FROM FASIL TO CHORUS: CHOIR AS A STANDARDIZING TOOL IN CLASSICAL TURKISH MUSIC

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES OF İSTANBUL ŞEHİR UNIVERSITY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN CULTURAL STUDIES

AUGUST 2019

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ABSTRACT

FROM FASIL TO CHORUS: CHOIR AS A STANDARDIZING TOOL IN CLASSICAL TURKISH MUSIC

Şişman, Rümeysa. MA in Cultural Studies Thesis Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Cenk Güray August 2019, 120 pages

In this thesis, the impact of standardization on the education, transmission, performance and production mechanisms of Turkish music, i.e. *meşk* system, which comprises the backbone of the traditional Turkish music, will be discussed with an emphasis on the standardizing effects of modern life in general, written culture in particular and the regulations of the Republican period. One of the main arguments of the thesis is the fact that the preliminary transformations in music culture were not only due to the new nation state's ideological interventions and regulations but also due to the modernization/westernization experience in its natural process. From this point of view, I have tried to put forth, first of all, how the standardizing features of modernity, i.e. the search for "uniformity", "objectivity" and "predictability" had been reflected to musical area especially in terms of notation, institutional education, published education materials, performance in concert halls through choruses consisted of larger groups, etc.; and secondly how the newly established nation state's goals of uniformity and search for establishing a national culture had an influence on musical culture. In order to be able to grasp and catch the influences and results of standardization, the theme "from fasil heyeti to chorus" is chosen because of the fact that it enables analyzing various fields such as performance, production and repertoire composition within the same context.

Keywords: Cultural transformation, classical Turkish music, modernization, standardization

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FASIL HEYETİNDEN KOROYA: KLASİK TÜRK MÜZİĞİNDE STANDARTLAŞTIRICI BİR ARAÇ OLARAK KORO

Şişman, Rümeysa. Kültürel Çalışmalar Yüksek Lisans Programı Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Cenk Güray Ağustos 2019, 120 sayfa

Bu tezde, standardizasyonun Türk müziğinin eğitim, aktarım, performans ve üretim mekanizmaları, yani geleneksel Türk müziğinin bel kemiğini oluşturan meşk sistemi üzerindeki etkisi tartışılırken, genelde modern yaşamın standartlaştırıcı etkileri, hususen de yazılı kültür ve Cumhuriyet dönemi düzenlemeleri göz önünde bulundurulacaktır. Müzik kültüründeki önemli dönüşümlerin yalnızca yeni ulus devletin ideolojik müdahaleleri ve düzenlemelerinin bir sonucu olmayıp aynı zamanda modernleşme/batılılaşma deneyimlerinden de kaynaklanmış olduğu tespiti, tezin temel argümanlarından biridir. Bu noktadan hareketle, ilk önce modernitenin standartlaştırıcı özelliklerinin, yani "tektiplik", "tarafsızlık" ve "öngörülebilirlik" arayışının özellikle nota yayınları, basılı eğitim materyalleri, kurumsal eğitim, büyük gruplardan oluşan korolar aracılığıyla, konser salonlarındaki performanslar, vb. açısından müzikal alana nasıl yansıdığını ortaya koymaya ve ikinci olarak ise, yeni kurulan ulus devletin ulusal kültür kurma arayışlarının müzik kültürünü nasıl etkilediğini göstermeye çalıştım. Standartlaşmanın etkilerini ve sonuçlarını tespit edebilmek için, performans, üretim ve repertuar kompozisyonu gibi çeşitli alanların aynı bağlamda analiz edilmesine imkan verdiği için, söz konusu dönüşümleri "fasıl heyeti'den koroya" izleğinde inceledim.

Anahtar Kelimeler: kültürel değişim, klasik Türk müziği, modernleşme, standartlaşma

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express the deepest appreciation to my advisor, Assoc. Prof. Cenk Güray for his support and for the valuable experience throughout the thesis writing process. His insightful comments and eye-opening questions were helpful in ways that he may not even realize. Without his guidance and persistent help this thesis would not have been possible. I would also like to thank to Assoc. Prof. Süleyman Erguner and Assis. Prof. Fatih Altuğ for their kindly accepting to be a member of the committee. I would be grateful to them for their participation.

I am also grateful to Irvin Cemil Schick and Cem Behar for their useful remarks, guidance and supports at the beginning of my thesis writing process. I would like to express my gratitude and special appreciation to Onur Güneş Ayas for his valuable and constructive suggestions in a time when I was feeling lost in the vast area of Turkish music. And also, I would like to express my very great appreciation to my friends Esra Özdil Gümüş and Yüce Gümüş for their assistance. Their willingness to give time so generously has been very much appreciated.

Special thanks go to my mother Nazife and my brother Hamza. I thank you very much for your endless support in every stage of my thesis. Your encouragement throughout my thesis has kept me stronger. Without your support, I would have lost my motivation. Finally, to my sisters and father... Thank you for being with me whenever I needed you. Last but not the least, my sincere gratitude goes to my beloved large family. I will forever be grateful for the opportunity they have granted me and for their endless patience.

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PREFACE

The year I started primary school, while I was just learning to write, I joined a music course in *Kubbealtı Musiki Cemiyeti* (Kubbealtı Music Society) located in Beyazıt which is a well-known and rooted institution for "the classical" Turkish culture. This was certainly a turning point in the development of my musical taste as well as my understanding and perception of culture. During the following eight years, with its people and with their lifestyle deeply rooted in the past, the adventure of Beyazıt repeating every Saturday opened the doors of a new world which I would, otherwise, not be able to encounter in my daily life.

My aunt brought my three cousins and me to that old building and the adventure started. I cannot precisely remember our first meeting with my master (Hodja) Yusuf Ömürlü. However, I cannot forget his smiling face behind his serious character. Yusuf Hodja's passionate sensitivity about punctuality and his balanced approach towards his students, despite his old age, being neither didactic and harsh nor very free and easy are still alive in my memory. He always approached and treated us (four little children aged 7-9) as adults.

In the course, we encountered a traditional way of music training with Yusuf Hodja. Later, we learned that this system is called "*meşk*" and one should experience this personally. While we were practicing the *ilahis*, we followed the tempo by beating our knees. This practice is called *usul vurmak* (to hit the usul), and sometimes we were fascinated with this beating until our knees became bruised. Moreover, since I was inexperienced in reading and writing, I had to memorize everything I heard flawlessly. That's why carrying my big cassette-player to the course every week had become another obligation for me because repeating what we learned was our most important duty for the whole week. This *meşk* adventure, which started with the *ilahis* of Yunus Emre brought me to the world of Hacı Arif Bey's songs, Ken'an Rifai's *ilahis*, and Itri's works which was a completely different and foreign universe for my peers.

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With the insistence and encouragement of our families, we started to perform what we learned first in our family gatherings, then among friends, and at last in the associations with which we engaged. When we reached high school, due to different reasons for each of us, we dropped out of the course. However, we were then able to broaden our repertoire not only from our master but also from different sources such as new albums or new social environments, and it was a new dimension for our musical journey. Now, we are occupied with the routine of daily life but to gather, sing and play music together are still our most popular entertainment.

My musical education background starting from Kubbealtı Cemiyeti had a significant role not only in the development of my musical taste, but it also triggered my interest in traditional musical culture. Different situations and reflections that I encountered with the occasion of music posed various questions. Which note is better for which song? Which master has more accuracy than the others? Is there any difference between the education of conservatory and the system of *meşk*? And so on and so forth... These were some of the questions that urged and encouraged me to write my thesis on this issue.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

TRT: The Turkish Radio and Television Corporation

PCTMC: The Presidency Choir of Turkish Classical Music



CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The phrase "traditional Turkish music" evokes today more than one kind of music genre in Turkey, classical Turkish music, Turkish art music (*Türk sanat müziği*), *tekke* (dervish lodges) music, fasıl, and even '*meyhane*' music, etc. In spite of their different connotations and practicing differences, they, all, are associated with the traditional Turkish music. As is reflected in this diverse range of names, we don't have a commonly accepted definition and naming for Ottoman/Turkish music.

In Ottoman period, "*musiki*" was commonly used for all styles and genres, whereas in the 20th century, motivated by nationalistic views as well as for a scientific definition, Rauf Yekta was the first to use the phrase "Turkish music". In another respect, Ziya Gökalp termed it as "*şark musikisi* (oriental music)" because of the fact that he identified the traditional/Ottoman culture with the outdated orient and classified it as the opposite of modern and westernized type of music. And, the first use of "*klasik*" (classic) for Ottoman urban music was by Mahmut Ragip Gazimihal in 1928. After going through significant transformations and radical political regulations, especially during the previous century, traditional Turkish music, which was a type of urban music, gave its place to a group of genres consisting of Turkish art music, Turkish classical music, and even maybe pop music. Basically, there lies a historical and cultural background that should be considered and analyzed behind this terminology and definition crisis regarding traditional Turkish music.

Both the general processes of modernization, industrialization and rationalization, and Turkey's particular experience of building a nation-state through modernization should be considered in order to understand this cultural confusion regarding the history of Ottoman/Turkish music. The industrial and technological developments and scientific researches were among the main motives behind the most prominent and influential changes throughout modern era. Yet, the particular development, the transition from oral to written culture, hand in hand with the standardization and

rationalization of sciences, arts and even everyday life should also be thought within the dynamics of transformations. Mainly because, the ideals of "uniformity", "predictability" and "objectivity" were not sole goals tried to be achieved in the fields of industry and science, but those were also the leading criterion implemented on social and cultural area. Accordingly, apart from the various attempts to standardize the units of measurements such as weight and distance, especially, certain implementations regarding the arrangement of clock and calendar were initiated to organize the element of 'social'.

By the 19th century the emphasis on measurement, identification and control, and the intensifying determination of the standards in every area caused various transformations in Turkish music culture. These transformations, some of which were the results of the intellectual changes that took place in this period, had a great impact on traditional music in the following years with the interventions carried out by the state for the construction of a national culture. In this respect, to classify the changes in the traditional music culture within two headings will be more convenient to understand the process. The first is the transformation caused by new understandings and perspectives in society and culture in accordance with the spirit of time and with the course of modernization itself. Secondly, the reflections of the policies, namely for the construction of a nation-state and the creation of a national culture, on the traditional Turkish music culture and the effects of the reforms in the formation of a standard culture should be considered.

If the musical culture in the modern era is reviewed, two lines of transformations become remarkable. First, the standardizing influences of technological developments, especially the impact of written culture, i.e. the process of transmission to notation comes forward. The other one is the political functionality attributed to the written materials (such as method books) and to the new practices (such as chorus performance) in the post republican period and the search for standards as well. The influences of standardization and implementation of uniformity on musical culture, which had been shaped by the various phases of modernization, manifested its reflections in various and different forms with the

transmission to notation system, and finally became somewhat radical in the Republican period, can be read through the transformations in the *meşk* culture which constitutes the underlying system of traditional Turkish music.

Meşk is a unique oral system, which in fact, regulates, methodizes, shapes, and organizes the education, performance, production, and transfer of music. Although the course of *meşk* system offers a very practical ground for the identification and recognition of the problematic areas of traditional Turkish music, in order to identify the influences and the resulting transformations, a reference point should be decided on as a lens to observe the scene. In this regard, to analyze the transition from a specific form of performing music, "fasıl", to another form of performance, "chorus", would constitute a suitable basis to understand and trace the dynamics of transformations. In this way, the question of 'tradition' revealing itself in the crisis of naming, which we posed at the beginning, might be placed on a tangible ground so that to investigate the transitions, the transformations and the inherited problems such as 'originality' and 'authenticity' would be possible.

In this regard, it is necessary to raise the relevant questions to be able to have a comprehensive understanding concerning the dynamics behind the recent transformations in traditional Turkish music. So, I will basically try to answer following questions:

How did the system of *meşk*, a fundamental institution/foundation in Turkish music culture, through which education, repertoire transmission and performance have been substantiated, have changed over the last two centuries?

What were the impacts of transmission to notation and the new established modern educational institutions on *meşk*, which was mainly an oral system?

In which way, choral performance, consisting of large numbers of choir singers and a considerable number of instruments in the orchestra, influenced the traditional Turkish music, which was mainly a chamber music?

After the Republican bans on traditional Turkish music, a national music was to be established in the country through radio broadcasts. How did this standardized culture have an impact on the social memory and artistic taste of the society?

The state choirs, which were established in the Republican period to perform "indigenously national (*öz itibariyle milli*)" music "in the level of contemporary civilizations (*muasır medeniyetler seviyesinde*)", for example Presidential Classical Turkish Music Choir (1975) which represents the first of these, are now being positioned as the representative of traditional Turkish music. What is the dynamic behind this positioning and/or claim? Why is there an emphasis on "the traditional" concerning classical Turkish music?

Inasmuch as the context offered by the abovementioned questions allows, this thesis seeks to develop an understanding regarding the framework, in which the traditional Turkish music has been defined and discussed.

In the second chapter, focusing on the process from a chronological point of view, I will give a brief review of the modernization and transformations in traditional Turkish musical culture. Starting from the late Ottoman era, first I will depict the context in which the encounter with western music culture came about, and how traditional Turkish music, taking place side by side in the palace with western music from the late 18th century onwards, lost the patronage of the palace in the following century. Then I will denote to the fact that the nationalistic ideologies of the 19th century approached traditional music in a manner that may be defined as in between abolishment and preservation. The discussion concerning the origin of the Turkish music took place not only in the field of history and music but also in the field of ideology and politics, since the new Republic used music as a tool for national identity. Republican reforms of the 20th century apparently banned the teaching and performance of traditional Turkish music, making way for the radio to become "the voice of the culture" as an important education and performance mechanism of Turkish music till the state reconciled with the traditional music in the 1970s. After giving this historical background I will give a literature review of the debates in the

course of transformation of traditional Turkish music, from Gökalp's nationalistic views and the debates on the sources of Turkish music to the contemporary debates.

In the third chapter, first a general review of *meşk* system, the core of the traditional Turkish music culture, and secondly historical background concerning the novelties and transformations in this system will be given briefly. I will refer to multi-cultural, multi-ethnic features of traditional Turkish music together with its social characteristics, which had led to the debates concerning the divisions of folk and palace music and religious/non-religious divisions. Then I will try to explicate the main components of Turkish music, *usul* & *makam*, which give traditional Turkish music its unique character, and after that, I will refer to the institutions that were the centers for music education and performance such as *mehterhane*, *Enderun*, *mevlevihane*, musician guilds, and private *meşk* rooms. In the course of modernization these institutions have changed or new ones replaced them. However, after the foundation of the Republic, the ban on traditional music confined *meşk* only to the houses or to some associations resulting a considerable transformation in the institutional structure of traditional music as well as its mechanisms of transfer, production and performance.

In the fourth chapter, focusing on the standardizing effects of modern life in general, written culture in particular and the regulations of the Republican period, I will discuss the impact of standardization on the education, transmission, performance and the production mechanisms and procedures of Turkish music. In other words, I will try to explore the influences of rapid and radical transformations of the last two centuries on the *meşk* system, which comprises the backbone of traditional music. One of the main arguments of the thesis is the fact that the preliminary transformations in music culture was not only due to the new nation state's ideological interventions and regulations but also due the to modernization/westernization experience in its natural process. Basing the analysis on this starting point, first I will try to show how standardizing features of modernity, i.e. the search for "uniformity", "objectivity" and "predictability" have been reflected

to musical area especially in terms of notation, institutional education, published education materials, performance in concert halls through choruses consisted of larger groups, etc. The following task is to consider the effects of nation state's regulations in search for a Turkish music "in the level of contemporary civilization" and "indigenous national".

The main aim of this thesis is to put forth how the abovementioned developments had led to a music culture that is relatively less flexible, containing relatively limited variety and mainly uniform both in terms of performance and production. In line with this aim, I will try to understand the process as a transition from the "fasıl", the preliminary performance form, to "chorus", which symbolizes the modernity of Republican Turkish music culture. In order to be able to grasp and catch the influences and composition of standardization, the theme "from *fasıl heyeti* to chorus" is chosen because of the fact that it enables analyzing various fields such as performance, production and repertoire composition in the same context.

CHAPTER 2

MODERNIZATION AND TRANSFORMATIONS IN TRADITIONAL OTTOMAN TURKISH MUSICAL CULTURE

2.1. Late Ottoman Era

Modernization adventure of the Ottomans starting around the 17th century gained a considerable impetus throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. Transition from so-called traditional way of life to modernity caused some radical and essential transformations in Ottoman society from military to education, from law to culture, nearly in every field of life. In this course, the traditional structures of the existing institutions began to dissolve while their modern counterparts were established. Above all, modernization altered the aesthetic taste of society and also reshaped the daily rituals from clothing and food culture to music.

Turkish musical culture also underwent considerable transformations throughout the above-cited centuries. While modernity was transforming the existing culture, both modern and traditional forms continued to live together. However, the nationalistic ideologies of the 19th century prioritized the Western music and early Republican reforms of the 20th century apparently banned the teaching and performance of traditional Turkish music. As it is apparent from these introductory statements, transformation of the Turkish music culture has a long history, throughout which it has kept its contestable character, triggering reactions, bringing new perspectives and paving the way to new applications and practices throughout the process.

17th century is generally accepted as the main period in which the Ottoman culture and music tradition gained its original and distinctive character. Beginning from this century, new cultural centers like Istanbul, Bursa, and Edirne began to rise and gain importance in the Islamic geography. With the Arabic and Persian musicians from Bagdad and Tabriz, the music in these new centers easily integrated and transformed into a more local one at the end of the 16th century.¹ Studies about the Turkish music

¹ Cem Behar, *Türk Müziğinin Kısa Tarihi* (İstanbul: YKY, 2016), 14.

culture, that's why, can date back to the 16th century at most. However, we can reach written sources of the traditional Turkish music genre only from the 17th century onwards.

By the 17th and 18th centuries, transformations had become visible in the cultural sphere with the novelties in daily life, tastes, costumes, etc. However, after the 18th century, a period of more rapid changes in the Ottoman cultural life began and the visibility of western culture in the Ottoman daily life increased. Administration, military, education and health systems have been transformed according to the new world order with the introduction of relevant regulations and reforms. The relationship between the East and the West has been a vital component of the debates on Ottoman history throughout the decades. Westernization has meant imitation of a superior culture at the cost of eliminating the creativity, originality and authenticity of the so-called inferior culture. About the westernization in the 18th century, Shirine Hamadeh underlines, "There is no doubt that the intensification of diplomatic exchange with European powers brought about greater exposure to western artistic knowledge and techniques, literary ideas, sartorial fashions, and material culture."² That is, we cannot ignore the influence of western culture and aesthetics on Ottoman life and culture. Especially before the 17th century, the Ottomans had thought that their civilization was superior to the West and so it would not pose a problem for them to take the western culture as a model.³ However, this should not lead us to think that the 18th century was merely an imitation of western culture. According to Hamadeh, "To regard the eighteenth century as a turning point in Ottoman interaction with Europe is to ignore over two centuries of virtually continuous cultural and artistic contact." At the same time, this line of thinking suggests that cultural interaction can occur only in unequal power situations in terms of influencing.⁴ However, we have to take into consideration the fact that cultural interaction does not only take place in such unequal power situations.

² Shirine Hamadeh, "Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the Inevitable Question of Modernity", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63, n.1, March 2004, 34, <u>https://doi.org/10.2307/4127991</u>.

³ Şerif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1990), 9.

⁴ Hamadeh (2004), *ibid* 34.

Although 18th century developments did not constitute a sharp break from the past, some major developments took place during that period. For example, modern consumer culture emerged, and as a result "mass consumer products transformed urban life and patterns of social interaction" both in the East and in the West.⁵ Consumption of coffee and tobacco redesigned urban space and public points of encounter.⁶ It became a common aspect of socialization that people began to show their wealth to others. This development brought transparency and visibility to the lives of the individuals, which supported the tendency of exhibition, "to watch and to be watched". Additionally, there was a rise of new groups and new practices in urban area. The 'seyr ü temaşa' (a practice of showing, observing and spectacle in the public life) practice emerged and Muslims and non-Muslims began to have outgoings together. People started to attach importance to their clothes because it became a way of individual expression.⁷ In the meantime, the spatial use of cities and the function of places changed. As Tülay Artan says; the Bosphorus became an alternative ceremonial place instead of Divanyolu. "As the Bosphorus replaced the urban street of Divanyolu as the ceremonial axis, the sultan's outings on the water became favored occasions for pomp and display."⁸ These transformations in culture and daily life, besides the worldview in general, had direct influences on musical world apparently. It is possible to observe and read those transformations from the forms to the instruments used, as will be discussed in the following chapters in detail.

In this regard, the 18th century and, in particular, the reign of Sultan Selim III (1789-1808) was an important period in the history of traditional Turkish music. Selim III followed the cultural developments in the West carefully and, in order to apply them in his lands, established important communication systems like telegraph and

⁵ Ariel Salzmann, "The Age of Tulips: Confluence and Conflict in Early Modern Consumer Culture," in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Donald Quartet (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), 89.

⁶ Ahmet Yaşar, ed., *Osmanlı Kahvehaneleri: Mekan, Sosyalleşme, İktidar* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2010).

⁷ About the 18th century transformations in Ottoman cultural life in İstanbul see Shirine Hamadeh, "Mimari, Merasim ve Teşhircilik" and "Gösteriş ve Gösteri" in *Şehr-i Sefa: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010), 85-163.

⁸ Tülay Artan, "Art and Architecture," in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, v. III, ed. Suraiya Faroqhi (Cambridge: 2006), 467.

railway. The Sultan himself was a musician, a composer and devised new *makams* within the traditional Turkish music. However, his sympathy to classical Turkish music did not constitute an impediment for the western music becoming pervasive among Ottoman elite. On the contrary, in this period this attitude provided a more liberated atmosphere for both music genres. While western music started to be a part of Ottoman culture, the traditional Turkish music likewise went through some significant changes, to cite just a few, the preferences of *makam, usul* and genres.

2.1.1. Traditional and Western Music Side by Side in the Palace

The reign of Sultan Mahmut II (r. 1808-1839) is a turning point in the Ottoman cultural history in general, and in musical culture in particular. From the very first encounters in 16th century onwards until this period, while western music entered into the esthetic and cultural life of upper classes and to the court, traditional music still continued to keep its primary status in the palace. Turkish traditional music was a chamber music, which was performed in a small closed place. The most important performances used to take place in the sultan's palace or in the houses of wealthy people under their patronage (himaye), since they were the sponsors and supporters of the music. During the reign of Sultan Mahmut II, the instruments of western music such as piano, violin or violoncello started to be played not only in sultan's palace but also in the wealthy houses, besides their traditional counterparts such as tanbur, kanun, ud, ney, not surprisingly bringing western attitudes and life style at their baggage. While the visibility of western culture was increasing and western music was integrating into the Ottoman cultural arena, traditional Turkish music was also getting through a transformation process. The traditional and the modern took part side by side in society and this duality in modernization period is called Ottoman duality.⁹ With the period of Sultan Mahmut II, the support of the state began to shift

⁹ This duality was not special to musical area; there was a duality in every field of culture and life because modernization itself had brought binary and dichotomous structures. As an example, the first modern schools had been opened in the military institutions. That was a new and different institutionalization in opposition to the madrasas, so madrasa system had begun to collapse by the consolidation of modern schools. Soon after, the new schools had been separated from the *Şeyhülislamlık* and were taken under the ministry of education. This binary education process continued until the Republican period. Since Republican government preferred to keep only being one way rather than a dual structure. Similar transformations had been felt in all areas. For instance, Ottoman judicial system had also passed through the same process with the regulations and

towards western music, however the official support was still for the traditional and prestige still belonged to local one.

In 1826, Mahmud II had abolished Janissary army and a new modern army was established with its western-style costumes, western-made weapons and, above all, with a new system. In parallel with the military adjustments, the traditional army band of the palace, *Mehterhane*, was closed and replaced by the *Muzıka-yı Hümayûn*. Instead of the characteristic traditional Ottoman *mehter* music, a type of western military music was adopted. The abolishment of *Mehterhane* and establishment of *Muzıka-yı Hümayûn* led to removal of one of the main institutions of traditional Turkish music, while kindling the beginning of western musical education officially in Turkey. By this way, the negotiation period between eastern and western cultures, which lasted from the 16th century onwards had, in a sense, ended, and western music was officially recognized and adopted by the empire as a part of its culture through palace and army by the establishment of *Muzıka-yı Hümayûn*.

Accordingly, famous opera composer Gaetano Donizetti's brother Guiseppe Donizetti came to Istanbul in 1828 and on the very day he came to the sultan's presence he was appointed to the chiefdom of *Muzıka-yı Hümayûn* as "*Osmanlı Muzıkaları Umum Mürebbisi*".¹⁰ He was appointed as the head of this new institution to train the band and constitute the new repertoire. The assignments of western music masters like Donizetti Paşa and Manguel, the French music teacher of *Muzıka-yı Hümayûn* before him, played an acceleratory role in the modernization of Turkish music.

When Donizetti Paşa came to his post in Istanbul, he attempted to have contact with local music culture and tried to learn the indigenous notation systems. Although written notation systems were not welcomed in traditional Turkish musical culture,

establishment of modern judicatory institutions. See Kemal Karpat, Osmanlı Modernleşmesi, Toplum, Kuramsal Değişim ve Nüfus, İmge Kitabevi, 2002. Donald Quartet, The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922, Cambridge University Press, 2005. The Cambridge History of Turkey Volume 4: Turkey in the Modern World, ed. Reşat Kasaba, Cambridge University Press, 2008.

¹⁰ Ancan Özasker, Muzıka-yı Hümayûn'dan Cumhurbaşkanlığı Senfoni Orkestrasına (İstanbul: Boyut, 1997), 10

several musicians created and developed some special notation writing systems throughout music history. One of them was Hampartsum Limonciyan, an Armenian musician in Ottoman Empire who had developed a special notation writing system. Donizetti learned his written system, while he was trying to teach the western notation system to his students, despite their resistance to using written notation.¹¹

While western music penetrated Ottoman cultural world, it had also some considerable impacts on Turkish music, since there was a mutual interaction. To cite an example, İsmail Dede Efendi (b.1777 - d.1845), who was one of the most talented composers of the 19th century, taught Turkish music to Donizetti and Guatelli, the conductors *Muzıka-yı Hümayûn*, and, in return, he received information about the melodic mentality of western music. Today the reflections of this interaction can be read on Dede's art through his compositions like "*Kâr-ı Nev*", "*Yine neş'e-i muhabbet*" and "*Yine bir gülnihal*".¹² Moreover, the tendency, among the important representatives of traditional music like Hacı Arif Bey, of using "*şarkı*" form as a shorter, relatively more comprehensible and more easily remembered form instead of the old forms with classical lyrics and large manners can also be read as the signs of westernization in culture, art and especially in music in this period.¹³

After the western music settled in Ottoman musical culture, the instruments of traditional music such as oud and *kanun* lost their glow, and with the newly opened music shops, the sales of western instruments and the publication of written notes for western kind of music increased.¹⁴ Additionally, this increase affected the aesthetic taste of the upper classes, which were the main supporters of producers of western-type music. The Ottoman way of life, i.e. old style, began to be replaced by a westernized one.¹⁵ In other words, traditional Turkish music as a dominant musical

¹¹ Bülent Aksoy, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Musiki ve Batılılaşma" in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, v.5, (İstanbul: 1985), 1216.

¹² Cinuçen Tanrıkorur, Osmanlı Dönemi Türk Musikisi (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2005), 43.

¹³ Bülent Aksoy, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Musiki ve Batılılaşma" in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, v.5, (İstanbul: 1985), 1228-1231.

¹⁴ Gönül Paçacı, "Cumhuriyetin Sesli Serüveni", in *Cumhuriyetin Sesleri*, ed. Gönül Paçacı (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), 11.

¹⁵ Gönül Paçacı (1999), *ibid* 11.

culture in the Ottoman court and palace before 1826 became of secondary importance; however, it had never faced with a ban or censor. Contrarily, the followers of traditional Turkish music had always tried to preserve their popularity in the actual cultural arena.

2.1.2. Traditional Turkish Music: Losing Patronage of the Palace

The reign of Abdulmecid (r. 1839-1861) is another important era for the transformations of musical culture. This period called Tanzimat is a milestone for the reform movements and the main characteristics attributed to this period is radical decisions and regulations which may be inferred from its name "*tanzimat*" meaning "reorganization". Through these regulations, the ideas of the French Revolution, equality, freedom and fraternity would be applied to the Ottoman citizens.

While prominent political regulations were being applied in Tanzimat period, the influence of western way of life came in sight in the phases of cultural life. Hence the influence of western music, which occupied much more place in the court and in the royal palace compared to the past, increased and it was partly preferred to Turkish music. In the classical period, artists and musicians were supported by the state and the elites for the production of music, books, works of art and poetry. Art was mostly under the patronage of the Sultan and also supported by his viziers and the bureaucrats or by wealthy people. Musicians produced and performed their art with the financial support of this patronage; besides good social relations with the elite provided legitimization at the same time.¹⁶

However, after the Tanzimat period, the patronage of the palace and the court for the traditional music decreased. Traditional music performers and composers, who were able to maintain their living and produce only by the patronage of court and palace, could not find the same chances compared to their pre-Tanzimat times in the court and palace. A well-known and talented composer of his time, Dede Efendi, for instance, moved away from the palace when he could not maintain his reputation

¹⁶ Selman Benlioğlu, *Saray ve Musiki: III. Selim ve II. Mahmud Dönemlerinde Musikinin Himayesi* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2018).

against the western music and so he expressed his reaction to the prioritization of western style in the Ottoman musical world. Dede Efendi was one of the last great masters of the traditional Turkish music. He gave up challenging the new music and new cultural trends and visited Mecca for pilgrimage. He had a famous expression, as *"Artık bu oyunun tadı kalmadı!"*, which even today leads us to think that this was a kind of resignation from the musical environment of Istanbul. And this is one of the most famous and symbolic examples among his contemporary peers, since they could not find a place for their music in the palace any more. The case of Dede Efendi depicts, in a sense, how the connection between the traditional music makers and the state weakened in this course.¹⁷

Although western music did not get a real support from the court in the reign of Abdulmecid, the organization of marching band was empowered.¹⁸ And, in a similar vein, in the period of Abdulhamid II, western music has spread throughout several units of military, and with the increasing number of *mizika* schools, teaching of western music became more prevalent. By means of the musicians graduated from these schools, the musical education had expanded and gained popularity also among the civilians.¹⁹

The reign of Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909) had a great role in the establishment of western music in Ottoman society. Since the sultan had a personal interest in western music, both teaching and performance of western music were supported in the palace. In order to evaluate this preference in the court level and to be able to grasp the general cultural change in the 19th century, the concepts *alla turca* and *alla franga* and the dichotomy established between these terms provide a convenient vehicle and background.

Alla turca and *alla franga*, which came out and gained prominence within the cultural politics arena of 19th century Ottoman society, are the two terms used in Turkish

¹⁷ Bülent Aksoy, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Musiki ve Batılılaşma" in *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, v.5, (İstanbul: 1985): 1212-1236.

¹⁸ Gönül Paçacı (1999), *ibid* 11.

¹⁹ Gönül Paçacı (1999), *ibid* 11.

modernization process to denote the degree of acceptance of the western lifestyle. In different periods, these two terms were used with different connotations; i.e. to express the contradiction between eastern & western, native & foreign, or even Islamic & non-Islamic.²⁰ One of the most significant reflections of the modernization and westernization debates in the cultural arena is the polarization between these terms. Both words originally have roots in the French language and represent the Turkish and the French styles respectively. However, these words had lost their original meanings in the course of modernization debates and became the most popular terms for criticizing modernity and even sometimes gained pejorative meanings.²¹

Taking this background of the term into consideration, it is crucial to note that Abdulhamid II did not hesitate to express his interest in western "alla franga" music, and his thoughts such as "Alla turca music was taken and derived from Iranian, Arabic and Greek music and in the authentic Turkish villages of Anatolia bağlama used to be played"²², a parallel view to the opinions of Ziya Gökalp, who was one of the main characters of the Turkish nationalism since the 19th century.

2.1.3. Institutional Changes

In order to understand and grasp the scope of the changes, one should take notice of and evaluate the traditional institutions of the Ottoman musical culture and the transformations that had taken place in institutional level.

To begin with, *Enderun* (the school of palace for training of administrative and military staff) and *Mevlevihanes* (the dervish lodges for the *Mevleviyye* order and the places music was produced, performed and taught) were the main institutions to sustain the Ottoman musical culture, but in modernization period some new institutions were also established. At the very end of the 19th century, as a result of the growing interest especially in the stage performances, there was an increase in

²⁰ John Morgan O'Connell, "In the Time of Alaturka: Identifying Difference in Musical Discourse," *Ethnomusicology*, Spring/Summer, 2005, 49.2: 177-205.

²¹ For a detailed analysis of *alla turca* / alla franga in Ottoman cultural life, see Fatma Tunç Yaşar, *Alafranga Haller: Geç Osmanlı'da Adab-ı Muaşeret* (İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2016).
²² Bühart Alagu (1985) ibid 1993

²² Bülent Aksoy (1985), *ibid* 1223.

the number of composers who produced theatre music, revue songs, canto and operetta. The Ministry of Education, with the influence of this tendency, established *Darü'l-Bedai*, the state conservatory for fine arts and theatre, in 1914. In 1916 a music department was added to the school. Zekaizade Ahmet Irsoy, Leon Hancıyan, Zeki Üngör and Tanburi Cemil Bey were among the scholars in this institution.

In 1917, *Mûsiki Encümeni*, the music council of the Ministry of Education decided to open a separate school, a modern conservatory for the music education called *"Darü'l-Elhan"*. This conservatory concentrated on traditional music although it had a separate department for education of western music. The main aims in establishing Darülehan were to raise music teachers, to do scientific researches and to record the written notes of the valuable musical pieces and publish them, etc.²³ The education program consisted of theory, solfege, Turkish traditional and religious music, methods of Turkish music, violoncello, piano, composition and history of music at the same time.²⁴ The head of music department was Musa Süreyya Bey. In the traditional Turkish music department, musicians like Rahmi Bey, İsmail Hakkı Bey and Rauf Yekta Bey gave classes.

Musiki Encümeni was annulled after the declaration of the Republic and western music courses were added to the program of *Darü'l-Elhan. Muzıka-i Hümayûn*, with all of its parts and instruments was moved to Ankara, the new center of Turkey. The former *Muzıka-yı Hümayûn* turned into three orchestral groups: *Riyaset-i Cumhur Filarmonik Orkestrası* (Presidency of Republic Philharmonic Orchestra), *Riyaset-i Cumhur Bandosu* (Presidency of Republic Band), and *Riyaset-i Cumhur Fasıl Heyeti* (Presidency of Republic Fasıl Ensemble). These orchestras were affiliated to Ministry of National Education in 1932.²⁵

²³ Gönül Paçacı, "Kuruluşunun 77. Yılında Dâr-ül-elhân ve Türk Musikisi'nin Gelişimi I," *Tarih ve Toplum Dergisi*, v. 121, Ocak 1994, 49.

²⁴ Nuri Özcan, "Dârülelhan", in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, 518-520, access time: 28.06.2019, <u>https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/darulelhan</u>.

²⁵ Nuri Özcan, "Muzıka-yı Hümayûn", in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, access time: 08.07.2019, <u>https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/muzika-yi-humayun</u>.

2.2. Republican Era

2.2.1. Between Abolishment and Preservation

Besides above-mentioned institutional transformations, with the abolition of *Tekke ve Zaviyes* (dervish lodges and complexes) in 1925²⁶, a very important resource of traditional music was cut out. Since *Tekkes*, dervish lodges, were not confined to religious music solely but also were among the main education and transmitting centers of traditional music, with this abolition, the core of traditional Turkish music was influenced considerably. In the same year, under *Darülelhan*, the state conservatory, a committee for classification and fixation of traditional music was established, *Türk Müziğini Tasnif ve Tesbit Heyeti*. This was a kind of effort to keep and preserve the tradition and its rich resources. Traditional music was actually related to the history of the nation and, therefore, in music, the roots of the nation's culture were situated. Hence, traditional music had to be recorded and stored safely as if it would be in a museum. However, in spite of their emphasis on "pure and traditional" music, their system or method to choose the songs or work of arts is also debatable scientifically.²⁷

The aims and efforts of the committees, which traveled to Anatolia for the compilation of folk music also demonstrated similar characteristics, especially in terms of not having a scientific criteria and rules for collecting. The folk songs were recorded according to the personal taste of the collectors whereas the argument was to find and preserve the real/pure music of the Turkish nation. The folk music compilation trips in Anatolia started in the 1930s and were repeatedly carried out within 10 years. As a part of these compilation studies, villagers, hamlets and towns were visited; the poems and folk songs planned to form the content of the national music were recorded from the source itself. In the work of Balkılıç, *Temiz ve Soylu Türküler Söyleyelim* which examines the role of these studies in the process of national identity building, the criteria and points of views during compilation

²⁶ "Tekke Ve Zaviyelerle Türbelerin Seddine Ve Türbedarlıklar İle Bir Takım Unvanların Men Ve İlgasına Dair Kanun," *Resmi Gazete*, Aralık 13, 1925, 113, access time: 08.07.2019. <u>http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.3.677.pdf</u>.

²⁷ Rauf Yekta Bey, "Mukaddime," in *Türk Musikisi Klasiklerinden İlahiler Birinci Cilt: Mevlut Tevşihleri* (İstanbul: İstanbul Konservatuvarı Neşriyatı [Evkaf Matbaası], 1931), 3-8.

activities are depicted.²⁸ Collected with a personal and irregular selection, these works constitute the classical repertoire of our folk music today. In terms of manners that a modern nation should have, the reached works have been subjected to elimination and those that are supposed to not meet these criteria have been left out of this compilation and are forgotten.

In 1926, teaching of the traditional Turkish music in *Darülelhan* was banned and this ban lasted up to 1943. During this period, Turkish music education was not prevalent in institutional context. Traditional Turkish music education began after 1943 with the founding of Istanbul Municipality Conservatory and was further extended with setting up of the Conservatory of Cultural Ministry in 1975.²⁹

The main aim of all these institutions was in a way to define "the classical/traditional" or "the pure" Turkish music and preserve it. During the republican reforms, the transformation of the traditional style continued while trying to keep some of its parts intact at the same time. The system, as Ayas has depicted in detail, produced unique adaptation and resistance patterns³⁰ during this radical and rapid modernization and transformation period, which may be comprehended through an observation on different settings and institutions. For example, in accordance with this new pattern, which may be characterized as "between abolishment and preservation", a series of institutions were established under the state patronage, namely *Riyaset-i Cumhur İncesaz Heyeti*, *Türk Müziğini Tasnif ve Tesbit Heyeti*, conservatory of Municipality and the State Radio. Outside the state control, chambers in the houses and mansions, music guilds, clubs and taprooms can be counted among the institutions, which try to preserve and transmit the traditional Turkish music.

²⁸ Özgür Balkılıç, *Temiz ve Soylu Türküler Söyleyelim: Türkiye'de Milli Kimlik İnşasında Halk Müziği*, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2015), 168-170.

²⁹ Gönül Paçacı(1999), *ibid* 15-30.

³⁰ Güneş Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabının Sosyolojisi: Klasik Türk Müziği Geleneğinde Süreklilik ve Değişim*, (İstanbul: Doğu Kitabevi, 2014), 277-391.

Initially in *Darülelhan*, the former state conservatory, music education was comprised of two parts, namely, western and eastern. In other words, it was possible to get an education either on polyphonic western music or traditional music. However, more importantly, beyond teaching different music types at the same time, this arrangement allowed for an intense interaction between western and traditional Turkish music. In addition to the concerts given with the choirs formed by the students in both music fields, there was a short process in which they both interacted with each other and took the stage together from time to time.³¹ However, in early Republican period, firstly the traditional Turkish music department was closed. Afterwards, teaching and broadcasting of traditional music was prohibited whereas the western music was supported and promoted. In other words, the official program of the republican policies allowed the education of only one type of music, which led to the emergence of a standardized and mono-typed musical culture.

The foundation of Turkish Republic in 1920's marks a new era during which both the state and elites did not hesitate to reveal their preference for western music and demonstrated this preference by direct support. Traditional Turkish music became a highly controversial issue and was positioned in a defensive mood in most of the time. The argument that the grandiose and powerful imperial music left its place to a music that sings the older sorrows in minds was employed to prove that traditional music was old, eastern and outdated. In contrast to the vivid and productive nature of modern and contemporary music, it symbolized the perception that traditional music was a dead music from now on, just like the artwork in a museum, bearing the sorrows of the past.

2.2.2. Music as a Tool for National Identity

The 19th century was the time for collapses of empires and creation of national identities. Naturally, the reflection of this process on music could not be independent of identity politics. Music was understood as an identity issue especially in the early republican period, in accordance with Gökalp's nationalist views. As a result, the

³¹ "Bir Konser Programı Dârü'l-Elhan Şu'ûnu [Haberleri]" in *Darü'l-Elhan Mecmuası*, v.2 (1924): 98 cited by Gönül Paçacı in *Cumhuriyetin Sesleri* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), 14.

discussion concerning the origin of the Turkish music took place not only in the field of history and music but also in the field of ideology and politics.³²

During the westernization process, especially in the early republican period, Ziya Gökalp's "Anatolian folk music plus western technique" formula was internalized in determining the musical identity of the new society. With this formula, the traditional Turkish music was thrown out of the national culture.³³ What was the pure music of Turks? This question also led to a search for the origin and to this end, the compilation committees set off on journeys throughout Anatolia to collect and construct a national culture. The construction of a national identity is a process in which Hobsbawm's "invention of tradition" term can be referred.³⁴ Just as the concept of nation is based on the idea of "imagined communities"³⁵, national culture also emerges as an imagined ideal culture and requires that existing cultures and traditions be arranged in the appropriate form so that they can be rebuilt. In Turkey, especially folklore, folk dances and music compilation studies can be considered as important examples in this context.³⁶

Radio broadcasts that started during the first years of the republican period also played a critical role in the construction of national identity. The programs in state radio, which started to be broadcast in 1927 in Istanbul, consisted of mostly musical airplays. There were a limited number of musicians playing on the radio and music was most likely the traditional Turkish music. However, playing traditional Turkish music on the radio was forbidden in the year 1934. This ban was valid for both folk and *alla turca* music forms, which means only western music could be listened to through radio henceforward. And this shows that the state would no longer support any music except western. The Republican regime's conception of music was derived

³² Bülent Aksoy, "Türk Musikisinin Kökeni Sorunu Anlaşıldı mı?," in *Tarih ve Toplum*, n. 8 (1987): 105-111.

³³ Bülent Aksoy, "Şarkiyatçılığın Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Musiki Tartışmalarına Etkisi," in *Geçmişin Musıki Mirasına Bakışlar* (İstanbul: Pan Yayınları, 2008), 158.

³⁴ E.J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *Geleneğin İcadı*, (İstanbul: Agora Kitaplığı, 2006).

³⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Hayali Cemaatler: Milliyetçiliğin Kökenleri ve Yayılması,* trans. İskender Savaş (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2011).

³⁶ Arzu Öztürkmen, "Modern Dance "Alla Turca:" Transforming Ottoman Dance in Early Republican Turkey," *Dance Research Journal*, v.35, n.1, Summer 2003, 38-60.

basically from Ziya Gökalp's national music theories. According to him, the pure music of the Turks, which had lost its unique character after they left the Central Asia, can be reached again mainly through the techniques of western music and the contents of the folk music from Anatolia. The synthesis of western and Anatolian folk music was one of the most debated issues and one of the proposed solutions at that time. But more important part of this debate was the proportion of this synthesis; to what extent western music can penetrate and Turkish music can be kept intact were the main questions. The view of Atatürk, the father of the Turkish Republic, and his court were totally in favor of westernization; therefore, their viewpoint prevailed over others. The most important and greatest transformation in the Turkish music was its 'localization' according to which the upper-class cultural identity was no longer represented and the idea of being 'universal and civilized music' was renounced in order to indirectly accept the official discourse about the universality of western music.³⁷

2.2.3. Radio: The Voice of the Culture

Radio was a part of daily life and an important tool to reach and reshape the identity of the new Turkey's citizens.³⁸ Istanbul Radio and Ankara Radio served especially after 1928 to enlighten and to shape the society in line with the aims of the Kemalist regime. They were the first radios of Turkey. After 1960, all of the eight city radios and a single-channel television started to be managed by the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation *(TRT)*. According to Aksoy, radio has become "the voice of the culture"³⁹ in modern republican Turkey. It has been used as an important tool for settling the republican modernity into daily lives of citizens. Through radio, the governance shaped not only traditional Turkish music, but also Anatolian folk music. The style of performance, dialects of language, *makam* and melody of the folk music pieces, and also the contents varied depending on the location, geography and culture. In this sense, on compilation trips, ballads were collected and formed in a

³⁷ Ayas (2014), *ibid* 41-70.

³⁸ Meltem Ahıska, *Radyonun Sihirli Kapısı: Garbiyatçılık ve Politik Öznellik* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2005), 101-105.

³⁹ Bülent Aksoy, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Devlet Radyosunun Türk Musikisi Üzerindeki Etkileri" in *Geçmişin Musiki Mirasına Bakışlar* (İstanbul: Pan Yayınları, 2008), 182-183.

common dialect. These practices also show that a certain type of music has been established as the "Radio music". The new state determined its official music codes through the Radio and the music produced in the Radio spread all over the country.⁴⁰

The performance of Turkish traditional music on TSR was forbidden by the state order first in 1928 for a short time, and later from 1934 to 1936. This prohibition era had long-lasting and crucial effects on the reshaping the musical tastes of the public. In this era, radio gained an important role in the cultural development of people in Turkey. In the beginning, both Turkish and western music forms got airplays on the radio. These programs aimed to achieve a higher level of music culture. Following the Ankara radio's founding a monopoly on music broadcasting and music culture, a new synthesis of folk and western music was broadcast to spread this music as the music of new republic.⁴¹

After the ban on *alla turca* music on the radio, people began to seek for the radio stations that were broadcasting Egyptian music. Because the music on the Turkish radio involved folk lyrics in the western form and the people did not prefer this type of music. While trials of driving people's taste to the west and shaping it accordingly with the official music politics, the oriental musical tastes penetrated into the Turkish music by the mediation of the Egyptian radio.⁴² The people, who were banned to listen to traditional music on Turkish radio channels, started to listen to Arabic music because of its resemblance as a genre. As a parenthesis, it should be noted that Arabic music was also accepted under the scope of Turkish music, only in the taste of Arabs. Furthermore, the songs in the Egyptian movies with Turkish lyrics also became very popular and in a sense, they founded the trend of arabesque music in 1970s.⁴³

⁴⁰ Aksoy (2008), *ibid*. 202-203.

⁴¹ Aksoy (2008), *ibid*. 182-183.

⁴² Seçil Deren, "Kültürel Batılılaşma" in *Modernleşme ve Batıcılık-Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce Cilt III* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları: 2002) 399.

⁴³ Meral Özbek, *Popüler Kültür ve Orhan Gencebay Arabeski,* (İstanbul: İletişim, 1991), 153-163.

2.2.4. Reconciling with Traditional Music

After 1980, the official attitude towards traditional Ottoman-Turkish music has somehow changed. The state conservatory on "Turkish Music" had started the classical Turkish music education in 1975. And with the first graduates of conservatory, several ensembles of Turkish music have been established. During the 1980s the establishment of choruses, orchestras, foundations and publications related to traditional music culture shows an accelerated increase. Nonetheless, despite all these developments and, in a sense, regaining the support of the state, the visibility and quality of the traditional music programs on media channels have decreased.⁴⁴

Today, traditional music continues in a structure, which is divided into such fragments as classical music or art music, folk music and Sufi music both in educational and cultural fields. The number of conservatories has increased and there is no prohibition or restriction on traditional Turkish music. There is also no room for an allegation that it is an ideological, non-contemporary and reactionary music. On the contrary, it is possible to state that from the 2010s onwards, especially after 2010, traditional arts, including music, have become more popular in the social life as they move towards the universal culture of the era, while the identity and richness of the national identity are also maintained. Likewise, in line with the identity policies, which carry the culture to a universal ground while keeping its national prosperity and diversity⁴⁵, especially after 2010s, traditional arts, including music, began to gain popularity and become more visible in the social life.

2.3. Debates in the Course of Transformation of Traditional Turkish Music

In Turkey, the cultural and artistic life has been discussed usually based on the political agenda rather than the dynamics of and changes within the art. Especially in the early years of the Republic, each and every cultural item from clothing and

⁴⁴ Yalçın Tura, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türk Musikisi" in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, v.6, (İstanbul: 1983): 1515-1516.

⁴⁵ Cenk Güray, "A Change of Perception: The Rapprochment of the State with the Cultural Colours of Anatolia through Traditional Musics" in *In Which Direction is Music Heading?: Cultural and Cognitive Studies in Turkey*, ed. Firat Kutluk & Uğur Türkmen (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 109-122.

appearance to the listened and produced music has been regarded as an indicator of political views. The impacts of modernization and westernization on the traditional culture have been widely addressed in these discussions. Coexistence of the desire for modernization and for catching up with the modern era with the wish for not losing one's own traditional essence have caused tremendous tensions and paved the way for divergence of opinions. As a repercussion of this situation on the Turkish music community, different areas of tension have been intellectually created. Modern techniques and viewpoints, on the one hand, and the divergence of opinions arising out of westernization, on the other hand, caused the theorists, performers, composers and intellectuals to find themselves in a circle of debates. Different attitudes and approaches have emerged in the discussions of *alla turca / alla franga* (Turkish style-European style) music or in the comparisons of polyphonic and monophonic music types.

The attitudes adopted during modernization process can be classified into three groups. First group is in favor of completely abandoning the eastern music and traditions by accepting the superiority of the west. They uphold the view that modern and contemporary society can be embraced through adopting a polyphonic music style and giving up the backward eastern music like İlhan Usmanbaş.⁴⁶ Unlike this point of view, driven by a kind of defensive psychology, the second group is of the opinion that the best way would be to preserve the eastern music as it is. Finally, as for the third group, they argue to protect the essence of the eastern music by drawing on and the technical superiority of the west and turning it into an advantage to nourish their culture like Rauf Yekta Bey.⁴⁷

Since music was the only form of art that had a potential to carry on its existence from the Ottoman to the Republican times, the cultural discussions which had been crystallized in music, had a pivotal role in general cultural transformations. Here, I shall touch upon a few examples in relation to transformation of musical culture,

⁴⁶ İlhan Usmanbaş, "Türk Müziğinde Çağdaşlaşma" in Cumhuriyetin Sesleri, ed. Gönül Paçacı (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), 36-39.

⁴⁷ Rauf Yekta, *Türk Musikisi Nazariyatı*, trans. Orhan Nasuhioğlu (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1986).

which in a way represents main axes of Ottoman modernization in general and cultural modernization in particular.

2.3.1. Debates on the Sources

In the 19^a century, the Ottoman sources concerning Turkish musical culture were not known in Europe, although the 15th century Islamic sources about music were found in European libraries. Hence writings on music history were based on either classical Islamic sources or on Arabic (especially Egyptian) music. After all, European musicologists, who did not undertake the adequate effort for reaching to the sources, produced some analyses on traditional Turkish music, although they had never heard of it and although they had never listened to any Turkish musical work⁴⁸, naturally feeding prejudices as a result.⁴⁹ Meanwhile, there were some works analyzing Arabic music and European musicologists generalized these analyses and extended them as to comprise the Turkish music. As a result of these attitudes, traditional Turkish music was deemed to an imitation of Arabic or Persian or a mixed Arab-Persian music. What is more important is the fact that, in turn, European musicologists' orientalist views had a direct influence on the debates concerning Turkish national music in its early construction period.⁵⁰

One of the major challenges of research in the history of Turkish music is the limited number of primary sources before the seventeenth century. The written sources of traditional Turkish music do not go back much further than the seventeenth century because of the fact that as an oral tradition it gained its unique character in the sixteenth century. Furthermore, the process of transition to written musical notation from an orally transmission tradition have caused different resistance mechanisms like the difficulty in fixing the sound by its very nature as well as the tradition itself. In particular, the tradition has formed a resistance line because of its transfer mechanism based on a one-to-one relationship and a closed-circuit structure.

⁴⁸ Bülent Aksoy, "Şarkiyatçılığın Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki Musiki Tartışmalarına Etkisi" in *Geçmişin Musiki Mirasına Bakışlar* (İstanbul : Pan Yayıncılık, 2008), 161.

⁴⁹ For the samples of European author's narrations about Turkish music see Bülent Aksoy, *Avrupalı Gezginlerin Gözüyle Osmanlılarda Musiki* (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1994).

In the beginning, creation of printed music corpus was prevented for a long while due to emergence of note-writing as a technique of transferring the repertoire as well as the Ottomans' simultaneous exposure to and interaction with a new music language. On the other hand, usage of notes was expanded owing to concurrence of note-writing period with use of western notes in the ensuing years and thanks to technological developments and transformation of culturally accepted matters, which brought along various debates though. One of the critical reasons behind the divergence of opinions between theorists and performers has stemmed from the idea that a sort of music with unequal main intervals cannot comply with (factitious) intervals of western music. The still controversial question of to what extent the notes can reflect the music or performance underlies behind the above-mentioned debates.

The first publications of mid-nineteen century feature a particular viewpoint that puts more emphasis on localness of the music and also considers a scientific definition and theory of music necessary. For instance, *Haşim Bey Journal*, which was published in 1864 as one of the most well-known lyrics journals of the 19th century, included the European style (*alla franga*) correspondences of not only the details about traditional Turkish stringed instruments (*saz*) and modes (*makam*) but also of the described modes. In a sense, it tried to describe and introduce the Turkish music through illustrated and annotated instruments and theories.⁵¹ As stated by Rauf Yekta Bey, it became a requisite to scientifically describe Turkish music.⁵²

In his book *Türkleşmek, Islamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak*, accepted as the bible of Turkish nationalism and a reference guide in debates concerning music culture, Gökalp reveals important clues on how Turkey could be modernized and westernized, especially in terms of Turkish national music. According to Gökalp, the pure core of the Turkish culture underlay in the folk culture; however, with Islamic culture and

⁵¹ Gönül Paçacı Tunçay, *Neşriyat-ı Musıki: Osmanlı Müziğini Okumak* (İstanbul: Vakıfbank Kültür Yayınları, 2019) 34-35.

⁵² Rauf Yekta, *Türk Musikisi Nazariyatı*, trans. Orhan Nasuhioğlu (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1986).

also Arabic-Persian influences, the Turkish character of the culture had been suppressed in the course of time. So, the only way to discover this pure core was to turn towards the folk culture.⁵³ By doing so, Gökalp and his followers took classical Ottoman-Turkish music out of the notion of national culture.

Furthermore, Gökalp states that *alla turca* music belonged to Byzantines, Persians and Arabians, not to the Turks, so it was not national. Besides, it was a heavy, sad, sluggish music in contrast to the decent western music. And the national music would only be constituted by integration of both local folk music and western music. As he notes, the best formula for the music of Turkey should be a synthesis of Anatolian folk music and western techniques. At the end of the 19th century, musical community responded to and opposed Gökalp's such claims. Especially in his article "Türk Musikisi Kimindir?", H. Sadettin Arel and Rauf Yekta criticize Gökalp and state that one can understand that any civilization might take some cultural elements from another civilization. However, the important thing is what they do with it in the end.⁵⁴

2.3.2. Contemporary Debates

In line with the above-cited opinions, musicians and cultural spheres have demonstrated different attitudes and approaches towards the ongoing developments. With the deformation and destroy of the *meşk* system according to Cem Behar, traditional Ottoman/Turkish music, in a sense, is not a living tradition.⁵⁵ However, Güneş Ayas accepts that the tradition has a living structure that can respond to the challenges against its existence and can also produce new solutions. From this point of view, he claims that the tradition has continued to exist somehow but through some adaptation and resistance phases. One side of it keeps the continuation and the other side changes and transforms according to the new terms and conditions.⁵⁶ These unresolved tensions underlie behind the ongoing conflicts and disagreements on most of the issues concerning traditional music.

⁵³ Ziya Gökalp, *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1976).

⁵⁴ Yalçın Tura, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türk Musikisi", *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, v.6, (İstanbul 1983): 1513.

⁵⁵ Cem Behar, *Aşk Olmayınca Meşk Olmaz* (İstanbul: YKY, 2016).

⁵⁶ G. Ayas (2014), *ibid* 34.

According to Mardin, in Ottoman society "... a creative minority group has produced this culture [urban/traditional music culture], although it keeps interaction with popular culture."⁵⁷ However, says Ayas, "undoubtedly it was the most prestigious musical culture and therefore, through being imitated by the peripheral cultures, it kept the central place in the field of artistic production of musical culture. Moreover, thanks to the *meşk* system, ... based on the qualification and open to be fed by the lower classes, this culture could keep its success in continuation."⁵⁸

However, the unity of the center was broken and fragmentized in the early Republican years.⁵⁹ In this way, the musical duality, which was rooted in Tanzimat (Reorganization) period, did not totally come to an end but varied and inactivated in the early republican period. The state pulled back all its support from the traditional music and limited the field of the traditional music in order to give way to western music; has not accepted it in official institutions except for the radio which addresses people; and finally, has tried to discredit the traditional music against the western music. Henceforth, traditional music began to stand independently of the state or the upper classes. For this reason, *alla turca* music became popular in order to survive and chose to appeal to a wider public.⁶⁰ However he argues that besides the state's politics, the illusion belonged also to society, people who were interested in and engaged with music. In the meantime, the duality of music has evolved into an ideological conflict between "*alla turca*" and "*alla franga*". "Preferring "*doğru bir kötü*" rather than "*yanlış bir güzel*" shows the attitude of young republic against the whole Ottoman culture and lifestyle by preferring ideology rather than culture."⁶¹

As it became clear from the preceding information, the loss of support from the state and the banishments have lead to some discursive strategies either to defend or attack the traditional music culture. The state had determined the culturally

⁵⁷ Şerif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1990).

⁵⁸ G. Ayas (2014), *ibid* 27.

⁵⁹ Bülent Aksoy, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Musikisinde Farklılaşma Olgusu" in *Cumhuriyetin Sesleri* ed. Gönül Paçacı (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), 30-35.

⁶⁰ G. Ayas (2014), *ibid* 262-263.

⁶¹ B. Aksoy (1999), ibid 32.

legitimate field and left the traditional music outside of that legitimate field either through the strategies of marginalization and alienation or destroying the social base of the traditional Turkish music and putting it into the museum.⁶²

There were, of course, reactions to these strategic efforts, some of them not taking the risk of failure to change one's main side as submission and negligence. There were also efforts to widen the legitimate field to discuss and live the traditional music culture. One of these efforts could be the construction of a heterodox discourse as Rauf Yekta Bey's challenge of identity.⁶³ And another one is Turkish legitimization as Arel's studies⁶⁴ to keep with Kemalist historical thesis, or internalizing the official discourse and trying to legitimize themselves through western views or Atatürk's views.⁶⁵

Today the number of studies on the classical Turkish musical culture keeps increasing. Following the footsteps of Rauf Yekta, whose works constitute a rich resource for examination of the musical culture in the early years of the Republic, Gönül Paçacı conducted meticulous researches on the broadcasting of Turkish music and *Darülelhan* in particular, which puts the archived sources at the disposal of the researches.⁶⁶

Gönül Paçacı's compilation works, which enable the change of musical culture to be assessed from different points of view, should be considered as a significant contribution to the corpus of musical culture. Establishment of conservatories and musicology departments facilitated an increase in the number of academic studies on the traditional music and its transformation process although these studies mainly focus on the examination of music in terms of its technical specifications.⁶⁷ On the

⁶² G. Ayas (2014), 211-277.

⁶³ Süleyman Erguner, Rauf Yekta Bey: Neyzen - Müzikolog - Bestekar (İstanbul : Kitabevi, 2003), 11.

⁶⁴ G. Ayas (2014), *ibid* 221-233.

⁶⁵ According to Ayas, Hüseyin Saadettin Arel, Ercüment Berker, Burhanettin Ökte, Cinuçen Tanrıkorur can be listed in this group. G. Ayas, (2014) ibid 242.

⁶⁶ See Gönül Paçacı Tunçay, *Neşriyat-ı Musiki: Osmanlı Müziğini Okumak*, (İstanbul: Vakıf Bank Kültür Yayınları, 2019).

⁶⁷ Tuba Kardeş, "Mesleki Müzik Eğitimi Veren Devlet Konservatuvarlarındaki Klâsik Türk Müziği Üslûp Ve Repertuvar Eğitiminin İçerik Ve Yöntem Bakımından İncelenmesi" (MA Thesis, Afyon Kocatepe

other hand, efforts to interpret the music in the light of its social and cultural position by going beyond its institutional and technical history have been gradually increasing. Many memoirs, autobiographies and biographies, which allow for analysis and observation of cultural transformation based on textbook examples, have been published. The aforementioned memoirs are unique resources that help us scrutinize the history of individual efforts aiming at protecting the traditional music and also identify the changing priorities.⁶⁸

Contribution of the seventeen and eighteen centuries' studies, which unearthed the rare written resources of Turkish Music should not be forgotten or overlooked. For instance, it would not be an exaggeration to regard as pragmatic the biography of Ali Ufki Bey and the studies of Cem Behar who has brought to light the work of *Mecmua-i Saz ü Söz*. Apart from Mecmua, his copyrighted works have featured such music-oriented subjects that the readers feel that what they know about musical culture remains to be just the tip of the iceberg compared to what they do not know. Furthermore, he has created areas of discussion by touching upon the approach-driven problems with regard to the main issues like tradition, modernity etc.⁶⁹

Especially as from the 2000s, some works featuring the characteristics of traditional music began to be published. Supported by the studies on modes (*makam*) and

Üniversitesi, 2013). Bilen Işıktaş, "Şerif Muhittin Targan'ın Ud Tekniğine Katkısı: 6 Ud Taksiminin Analizi" (MA Thesis, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2011). Sinem Özdemir, "Popülerleşme Sürecinde Türk Müziği ve Bu Süreçte Bir Bestekar: Sadettin Kaynak" (PhD disser., İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2009). Deniz Seltuğ, "Türk Makam Müziğinin Günümüze Aktarımında Gramofon Kayıtlarının Rolü, Disklerin Kimyasal ve Fiziksel Analizleri ve Tayin Sonuçlarının Ses Kalitesiyle İlişkisi" (MA Thesis, Haliç Üniversitesi, 2015).

⁶⁸Recent studies have provided a basis for the biographical works. For samples of these commemorative memories see Mesut Cemil, *Tanburi Cemil'in Hayatı*, (2003). Mehmet Güntekin, *Nevzad Atlığ'ın Tanıklığında*, (2012). Cemil Altınbilek, *Hoca Cahit Gözkan'ın Musiki Mirası Defterler*, (2012). Cinuçen Tanrıkorur, *Saz ü Söz Arasında*, (2003). Ergun Balcı, *Cibali'den Kubbealtı'na Yusuf Ömürlü*, (2003). etc.

⁶⁹ Cem Behar, *Aşk Olmayınca Meşk Olmaz*, YKY, 2016. This book is Behar's most known book, which demonstrates how the meşk system and its mechanisms works. In addition, the book offers new questions and paths to follow for researchers in this field. For the studies about the problems of traditional music see Cem Behar, *Musikiden Müziğe: Osmanlı / Türk Müziği: Gelenek ve Modernlik* (İstanbul: YKY, 2005). ______ *Saklı Mecmua: Ali Ufki'nin Bibliotheque Nationale de France'taki [Turc 292] Yazması* (İstanbul: YKY, 2008). ______ Şeyhülislam'ın *Müziği-18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı-Türk Musikisi ve Şeyhülislam Es'ad Efendi'nin Atrabü'l-Asar'ı* (İstanbul: YKY, 2010). _____ *Osmanlı/Türk Musikisinin Kısa Tarihi*, (İstanbul: YKY, 2015).

procedures (*usul*), researches have been conducted to assess the historical course and progress of the theoretical knowledge.⁷⁰ Increase of elaborate works aiming at comprehension of the meşk (*teaching style of Turkish music*) tradition has considerably contributed to understanding of the musical culture in a wider context. The gaps in this field began to be filled through the works, which examine the Turkish musical culture from a sociological angle and also keeps track of the cultural transformation through the course of events in music.⁷¹ The number of studies addressing the role of music in the social life or its relation with the politics⁷² has risen over the last decade.

All these works and studies, which grow in number and shed light on future studies, are definitely not adequate. This field still suffers from a wide gap in terms of the studies, which will be able to identify the cultural changes and put down on paper the peculiar traditions of our music and then transfer them to future generations.



⁷⁰ Walter Feldman, *Music of the Ottoman Court: Makam, Composition And The Early Ottoman Instrumental Repertoire* (Berlin: VWB-Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, c1996). Cenk Güray, *Bin Yılın Mirası: Makamı Var Eden Döngü – Edvar Geleneği* (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2012). John Morgan O'Connell, *Alaturka: Style in Turkish Music* (1923–1938) (New York: Routledge, 2013). Eugenia Popescu-Judetz, *Three Comparative Essays on Turkish Music* (İstanbul: Pan Yayınları, 2010).

⁷¹ Onur Güneş Ayas, Musiki İnkılabının Sosyolojisi: Klasik Türk Müziği Geleneğinde Süreklilik ve Değişim (İstanbul: Doğu Kitabevi, 2014). Onur Öner, "A Collective Biography Study Of Musicians: Patterns, Networks And Music As A "Profession" In The Late Ottoman Era And The Early Republican Years In Istanbul" (PhD disser., Istanbul Sehir University, 2019). Bilen Işıktaş, Peygamber'in Dâhi Torunu Şerif Muhiddin Targan: Modernleşme, Bireyselleşme, Virtüozite (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2018).

⁷² Meral Özbek, *Popüler Kültür ve Orhan Gencebay Arabeski* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1991). Martin Stokes, *Türkiye'de Arabesk Olayı* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000). ______ *Aşk Cumhuriyeti-Türk Popüler Müziğinde Kültürel Mahrem* (İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012).

CHAPTER 3

TRADITIONAL TURKISH MUSICAL CULTURE

Along with the emergence of new ways of thinking and the development of new technologies, modernity paved the way for significant changes in the traditional world. Musical culture is one of the main spheres where the impact of those significant changes was experienced intensely. In order for researchers to be able to examine the tradition of Turkish music, it should be acknowledged and accepted that continuity and change are the two veins still existent within the tradition of Turkish music which is deemed and positioned as the continuation of a tradition although it is known that it went through a process of change and transformation. Thus, it is more meaningful and reasonable to examine and evaluate traditional Turkish musical culture by focusing on the mechanisms of transfer, education and training, and the phases of its performance and institutions so as to develop a comprehensive understanding of this culture.

3.1. Institutions of Traditional Turkish Music

In the Ottoman-Turkish music tradition, the structures of institutional education have naturally transformed over time. From the early Ottoman times, *mehterhane*, *Enderun*, *Mevlevihane*, musician guilds, and private *meşk* rooms were the main centers for music education. In the 19th century, the structure of these institutions began to change, and in this course, several different institutions superseded them.

3.1.1. Enderun

Enderun, which had gained and maintained its value in the imperial tradition as a significant element is the first institutional structure for music education. *Enderun* was not solely an institution for music education and from the early periods of the empire, people coming to the sultan's palace from all over the country were trained in many areas such as mathematics, philosophy, art, history, and politics to fill the bureaucratic and military levels of the state. In the *Meşkhane* beside the Expeditionary Ward in *Enderun*, training was conducted through *meşk* system, which

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is based on one-to-one transfer within the master-pupil relationship. *Enderun* enormously contributed to the development of the traditional Turkish music until the rise of westernization and modernization movements in the Ottoman State. However, especially since the beginning of the 18th century, the deformations and disorders in the *devsirme* system had a bearing in *Enderun* also and incompetent people began to join *Enderun*. As a result of these developments, *Enderun* fell into a position of brake down.

3.1.2. Mehterhane and Muzıka-yı Hümayûn

Mehterhane has unique importance for musical history. *Mehter* is a kind of war music played to boost the motivation of the soldiers and express the glory of the state. In *mehter* music, mostly wind instruments like a clarion, horn, *mehter* whistle, and percussion instruments like kettledrum, drum, *nakkare*, cymbal and *çevgan* were used. This music was not a part of the festivity in Turkish tradition; on the contrary, it was a sign of being glorious, prideful, and magnificent. The greatness and blessing of the state were echoed with the rumbles of the drums. *Mehterhane* can also be considered the first music school established and funded by the state. In *Mehterhanes*, performing *mehteran* groups were educated and then stationed in cities and big castles in the regions in three continents under the rule of the Ottoman Empire.

In the Ottoman Empire, military and education were among the primary fields, which were institutionalized in a systematic way according to modern understanding. Therefore, military schools were the first to go through the transformation process. First of all, the new army band, *Muzıka-yı Hümayûn*, replaced *Mehterhane* after the abolishment of janissary corps. The Ottoman music life started to change rapidly after 1826 when the modern music understanding of the West started to be applied as a state policy. It was aimed to meet the needs of music in military and civil environments by breaking *Muzıka-yı Hümayûn* into various groups. Within this institution, there had been several groups performing music in different styles, like the Court Orchestra, *Fasıl* Ensemble, *Orta Oyunu*, Theater, *Cambazlık, Karagözcülük, Mukallidlik*, Opera, Opera Choir, Operetta. Upon the end of *Mehteran*'s military

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function, Mahmut II resorted to close the *Mehterhanes* gradually. The reason behind this idea was that the folk cannot be dismantled in a single moment, and therefore that the efforts to reshape the musical taste should be spread over time. Another reason was to secure the job of the musicians in the *Mehterhane* until they reached suitable conditions and kept up with the new music style.¹

In the following years, one of the most remarkable groups of *Mızıka-yı Humayûn*, the Palace Orchestra started to perform the famous operettas, preludes and dance music in the classical repertoire. Thus, western music, especially in Istanbul, started to gather the Ottoman elites in venues such as the Naum Theater. In this period, wealthy families started to pay attention to education and performance of western music for their children and social gatherings.

3.1.3. Mevlevihanes

Another important institution in the development and education of Turkish music was *Mevlevihaneler*. These were institutions that played a significant role in the development and spread of traditional Turkish music while giving courses such as Turkish, Arabic, Persian, calligraphy, illumination, *sema*, and music.² By means of music as a form of worship and the accompaniment by musicians during this worship, music earned prestige and sanctity. Thereby, the repertoire developed, the instruments used in the performance of this music gained popularity in society and became an important part of the culture. The *Mevlevihaneler*, protected and supported by the palace, grew into crucial institutions that influenced the development of Turkish music and the rise of musical culture within a social structure.

3.1.4. Darü'l-Elhan and Conservatories

Darü'l-Elhan (1917), on the other hand, was the first official institution, which offered a systematic and modern Turkish music education. It became a leading institution by giving concerts with the performance ensembles and broadcasting music besides

¹ A. Özasker (1997), *ibid* 7.

² C. Tanrıkorur (2005), *ibid* 27.

giving music education. Another distinctive characteristic of this institution was the continuation of both the education of western classical music and Turkish music simultaneously.³ Darü'l-Elhan was then transformed into municipality conservatory.

Especially in the education applications during Ottoman period, the idea to integrate the traditional Ottoman and the western musical cultures by way of performance arts was prevalent.⁴ *Enderun* did not operate between 1918-1923 due to the war conditions and the government implemented some shifts in its educational view. In the year 1926 the assignment of music education mission of *Enderun* have been cancelled. The functions of compiling, classifying and preserving music have been transferred to "Tarihi Türk Musikisi Eserlerini Tasnif ve Tesbit Heyeti" in terms of classical Turkish music. In the area of folk music its function had a continuation in the compilation trips, which were realized by the "compiling delegations".

In 1926 *Darü'l-Elhan* have been transformed to municipality conservatory and as a result the state's relationship with classical music came to an end. Hüseyin Sadettin Arel have been appointed as the head of the Istanbul Municipality Conservatory in order to found the Turkish music branch in the institution.⁵ And the official music education in a conservatory became possible hence forth, when the İstanbul Türk Musikisi Devlet Konservatuarı was established in 1976. Later on, the conservatory continued music education under the name of İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Türk Musikisi Konservatuarı when all the state conservatories came under the universities within the scope of YÖK (Higher Education Institution) in 1982.

3.1.5. Meşkhanes and Cemiyets

In the second constitutional period, some shortcomings were observed in the education of traditional music. Except for the army band *Muzıka-yı Hümayûn*, there

³ Fatih Salih Coşkun, "Sosyalleşme Bağlamında İzmir'deki Türk Sanat Müziği Amatör Koroları ve Toplu Müzik Pratikleri" (PhD disser., Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, 2007), 10.

⁴ Cenk Güray, "Darü'l-Elhan'dan Yurttan Sesler'e: Türk Halk Müziği Derlemelerine Yansıyan Makam Algısına Bir Bakış" in *Kuruluşunun Yüzüncü Yılında Darü'l-Elhan'a Armağan*, ed. Gülçin Yahya Kaçar (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 2018), 167-196.

⁵ Yılmaz Öztuna, *Türk Mûsikîsi Kavram ve Terimleri Ansiklopedisi*, (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2000), 451.

was no official institution for the education and advancement of the traditional Turkish music. After 1908, the number of civil institutions (associations, private schools, private lessons, etc.) that offered musical education had increased like *Muzıka Mektebi, Darü'l-Musikii Osmani, Şark Musiki Cemiyeti*. These *meşkhane, tekke, cemiyet* and individual attempts were not adequate both in terms of their number and their systems for musical education. After a while, in the early Republican period, *Muzıka-yı Hümayûn* turned to *Riyaset-i Cumhur Filarmoni Orkestrası* which was designed in western style and played western music.

After the *Tanzimat* period, the Turkish music events that were held in the palace shifted gradually towards the houses of courtiers; and so, the musicians started to perform in private classes and meetings. Among private places where *meşk* sessions were held were houses of masters, coffee houses, and *musiki cemiyets*. Moreover, the fact that female pupils residing in the palace went to the houses of masters to learn some of the pieces, which required a longer time to practice shows that the houses of masters were used as *meşkhane*. In this period, some new private *meşkhane* such as *Mûsikî-i Osmânî, Gülşen-i Mûsikî, Dârü'l-Mûsikî, Terakkî-i Mûsikî* were opened. Kanuni Hacı Arif Bey, İsmail Hakkı, Hoca Kazım (Uz), Abdülkadir Töre were some of those masters in a sense who tried to continue the tradition of Turkish music outside the palace.⁶

Hacı Kirami Efendi used to perform music in the coffee house for those interested. Santuri Ziya Bey (1868-1956) used to do *meşk* behind the coffee house named *İmamın Kahvesi*, Cevdet Kozanoğlu (1896-1986) in the upstairs of *Halit'in Kahvesi*, Şeyh Ethem Efendi (1860-1934) in a room in the garden of *Hafiz Paşa Kıraathanesi*, Şevki Bey (1860-1891) in the coffee house of Tırnovalı Mehmet Bey in *Divan yolu*, Hafız Aziz Efendi (1856-1929) in the room of Ortaköy Mosque. The house of Bolahenk Nuri Bey used to be known as *Bolahenk Nuri Bey'in Meşkhanesi* among music circles. Reşat Ekrem Koçu included this house as an entry in the *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*.⁷

While private *meşkhanes* continued to operate, *musiki cemiyetleri* started to be established with an aim to survive the Turkish music and to give music education

⁶ C. Tanrıkorur (2005), *ibid* 31-32.

⁷ C. Behar (2005) *ibid* 54-55.

after the second constitutional era. For example, *Darü't-Talim-i Musiki Cemiyeti* "was one of the leading associations established for both education and concerts. [...], *additionally*, it made the first records of the group performance of Turkish music, and it was a serious institution giving successful concerts both at home and abroad."⁸ In the following years, there were changes in the organization of the associations. They adopted and promoted the idea of the protection of Turkish music from especially the new style of performance which was aiming entertainment and was named as "*piyasa ağzı*" (commercial music).⁹ Thus, they developed and aspired to protect a style, which they called "the classical style". They, thereby, planned to transfer a more accurate and appropriate tradition of Turkish music and a style of performance.

Upon the emergence of modern educational institutions in the Ottoman Empire, there had been a need for institutional structuring in the field of music education. The loss of importance of traditional music in the palace led to, first, the foundation of private *meşkhaneler* outside the palace and, then, the establishment of state or private institutions in several forms such as courses, associations, and schools. The first examples of *musiki cemiyetleri*, which still play an important role in traditional music education emerged during that period.

After the foundation of the Republic, however, the ban on the traditional music confined *meşk* only to the houses. In this period, *meşk* started to be performed at houses or suitable clubs under the names of *Musiki-i Osmani, Gülşen-i Musiki, Darü'l Musiki, Terakki-i Musiki.*¹⁰ Especially *alla turca* music lovers did several attempts to stop the traditional Turkish music from losing its prestige and disappearing. With this aim, institutionalized structures also started to be established in addition to private *meşkhanes.* Music schools and *cemiyets* are the main examples in this context. However, the schools did not survive for too long as they were founded thanks to individual efforts, they were targeting a limited special circle, and they lacked the state's support. With Öztuna's own words, these schools "were not long-lasting

⁸ C. Tanrıkorur (2005), *ibid* 32.

⁹ S. Coşkun (2007), *ibid* 10.

¹⁰ S. Coşkun (2007), *ibid* 10.

institutions founded through individual efforts of well-known musicians who were confident in their fame."¹¹ Preserving their efficiency and continuing their activities to this day, *cemiyetler*, on the other hand, are of importance.

There were fundamental changes in the education and chain of transfer of Turkish music upon cultural policies and reforms after the Republican era. Since the traditional music was identified with the Ottoman Empire and backwardness, the new nation-state preferred restricting the education and performance of this music in an attempt to build its own musical culture. Firstly, the closure of lodges (tekke) in 1926 led to the loss of a ring, which had a rich repertoire, from the chain of transfer of Turkish music. The associations had to undertake a different role after the education institutions, Darü'l Elhan in particular, were closed. The number of associations and *cemiyetler* performing alla turca music also mounted as a result of such restrictions and bans. The mentioned societies endeavored to take responsibility for the education of traditional music, which the state was no longer committed, with an aim to survive and transfer this tradition to the future generations. In these societies, the education was supported by scientific studies, while meşk was still applied. Musiki Mecmuası published by İleri Türk Müziği Konservatuvari Derneği starting from 1948 can be mentioned as an example of the scientific studies.12

Upon the ban on the education of traditional Turkish music, people who were interested in traditional music attempted to be gather in organizations. One of the most concrete examples of such attempts is Türk Musiki Cemiyetleri Federasyonu chaired by Ali Rıfat Bey and joined by various music associations from Anatolia in

¹¹ Yılmaz Öztuna, *Türk Musikisi: Teknik ve Tarih,* (İstanbul Türk Petrol Vakfı Lale Mecmuası Yayınları, 1987), 68.

¹² For a detailed list on institutions such as schools, associations, performance ensembles which significantly contributed to music life before and after the Republican era, please see Gültekin Oransay, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Elli Yılında Geleneksel Sanat Musikimiz", in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, v.6., (İstanbul: 1983), 1502-1506.

1928. Moreover, there were suddenly many gramophone companies and *alla turca* music records on the market, and record sales boomed.¹³

3.2. Social Character and Position of the Traditional Turkish Music

3.2.1. An open culture for the multi-cultural and/or multi-ethnic factors

The Ottoman Empire had a complex, multi-cultural, multi-religious and multi-ethnic social structure spread on a vast area. Although the ruling group was comprised of Turkish speakers who were Anatolians and followers of Islam, there was no ethnic hegemony in cultural and bureaucratic spheres of life. Moreover, there were several composers and artists who were non-Muslims or had different ethnic roots and they immensely contributed to the development of Turkish musical culture. The number of the pieces of music produced by such artists of Greek, Armenian or Jewish origin makes up a considerable amount within the music tradition, and the artists, therefore, are crucial due to their contributions not only in terms of pieces of music and performance, but also theory.

For example, though he was Jewish, İsak Fresco Romano who is deemed the founder of classical Turkish *tanbur* ecole was the master of Sultan Selim III in his palace where there were several other *tanbur* masters. Furthermore, in the same period, Nasır Abdülbaki Dede and Hampartsum Limonciyan could compete on a level playing field in order to create a practical notation system upon the sultan's wish. Zaharya, İsak, Nikoğos, Andon, Vasil, Tatyos, Bimen, Yorgo and Nubar are examples of masters in performance and composition. In addition to these, it should be remembered that nearly all records of the notations of the classical pieces in the Turkish musical culture repertoire are the results of the efforts of foreign or minority musicians such as Ali Ufkî, Kantemir, Hampartsum, Mandoli, and Hanciyan.¹⁴

¹³ Füsun Üstel, "1920'li ve 30'lu Yıllarda "Millî Musiki" ve "Musiki İnkılabı"," *Defter Dergisi*, v.22, Sonbahar 1994, 41-53.

¹⁴ Cinuçen Tanrıkorur, Osmanlı Dönemi Türk Musikisi (İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2005), 18.

3.2.2. Social Characteristics

3.2.2.1. Division of folk and palace music

Multi-cultural characteristic of the traditional Turkish music did not result only from ethnic and religious divergences but also from the fact that distinct music pieces belonging to different social groups and environments were able to find a place for themselves. It was performed on a wide range from palaces to coffee places, from mansions and houses to battlefields. However, such a division have not taken place in the works regarding musical history or theory. There was no tendency towards denomination or classification such as classical, folk, or art music. With the beginning of the Republican era, however, debates on the division of folk and classical music increased. Researchers like Rauf Yekta, Cinuçen Tanrıkorur draw attention to the underlying common theoretical foundation of both musical structures in the context of debates concerning such division. They state that in the traditional Turkish musical culture, these two structures can only be held as two movements, which have the same history and the same technical properties and they should not be separated from each other. For example, Rauf Yekta asserts that one of these movements can be defined as a style, which caters to a sophisticated and refined taste shaped in city culture, while the second is a rather improvised style originating in the countryside.¹⁵

The Ottomans created a balanced relationship between world policy and the communal and cosmopolitan identities. The identities of the imperial and society were elaborately separated from each other. Therefore, this culture was able to create a unique musical tradition without being separated from the Orient. Especially in urban life, this musical tradition formed an upper culture system, which bound the urban society together.¹⁶ Accordingly, the Ottoman traditional music did not belong only to the upper classes. In interaction and communication, it constitutes a different position for itself.

 ¹⁵ Cenk Güray, *Bin Yılın Mirası: Makamı Var Eden Döngü – Edvar Geleneği* (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2012), 11.
 ¹⁶ G. Ayas (2014), *ibid* 26-27.

Besides being the fundamental institutions where the theoretical education continued, *Enderun meşkhanesi* and *mehterhane* were the reasons why Turkish music was named as court music. However, *mevlevihanes*, houses of music lovers or mansions, houses of masters were all spaces for music education and performance. This, therefore, means that traditional Turkish music should not be categorized as only court music. For instance, according to Soydaş, the traditional Turkish music in all forms and types was performed in the palace in the 16th and 17th centuries. Among them were classical, *raks*, folk, *mehter*, or religious music. It was usual to perform in accordance with the environment and situation although not each of them was performed at the same level.¹⁷ Moreover, the existence of several *türküs* among the pieces written out in notation by Ali Ufkî, an Ottoman court musician, in the 17th century is the best example showing the place of folk music in the palace and city.¹⁸

Republican intellectuals following the ideas of Gökalp, on the other hand, started defining national music as folk music. In this period, according to Ayas, folk music, which was considered to be belonging to the Turks, was separated from the Turkish music tradition which was no longer deemed pure due to the cultural diversity of Ottoman Empire.¹⁹ The recent systematization of theory made this division more apparent in the studies during that period. For example, with Tanrıkorur's own words,

... our folklorists (after Mustafa Sarısözen)... in an attempt to eagerly prove their idea that our folk music has different roots from classical music, preferred to use general terms like '4 beats' instead of *Sofyan*, '9 beats' instead of *Aksak*, and 'mixed ten beats' instead of *Curcuna*. In fact, the way one who performs a *şarkı* in *Aksak* or *Curcuna usul* beats the dayereh (*daire*) is the same as the way a folk musician who plays a *türkü* or *oyun havası* in the same *usul* beats the goblet drum.²⁰

¹⁷ Emin Soydaş, "Musical performance at the Ottoman court in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries" in *PERFORMA* '11 Proceedings and Abstracts Book, (2011), access time 15.07.2019. https://www.academia.edu/3416456/Musical_Performance_at_the_Ottoman_Court_in_the_Sixtee_nth_and_Seventeenth_Centuries.

¹⁸ Emin Soydaş, "Türk Müziğinin Bazı Güncel Sorunları Üzerine Düşünceler ve Çözüm Önerileri" in *Modern Dönemde İslâm'ı ve Osmanlı'yı Yeniden Düşünmek*, ed. M. Hüseyin Mercan and Berat Açıl, (İstanbul: Yedirenk Yayınevi, 2013), 49-68.

¹⁹ G. Ayas (2014), *ibid* 181-186.

²⁰ Cinuçen Tanrıkorur, *Türk Müzik Kimliği* (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2004), 35.

Some theoretical studies were also prevalent at that time regarding the separation of folk music from classical music. The local compilations would enrich the repertoire of "folk music" and thereby unity consciousness would be reached through a common national identity.²¹ At this point, as Güray indicates, the argument that "the tradition of makam is the most fundamental distinctions between these two cultures" had been put forward. According to this argument, the folk music shows different *ezgi* features compared to *makam* in classical Turkish music culture. In this way, a new theory has been devised and the concept of "ayak" had been put forward as to be a counterpart of *makam* in order to be able to isolate the folk music from its historical tradition.²² This attempt had an accelerating impact on the existing polarization between the folk and classical music division which still continues today.

3.2.2.2. Religious/ Non-Religious Division (Dînî/Lâ-dînî)

Turkish *musiki* is generally classified as religious and non-religious with regards to content and function. Religious *musiki* has also two sub-categories as *cami musikisi* (mosque music) and *tekke musikisi* (lodge music). Despite several commonalities, there may be differences regarding style and attitude in the performance of lodge and mosque pieces. The most typical characteristic of mosque *musiki* is the use of human voice only, no instrument is used in mosque *musiki*. Examples of mosque *musiki* include adhan (call to prayer), *temcîd*, *münâcâat*, funeral, eid (religious festival) and Friday salaat (prayers), tasbeeh after prayers, *mihrabiye*, takbir, salawat, mawlid, *miraciye*, *tevşih*, *naat*, *Muhammediye*, and *mukâbele*. In this type of *musiki* free-style and improvized performance is more important than composed pieces; however, some pieces have been composed in accordance with certain rules regarding the performance in the course of time. Hatib Zâkirî Hasan Efendi and Buhûrîzâde Mustafa Itrî Efendi can be mentioned as the most important composers of such pieces which are generally performed by a single person. On the other hand, group performance is also observed in mosque *musiki* as part of the *usul* called

²¹ Cenk Güray, *Bin Yılın Mirası: Makamı Var Eden Döngü – Edvar Geleneği* (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2012), 9-10.

²² Cenk Güray, "Darü'l-Elhan'dan Yurttan Sesler'e: Türk Halk Müziği Derlemelerine Yansıyan Makam Algısına Bir Bakış" in *Kuruluşunun Yüzüncü Yılında Darü'l-Elhan'a Armağan*, ed. Gülçin Yahya Kaçar (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 2018), 167-196.

"Cumhur Müezzinliği" which can be thought of as a kind of choir. Additionally, *ilahis* both during mawlid and taraweeh prayer are also performed with a group.

Using instruments, *tekke musikisi*, in especially Mawlawi and Bektashi orders, differs from mosque *musiki* which is solely based on the human voice. *Tekke musikisi* has also a distinct style and attitude from *cami musikisi*. *"Tekke musikisi* is rather dominated by a sufistic lyricism and enthusiasm, whereas *cami musikisi* is more serious and ascetic."²³ During rituals of orders in lodges, the main aim is the dhikr itself, rather than music. *Musiki*, or music, is only for ornamenting and the continuation of the dhikr. Non-religious music, on the other hand, includes such forms as *beste*, *kar*, *karçe* which, including janissary (*mehter*) music, most often have a similar melodic foundation, mostly focus on secular topics and are preferred during *fasil* performances.

3.3. Characteristics of Traditional Turkish Music

Traditional Turkish music has two main forms as *kabasaz* and *incesaz*. *Kabasaz* is used for military and ceremonial music like "mehter" which is loud and exciting, whereas *incesaz* is used for music performed in closed places such as palaces, kiosks, courts, rooms in houses, the square, cells or *semahanes* of dervish lodges, and mosques. Today, *incesaz* is commonly named as classical Turkish music, Turkish art music or *alla turca* music. This diverse range of names also reflects the lack of an agreed name for the Ottoman-Turkish traditional music.²⁴ The denomination for this kind of music was influenced by various ideological and social instructions. For instance, in Ottoman period, "musiki" was commonly used for all styles and genres, whereas in the 20th century, motivated by nationalistic views as well as the for a scientific definition, Rauf Yekta was the first to use the phrase "Turkish music" On the other hand, Ziya Gökalp termed it as "*şark musikisi* (oriental music)" because he identified the traditional/Ottoman culture with the outdated orient and classified it as the

²³Nuri Özcan, "Dinî Mûsiki" in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 359, access time: 08.07.2019, <u>https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/dini-musiki</u>

²⁴ Cem Behar, Zaman, Mekân, Müzik: Klasik Türk Musikisinde Eğitim (meşk), İcra ve Aktarım (İstanbul: Afa Yayınları, 1993), 120.

opposite of modern and westernized type of music. Also, the first use of "klasik" (classic) for this urban music was by Mahmut Ragip Gazimihal (1928).²⁵

Besides the debates about the name of this music, Turkish music has an original tradition and culture. To see the transformations in that culture during the modernization period, we should first mention the tradition of *meşk* and special features of this musical culture.

3.3.1. Education and transmission system: Meşk

Traditional Turkish music cannot be defined within an institutional structure; instead, it mostly depends on the individual education and transfer mechanisms. Traditional Turkish music has a unique oral system called "*meşk*"²⁶ which regulates, methodizes, shapes, and organizes the education, performance, production, and transfer of music. This tradition has special training methods because personal contact between masters and pupil is essential in this system. Like music, most of the traditional arts and crafts have this type of training process.

Meşk is a general system of education and transfer not only confined to music, and for example, of utmost importance in especially Turkish calligraphy where the master gives a piece of writing and the pupil tries to copy it. Here, the aim is for the pupil to learn the art of handwriting by imitating his master. The pupil shows his piece to the master so the master can point the mistakes and ask from the pupil to write a new piece. Similar to that, *meşk* has an essential and significant place in *musiki* as well. The main characteristic of *meşk* is one-to-one communication between master and pupil. Moreover, memory is a fundamental element in the *meşk* system as the notation is not employed during the transfer of repertoire with an attempt to preserve the culture. For this reason, the abundance of music pieces in one's memory is a sign of mastery. *Usul*, here, greatly assists the memory. In other words, since the training and transfer are simultaneous processes in *meşk*, the pupil learns *makam* and style at the same time while learning the piece of music by hitting the *usul*.

²⁵ C. Güray (2018), *ibid* 22.

²⁶ Detaylı bilgi için bknz. Cem Behar, *Aşk Olmayınca Meşk Olmaz* (İstanbul: YKY, 2010).

In traditional music, *meşk* is a process in which the pupil watches and listens to his master personally while the master performs a piece and then repeats it to his master until he properly learns the piece in full. The most important aspect of this kind of education is the personal contact between the master and the pupil because the apprentice should repeat not only the melody and the notes correctly, but also he should digest the behaviors of his master with his distinctive style and tone, and then interpret them. In this process, first of all, the pupil listens to the new piece of music again and again from the master. While listening, he follows how his master sings and what he does from the beginning till the end. And then he internalizes what he saw and tries to perform it to his master until he can make it the same way.²⁷

Far from being only a training system for the arts and crafts, *meşk* is a transfer mechanism of the repertoire. Ottoman traditional musical culture is based on oral culture. There was no widely accepted and used written repertoire until the 19th century. There were some books of compilations and manuscripts of lyrics (*güfte mecmuaları*) but they only depicted the verses of the tracks. The melodic structure was orally transmitted from one person to another.

Written transfer in the world of the traditional Turkish music which was dominated by oral culture was ensured through the compilations recording only the lyrics and *usul*. Manuscripts of lyrics (*güfte mecmuaları*) have a fundamental function in the transfer of repertoire to the future generations. Writing the lyrics with the meter of the pieces of music and emphasizing the significance of this practice played an important role in terms of preserving and transferring the rhythmic foundation. The role of the meter, in fact, demonstrates how central the position of the *usul* is in the transfer of *musiki*.

The most important, and at the same time the first, examples of the written mediums for the transfer in Turkish music are the manuscripts of lyrics, *güfte mecmuaları*. In these compilation books, the *makam*, *usul* and the meter of the tracks were included

²⁷ C. Behar (2005), *ibid* 19.

with the lyrics. As the relationship between the meter and the lyrics ensured a kind of fixed transfer, the need for a transfer tool based on the notation system was relieved.

Music is, by nature, free and non-fixable. The translation of music into writing created, both in terms of the nature of music and the characteristics of the oral culture, various and powerful areas of resistance within the society which was dependent upon the oral transfer of culture. The most powerful resistance was observed within the education and transfer processes of *meşk* culture which is based on one-to-one human interaction. Yet, there were also some efforts to write out pieces of music in notation within the tradition of *meşk* while the use of notation was not widespread. At various times, different systems, first letter-based and then staffbased, were theoretically developed but none of such gained wide currency until the 19th century.

Before the 17th century, theorists such as Kutbuddin Şirazi, Safiuddin Urmevi and Abdulkadir Meragi used a theoretical system based on the idea of representation and a letter-based note.²⁸ Then in the 17th century, Ali Ufkî Bey, who was a captive in the palace from Poland, tried to record the works of that period by using the western notation system.²⁹ However, in the second half of the 17th century, Şeyh Osman Nâyî Dede and Demetrius Cantemir, the Prince of Moldavia, invented two notes system in the same period.³⁰

²⁸ Detaylı bilgi için bknz. Mehmet Nuri Uygun, Safiyyüddin Abdülmü'min Urmevî ve Kitâbü'l-Edvârı, (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı, 1999). Recep Uslu, Meragi'den II. Murad'a Müziğin Maksatları: Makasidu'l-Elhân (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı, 2015).

²⁹Ali Ufki: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Mecmuâ-i Sâz ü Söz- Tıpkıbasım, ed. Şükrü Elçin (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1976). Cem Behar, Saklı Mecmua: Ali Ufki'nin Bibliotheque Nationale de France'taki [Turc 292] Yazması (İstanbul: YKY, 2008). Santuri Ali Ufki Bey, Topkapı Sarayı'nda Yaşam: Albertus Bobovius ya da Santuri Ali Ufki Bey'in Anıları (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2002).

³⁰ Demetrius Cantemir: The Collection Of Notations, ed. Owen Wright (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1992). Eugenia Popescu-Judetz, *Prince Dimitrie Cantemir*: *Theorist And Composer Of Turkish Music* (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1999). The system of Osman Dede, which has similarities with Cantemir's notation system, has been introduced by Eugenia Popescu-Judetz in her book *Türk Musikî Kültürünün Anlamları* (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1998), 38-39.

At the end of the 18th century, there were some attempts to create a new notation system for traditional music, especially by the intervention of Sultan Selim III. One of the theorists working on the creation of a new notation system was Abdülbaki Nasır Dede who developed the system of his ancestor Nayi Osman Dede.³¹ Furthermore, Armenian musician Hamparsum Limonciyan developed a notation system through interpreting the sign and symbols adopted from the *Khaz* notation, which was written in 9th-century Armenian churches beneath the verses of hymns to follow the melody, with a new perception.³² The second notation system gained more acceptance and popularity than the first one. Moreover, it was observed that non-Muslim Ottoman subjects insistently used the notation systems invented by them while the environment was also supportive of the usage of the western notation due to the non-Muslim subjects' religious, cultural and trade ties with the West.³³

Utilized as a transfer method in the Ottoman-Turkish music, the *meşk* system was the main structure enabling the transfer of a piece of music to first music circles and finally to future generations after it was off the composer's hands. Besides transferring the master's whole repertoire to the pupil, it was the only means to present new pieces to music circles. Considering the fact that the music was transferred from one person to another, it was inevitable for those pieces of music to be subjected to different filters and personal additions and/or omissions. This situation, rather than being seen as a loss, formed the basis of the *meşk* system's unique character. Pieces of music, therefore, continued to exist with the influence of each new era and they were being re-created according to the tastes and trends of the era. Therefore, it was possible to come across several different variations of the same piece. Each and every of such pieces was accepted on the condition that their chain was valid and reliable.

³¹ See *Abdülbâkî Nâsır Dede'nin Müzik Yazısı "Tahrîriye,"* ed. Recep Uslu & Nilgün Doğrusöz Dişiaçık (İstanbul: İTÜ Rektörüğü, 2009).

³²Aram Kerovpyan, Altuğ Yılmaz, *Klasik Osmanlı Müziği ve Ermeniler* (İstanbul: Surp Pırgiç Ermeni Hastanesi Vakfı Kültür Yayınları, 2010), 83-107. Cem Behar, *Osmanlı/Türk Müziğinin Kısa Tarihi* (İstanbul: YKY, 2016), 27.

³³ A. Kerovpyan, A. Yılmaz (2010), *ibid* 121-135.

Each performance is a recreation of the production and every musician adds his own interpretation while performing. In this process, the major influence of the master comes to the forefront. Mesk continues on a range which is formed by the competent and legitimate mastership on music. The master's competency and legitimacy are the keys for the pupil to gain a qualified position in this musical environment. Learning a piece of music from a *fem-i muhsin* (literally a qualified/beneficent mouth) who "internalized the style of performance in the tradition very well, in other words, who knows and can teach the fine details and beauty of traditional *musiki*" is crucial also for the proper transfer of repertoire because *mesk* allows the pupil to also learn improvised interpretations and ornaments by the master.³⁴ Internalizing this style of performance which is a sign of mastery is essential in terms of gaining skills and achieving mastery level. Additionally, all the fine details of performance which require mastery such as performing the piece with a group, the piece's being sad or cheerful, amount or place of repetitions or ornaments are also learned through mesk. Reproduction of the piece in each performance is due to individual additions and style of performance and that characteristic became the essence of the tradition. The disagreements regarding accurate performance of the pieces of music written out in notation before the 20th century is because of the fact that the ornaments and style were not recorded.³⁵ Judetz explains this situation as follows: "Some pieces of music were recorded together with their rich ornaments, while notations of some pieces can't go further than giving bare lines of melody. Therefore, reading/performing notated songs depends rather on the reader's/performer's level of mastery in recreating the piece than the guidance of the notes."³⁶

Therefore, transferring ornamentations and style that were not recorded in notes was only made possible by *meşk* education. However, the sole aim of *meşk* was not music education. As a pedagogical teaching-method specific to traditional arts, *meşk* also allowed the pupil to gain perspective. The pupil went through a process in which he learns about life in addition to the repertoire and performance techniques from

³⁴ C. Behar (2005), *ibid* 90.

³⁵ C. Behar (2005), *ibid* 170-172.

³⁶ E. Popescu Judetz, *Türk Musikisi Kültürünün Anlamları* (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1996), 36.

his master. Along with the transmission of art pieces, a philosophy, a special perception of life and interpretation of being human had been transferred to the pupil by the master. The pupil obtains them while he learns the style, i.e. the special form of performance of his master. In this way, the pupil is subjected to the teaching of music and at the same time, he gains a life vision and philosophy from the master. It would not be wrong to think of this as a process in which the virtues such as patience and good morality are internalized and as a way like Sufism in which the students become hardened to reach the perfect human being.

At this point, I would like to give a personal example. In my childhood, I was taught music by Yusuf Ömürlü for over 8 years in the *Kubbealtı Musiki Cemiyeti* by traditional methods. For me especially, it was a training that proceeded in parallel with my learning to read and write. However, today I can recognize that beyond music, many things were reflected in our fresh minds on a wide range: from the importance of punctuality to eagerness to the old Istanbul culture, from the rules of speech in public to the way the relationship should be established between master and pupil, etc. What is noteworthy is that my master did not transmit those teachings to us within a systematic curriculum; instead, he had embedded them in the process. In *meşk* system, the formation of a special loyalty between the pupil and his own master is based not only on technical and repertoire transfer but also on this kind of relationship.

3.3.2. Main Components of Turkish Music: Usul & Makam

Another most important element of traditional Turkish music is *usul.* In addition to forming the rhythmic foundation, it is the most important assistant of memory in terms of repertoire transfer. *Usul* is a language of weak and strong emphasis that gives the meaning and depth to the lyrics and melody.³⁷ Accordingly, in traditional Turkish music, learning and performing in accordance with *usul* is one of the most important constituents. This is, in other words, one of the essential stones of this

³⁷ Cem Behar, *Zaman, Mekân, Müzik: Klasik Türk Musikisinde Eğitim (meşk), İcra ve Aktarım* (İstanbul: Afa Yayınları, 1993), 130.

music's aesthetic identity. *Usul* literally has two meanings: method and tempo or meter in Turkish music. There are over 70 *usuls* from two to 120 beats.³⁸

In traditional Turkish music, *usuls* are practiced with the right and left hand beating the rhythm tools (e.g. kettledrum, drum, *nakkare*, *kudum*, bandir, mazhar, dayereh, daf, goblet drum, and spoon) which give different tones or the knees (during *meşk*) for strong, medium and weak beats. There is, therefore, a fundamental difference between Turkish and western music because while maestro in an orchestra shows the rhythm of a song with hand gestures, chef of an ensemble in Turkish music beats the rhythm tool to show the rhythm.³⁹

Learning a piece together with its *usul* is vital both technically and aesthetically. Technical importance arises from the fact that *usul* makes it easy to secure the place of a piece in memory because, according to Behar, *usul* has rhythmic, formal, and pedagogical functions musically. The *usul* of a piece establishes a rhythmic foundation in harmony with lyrics, determines the length of the piece, and supports memory and learning to ease the recall process. Aesthetically, it is crucial that *usul*, lyrics and meter are in harmony with each other.⁴⁰

We had emphasized that each piece of music is transferred with its *usul* from the master to the pupil within the *meşk* system and this fact was the fundamental and distinctive feature of the Ottoman traditional music. Besides *usul, makam* constitutes the main musical patterns which provide the formation of a musical culture unique to Anatolia, while also allowing them to be performed and transferred throughout centuries. Rhythm design is based on *usul,* while the melody is based on *makam. Makam* is the structure enabling the design of melody in Anatolia and surrounding regions. *Adwar* which are handwritten music theory books are the main sources that guaranteed the survival of the theory of *makam* until today, and they were written predominantly in Turkish especially after the 15th century.⁴¹

 ³⁸ İsmail Hakkı Özkan, Türk Musikisi Nazariyatı ve Kudüm Velveleleri (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2003), 565-567.
 ³⁹ Cem Behar, Osmanlı/Türk Müziğinin Kısa Tarihi (İstanbul: YKY, 2016), 49.

⁴⁰ C. Behar (2005), *ibid* 19-29.

⁴¹ C. Güray (2012), *ibid* 9.

In order to come to an agreement for a common description and in discussion with the parties who had different opinions, Tanrıkorur describes *makam* as "a fundamental concept specific to Turkish music which results from the use of scales within a certain set of rules regarding melodic movement (or *seyir*) which should be followed by composers". *Makams* in Turkish music are mostly categorized in two as *basit* (simple) and *bileşik* (compound). Safiuddin lists 11 *basit makam* in Turkish music, while Arel compiles 13 *makams* in his list. In classical theory books, however, the phrase "12 *makams*, four branches (*şube*), 24 voices (*ağaze*)" is always repeated. According to Arel, main *makams* are *çargah*, *buselik*, *kürdi*, *rast*, *uşşak*, *hüseyni*, *neva*, *hicaz*, *hümayun*, *uzzal*, *zirguleli hicaz*, *karcığar* and *basit suznak*.⁴² Apart from these, the number of *birleşik makams* such as Bayatî-arabân, Evcârâ, Ferahfezâ, Nühüft, Zemzeme is 584 but the majority could not survive until the present day. The number of *makams* currently used in Turkish music, on the other hand, is around 80.⁴³

3.3.3. Forms, modes and genres

Traditional Turkish music was mainly a vocal music whose primary instrument was the human voice. The genres of this music are divided into two according to their vocal or instrumental composition and this also is seen in the distribution of vocal and instrumental pieces of music in the repertoire. Almost 95% of the repertoire is comprised of vocal pieces.⁴⁴ Instrumental music consists of forms like *taksim*, *peşrev*, *medhal*, *saz semaisi*, *longa*, *sirto* and *oyun havaları*, whereas vocal music includes religious forms like *ayin*, *na't*, *durak*, *miraciye*, *ilahi*, *mevlid* and also non-religious forms like *kâr*, *beste*, *ağır semai*, *yürük semai*, *gazel*, *şarkı*, *türkü* and *köçekçe*.

It is possible to understand the difference in the distribution of vocal and instrumental pieces even by examining the set of *fasıl*. Instrumental pieces function in reference to vocal pieces, and even the naming of pieces are in accordance with this relationship between vocal and instrumental pieces. For example, *peşrev* means

⁴² İ. H. Özkan (2003), *ibid* 77.

⁴³ C. Tanrıkorur (2005), *ibid* 146.

⁴⁴ C. Behar (2005), *ibid* 39.

"that which comes first" in Persian and it is the first piece played at the beginning of the set of *fasıl*.

As a form of *incesaz* or traditional urban music style, there are plenty of musical forms and genres such as *beste*, mawlid, *peşrev*, *taksim*, *şarkı*, *nutuk*, *kar*, *karçe*, *naat*, *miraciye*, etc. *Mawlawi ayini* (ritual) and set of *fasıl* can be counted as the major forms in traditional Ottoman-Turkish music.

From an art perspective, Mawlawi *ayins* are without a doubt the most precious pieces of Turkish *musiki*. Hence, in different periods of time, some music lovers, although not followers of Mawlawi order, felt the need to demonstrate their art skills through their ability to compose *ayins*. In fact, *ayin* can be depicted as the most difficult piece of art to create in Turkish *musiki*.⁴⁵

Mawlawis made use of music to achieve maturity by physically, intellectually, and spiritually training the human being and made it a part of their worship.⁴⁶ Moreover, they preferred using Mawlawi *ayins* as a means. These compositions are monumental pieces of Turkish music. There is no other piece of music which achieves *makam, usul,* melodic movement (*seyir*), modulation technique, and expression of divine emotions through music, all at once. The most famous *ayin* composers are as follows: Hamami-zâde İsmail Dede (7 *ayins*), Zekâi Dede (5 *ayins*), Nayî Osman Dede (4 *ayins*), Seyyid Ahmed Ağa (3 *ayins*), Hâfiz Şeyda Dede (3 *ayins*), Ahmed Avni Konuk (3 *ayins*), Abdürrahim Künhî Dede (2 *ayins*), Haşim bey (2 *ayins*), Bolahenk Nuri Bey (2 *ayins*), Ahmed Irsoy (2 *ayins*), Hacı Faik Bey (2 *ayins*), etc.⁴⁷

Besides these forms, which are shaped by rhythmic patterns, improvisational forms such as *"taksim"* also have a very crucial place in Turkish musical culture. Aforementioned forms follow a certain line and order within themselves and they have a special characteristic. For instance, *fasıl* is comprised of a certain number (generally 5-7) of pieces of art in a certain order and moreover, it should be enriched by some improvisational pieces such as *taksim*. These *fasıl* gatherings, which are

⁴⁵ Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk Musikisi Antolojisi* (İstanbul: Vadi Yayınları, 2007), 14.

⁴⁶ C. Tanrıkorur (2005), *ibid* 27.

⁴⁷ *Türk Musikisi Tarihi - Cilt 1,* ed. N.M. Özalp (Ankara: TRT Müzik Dairesi Başkanlığı, 1986), 29-31.

formed by instrumental pieces, verbal pieces, and *taksims*, were used to be performed like a concert in the palace and it was the main characteristic feature of the Ottoman musical culture from the 17th century up to the middle of the 20th century.⁴⁸

Taksim is an impromptu composition which demonstrates an instrument player's knowledge on describing the melodic movement of a particular *makam* and his ability to exhibit original musical ideas. It does not have any notes and does not depend on a specific *usul* since it is composed at the time of performance. Therefore, its style and tune may alter in accordance with the performer's mood. *Taksim* can be either at the beginning or end of the performance pursuant to the initial aim. What is important in *taksim* is that the instrument player individually interprets in each performance the fundamental structures of *makams* and exhibits original musical ideas. Another important detail about *taksim* is that the performer is expected to imitate vocal ornamentations (*girtlak nağmeleri*, or literally throat melodies) during performance since *taksim* belongs to a music tradition centered on the human voice like the other eastern music traditions.⁴⁹

Taksim performance constitutes a contestable characteristic in terms of the transformations which have taken place as a result of standardization during the process of modernization Since the new recording techniques makes it possible to keep the *taksim* performances, it poses an advantage for the pupil to learn mastery by giving a chance to listen to it in different places time and again. However, this practice constitutes a new problematic resulting from the fact that the uniqueness of the performance would be eliminated.

3.3.4. The style and features of performance

The traditional Turkish music's unique transfer method, *usul, makam,* and human voice-centeredness are addressed above. In addition to these, features of

 ⁴⁸ Walter Feldman, *Music Of The Ottoman Court: Makam, Composition And The Early Ottoman Instrumental Repertoire* (Berlin: VWB-Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, 1990), 74.
 ⁴⁹ C. Tanrıkorur (2005), *ibid* 168-170.

performance, which shape the characteristic of Turkish music should also be examined here. At this point, it becomes crucial not only to remember theoretical aspects of *fasıl*, which is the primary category of traditional music performance and a form of group performance but also to understand its social function. Thus, it is appropriate to touch upon *fasıl meşks* in relation to, especially, *meşk* system.

Traditional Turkish music has different pitches from western music and these pitches cannot be standardized. The different voice ranges give characteristic and personality to the works, performances, and modes. Thus, while performing, the voice ranges gain importance, and this range needs some flexibility in performance. This type of performance ornamented with individual colors and tones exposes another unique characteristic of Turkish music. When performed with a group, differences work in harmony with each other, and this is a characteristic way of performance. Erguner's comment on Itri and his period is as follows:

It is obvious that Itri and his contemporary musicians, whether in *Mevlevihane* (Mawlawi lodges) or in the palace, learned and memorized the pieces they interpreted through the *meşk* system. In the *meşk* system, it was deemed natural that the pieces exhibited some differences with respect to the master and the chain of masters to which the song belonged and that each performer ornamented and improved each piece with their individual taste and attitude while they were being transferred from one's memory to another. When they were performed with a group, a style of interpretation called "heterophony" by Pythagoras (580-500 B.C.) was observed since these differences were preserved.⁵⁰

At this point, it would be significant to touch upon solo and group performances. When it comes to forms of performance in Turkish music, group performance is heavily preferred. Yet, group performance in this sense is quite different from choral music in the West. For example, singing together without erasing and removing differences and subjective elements is unique to traditional Turkish music. Another

⁵⁰ Kudsi Erguner, "Itri ve Döneminden Günümüze Osmanlı Musikisinde Yorum Farklılıkları" in *Itrî ve Dönemine Disiplinlerarası Bakışlar – Sempozyum Bildirileri* (İstanbul: İKSV, 2013), 49.

example would be the addition of instrumental pieces to the beginning and end of vocal pieces in *fasıl* music with an aim to enrich the flow of music.⁵¹

Küme faslı (a large group *fasıl*) as a form of palace music performed with a group in the Ottoman period is also mentioned in the literature. Before the western styles became manifest and when the Turkish music still continued to be preserved and promoted, the palace provided a space which enabled group performances and the training of important and talented musicians. Non-court musicians (i.e. musicians from outside the court) were, from time to time, invited to the palace to perform as a group with court musicians. For example, Hacı Arif Bey, one of the most important composers of the 18th century, was among those invited to the palace to perform. He both trained the court (i.e. the residents of the palace) and took part in group performances together with court musicians. In addition to these, an ensemble of musicians (called *heyets*) composed of both vocalists and instrumentalists emerged as a result of training provided in *Enderun, mehterhane* (house of *mehter*/janissary band), and *meşkhane* (music school). As far as is known, these *heyets* conducted group *fasıl* performances in the presence of sultans or on special occasions such as the carnivals, religious festivals and circumcision celebrations.⁵²

Group performance tradition continues to exist at the present time although it went through several changes according to the social transformations and needs over time. Moreover, the most important group of performance is *fasil heyets* (ensembles). The conductor in *fasil heyeti* is *serhanende* (head of the *heyet*). He reads the pieces within a particular program with bandir or daf and leads the group consisting of vocalists and instrumentalists. The first *fasil heyets* were formed by the pupils of *Enderun* which was mentioned above.

Fasıl today has two different meanings in Turkish musical culture. The first which is the widespread and popular use is the act of singing *şarkı* (songs) together. In

⁵¹ İ. H. Özkan (2003), *ibid* 29.

⁵² İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlılar Zamanında Sarayda Musiki Hayatı", *Belleten Dergisi* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1977), 79.

contrast to *fasils* which include classical forms of Turkish music, *şarkı* is the form predominantly preferred in this context. The second meaning, however, refers to a classical *fasil* which is a set of pieces of music formed by two *beste* and two *semai* composed in the same *makam* by the same person. Because the set is performed altogether it can be thought of as a kind of classical concert program. During the performance, the pieces of music should follow a certain order. *Birinci* (first) *beste* has a heavier character and major *usul* forms are preferred. *İkinci* (second) *beste* is more lively, speedy and shorter than the first one. The *fasil* starts with a *baştaksim* by one of the instruments. Then respectively *peşrev*, *birinci beste*, *ağır semai*, *şarkı*, *yürük semai*, *saz semaisi* and -optionally *oyun havası*- come. The tracks are aligned according to their speed of *usul* from the slow one to the rapid. And the performing group is named as *fasil heyeti* (ensemble). The ensemble is formed of vocalists (*hanende*) and instrumentalists (*sazende*). The instruments used in the performance had changed in terms of kind and style over time.⁵³

The traditional Turkish music is a type of chamber music and gains its characteristics from the direct performance style and musical expression and perception.⁵⁴ These qualifications are sincerity, personality, affiliation and direct contact with the audience. In chamber music, there is no need for a great number of musicians during the performance. Even in the case of most crowded courtly chamber teams, as in the reign of Sultan Selim III, the number of the musicians that were paid by the court was not more than 15.⁵⁵ The number of performers of a *fasil heyeti* was important because the characteristics of the instruments and vocalists were congruent to be performed in a small group. The voices of both vocalists and instruments could be heard explicitly. Additionally, the number of the performers did not require a special arrangement on the stage, unlike in the chorus. The head of the singers, *serhanende*, functioned as a conductor, so the rest of the singers had to follow and apply the *usul*

⁵³ Yılmaz Öztuna, *Türk Musikisi Kavram ve Terimleri Ansiklopedisi* (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 2002), 119-120.

⁵⁴ Cem Behar, "Geleneksel Türk Müziğinin Mekân Boyutu – Bir Oda Müziği Olarak Klasik Türk Müziği" in Zaman, Mekan, Müzik: Klasik Türk Musikisinde Eğitim (meşk), İcra ve Aktarım (İstanbul: Afa Yayınları, 1993), 119-138.

⁵⁵ Cem Behar, (2016), *ibid*, 52-53.

while they were singing. In the case of dervishes, *serhanende* became *kudümzenbaşı* or *zakirbaşı*.

After the reign of Abdülhamid II, the *fasıl heyets* in the palace were divided into two as *"Fasl-ı Atik"* (traditional fasıl) and *"Fasl-ı Cedid"* (new fasıl). The first one played classical Turkish music instruments to perform *fasıl*, whereas the second one, being open to novelties, embraced polyphonic pieces of music as well as western music instruments.⁵⁶ In the 19th century, however, *"İncesaz Heyeti"* (ensemble) came to the fore with a repertoire dominated by *şarkı* and *türkü*. Unlike in classical *fasıls*, during the performance of these ensembles which were born in private *meşkhanes* and coffee houses, pieces were not ordered according to their *usuls* from major to minor. Instead, easier-to-understand and catchy pieces were preferred. Similar to *incesaz heyeti, "kabasaz takımı"* (team) was another important group of performers. *Kabasaz takımı* performed generally vocal forms such as *oyun havası, köçekçe,* and *tavşanca*. These groups, differing on the basis of the style of performance, prepared the foundation for the choirs which emerged also upon the influence of westernization movements among other influencing factors towards the end of the 19th century.⁵⁷

3.4 Novelties in *Meşk* System Throughout the 19th Century: Education, Transmission, and Institutions

The essence of *meşk* was a transfer of artworks from master to pupil. Thus, one-toone personal relationships were very effective and important. In this method, there was no distinction between theory and practice. Instead, the theory was given within the practice. The master transferred all he knew to his pupils, and in this way, the entire corpus of music could be transferred to the next generation. So, both the master and the pupil were important figures. Additionally, higher number of pupils brought a composer more popularity and recognition. However, the most significant transformation in *meşk* system in terms of education method was seen in one-to-one communication which was one of the fundamental and unique characteristics of

⁵⁶ Faruk Yıldırım, "Geçmişten Günümüze Türk Müziğinde Toplu İcra Anlayışı Üzerine Bir İnceleme" Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, v.30, 2011/1, 129-143.

⁵⁷ F. Yıldırım (2011), *ibid* 138.

Turkish music. Currently, one-to-one education is no longer applied; instead, the group study method is used in both *musiki cemiyets* and conservatories.

Another transformation observed in the education and transfer of the traditional Turkish music was in the materials which were used during these processes. This directly leads us to the usage of notation. As of the beginning of the 20th century, the application of notation commenced and gradually became widespread; and now, there is no room for discussion regarding the need for and the inevitability of the use of notes. Resulting from the same need, theory books which contained information on the fundamentals of the theory of Turkish music, the *makam* intervals, ornamentations, and method books for the use of instruments and their characteristics started to be published toward the end of the 19th century and became prevalent in a short period of time. As Işıktaş states:

The master, the teacher or the "hodja" who is responsible for the transfer of music noticed what was coming and sensed that knowledge could not be preserved as in the past and that the transfer of music could not be possible only through him or his one or two pupils anymore. Due to the need for an update and to qualitative changes in the relations of production, the master who repeats consistently what he learned in the past through hearing will emphasize notation and methodize his knowledge through putting it in writing.⁵⁸

As a result of the recording the music pieces into notes, the risk of oblivion or loss of pieces of music was eliminated, however, in turn, memorization turned to be no longer an obligation, and the period of study was shortened consequently. An emphasis on practicality as well as the shortening of the study and education period gave way to the emergence of written method books.

Furthermore, the necessity to be in the same place at the same time brought by the one-to-one interaction in *meşk* was also eliminated as a result of the development of new recording technologies. Today, it is possible to learn from and adopt the style of

⁵⁸ Bilen Işıktaş, "20. Yüzyıl Osmanlı-Türk Müziği İcrasında Metodoloji Meselesi" in *Müzikte Metodoloji* ve Müzikle İletişim Uluslararası Sempozyumu Bildiriler Kitabı (İstanbul, 2016), 52.

various well-known musicians by just listening to them from the records. In the chain of *meşk*, the master's qualifications and credentials play an important role for the pupil to carve a niche for himself in the world of music. Not surprisingly, nowadays, it has even become possible to be the pupil of a musician who is no longer alive but who established an ecole. Thus, the structure of *meşk* which was based on the transfer of music through one-to-one human interaction has started to transform in a way that it is no longer dependent on getting together the master and the pupil in the same place, at a certain time. It was a peculiar feature of Ottoman modernization that the existence of modern educational institutions and their traditional counterparts at the same time was possible. However, centralist policies of republican Turkey preferred a method which did not allow for this dualism. Education was positioned as a vital tool in the building of modern nation-state and music education was handled in parallel with this approach. Madrasahs, i.e. traditional educational institutions, were shut down in accordance with the Law on Unity of Education (Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu, 3 March 1924)⁵⁹, and schools which would be the sole institution to raise the modern individuals of the new state under the Ministry of Education (Maarif Vekaleti) were established. Thus, other educational institutions such as *tekke*, Qur'an courses, mosques which were under the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Foundations (*Ser'iyye ve Evkaf Vekaleti*) lost their legitimacy. For music education, on the other hand, music teacher training schools (musiki muallim mektepleri), conservatories, and schools of fine arts were introduced as a reflection of centralist education policy.

Additionally, the centralist policies affected also the issue of what type of music to teach or popularize. The department of Turkish music in *Darü'l Elhan* which offered both western and Turkish music education was closed in 1926. While the 'Turkish Music Performance Ensemble' (*Türk Müziği İcra Heyeti*) within *Darü'l Elhan* continued to exist for a bit more, it was eventually turned into İstanbul Municipality Conservatory (*İstanbul Belediyesi Konservatuvarı*) in the following years, thereby, cutting its link with the state education.

⁵⁹ "Tevhidi Tedrisat Kanunu," *Resmi Gazete*, March 6, 1340, 63, access time: 08.07.2019, (<u>http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.3.430.pdf</u>).

Although the institutionalization of education commenced earlier, the inclusion of modern educational institutions in the Turkish musical culture brought about another discussion. The process of schooling and institutionalization, which started with Darü'l Elhan, continued with the introduction of İstanbul and Ankara radios as a result of bans on traditional music and then with the establishment of conservatory toward the end of the 1970s, led to duality in the education of Turkish music between the chain of *meşk* and school diplomas. From then on, a student gains an official status after he graduates from the conservatory and gets his diploma. He can find a place in official educational and performance institutions and can legitimately work there. However, the continuation of the chain of *meşk* still enables and empowers the musicians to secure their place in the world of music by joining this chain. Nowadays, a professional musician is expected to graduate from the conservatory; yet, he would increase his recognition and credibility if he joins the chains of mesk that are maintained through mesks at cemiyets or homes. A quick scanning of the personal backgrounds of several well-known musicians reveals their ties with the contemporary representatives of chain of mesk beside their official diplomas. This situation proves that the legitimacy of *meşk* in music education still exists to some extent despite all transformations at the institutional and performance level.

CHAPTER 4

STANDARDISATION IN TRADITIONAL TURKISH MUSIC CULTURE: FROM FASIL TO CHORUS

In this chapter, I aim to demonstrate how the indigenous system of *meşk*, which provided education, repertoire transmission, and performance in traditional Turkish music culture, has changed over the last two centuries not only due to the new nation-state's ideological interventions and regulations but also due to the modernization/westernization experience in its natural process. Thus, here I will try to show how standardizing features of modernity, i.e. the search for "uniformity", "objectivity", and "predictability" and the regulations of the nation-state in search of a Turkish music which is "indigenously national (*öz itibariyle milli*)" and "in the level of contemporary civilizations (*muasır medeniyetler seviyesinde*)" led to a music culture that is relatively less flexible, contains relatively limited diversity, and is mainly uniform both in performance and production.

Republican ideology gave a crucial place to music within the scope of culture policy. Thus, the ideological policies of the state can be read through the transitions in the music. If "fasil heyeti" is taken as a representation of traditional music and "chorus" as the modern westernized music form, the general transformations and transitions in musical culture can be observed and analyzed through these models. Focusing on the standardizing effect of modern life and especially the regulations of the Republican period, I will discuss the impact of standardization on education, transmission, performance, and the production mechanisms and procedures of Turkish music; in other words, I will touch upon its impact on the *meşk* system which is the backbone of traditional music. In an attempt to determine the impacts and nature of the mentioned standardization, I will focus on the transition from the concept of *fasil heyeti* to the choral system which will enable examining several different dimensions together such as performance, production, and repertoire. I aim to provide concrete examples from *Cumhurbaşkanlığı Klasik Türk Müziği Korosu*

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(Presidency Classical Turkish Music Choir - PCTMC) regarding the impacts of the transition to choral music on musical culture.

4.1. Modern Era: Technical Standardization of Music and of Almost Everything

To develop a solid understanding regarding how Turkish music was subjected to certain processes of standardization and how it changed accordingly, we should touch on briefly what modernity brought with regard to the tendency towards standardization. Modernity is a process, which can be examined in terms of various parameters such as urbanization, industrialization, and the growth of mass production, the spread of education and communication, and the emergence of the "individual", rationality, and technology. In this chapter, the emphasis will be rather upon the impact of developments such as standardization and technicalization on culture, especially musical culture, therefore, modernization theories will only be referred to within this scope and when needed.

Industrial and technological developments and scientific researches were among the main motives behind the most prominent and influential changes throughout the modern era. For instance, human interference in the environment increased and the aim and the will to control nature became stronger due to technological developments. Horkheimer says, "Domination of nature involves domination of man. Each subject not only has to take part in the subjugation of external nature, human and nonhuman, but in order to do so must subjugate nature in himself,"¹ and emphasizes the fact that control is not limited only to the nature; concepts like art and culture which are abstract and free and even human beings and their feelings are dominated.

The production process is one of the areas where this domination has been most apparent. The concept of mass production after the industrial revolution required that acts of humans who constituted the workforce are coordinated and organized. Lewis Mumford relates this need for coordination and organization to mechanization.

¹ Max Horkhimer, *Eclipse of Reason* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), 93.

According to Mumford, as a result of this technological transformation, "our mode of thinking, our means of production, our manners of living" went through a transformation, which can be associated with the existence of machinery.² The main determinant regarding the transformation, which enabled the worker to work in harmony with the machinery and without causing any problems to the owner of the factory was a mechanical clock. It was vital because people's acts became coordinated and organized thanks to this invention. By means of the mechanical clock, not only people/workers gained a quality, which would allow them to orientate themselves toward the machines that would emerge later on, but also a universal synchronization was achieved. Mumford emphasizes that the phase he defines as 'neotechnic', which refers to the period after the invention of steam engine necessitated scientific precision in all fields from architecture to education.³

Philosophers of Enlightenment who praised rational thinking were willing to arrive at a standardized, orderly and uniform definition of the world because uniformity would provide both predictability and objectivity, and progression would only be possible in a consistent and predictable world. Therefore, standardization started to pervade every aspect of life in the western world as of the 18th- and 19th-century. In order to form a standard ground by deciding on common norms and forms in a specific field, administrative and legal experts worked with the specialists of this particular field.

For instance, at the end of the 18th-century, in order to create the international communication standards of the telegraph, a series of conferences was held and both scientists and bureaucrats with their legal and administrative background attended. By this way, they determined the technological aspects of the international standards of the telegraph and they based these on laws and regulations.⁴ In 1801, the efforts to standardize English weight and measure systems yielded negative results; in

² Lewis Mumford, *Teknik ve Uygarlık*, trans. Emre Can Ercan (İstanbul: Açılım Kitap, 2018), 149. See for English publication: *Technics and Civilisation*, (Harbinger, 1934), 151.

³ L. Mumford, *ibid* (1934), 203-250.

⁴ Simone Fari, Gabriele Balbi, Guiseppe Richeri, "A Common Technical culture of telegraphy: The Telegraph Union and the Signifance of Technological Standardization 1865-1875" in *2012 Third IEEE History of Electro-technology Conference (HISTELCON)* DOI: 10.1109/HISTELCON.2012.6487580.

France, the standardization attempts regarding measures and the efforts to introduce metric system which commenced with a trial to define days and weeks with fixed hours during the period of French revolution but did not give any results in the first place continued with following conferences and meetings.⁵

International relations along with modernization/westernization posed a need for the standardization of units and tools of measure in Turkey as well; therefore, there were regulations to meet this need starting from *Tanzimat* period. These were not only technical novelties but served as a tool for general social transformation. For example, during the reign of Mahmud II and Abdülhamid II "time became both a tool and an object of reform, serving the bureaucratic elite as an ordering device and as a symbol of the desired order."⁶

While there were ongoing discussions about the regulations regarding this need, the new Republican state resolved this issue with the introduction of reforms. As of 1926, Julian and Islamic calendars were abandoned, and the Gregorian calendar, which was used by nearly all countries, was adopted. International time zone concept was adopted instead of *alla turca* time clock, which was based on the movements of the sun. International numbers were accepted in 1928, and in 1931, internationally standardized units of weight and measure such as meter and kilogram were adopted in place of old weight and measure system. Thus, synchronization in the international trade relations of Turkey was ensured.⁷

In fact, human beings have established certain standards concerning their products as well as their behaviors since ancient times. In the tradition of Islamic art, as a matter of fact, there had been standardization inevitably since the main structure of the crafts is relied on repeating and imitating the instructor until the level of mastery.

⁵ "Kantar," in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, access time: 24 June 2019, 11:05, <u>https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/kantar</u>.

⁶ Avner Wishnitzer, *Reading Clocks, Alla Turca: Time and Society in the late Ottoman Empire* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 185.

⁷ For a detailed information see the article "Ölçü" in *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, access time: 24 June 2019, 10:55, <u>https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/olcu</u>.

The level of mastery means that you can create an original product within the limits of traditional structure and this is the opening part of the system to the novelties. However, the spread and common acceptance of the standards is directly related to modernity. Since modernization changed the aim of concepts, the form of relations, and the way of thinking, during this transformation, the concept of "standard" also gained new meanings and more popularity and importance, just like industry, culture, and class.

The etymology of the word "standard" based on the meaning "unit of measure" goes back to 13th century French usage. It is interesting to note that "the standard weights and measures were set by royal ordinance and were known as the king's standard, so perhaps metaphoric, the royal standard coming to stand for royal authority in matters like setting weights and measures. Hence the meaning "authoritative or recognized exemplar of quality or correctness" (late 15c.) meaning "rule, principal or means of judgment" is from 1560s.⁸ The etymology of the word also shows that, since it was first used, standardization has not been only an objective and mechanical regulation, but it also has been related to authority. In this vein, in *Standartlar Nasıl İşler?*⁹, the authors denote to the power relations and to the governmental processes which lie behind and in the background of standardization efforts in the modern period. However, to investigate the process of standardization in terms of the subject matter of this thesis, i.e. music, the 19th-century's emphasis on rationality, naturalness, and objectivity should be considered again as the motive behind the spread of standardization.

From the point of 19th-century's scientific researches, music is accepted as one of the most significant sources to investigate the sound. The methods and techniques of production and scientific description of the sound were most developed in this period. Music has provided knowledge not only for art history or musicology but also for the other sciences like physiology, psychology or mechanics. Thus, the

⁸ "Standard," in Online Etymology Dictionary, access time: 24 June 2019, 11:00, <u>http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=standard</u>.

⁹ Standartlar Nasıl İşler?, ed. Ebru Kayaalp and Fatih Altuğ, (İstanbul: Küre yayınları, 2018).

relationship between music and sound is the most investigated topic also by scientists. For instance, scientists conducted studies to calculate the speed of sound in air or in other gases.¹⁰

The surveys made both by scientists and musicologists had a deep impact on the interactive relationship between music and technology. As a result, some changes occurred such as the emergence of new listening forms, and the sounds that were produced in the labs became material for the new music. In the last two centuries, a remarkable relationship between music and technology was observed.

When it comes to modernization and music, it is unavoidable to refer to Max Weber who examined and addressed all processes of modernization, industrialization, and rationalization. Explaining the birth of capitalism in the West through the theory of rationalization, Weber benefits from the field of music in order to grasp and understand the historical-social transformation in Europe. According to Weber, rationality means selecting the most effective and appropriate tools to reach the goal. Therefore, rationality is a technical process and is entirely related to the selection of tools, and this selection is independent of the aim and value of the act.¹¹

Defining rationalization as avoidance and disposal of mythical references of value and irrational methods in a general sense, Weber states that, in any musical culture, the coordination between instruments and performers did not reach the level of perfection achieved by the western music because musical cultures other than the West could not succeed in "rationalizing music by disposing of the irrational elements within."¹² This statement, which leads to a discussion about the uniqueness of the western modernization is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, this idea of

¹⁰ Alexandra Hui, "Sound Objects and Sound Products: Standardizing a New Culture of Listening in the First Half of the Twentieth Century" in *Culture Unbound*, v.4, 2012: 599-616. DOI: 10.3384/cu.2000.1525.1244.

¹¹ Alan C. Turley, "Max Weber and the Sociology of Music," *Sociological Forum*, v.16, n.4, December 2001, 633-653.

¹² Max Weber, *The Rational and Social Foundations of Music* (Southern Illinois University Press, 1958) cited by Güneş Ayas, *Müzik Sosyolojisi: Sorunlar-Yaklaşımlar-Tartışmalar* (İstanbul: Doğu Kitabevi, 2015), 111.

Weber, who evaluates the issue of modernization on the basis of rationalization in addition to standardization of the western music, can contribute to the discussion on the standardization in Ottoman musical culture.

In "The Rational and Social Foundations of Music", Weber depicts that rationalism, which he assigned as a unique cause of the advance of capitalism in western and modern societies, had a central role on the standardization of harmony, melody, and punctuation systems as well as on the usage of music and its social functions. Besides, Weber states that the development of modern instruments and modern music notation are the milestones in the rationalization of music. In other words, the standardization of the written notation system and music instruments is among the rational outcomes and advancements in an organized society. In this context, Weber believes that sound intervals should also be standardized to reach the most mature state of the harmonic system.¹³ However, he states in *Sociology of Music* that the rationalization began with the writing practices of musical notes in western music.¹⁴

In a similar way, we can say that the major development in the 19th-century Turkish music world was also the writing of existing musical pieces in notation and an absolute transition to written culture. Since the rationalization process already began with the transition to written culture as Weber claims, it is possible to argue that the interrelation between rationalization and standardization and their development should be considered on the ground of the particular transition from oral to written culture. Thus, we can assert that, in the background of the standardization process, there was already a transformation in the methods of education, training, and performance because of the development of written culture which has characteristic features such as preservation/permanence vs. temporariness, analytic vs. episodic, objective distance vs. emphatic proximity as Walter J. Ong explains elaborately in his

¹³ M. Weber cited by G. Ayas (2015), *ibid* 111.

¹⁴ Güven, U. Z. ve Ergur, A., "Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Müzik Sosyolojisinin Yeri ve Gelişimi," *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, v.3, n.29, (2014/2), 1-19.

paradigmatic work *Orality and Literacy*.¹⁵ Yet, since this particular transition from oral to written culture (print press) marked, in a sense, the modernization itself, it is beyond the aim of this thesis to further analyze the influence of written culture which led to standardization in a broader perspective; rather, I choose to focus on how the transition from oral to written culture particularly affected the tradition of *meşk*. Therefore, I would like to discuss the transformations in Turkish music culture in a wider scale in terms of new applications and new perceptions, which may be inferred from a standardized, measurable, and controllable cultural sphere, which is, in turn, a result of modern technical, industrial, and economic transformations.

4.2. Standardizing Transformations in Traditional Turkish Music

In chapter 3, historical background and general information concerning the novelties and transformations in the *meşk* system is depicted briefly. In this chapter, I will refer to the same transformations, most of the time, in order to be able to argue how these developments led to standardization in the processes of education, transmission, and performance of Turkish classical music.

4.2.1. From Oral Transmission to Written Notation

Westernization, when it is referred regarding Turkish music culture, connotes establishing a close relationship with a foreign culture, which was taken as a model and was ideologically supported. In the course of corresponding transformations in Turkish music culture from the 17th-century onwards, the reaction and attitude of the tradition were against novelties. Since the novelties and new tendencies of the time, even the ones, which were substantially a result of the normal flow and transformation of the tradition, began to be seen as deviation and deformation.¹⁶

¹⁵ Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1982). See for Turkish Tr.: *Sözlü ve Yazılı Kültür: Sözün Teknolojikleşmesi,* trans. S. P. Banon, 6th edition, (İstanbul: Metis publications, 2012).

¹⁶ Onur Güneş Ayas, mentions "zelotizm" with a reference to the historian Toynbee's views for identifying the attitudes of a civilization against another civilization. Zelotism means becoming traditionalist in the situation of threat to protect itself. With the challenge of West the nonwestern societies have tried to keep their own cultures and reacted to any novelty negatively. "In other words, it is an attempt to keep the untouched essence of the tradition at the back of beyond through withdrawal from the challenging areas with the West. We can use here the clause even as attempt to revival, because this attitude is sometimes much more than keeping the existing state of tradition, it is more likely a restoration effort to revive the past." On the other hand, Toynbee has a second type

Accordingly, new trends emerged against these deviations inside the tradition. Zekai Dede and his school are very important examples of this line. He stated that, with the spread of "sarkı" form, musicians gradually drifted away from "classical" forms; and also because of the fear from a possible change on the essence of the music, this group of musicians preferred to follow a different production method.¹⁷ On the other hand, as opposed to the tendency towards popularization, there were also musicians who aimed to perform traditional music as a product of high culture without simplifying it and to transfer it to future generations in this way. A frequently narrated example of an apparent sign of this tension was Dede Efendi's decision to go to pilgrimage to Mecca in 1846 after he said: "This whole thing is not enjoyable anymore."¹⁸ Apart from these reactions, there arose in this period also differences regarding the functions of the indispensable elements of mesk such as usul and makam and the preferences based on these. For example, from the 18th-century onwards, preferences changed from heavy forms to simpler ones in makam and composition structures. The 18th-century is the time of the birth of new styles and trends in Ottoman culture and is regarded as the period during which traditional Turkish music reached perfection.¹⁹

Music and literary movements go in parallel with each other in the Ottoman culture environment. The composers such as Itri, Zaharya, Ebubekir Ağa, etc., in the vocal pieces of music in classical form, had preferred to use gazelles from classical poets such as Fuzuli, Baki, Nedim, Vasıf, etc. In such pieces, the composer often selected one couplet to compose so that the meaning of the lyrics would not outweigh the melody, and added a part called *terennüm* (literally, to sing). *Terennüm* parts can be accepted as one of the main characteristics of classical pieces in major form.²⁰

of reaction to challenge of West as "herodianism". It means to learn how to use the spiritual and material weapons of its rival. In a way, Ottoman culture has used both of these methods, during its encounter with the West. There has been a westernization process, but at the same time there has been a part of society who hangs on to tradition. Therefore, it is a complicated process even up to today. Güneş Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabının Sosyolojisi: Klasik Türk Müziği Geleneğinde Süreklilik ve Değişim* (İstanbul: Doğu Kitabevi, 2014), 375-377.

¹⁷ Cinuçen Tanrıkorur, Osmanlı Dönemi Türk Musikisi (İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2005), 42.

¹⁸ Yalçın Tura, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türk Musikisi" in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, v.6, (İstanbul: 1983): 1511.

¹⁹ İ. H. Uzunçarşılı (1977), *ibid* 79.

²⁰ C. Tanrıkorur (2005), *ibid* 171-187.

Starting from the second half of the 19th-century, the developments in social life such as the use of a mechanical clock and scheduled ferry services which caused changes in the perception of time²¹ triggered the emergence of the idea that these *terennüms* are too long and heavy. Thus, pieces with minor *usuls* and shorter and lyric expressions were opted for as minor *usuls* allowed for the production of such pieces. Moreover, the selection of minor *usuls* resulted in a decrease in the number of *makams* used in those pieces of music. Another result of this selection is that some *makams* became in compliance with the 12-equal temperament of the Western music. In this process, *makams* were started to be re-defined by sometimes removing the nuances of micro-tones; and towards the end of the 19th-century, it became possible to play some popular *makams* such as *Rast, Hicaz, Nihavent* on the piano. This development also means that the micro-tonal fine details of *makams* are no longer important for the listener. This transformation is one of the striking proofs of rationalization and standardization brought by the process of modernization.²²

In line with these preferences, especially *şarkı* gained popularity and currency as of the end of the 19th-century. During the reign of Abdülhamid II, in particular, another influencing factor, except for the recognition and admiration of the palace, was observed in the world of music. Popular and rather low-quality type of music became widespread in *gazinos*, which were evening entertainment venues. Now, in addition to western music, which was rivaled throughout the course of modernization, there was a new front for those who were advocating for the revival of the Turkish music as a product of a classical and high culture: *piyasa tarzı* (commercial style). Produced and performed in simpler and catchy forms, *piyasa tarzı* was seen as and heavily criticized for distorting the core of the music and being a degenerate and low-class performance by elitist or traditionalist Turkish musicians. Despite the efforts toward transferring the theoretical foundation of *makam* music into practice, the general social tendency was shaped by rationalization and popularization.²³ In this process,

²¹ See Wishnitzer, *ibid* 185-186.

²² Güven & Ergur, "Türkiye'de ve Dünyada Müzik Sosyolojisinin Gelişimi", Sosyoloji Dergisi, 3.Dizi,
29.Sayı, 2014/2, 10-14.

²³ Güven & Ergur (2014), *ibid* 10-14.

some musicians such as Tanburi Cemil Bey or Şevki Bey adapted themselves to the new tendency and produced pieces in the new style.

On the other hand, the simultaneous spread of written notation system caused "unapproved" pieces or their variants to get into circulation without the involvement of the traditional masters in the process. In *meşk*, the pieces, which the master deemed suitable to be transferred to a particular pupil and the suitable performance styles of these pieces constituted this system's selection and elimination criteria. Musical taste and quality were being ensured over the years by transferring widely accepted variants to future generations. Along with the spread of the notation, both the pieces and performance styles started to go into circulation beyond the master's control. Circulation of different variants means that the standard in the *meşk* system regarding the selection of the piece –which was accepted to be valid by some groups-started to disappear. However, it also limited the flexibility in the production and performance of traditional music by validating only a writeable standard melody pattern, and as a result, the traditional music became subjected to a new standard.

Traditional Turkish music had an oral system requiring a transfer style from master to pupil, and therefore, written notation systems were not welcome in the beginning. Nevertheless, several musicians created and developed some special notation systems throughout Turkish music history as it is already depicted in detail in Chapter 3. Since the melodic structure of the music was transmitted from person to person, it was impossible to assume a commonly accepted and used written repertoire until the 19th-century, except for some books of compilations and manuscripts of lyrics (*güfte mecmuaları*) which contained only the verses of the tracks, not the notes. While printing and press media was flourishing in Ottoman society mainly in the second half of the 19th-century, its corollaries in the field of music also came out and firstly letter-based notation, and then staff-based notation gained acceptance gradually. It is quite obvious that some functional opportunities offered by the notation system had a crucial role in the adoption and spread of this system.²⁴

²⁴ Ruhi Ayangil, "Western Notation in Turkish Music", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, v.18, no.4, 2008, 401-447.

In Turkish music history, the transition to notation and designation of chords were accompanied by various disagreements due to the complexity of microtones. Today, Arel-Ezgi-Uzdilek (Arel, 1968; Ezgi 1933) system forms the basis of notation in Turkish music and is used by all parties, including conservatories.²⁵ However, there has been criticism against this system for not fully complying with the Turkish music since the very first day of its development, and today, this criticism provokes discussions on to what extent the pieces of music can be reflected through this system and on its limitations and flexibility. As pointed by Ruhi Ayangil in his article on the use of western-originated notation in Turkish music, during the incorporation of western notation into *makam* music,

... many elements dependent on the requirements of tonal music theory, such as key signature system, alteration sign system, and nuance system, etc. were left out. Leaving out those elements limited the reading and performance of written pieces of *makam* to only those who already knew *makam*. This limitation created a theoretical dispute among composers, theorists, and performers on the modification of western notation, which still remains unsolved.²⁶

Furthermore, along with the transition to notation, there arose problems in the recording of the pieces, as Ayangil also suggested, such as the failure to appropriately express the microtonal accidentals in the equal temperament or the lack of consensus as to which accidentals should be used. There were also efforts to scientifically determine the standards of Turkish music and to identify theoretical information, sound intervals, and rules. Rauf Yekta Bey's studies are emphasizing the need in this sense.²⁷ In the following years, in an attempt to adapt Turkish music to the modern 12 equal temperament system of the West, the duo Arel-Ezgi identified *Çargâh makam* as the principal scale of Turkish music to meet the need for the main tone as in western music. In the scale of *Çargâh makam* determined by the duo, sounds are natural and cannot be changed with accidentals, so no symbol is seen on

²⁵ Ayangil (2008), *ibid* 425-428.

²⁶ Ayangil (2008), *ibid* 402.

²⁷ Rauf Yekta, *Türk Musikisi Nazariyatı*, trans. Orhan Nasuhioğlu (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1986). Additionally, his articles in *Resimli Gazete* and in *Revue Musical*, a journal in French, depict his opinion on the theoric aspects of Turkish music.

the staff. One of the reasons behind the recognition of *Çargâh* as the primary scale in Arel-Ezgi system is that the tunes in this scale do not contain any accidentals. Thus, these intervals provide the most appropriate basis which allows for other special intervals in Turkish music. Moreover, another reason behind the selection of *Çargâh* is the opportunity to migrate all *basit makams* into the tunes of this scale. As a result, in order to establish a standard, it becomes possible to formulate a fundamental *makam* free of disputed accidentals caused by the use of western 12 equal temperament.²⁸



Figure 4.2.1. Old scale of Çargâh makam (TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi)

On the other hand, *Çargâh makam* was not extensively used in classical form pieces although it was employed in *türküs* with its explained characteristics and scale. Additionally, there are disagreements concerning the determination of *Çargâh makam* as the primary scale of Turkish music, due to the facts that a different form of *Çargâh makam* which is achieved by modulating to *Hicaz* tetrachord on the *Çargâh* scale is preferred and that there are not many examples of *Çargâh* without accidentals apart from the compositions of H. Sadettin Arel and Suphi Ezgi. As Erguner states,

Today, in both the conservatories and other places where our music is taught, education starts with Arel-Ezgi *Çargâh* scale. After a brief introduction, teachers and students leave *Çargâh* makam behind, never to see or use it again because Arel-Ezgi *Çargâh* makam is not used in the performance of our music.²⁹

²⁸ Wright, "Çargâh in Turkish classical music: History versus theory," in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, v.53, n.2, (1990), 224-244.

²⁹ Süleyman Erguner, *Rauf Yekta Bey: Neyzen-Müzikolog-Bestekar* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2003), 171.



Figure 4.2.1. Çargâh makam scale (TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi)

4.2.2. The Emergence of an Authority: Darülelhan

Upon the use of western notation in writing Turkish music, how to transform the application, how to effectively use the new system in writing Turkish music, and inconsistencies between theory and practice were some other topics for discussion among music circles. The differences of opinion between leading musicians were published in newspapers and magazines, and this caused some disagreements and disputes. During the first few years after the establishment of *Darülelhan*, composers used accidentals to demonstrate the intervals in the notation by selecting them based on their opinion and knowledge on *makam* since there was no priority. An example can be given from Hasan Ferid Alnar's work titled *On Saz Semaisi* (Ten Instrumental Postludes).

On the signs used in this work: ... = Bu'd- \ddot{u} irhâ bemol \ddot{u} (flat for irhâ); ... = Bu'd- \ddot{u} bakîye (sharp for bakîye/small half tone). For instance, since the Çargâh makam is adopted as gamme naturelle, si bemol= Segâh ve [R7] do diyez= Pest Hicaz. Though it is not right to present the Segâh pitch with these signs given that it is performed lower than Uşşâk, Sabâ, and Karcığar, around which it stands in terms of descent, I am forced to use the same sign for representing both the Segâh pitch and its transposed counterparts in other makâms, be they in ascending form, until they are determined by Darüllhan.³⁰

This statement by Hasan Ferid clearly shows that *Darülelhan* was expected to play an active role in the production of signs showing sound intervals in notation. It also indicates the need for an absolute music authority with the final word on issues like notation and related topics in that period. As stressed by Ayangil, the need to give the authority in the field of music to an institutional structure rather than to a human being became more obvious due to the works of Rauf Yekta Bey during his term as

³⁰ Ferid, Hasan, *On Saz Semâisi* (Ten Instruments Postludes), (İstanbul: Kumanîzâde Şamlı İskender yayını, 1924, R. Ayangil archive). --- As cited in Ruhi Ayangil, *Western Notation in Turkish Music Journal of Asiatic Society & Great Britain & Ireland*, v.18, n.4, October 2008, 401-447.

the president of the Classification and Evaluation Committee.³¹ The Classification and Evaluation Committee (1927-195...) was established to record musical compositions of rich and sophisticated Ottoman culture. The task to choose and evaluate the works of art, which were included in this selection, meant giving the authority to this committee.

Darülelhan (1917) is the first official educational institution, which aimed to provide theoretical and practical education on Turkish music through the use of printed notation and books, by following a particular curriculum or program. Mainly aiming to give education of *şark musikisi* (traditional Ottoman/Turkish music), but also including western music department, *Darülelhan* is, in a modern sense, one of the institutions where a group of students in a classroom sang altogether under the guidance of a teacher. Being an important step towards the progression of musicology studies, *Darülelhan* is depicted by Paçacı as follows: "as the main center of the science of the music, this institution. It is the first time that an official music institution performed a service through books, crotchets and LPs – in a volume that cannot be reached even today."³² Therefore, *Darülelhan* was also prominent as an official institution in the field of publication in addition to its educational mission.

The determination of an institutional authority in the field of music and the establishment of rules from a single center helped to strengthen standards. In classical Turkish music, the tendency for preservation and maintenance of the traditional culture has strengthened the need to determine this authority. In this sense, we can say that as an official institution, Radio acts as an authority in the field of education. There is an institutionalization that will ensure that Classical Turkish music is maintained in a standardized form in accordance with the legitimate and modern age in the developing process with both *Darülelhan* and the Radio. This standard form is a result of both the new technical conditions that emerge with

³¹ Ruhi Ayangil, "Western Notation in Turkish Music" *Journal of Asiatic Society*, v.18, n.4, October 2008, 423-425.

³² Gönül Paçacı, "İki Musikinin Karşılaşma Süreci ve Eğitim" in *Cumhuriyetin Sesleri* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2001), 106.

technologies such as gramophone, record and radio broadcasts, and the necessity of music as a political tool to impose ideological messages. For example, although it continued in later years, especially in the early Republican period, the works that entered the repertoire of the radio were accepted as the main source of 'notation' or 'the true/correct work'. Together with the Radio repertoire, which constitutes authority and legitimate grounding, the correct performance style of the works in accordance with their original forms, stands out with the establishment of an official Classical Turkish Music Choir and the new choir takes over this task.

The determination of authority also points to the need to create a controllable area within rational boundaries. Given the intricate relationship between politics and culture, it is also possible to use the word "standard", which includes the meaning of domination, to preserve and control. One of the clear indications of this is the fact that the Turkish Standards Institute made a request from the conservatory in the 1980s to determine the *makam* and sound intervals, as Yalçın Tura presented together with the documents. By this way, the criteria and norms of a national and indigenous music are expected to be determined.³³

4.2.3. Standardizing Education

The relationship between the master and the pupil which is based on mutual interaction and the one-to-one transfer was degraded into a standard transfer of knowledge which can be obtained from a printed music paper as a consequence of the developments in the *meşk* tradition. What Jacques Ellul already stated for a broader social context was also prevalent for the *meşk* system: "standardization creates impersonality, in the sense that organization relies more on methods and instruction than on individuals."³⁴ As a result, the process of reaching perfection and maturity by learning a different style from each master which progressed differently for every pupil turned into a process of reaching a certain level by following a single and the same note or method. According to Öncel, "The most significant advantage

³³ Yalçın Tura, *Türk Musikisinin Meseleleri* (İstanbul: Pan Yayınları, 1988), 70-86.

³⁴ Jaqcues Ellul, *The Technological Society*, trans. John Wilkinson (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), 12.

of the *meşk* system is the reflection of emotions and attitude."³⁵ The rich style memory, which developed by the contributions of varied sources, was reduced to a single source, and this encouraged the selection of relatively more uniform and simpler pieces in the performance. This is in parallel with the general finding of Ong regarding the transition from oral to written culture. Ong states that "oral culture" is closer to the life-world of human beings and that close relationship between the master and the pupil is in the center of learning processes.³⁶

As briefly addressed in the previous chapter, the *meşk* system was not restricted to the teaching of art. It also included the transfer of stance, attitude, and style. Without needing a written material like notation, each master brought his knowledge and experience into use and transferred it to future generations through his pupils. Therefore, there was no determined curriculum or a standard program. The possibility to follow different educational programs according to the master or the pupil did not affect the prestige or the quality of both of them. Additionally, the quality or legitimacy of the education was not related to its place; the classes could be held at a coffee house, an association or at the house of the master. On the contrary, since the system was human-based, all kinds of networks where the master is qualified made education possible, legitimate, and valid.

Currently, however, in the education of Turkish music, teachers teach in front of a group of students within an institutionalized format. Nowadays, it is a rare chance to find a possibility and opportunity to have a one-to-one interaction, unlike in the past days. This removes the uniqueness of the relationship between the master and the pupil and necessitates the collective and uniform transfer of knowledge. On the other hand, the existence of a body/mass of students in the education system entailed a practically and theoretically standardized curriculum.

³⁵ Mehmet Öncel, "Türk Musikisindeki Notasyonun Tarihsel Seyri," *Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, v.19, n.2, December 2015, 221.

³⁶ Walter Ong, *Sözlü ve Yazılı Kültür: Sözün Teknolojikleşmesi,* trans. S. P. Banon, 6th edition, (İstanbul: Metis Publications, 2012), 42-43.

The chain of transfer within the *meşk* system, which is based on individual differences and variety of interpretations were also affected by these developments. Minor changes in the pieces of music made according to one's musical taste after he learned it from the master provided a kind of variety even for the same piece in terms of style and form. The standardized pieces upon the emergence and spread of notation lacked this richness. While the pieces were being re-produced in each performance previously, they now lost this characteristic. Diversity was lost, now, only a single form of a piece was learned and transferred, not different versions. Currently, it is not the piece, but the note, that is sang with its flexibility and richness.

On the other hand, unconditional trust in the master's knowledge and its authenticity which was an indispensable part of *meşk* tradition weakened somehow with the emergence of notation. A personal anectode concerning the master-pupil and notation relation is very appropriate for understanding this transformation. I practiced music with a group of four peers under the guidance of Yusuf Ömürlü in *Kubbealtı Musiki Cemiyeti* for nearly 8 years starting from 1993. During that period, we engraved *ilahi, nefes,* songs, and compositions in our memory by beating our knees as applied in the *meşk* system. Learning through hearing was at the forefront as I started going there when I did not learn reading and writing, and afterward, it already had become a habit.

In addition to learning music, we had the chance to have a better understanding of the unique culture of *Kubbealtı Cemiyeti* as the days passed by. Founded on the idea of Kenan Rifai, a Rifai sheik, who lived between 1867 and 1950, to apply traditional guidance (*irşat*) methods through another medium in the Republican era, *Kubbealtı Akademisi Kültür ve Sanat Vakfı* (Kubbealtı Academy Culture and Art Foundation)³⁷ organized and hosted events to revive and preserve traditional Turkish culture. Publication of notes, practicing music, and choir groups were among the most important of such events. Every week, we witnessed choir practices for adults when we were about to leave the Academy because, as we later on learned, Saturdays were

³⁷ For detailed information about the activities of Kubbealtı Akademisi Kültür ve Sanat Vakfı, see <u>http://www.kubbealti.org.tr</u>access time 15.07.2019.

allocated for theoretical and practical choir lessons. There used to be teatime in the mid-afternoon during which teachers of theory and solfege, students, and choir members gathered to drink tea and chat. We were also invited to these gatherings a few times. However, one of the most vivid memories from those times is the *iftaar* gathering (fast-breaking meal) following the classes on Saturdays during the month of Ramadan. We used to pray and sing a special *ilahi (Segâh Hamdiyye)* written by Edirneli Hamdi Bağdadî altogether after finishing the meals that we prepared together. In the *tekkes* in İstanbul, the tradition was, after finishing iftaar, to recite the last verses of Surah Al-Fatiha and Surah Al-Hashr, to sing *Segâh Hamdiyye ilahi* together with others around the table, and then to read *dua* (prayer) and *gülbenk* (texts of prayers read with a group in Alawite tradition).³⁸ Being able to sing and read along with others not only gave a sense of competency but it also strengthened our sense of belonging to that environment (i.e. the Academy) and attachment to our master.

In the following years, we started participating in meetings where we performed various pieces of music together with a group of friends which also included members from *İstanbul Tarihi Türk Müziği Topluluğu* (İstanbul Turkish Historical Music Ensemble) of the Ministry of Culture on different occasions. An informal kind of *fasıl* was being performed. Among several types of pieces, there were Mawlawi *ayins, ilahis, nutuks* and *şuğuls*. We were able to practice what we already knew and learn the new pieces that we did not know. We once came across a different way of performing *Segâh Hamdiyye,* a way we were not introduced before.

Other musicians realized and got surprised that we performed that piece, which was commonly performed in *tekkes* in especially İstanbul although its composer was not known, especially the initial meter and the oral chorus "La ilahe illallah", in a different way. Thinking we made a mistake, they wanted to correct us. However, that was exactly how we learned it from our master, and this came as a great shock to everyone in the group. This was because they were all professional musicians who

³⁸ Yüce Gümüş, "Tekke Musikisinde Hamdiyye," *Keşkül Dergisi*, v.41, Bahar 2018, 91-93.

learned that piece from their masters by using the notation of Cüneyt Kosal who was a doyen in the publication of classical Turkish music notation (See Appendix-1, p. 101). We, on the other hand, were young amateur musicians but we were referring as our source to Yusuf Ömürlü who wrote out a considerable amount of songs in notation and enabled their publication (See Appendix-2, p. 102). The ornamentation was different although *usul, makam,* and meter were all the same. Eventually, an experienced/senior musician in the group stated that both versions may be correct, and the problem was settled. The interesting thing was the fact that we held on to notation as proof of our accuracy although we felt absolute trust, confidence, and loyalty to our masters.

4.2.4. Uniformity and Standardization in the Republican Era

The changes towards the last years of the Ottoman Empire such as the spread of *şarkı* as a simpler form and the decrease in the number of *makams* used in the pieces were signs of the tendency toward a kind of simplification and uniformity. However, the Republican era during which reforms in the cultural sphere were very strict and formbased led to the sharpening this process.

In the early republican period, the ruling elite viewed traditional Ottoman/Turkish music as the main representative of the backward imperial past, calling it "*alla turca*" and positing western music / "*alla franga*" as the best appropriate symbol of the modern nation-state. Therefore, through the Fine Arts Academy, the new Republican elite tried to transform the musical taste of the new citizens. In line with this thought, *Darü'l-Elhan*, as a remainder of the Ottoman past was closed in 1926, and instead, the new Fine Arts Academy was founded.

According to O'Connell, the old/Ottoman traditional music is identified with the chaotic, heterodox, multicultural world of Ottoman time and is denigrated. Instead of it, *alla franga* music is highlighted as the orthodox and suitable for a nation state's policy. At that point, the Fine Arts Academy became a signifier of the whole debate because, through this academy, the taste of the people could be reshaped and controlled. New musicians would be raised in the academy with the new musical

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methods and new modern models of the culture.³⁹ More importantly, as a result of the new policies, heterodox and multicultural music environment, paving the way for local interpretations and individual comments, was narrowed down to only one type of music.

*Musiki Muallim Mektebi (*music teacher training school), along with the Fine Arts Academy, also played a key role in shaping the musical taste. It was aimed to modernize the music environment in the country and to raise educational staff through this institution, which was opened in Ankara in 1924. Regulations were introduced across the country to ensure that the education of music was based on polyphonic music and it followed the same program and method. In addition to this, the music curriculum in schools was prepared to include both western and Turkish music. This school is one of the most important institutions of the Republican music reforms because it is the first official institution, which trained music teachers who would provide the standard and modern education in accordance with the state's policies.

One of the most important tools that were used by the Republican state to build a new national culture was *halkevleri* (people's houses). It was aimed to ensure the adoption of modern and high cultural traits and qualities by the people of the nation through *halkevleri* opened all over the country. "Group" music activities were conducted in *halkevleri*. Even the instruments selected to be studied as part of the courses outside of the choir sessions were intended and suitable for "group" performance.⁴⁰ According to Ahmet Adnan Saygun, one of the leading composers of the new Turkish music dream, one of the main reasons of the establishment of choirs in *halkevleri* was to achieve the "collective enthusiasm" and the "feeling of togetherness" experienced as a result of performing "folk songs" either unisonically

³⁹ John Morgan O'Connell, "Fine Art, Fine Music: Controlling Turkish Taste at the Fine Arts Academy in 1926" *Yearbook for Traditional Music* (2000) 32: 117-142.

⁴⁰ Sibel Bozdoğan, *Modernizm ve Ulusun İnşası: Erken Cumhuriyet Türkiyesi'nde Mimari Kültür*, (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2002), 109-110.

or polyphonically.⁴¹ In other words, listening to the choir performing unison modern music within established civil limits, instead of *fasıl meşks* or *aşık atışmaları* (call-and-response duets-a special form of folk music), would unite the new nation within a single culture.

4.3. From Fasil Heyeti to Choir

When we look at the changes and transformations in the music culture during the modern era, we first observe the standardizing impacts of technological developments, especially written culture, i.e. the process of writing the pieces out in notation, and then, in the Republican period, the political function attributed to the written materials and new practices, and the search for standardization. Through the changes in *meşk* culture, which forms the basis of Turkish music, it is possible to track on music culture the impacts of the standardization and uniformity which were influenced by different aspects of modernization, manifested in various and distinctive forms upon the transition to notation, and were radicalized in the Republican period.

Education, performance, and transfer processes of traditional Ottoman Turkish music cannot be considered separately. Therefore, while addressing the impacts of the standardization and uniformity on *meşk* culture, it will better serve the purpose to handle these intertwined processes without separating them. Choir practices give an explanatory example while analyzing the process of modernization-standardization through the changes in Turkish music, or more accurately, the changes in the *meşk* system which is the characteristic feature of Turkish music. Choir applications emerged in the last years of the Ottoman Empire and gained both currency and legitimacy in the Republican period. Changes in the fundamental characteristics of the traditional Turkish music such as one-to-one interaction between the master and the pupil, *usul* and *makam*, sound interval, chamber music (place), group performance, the relationship between the performer and audience can be

⁴¹ Cenk Güray, "Darü'l-Elhan'dan Yurttan Sesler'e: Türk Halk Müziği Derlemelerine Yansıyan Makam Algısına Bir Bakış" in *Kuruluşunun Yüzüncü Yılında Darü'l-Elhan'a Armağan*, ed. Gülçin Yahya Kaçar (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, 2018), 11.

examined by studying the process of the establishment and spread of the choir concept. For this reason, it will be appropriate to conduct an analysis of the process of transition from *fasıl*, which is the primary form of performance in the Ottoman-Turkish music to the choir, which symbolizes Republican Turkey.

4.3.1. Uniform Settings: Choirs

Group performance in the traditional Turkish music is observed in the army, tekkes, and for entertainment purposes. However, starting with Tanzimat period, unison choirs of 40-50 which imitated church or opera choirs with the influence of westernization, accompanying orchestras consisting of 20-30 instrumentalists, and maestros leading these choirs by standing in the front all found a place in Turkish music. Huge theaters and big concert halls played a primary role in the transformation of the public sphere in the West. As places where everyone was equal, visible and able to observe his surroundings and existed together in the public space, concert halls and the choir performance in the halls were the most distinctive and explanatory phenomena of the time. Especially in the 19th-century, theaters larger in terms of capacity than those in the 18th-century were built in Paris, London, and other big cities of Europe. Isiktas says that the fact that big masses of people started listening to music in a single place at the same time led to the formation of new social codes of conduct and differences in the demands of the audience. Spatial transformations as a consequence of modernization gave birth to fundamental changes regarding the places of the performance of Ottoman-Turkish music, which was characterized as "chamber music", not "concert hall music".⁴² For instance, musicians such as Tanburi Cemil Bey and Udi Nevres Bey started performing in the concert halls, instead of private *mesk* chambers. The new theaters and opera houses opened in İstanbul were influential in the emergence of a new understanding of music performance in the Ottoman world. Işıktaş further states that "Dolmabahçe Saray Tiyatrosu (Dolmabahçe Palace Theatre) and the small opera house in Yıldız

⁴² Bilen Işıktaş, Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Geçiş Sürecinde Modernleşme, Bireyselleşme ve Virtüozite İlişkisi: Şerif Muhiddin Targan (PhD disser., İstanbul Technical University, 2016), 71-80. See also Bilen Işıktaş, Peygamber'in Dâhi Torunu Şerif Muhiddin Targan: Modernleşme, Bireyselleşme, Virtüozite (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2018).

Palace indicated the Ottoman monarchy's changing preferences in the new era and its reflections."⁴³

The history of the choir in Turkish music culture shows that the concept of the choir in its western sense was introduced in the world of Turkish music upon the establishment of *Mızıka-i Hümayun* following the closure of *Mehterhane. Fasl-ı Cedid Heyeti*, which was then formed within the palace can be deemed the first choir in that sense. Founded in 1908, a group of 30 musicians led by Muallim İsmail Hakkı Bey was the largest group of that time.⁴⁴ Besides, the statement about the construction of a student chorus not exceeding 125 members which was mentioned in the settingup instruction of *Darülelhan*, and the codes and rules regarding choruses consisted of big numbers, all, may be considered as the signs of the fact that the practice of chorus had started to be established.⁴⁵

With the 1920s chorus, constituted of large groups of musicians, were spread in the performance of traditional music. In the early years of the republican period some state-based musicians found a formulation of applying some western techniques to traditional music in order to give back its lost prestige. This restoration move aimed to donate Turkey with choruses and orchestras. This tendency was a result of the loss of prestige, importance and social status of traditional Turkish music.⁴⁶

Furthermore, in 1920, Ali Rıfat Çağatay led *Şark Musiki Cemiyeti Korosu* with a drumstick at a public concert for the first time by creating a new style of performance through the inclusion of western instrument in addition to Turkish music instruments. The number of such choirs gradually increased under the umbrella of different *musiki cemiyets* in the following years.

The first disciplined choirs were formed in İstanbul and Ankara radio stations after 1926. The first organized choir in Turkish radios was *Tarihi Türk Musikisi Ünison Erkek*

⁴³ Işıktaş (2016), ibid 80.

⁴⁴ Cem Behar, Osmanlı/Türk Müziğinin Kısa Tarihi (İstanbul: YKY, 2016), 49.

⁴⁵C. Behar(2016), *ibid* 55.

⁴⁶ Cem Behar, 1993, *ibid* 132-133.

Korosu formed by Mesut Cemil, son of Tanburi Cemil Bey, in 1937. The choir led by Mesut Cemil continued to perform under the names of "*Klasik Türk Müziği Korosu*" and "*Tarihi Türk Musikisi Erkekler Korosu*" after Ankara Radio station began broadcasting in 1938. In 1941, on the other hand, a group named "*Yurttan Sesler Topluluğu*" performing Turkish folk music was formed.⁴⁷ While *Yurttan Sesler Topluluğu* and *Tarihi Türk Müziği Korosu* shared the same vocalists, instrumentalists were being selected and changed according to the performance.

Starting from the 1950s, there had been various choirs performing under the umbrella of *musiki cemiyets*, besides the choirs formed within governmental institutions, such as *Darüttalim-i Musiki*, *Şark Musiki Cemiyeti*, *Darülfeyz-i Musiki Cemiyeti*, *İstanbul Üniversite Korosu*, *Üsküdar Musiki Cemiyeti*, and *İleri Türk Musikisi Konservatuarı Derneği*. Along with the increase in the number of choirs, the number of musicians in the choirs also grew. Currently, various choirs under different *cemiyets* and associations, municipality conservatory choirs, university choirs and choirs under varied educational institutions do still function in Turkey. In addition to these, private *fasıl* groups and instrumental music ensembles, which are formed through individual efforts greatly contribute to the tradition of a group performance of Turkish music (while the standardization and the accompanying problems which are handled within the scope of this thesis are reserved). ⁴⁸

In the 1970s, however, education and performance channels for the Turkish music within the official institutions came into existence as a result of the changes in cultural policies. Firstly, Turkish Ministry of Culture established *İstanbul Devlet Klasik Türk Müziği Korosu* by the initiative of Nevzat Atlığ and Yılmaz Öztuna in 1975. In the following years, classical music choirs under the Ministry and different official bodies were introduced. Currently, the abovementioned choir of 1975 resumes its activities under the name of *Cumhurbaşkanlığı Klasik Türk Müziği Korosu* (The Presidency Classical Turkish Music Choir).

 ⁴⁷ Faruk Yıldırım, "Geçmişten Günümüze Türk Müziğinde Toplu İcra Anlayışı Üzerine Bir İnceleme,"
 Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, n.30, 2011/1, 129-143.
 ⁴⁸ F. Yıldırım (2011), *ibid* 140-141.

4.3.2. Standardization in Performance

Group performance is one of the main practices in traditional Turkish music, especially for *fasıl* performances. However, the characteristics of this practice, which was addressed in detail in Chapter 3 changed with the start of the 19th-century and a western and modern practice, i.e. a classical choir, was adopted. Today, this form of performance is accepted as the most important in the performance of traditional music.

There were crucial changes regarding performance as a result of the choir practices. First of all, coordination became one of the most vital elements in the choral performances which contained a higher number of musicians compared to *fasil heyets* performances. As is known, coordination and harmony are possible only on the condition that everyone in the group follows established rules. For example, in the choral performance, the pitch of the performance and which instrument will play which melody when are all set prior to the performance in a way that every member of the group has a designated and clear role. Musicians cannot individually change the assigned pitch.

Contrary to the abovementioned features of choral performance, *fasil* was performed by a small group led by *serhanende*; tempo and modulations were decided by *serhanende* according to his observation regarding the musicians' and the audience's emotional and physical condition during the performance, and this enabled achieving harmony. The only difference between *serhanende* and other musicians was that he both participated in and controlled the performance. However, after the increase in the number of musicians on the stage, there emerged a need for a conductor who would not perform with the vocalists or instrumentalists but would rather focus only on the coordination of the orchestra. This analysis for the performances in large groups in front of a conductor is valid for folk music, too.

In Turkish music, Ali Rıfat Çağatay (1920) was the first musician to go on stage with the choir and to lead. Additionally, according to Özer, Santurî Miralay Hilmi Bey can be said to be the predecessor of Ali Rıfat Çağatay in terms of leading a choir with a

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drumstick.⁴⁹ The first choral performance was by Mesut Cemil in Turkish music. In 1937, he formed the "Ünison Erkek Korosu". He made records with this choir which performed a selection of classical pieces. Then, in 1938, he established *Karma Koro* (Mixed Choir) by including female musicians in Tar*ihi Türk Musikisi Korosu* in Ankara radio.

Especially in performance styles, Münir Nurettin Selçuk (1900-1981) and Mesut Cemil Tel (1902-1963) have unique contributions to the transformation of traditional music. Both of them brought new techniques of performance, both collective/group and solo. Mesut Cemil was an important, talented, and educated man of music. He conducted the very first examples of large group performances in traditional Turkish music and succeeded to communalize this chorus style through the state radio. On the other hand, Münir Nurettin Selçuk made a new interpretation of the performance of *alla turca* music and western music techniques and applications and included solo concert performance in the *alla turca* music. O'Connel states that he used traditional methods for modal representation, according to meter and the lyrics; however, in the performance of *classical pieces*, his vocal interpretation and use of vocal techniques was not traditional. Besides, he deconsecrated the soloist manner of traditional music performance through cleaning the glottal ornamentations of *hafiz* style.⁵⁰

It was observed in the first choir practices on radios that there were changes in the performance and selection of repertoire in accordance with the style and preferences of maestros. For instance, when *Karma Koro* was led by Mesut Cemil, mostly old pieces were preferred and an understanding of classical performance was applied. Because "In these radio concerts, the most serious pieces of Ottoman-Turkish music were being presented to the public in "sets" (two *bestes*, two *semais*) and *şarkıs* were being selected from among graceful and exclusive examples."⁵¹ Yet, Mesut Cemil

⁴⁹ İhsan Özer, "Türk Müziği İcrasında Yönetim," (PhD disser., İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 1995).

⁵⁰ John Morgan O'Connel, Alaturka: Style in Turkish Music (1923-1938) (New York & London: Routledge, 2016), 42-46.

⁵¹ Bülent Aksoy, *Geçmişin Musiki Mirasına Bakışlar* (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2008), 267.

abolished the use of percussion during these performances. Thus, *usul*, one of the most significant elements of traditional music, was abandoned in the choir.

Nevzat Atliğ who took over from Mesut Cemil, on the other hand, adopted a different style. Unlike Mesut Cemil, he developed a performance style that goes beyond the rhythm and preferred to interpret the pieces by thinking of the choir as a soloist. He, thereby, developed a new interpretation unique to himself and followed the same way of interpretation in *Kültür Bakanlığı Devlet Klasik Türk Müziği Korosu* (Ministry of Culture State Classical Turkish Music Choir), which he formed, and also took part in the leading later on. In the performance of both choirs, different applications were preferred instead of *fasıl*, which was the characteristic way of performance of traditional Turkish music. In the abovementioned choir performances, we observe two preferences: *usul*, a characteristic element, was left out by giving up the rhythm or colorful and heterophonic structure of traditional music was abandoned as a result of the modifications due to the thinking of the choir as a soloist. Therefore, a standard way of performance, which is more uniform and extemporaneous compared to the past, came into existence.

Sincerity, being peculiar and giving importance to the solo performance was among the fundamental qualities of traditional Turkish music. However, in groups consisting of more than 15 performers, the person-based characteristic of traditional music ceased to exist. More than that, the promptness of *usul* and the constructions of *usul*-based interpretations would be neglected in the choir. The nuances and ornamentations artists wanted to add during the performance would be made possible only by changing the speed and the volume. Thus, going outside the *usul* would be unavoidable in an attempt to make ornamentation or show a nuance. According to Behar, "Today, some Turkish music "choirs" [...] change tempo unnecessarily during the performance or completely change the *usul* which should be the same from the beginning till the end of the piece..." and this causes the emergence of untraditional practice.⁵² In the form of the choir, all members of the

⁵² C. Behar (2015), *ibid* 28.

choir perform at the same pitch, should adopt a plain singing without ornamentations and *usul* is made slower. Because it was believed that slower *usul* gives the performance a more academic and a serious character.

In addition to leaving out *usul*, the rhythm was also abandoned in order to allow for singing in the choir. Removing rhythm instruments from the choral performance led to the rise of homophonic and uniform music by weakening the effective function of *usul* which characterized this music. However, "The performance style of neither *divan musikisi* nor Mawlawi *musikisi* is like how the choirs today present: homophonic or unison and uniform."⁵³ Additionally, according to Benlioğlu, there are written sources available which show that "performers were free to choose the pieces in *fasıls*, decisions could be made during the performance, instead of a prepared repertoire, and performers did the selection of the pieces by discussing among themselves".⁵⁴ Today, Classical Turkish Music Ensemble of the State (CTMES) is in contradiction with this tradition by standardizing its repertoire and controlling personal interpretations, which are comprised of attitudes.

Additionally, the individual voices of the instruments add also their color and tone to the performance in traditional form. Several critical changes in musical instrumentation correspond closely to the changes in musical form, genre and performance practice which are associated with the emergence of Turkish music properly speaking at the end of 16th- and the beginning of the 17th-century. However, in large groups, such as in choir, their colors and tones would be lost in the acoustic crowd. And also because of the domination of European originated instruments, the degree of the loss would be increased.

Before the 1920s, there had been a lot of *meşk* centers to learn and produce music, but after *tekkes* and *meşkhanes* were closed, the only official channel to perform traditional Turkish music was the radio. As an educational and musical center, the Radio gained a significant role. The fact that radio had a particular policy as the tool

⁵³ K. Erguner (2013), *ibid* 49.

⁵⁴ S. Benlioğlu (2018), *ibid* 135.

of propaganda of the state made a restricting impact on the selection of the artworks. The approach which presented especially classical Turkish music as the pieces from the bright history of the new nation, not as the pieces reflecting the backward and unmodern Ottoman past, was determinant in this selection. Also, new recording technologies required preferring particular performance styles, and this, in turn, caused the production of new pieces in accordance with these preferences.

Supervisory boards still operating within TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation) accept artworks that are up to certain standards, which necessitate the production of pieces in compliance with these criteria in terms of form, content, and *makam*. An example of this imposition on both performance and composition was the rule, which required the composition of all pieces in *düyek usul* in Ankara radio though it did not last long. A criterion was set that pieces in the form of *şarkı* which comprised a majority among performed songs would need to be composed only in *düyek usul* while there were several other *usuls* such as *aksak, curcuna, devr-i hindi, yürük semai*. Moreover, this criterion was applied not only to the future pieces, but also already existing songs (including the pieces by popular and well-accepted composers).⁵⁵

According to Behar, this kind of applications led not only to a uniform production and composition, but also, paradoxically, brought along a recognition of the musical pieces which were in reality revised as standard and authentic (i.e. keeping their original form) and enabled their inclusion to the TRT repertoire.⁵⁶ Additionally, the establishment of the repertoire committees of Istanbul State Radio (later TRT), in the 1950s and 1960s, had an intention to ensure the unity of the musical compositions and uniformity in the performance of state radio by determining the 'correct' one among the different versions of the same artwork.⁵⁷ Cüneyd Orhon, who was a former member of repertoire committees just as his so many contemporaries, has revealed the common idea of the time which is 'correcting' and 'standardizing' the

⁵⁵ Interview with Sadun Aksüt, (2009) cited by Togay Şenalp, *"1950'lerden Bugüne Türk Makam Müziğinin Değişimi Sözlü Tarih Çalışması,"* (PhD disser., İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2012), 52.

⁵⁶ Cem Behar, Aşk Olmayınca Meşk Olmaz (İstanbul: YKY, 2015), 118-119.

⁵⁷ C. Behar (2015), *ibid* 110-112.

written forms of musical pieces in order to reach a uniform performance in the official platforms.⁵⁸

Another interesting example manifesting that transfer to notation leads to uniformity in performance is the case of Hüseyin Sebilci (1894-1975), one of the most remarkable composers and *mevlidhan* of the early Republican era. Nowadays, it is possible to listen to the records of his own melodic compositions even from his own voice on the Internet. What is interesting is the fact that in the process of transmission to notation, only one version of the piece was chosen as the base which Sebilci, indeed, had added an original interpretation and ornamentation in every performance. In this way, a standard form is specified to a commonly known composition of Sebilci and the written records other than this specified one might be considered as a deformation in the art piece. This is because the ornamentations and style differences, which the composer himself holds proper to add in every performance according to the situation, to the time, and to the mode, cannot be included in the standard form, and as a result, the variety in the performance is limited only to one style.

With the early Republican period, musicians became a part of the system as civil servants. While performing in exchange for money was looked down on in the past due to the concern that it would decrease the value of art, musicians turned into civil servants who received a salary from the state and did their musical activities in accordance with the state's political ambitions, and acknowledged it as their profession. They started to perform music within the frame of a job, which had a description and fixed working hours. However, members of a group performing *fasil* were not necessarily the same people in every performance; the people in a team of *fasil* were not strictly bound together. Both the members and the number of members could change based on time and conditions. This flexibility did not give rise to any discussion regarding the quality of music or whether traditional Turkish music is performed in accordance with its original form. However, today, for instance, the

⁵⁸ *Cüneyd Orhon Anlatıyor: Radyo Günlerim*, ed. Bülent Aksoy (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2009), 87-88.

Classical Turkish Music Ensemble of the State (CTMES) has a number of determined members that are the official employees of that institution. The number of the performers of the CTMES is fixed, and the chorus is inflexible and centralized in terms of structure because of the immobility of its members.

In *fasil*, music performers had the chances to show their individual ornamentations and influence. They were free to switch between pitches spontaneously. By this way, they could show their level of mastery as well as personal abilities. And this is one of the main characteristics of traditional Turkish music. It allows every performer to ornament the same composition differently. This practice was followed even after the widespread use of notation. There is a composition skeleton, which contains the fundamental melodic line's tones on which the melody resolves (*karar sesleri*), rests, instrumental parts, chorus, and final tones on which the melody resolve (*nihai karar nağmeleri*). As Eugene Borrel puts it:

Everything other than that is more or less up to the performer: it is acceptable to change a tetrachord with two eighth-note patterns or triplet, intervals can be changed, and many rules can be broken. ... The composition is just a simple scheme, which should be ornamented by the performer each time and which allows him to present his skills. The performer is absolutely free. So much so that a part performed in the chromatic scale by one well-known performer can be played in diatonic scale by another prestigious musician.⁵⁹

In Turkish music, such differences of interpretation between the structure of the composition and the performance show the melodic line of the original composition without causing irregularities. Moreover, having a good command of the chorus in classical *fasıl* performance, *fasıl* performers were able to demonstrate their level of mastery when they moved to the next piece without pausing.⁶⁰ However, the characteristic of *fasıl* repertoire was distorted by choir performance; the pieces that had to be performed as a whole were being one by one in different *makams* and forms. Improvised and unplanned performances were no longer allowed in order to

⁵⁹ Eugene Borrel, "La Musique Turque", *Revue de Musicologie*, v. 6, n.4, (December 1922): 151-152 cited by C. Behar (2015), *ibid* 94.

⁶⁰ T. Şenalp (2012), ibid 29.

ensure and guarantee coordination in large groups. A pre-determined standard program was followed during the performance. As a result, choir members did no longer have a platform to reflect their personal artistic skills outside of the group.

On the other hand, practices adopted by Nevzat Atlığ and Mesut Cemil during different periods show that the sound intervals applied during choir performance might change according to the maestro, time, and place. For instance, Mesut Cemil selected different sound intervals based on the structure of the pieces and the choir members' pitch while making records with *Ünison Koro* and also during his time as the maestro of the choirs formed in the following years. In fact, chord differences in Turkish music, which had to adapt itself to the equal temperament system lie on the basis of this selection. Yavuzoğlu (2008) explains this situation in detail:

Instruments such as *tanbur, classical kemençe, ud,* and *kanun* give tune in what is called *Bolahenk* in Turkish and 'sol' (G) chord according to diapason. In other words, if a 'do' note on the staff is played with these instruments, a 'sol' note under a full fourth note is heard. This results from the fact that 'la' note which has a frequency of 440 Hz which is adopted as a tuning reference by the whole world is not accepted in Turkish music as this system is not sufficient especially while playing *ney* instrument and musicians have to go beyond this system. In total, there are *neys* in 12 different tones and chord system is named after these *neys*. A practical transposition system was developed since *makams* are written from a fixed place in notation, and playing the piece in different tones was continued as a tradition on the condition that notation was kept the same.⁶¹

The fact that the written notation of the pieces is not suitable for different kinds of human voices is the underlying reason behind the use of these practices, which are applied in the choir performance. Performers opt for different chords, which are in harmony with their own pitch in accordance with the pitch of the piece. This results from the adherence to a standard note and the note's inability to cover all sound intervals of Turkish music.

⁶¹ Yavuzoğlu (2008), *ibid* 35.

Traditional Turkish music has different pitches from western music and these pitches cannot be standardized. Moreover, the different voice ranges give character and personality to the works, performances, and modes. Thus, the voice ranges have a crucial role and these certain ranges need some flexibility in the course of the performance. In small groups, flexibility can be attained through the help of coplayers; however, in large groups, it leads to harmonic problems. These harmonic problems are more than chord conflicts; indeed, they erase the emotional and individual denotations of the performance and naturally standardize it. As a result, the choir performances cannot go beyond a pre-determined standard performance.

The difference between folk music and classical music should also be mentioned while moving from *fasıl heyets* to classical music choirs. Being one of the first choirs, *Yurttan Sesler Korosu* is remembered by the works of, especially Muzaffer Sarısözen. Continuing countrywide compilation trips which were initiated under *Darülelhan*, Sarısözen determined *usul* structures by considering "the lines/verses that constitute *türkü* texts" as per the new theory developed during compilation and recording efforts. This approach, which caused mistaking *usul* for meter also led to divergence and estrangement from Anatolia's indigenous music experience. It is similar to the fact that variable pitches and functions of *makam* cannot be reflected and transmitted through the fixed intervals of western notation. According to Güray, despite the fact that this concept would extend *makam* music's limits if it was handled within the scope of this music, "restricting it to the fixed ranges and patterns it attributes to the sound scales destroys the chance to cooperate.".⁶² Moreover, it also brings together the risk that melodic movements and pitch movements of *makam* obscure the reflection of some natural features of melodies in notation.⁶³

The important thing to note is the fact that the *musiki cemiyets*, which had taken upon themselves, the duty of preserving the traditional music and transmitting it to the next generations chose the choir, paradoxically, as their main means of performance. Nowadays, in most of the *cemiyets*, choral performance is considered

⁶² C. Güray (2018), ibid 6-7.

⁶³ C. Güray (2018), *ibid* 11.

a necessity in music education and the pieces are practiced in a class setting following a chosen note. Although the piece at issue formerly was being produced over and over in each and every performance, now, only one version of it, the written one, is taken as a basis for education and practice.

However, in religious gatherings of some *vakifs*, which try to keep and practice *tekke* music, and in ritual *meşks* or in collective zikr performances, a much more dynamic and stressed way of performance, which is called *goygoylu* is being preferred. In these *ilahis* which are practiced not from a written material but directly by just hearing, in order to increase the rhythm and to support the emotional fervor, extra pauses (es) are added and voice is raised from time to time. For example, I witnessed that most of the *ilahis* I had learned in *Kubbealti Cemiyeti* were being performed in various different styles (*tavir*) in *meşk* circles of different *tekkes*. These performances aiming to rouse up the zikr ritual and the different styles to elevate the vim and vigor present a considerably different form and style compared to choral performance.

4.3.3. Search for an original/standard form

For classical or traditional arts in Turkey, there is an emphasis on being 'traditional' especially in traditional visual arts, which most likely emerged as a reaction to the transformations and radical breaks that occurred during the modernization process. Irvin Cemil Schick discusses this emphasis with reference to the art of calligraphy and argues that in search of a traditional legitimacy, new diploma/*ijazah* procedures were invented in traditional fine arts such as marbling.⁶⁴ However, this emphasis on 'the traditional' is itself a modern reaction to the ongoing rapid modernization and radical transformation process, which may be referred to Hobsbawm's incisive conceptualization using the term 'invention of tradition'. In this regard, Hobsbawm states, "the very appearance of movements for the defense or revival of traditions, 'traditionalist' or otherwise, indicates such a break. Such movements, common among intellectuals since the Romantics, can never develop or even preserve a living

⁶⁴ Irvin Cemil Schick, "İslâmî Kitap San'atlarında Standartlaşma: Usta-Çırak İlişkisi ve İcazet Geleneği" in *Standartlar Nasıl İşler?*, ed. Ebru Kayaalp-Fatih Altuğ, (İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2018), 195-230.

past [...] but must become 'invented tradition'."⁶⁵ This can also be applied to the 'classical' label attributed to art or the performance of a type of art. Because labeling art as 'traditional' assumes also that it belongs to the 'classical' period, the tradition. On the other hand, the emphasis on the 'classical' in the naming as in "Classical Western Music" refers to a classical style, which highlights the high culture in the past. As a result of the need to find an authentic and original root, this reference points to the belief that a "golden age" or "pure and good" form of art existed. Indicating such an expectation, the questions of which variant of the piece is more accurate and which is more loyal to the original lead to discussions, which are still ongoing today. Also, these kinds of pursuits demonstrate the expectations regarding the originality and authenticity of a text, artwork or music. The mentioned expectations, however, do not generally take into consideration the traditional context in which the art expresses itself.

As Walter Benjamin states "originally, the embeddedness of artwork in the context of tradition found expression in a cult" and then in religion. "And it is highly significant that the artwork's auratic mode of existence is never entirely severed from its ritual function."⁶⁶ However, if you pull certain parts of art out of its context, it loses its own semantics. Such a change, which caused a semantic change is observed in Turkey, especially in visual arts. With the Republican reforms, the bonds of visual arts were broken off from their origins and roots in terms of meaning. They were only highlighted with their decorative and illuminative aspects separately from their content, and moreover, only through this way, the continuation of tradition was to be achieved. Calligraphy can be cited as an example, which kept its existence only as a decorative art without being taken into consideration as an expression of religious and metaphysical beliefs, culture, etc. This preference or absence led to some essential changes in understanding, practice, and transfer of calligraphy as an art as

⁶⁵ Eric Hobsbawm, *Invention of Tradition*, ed. Cambridge Univ., press, 7-8.

⁶⁶ Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of its Reproducibility and Other Writings on Media*, ed. M. W. Jennings, B. Doherty, T. Y. Levin., trans. E. Jephcott, R. Livingstone, H. Eiland, et. al. (Cambridge-London: Harvard Univ. Press), 24.

Irvin Cemil Schick describes and analyzes in detail.⁶⁷ Similar transformations and regulations took place in the area of music. With the Republican reforms, in parallel with the secularization agenda, the dervish lodges (*tekkes*) were abolished to cut off the religious sides of traditional Turkish music, and secular/non-religious music was supported.

For example, "Mevlevi mukabelesi" is no longer a religious ritual but rather a theatrical performance, which means it is, henceforth, an art that has been pulled out from its social and cultural context. However, this performance which has lost its traditional context, "its aura" in Benjamin's terms, and its original meaning and function, is presented as the tradition itself in spite of its commodification in this course. For example, PCTMC's concert repertoire includes the pieces, which may be defined as religious or tekke music, yet it presents them only as art-works free from their semantics and traditional/religious context. For example, a concert of PCTMC in 1991, namely Dügâkar ve Hacı Faik Bey Konseri includes a naat, which was written for the Prophet Muhammed (Merhaba ey fahr-i alem merhaba) besides the songs belonging to the composer Hacı Faik Bey. In another concert arranged in the early days of the same year, a *ilahi* of Yunus Emre was included beside the songs in Nihavend makam. In both cases, the musical pieces are presented as art-works only, not as part of mosque music which have special religious meanings intrinsically. Although a secularity emphasis is manifest from the very establishment of the choir, the songs of tekke and mosque music are included in the reportoire of the PCTMC such as the abovementioned ones because of the fact that the reportoire of the choir is to be consisted of "traditional" Turkish music.

In addition, the emphasis on the originality, which contradicts with the traditional chain of production and transfer, which is based on repetition and imitation influences our perception of the history of music to a great extent. For example, 2010 was celebrated as the year of Ali Ufkî Bey, and so his works were compiled in an

⁶⁷ Irvin Cemil Schick, "Türkiye'de Hat Sanatının Görüntüselliği" in *Bedeni, Toplumu, Kainatı Yazmak* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2014), 27-50.

album.⁶⁸ Ali Ufki Bey (Albert Bobowski, 1610-1675(?)) came from a Polish aristocrat family and was captured by Ottoman soldiers. Later on, he became an Ottoman court musician; at the same time, he was a dragoman and an author. During his stay in Topkapı Palace, he learned and practiced Turkish music in Enderun, and he wrote out the pieces in notation. These notes were brought up together in the book of Mecmua-yı Saz ü Söz, and this book is accepted as one of the oldest manuscripts of Ottoman period on Turkish music history.⁶⁹ For instance, especially due to this book, the idea that it is possible to obtain the details of original and authentic music of the 17th-century strengthened which was an indicator of the situation, which opened the performance of the period music up for discussion.

Main sources for performance practices on period music include handwritten manuscripts, training books, books on the history of performance and instruments. However, Turkish music's oral structure of education and transfer, as well as the scarcity of written sources, makes reaching these sources impossible. Therefore, a small number of sources gains importance. Another question in this regard is how consistent the current interpretation and perception of the notes found in the small number of written manuscripts with their interpretation in the relevant period. According to Behar, the answer to this question can never be known because the recording technology was not yet developed in the 17th-century.⁷⁰ It is already challenging to play a song, which is never heard before without the impact of current interpretations, and the inadequacy of notation techniques of the relevant period also adds to that challenge. Furthermore, Shull underlines that in this process "several different sources support one another but they are insufficient on their own." The weak descriptive notations referred to by Shull are the forms of notation,

⁶⁸ Bezmârâ, *17. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Musiki (Ali Ufki Bey'in Tanıklığında)*, Güvercin Müzik, 2010. Bezmara is an ensemble, which was established in 1996 by Fikret Karakaya to make historically informed performances of Turkish classical music. There are plenty of records arising from the Ali Ufki's compilation book such as Ahmet Kadri Rizeli, *Ali Ufki Eserleri*, Sony Müzik, 2009. Kudsi Erguner Ensemble, *Beyzade Prens Kantemir & Ali Ufki Külliyatından Seçmeler*, Equinox Music & Entertainment, 1998.

 ⁶⁹ Ali Ufkî, Hâzâ Mecmûa-i Sâz ü Söz, trans. & ed. M. Hakan Cevher (İzmir, 2003). Cem Behar, Saklı Mecmua: Ali Ufki'nin Bibliotheque Nationale de France'taki [Turc 292] Yazması (İstanbul: YKY, 2008).
 ⁷⁰ C. Behar (2005), ibid 170-171.

which show the sound pitches but lack detailed information in terms of performance.⁷¹

Having an important place in the current music discussions, the differences of opinion about the accurate performance of the pieces written out in notation before the 20thcentury result from the fact that ornamentations and style were not recorded. Judetz explains this situation as follows: "Some pieces of music were recorded together with their rich ornaments, while notations of some pieces can't go further than giving bare lines of melody. Therefore, reading/performing notated songs depends rather on the reader's/performer's level of mastery in recreating the piece than the guidance of the notes."⁷² From this point of view, different attitudes and styles arising from the possibility of reproduction in each performance can be viewed and accepted as a sign of richness rather than a negative feature. If contemporary Mawlawi mukabelesi (ceremony) is taken as an example, it can be observed that it is established in a way that every ritual is certain and surely applicable. At the end of a given ceremony, a special genre 'naat' is read and two 'niyaz ilahisi' are sung, and the 'naat' of Itri and these two "ilahis" were composed in the 17th-century. However, these special parts of the ceremony do not belong to the ceremony's first content, which was formed throughout the 13th to 15th centuries. Despite this fact, contemporary performances are seen as original renditions of Mawlawi mukabelesi. Thus, a fixed and dull understanding of tradition is encouraged and spread by ignoring the fact that the abovementioned pieces were added to mukabele by successors of the same tradition later on in the process. Because of this understanding, the state choirs, (Presidential Classical Turkish Music Choir (1975) to cite an example) which were established in the Republican period to perform "indigenously national (*öz itibariyle milli*)" music "in the level of contemporary civilizations (muasir medeniyetler seviyesinde)" are now being positioned as the representative of traditional Turkish music.

⁷¹ Shull, J. "Locating the Past in the Present: Lliving Traditions and the Performance of Early Music" in *Ethnomusicology Forum*, v.15, n.1, (2006) 88.

⁷² E. Popescu Judetz, *Türk Musikisi Kültürünün Anlamları* (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1996), 36.

In fact, there arises a problem out of the question of where we can find in the Ottoman-Turkish music tradition the music performed and transferred in the classical music choirs of the state and public bodies and the choirs of the *musiki cemiyets* which were established with a civil identity. Musiki cemiyets which have an undebatable contribution to and activity in the education and transfer of traditional Ottoman/Turkish music should especially be examined in terms of the information they could provide about the practice outside of the political discourse as they are not official institutions. At this point, institutional associations like *leri Türk Müziği* Konsevatuvarı Derneği and Eyüp Musiki Cemiyeti, Kubbealtı Musiki Cemiyeti or Üsküdar Musiki Cemiyeti can be mentioned among the well-established and traditional institutions which continue their activities to this day. Additionally, there are now classical Turkish music choirs under the Ministry of Culture, metropolitan municipalities, and *cemiyets* in many Turkish cities in addition to Istanbul and Ankara. According to Ayas, the spread of classical music choirs on such a scale and its current position as the representative of traditional music culture can be explained as the resistance of tradition in an attempt to protect itself. Ayas, therefore, deems current classical music choirs as a vein ensuring the cultural continuity.⁷³ For example, the choir which is currently called as Presidential Classical Turkish Music Choir is acknowledged both by public and the state as an institution performing traditional Ottoman-Turkish music by protecting and preserving it in its original and accurate form and transferring it to the future generations. Presidential Classical Turkish Music Choir is the first official music ensemble formed to perform traditional Turkish music or alla turca music in the Republican era.

As a result, we can say that 50 years after the establishment of the Republic, Turkish music was being officially represented at the state level. The mission of Presidential Classical Turkish Music Choir is stated on their website as follows: "We are established to transfer Turkish music which is the most important branch of our national culture along with our language to the future generations in parallel with its importance, to perform and represent it at home and abroad at the highest level, to

⁷³ G. Ayas (2014), *ibid* 350.

promote and popularize it."⁷⁴ According to Ayas, representatives of traditional Turkish music had to embark on new quests, especially after the Republican period, upon the loss of prestige of this music which was perceived as the opposite of national identity and modernity. Therefore, they inspired the inclusion of classic music choirs in the tradition as a practice. The classical choir's graceful and serious performance style, a formal appearance from the clothes to stage-setting, and the stance during the concerts made it possible to find its place in the official concert halls. Through this way, Turkish music re-established its lost prestige by becoming the official ensemble of the state.⁷⁵

Presidential Classical Turkish Music Choir, which is accepted as the official representative of the choral performance that is in the core of the transformations analyzed above in detail presents itself as the real representative and performer of traditional Turkish music. This situation reveals a contradiction, which touches upon all areas of conflict of our music history. The choir which aims to transfer Turkish music to future generations freezes the tradition within a certain frame by ignoring the changes it went through over the years and implies and discloses the idea that it can represent the tradition through its current performance style and repertoire. It should be remembered, as Hobsbawm says, that if we are at a point where we are defining tradition, then it means the tradition is at a point where it needs to be invented. All new interpretations, additions or deletions, following changes in the performance style and repertoire are tools of reproduction of tradition. Therefore, the changes we examined from the last years of the Ottoman Empire until the present day cannot be thought of as a separate process from the current position of Presidential Classical Turkish Music Choir. On the contrary, Presidential Classical Turkish Music Choir is the continuation of the standardization processes in Turkish music and the accompanying changes.

⁷⁴ "Biz Kimiz?: Cumhurbaşkanlığı Klasik Türk Müziği Korosu", access time: 24 June 2019, 11:30, http://www.devletkorosu.com/index.php/biz-kimiz.

⁷⁵ G. Ayas 2014, ibid, 350.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

The studies on Turkish culture have been obsessed mostly by an ideological viewpoint due to the fact that in Turkey the relationship between culture and politics has been always very closely embedded. Especially in the first years of the Republican period, culture has played a symbolic function, which was used as a tool both by the proponents and opponents of the policies of the new regime. For example, in the early Republican policies regarding music, the traditional Turkish music was held within a populist and nationalist discourse, not in a musicological or structural framework. In fact, explaining the transformations in the pitch movements of makam and the changes in the tastes of people from an ideological perspective solely have brought about a delay in understanding how the living conditions and the psychological and cognitive structure of the individuals had transformed. However, there were already transformations in the methods of education, training and performance resulting from the transition from oral to written culture which were far from being ideological preferences. This is because the development of written culture implies a series of changes such as preservation/permanence instead of temporal, analytic instead of episodic, objective distance instead of emphatic proximity¹ which had directly influenced the transmission, production and education mechanisms of traditional Turkish music. For example, in the late Ottoman era, şarkı as a simple form became more prevalent and the number of makams decreased within the trend of simplicity and uniformity. However, at the Republican era, reforms concerning culture became very strict and form-based. Besides the trauma of transformation from oral tradition to the written-style, the bans on traditional Turkish music and its loss of prestige were the main parameters determining the direction and the flow of music culture. The centralizing, standardizing and uniformitarian policies have led to an inflexible performance style. And this new performance style, in turn, has led to a blockage in the continuation and in the

¹ Walter Ong, Sözlü ve Yazılı Kültür: Sözün Teknolojileşmesi (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2012).

production style of traditional Turkish music that had displayed a characteristic feature formerly. So, in time, the artistic production and the tradition of transfer that had a flexible feature beforehand became inanimate. However, the search to get in contact with the tradition and in a way, the search for an original/traditional form or in Hobsbawm's words attempt to "invent the tradition" has continued. Above-mentioned statements make possible to conclude that the radical transformations were the result of both modernizing evolvements and nation-state building at the same time.

Especially for the countries experiencing the modernization through a certain understanding of westernization such as Turkey, these two processes cannot be essentially separated in the course of analysis. In this context, it is noteworthy that Hobsbawm started his book *Nations and Nationalism* with the following sentences: "The basic characteristic of the modern nation and everything connected with it is its modernity."² From this point of view, we can say that the westernization process since the *Tanzimat* period and the policies of nationalization in the post-Republic period also point out the fact that the 'nation' itself tried to be defined and standardized through the target of reaching the 'modern'. Therefore, it is very crucial to place and analyze the transformations which have taken place in Turkish music tradition as a result of modernization, westernization etc., from the 17th century onwards, within its conjuncture; not to mention it is crucial not only for musical history, but even for understanding contemporary cultural world.

As a matter of fact, the 17th century is generally accepted as the main period in which the Ottoman culture and Ottoman period Turkish music tradition gained its original and distinctive character. Traditional Turkish music had flourished mainly under the patronage of the palace in Ottoman period. The late Ottoman era was the period during which the Western music had been introduced to the palace and in the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, the support of the palace began to shift towards western music, although the official support and prestige still belonged to the traditional one. While

² Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambrdige Unviersity Press, 1992), 14.

western music entered into Ottoman cultural world, it had also some considerable impacts on Turkish music, since there was a mutual interaction. To cite an example, İsmail Dede Efendi (b.1777 - d.1845), who was one of the most talented composers of the 19th century, taught Turkish music to Donizetti and Guatelli, the conductors of *Muzıka-yı Humayûn*, and, in return, he received information about the melodic mentality of western music.³ The example was just another implication of the acknowledgement of the western music in palace that we call today the duality, which began in 1826 with the declaration of musical reformations.

In the early Republican era, however, the radical changes in the cultural sphere for the sake of modernization became prominent, and together with the process of the construction of national identity, music, in particular, was subjected to further transformations. With the abolition of Tekke ve Zaviyes (dervish lodges and complexes) in 1925, a very important resource of traditional music was cut out. In 1926, teaching of the traditional Turkish music was banned and this ban lasted up to 1943. During this period, Turkish music education was not prevalent in an institutional context. In the course of these radical steps, a series of institutions were established under the state patronage, namely Riyaset-i Cumhur İncesaz Heyeti, Türk *Müziğini Tasnif ve Tesbit Heyeti*, Conservatory of Municipality and the State Radio. Outside the state control, chambers in the houses and mansions, music guilds, clubs and taprooms can be counted among the institutions, which tried to preserve and transmit the traditional Turkish music. After 1970s, the official attitude towards traditional Turkish music has changed. The state conservatory on "Turkish Music" have started the classical Turkish music education in 1975. And with the first graduates of conservatory, several ensembles of Turkish music have been established. During the 1980s the establishment of choruses, orchestras, foundations and publications related to traditional music culture showed an accelerated increase.

In compliance with this historical background, in this thesis I have tried to study and manifest how the developments and transformations that had been lived through

³ B. Aksoy (1985), *ibid* 1216.

during the modernization period, from applying notation system and interaction with western music to republican reformations and regulations, had influenced the musical culture. In this regard, the aim of this thesis was to detect and analyze the influences of modernity on music culture as a standardizing project claiming "uniformity", "objectivity" and "predictability" in every sphere of life. In line with this aim, I have searched the reflections of these claims on, for example, notation system, institutionalization in education, insistence on published training materials, chorus performances in huge concert halls etc. Basically, the analysis centered upon how the system of *meşk*, a fundamental institution/foundation in traditional Turkish music culture, through which education, repertoire transmission and performance have been substantiated, had changed over the last two centuries. In particular, how standardization efforts, in terms of both compliance with the modern developments in general and search for a national form in particular, had led to a music culture that is relatively less flexible, containing relatively limited diversity and mainly uniform both in terms of performance and production.

Since *fasil* was the preliminary performance form in traditional Turkish music and "chorus" symbolizes the modernity of the Republican Turkish music culture, I have chosen "from fasil to chorus" as a guiding route through which I tried to show the transformations in the 'tradition'. However, history of Turkish music cannot be reduced to merely an analysis of the change in the performance style, because of the fact that *meşk* culture does not consist solely of a performance style, i.e. *fasil* and was not only a technical production and transmission system but also a cultural structure and life-style laying behind the musical life. Therefore, the musical understanding embodied in chorus can not be analysed only as a change in performance style. Especially, therefore I analyzed the dimensions that can be rather labelled as cultural such as education and transmission along with the technical transformations in music. Thus, by pursuing the transition "from *fasil* to chorus", it became available to embrace various fields such as performance, production, transmission and repertoire composition within the same context.

Briefly stating, written notation and other modern developments in general and choral system in particular had a significant influence on the characteristic structure of Turkish music, to cite some preliminary ones as follows:

Firstly, written notation has led to a restriction in the flexibility, richness and diversity of musical production and performance. The pieces which were being re-interpreted, i.e. re-produced in almost every performance formerly, started to be transmitted as only one version through the written note and also only the writeable ones have a chance to be transmitted.

Additionally, with the choral performance the flexibility in *usuls* having larger intervals has decreased and certain *usuls* (limited in number) begun to be preferred taking their compatibility with the large group performances into account. This preference in turn have led to a restriction in the diversity and flexibility of the production process. Besides, the characteristic of *fasıl* repertoire which necessitates a complete performance consisted of *makams* and specific forms had to change with the choral performance's preference of performing the pieces one by one. Accordingly, improvised and unplanned performances started to be no longer allowed for the sake of coordination in larger groups. This, in turn, lead to a decrease in the presentation of the personal artistic skills and improvisations, which is one of the main characteristics of traditional style, so much so that consequently leading to almost extinction of that style.

Besides, with the establishment of formal school system and educational institutions in which the transfer of knowledge depended on written materials and on a standardized curriculum, an essential educational method of *meşk* system depending on one-to-one master-pupil relationship has lost its prevalence.

Furthermore, in the early years of the Republican era, the attempts to record and to preserve traditional and folk music repertoire had an essential role in the modernization process of Turkish music. Compilation trips to Anatolia under the *Darülelhan* were determinant actions for the newly established Turkish national

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culture. Additionally, the studies of *Tasnif ve Tesbit Heyeti* till 1950s constituted the "classical canons" of the traditional Turkish music repertoire. After the bans and restrictions on traditional Turkish music, throughout the 1950s and 1960s, newly founded repertoire committees, e.g. of Istanbul State Radio (later TRT), started to play a decisive role in the maintenance of the unity of the musical compositions and uniformity in the performance by authorizing themselves as the establishment which determines the validity and authenticity of a given piece disregarding the other versions of the same piece. In these efforts, not only a transfer to notation is aimed but also Turkish national musical repertoire, which was defined scientifically and recorded accordingly; in reality a selection was realized based on mainly personal criteria giving rise to a blockage in front of the transmission of inherent variety of traditional Turkish music to later generations.

These transformations briefly cited above were analyzed especially in the fourth chapter under the title "from fasil to chorus", mainly because increase in the choral performance and the support of the Republican state to this end should not be considered as an isolated development from the modernization process. It should not be either considered as a purely musical transformation independently developed from the traditional roots, rather it has developed depending on traditional 'standards' and values to some extent and it has been built on the given heritage. Even if we argue that the chorus cannot represent the traditional Turkish music by remembering Hobsbawm's articulation regarding the notion of 'invented tradition', we have to admit that, as Ayas fairly states, the chorus was the key element through which the lost prestige of the tradition was tried to be maintained.⁴ Furthermore, it was not just promoted by the government, the non-governmental musiki cemiyets also found a way of transmitting and preserving the traditional music through choral performance, though it was a result of the restrictions in the ways of expression. To be precise, officially determined expression style reduced the musical expression into one form just as centralized modern states enforce uniformity in different areas as well.

⁴ G. Ayas (2014), *ibid* 350.

On the other hand, although the musical expression style of Turkish music in modern period had been established as chorus, it is hardly possible to say that there is an agreed standard perception of choral performance in traditional Turkish music. In the traditional crafts and arts, obviously, there were some standard norms which draw the limits of them; however, the standard norms and rules for choral performance of Turkish music has not been determined yet, neither in terms of western nor in terms of original Turkish choral music standards. For instance, to organize a definite and determined settlement on the scene and a choral performance accordingly require a division of voices like tenor, treble, basso, etc., however in Turkish music there is no such an arrangement in the order of voice ranges. The technical structure of the musical system also gains importance at this point since, contrary to a standard choral performance, the individual and improvised performances have a crucial place in the traditional Turkish music.

Besides, as the first leading practitioners of choral performance Mesut Cemil and after him Nevzat Atlığ, to provide the harmony between this new performance style and the traditional music, had adopted different styles for the choirs in the Radio. One of them left the rhythm and the other one had treated and organized the choir as one performer. These applications of performance reveal that there were not a determined or common choral performance style in the Turkish music.

Furthermore, although these preliminary choral performances had an important place in the traditional Turkish music culture, various different attempts have been tried by the musicians to synthesize the new methods of modern choral performances with the traditional Turkish musical forms. For example, Ulvi Erguner had established a sufi music choir Tasavvuf Musikisi Korosu in the TRT İstanbul Radio. He had tried to preserve the characteristic of the Turkish music by bringing rhythm and *usul* in the performance and at the same time in a time of emphasis on secularity in every field of life, he tried to revive the tekke music with its religious background. So, in other words, as Ayas argues in his thesis, although there were radical transformations, the drive to respond and face these transformations and at the same time to thrive for a continuation in tradition had continued to exist.⁵

Various alternative musical societies that were established in the following years also reveal the strategies trying to cope with the radical transformations in musical culture. Instead of the choruses containing large numbers of performers, establishing relatively smaller choruses made up of lesser number of vocal performers and instruments can also be regarded as a reflection of the search for a composite of continuity and change at the same time. In this meaning, a performance style close to the traditional expression style, conceivably, have been preferred in a reaction to current standardization expectations. Cinuçen Tanrıkorur following by Murat Salim Tokaç were among these artists who has tried to reach a more compatible style by decreasing the number of performers.

Here it should be restated that situating the music, which is performed and transferred in the classical music choirs of the state and in the choirs of the *musiki cemiyets* established with a civil identity, within the Ottoman-Turkish music tradition constitutes a significant problematique. The Presidential Classical Turkish Music Choir being the representative of coral performance presents itself as an institution performing traditional Ottoman-Turkish music by taking the duty of protecting and preserving the music in its original and accurate form and transferring it to the future generations. Since the coral performance had been at the center of all the transformations cited on the pages of this thesis, the statement of the PCTMC relieves a conflict which is in touch with almost every field of discussion in our music history. The chorus with its existing repertoire and current performance style attempts to fix the tradition within a given context, and implies and manifests that it is possible to represent the tradition, yet disregards the transformations of Turkish music over the years.

⁵ G. Ayas (2014), *ibid*.

This thesis, in this regard, tried to analyze these transformations under the light of the historical development of Turkish music in relation to the standardization process both as a search for continuity and as a rupture in the tradition. The late Ottoman period and the policies of Republican Turkey had influenced Turkish music's fundamental characteristics within and through the process of modernization. In the domain of music, particularly its subsections as performance, production, repertoire and education, considering their technical, cultural, political and sociological aspects, the modernization carried itself mostly through process of standardization. As a result, *meşk* system has almost disappeared, at least its fundamental features cannot be maintained officially, and the traditional Turkish music began to be represented through choral performance, although, through which a process of standardization.

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APPENDICES

A. The note of Segah Hamdiyye rewritten by Cüneyt Kosal



13. 1. 1985 geniden yardun.

ALLAH BIZE LÜTFETDİ ŞÜKÜR ELHAMDÜLLLAH NÎMETİNE GARKETDİ ŞÜHÜR ELHAMDĞLILAH

HIYELIM NÎMETINÎ ANALIM HAZPETÎNÎ UMARIZ RAHMETÎNÎ ŞÜKÛR ELHAMDÛLÎLAH

MUHAMMED KADEM BASDI ŞEFI' OLMAKDIR KASDI HAKKIN SEVGILI DOSTU SÜKÜR ELHAMDÜLILLAH

OL RESOLUN YARLARI CENNE TDEDIR CANLARI BIZ SEVERIZ ANLARI ŞÜKÜR ELHAMDĞLILLAH HARCEDERIZ VARIMIZ FEDA OLSUN CANIMIZ KUR'ANDIR PMANIMIZ SÜKÜR ELHAMDÜLILLAH

BAĞDADÎNÎN BU SÖZÛ KABUL EYLE NÎYAZI DERGÂHA SÜRER YÜZÜ ŞÜHÜR ELHAMDÛLILLAH

B. The note of Segah Hamdiyye rewritten by Yusuf Ömürlü

