first theoretician to use the fret name Sorizen (ibid. 39), Popescu-Judetz (2010) makes it clear that Tanburî Küçük Artin actually used this terminology in his treatise, which was another 18th century comparative work covering Indian music as well. It can be inferred from the usage of the fret Sorizen that Konstas might have also been influenced by Artin's work. Despite the fact that Chalatzoglou built his comparative theory upon Cantemir's treatise and that Konstas was influenced by his treatise, it is striking that Konstas differed from Chalatzoglou in the makam equivalents of plagal echoi[4] (ibid. 38). This was Konstas's error according to Pappas since his successor Kiltzanidis disagreed with Konstas while aligning with their predecessor Kyrillos in the authentic echoi; however, Kyrillos and Kiltzanidis did not agree about plagal echoi either. This can be interpreted in terms of a progressive interaction and interpretation of makams and echoi throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, which enabled theoreticians to correlate different makams and echoi in the course of history.

A later work is that by Panagiotis Kiltzanidis (1810?-1896), who was also trained as a church musician and developed expertise in makam music, with contributions to both ecclesiastical music and "external music" (Pappas, 1997, pp. 5-6). In his book, Kiltzanidis declared that he benefitted from Cantemir's treatise on "external music" and Hafid Efendi's "Galatat-ı Meşhure-yi Osmaniyye" (ibid. 14). In addition to these sources, Kiltzanidis also benefitted from Konstas (Pappas, 2007, p. 57). In the Greek edition of Konstas, a fret between Çargah and Neva named "Seba" (referring to Saba in an orthographically different way) was described, and Uzzal was the only fret between these two main frets in a later edition in Karamanli (a variety of Turkish written in Greek alphabet). However, both frets were located in between Çargah and Neva in Kiltzanidis (Pappas & Beşiroğlu, 2007, p. 40). The striking difference was that Cantemir gave Saba as a half step above Çargah and Uzzal as a half step below Neva while Kiltzanidis claimed the exact opposite (Pappas, 1997, p. 148). This simple

4 Similar to Western modal theory, Byzantine music theory was also built upon eight modes (Ὀκτώηχος-oktōēchos). The first four modes are named as authentic echoi and the lower four modes are named as plagal echoi. See Jeffery, 2001 for further details.

difference concerning the frets between Çargah and Neva shows that neither treatise copied Cantemir, nor one another, directly. Furthermore, one significant contribution of Kiltzanidis was that he defined a new makam, Gümüş Gerdan, which does not appear in any other theoretical work (ibid. 182).

Between Konstas and Kiltzanidis came Konstantinos Protopsaltis's work Ermineia Tis Exoterikis Mousikis (Ερμηνεια Της Εξωτερικής Μουσικής-Explanation of External Music), which was published by the Roman Patriarchate (Feyzi, 2016, p. 204). The use of the same pitch system used in preceding treatises and of the tanbur as the main instrument for showing the frets, showed that Cantemir's influence was dominant in Ermineia. Having the edvar[5] structure with explanations of the pitch system, usûls and their performance, makams and their melodic progressions, the book fulfilled its aim to teach "external music" to Greek-Orthodox church musicians by providing a kâr-ı natık in makam Rast in the end (ibid. 212). This piece covering 52 makams weakens the claim that it was a direct copy of Kyrillos although the way the two theorists analyzed makams is the same.

The term "external music" was used unanimously in 19th century theory sources and whether or not this expression was a marker of national identity, the predominant agenda of the era, is an aspect that should be investigated. Since Byzantine notation was mostly used in churches for transcribing ecclesiastical music, another term was necessary for labelling secular music. Thus, this externality primarily referred to the secular aspect of the music at issue (Pappas, 2007, pp. 7-8). Unlike Chalatzoglou's naming makam music as Persian and Kyrillos as Arabo-Persian, the "external music" terminology does not carry direct connotations of ethnicity or nationality. Nevertheless, the term encompassed Turkishness and Muslimness attributed to makam music contrary to the Byzantine identity attributed to ecclesiastical music. Kiltzanidis also distinguished between Arabo-Persian music and "external music" when he acknowledged Cantemir's and Chrysanthos's works[6] on music theory (Pappas, 1997, pp. 14-15), which can be interpreted as his connotation of the geographical connection between Byzantine music and Ottoman music. Besides, there are claims that the Greek-Orthodox community embraced

5 The early Ottoman music manuscripts described the relationship between structures comprising makam and usûl in cyclic illustrations, which were named *devr*, *edvar* being the plural form. Later on, the term was used to refer to music manuscripts even though the cyclic connection was gradually abandoned. See Güray 2017 for further details.

6 Kiltzanidis referred to the 1832-treatise Θεωρητικόν μέγα της μουσικής (Great Theory of Music) by Chrysanthos of Madytos (d. 1843), who was among the "Three Teachers" establishing the New Method for Byzantine neumatic notation. See Romanou, 1990 for further details.

"external music" in an effort to "maintain their cultural identity against the rise of Western music[7] and staff notation" by theorizing makam music (Feyzi, 2016, p. 204).

The effect of Orthodox Church in the transmission of makam theory

Before the influence of the Greek-Orthodox theorists on makam theory in the 18th and 19th Centuries, four main themes were prominent as characteristics dominating the theoretical approach of the period:

- There was a very clear distinction from the mathematics-based school of Ancient Mesopotamia and Ancient Greece, following the way of a predominantly verbal (oral) theory. Therefore, because of the possible variations within the oral transmission, makam structures could change from source to source both in organization and the sound material utilized.
- The revolutionary influence of Sultan Selim III had a transformative effect both on music theory and practice. This era of change initiated transformations "within the tradition."
- At the beginning of the 18th century, two important attempts at developing musical notations were put forward by Cantemir and Albert Bobowski. These two studies are special in the way that they represent two of the oldest score archives of the "Eastern" world.
- The deviation of the theory line from its historical implementation, after the loss of the the ancient cosmos-music-human connections, had started in the 15th century and accelerated throughout the 18th century.[8] (Güray & Aydın, 2009)

Greek-Orthodox theorists developed a unique line of theory that interacted significantly with those of other Ottoman theorists of the period. However, the former differed in the way they included the characteristics of Greek-Orthodox church music in the theory. Their influence on makam theory through Byzantine music theory can be summarized as follows:

7 Merih Erol identifies a similar concern against the invasion of values attributed to Western music and staff notation in Ali Rıfat (Çağatay)'s late 19th century ideas where he states intermingling "our" music with Western music will destroy the musical heritage of the ancestors, which parallels the nationalist discourse adapted as well by Greek-Orthodox musicians and teachers during that time (2014, pp. 364-5).

8 Hızır Ağa can be claimed to have authored the last treatise maintaining the cosmos-music-human relation in the 18th century while there are references to cosmological connections in Artin's work related also to Indian mythology. Both treatises differ in makam understanding from those of the 15th century. Nâyî Osman Dede in his early 18th century work, criticizes several "new" theorists for losing connection with the old theory tradition. Besides, Sultan Selim's effect, observed especially in the treatise he commissioned to Nâsır Abdülbâkî Dede, triggered innovative approaches to theory and Cantemir's transformative model became even more dominant. For further information on the interrelationship between theoretical approaches of the period, see Güray, 2017, pp. 101-115.

- Byzantine music theory formed the background of all the works by Greek-Orthodox theorists of the period. These writers regarded Byzantine music theory as a strong part of their musical and cultural identity.
- They implied the effect of Byzantine theory on the construction of Ottoman music theory.
- They also indicated the differentiation of Ottoman music theory from Byzantine theory, and the effects of Arabic and Persian musical styles.

When the theoretical understandings of Greek-Orthodox theorists and Turkish-Muslim theorists are compared, it can be understood that neither limited themselves to their local theoretical understandings, but they rather benefitted from one another's contribution to makam theory (Şahin, Güray & Aydın, 2018, p. 123). Figure 1 shows the relationship between makam theorists of the 18th and 19th centuries, suggesting that rather than nationalism, transnationalism and transculturality shaped the comparative understanding of makam theory and Byzantine music theory throughout the 18th and 19th centuries.

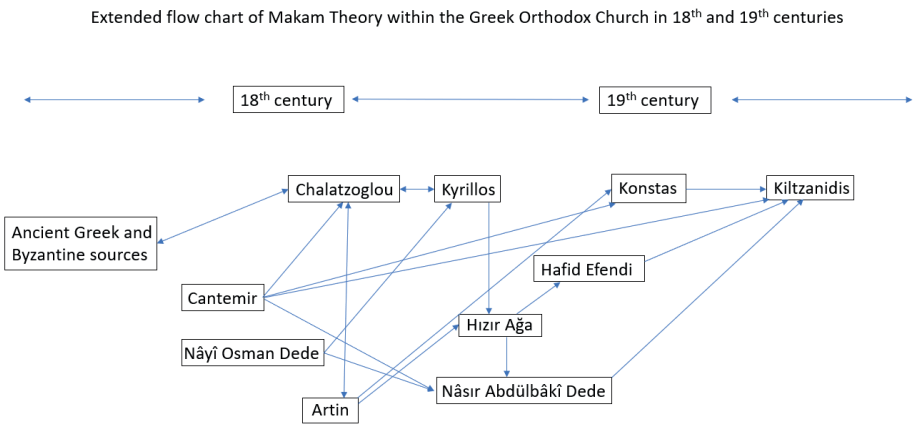

Figure 1. Interactions between the theorists of the period in light of Güray, 2017, p. 108

When these interactions are evaluated in tandem with the socio-cultural and political atmosphere of the period, a specific line of theory within the Greek-Orthodox church can be identified. The effects of this theory line on the formation of a Greek national identity along with compositional practices can be summarized as in Table 1. One significant difference, in the 19th century, from the theory line of the 18th century among Greek-Orthodox theorists can be identified as the distinction between "external music" and Arabo-Persian music. The usage

of the term "external music" to refer to the Turkish makam tradition was not meant to exclude Turkishness from Greek-Orthodox music theory. Therefore, it would not be wrong to interpret this development as an effort to locate Greek national identity not only theoretically but also as geographically distant from Arabic and Persian identities while utilizing Ottoman identity for the establishment of a Greek national identity. This process was also significantly different from the theoretical approach among their Turkish-Muslim counterparts in the early 20th century, who would seek a purely national understanding of music theory by eliminating all non-Turkish elements including Greek, Byzantine, Armenian, Arabic, and Persian interactions (Arel, 1969).

Table 1. The socio-cultural and practical characteristics of the Makam Theory Approach within the Greek Orthodox Church

Makam Theory within the Greek-Orthodox Church	
Practical Side	**Socio-cultural Side**
Developed through a complex combination of sources, carrying strong traces of church tradition, but extensively interacting, in practice, within the Ottoman makam tradition.	A strong media of presenting and preserving Greek-Orthodox identity while forming strong bonds with Byzantine music theory.
A strong source of Ottoman music culture reflecting the rich compositional heritage of Greek-Orthodox composers.	Strengthened identity by differentiating Greek-Orthodox musical culture from Ottoman musical culture, based on the latter's strong interconnection with Arabic and Persian musical cultures.
No great difference between the performances and works of Greek-Orthodox and Turkish-Muslim composers are found, but the differentiation starts in theory.	This is not a paradox as music theory transmits not only musical choices, but also the social cross-sections informing musical presentation. In this case, the transformations in the Greek-Orthodox community with regard to social changes in history and the development of an Ottoman-free base to represent their national identity.

Conclusion

The findings of the comparative analysis of 19th century Greek-Orthodox sources of makam music theory reveal three important conclusions. Firstly, a peculiar theoretical line in makam music nurtured by the Greek-Orthodox church can be identified, with a historical basis in the Ancient Greek and Byzantine roots of makam theory. Secondly, this theoretical line did not become straight and monolithic by segregating the influences of the surrounding Turkish, Arabic and Persian cultural traditions. While the 18th century theoretical approach among Greek-Orthodox scholars went in that direction, the 19th century scholars adapted the term "external music" to indicate secular music as distinct from the ecclesiastical music of

the church tradition rooted in the Byzantine period, and to indicate "the makam theory" of Ottoman Istanbul while also distinguishing it from Arabic and Persian makam traditions, which can be regarded as a further elaboration of theoretical interaction on a geographical basis. Lastly, the close connection of 19th century music theory works by Greek-Orthodox scholars with Cantemir's 18th century treatise from a cultural outsider's point of view, Artin's 18th century treatise from a multicultural point of view, and Hafid Efendi's early 19th century treatise from a Turkish-Muslim point of view, signals the importance of transculturality in understanding the multicultural heritage of the Ottoman Empire. The cultural interaction embedded in 19th century music theory reveals that the nationalism dominant in the period did not solely develop from a "Greco-centric" stance but was rather a multi-faceted process identifying cultural and traditional loci and defining itself interactively, when considered from the perspective of music theory. Further study in the field might reveal even more intricate connections between Greek national identity and surrounding identifications in the 19th century.

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CHAPTER 7

CHURCH ARCHITECTURE AND POLITICS IN THE LAST CENTURY OF OTTOMAN RULE: THE CASE OF THE DIOCESE OF RAŠKA AND PRIZREN

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ABSTRACT

This study purposed primarily to investigate and apprehend the relationships between the architecture, religious revival, and politics of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, specifically in the territories under the Diocese of Raška and Prizren. It aims to attain insight into the characteristic trends and phenomena of selected times and places and obtain comprehensive knowledge of 19th century religious art across the broader span of the Balkan region. In ecclesiastical terms, the Diocese of Raška and Prizren belonged to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, but its geopolitical landscape formed part of discrete Ottoman administrative units throughout the 19th century, including Uskudar (Skutari) and the Rumelia Pashaliks and the Vilayet of Kosovo between 1878 and 1912.

Nineteenth-century church art observed across the Diocese of Raška and Prizren evolved within the framework of critical political events that occurred in the Ottoman Empire between 1839 and the Tanzimat reform movement. The reforms introduced new regulations and rights for Christians, causing the growth of ecclesiastical lifestyles and facilitating the development of church art in the Ecumenical Patriarchate. The 19th century saw extensive renovation and construction activities in churches, which became better equipped under the purview of the Ottoman politics of that time. The architecture evolved through the renovation of modest, single-aisle churches in rural areas, as well as the construction of monumental three-aisled basilicas that contributed to the visual articulation of urban town spaces. Enormous undertakings were typical of the second half of the 19th century and particularly intensified toward the end of the 1800s.

Keywords: Church architecture, diocese of Raška and Prizren, ottoman reforms, Serbia, Russia

When the foundation stone for the new church of St. Sava in Mitrovica was laid in 1896, the ceremony was attended by Metropolitan Dionisije of Raška and Prizren, representatives of the Ottoman government, the kaymakam, idare meclisi, belediye reisi, a representative of the military commander and other prominent Muslims, as well as members of the clergy and many local residents (Odbor, 1896, p. 140; Anonymous, 1896, p. 143). Prior to this, religious life had for years taken place in a converted house. Three years later, the ceremonious and joyful consecration of churches at Ilijino Brdo near Pljevlja, in Prijepolje and Lopiže, in the extreme northwest of the diocese, accompanied by a military band and attended by an army regiment and top-ranking imperial officials led by Suleiman Pasha of Pljevlja, represented unprecedented events in this part of the Ottoman Empire.[1] Having returned to his residence in Pljevlja after the consecration of the church at Ilijino Brdo, Suleiman Pasha left his army behind to 'entertain the people until night time' (AS, MID-PPO, 1899, 118). A similar celebration was organized in Prijepolje: 'Several thousand people from the entire area and all nearby towns poured into Prijepolje. The joy was indescribable. The residents of Prijepolje had never known such merriment, and this ceremony strengthened self-confidence and faith in the future in all our people in these parts. The impact of the ceremony was particularly useful because during this year agents of Austrian propaganda have spared no resource to develop their widespread agitation. On that day, as I've been told by people from the Metropolitan's retinue, our patriotic songs were freely sung on the streets of Prijepolje; representatives of Ottoman government took part in the ceremony, while the Turkish citizenry joined in the celebrations' (AS, MID-PPO, 1899, 118).

However, descriptions such as these are rare compared to the numerous requests and complaints that came from the Empire to Serbia as the mother country that the Serbian population under Ottoman rule gravitated towards. Such close cooperation between the local population and the representatives of the Ottoman government was virtually non-existent despite being necessary when the need to restore a church arose. The abovementioned churches were erected in prominent public spaces and did not need to be camouflaged by mimicking their existing surroundings, which was one of the key characteristics of the religious revival that began with the *Tanzimat* era. The Church of St. Elijah at Ilijino Brdo near Pljevlja was located at a particularly prominent place: on the very top of a hill, which made it visible from a distance regardless of the direction from which it was approached. In this area, this became possible in the second half of the 19th century, as illustrated by the example of the former church dedicated to the Intercession of the Theotokos in Prijepolje.

1 Suleiman Hakki Pasha served as the *mutesarif* of the Sanjak of Pljevlja from 1879 to 1908 and is remembered as a positive and tolerant person in his relations with the local Orthodox population (Stanković, 2014, p. 138).

Built in 1852 and consecrated in 1854, this church was visited by Alexander Hilferding, the Russian consul in Sarajevo, who noted that it looked 'like a smallish house' (Šalipurović, 1979, p. 84; Makuljević, 2012, p. 212). While its appearance blended into the surroundings so as not to attract attention, with no religious markings on its exterior, the impressive new church erected on its site in 1890 and dedicated to St. Basil (Vasilije) of Ostrog was striking with its tall and slender silhouette and emphasized drum.

The path that led the Serbian population to the moment it could express its identity in such a public visual form – through the erection of a monumental church as a prominent feature in the town's landscape – was long and arduous. From 1839 to 1912 the Ottoman Empire underwent an intense reform process that led to the decline of its power and dissipation of its territories and had a strong impact on the life of imperial subjects. In the Balkans, the reforms led to a religious revival achieved through the actions of different social strata. In the Diocese of Raška and Prizren the revival was largely funded by Serbia and Russia.



Figure 1. St Basil of Ostrog chucrh, Prijepolje, photo I. Ćirović

Today the Diocese of Raška and Prizren is part of Kosovo and Metohija, a disputed territory that forms the southern autonomous province of Serbia according to the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia; however, on 17 February 2008 Kosovo unilaterally declared independence as the Republic of Kosovo (Albanian *Republika e Kosovës*) with Priština as its capital. At the same time, the borders of the diocese include the southwestern part of Serbia known as the Raška Region or Sandžak (Sanjak), the latter name coming from the erstwhile Sanjak of Novi Pazar (1878–1913), whose historical borders it roughly mirrors. In the 19th century, the entire territory from the Raška Region in the north to Skopska valley in the south was known as Old Serbia (Stara Srbija). This term emerged as the result of administrative changes caused by the liberation and establishment of the Principality of Serbia and it denoted areas that once made up the heart of medieval Serbia and had remained under Ottoman government (Jagodić, 2016, pp. 23–26; Šešum, 2017, pp. 88–92).[2]

As part of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople of the time, the Diocese of Raška and Prizren was located in the Ottoman Empire and as such belonged to various administrative units. Until the Russo-Turkish War of 1828–1829 the territory of Old Serbia was administratively split into three pashaliks: the pashaliks of Uskudar, Rumelia and Bosnia.[3] In 1834, during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, a law on the division of the Ottoman Empire into large administrative districts was passed. These units were called eyalets and headed by valis, leading to new geo-political reshufflings, as was the case with the division of provinces into vilayets that ensued in 1864 (Stojančević, 1971, pp. 78–81; Shaw & Shaw, 1977, p. 84).[4] The Vilayet of Kosovo was established in 1877 and based on the Vilayet of Prizren of 1871, which had included the sanjaks of Prizren, Debar, Skopje and Niš.[5] In line with the frequent restructuring of administrative units in the Ottoman Empire, the Vilayet of Kosovo also often changed its shape. First, in 1879 the Sanjak of Debar was restored to the Vilayet of Bitola and then, after the stationing of Austro-Hungarian garrisons in Prijepolje, Priboj and Pljevlja, the Sanjak of Novi Pazar was also restructured when the territories occupied by Austria-Hungary

2 By the hatt-i sharif of 1830 Serbia was granted the status of an autonomous principality under the suzerainty of the Ottoman sultan; Prince Miloš was confirmed as its ruler and the Obrenović dynasty was given hereditary rights. In 1882 Serbia was proclaimed a kingdom with King Milan Obrenović as its head (Ljušić, 1986, pp. 6–14: Makuljević, 2007, p. 9).

3 The Pashalik of Uskudar (Skutari, Skadar) included Metohija, i.e. the nahiye of Peć, Đakovo and Prizren. The territory of Kosovo, i.e. the nahiye of Priština and Vučitrn, was part of the Pashalik of Rumelia, together with the nahiye of Ražanj, Kruševac, Leskovac and the former pashaliks of Niš and Vranje. The Pashalik of Bosnia included the Lim River area (Polimlje) and Stari Vlah, i.e. the nahiye of Novi Pazar and Sjenica (Stojančević, 1971, p. 45).

4 On the division of government within vilayets see: Jagodić, 2009, pp. 1–15.

5 The Vilayet of Prizren was dissolved in 1875; two years later the Vilayet of Kosovo was established, with its seat first in Priština and then in Skopje (Jagodić, 2009, pp. 4–5).

were defined as the Sanjak of Pljevlja, with the Kaza of Donji Kolašin added to it in 1908 (Petrović, 1995, p. 8). The Sanjak of Prizren was included in the Vilayet of Bitola in 1880 and returned to the Vilayet of Kosovo eight years later. In the meantime, in 1881 the Sanjak of Peć was established within the Vilayet of Kosovo and it included Peć, Đakovica, Gusinje, Berane and Trgovište (Jagodić, 2009, p. 6).

The jurisdiction of the Diocese of Raška and Prizren included parts of the Sanjak of Novi Pazar, which had also undergone changes in the complex Ottoman administrative division. Having spent most of the 19th century as part of the Vilayet of Bosnia, in 1872 it was made separate and the Vilayet of Novi Pazar was established only to be merged into the Vilayet of Kosovo in 1879 (Petrović, 1995, pp. 7–8). This last change was caused by the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, an event that had a strong impact on the territorial map of the Diocese of Raška and Prizren. Finally, the Sanjak of Novi Pazar was dissolved in 1901 with the annexation of the Kaza of Novi Pazar to the Sanjak of Priština and the rest of its territory to the Sanjak of Sjenica (Jagodić, 2009, pp. 7–8).

The territory of the Diocese of Raška and Prizren lay within these complex geo-political borders of the Ottoman Empire and was also part of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople of the time as one of its 108 dioceses (Stojančević, 1971, p. 89). It represented a remnant of the former Patriarchate of Peć, which had been dissolved in 1766 by a firman and continued to exist as a group of separate dioceses subjugated to the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, itself usually led by Phanariot metropolitans (Novaković, 1895, pp. 13–14).

The Diocese of Raška and Prizren began to take shape at the very end of the 18th century, after the death of Metropolitan Evsevije of Prizren, when the diocese of Prizren began to be governed by the metropolitan of Raška (Slijepčević, 1991, p. 218). In 1807 or 1808 Sultan Mustafa issued a berât that merged the dioceses of Raška and Prizren, while a separate berât added the Metropolitanate of Skadar (Skender), which included the city of Skadar (Skutari) and almost the entire territory of Montenegro (Jastrebov, 1879, pp. 232–233; Nušić, 1902, p. 109). Major territorial shifts took place on several occasions in the 19th century. After the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate, from 1870 to 1878 the area of Gnjilane was included in the Diocese of Niš and the jurisdiction of the Exarchate bishop.[6] By the Treaty of Berlin (1878), the Montenegrin towns of Ulcinj, Bar and Podgorica were controlled by Montenegro and the Metropolitanate of Cetinje, while Spič belonged to Austria-Hungary and

6 The newly formed Bulgarian Exarchate included many eparchies in the present-day territories of Bulgaria, Serbia and Macedonia (Ivanić, 1902, p. 80).

the Diocese of Boka and Kotor. The area around the mouth of the Toplica River, in the region of Kopaonik, was added to the Diocese of Niš along with some villages that belonged to the Sanjak of Novi Pazar (Veselinović, 1903, p. 275). After the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, parts of the bishoprics of Mostar and Sarajevo remained in the Ottoman Empire and these areas were included in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren in 1894 (Ženarju Rajović, 2016, pp. 21–22). This was the composition of the diocese in 1912, the year that saw the Serbian conquest of this territory.[7]



Figure 2. St Nicholas church, Priština, photo J. Pavličić

Reforms

One of the key moments in the history of minority communities in the Ottoman Empire was the signing of the imperial edict *Hatt-ı Hümayun* (the Imperial Decree of Gülhane) by Sultan Abdülmecid I on 3 November 1839 at Gülhane Park, at the foot of the walls of the Topkapi Palace.[8] This event marked the beginning of changes that would go on to transform

7 On the position of the Orthodox Church after the liberation: Jagodić, 2013, pp. 479–502.

8 The aim of this program was to accelerate centralization and bureaucratization of the Empire, to establish a tax and levy system, and to introduce new training and maintenance methods in the imperial army. It strove to ensure the safety, honor and property of all imperial subjects; to implement an organized tax system and equality in the formation of army troops as well as throughout their service. These postulates did not bring anything new and had been proclaimed before by each sultan when he acceded to the throne (Karpat, 1972, p. 258; Shaw & Shaw, 1977, pp. 59–61; Deringil, 2012, pp. 30–31).

the Ottoman system of government, westernizing it and placing the power in the hands of the Porte, which was staffed by ministers, each responsible for his own domain.[9]

Launched in 1839, the period of reform known as *Tanzimat-ı Hayriye* or the *Tanzimat* era lasted during the reigns of the sons of Sultan Mahmud II (1808–1839): Abdülmecid I (1839–1861) and Abdülaziz (1861–1876) (Davison, 1954, pp. 844–864; Shaw & Shaw, 1977, p. 55; Abu-Manneh, 1994, pp. 173–203; Sükrü Hanioğlu, 2008, pp. 72–108; Deringil, 2012, pp. 28–38). This was a remarkably important period for the development of church art since the changes it introduced were reflected in the church life of religious communities in the Empire. The law guaranteed safe confession of faith to all imperial subjects and security of religious property. This meant that no one could destroy or desecrate existing churches and religious communities, as long as they had enough members in their settlements, could freely rebuild their cemeteries, churches, schools and hospitals at the sites where they had been located before and according to original plans. If new construction plans needed to be used, building projects modified or structures built *ab novo*, in order to get a project approved by the Porte, often the Sultan himself, it first needed to be authorized by the Patriarch or top-ranking local authorities. This was seen as a privilege of sorts that applied to all non-Muslim social strata, which were legally made equal (Shaw & Shaw, 1977, pp. 124–125).

However, echoes of these ideas did not appear immediately and everywhere. According to one view, the reforms did not reach the Balkans until the 1860s because both Christians and Muslims had been opposed to them – Christians to avoid being conscripted into the Turkish army and Muslims because they did not want to be equalized with the Christians (Frantz, 2009, pp. 459–460). Despite the implementation of reforms, the 1860s were a very difficult period for the Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija, as the frustration caused by the reforms and felt throughout Rumelia took on a special form in Serbo-Albanian relations. Simultaneously with the reform implementation process, public security and the influence of Ottoman authorities began to decline, which was reflected in the Albanian oppression of the Serbian rural population (Stojančević, 1990, p. 20). Unwilling to accept centralization and the suspension of their feudal and tribal privileges, Albanians rebelled already in 1839 and expelled the local sanjak-bey. Every new political measure of the Porte led to repeated Albanian revolts and attacks against the Serbian rural population (Samardžić et al., 1989, pp. 183–189).

Difficulties in accepting the changes and insufficient focus on their implementation prevented any improvement, particularly for the rural population under the feudal government;

9 On modernizing the government system, the impact of the *Tanzimat* reforms on all social strata and the visual shaping of public spaces, primarily the capital see: Dimon, 2002, pp. 555–630.

urban areas, however, offered more opportunities. Hence the religious revival gained more momentum in the second half of the 19th century, concurrently with the introduction of new legal regulations. Namely, the process launched in 1839 reached its full potential after the Crimean War, in 1856, with the proclamation of the Reform Edict (Islâhat Fermânı) followed by Sultan Abdülmecid's firman prohibiting black slave trade in 1857. The Land Code of 1858 was also important for improving the status of the rural population (Dimon, 2002, p. 576). The *Islâhat Fermânı* of 1856 confirmed the regulations of 1839 in a more specific and detailed form and affirmed the need to accelerate the implementation of some of them (Karpat, 1972, p. 258; Deringil, 2012, p. 75). Unlike the firman of 1839, its fundamental aim was the final resolution of the status of all Christians, whose equality, guaranteed in the previous edict, often turned out to be merely theoretical (Karpat, 1972, p. 259).

After the proclamation of this firman, a significant improvement in the life of Orthodox Christians in the Balkans was felt, as the implementation of this edict represented the climax in the equalization process of Muslims and members of other religions. Non-Muslim communities could now make independent decisions on their internal affairs, which gradually led to their increased ethnic and national self-awareness and ultimately to the period of independence struggles (Dimon, 2002, p. 601; Aral, 2004, p. 478). Local Orthodox communities increasingly began to organize restorations of religious buildings and Ottoman authorities issued permits for these projects *en masse*. Hence in the second half of the 19th century an intense revival of church art can be traced throughout the Balkans, including the Diocese of Raška and Prizren.

The Ottoman Empire continued to implement reforms that would improve the status of the Christian population. Along with curbing the self-will of Ottoman officials, this was the main objective of the reform program proclaimed by Sultan Abdülhamid II in November 1902 (Nedeljković, 2006, pp. 236–237). In this period, until the First Balkan War and the liberation in 1912, another crucial event for the Orthodox Christians in the Metropolitanate of Raška and Prizren was the *Hürriyet*, the constitution promulgated after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. In Old Serbia the Young Turk Revolution was met with a lot of enthusiasm: 'Muslims and Serbs kissed and embraced in the streets (…) Also, for the first time in history, Muslims and Serbs participated together in joint political rallies (…). There were many cries for freedom, constitutionality and equality of nations in the Ottoman Empire' (Šalipurović, 1972, p. 247). The Young Turk period, which lasted until 1918, was marked by the waning of the theocratic regime in favor of the unexpected emergence of Turkish nationalism and, ultimately, the fall of the Ottoman Empire (Karpat, 1972, p. 281).



Figure 3. Holy Prince Lazar Church, Donja Gušterica, 1906; photo Historical Archives of Belgrade

Utilization of reforms

The main prerequisite for restoring or building a church was securing a permit from the Ottoman authorities and the main requirement for securing the permit was the existence of the remains of an older church. This rule was almost continuously enforced during the entire period of Ottoman rule (Zirojević, 1984, pp. 17–35). In order to prevent the spread of Christianity but still allow freedom of religion, permits (firmans and buyuruldus) were granted for the restoration of churches in sites where they had been located in the past, with the requirement that the original size of the building was not to be exceeded.

The process of church restoration entailed the bureaucratic procedure of submitting an application and waiting for the permit. The applications were signed by priests and members of ecclesiastical-educational municipalities[10] and in order to make their way to Istanbul needed to be approved by a metropolitan and then by local authorities, which often represented a

10 So-called ecclesiastical-educational municipalities represented the primary form of organization for the Orthodox population of the Ottoman Empire and were responsible for all religious and educational matters (Ženarju Rajović, 2016, pp. 52–53).

problem. However, sometimes permit applications could be submitted directly to the Porte, bypassing the bureaucratic apparatus; in some cases, there was no need to go to Istanbul, because *buyuruldu*s could be issued by a local vali or even kadi, if he deemed the scope of planned works not extensive enough to notify the Porte of the matter.



Figure 4. St George church, Prizren, photo Municipal Institution for the Protection of Cultural Monuments Priština

Final documents needed to begin works were usually a firman as the imperial decree and a vali's *buyuruldu*; based on these documents, the local kadi informed the interested parties that their permit had been granted. Before a formal application was submitted to the authorities and often again after securing the permit, a commission that included a magistrate (representative of the court) and an architect came to inspect the situation in the field. Its task was to assess the real situation in the field and to establish the way in which a restoration could be undertaken. The commission determined the height and width of the structure as well as the construction method, type of material to be used, and funding (Zirojević, 1984, pp. 27–33). The 'new' church usually needed to not exceed the size of extant remains, keep the previous dedication and be funded by the local community. Although local communities enjoyed the same rights as the Muslim population, they could not request funding from the government.

The fact that any restoration or construction of a church depended on a permit issued by the Ottoman authorities is clearly attested by inscriptions above church entrances. Carved in stone or written in the fresco or al secco technique, these inscriptions invariably included the name of the person responsible for the construction of the church (its ktetor) and the metropolitan and sultan during whose reign it had taken place. The naming of the metropolitan as the highest representative of the church and the sultan as the sovereign of the Ottoman Empire served to reconcile the two key political factors in the life of every member of a religious minority. Politics played a remarkably important part in the process of church restoration/construction, since every successful project represented another link in the chain of the discourse of national liberation inherent to the Balkans. In areas inhabited by Serbs, who had lived through the entire era of Ottoman rule by cherishing their glorious medieval past and venerating the cults of national saints from the ranks of canonized Serbian medieval rulers, these discourses were a driving force. Hence, in addition to catering to the real everyday need of strengthening the parochial network, churches were restored and built anew even in the most inaccessible places.

The relationship between the government and the general population was a relationship of center and periphery, between the ruling Ottoman elite and the *reaya* (Gradeva, 2012, p. 137). In practice this meant that all laws could be 'overlooked' and that a completely new church could crop up, as was the case in Vučitrn, Kosovska Mitrovica, Sjenica or Novi Pazar; or a much larger church than the previous one, like in Gnjilane and Prijepolje; in some cases, construction works were even undertaken without a permit. For instance, a chapel was built in Uroševac owing to the efforts of a priest called Anta Nikolić, who used his own funds to buy a land plot for its construction and then built it without a permit (Ženarju Rajović, 2016, p. 16).

Multiple factors contributed to the success of the church construction process in the territory of the Diocese of Raška and Prizren, ranging from relations with the local representatives of the Ottoman government to the almost constant friction with the local Albanian population to the complex relations between the local population and their metropolitan. In some cases, the metropolitan's approval could be delayed and then the firman would also take a long while to be secured, leading some projects to be abandoned. For example, in the diocese seat of Prizren, 57 years passed from the launching of the initiative to erect the cathedral church of St. Gregory to its final consecration.[11] When the initiative was launched in 1830, the authorization of Mahmud Pasha Rotul was secured with gifts of baize, coffee, sugar and money, as well

11 The church was consecrated in 1887, but building works went on for several years thereafter (Krestić & Ljušić, 1983, p. 21).

as by bribing various officials to reach the pasha himself. In addition, resources were spent on bribes within the church to secure the metropolitans' favor, as relations with the Serbs of Prizren were less than amicable. Another obstacle and expense was the fact that the church was built at on the site of a cemetery, on unfavorable soil, which meant that its foundations needed to go deeper than usual. The construction of this church was prolonged due to the sporadic influx of funds, the need to purchase the land around the church in stages, conflicts with the Lumë (Ljuma) tribe and the founding of the League of Prizren (League for the Defense of the Rights of the Albanian Nation) in 1878 (Kostić, 1928, pp. 83–84, 87).

In another corner of the diocese, in Sjenica, the Orthodox municipality had to wait 12 years for a firman that would allow church construction. Lacking the support of the incumbent metropolitan, Meletije, the municipality kept resubmitting its application every year and sending it to Istanbul. Finally, a firman was granted in 1892 allowing the construction of a church at a location but building works could not yet proceed. The main obstacle was the fact that the firman did not specify the location where the church was to be built and instead only indicated a 'site in the Christian *mahalla* [quarter]'. While waiting for the firman, the Orthodox municipality of Sjenica had already purchased a land plot, but the Muslim population was not happy with the location of the new church, knowing it would be very tall. The local Serbs appealed to Metropolitan Meletije several times, but the most specific reply he offered was to find another site that would not be wholly unsuitable for a church (AS, MID-PPO, 1893, 510).

Even when all necessary requirements for beginning building works were secured, sometimes other problems cropped up. For example, although the Serbs of Nerodimlja had obtained all needed permits to erect a parochial house next to the Monastery of St. Uroš in 1892, the Islahat of Priština caused trouble, as did the Albanians from the neighboring village of Jezerce.[12] The church in the village of Gojbulja near Vučitrn was never restored, although a firman was secured in 1908. The remnants of an older religious building were located in the chiflik of Haji Azir-Agić Madžunac, who had gifted the land plot to the Serbian community to build a church on the site. The funds needed for construction were raised, but due to incessant quarrels between active participants in the restoration process and the delayed beginning of works, the agha transferred the chiflik to his son, who refused to fulfill his father's promise (Ženarju, 2013b, pp. 183–185).

12 *Islahats* were tribal courts that dispensed justice following Albanian customary law, with no interference of Ottoman legislation (Jagodić, 2009, pp. 26–27, 138).



Figure 5. St Nicholas church, Gnjilane

When the church in Gnjilane burned down, based on the original firman the Orthodox clergy of Gnjilane applied for a permit to have it restored; however, the Turks filed a complaint, stating that the church had 'avalas', meaning that its windows looked over the yards of Turkish homes. Having come out to inspect the situation, a commission found that the church had originally been larger than the first firman had allowed (AS, MID-PPO, 1895, 478). The merchant Katanić, who had been sent by the ecclesiastical-educational municipality to Istanbul to obtain a permit, told the municipality to wall up the top windows while restoring the church. However, Todor Stanković, who was reappointed the head of the consulate in Priština around this time, advised against accepting this suggestion, because 40 years earlier the church had been built with windows based on the same firman. On the other hand, the

local Turks and Albanians were opposed to the church being restored in any form, even without windows, leading the Serbs to appeal to the vali, who said that he would visit the site and solve the problem in situ (AS, MID-PPO, 1897, 124). The result was a monumental three-story edifice of a rather conspicuous appearance which became the focus of everyday life in the Christian mahalla.

The church in the Sočanica Monastery, in the northern part of Kosovo and Metohija, was built in 1872 on the foundations of an older church. The history of its construction almost fully relies on legends. Despite having the usual rectangular floor plan, a double-pitch roof and rather modest dimensions, it also displays some unusual characteristics – its eastern part has been dug into a rock and below it there is a shelter that can be reached through a trapdoor in the floor of the sanctuary. According to tradition, this church was built by a local nobleman called Ćirko Terzić after the local authorities allowed him to erect a church no taller than he was.[13] Since the church exceeded this height, the church committee that had participated in its construction was arrested, while the founder himself is believed to have been murdered because of his transgression. Thus, his death in the gorge of the Sočanica River is traditionally attributed to his disregard of the norms in the construction of the church (Ženarju, 2011, p. 318).

The impact of politics on the restoration and construction of churches in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren is also evidenced by the restoration of the Banja Monastery in the area of Priboj and the construction of the church at Ilijino Brdo near Pljevlja. Shortly after his appointment as the head of the diocese, in late 1896 Metropolitan Dionisije decided to visit the newly annexed parts of the district under his jurisdiction and set out to its northwestern part. He came to Pljevlja to assuage local frictions among the Serbian population and to arrange the restoration of some derelict churches and monasteries with the local Turkish representative Suleiman Pasha. During a visit to the downtown of Pljevlja, he was attacked by a Turkish first-rank captain and knocked down from his horse. Before this incident he had suffered similar assaults in Sjenica and Prijepolje. To prevent him from informing the already anxious public about this, Suleiman Pasha authorized the restoration of the Banja Monastery, the construction of a new church at Ilijino Brdo near Pljevlja and the opening of two new schools (Stanković, 2014, p. 138).

An illustrative example of following rules during the process of acquiring a permit as well as of their violation is the restoration of the church in Donja Gušterica, which was built in the

13 This is traditionally believed to have meant the height of a man with his arms raised, i.e. up to the fingertips of a raised arm.

mid-19th century and dedicated to St. John. After its vault cracked in 1904 and the building threatened to collapse, an initiative was launched to have it restored. Metropolitan Nićifor played a very important role in this process, hiring a state engineer (*mendiz*) to confirm the poor state of repair of the church, personally pled with the patriarch and sultan to obtain a firman, and organized the faithful to raise the needed funds and procure building material. However, owing to his wishes, the new church was much larger than the old one and had a dome instead of the usual double-pitch roof, as well as a different dedication. The new church was dedicated to Holy Prince Lazar, the Serbian martyr killed in the Battle of Kosovo (1389) and canonized as a saint; St. Vitus' Day (Vidovdan), the date that commemorates this event, was chosen as the feastday (slava) of the church (Ženarju, 2013b, p. 186).



Figure 6. St Eliah the Prophet church, Ilijino brdo near Pljevlja

Church architecture

Construction activities in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren were primarily focused on church restoration – replacing of decrepit elements, usually roof structures, filling of walls and reinforcing buildings. Restoration was the only possible form of erecting a sacral Orthodox structure, following the tradition inherited from the previous centuries of Ottoman rule. However, restoration projects often turned into complete rebuildings of a church in line with the tendency to exhaust all possibilities offered by the reform of the Ottoman society.

In regard to its evolution and fundamental concepts, the building practice of the Balkans in the modern age represented a homogenous structure and part of the compact Balkan-Ottoman cultural model which was particularly uniform in the period from the implementation of the *Tanzimat* reforms to the establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1871 (Makuljević, 2010, p. 139). This is apparent in larger settlements in the development of urban architecture as well as in Orthodox churches, which began to acquire some shared characteristics and larger proportions than previously. This trend continued later on, and the uniformity of urban practices can also be traced in rural settlements, where the restored churches had usually been erected in the previous centuries of Ottoman rule and following legislative principles not unlike those enforced in the 19th century.

In towns that were gradually evolving into larger urban centers and to which the rural population gravitated, representative three-aisled cathedral churches were being built in Serb-populated mahallas. Intensive use was made of the possibilities offered by reform legislation and in the second half of the 19th century large, spacious stone churches began to appear. The appearance of cathedral churches in the Balkans – their height, spaciousness and monumentality – was shaped by the public purpose of these religious buildings, the sacral topography conditioned by liturgical needs and social frameworks (Makuljević, 2008, p. 27). As a representative concept, three-aisled basilicas were a fitting embodiment of the commissioner's display of power, which was a very important element in the visual shaping of the Orthodox mahalla compared to the other parts of an Ottoman town (Makuljević, 2008, p. 32).



Figure 7. St Nicholas church, Priština, interior, photo. J. Pavličić

Basilicas in urban settlements, which served as the models for the churches in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren, had also been built from the 16th to the 19th century in other parts of the Ottoman Balkans – in Epirus, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Istanbul and its wider area (Mavrodinov, 1957, pp. 31–36, 138–156; Makuljević, 2008, p. 31). In addition, besides examples in their geographical and cultural proximity, the architectural style of Balkan masons was strongly shaped by the Italian building practice, as suggested by the fact that a book on 16th-century Italian architecture, *Gli ordini d'architettura civile* by the famous Italian architect Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, was found among the possessions of the prominent architect Andreja Damjanov (Makuljević, 2010, p. 141). Damjanov adapted his wide-ranging interests to the Ottoman cultural model by building imposing Orthodox churches which usually became the main visual markers of their city. As the leading architect of the Balkans in the late Ottoman period, Damjanov's work influenced other masons, thus shaping the sacral topography of the Balkan part of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

In the Diocese of Raška and Prizren, three-aisled basilicas were usually made of hewn stone, often with three apses in the sanctuary and a dome. Another widespread element is a gallery above the narthex, while the monumental church of Gnjilane has galleries along its western, northern and southern side.

Chronologically, the first three-aisled basilica in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren was the Church of St. Nicholas in Priština. It was built before the *Tanzimat* era and the new possibilities offered by the reform, most likely in 1830, on the remains of an older church with the same dedication which is mentioned in 16th-century Turkish sources.[14] The church had this appearance until 1906, when it was dug out on the orders of Metropolitan Nićifor, which made it seem like a larger and taller structure; it also received an external narthex along its western and southern part.[15]

Simultaneously with the building of the church in Priština, an initiative was launched for the construction of a cathedral church in Prizren.[16] The seat of the Metropolitan of Raška and Prizren was located at the Church of St. George (also known as the Runović Church after its ktetors), which was not spacious enough to serve as the main metropolitanate church. The citizens of Prizren had begun campaigning for the construction of a new, grand cathedral church as early as 1830, but the firman was not granted until 1855 and construction began ten years later; it was finally consecrated in 1887.[17] In this three-aisled domed church the usual two-story galleries were omitted on the wishes of Meletije, the Metropolitan of Prizren, and the church only had a gallery above its western entrance (Kostić, 1924, p. 49).

14 The church suffered damage in the attacks of 1999 and 2004: the ceiling caved in, the frescoes were destroyed, and the woodcarved iconostasis was burned. It was restored in 2005-2007. For more on this church: Pavličić, 2013, pp. 213–234.

15 In 1990 a dome was built above the naos (Vranići, 1993, p. 138).

16 The church was set on fire and mined in 2004. It was restored in 2009.

17 Problems in obtaining a permit stemmed from many factors, including the expulsion of Mahmud Pasha Rotul from Prizren, who had good relations with the local Serbian population and could have helped them, as well as the metropolitans' disinterestedness (Kostić, 1928, pp. 232–233; Krestić & Ljušić, 1983, p. 22).



Figure 8. St Nicholas church, Gnjilane, interior

In the extreme southwest of the diocese, in Stari Bar, a church dedicated to St. Nicholas was built in 1860 based on the same architectural concepts. This three-aisled building replaced a smaller church that had been erected on the same site in 1842 (Bošković, 1962, p. 173).

The Church of St. Nicholas in Gnjilane was built on the site of an older and smaller church in 1861, as attested by an inscription carved into a stone slab. Its final appearance was shaped by two fires: the first in 1861, during the completion of building works; and the second in 1893, which destroyed two levels of the three-story building. Although the second fire was believed to have been an act of arson, the church was probably accidentally set on fire by a worker fixing its leaking roof. The imperial edict (irad) for restoring the church was issued

in May 1898 and reached the vilayet in the following month; repair works began in August (Ženarju Rajović, 2016, pp. 109–110). Besides the galleries, the church interior also features blind calottes vaulting it. Blind calottes are a typical feature of church architecture in the wider Balkans and similar examples include the Church of the Mother of God in Skopje, St. Pantaleon in Veles and the Holy Trinity in Vranje (Makuljević, 2008, pp. 35–36).

In the opposite corner of the diocese, in Nova Varoš, the three-aisled and domed Church of the Holy Trinity was built in 1857-1869 owing to the efforts of prominent local merchants, who had launched an initiative for its construction as early as 1842 (Ćirović, 2012, pp. 241–247). The church in Nova Varoš was the first edifice built in the spirit of Romantic historicism in the area of the Lim River valley (Polimlje), Stari Vlah and Sandžak (Kadijević, 1997, p. 52). Its shape and dating place it at the forefront of a group of three-aisled domed churches built in the mid-19th century in this territory, which also includes churches in Novi Pazar, Prijepolje, Sjenica, Štavalj and Lopiže. This group of churches shares a simple cubical shape and treatment and decoration of façades, as well as a three-aisle floor plan and a dome set on an eight-sided drum.[18]

The Church of St. Nicholas in Novi Pazar was erected in 1871/72 with the funds obtained from the sale of land above the mahalla to the Ottoman government to build military barracks (Mušović, 1995, p. 26). Interestingly, its dome was erected above the bay in front of the sanctuary, while the western pair of pillars supports a canopy construction which was frescoed instead of the dome. The construction of the church in Novi Pazar coincided with Metropolitan Meletije's stay in this part of his diocese and there are clear visual indications that he played an important role in its building.[19] This is suggested by the carved decorations in the doorposts of the western entrance which show the figure of a high-ranking member of the clergy, as well as the decorations on the monumental iconostasis whose carvings repeat the motif of an archbishop's crown (Makuljević, 2012, pp. 217–218).

18 Most of the churches in this group were built in the period when the area of Polimlje (valley of the Lim River) belonged to the dioceses of Dabar-Bosnia and Mostar. In March 1894 it was placed under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Raška and Prizren, and from this time on churches in Prijepolje, Ilijino Brdo near Pljevlja, Lopiže, Štavalj and Sjenica were completed and consecrated (Ženarju Rajović, 2016, pp. 111–114).

19 The construction of the monumental Church of St. Nicholas in Novi Pazar supports the premise about the metropolitan's wish to move the diocese seat from Prizren, which never came to fruition (Makuljević, 2012, pp. 217–218).



Figure 9. St Nicholas church, Novi Pazar, photo I. Ćirović

The last church to be built as a three-aisled domed edifice in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren and one of the finest examples of 19th-century church architecture in this region is the Church of St. Sava in Kosovska Mitrovica built in 1896-1913.[20] Construction works lasted so long due to the exorbitant cost of the ambitious plan of the church, as well as due to technical difficulties in its execution. The church was designed by Andra Stevanović, a Serbian architect from Belgrade, at the request of Branislav Nušić, a famous Serbian author who at the time served as the vice-consul in Priština. Stevanović's original designs have not survived, because the plans were signed by a Turkish engineer to facilitate obtaining the construction permit (Ženarju, 2013, p. 400). Stylistically this church belongs to the corpus of buildings erected in the national style, which reached its full potential in the memorial church of Archangel Michael in Štimlje, which was completed shortly after the liberation (Kadijević, 1997, p. 35; Ženarju, 2013a, pp. 282–286).

Along with monumental religious edifices in larger towns, village churches of smaller dimensions were being restored throughout the Diocese of Raška and Prizren, which contributed to the expansion of the parochial network. Their construction and restoration was

20 The church was plundered and set on fire on 17 March 2004.

one of the main features of the re-establishment of the Patriarchate of Peć, as the Orthodox population traditionally inhabited rural areas where the local church represented the focus of religious and everyday life (Šuput, 1984, p. 33). Hence the religious revival of the 19th century rested on the maintenance of village churches as well as on the construction of churches in urban areas and the upkeep of monastery complexes.

These were single-aisle churches with a rectangular floor plan and a semi-circular apse on the eastern side, made of locally sourced stone. They are vaulted with a semi-spherical ceiling and covered with a double-pitch roof, dark and with very small and randomly placed openings.

Simple single-aisle churches without a dome include: St. Elijah's in Vučitrn (built in 1823-1833[21]); St. Stephen's (restored in 1853) and St. Anne's (built in 1912) in Velika Hoča (Kostić, 1928, p. 99; Pajkić, 1963, p. 194); St. Nicholas's (restored in 1862) in Kosovska Kamenica (Ženarju Rajović, 2016, p. 117); and groups of churches in Kosovsko Pomoravlje and the Sirinić and Sredska counties, whose restoration dates are usually uknown. These churches are mostly modestly sized, poorly lit and partially dug into the ground (Ženarju Rajović, 2016, pp. 115–122).



Figure 10. Dormition of the Mother of God church, Orahovac

21 The church was set on fire and demolished on two occasions, in 1999 and 2004. Works to salvage and restore the building were undertaken in 2006. For more details on the church in Vučitrn: Ženarju, 2012, pp. 383–411.

The group of single-aisle churches built or restored in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren includes three examples with a dome. The Church of St. Nicholas at the Končul Monastery was restored in 1861 (Ženarju Rajović, 2018, пр. 394); St. Elijah's at Ilijino Brdo near Pljevlja was completely rebuilt in 1897–98 (Stanković, 2014, pp. 136–137); and the Church of Holy Prince Lazar in Donja Gušterica, built from 1902 to 1905, at the site of a church dating from 1858 (Ženarju, 2013b, p. 186). Churches in smaller settlements also include two three-aisled examples: the domed Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God in Orahovac, which was built in 1852 (Kostić, 1928, p. 99) and the Presentation of the Mother of God, which was restored in 1868 in Belo Polje near Peć (Ivanović, 1898, p. 352) and does not feature a dome.[22]

Politics and the funding of building projects

Although the Serbian Orthodox population of the Diocese of Raška and Prizren lived in the Ottoman Empire, it received financial aid for the restoration and construction of churches from the restored Serbian state. Financial aid from the Principality and later Kingdom of Serbia and Russia as the traditional protector of Orthodoxy had a strong impact on the religious revival and development of church art in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren. The transfer of funds to the diocese was organized owing to visits of members of the church and ecclesiastical-educational municipalities from the diocese, who personally delivered their requests. At the end of the 19th century this system evolved with the establishment of diplomatic missions of Serbia and Russia, which were then used to organize the sending and delivering of aid for Orthodox churches. Developed since the reign of Prince Miloš, this kind of patronage mechanism directed to the territory of the Diocese of Raška and Prizren was continued until the liberation in 1912 (Ženarju Rajović, 2016, pp. 61–69).

The joint efforts of incumbent Serbian rulers and church dignitaries created a network of support for ecclesiastical and educational life in the diocese and the majority of building projects was undertaken owing to the financial aid provided by the government of Serbia. Cultural-educational and propaganda activities and the concurrent material aid to support churches and religious life in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren went through the Ministry of Education, consulates and customs houses in Raška and on the Javor Mountain.[23] As part of the Serbian Ministry of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs, the Department of Serbian Extraterritorial Schools and Churches was formed in 1887, focusing on cultural

22 The church in Belo Polje was set on fire in the summer of 1999. It was restored in 2003 and once again set on fire in 2004. Its frescoes have been cleaned, but the original iconostasis burned down.

23 Serbian consulates were opened in Skopje and Thessaloniki in 1887; in Bitola in 1888; in Priština in 1889; and in Serres in 1897 (Jovanović, 1990, p. 79).

and educational work in the Ottoman Empire. Funds for construction projects in parochial and monastery churches were usually provided from the unexpected expenses budget of the Ministry of Education and Ecclesiastical Affairs. In addition, Serbia paid the salaries of metropolitans and priests in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren (Ženarju Rajović, 2016, p. 61).



Figure 11. St Sava church, Kosovska Mitrovica, photo Municipal Institution for the Protection of Cultural Monuments Priština

The Metropolitanate of Belgrade played a very important role in the religious life of Serbs in the Ottoman Empire, particularly under metropolitans Petar Jovanović (1833–1859) and Mihailo Jovanović (1859–1881 and 1889–1898) (Makuljević, 2007, pp. 51–57). It was the metropolitans who initiated religious and educational activities in the territory of the Diocese of Raška and Prizren and who informed the organs of the state of specific problems. Depending on the situation at hand, in cooperation with the Metropolitan of Raška and Prizren or Serbian consulates, the relevant ministries in Serbia and often directly with the representatives of the clergy and the general population, they constantly spread national propaganda throughout their terms in office. In this matter the organs of the state and the clergy worked in synergy in the territory of the Diocese of Raška and Prizren. Requests for aid were often sent to the Metropolitan of Belgrade, who would then initiate their positive resolution. The Metropolitanate of Belgrade also took part in the creation of religious life in the diocese and thus in 1906 purchased some of the land plots around the church in Uroševac (AS, MID, KP, PP 109/1906).

The continued sending of aid to the largest spiritual centers – the monasteries of Dečani and the Patriarchate of Peć – can be traced from the reign of Prince Miloš Obrenović and 1836. This allowed the successful restorations of churches on several occasions in the 19th century, as well as the building of guesthouses and other auxiliary structures in monasteries (Ženarju Rajović, 2016, pp. 48–51). Several times in the 19th century Serbia also sent aid to the Gračanica Monastery (Krestić & Ljušić, 1983, pp. 5, 39), for the construction of the cathedral church in Prizren (Ibid, pp. 24–25; AS, MPS-P, 1858, X, 83) and for the restoration of churches in Budisavci (1856) and in Đakovica (1857) (Nedeljković, 2012 pp. 144–145). Prince Mihailo allocated funds for the construction of a church at the Draganac Monastery in 1865 (Mikić, 1970, p. 402). Serbia also co-sponsored the journey of Jeftimije Katanić, a merchant from Gnjilane, to Istanbul to request a permit from Patriarch Anthimus IV for the restoration of the church after the second fire (AS, MID-PPO, 1897, 124). In addition, it co-funded the construction of the Church of St. Sava in Kosovska Mitrovica, which mobilized the general population of Serbia to raise the needed funds along with the official authorities (Ženarju, 2013, p. 396).



Figure 12. Binač monastery, 1971, photo Municipal Institution for the Protection of Cultural Monuments Priština

Serbia offered assistance for the churches of the Diocese of Raška and Prizren through various charity organizations, the most notable among them being the ladies' committee 'Knaginja Ljubica' (Princess Ljubica) founded in 1899 (Ženarju, 2013b, pp. 170–171). The committee was established with the aim of providing material aid for the Orthodox Church in the South – primarily in Kosovo and Metohija and Macedonia, as well as in Herzegovina and Montenegro. One of its first actions was establishing links with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Serbian consulates in Priština and Skopje. From its inception to its dissolution in 1942, the committee provided continued aid to churches by sending priest vestments, religious items, liturgical books and other supplies needed for liturgical life. This organization co-sponsored the restoration of the churches in Sjenica (1902), Donja Gušterica (1906), and Nerodimlja (1911), as well as the construction of the church in Mitrovica; it also built two endowments: the memorial church of Archangel Michael in Štimlje (1913) and the church in Deligrad near Aleksinac (1935).

Besides Serbia, another major source of financial aid for the construction and restoration of churches in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren was Russia, having obtained the right to protect Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire by the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainarji in 1774; this role was intensified after the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829 and again after the Crimean War (Jovanović, 1990, p. 19; Vučković, 2007, p. 78). Owing to the role of Metropolitan Mihailo, Russia became very influential primarily in Serbia as well as in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren. Its role in this territory was also important owing to the activities of Sima Igumanov, who contributed to the establishment of Russian consulates in this area after having pursued his trade business in Odessa and Kiev (Mikić, 1988, p. 428). One of the most important activities of Russia in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren was its assistance in the establishing of the Seminary in Prizren and the regular supplying of books for its needs (Nedeljković, 2012, p. 162).

Russia had a consulate in Prizren from 1866, in Mitrovica from 1902 and in Skadar from 1857; in 1899 there was an initiative to set up a consulate in Priština (Nedeljković, 2001, pp. 165–166; Sekulić, 2005, pp. 143–144). Financial aid for the Serbs in the Diocese of Raška and Prizren was first sent through the Skadar consulate and then through the consulate in Prizren as well as after it was opened in 1866. The Prizren consulate was initially located in a private house provided by the local Turkish authorities; in 1868 it was moved to a two-story structure made of poor quality material built by the Serbian ecclesiastical-educational municipality next to the Church of St. George, replacing the church inn.[24] Russian consulates were used to

24 This consulate was closed from 1875 to 1879 (Kostić, 1928, p. 86).

send aid for the development of education in this area and monks were given the possibility to collect alms for their monasteries in Russia.

In the 1860s Russia co-funded the building of churches in Bar (1863), Ulcinj, Vraka and Mladi Borič (1869), as well as the Church of St. Alexander Nevsky in Skadar (Jastrebov, 1880, p. 386; Hadži Vasiljević, 1921, 201). Owing to Kiril Andrejević, the archimandrite of Dečani, a church was built in his native village of Belo Polje in 1868, after his stay in Russia. The building of the church was funded by the alms he collected during his visit, with Empress Maria Alexandrovna as the most generous of its donors, as attested by her name in the inscription above the western entrance. The firman for the restoration of the church was also secured owing to her intercession (Ivanović, 1989, pp. 352–353).



Figure 13. Presentation of the Mother of God church, Belo Polje near Peć

Serving as the head of the Russian consulate in Prizren on two occasions (1870-1874 and 1879-1888) Ivan Stepanovich Yastrebov contributed to the restoration of the Binač (Buzovik) Monastery.[25] At the time of Yastrebov's visit, the church lacked a dome, its walls were cracked and the frescoes had survived only in the sanctuary. The Russian diplomat was convinced that any restoration would entail rebuilding from the ground (Jastrebov, 1885, p. 126). Yastrebov was also the leading donor in the St. Sava Association which was founded in Prizren to accelerate the construction of the cathedral church (Kostić, 1933, 88).

25 The monastery was demolished to the ground in 1999.

Along with Serbia, Russia co-sponsored the building of the church at the Draganac Monastery in 1865; the restorations of the burned-down church in Gnjilane (1898), the Mileševa Monastery in 1906 and the church in Donja Gušterica in 1907; and the construction of the church in Mitrovica (Ženarju Rajović, 2016, 68). Since there was a Russian consulate in Mitrovica starting from 1902, before the new church was completed, in the house converted for worship purposes there was a special seat for the Russian consul along with the bishop's throne. In addition to the resources provided by the Russian consulate for the construction of the church, the Russian consul also gave his own contribution, donating a shroud in 1905; two years later, Emperor Nicholas of Russia personally donated funds for the purchase of clerical vestments (Ženarju, 2013, pp. 399, 412).



Figure 14. Draganac monastery, photo R. Antić

Conclusion

The *Tanzimat* reforms and the reform programs that marked the policies of the Ottoman Empire in the following decades improved the life of all strata of the Ottoman society, including the religious revival of the Orthodox population. New laws and their more specific enforcing led to a wave of restoration of Orthodox churches that can be traced in the wider area of the Balkans in the 19th century. In the Diocese of Raška and Prizren, which was at the time under the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople of the era and comprised the territories of present-day southern and southwestern Serbia, Montenegro and parts of Albania, the reforms led to the more extensive development of church architecture. A more flexible understanding of laws led not only to the restoration of older village churches but also to the building of monumental basilicas in larger towns. Inherent to the Balkan-Ottoman cultural model, this type of church served to visually highlight Serbian Orthodox mahallas in the landscape. Politics played a key role in this process: the Ottoman, elaborate system for obtaining construction permits; and the Serbian policy of focusing on the Serbian population living in the Ottoman Empire (until the liberation of 1912). Hence most restoration and construction projects were funded by the Principality/Kingdom of Serbia and in some cases by donations from Russia, which had for centuries played the symbolic role of the protector of Orthodoxy.

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CHAPTER 8

THE CONTINUITY BETWEEN THE MEHTERHÂNE-İ HÜMÂYÛN AND THE MUSİKA-İ HÜMÂYÛN*

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ABSTRACT

The Musika-i Hümâyûn was founded in 1826 as a Western-type military band at the Ottoman court after the Mehterhâne-i Hümâyûn was abolished. The Musika-i Hümâyûn resembled a Western-type musical band; however, an analysis of the two reveals a degree of continuity between them. The Musika-i Hümâyûn was a Western-type military band with a repertoire comprising Western pieces, but it could be viewed as a sequel to the Mehterhâne because of the similarities in the way it was managed, its areas of performance, and certain other characteristics. This shift represented a prototype for all Ottoman reforms of the 19th century. This study examines the phenomenon of the continuity between the old and the new military bands of the Ottoman Court. Additionally, it attempts to discover some rules common to all Ottoman foundational reforms. Finally, the present study employs the examples of Musika-i Hümâyûn and Mehterhâne-i Hümâyûn to illustrate the roles played by politics and political reforms with respect to music in the Ottoman Empire in the19th century.

Keywords: Ottoman music, mehterhâne-i hümâyûn, military music, Ottoman westernisation, musika-i hümâyûn

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The modernization of the Ottoman Empire brought changes to the social, economic and cultural structures of its established system. The change was characterised by a process of Westernisation and was carried under the directives of European countries and over time, citizens of the Ottoman Empire also began to be involved in the modernisation process. During this process, new institutions were established, and some of the existing ones were restructured in line with the needs of a modern, centralized state structure. However, the traditional legacy and several institutions of the classical period continued to exist and this resulted in a reality in which the old and the new coexisted. We could therefore define the main phenomenon of Ottoman modernisation as eclecticism and continuity.

Towards the last century of the Ottoman Empire, the effect of the Westernisation efforts intensified. This could also be witnessed in the world of Ottoman arts and artists. After this period, the number of Western-style works increased in almost all fields of art. The Westernisation of artistic life was characterised by eclecticism and continuity across all of these fields. Additionally, the political events and the ideologies of the era became the major determining factor in shaping change across all art life.

In the case of music, the relationship between Turks and Europeans started early. Musicologist M. Ragıp Gazimihal states that Altınordu and the Crimean Tatars had performed Turkish military music in earlier periods. According to him, Europeans borrowed many instruments from Turks such as the Oboe and Bassoon (Kösemihal, 1939, pp. 24-25). It is also known that many rhythmic instruments were introduced to Europe by the Turks and the Arabs. Although this relationship started early, it was rather limited until the 19th century. The Ottoman acquaintance with Western music began with the Treaty of Friendship signed with the French King François. King François sent a band to Istanbul to perform for the Sultan. The Sultan enjoyed the concerts performed by the group, but later sent them into exile on the grounds that this delicate music could damage the brave character of the Ottoman people (Toker, 2016, p. 25). Another account on the performance of Western music in the Ottoman lands is the story of Ali Ufki Bey, about the Italian master who lived in the Ottoman court in the 17th century. This relationship was, however, very limited before the 19th century. The foundation of the *Musika-i Hümâyûn* after the abolition of the*Mehterhane-i Hümâyûn,* the military music band affiliated with the Janissary Corps, was a milestone of Ottoman musical Westernisation.

During the 19th century, music institutions were affected by the drastic reforms. In the course of this century of reforms, all art foundations changed. However, when we look at the mindset and the structure, it can be seen that there was continuity between the old and

new foundations. This study explores the continuity between the Musika-i Hümâyûn and the Mehterhâne-i Hümâyûn as predecessor and successor music foundations. For this purpose, the mindset behind management and education as well as the performance parctices of both foundations will be examined. This examination will be carried out in the light of primary and secondary sources about these foundations.

Mehterhane-i Hümâyûn and Musika-i Hümâyûn:

The word mehter is originally Persian. This word was used for the first time to describe the Ottoman Military band in the 15th century (Gazimihal 1955, pp. 12-13). Even though the word mehter is not found until the 15th century, it is possible to identify many military bands which functioned as the Mehter. In the period before Islam, military bands existed in Turkic states. These older types of Military bands consisted of tambourines and horns. After the 11th-century, Kös (Big drum), drums and cymbals were added. The ones later used in the Mehter resembled the shapes of these earlier instruments. (Eralp 2013, p. 1120)

It is known that, besides the Middle Asian Turkic states, Abbassis, Harzemshahs, Anadolu Seljukians and The Great Seljukians had military bands similar to the Mehter. This military band tradition had been passed on to the Ottoman Empire, and the Turkish style military band that began to be called Mehter after the 15th century continued existing until the 19th century. (Altınölçek, 2013, p. 1114)

There were different types of Mehters in the Ottoman Empire. These bands spread to all of the imperial lands. Alongside the Sultan's Mehter, called Mehterhâne-i Hümâyûn, many high ranking Ottoman officers owned their own mehters. These bands were named according to the number of each instrument that they consisted of. For instance, if there were three performers for each instrument, the band would be called three-fold mehter. The mehter's fold number was parallel to the rank of the mehter's owner. Based on this, only Sultans could have nine-fold mehters.

The Mehterhane-i Hümayun was divided into units according to instrument types, such as the Nefiryan unit (Nefir Players) or the cymbal players unit (Zilciyan). As ıt can be seen from these examples, mehter contained some old Turkish military band instruments such as the Zil, Kös, Zurna, Nakkare, Nefir. (Sanal ,1964, p. 15)

The repertoire of the Mehter consisted purely of Turkish music forms such as Saz Semai, Pesrev, Söz Semai, Ceng-i Harbi, Raksiye and Kalenderi. As previously mentioned, the mehter, with its special structure, survived until the 19th century. (Sana,l 1964, p.11.)

After 1826, the Mehterhane was replaced by the Musika-i Hümâyûn. The Musika-. Hümâyûn was actually the foundation for all music activities and ensembles in the Ottoman court, such as the Sazendegân-ı Hâssa (Turkish music ensemble) and the Müezzinan-ı Hâssa (Religious music ensemble). Additionally, the name Musika-i Hümâyun was used for the Western type military band found in the Ottoman Court. (Toker, 2016, p. 261) The instruments used in the Musika-i hümayûn were the same as those used in other Western military bands, such as the Trombone, Bassoon, Clarinet and Cornet. The main form played in the Musika were the marches. Some selections from operas and small Western music forms, such as polka and valse, would also be played . (Gazimihal, 1955, p.53)

The Adaptive Nature of Ottoman Reforms and the Foundation of the Musika-i Hümâyûn:

Historical events do not happen suddenly and disjointedly, they occur within certain conjunctures. This leads to continuity between historical events and phenomena. Additionally, if we look at Ottoman reform and modernisation movements, we can easily see how these movements presented a spontaneous continuity between old and new structures because of their adaptive nature. This can be seen, for example, in the relationship between the Mehterhane-i Hümâyûn and the Musika-I Hümâyûn.

Some prominent historians highlighted this adaptive element in their studies. For instance, Carter Findley states that Ottoman reforms were adaptive in that they replicated older structures. He describes the issue as follows:

> *¨Where organic regulations were drawn up, the extent to which they simply perpetuated traditional patterns is perhaps their most salient characteristic¨(Findley, 1980, p. 198)*

Another scholar who highlighted this issue was Obert Voll. Voll pointed out how the main feature of Ottoman reforms was adaptiveness. According to Voll, Ottoman officers adapted old structures with a pragmatic vision. As Voll observed:

> *¨The ideas and techniques were relatively new to both the reformers and the society , but the role of the political elite was basically a continuation of the adaptationist style of Islam…*
>
> *[Reformers] like the early caliphs and Umayyads, they made use of the available techniques in a pragmatic way in order to strengthen to state. ¨* (Voll, 1982, p. 89)

This adaptive approach can also be seen in the examples of the Mehterhâne- Hümâyûn and the Musika-I Hümâyûn. This points out to the continuity between the two. 1826 was a crucial year for Turkish music history, due to the founding of the Musika-i Hümâyûn (Sanal, 1964,

p. 291). In accordance with the new type of military organisation of the Ottoman Empire, the military band system changed. The Mehterhane-i Hümâyûn, which was in accordance with the new system, was replaced by the Musika-i Hümâyûn. The Musika-i Hümâyûn became the first Western music foundation of the Ottoman Empire.

Although the Musika-i Hümâyûn was founded in 1826, Mehter music survived until the 1850s. Musicologist Hikmet Toker states that even though the Mehterhane-i Hümâyûn was abolished in 1826, the other Mehter Bands continued existing in Anatolia and in different parts of Istanbul. According to Toker, the last Mehter band in Istanbul survived until 1856. (Toker, 2017, p. 40)

The Continuity Between the Mehterhâne-i Hümâyûn and Musika-i Hümâyûn

Despite the differences, it can be said that there was a form of continuity between the Musika-i Hümayun and the Mehterhâne. The next part of the article will examine this phenomenon. As previously mentioned, the abolishment of Mehterhane did not happen suddenly. One of the reasons was the lack of staff professionally versed in Western Music. An attempt to solve this problem was to hire some musicians from the Enderun and transfer them to the Musika-i Hümâyûn. Many of them were former Mehterhane members. According to Takiyuddin Mehmet Emin Ali, many Mehter musicians who passed to the Musika began by playing Western instruments which were smilar to their instrument. For instance, zurna players became clarinet players after being accepted into the Musika-i Hümâyûn.) Takiyuddin also provided the names of many musicians who passed to the Musika form the Mehterhane. (Takiyuddin Mehmet Emin Ali, p. 2)

Continuity between the two ensembles can be seen firstly in the phenomenon of musicians serving both, at different times. The ceremonies performed by these two ensembles are another important element. Musicologist Hikmet Toker stated that nearly all of the ceremonies performed by the Mehterhâne passed on to the Musika-i Hümayun. These were Nevbet Ceremony, Cuma Selamlığı, Muayede Töreni (Toker, 2021, p. 171). The Mehter's performance on prayer times was a very old Ottoman tradition. Before the Musika-I Hümayûn, the Mehterhâne-i Hümâyûn and the other mehter bands all over the country performed at prayer times. This performance was called Nevbet vurmak (Drumming Nevbet). During this performance, the Mehterhâne played their special repertoire, such as peşrev, saz semai ve kalenderi…

The aforementioned "Musika-i Hümâyûn member Takiyuddin Mehmed Emin Ali stated that Nevbet was played every day after three prayer times (İkindi, akşam ve yatsı) by the Musika. According to him, the Musika played little airs or marches during these performances. Even though the repertoire changed, these ceremonial performances directly passed on to the Musikâ-i Hümâyûn. (Toker, 2016, p. 285)

Another example was the Muayede Ceremony. Muayede means ceremony of religious holidays. As many readers know there are two holidays, "Iyd-ı Adha and Iyd-ı Fıtr¨. The Muayede ceremony was performed on the first day of each holiday. During this ceremony, Ottoman officers gave their greetings to the Sultan. Throughout this ceremony, the Mehter would constantly play some pieces from its repertoire. (Esad Efendi, 1979, p. 59)



Illustration 1. Illustration of the Muayede Ceremony at the Topkapı Palace

This ceremony was performed in front of the Babussaade, in Topkapı Palace. After Dolmabahçe Palace was built (1856), this ceremony was moved to the biggest hall of the palace which was subsequently named Muayede Hall (Salonu). The performance of music during this ceremony was inherited by the Musika from the Mehterhâne-I Hümâyûn. Musika-i

Hümâyûn played some marches throughout this ceremony on the balcony of the hall. The balcony was later called the Musika balcony. (Karatteke, 2004, p. 87)



Illustration 2. Illustration of Muayede Ceremony in the Muayede Hall

Another ceremony was the Cuma Selamlığı. Sultans saluted the public on their way to the Cuma prayer and returned to the palace after the end of the prayer. The Mehter played throughout this ceremony. After the foundation of the Musika-i Hümâyûn, this band performed the ceremony. Naturally, the repertoire changed in accordance with the Musikâ-I Hümâyûn's repertoire practice. (Toker, 2016, p. 145)

Alongside these ceremonies, on the occasion of the ambassadors' admission ceremony music was performed by the Musika-i Hümâyûn, after the Mehterhâne-i Hümâyûn was abolished. Before the 19th century, the Mehter's playing of Elçi Peşrevi was a tradition. After the Mehter was abolished, this tradition changed and some Western marches began to be played during the ambassador admission ceremony. Alongside these ceremonies, the Musika took over the duty of the Mehter on small and big official ceremonies such as the Cülus (coronation) and Biat (allegiance) ceremonies. (Karateke, 2004, p. 141)

Continuities are also found in the organisation of these two ensembles. The member supply of the Mehterhane was based on references and on the education of individuals trained according to the meşk system. According to this system, the apprentices were accepted into the Mehterhane by means of reference and they were supervised by one of the master musicians. (Hafiz Hızır İlyas, 2011, p. 386)

The master was responsible for the training of the apprentice. This continued wtih the Musika-i Hümâyûn. Afterwards, there were attempts to establish a more formal music education in the Musika-i Hümâyûn but these attempts were not successful until the beginning of the 20th century. In some documents found in the Ottoman archive, we see that the staff management mindset of the Mehterhâne-i Hümâyûn lived on in the Musika-i Hümâyûn. For instance, a document shows that the Valide Sultan (mother of the sultan) acted as a referee for someone in order for that person to be accepted as an apprentice in the Musika-i Hümâyûn. As it is seen from this document, the staff policy which was based on a reference system rather than competence and merit was still in force ın the Musika-i Hümâyûn. (BOA, HH.VRK. 116/61)

In the following periods, this situation impacted the performance quality of the Musika-i Hümâyûn negatively. Many members were accepted into the Musika thanks to the reference of a high ranking person and many of them were not educated enough. According to musicologist Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal, only a limited number of Musika members could play adequately although there were hundreds of musicians employed in the band. (Gazimihal, 1955, p. 90)

Regulations were made at the beginning of the 20th century in an attempt to solve this problem and these particularly affected the staff management and the members' education. These regulations were published in 1912 and 1918 (Toker, 2015, p. 610). However, the organisation and educational mindset of the Mehter was kept alive in the Musika-i Hümâyûn until the final years of the Ottoman period.

Conclusion

If we look at the mindset and characteristic structure of Ottoman Reforms, we can easily see that all reforms share some points. The main motivation of all reforms was militaristic. The reforms in the military field became the catalyst for reforms in different areas. Nearly all reforms were adaptive. Because of this, continuity existed between the old and new structures.

The Musika-i Hümâyûn is an example of the first point. The first Western Music Foundation of the Ottoman Empire, the Musika-i Hümâyûn, was actually a military foundation. This

foundation officially depended on the Ottoman Military but practically served under the Mabeyn-i Hümâyûn (Court Management).

The second point can be observed in the relationship of the Mehterhane and the Musika-i Hümâyûn. As we have mentioned, the Mehterhane was replaced by the Musika-i Hümâyûn as a result of political and military decisions. The Musika-i Hümâyûn was founded as part of the reforms of the Ottoman Army. It was seen as the prominent symbol of Ottoman Westernisation, and this is partly true.

It is true that the Musika-İ Hümâyûn was a Western type band and its repertoire contained only Western marches and pieces composed in simple, Western music forms. But, if we look at its structure and mindset, we can see that the Musika shared the performance ceremonies, mindset and the education system of the Mehterhâne-i Hümâyûn.

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CHAPTER 9

THE NATIONAL ANTHEMS INSTITUTIONALIZATION PROCESS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE 19th CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

Musical pieces labeled modern anthems in this paper first appeared when Westernization movements began in the Ottoman Empire. These Western-style compositions, particularly national anthems, were played with Western instruments. The Ottoman State's first encounter with modern anthems occurred at the inception of movements toward Westernization, during which changes to military, legal, financial, administrative, and social spheres caused the transformation of the public representation of the state. The praxis of designating a national anthem was first applied during Mahmud II's reign. This practice continued in the eras that followed until it was finally institutionalized. The system was sustained for 91 years until Vahdettin era ended and the Ottoman Empire became history. This paper examines the history of Ottoman Empire anthems in the context of Westernization and examined the functioning of anthems as symbols created to restructure the state. The first section discusses the history of anthems in general terms. The sections that follow elucidate the history of the anthems of the Ottoman Empire and the construction of the band, *Muzika-i Hümâyûn*.

Keywords: March, national anthem, musikâ-i hümâyûn, mahmudiye anthem, mecidiye anthem, hamidiye anthem

In the process of modernization, while some traditions disappear, some regain meaning and others are invented. Hobsbawm defined invented tradition as "practices intended to establish repetitive behavior patterns surrounded by a set of rules, rituals and symbols" (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2006, p. 14). According to Antony Smith, the symbols remind community members of their common heritage, cultural affinity; strengthen feelings of collective identity and a sense of belonging (Smith, 2010, pp. 3-9). In this context, symbols appear as one of the most important mechanisms to legitimize a social order. Once the symbols are accepted, it becomes easier to see the functions of the rulers through these symbols; it opens up an important field of action for rulers in order for them to achieve these goals (Türkkahraman, 2000, p. 10).

The symbols, which are also the main elements in the creation of national identity, include features that remind a particular society that it is a nation, increasing solidarity, emphasizing distinctness from other nations and creating a sense of historical continuity. Many traditions and symbols existing in society are first nationalized and then standardized to create and raise the awareness of the nation in the nation-building process. In this process, rulers try to make people forget some traditions and symbols contradicting the official ideology and the invention of new traditions in line with new and different needs that may arise become a topic of discussion (Hobsbawm, 1993, p. 9). Symbolism is one of the most important tools in the invention of tradition (Kılıçbay, 2000, p. 87). The ruling elites impose their own interpretation on the masses through the manipulation of symbols, in this way generating a struggle for legitimacy. The concept of political symbolism is rather meant as a symbolic structure determining or approving social and political identities. Art has an important role in the world of symbols. Ideologies combine art and symbols, allowing new identities to be passed on to the masses. Particularly with modernization, aesthetic values have had a great influence on the reconstruction and continuity of identity. The inspiring and influencing force of art has an important role in the creation and settling of identity (Smith, 2010, p. 150). Elements such as anthems, flags, establishment ceremonies, and festivals can be considered and examined within the framework of political symbolism (Türkkahraman, 2000, p. 81).

Anthems played a crucial role in the construction of national identity or reinforcing the sense of loyalty to the dynasty in monarchic structures. The anthems, which are originally specific to the military field, have been widely used in the public sphere besides the military, and even managed to have a significant place in the civilian field with the effect, on the mass, of creating a common spirit. Particularly after the French Revolution, the anthems in Europe turned into powerful tools used to create a common spirit in the mass. In this respect, anthems have a stimulating, enthusiastic, and inspiring effect on the listening subject.

It is possible to evaluate this practice as it took place during the last 90 years of the Ottoman State, within the context of Westernization movements. This process, particularly the changes that made themselves felt in the military, legal, financial, administrative, and social fields brought about a change in the public representation of the state. It is possible to consider the anthems as part of these changes, and especially the national anthem as an important element of the invention of tradition and the production of symbols for the new era.

In this article, we dealt with the history of "anthems" throughout Ottoman history in the context of Westernization and the construction of symbols for the restructuring of the state. In the first section, the history of "anthems" will be discussed in general terms. The following sections will discuss the history of the "anthems" of the Ottoman Empire along with the construction of the "band", the "Muzika-i Hümâyûn.

March!

The meaning of the word "marş" [here this word refers to "march"], which entered Turkish from French, is related to the act of walking. The command given to march in the military is expressed by the word "marş". This word is found in everyday language in Turkish, in the imperative form of the verb "to walk", though not very often. It is more common for the word to be subject to imperative uses in daily language, such as "haydi marş" [let's march] or "marş marş" [chop-chop]. "Marş" is also associated with walking as a music term. For example, the Current Turkish Dictionary of TDK gives the first meaning for "marş" [anthem] as "a piece of music that reminds us of rhythm, the march of a walking person or the community" (https://sozluk.gov.tr/ [23.03.2020]). Music dictionaries, on the other hand, expand this definition. According to these dictionaries, musical works composed to accompany any community during their regular march are called "anthem". This accompaniment helps to keep the march at a certain pace. While the pieces that can be played and are suitable for regular marches are categorized under the name "anthem", the composition's suitability for walking is emphasized as the distinguishing feature of the anthems. Due to this relationship between anthem and regular walking, anthems are composed in 2/2, 2/4, 3/4, 4/4, 6/8, or 12/8, and often in major tones (Öztuna, 1969, p. 13; Üngör, 1966, 9). Anthems that are evocative of a type of dance in terms of form either consist of only a melody, or they may contain lyrics.

The first examples of anthems appeared in a military context in the 16th century, in line with military needs. Facilitating the march of soldiers in training and war, keeping this march in its proper steps and pace were the basic requirements behind the birth of the anthems. As part of the emergence of the anthems, it would be appropriate to remember the motivating effect

of the music on soldiers and also its functions during war, such as psychological pressure, frightening the enemy, etc. (Farmer, 1950, pp. 43-71).[1]

Although the origin of the anthem was military, this genre, especially since the 18th century, fhas ound wide use in the public space outside of the military and easily spread to the civilian area. In this respect, it would be incorrect to say that the anthems were composed only for military purposes. In the case of anthems composed for civilian purposes, the main aims are creating unity, enthusiasm, and excitement in the mass or community. The anthem plays an important function in inspiring the crowd to discover its soul and turning it into a single being. Although this kind of presentation and use of the anthem apparently differs from the content of the march, in its essence, this kind of anthem also facilitates the management and collective action of the mass, thus also fulfilling the function of "accompanying the appropriate steps".

Anthems are divided into several types according to the purpose of their composition and to whether they contain lyrics or not, their verbal content, and the tempo used. Common types of anthems include military anthems, national anthems, state ceremony anthems, flag anthems, coronation anthems, royal anthems, and anthems written about political figures. Political party anthems, political movement anthems, youth anthems, school anthems, sports club anthems, corporate anthems, wedding anthems, organization anthems, mourning anthems, funeral anthems also come to mind.

After the French revolution, anthems in Europe turned into tools primarily used to create a common spirit in the mass. While only 116 national anthems and songs were composed in 1789, this number reached 701 by 1794. One of them is the famous Marseillaise. These anthems, whose composers are mostly unknown, were sung at victory ceremonies, at the funerals of heroes, during festivals gathering excited crowds at Champ de Mars. Revolutionary leaders like Danton argued that this enthusiasm for music should be passed on to young people through education; Robespierre even made a law for the learning of anthems. Napoleon Bonaparte wished every victory to be celebrated with words, music, and even dance. Famous composers such as Spontini Paisello, Paer and Grétry composed operas, musical dramas, and of course anthems for these celebrations. In the operas of great composers such as Wagner and Verdi, there were parts including anthems that turned into symbols of German and Italian national identities. The lines written in those years about Italians by Gazetta Musicale's Berlin correspondent were particularly important. According to him, almost all nations on earth have national songs

1 Henry George Farmer's book remains a classic about military music and the analysis of its place in different cultures. The book discusses the existence and representation of military music since the Romans and indicates how military music was an element of power in Europe during the Revolutionary era (Farmer, 1950).

and anthems they sing together on the days celebrating their victory and liberation. The only exception is Italy. Perhaps, the author had not considered the national passages in the works of Verdi and the anthem-like spirit in the choral parts. In the Italian struggle for independence, national themed songs in Verdi's operas became the people's shared heritage. The anthems and national songs noticeably increased during the 19th-century revolutions. Milan's "Five Days" led to the emergence of several national anthems. The publisher Ricordi published a catalogue that comprised them so that patriots could buy them cheaply. A musician named Giuseppe Novella compiled eight tunes and these went on sale. Two of them were devoted to Pope Pius IX, two to the writer of the constitution, Carlo Alberto, and the others to God, the army, and those who died for independence. In this regard, Prof. Antonino Monti writes: "Anthems and choirs are geared towards praising weapons, marches of war, attacks, attack on enemies and infantry. And, certainly, the rebirth of Italy can now only be attributed to military emotions, that is, to war. For example, the war of 1866 was followed by a plenitude of music that could not be compared with the duration of this war." Garibaldi's anthem in 1858 and the War Anthem, Brofferio's work, which was read according to the style of the march at the theater of Alla Scala and Canobbiana on May 29, 1866, became the lyrical symbols of the epic Italian unification. The songs and anthems that fuse common national feelings in the human soul are a reflection of the romantic age (Devrimler ve Kültür Tarihi Ansiklopedisi, 1975, pp. 105-120). This lyrical symbolic element would become one of the tools used in the Ottoman Empire in the struggle to reposition itself between East and West.

From Mehterhane-i Hümâyûn to Musikâ-i Hümâyûn: Building the "Band"

Mahmud II Period

The Ottoman anthems, which were played with Western instruments and composed in the Western style of the Ottoman Empire and which we will call modern anthems in this article, and specifically the "national" anthems, appeared for the first time when the Westernization movements began. Westernization movements in the Ottoman Empire emerged together with the need for new standards, especially in the military field, and their main axis expanded by including different areas alongisde the military. Regarding the first Westernization experiences, references can be made to the period of Ahmed III (1703-1730) and especially to the period of Selim III (1789-1807). However, the first serious institutional steps in terms of Westernization were taken in the period of Mahmud II (1808 - 1839).

The 19th century began with problems for the Ottoman Empire. In addition to political crises, the internal and external legitimacy problems experienced by the empire, which dominated a territory that was at the center of the European imperial struggle, inspired administrators to produce new liberation plans. Economic and social measures, innovations in the bureaucratic area that started in the period of Mahmud II, reforms that affected cultural life, had implications for the transformation of the traditional components of the empire.

The abolishment of the Janissary Corps (1826), which is referred to as the "Vaka-i Hayriye" [The Auspicious Incident] in the literature, was the most important development during Mahmud II's era, and it was also a milestone in terms of Westernization movements[2]. Mahmud II, after abolishing the Janissary Corps, established a new western-style army under the name of "Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyye" (1826). This army would also form the basis of the modern Turkish army. At this point, only the "Mehterhane-i Hümâyûn", a part of Janissary Corps, had not been touched, while they were being abolished. Mehter, which can be called the Janissary band, was preserved in some way. Although it cannot be proven, some sources claim that the Mehterhane-i Hümâyûn was founded in 1362, while other give1365 as a date. However, there is no exact information about the establishment of the Ottoman Mehterhane. According to a common rumor, Mehter was initiated by the Anatolian Seljuk sultan sending tabl and alem [drum and standard] as a symbol of domination to Osman Gazi, but this is not confirmed by any source. However, in the 14th century Anatolian lands, besides the Ottomans, other principalities who took the Seljuks as an example in organization and protocol would have had instruments similar to the Mehter, which played war music to direct the war, even if it was not fully organized. As it is narrated in Nizâmeddîn-i Şâmî's work, the Zafernâme, written about Timur's victories, both the Yıldırım Bayezid and Timur's armies which fought in the Battle of Ankara at the beginning of the 15th century played war music: "The sounds of Gürgâ, nephr, borgu, nakkāre covered the realm as the sûr-ı İsrâfîl"[3]. Judging from these narratives, it is possible to take this as a tradition dating back to before the 14th century and even to the Turks' Central Asian period. The Turks realized the positive effect of music in war, practiced it since before the Ottoman period and benefited from it,. It is known

2 Research in the field of Ottoman historiography in recent years identfies the first steps of the Ottoman Westernization project to the experiences of the early 18th century. It is possible to come across traces of pioneering initiatives of transformation in state institutions and changes in the perception of European civilization. On the subject, see Can Erimtan's book (Erimtan, 2008, pp. 9 – 59). For the transformative effects of this situation in Ottoman music life, see Namık Sinan Turan's article (Turan, 2019, pp. 317-339).

3 For detailed information on Mehterhane see Nuri Özcan's article (Özcan, 2003, pp. 545-546), furthermore, see Bahaeddin Ögel's article (Ögel, 1987), Haşmet Altınölçek's book (Altınölçek, 1999, pp. 751 – 755) and İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı's book (Uzunçarşılı, 1984, pp. 273-278, 388-392, 449-454)

that the Mehter acquired its classical structure during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent[4]. This classical structure of the Mehter was preserved until the 19th century without alterations except for some minor changes.

The "Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyye", which followed the Western military style and trained according to Western methods, began to train with the Mehter. However, the new troops that were structured, girded, and trained in Western-style had some technical difficulties when working with the Mehter. The inability of the Mehter to keep up with the walking pace of the new troops and the issues experienced in training were the main technical problems. Then, the idea of establishing a Western-style band caused the Mehterhane-i Hümâyûn to be dismantled in 1827.

In fact, before the period of Mahmud II, an attempt to establish a Western-style band was first carried out in the period of Selim III. In 1795, French ambassador Reymond de Verninac visited Selim III, and a French soldier and a marching band accompanied the ambassador during his visit to the Palace. It is known that during this visit, Selim III was influenced by the band accompanying the ambassador and he added the establishment of a similar formation to his agenda (Ünlü, 1999, p. 10). However, this innovation could not be practically carried out until Mahmud II, by abolishing the Janissary Corps, destroyed the greatest power against the Westernization movement and found a place to establish a Western-style band, and to apply many other innovations.

The new structure substituting Mehterhane-i Hümâyûn would be the "Musikâ-i Hümâyûn". Mahmud II's interest in and emphasis on anthems and the band is symbolized by the Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyye Anthem, which he composed in the acemaşiran maqam. This anthem can be considered as the beginning of modern anthems practice among the Ottomans as well as the first anthem composed by a sultan (Üngör, 1966, p.39).

The first Western-style band was under the leadership of Turkish tutors and the first members were Enderun Agas. Nokta Mehmet Efendi, again at the initiative of Mahmud II, and his first trainers were trumpeters Ahmet Usta and Vaybelim Ahmet Aga. Vaybelim Ahmet

4 It is possible to say that the first serious development in this organization took place in the time of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror. After the conquest, he established the nevbethane in Demirkapı, and he also ordered to play three nevbets a day after lunch and night prayers in Eyüp, Kasımpaşa, Galata, Tophane, Beşiktaş, Rumelihisarı, Yeniköy, Rumeliyenihisarı, Kavakyenihisarı, Beykoz, Anadoluhisarı, Üsküdar, and Yedikule. During the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, new regulations were made regarding the mehter use on the part of viziers and pashas, as the state organization changed in parallel with the new conquests. In the 17th and 18th centuries, this institution was especially attractive to the music-loving sultan Selim III, who took care of every detail, placed the kös [a kind of big drum (formerly used for signaling)] for the first time in the nevbethanes of Galata Tower and Demirkapı (Özcan, 2003, p. 546).

Aga and Ahmet Efendi were valuable musicians who had learnt to play Western instruments during the Nizam-ı Cedit army experience of the Selim III era. In addition to these two names, Halil Efendi, Osman Efendi, Edip Aga and Hasan Hodja were also involved in its establishment and made history as the first harmonica player officers of the Ottoman Empire. However, despite all their good intentions, the knowledge and experience of these musician officers was insufficient in terms of the development of a new Western-type band and soon after, the French musician Monsieur Manguel was invited to the Palace and began his work (1827). However, Monsieur Manguel did not satisy Mahmud II's expectations.

Mahmud II then appealed to the Italians, whom he considered successful in the field of music, and asked for advice from the Sardinian Duchy. Following the Duchy's advice, inviting the brother of the famous opera singer Gaetano Donizetti, Giuseppe Donizetti, to his country, Mahmud II appointed Donizetti as the "Chief Master of the Ottoman Harmonica." Donizetti, who started to work in 1828, remained in this position for about 28 years until his death (1856); Donizetti made very important contributions to the development and institutionalization of Western-style music in Turkey and Western-style music education. He also initiated the Turkish "modern and national anthem" period. Donizetti, who is often referred to as "pasha", was given a number of powers in the course of his appointment. He was even given the authority to use the whip during training and performance. In addition to these powers, Donizetti Pasha received significant support from musicians who were trained in the Ottoman lands and other trainers he summoned from Italy. As a result of these competencies and the meticulous work of the staff he put together, the reading-writing and playing scores training were completed in a very short time. It is known that Donizetti Pasha brought many instruments and scores from abroad in this period. A remarkable detail is that when Donizetti Pasha gave his first concert with his students in the presence of Mahmud II, he had been only in the sixth month[5] of his appointment.

With Donizetti Pasha's studies, Turkey's musical revolution began[6]. These works became institutionalized with the official opening of the Muzika-i Hümâyûn 1831. Furthermore, the relevant literature considers the Musikâ-i Humayun as the first conservatory experience in the history of Turkey.

The Muzıka-i Hümâyûn was a pioneering step in the performance of European music in the public domain and official protocol. The accounts left by Spitzo, Sir Adolphus Slade

5 The most detailed study on Donizetti Pasha's Ottoman years is that of musicologist Emre Aracı (Aracı, 2006).

6 For a study of the Republican era music policies in Turkey in terms of its continuity and breaks from Ottoman-era music policies, see Bilen Işıktaş's article (Işıktaş, 2016, pp..1111-1126).

and Sultan Abdülmecid's doctor, show that the Muzika-i Hümâyûn found a place even in the most traditional ceremonies such as the Friday greetings. Gazimihal, however, argues that the military musicians' evident professional knowledge could not go beyond the practice of musical notes or the simplest Italian harmony during the first fifty years. In the preface of his epistle, written in 1875 under the title of Usûl-i Nota, Hüseyin Remzi not only complains about the absence of a Turkish music book but also includes comments indicating that musical knowledge was at a preparatory level (Turan, 2019, p. 205).

The painful process of Ottoman modernization paved the way for changes in music life as well as being a social phenomenon. First of all, the public performance of Western music was not limited to military music and the official protocol of the state. It also took a central place in the life of the newly rising upper classes and the *Tanzimat* dignitaries. As traditional music was excluded from the public-official field and losing its old patronage network, Western music found both a military and a civil dimension. Institutions such as Bosco and the Naum Theaters in Beyoğlu increased over time and included companies and opera communities from Europe in their programs. From the 1840s, European virtuoso performers began to give concerts in the presence of the Ottoman ruling elite. The great pianist Franz Liszt, who came to Istanbul in the summer of 1847, was received with great interest and admiration in Istanbul, and he conveyed this to his friends (Turan, 2011 (1), pp. 22-25). According to İlber Ortaylı, the interest shown by the *Tanzimat* elite towards Western music was not because they understood it well, but because they accepted it as an element of a world they wanted to take part in[7]. However, this interest was not just an ambition. For example, in 1836, the imperial band performed in the Sûr-ı Hümâyûnu of Mihrimah Sultan, the daughter of Mahmud II, and for the Guardian of Bahr-i Sefid Ferik Mehmed Said Pasha. This was the sign of an important change. There were clear differences between the music performed in previous centuries and the one performed now, at least in terms of public reflection (Turan, 2019, p. 206). Undoubtedly, the Muzika-i Hümâyûn was the beginning of all these innovations.

The new band soon took its place in the official Ottoman protocol. It performed not only in times of peace but also in war conditions. The war of 1828 - 1829 is an example. G. Keppel noted that in the Shumno camp he went to in 1829, the Ottoman Band played 'Vaudville air' every evening. The empire, which changed the order of the army, started to look for new tones in military music as a symbolic reflection of this transformation. In fact, this was the result of the claim that the new order spoke the same language as its representatives, in other

7 On the change of daily lifestyle among the Ottoman upper classes, see İlber Ortaylı's book (Ortaylı, 2002, pp. 248-262).

words, that it should be evaluated in the same way. A. Slade, who served in the Ottoman army for many years, mentioned "Freichtuz, Zitti Zitti and Malbrouk" among the works that the band played on the Selimiye warship in 1829 and described them as follows: "Suddenly, the Turkish military band began to play Rossini's music on the coast of the Black Sea strait. The band was playing quite well enough to honor their teacher, Professor Sinyor Donizetti... He was astonished by how young the members of the band were and how they used the European reeds... According to Professor Donizetti, the enthusiasm and talent of these young people in learning music were so high that they were amazed even in Italy." Over time, the band took its place outside of the military field. Lamartin notes that during a Friday greeting he witnessed on June 20, 1833, the band played pieces by Mozart and Rossini throughout the twenty minutes that the sultan spent in the mosque. European orchestras started to give public concerts after 1826 in Istanbul. Foreign music groups' concerts had not been allowed until that time. According to what we learned from Prankland, a British band played Mozart and Rossini's music in Göksu on Sunday, May 20, 1828, and they also performed "God Save the King" (Turan, 2011 (1), pp. 22-23).

Abdulhamid II Period

During the reign of Abdulhamid II, the invention of tradition and the production of symbols for the new period reached a peak, while Western music preserved its place and importance in the public sphere. Abdülhamid, who admired Western music and took piano lessons from Guatelli and Lombardi, also wanted his children to grow up appreciating Western music. Anna Rilke, the famous pianist who lived in Istanbul by giving piano lessons to the children of distinguished families, praised Prince Burhaneddin Efendi, describing him as a very talented pianist (Rilke, 2019, pp. 54-155)[8]. Abdülhamid II, who was an enthusiastic opera lover, paid special attention to the anthems. It was important for him that the orchestra members of the Muzika-ı Hümâyûn be well trained. Since the violin, piano, and cello were instruments he loved, their performers were honored by his special interest. For example, he sent the violinist Vondra Bey to Paris for educational purposes and, upon his return, arranged an invitation to the palace. During this ceremony, Prince Burhaneddin Efendi (piano), Abdürrahim Efendi (cello) and Tevfik Efendi from the Muzıka-i Hümâyûn gave a mini-concert. The Sultan sent

8 Undoubtedly, the interest of the children of Ottoman elite families for Western music was not limited to members of the dynasty. Members of the Şerif family, who are at the top of the religious aristocracy, also received Western music education. It is known that Şerif Muhiddin (Targan) and his brothers, who would be referred to as the great oud virtuoso in the following period, also played instruments such as cello, piano, and violin perfectly. Also, Şerif Muhiddin was known as an international cello performer and gave concerts in the USA. For detailed information on this issue, see. Bilen Işıktaş's book (Işıktaş, 2018).

Safvet (Atabinen) Bey, one of the commanders of Muzika-i Humayun, to Paris for one year in 1908 to develop his flute technique. He also supported Haci Arif Bey's son, named Cemil, who was a cellist, and Abdulhamid often invited him to the palace to listen to him. Abdulhamid was sensitive about his children's music education. His son Burhaneddin Bey demonstrated a great talent in this regard and dedicated the Re Major polyphonic anthem (Bahriye [Sea] Anthem) he composed when he was 7 years old in 1894 to his father. Burhaneddin Efendi gave a small concert in front of the Sultan with Prince Albert, son of the German Emperor Wilhelm II. While François Lombardi taught Şadiye Sultan and Ayşe Sultan piano, they studied with Mehmet Selim Efendi (piano), Naime Sultan (piano), Mehmet Abdülkadir Efendi (violin), Abdürrahim Efendi (cello and woodwind instrument). In addition to perfectly playing the piano, Ayşe Sultan played the Hamidiye Marşı to Abdulhamid on his 25th enthronement anniversary (August 31, 1901) when she was 12 years old (Turan, 2012, p. 28).

Abdülhamid's Muzika-ı Hümâyûn and anthems were kept for official protocols, ambassador meetings, feasts and "the Cuma selâmlığı" (Sultan's procession for Friday prayers). [9] During these events, the Muzıka-i Hümâyûn played the "Hamidiye Anthem", songs from Mozart and Rossini's operas and even the Marseillaise from time to time, according to memoirs (Karateke, 2004, pp. 104-105). The Muzika played the santhem of the country of the visiting ambassador alongside the Ottoman anthem during ceremonies, such as the ambassador meetings. Particular attention was paid to the protocol to avoid any problems. The Muzika's performance of anthems during state ceremonies used to take place in the examination hall of the Dolmabahçe Palace, usually in the gallery above the throne area. Sometimes, they could stand beside the hademe-i hassa [private servant]. Considering that there was a need for rulership to be internalized by individuals by means of the symbols that defined it and through repeated ceremonies, the fact that bands performed and anthems were performed in almost all these events underlines their importance.

After the proclamation of the Republic, this structure, which was named "Riyaset-i Cumhur Harmonica Committee", became the basis for today's "Presidential Symphony Orchestra" (Gazimihal, 1939, pp. 96-139; Gazimihal (1955); Tuğlacı, 1986, pp. 76-97).

9 It is understood that Sultan Abdülhamid, who was prone to Western music like his father Abdülmecid, invited him to the palace theater and appreciated the talent of the great artist Tanburi Cemil Bey, but he was not affected by his music. Tanburi Cemil Bey complained of this situation to a close friend in this way: "Abdülhamid-i Sâni has no musical taste. His magnificent band was national" (Cemil, 2012, p. 107).

First Anthems

Anthems play an important role in the construction of national identity or reinforcing the sense of loyalty to the dynasty in monarchic traditions. In this respect, it has a stimulating, enthusiastic, and 'fusion' effect on the listening subject. As Ph.D. Felice points out, enthusiasm and a sense of fusion reach their highest point in the national anthem, the symbolic song of a party or nation. Singing together or listening to a song that expresses common feelings and expectations is the most reliable way to transform a crowd into a single mass, awakening the feeling of being a single entity. Anthems, songs, cut-outs, and regular shouts, in short, all these "vocal poisons" are the main drugs used to provide the crowd with exuberance (Domenach, 1995, p. 74). Anthems were accepted as one of the most important sound symbols of the "ittihad-ı anasır" [Union of Peoples] politics in the last century of the Ottoman Empire and found a place in almost every platform where the state manifested itself in the public space [10].

The first modern anthem used as a national anthem in Ottoman history is Ahmed Aga's Military Anthem. The Military Anthem, which consists only of melody, is also important in terms of its composer being Turkish. Although it is not known exactly in which year the anthem was composed, the researchers identify 1829 as the date of its composition (Alimdar, 2016, p. 45). Ahmet Aga, who was the bandmaster of all the regiments at the beginning of Mahmud II's period also worked as a trainer in Musikâ-i Hümâyûn in the following years. The Soldier Anthem of Ahmet Aga was used during the initial period of Mahmud II's rule, reflecting the national anthem's features. This practice was a milestone and with it, the Ottoman national anthem tradition began.

Mahmudiye Anthem

Seemingly, the second and main anthem of Mahmud II's period was the Mahmudiye Anthem. Mahmudiye Marşı was composed by Donizetti Pasha. Donizetti Pasha composed this anthem immediately after he came to the Ottoman court in order to begin his appointment. He presented it to Mahmud II. Mahmud II liked it and used it as the national anthem until the end of his rule (1839). It is known that the anthem was arranged in Paris and London and was

10 The discussions on the composition of the national anthem were also on the public agenda in the early Republican period. Firstly, Ali Rifat Çağatay's composition in acemişiran maqam, which was composed in the traditional style and quite different from the Ottoman anthems, was used. Starting in 1930, the Western form of an anthem beganto be used by Osman Zeki Üngör, who had been conducting the Presidential Symphony Orchestra in Ankara. For detailed information on this issue, see Mehmet Altun's book (Altun, 2008, pp. 56-59). According to musicologist Bilen Işıktaş, the importance of the anthem and national songs increased even more in the context of national music discussions in the first period of the Republic, and many examples have been given (Işıktaş, 2017, pp. 35-42).

used as a national anthem in Sweden between 1839 and 1927 under the name of "Skånska Dragonregementets Marsch". The Mahmudiye Anthem was also used as a national anthem in the period of Mehmet VI (Sultan Vahdettin) (1918 - 1922) (Toker, 2016 (1), pp. 50-52).

Many sources refer to the Mahmudiye Anthem of Donizetti Pasha as the first anthem of the Ottoman State, rather than Ahmed Aga's Soldier Anthem. The fact that the Mahmudiye Anthem was written directly for the sultan and used for a long time played a role in this. The Soldier Anthem can be considered as a first experience of national anthem practice. Emre Aracı reports that the oldest copy of the Mahmudiye Anthem is in the Naples Conservatory Library. This anthem was composed in the first four months after Donizetti Pasha's arrival in Istanbul. Considering the Mecidiye Anthem that would be written for Sultan Abdülmecid 10 years later, the band's orchestration of this anthem in fa major matches the French bands of the Napoleonic period. From the content of the orchestration and the depictions of the band, it can be seen that this was not different from Napoleon's band. This also shows that the interactions between Europe and the Ottoman world were not limited to political and economic dimensions. Interactions between the two cultures in the field of military music would continue throughout the 19th century (Aracı, 2006, pp. 66-75).

Abdülmecid, whose rule began after Mahmud II, also continued the national anthem practice. The Abdulmecid period (1839 - 1861), which began with the announcement of The Gülhane Imperial Edict, is also referred to as the "*Tanzimat* Era" ["Reorganization"]. This period, in which Westernization movements had an institutional framework, refers to a series of Western influenced reforms in the legal, administrative, financial, and military fields. The *Tanzimat* era would also be a period of remarkable innovations in education, thought, and art.[11]

The *Tanzimat* began with the announcement that Westernization was accepted as the official program to be followed in order to save the empire. Westernization showed its traces in many aspects of everyday life, from clothing to the change of taste, even of traditional behavior patterns. The emergence of European domination in port cities such as Istanbul, Izmir, Thessaloniki, and Beirut brought with it a change in the public representation of the state[12]. Areas of Istanbul such as Galata and Pera turned into centres of a new lifestyle. Edmondo de Amicis, who came to Istanbul shortly after the *Tanzimat* reforms and depicted

11 As to the studies dealing with the economic and social dimension of the *Tanzimat* period in the last century of the Ottoman Empire, see Halil İnalcık's book (İnalcık, 2008) and Roderic Davison's book (Davison, 1963). For a review of important articles on the various phases of this topic see Halil İnalcık-Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu's book (İnalcık & Seyidoğlu, 2019).

12 For an analysis of the limits of Westernization in the lives of the ruling elite after the *Tanzimat*, see Nuray Mert's article (Mert, 2019, pp.385-407).

the city in a very rich literary style, described the new lifestyle as the birth of a new Turk against the old Turk. In the new Turk's house that he portrayed, there were notation sheets by composers of European music bought from the music stores in Beyoğlu, and a piano. A Western female instructor who gave lessons to the lady of the house became the tool by which a new musical taste – the musical taste of the rising *Tanzimat* bureaucracy and upper class – took shape. In fact, this was the natural flow of a process that had started just before the *Tanzimat*. Sırkâtibi Ahmed Efendi traced the roots of this curiosity to the Ottoman palace and quoted Selim III, who had said that his sister listened to opera at the seaside palace (Turan, 2011 (1), pp. 21-24).

Mecidiye Anthem

During the reign of Abdulmecid, Donizetti Pasha was still carrying out his duties in the Muzika-i Hümâyûn. Donizetti Pasha would remain active in his appointment until he died in 1856. He composed the Mecidiye Anthem during the reign of Abdulmecid. This anthem was accepted by Abdulmecid and used throughout the Abdulmecid period. It was composed only with melody, without lyrics. The Mecidiye Anthem is a more Oriental piece than the Mahmudiye Anthem. The tessitura that Donizetti Pasha used gave the anthem an oriental effect; he brought the local elements that he had not included in the Mahmudiye Anthem to the fore in the Mecidiye Anthem. In fact, the time he spent in the Ottoman country and the knowledge he acquired by listening during that time also played a significant role(Aracı, 2006, pp. 97-100). In this respect, the following comment made by the French writer Théophile Gautier about Donizetti's new anthem is remarkable: "There are plenty of tambourine and dervish elements in terms of sounding nice to Islamic ears without terrifying the Europeans" (Aracı, 2006, pp. 97-100). However, when the main score of the anthem, which was found in Naples, is examined, we understand that this anthem was of great importance in terms of showing the band orchestration in its original form. The anthem included a much wider instrument staff compared to Mahmudiye and it reflected the level reached by Ottoman bands during this period. This would lead European composers to compose anthems and give them to the Ottoman Sultans as gifts. One of them is the famous opera composer Gaetano Donizetti, who was Donizetti's brother. In 1841, he composed a military anthem for Sultan Abdülmecid and he was rewarded with the Nişan-ı İftihar (Aracı, 2006, pp. 97-100). Gaetano Donizetti would be followed by Franz Liszt, Rossini, and members of the Strauss' family in Europe – Strauss, the waltz king – in composing anthems for the Ottoman Sultans.[13]

13 For detailed information on this issue, see Ömer Egecioğlu's book (Egecioğlu, 2012).

On the other hand, it should be underlined that the efforts spent on the Musikâ-i Hümâyûn, which began during the reign of Mahmud II, continued and developed during the reign of Abdulmecid. Abdulmecid appointed Necip to Donizetti Pasha's position after the latter died. Necip Pasha would remain in this position for 5 years. The number of bands had increased during the reign of Abdülmecid, and they had spread to different parts of the country, and the band and the national anthem became an integral part of all the official ceremonies. In this period, different anthems were also composed and a first significant increase was experienced in modern anthem production. The modern anthem phenomenon began during this period, through some public ceremonies. In the following period, the national anthem practice continued, as a new anthem was composed for each sultan who came to the throne. This would then be accepted as a national anthem, or one of the previous anthems would be used as the national anthem. This lasted until the end of the Vahdettin period. The national anthem practice was institutionalized and found its place during the last days of the history of the Ottoman Empire.[14]

Hamidiye Anthem

When Abdülaziz ascended to the throne, Necip Pasha was dismissed and Guatelli Pasha was appointed as the head of Muzika-i Humayun. The national anthem of the Abdulaziz era (1861 - 1876) was the Aziziye Anthem, and it was used throughout the entire period. This anthem by Guatelli Pasha does not include lyrics like the previous national anthems. During Murad V's short rule (1876), the Mecidiye Anthem by Donizetti was again used as a national anthem. During the reign of Abdulhamid II (1876 - 1909), the Hamidiye Anthem was accepted as the national anthemand as the National Ottoman Anthem between 1908 and 1909. The Hamidiye Anthem was composed by Necib Pasha. The anthem, also called Marş-ı Âli-i Hamidiye, was the first national anthem to have lyrics. The composer of the National Ottoman Anthem was Vedi Sabra. Two national anthems would be used in the period of Mehmed V (Sultan Reşad) (1909 - 1918), the Reşadiye Anthem between 1909 and 1912, and the Mecidiye Anthem, accepted as the national anthem between 1912 and 1918. The Reşadiye Anthem, which was used during the first years of Mehmed V's reign and which was especially prepared for Mehmed V, belonged to Italo Selvelli. The anthem was used after being selected out of 100 works presented to the palace. The reason it was selected was that it had no lyrics. The political unease with the lyrics of the national anthem of the Abdulhamidean period was

14 The work of Hikmet Toker is the most detailed academic study on the anthems dedicated to the Sultans in the last period of the Ottoman Empire. Here, the author examines the anthems used nationally after examining the anthems dedicated between the Mahmud II and Mehmed V periods (Toker, 2016).

decisive in this choice (Alimdar, 2016, pp. 45-47). This anthem was the last national anthem of the Ottoman State. As stated above, Mehmed V would use the previous Mecidiye Anthem, after the Reşadiye Anthem; the Mahmudiye Anthem, another old anthem, would also be adopted as a national anthem in the period of Mehmed VI (Sultan Vahdettin) (1918 - 1922).

The Hamidiye Anthem was used for 32 years out the 91 during which Ottoman national anthems were performed. However, considering that the sultans used more than one anthem and included the previous anthems in the protocol, the most used anthems were Mecidiye and Mahmudiye anthems. The repertoire of bands, especially the Muzika-i Humayun, was not limited to national anthems. The anthems of foreign states were also played by bands during ceremonies attended by state representatives. For example, weeks before the ceremony for the 25th anniversary of Abdulhamid II's enthronement, the teacher of the Muzıka-i Hümâyûn Zati Bey was ordered to find the anthem scores of the visiting ambassadors' states and play them. In April 1887, in his letter sent through the Embassy in London, the British Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, requested the notation of the Hamidiye Anthem, the national anthem of the time, to be played at ceremonies. In 1901, the bands of both states performed at the opening of the German Fountain, which was inaugurated by German Emperor Kaiser Wilhelm. After this event, the score of the Hamidiye Anthem was requested by Bernard Walter, representing the German band (Alimdar, 2016, pp. 48-49).

Guatelli Pasha, who made important contributions to the institutionalization process of the national anthem practice, also contributed to the process of popularization of bands in the Ottoman Empire. In Guatelli Pasha's period, school bands, as well as military bands, were widespread in various parts of the empire. Tophane Music, which was the first band established outside of the army bands, was founded in 1891 by the students of the Tophane Art School and started to work under the direction of Italo Selvelli. The Bahriye Shipyard Industrial School, which was founded in 1889, was also among the early school bands. After the declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, the number of school marches increased, and many schools outside Istanbul established bands (Ünlü, 1999, p. 26). Public demonstrations and ceremonies of both military bands and school bands brought the band music closer to the public.

One of Guatelli's albums ,which can be found among the printed note collections and was published by famous note publisher Breitkopf and Hartel, consisted of 24 works named Arie Nazionali e Canti Popolari Orientali Antichi e Moderni (Old and New National Weather and Popular Oriental Songs) and it was a harmonization of European anthems and Turkish music. Many of the works in this collection were dedicated to Abdulmecid and other members

of the dynasty. Each work belonging to Sultans Selim III and Mahmud II was harmonized and made suitable for orchestra (Toker, 2016 (2), pp. 291-298). This process would reach a pinnacle with the Second Constitutional Monarchy, just as the process of popularization of the band. Around 550 anthems were composed during the period between 1827 and 1922 (Üngör, 1966, pp. 41-42).

Conclusion

The Ottoman State's first encounter with modern anthems composed in the Western style and played with Western instruments occurred when the Westernization movements began. During this process, the changes in the military, legal, financial, administrative, and social spheres also caused changes in the public representation of the state. National anthems became part of the agenda for the first time during the reign of Mahmud II and continued in the following period, until they were finally institutionalized. The practice continued for 91 years until the end of the Vahdettin era, when the Ottoman Empire collapsed.

The national anthem practice in the Ottoman State constitutes an important and original example of the invention of tradition, alongside the construction of a national identity.[15] It is possible to consider it as one of the most important sound symbols of the "ittihad-i anasir" ["union of the elements"] politics. National anthems were also a a powerful symbolic tool in the context of the response to the nationalist movement weakening the Empire, a response which can also be named Ottomanism.

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15 For detailed explanation handling the matter in this dimension, see Selim Deringil's article (Deringil, 1994, pp. 31 – 36).

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CHAPTER 10

OFFICIAL MUSIC ACADEMIES IN THE OTTOMAN STATE

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ABSTRACT

The schools that began to be opened following the promulgation of the Tamzimat were important due to their being first modern schools. The music schools that were among these foundations led to fundamental changes in the old music education system that had been applied since the 14th century. These schools, which applied Western Conservatories' methods, and the system can be seen as a bridge between the old music education system and the current system. We should examine the music schools that depended on the Ottoman Education Ministry under two titles. These are public music schools and music communities. The educational models of these foundations were very similar, but student models were very different. This article mainly examines official public music schools. Additionally, this focuses on the role of politics in the reform of music education.

Keywords: Turkish music, western music, music education, conservatoire

The first official music training in the Ottoman State began in the Edirne Palace. This training became established thanks to various institutions such as Enderun (Palace) School, Mehterhane (Imperial Military Band Headquarters) and Mevlevihane (Mevlevi Lodge). Accordingly, musical performances started to take place in a broad range of settings. Until the 19th century, the locations where Turkish music was played were generally austere. The Ottomans' musical life typically involved nothing more than the traditional *meşk* form, practiced either in houses and mansions or in outdoor entertainment venues. Contributing to bureaucratic social life in palaces and mansions as well as to life in educational institutions, music gradually came to be played on stage.

The Ottoman reform movements, beginning in the first years of the 19th century, sped up after the *Tanzimat*. In this period, a good many schools and associations looking up to the modern Western world started to be established. Modern schools continued to be opened. Among them, the military ones set up before and during the reign of Sultan Selim III were at the forefron.. Throughout Sultan Mahmut II and Sultan Abdülhamid II's reigns, the Ottoman educational structure began to take shape. In particular, the educational efforts made during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II laid the foundation for today's education system. Several innovative movements can be found not only in the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid but also in that of Sultan Abdülaziz [1].

The main subject of this work are the music schools that were founded in the last century of Ottoman History. The foundation of these schools was directly related to the political conjunctures of the late Ottoman period. The change and renovation movements of this era were the main motivation behind the foundation of these schools. At the same time, these schools could be called prototypes of today's modern music institutions. Westernisation directly affected education in these schools. Turkish music started to be taught according to the Western system and notation. This caused some controversy about the negative effect of this new system on Turkish music and its pure style, and the argument continues to this day. However, nearly all researchers accept that these schools are a fundamental aspect of current music education in Turkey.

Current Turkish music history works generally focus on the composers' biographies, the Edvar books (old music theory books for Eastern music), and lyrics collections. With the exception of some independent articles, the subject of Ottoman Music Education Foundations has not been studied enough. In particular, due to the lack of sources, there are very limited works about the music schools that started to be institutionalised after the *Tanzimat* period.

1 For music during the reign of Sultan Abdulaziz, see Hikmet Toker, *Elhân-ı Aziz-Sultan Abdülaziz Devrinde Sarayda Mûsikî,* TBMM Milli Saraylar Yayınları, Ankara 2016.

In this study, we used the data collection method, one of the main research methods for historical studies. For this reason, we surveyed the catalogues of the Ottoman Archive of Turkish Presidency, Suleymaniye Library, Istanbul University Rare Books Library, Seyfettin Özege Rare Books Library and some private archives. Additionally, we examined some journals, newspapers and periodicals. We tried to obtain a specific type of data and documents, such as bylaws, concert brochures, salary bills, concert advertisements and so forth…

Establishment of Music Academies in the Ottoman State

The main motivation for establishing music schools was to address and solve some issues such as presenting Turkish music in a contemporary way. The problems of the meşk system regarding scores, method and where to play were the subjects argued among music intellighentsia in those days. A widespread opinion exists that the evolution of Western music during the Renaissance period did not influence Ottoman life. This influence became obvious towards the end of the 19th century. Euopean foundations became the model for Ottoman reforms in this period. In parallel with an increasing number of Western-style schools, many music schools opened towards the end of the 19th century that were founded according to the model of Western conservatories. Many of these schools were planned according to the European conservatories' model. Many of the Ottoman shools were modeled after European conservatories which predated Ottoman schools by two centuries.

The first conservatoire in Europe was San Maria di Loreto in Naples, and its services date back to the 18th century. (Gazimihal, 1927, p. 1738) [2] At the time, children who had lost their parents due to illness, war or famine lived in hospitals called "conservatoires". Many such hospitals were institutions supported by charitable citizens. Surviving with the help of affluent people, these hospitals later also provided education to children. Religion was the most important subject in these institutions, which gradually turned into boarding schools. Their aim was to raise children as religious citizens.

Students started joining religious services in churches and chapels and participating in church choirs. Subsequently, churches found musicians through conservatoires and music education acquired greater importance. In time, these central institutions originally founded as a shelter and a school for orphans became music schools. The conservatoires' success in this respect resulted in the spreading of policies in Europe for reintegrating orphans back into society by means of art and culture.

2 (While M. Ragıp Gazimihal states that the conservatoire was opened in the 18th century, several resources specify the time as the 16th century.)

The word "conservatoire" literally means to protect or to preserve. Thus, other schools of arts established afterwards in Europe were also called conservatoires (also conservatories or conservation). Among these were Santa Maria della Pietà dei Turchini and San Pietro a Majella, both of which were opened in Italy after San Maria di Loreto, as well as Dulwich College and Christ's Hospital in England. Conservatoires admitted children aged between 6 and 11 years old. Musicians who trained here had the opportunity to work in churches, at funerals, in places of amusement or theatres. A number of conservatoires had among their staff young students called "junior fellows" and they assigned them certain school tasks. Some of these conservatoires, where many renowned musicians were trained, still survive today. (Arnold, 1965, p. 73)

Due to the war and economic depression hitting the Empire, there occurred a substantial increase in the number of unattended orphans. Up until the 19th century, the Ottomans led a carefree and comfortable life, and orphans were looked after with the support of relatives and social circles. There were also various public welfare homes, though their number was small. As a consequence, no need for a conservatoire was felt in the State until the end of the 19th century. Conservatoires began to be set up in the 20th century in order to provide music education. Based on the Western model, these music schools have come to be known as "konservatuvar" in Turkish.

Darülbedayi-i Osmani

Darülbedayi, literally 'house of beauty and novelty,'[3] was the first official school of theatre and music. Founded with to offer a sepcialization in performing arts and train qualified students, Darülbedayi-i Osmani (Ottoman School of Fine Arts) had both Turkish and Western music departments. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Ottoman theatre mainly produced comedies. There were professional travelling theatre companies and also theatres of tradesmen working in Istanbul. Some companies acted as a society including, primarily, spectacle performers without formal training. The Turkish players' concept of performance was mainly based on light comedy and improvisational theatre. Before plays, songs and canto would be performed. This tradition was replaced by performances of national pieces with a sense of community after the 2nd Constitutional Era. Similarly, until the end of the era, belly and foot dances would be performed before the plays.

Following the proclamation of the Constitutional Era, the citizens of Istanbul started to become more and more interested in theatre, which from then on was accepted as a branch

3 This name was proposed by Namık Kemal's son Ali Ekrem Bey.

of fine arts. In this period, several actors who had received education abroad acted largely in adaptations of Western plays as well as some new plays in Istanbul, though their number was limited (Bozok, 1964, p. 317). This interest in theatrical activities led to the idea of establishing a national school of theatre. In 1914, a plan was made for such school to be founded under the guidance of Cemil (Topuzlu) Pasha, the mayor of Istanbul. The city council consented that the budget for the building would be 3000 liras. An attempt to establish a theatre school had, in fact, been previously made but failed. In a meeting, the Minister of Education Recaizade Mahmud Ekrem Bey, Museum Director Hamdi Bey, Halit Ziya, Ahmet Hikmet, Mehmet Rauf and İzzet Melih Bey discussed the possibility of founding a national school of theatre, but they could not achieve the desired outcome. (Tongur, 1973, p. 8)

One of the purposes of the foundation of Darülbedayi was to train qualified artists and develop a discipline out of disorganised theatrical activities dominated by master and apprentice relationships. It was believed that graduates of this school would contribute to Ottoman theatre. Cemil Pasha planned to appoint a person who had experience in the field of theatre performance as the head of the school. Since André Antoine, who had just quitted his position as manager of the famous theatre Odéon in Paris, was a recognised name in the world of art, he was offered a contract to work in Darülbedayi in June 1914 for three months with a wage of 12.000 francs, and this contract was signed through the Embassy of Paris. During the First World War, when the Ottoman State and France fought against each other, André Antoine had to go back to Paris and left his position as founding head teacher even before the opening of the school. As a result, the school was inaugurated by Reşat Rıdvan, the deputy head. During the opening, both Turkish and Western music pieces were played. (Nutku, 1993, p. 515)

After André Antoine left Istanbul, Reşat Rıdvan became the head teacher of the department of theatre, and Ali Rıfat Çağatay was assigned to the department of music in Darülbedayi. The school was based at the Letafet Apartment in Şehzadebaşı, and among the courses taught in the first years were Recitation of the Quran (Diction), Poetry Reading (Declamation), History of Theatre, History of Literature, Tragedy, Drama, Rhythmic Dance, Etiquette, and Mimicking. As Darülbedayi was established, four different commissions, each with expertise in a different field, were formed. These commissions and their duties are as follows:

Literature Commission: To write plays to be performed on stage or to have them written.

Music Commission: To form a repertoire of Western and Turkish music and to regulate its teaching.

School of Theatre Commission: To form classes and appoint teachers under the guidance of A. Antoine.

Technical Commission: To supply the school with necessary tools, objects and any kind of materials.

In the first years after Darülbedayi was established, it was not possible to find female students because women were not allowed to perform with their heads uncovered on stage. Even though attempts were made to find female students among young gypsy girls who spoke the language of Rumelia with a good diction, these attempts were not successful (Ergin, 1942, p. 1272).

One of the first activities of Darülbedayi was to create a new synthesis of theatre art and Turkish music, the performance of which was progressively getting worse. It was generally believed that Ottoman music needed a modern appearance on stage and a more Western performance style . The longstanding traditional educational method called *meşk* was found to be insufficient. Besides, transferring the repertoire of Turkish music to the next generations was a problem. A team had to be gathered so that compositions about to sink into oblivion could be notated. While some of the school committee members did not approve of Turkish music classes, the majority were in favour of them. These classes were offered in Darülbedayi to meet the need for music in a play. That is, they did not only involve the repetition of repertoire works by Dede Effendi or Itrî. The actual aim was to prevent Turkish music from being forgotten and make it suitable for modern performing arts. In this way, compositions like "*theatre music, opera and operetta*" would be created in accordance with the rules of Ottoman music and played on stage.

Some of the teachers of Turkish music in Darülbedayi were Ali Rıfat Bey (Çağatay), Zekâizade Ahmet Effendi (Irsoy), Levon Hancıyan, Abdülkadir Töre, Zeki Üngör, Zâtî Arca and Tanbûrî Cemil Bey. Because of the adverse circumstances of the First World War, the Western music and Turkish music departments were respectively closed. Following a decision taken in 1920, Darülbedayi continued its activities only as a theatre company. It faced the threat of being closed down many times until 1931, when it took the name İstanbul Şehir Tiyatrosu (Istanbul City Theatre). Over the years and until this time, Muhsin Ertuğrul had ignificantly contributed to it. Still existing under the name of İstanbul Şehir Tiyatroları (Istanbul City Theatres), Darülbedayi stages plays in the theatres in Harbiye, Üsküdar, Kadıköy, Fatih and Gaziosmanpaşa (Nutku, 1993, p. 516).[4]

4 Also see Aziz Çalışır, "Dârülbedâyi-i Osmâni", *Tiyatro Ansiklopedisi*, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara 1995.

Darülelhan

Darülelhan was the first private conservatoire of the Ottoman State. After desicions were taken within a few months on issues such as regulations booklet, curricula, school building and teaching staff , classes began in 1916. In the years during which Darülelhan was established, the Ottoman Empire was on the verge of losing the First World War. That is why the foremost feature distinguishing Darülelhan from other music schools in Europe was that it was opened while the state experienced great difficulties. A newly established conservatoire offering training under the severe conditions of war, Darülelhan played an important role in Turkish music education.

The education policy of the Ottoman State began to be shaped towards the end of the 19th century. Until then, no integration could be achieved between the madrasah education the community was familiar with and the modern education the Ministry struggled to put into practice. This caused some reforms to be delayed. Particularly the absence of a music teacher training school had a negative impact on music lessons offered under the direction of the Ministry of Education. In this period, music teachers were musicians who had been trained abroad. Some musical graduates of a *sultanî* (high school) or an ordinary teacher training school could also be appointed as music teachers.

In order for newly established schools to give a professional music education, the Ministry had to firs solve the music teacher problem. Because there was not an official training school for music teachers, lessons were taught for many years by the teachers mentioned above. In 1916, a decision was taken to set up a professional "Music School". It was opened after several events took place, and the sensitivity of the authorities to the matter was entirely due to a political attitude. Although Darülelhan was opened during the war, it received considerable financial support in its first years. Given the financial situation of the Ottoman State, the budget for the school corresponded to a significant amount.

As stated before, musicians in Darülbedayi played a crucial role in the establishment and technical development of Darülelhan. One of these was Abdülkadir Töre. During the first years of the First World War, Abdülkadir Bey gave a proposal to the Ministry of Education, suggesting that a "Turkish Music School" should be founded. It was stated in the petition that Turkish music paled in comparison with the enhanced music education in Europe and its authority, and an educational institution was an urgent need for Turkish music. However, the unfavourable war atmosphere did not allow it. In the meantime, a negative incident involving the members of the Mızıka-ı Hümayun (Imperial Band), who were giving a Western music

concert in Germany under the direction of Zeki Bey at the time, created the opportunity for a Turkish music school:

When the German audience disliked the band's rendition of Western music, they asked them to play Turkish music. However, as the band's repertoire and performance style were inadequate for this, the request was turned down. After the band returned to its homeland, news of this incident began circulating in Istanbul, and the Germans' wish to listen to Turkish music was received with much surprise. Then, the authorities decided to set up a music school, which was a move partly due to embarrassment. It was decided that the school would be affiliated with the Ministry of Education and every responsibility was to be upon the Ministry (Ergin, 1942, p. 1310). After getting in touch with Abdülkadir Bey, who had previously given a related proposal to the Ministry, the authorities initiated the necessary procedures to open a music school.[5]

The primary requirement for the establishment of a music school was to gather a scholarly staff. A decision was taken to recruit staff members, including musicians who had been trained according to the academic standards of the period, and to carry out the necessary arrangements. First, a meeting was held, and a group of ten people including Abdülkadir Bey were invited to it. The group was composed of the best-known musicians of the period. Yusuf Ziya Pasha, who served Darülelhan for many years, was appointed as the head of the group. Yusuf Pasha was a bureaucrat and an Ottoman intellectual who had produced works of literature and music.

In the first meeting held for Darülelhan, the curriculum to be offered in the music school was addressed. The meeting was particularly important in that it was during this assembly that the regulations booklet of Darülelhan began to be written. The four-point summary of the meeting's record explained the main topics of the regulations. Upon reading the booklet, one can see that the instructions for the establishment and management of Darülelhan were shaped around those four points. The musical group invited to the meeting comprised the most noted musicians of the time. Trained by the Ottoman State in its last period, they were among the most skilful artists in terms of theory and performance. Leaving a mark on the history of Turkish music, this committee constituted the fundamental base of the school. Even though some of them later left the school, they each played a key role in its establishment.

Tanbûri Refik Fersan points out in his memoirs that this first committee also included Rauf Yekta Bey and the famous singer Kaşıyarık Hüsameddin Bey. We also learn from the memoirs

5 For the letter sent to Abdülkadir Bey, see BOA, MF. ALY, 173/26-5. This letter was transcribed into the Turkish alphabet and published. See (Ergin, 1942, p. 1310)

that Refik Bey was a tanbur teacher in Darülelhan (Bardakçı, 1995, p. 137). These figures, who did not attend the first meeting, probably joined the group at a later date. The present documents indicate that Rauf Yekta Bey was in Darülelhan in the post-Republican period. He had particularly important articles published in the school journal *Darülelhan Şuûnu*.

One of the most cited musicologists in the history of Turkish music, Rauf Yekta Bey did not take part in the first gathering, and the reason for this is uncertain, but subsequently his name could be seen in the classification and teachers committee. Rauf Yekta Bey is known to have made great contributions to the school and his articles in the school journal *Darülelhan Mecmuası* stood out. These articles, which have been used in several studies as references by musicologists in the West as well as in Turkey, are among the remarkable contributions Rauf Yekta Bey made to Turkish music. The letter and record of the first meeting of Darülelhan are as follows:[6]

The Meeting's Record:

The First Meeting in the room of education assembly on Thursday

Music teachers Zeki Bey and Zâtî Bey later joined the meeting, as well.

Ziya Pasha	*Former Washington ambassador*	*Chairman*
Ali Rıfat Bey	*One of Our Renowned Musicians*	*Vice Chairman*
Zekâizade Hafız Ahmed Effendi	*One of Our Renowned Musicians*	*Member*
(Chief kudum player of Eyüp Bahariye Dervish Lodge)		
Cemil Bey	*One of Our Renowned Musicians*	*Member*
(from around Aksaray)		
Abdülkadir Bey	*One of Our Renowned Musicians*	*Member*
(A clerk in the Records Office of Foreign Affairs)		
İsmail Hakkı Bey	*One of the Music Teachers of*	*Member*
Darülmuallimat (Teacher Training School for Women)		
Levon Effendi	*One of Our Renowned Musicians*	*Member*
Andon Effendi	*One of Our Renowned Musicians*	*Member*
Kâzım Bey	*One of the Teachers of Bezm-i Âlem*	*Member*
Komidasi Effendi	*One of Our Renowned Musicians*	*Member*

A letter aiming to form a scholarly committee with the people present in this room for the purposes of:

6 For detailed information about Darülelhan, see Erhan Özden, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Konservatuvarı Dârülelhan (Arşiv Belgeleriyle)* Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı Yayınları. Ankara 2019.

1) Teaching music at schools in a perfect way

2) Elevating and protecting the classical works of ancestors

3) Designing a national music training in line with national Anatolian songs

4) Training teachers

12 Haziran 1332 (25 Haziran 1916)[7]

Darülmusiki-i Osmani

Darülmusiki-i Osmani was the first private music school in Ottoman History. The first proper music society to meet the public need for music was established at the onset of the 2nd Constitutional Era. This education centre was Darülmusiki-i Osmani Cemiyeti/Mektebi (Ottoman Music Association/School), set up in Koska under the auspices of Şehzade Ziyâeddin in 1908. It was opened with the participation of a significant part of the Ottoman music circles and was active for about two years.[8] The official announcement of the opening of Darülmusiki-i Osmani was published in 1909 in the 24 February issue of the newspaper *Sabah*. This school officially depended on the Ottoman Education Ministry but all student expenses were covered by student fees. [9] In a document printed in the music journal *Mûsikî Mecmuası*, we find the following noteworthy remarks on Darülmusiki:

> *Today, when a new era and a neat artistic life is upon our land, an honourable committee of distinguished members, deeming it necessary to enrich our capital with new structures, have established an institution the absence of which has long been felt in the city. Those with an interest in the study of sound and music are plenty in our land. Although in our capital the best-known teachers are addressing all the needs of the students whose number is increasing by the day, one must confess that the music education given so far has been far from fulfilling expectations. This proves to us that the study of music, like any other study, needs certain conditions and an organisation. For a real and perfect music education, it is imperative to know the theoretical and scientific aspects of music.*
>
> *Our Darülmusiki has hired the most eminent musicians of the Western countries so that they can give lectures and talks on music in our land. The school programme is much more comprehensive, and we hope that it will be successfully put into practice. In short, we can say that a fresh artistic atmosphere will pervade Istanbul, and everyone will ache to*

7 BOA, MF. ALY, 173/26-8.

8 See Nuri Güçtekin, "İlk Türk Mûsikî Cemiyeti: Dârülmûsikî-i Osmanî Cemiyeti (Mektebi) ve Faaliyetleri (1908-1914)", *Rast Müzikoloji Dergisi,* vol. 3, no. 1, Tokat 2015.

9 The newspaper *Sabah* (6943), (1909, February, 24). p. 3, line 6.

go to Darülmusiki in order to develop skills and learn a pure art that elevates the human soul more than any other art and enables people to experience the happiest and warmest moments (Akçay, 1993, p. 31).

Dârü't-tâlim-i Mûsikî Mektebi

This school, which is the longest-lived foundation among Ottoman schools, was opened in the Şehzadebaşı district. Among the founders of this school were Fahri Kopuz, Ama Nazım Bey and Neyzen İhsan Aziz Bey. Sadettin Arel and Suphi Ezgi subsequently joined the teaching staff. Among the most prominent artists and teachers who were employed at this school were Cevdet Çağla, Arap Cemal, Zeki Çağlarman, Safiye Ayla, Hafız Memduh, Zühtü Bardakoğlu, Ferid Alnar, Celal Tokses, Reşad Erer, Naime and Nebile Hanıms. This school significantly rendered service to Turkish Music through its performance-based education method, score publications, recording projects and concert tours to foreign countries. It was closed in 1931. It was re-opened later by Fahri Kopuz. It was finally permanently closed due to Fahri Kopuz's appointment to Ankara Radio. (Özden, 2015, p. 128)

Terakkî-i Mûsikî Mektebi

This was one of the music schools that depended on the Ottoman Education Ministry. It was founded by Ali Salahi Bey, Ali Rıza Şengel, Kanuni Nazım Bey and Fahri Kopuz on 1922. It operated for a short time and was closed in 1927. (Özalp, 2000, s. 74). The name Terakki Musiki is found in a document about the Darul Musiki-i Osmani. This may have been the first choice for the name of the school but the name of Darul Musiki Osmani was finally preferred. (Özden, 2015, p. 127)

Paul Lange Music School

This was a private music school founded by Paul Lange. He was one of the European bandmasters teaching Western music to military bands in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire. Trained in the Berlin Music School, Lange first worked as an organist in the private German Protestant Church in Istanbul. He later continued his work and formed several Western music choirs, giving education to numerous students. In 1884, he set up a private music school on a street, known today as Ensiz Street, facing the Tunnel funicular at the end of the Grande Rue de Pera, today named Istiklal. The school building was owned by Paul Lange. The official opening was in 1884, and it was announced to the public in the newspaper *Stambul*. The regulations booklet of the school, which offered conservatoire training in the

Western sense, is found among the documents of Yıldız Palace in the Presidential Ottoman Archives.[10]

Bahriye-yi Şâhâne Mûsikî Mektebi

A document in our possession mentions that the Bahriyeyi Şahane Musiki Mektebi depended on Ottoman Naval forces. In the document, we see that students were admitted to the school via examination. The document, which also conntained information about 12-15 year old students who were educated in the school, was dated 1912. We could not find other documents regarding this during our research. This school possibly continued its existence as one of the military bands in the early Republic period.

Darüleytams

Darul Eytams were not music schools. However, their curriculum included many music lessons. These schools were built for the benefit of martyrs 'children and orphans. In this respect, They can be compared to Darüşşafaka and Darulaceze. The only difference of Darul Eytams was the serious music education that was given in these schools.

For instance, 50 talented students were chosen for the special music class formed in the Bebek Daruleytam. It is possible to find some documents relating how talented students from Daruleytams were sent to music schools. One of these contains information about a talented student who was sent to the aforementioned Bahriyey-yi Şahane Mektebi from Bebek Daruleytam. Many students of Daruleytas became musicians until the Tevhid-i Tedrisat code came into effect. We will give elaborated information about the Daruleytams in this section.

Several projects were developed for unattended orphans, whose number began to grow in the second half of the 19th century. The first of these projects was Darüşşafaka, one of the high schools of the Empire, founded by the Cemiyet-i Tedrisiye-i İslamiye (Muslim Teaching Society). Turning into a proper institution especially during the period of Sultan Abdülhamid II, Darüşşafaka rendered considerable services to orphans in need of care. Among these services were attempts to help children develop an interest in arts. When compared with other schools affiliated with the Ministry of Education, Darüşşafaka was the first to offer Turkish music education.[11] Zekâi Dede, Zekâizâde Ahmet Effendi (Irsoy) and Abdülkadir Töre worked

10 For regulations booklet, see (Özden, 2015 p. 130.)

11 For further information, see Mehmed İzzet, Mehmet Esat, Osman Nuri, Ali Kami, *Türkiye'de İlk Halk Mektebi-Dârüşşafaka Nasıl Doğdu*, Evkaf-i İslamiye Matbaası, Istanbul 1927.

here as teachers. One of today's most prestigious school in Turkey, Darüşşafaka still continues to provide its quality education.

The first example of an official institution similar to a conservatoire was Darüleytam (Orphanage). These orphanages were set up after the establishment of the Ottoman Ministry of Education in order to provide accommodation to and educate poor children bereft of parents. While not entirely identical to conservatoires, the orphanages provided a more intensive art training in comparison with other schools. Music education elsewhere was restricted to one or two hours of lessons per week, whereas in the orphanages these hours increased. Although the founding purpose was not solely to teach music, the curriculum offered a significant amount of music classes. Many famous musicians received an education there. For instance, Sabri Bey, a naval officer, and İsmail Zühdü Bey, the composer of the "March of Izmir" who spent his childhood as a shepherd in a village in Bulgaria, were trained in these orphanages, and they are among the prominent names in the history of Turkish music. Music lessons were removed from the curricula of schools during war years. Since the Head of Darülelhan (Music School), Yusuf Ziya Pasha, was quite familiar with the institutions of Darüleytam and Darülaceze (Poorhouse), he made some arrangements for them. Creating a separate division for music education in Darülaceze, he enabled fifty students aged between 13 and 16 years old to receive music training (Özden, 2015, p. 94). In one document from the Ministry of Education —a petition dated 1912 and addressed to the Bebek Orphanage by the Bahriye Musiki Mektebi (Naval Music School)— it was stated that eight students from the orphanage were to be admitted to the school.[12]

There were also other centres providing accommodation and education to orphans and helpless children. For instance, Darülaceze, originally founded to care for the sick and elderly, provided accommodation to orphans as well. Another example was Darülhayr-ı Âli (Imperial Orphanage), which was designed as an art school and a children's home during the period of Sultan Abdülhamid II but was closed in 1909, after providing education for only six years. In fact, Darülhayr-ı Âli was a miniature example of Darüleytam, and a failed project (Şahin & Şafak, 2012, p.137).

Conclusion

The music schools that we examined in this article played an important role in the music education of the late Ottoman Period. These schools, officially dependent on the Ottoman Education minstry, can be seen as bridge foundation between old music education and modern

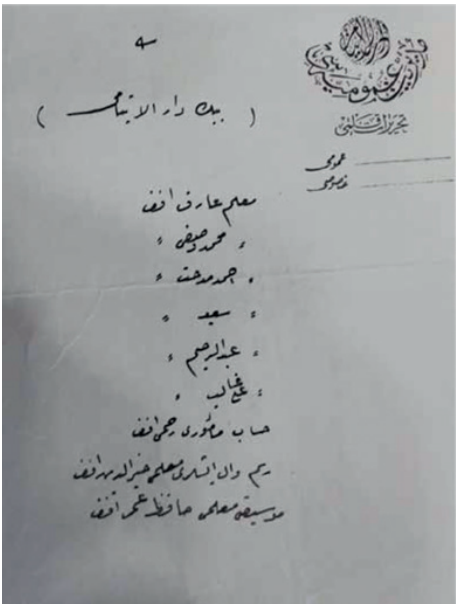
12 See BOA, MF. EYT, 19/78.

conservatories. Another important aspect was their role in the transmission of meşk music education to the next generations. Many music foundations were opened towards the end of 19th century in the Ottoman Empire. Many of them were associations that belonged to some societies. We gave information about 8 of them in this article. As we mentioned before, these schools were founded under the inspiration of European conservatories.

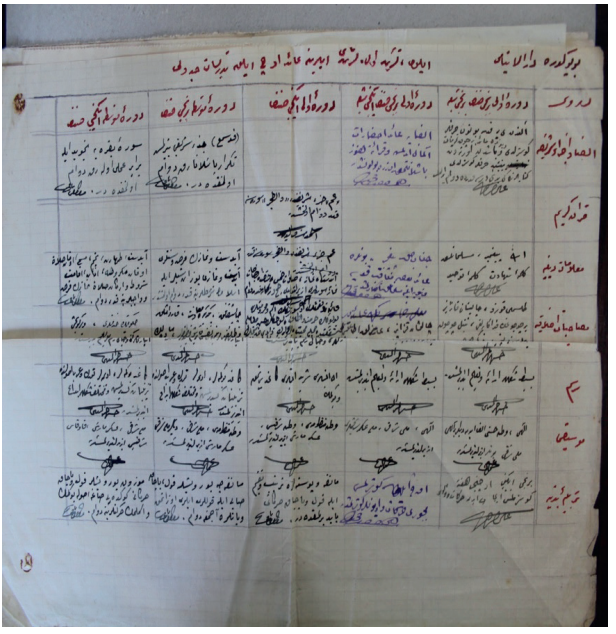
The curricula of these schools provide many important details about their exam programs, educational activities and the music education of those times. These schools, which could not operate for a long time due to the negative effects of the First World War, can be considered the ancestors of current Turkish conservatories and music associations. In this respect, the subject should be of interest to academics, music trainers and music students. Additionally, we should highlight that the foundation of these schools was related to certain political conjunctures of the Ottoman Empire. We attempted to discuss all these aspects in this article.

We believe that conservatories' curricula should contain information about these schools that were their ancestors. Further research about these schools will be very important. It will provide important sources for Turkish music history.

APPENDICES



Appendix 1. List of Teachers of Bebek Orphanage[13]



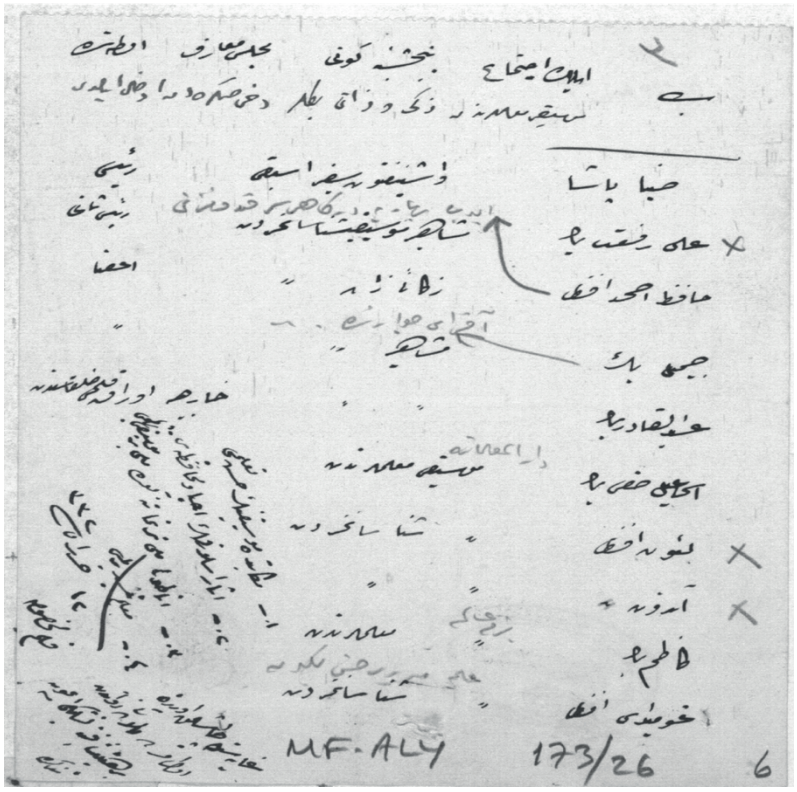
Appendix 2. Curriculum of Büyükdere Orphanage

13 BOA, MF. EYT, 12/163.

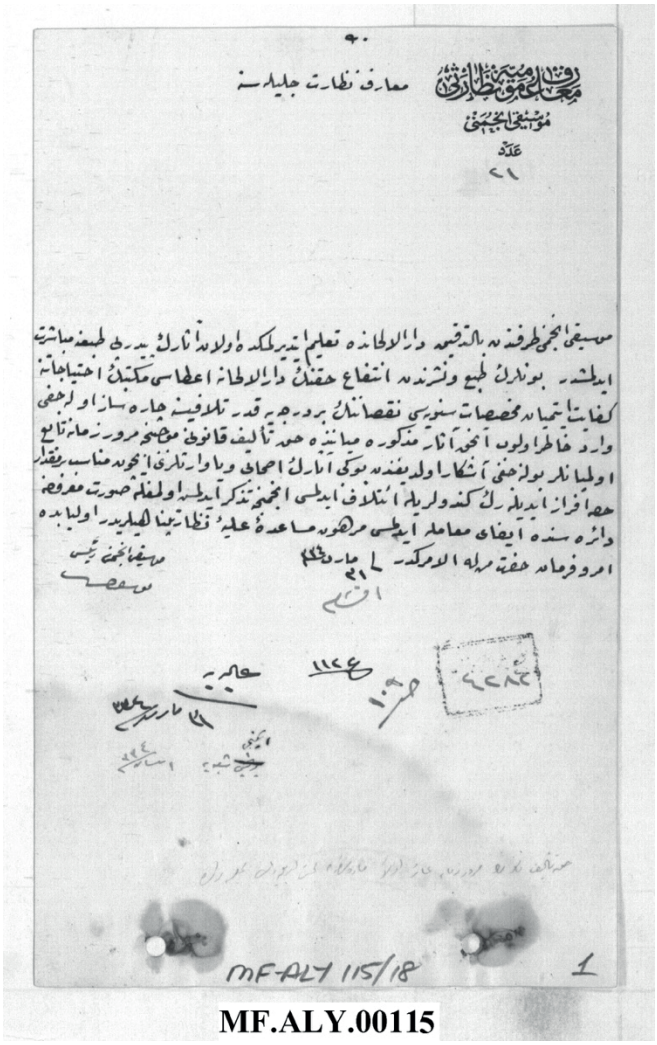


Appendix 3. Kaynanam, One of the Ramadan Plays of Darülbedayi[14]

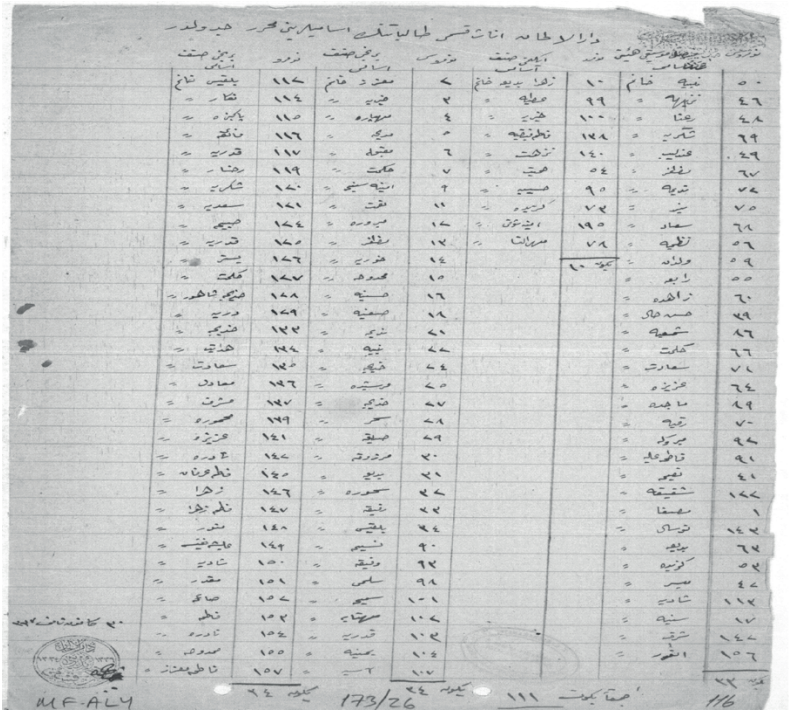
14 Kerem Karaboğa, *Geçmişten Günümüze İstanbul Tiyatroları*, YKY, Istanbul 2011, p. 78.



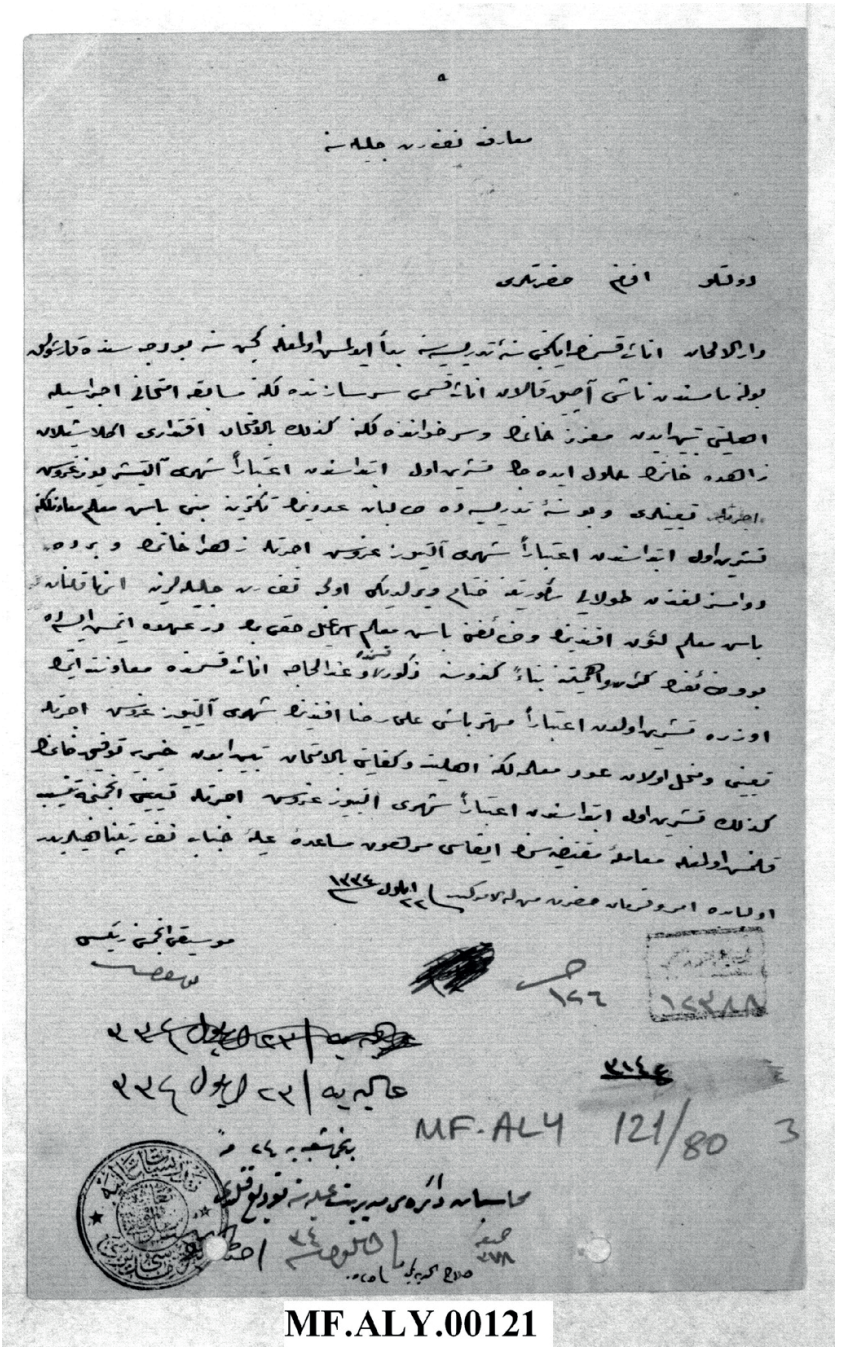
Appendix 4. The Record of the First Meeting of Darülelhan



Appendix 5. Document related copyright license in Darülelhan (1921)



Appendix 6. List of Students of the Department for Women (1921)



Appendix 7. Document related to Assignment of Head of Instrument Players and Head of Singers in *Darülelhan (1921)*



Appendix 8. For the sake of a splendid and gorgeous concert Darülelhan will soon give, the headmaster summoned all the singers at school last week and introduced a ban, according to which the singers must use only Kibar Ali cigarette papers for smoking and nothing else so as not to ruin their voices until the concert day.



Appendix 9. Members of Darülmusiki-i Osmani

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The triad of society, art, and politics is a multifaceted and complex network of relationships. Modifications to one aspect will necessarily affect the others. Socio-political developments determine the direction of culture and cultural and artistic artefacts represent the process aesthetically. Architecture, painting, sculpture, theater, and especially music are essential tools for the determination of the scale of social change.

The historical period from the late Ottoman Empire to the Early Republic era witnessed some of the most painful and transformative effects of Ottoman-Turkish modernization. All the structures of the old order were altered, from the birth of a modern state to daily life practices. Westernization breached the walls of tradition, but it also made it possible for new forms of fine arts to appear in several fields.

Novel styles, schools, and approaches influenced both the content and philosophy of art. The emergence of the idea of individuality was decisive in the reinforcement of a new philosophy of art. In practical terms, this process resulted from the Ottoman Empire's interactions with Europe.

European art, music, and literature of the 19th century emerged from a truly cosmopolitan culture. The cultural globalization they represented transcended nationalist boundaries and enabled the evolution of a canon. The Ottoman world represented one geographical area where this interaction took place and in it converged individual and school-based exemplifications of new ideas and works of art.

This book is edited by two musicologists and a political scientist. It showcases the work of experts who elucidate how cultural change, political ruptures, and contact with the European civilization radically changed artistic traditions from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic through continuities and disruptions. In so doing, the book facilitates a more lucid tracing of the striking outcomes of the phenomenon of modernization in intellectual and cultural life and the fine arts.

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