

**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**

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

BY


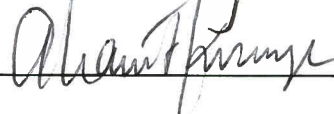
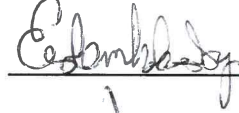
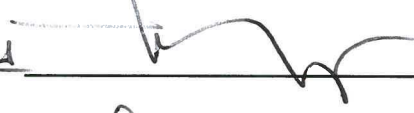
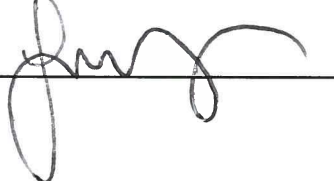
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IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
HISTORY

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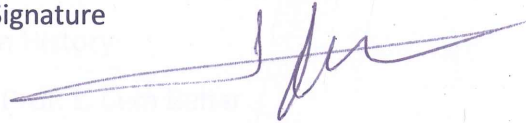


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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation focuses on the musicians of Istanbul who experienced the transitional period from the late Ottoman to the Early Republican years in Turkey. By focusing on their career trajectories, the thesis seeks to understand the ways in which musicians responded to broader socio-political changes.

The thesis offers a wide range of quantitative analyses that were generated in IBM SPSS Statistics 23.0 (Statistical Package for Social Sciences). The thesis explores the geographical origins, birth dates, family backgrounds, education patterns, language proficiency, occupational distribution with a view to bring the common as well as the distinct features of musicians under investigation to light.

The study gives emphasis to the musicians’ mobility in Istanbul in order to enhance the geographical understanding of music. The frequency analysis enabled this study to identify the most frequented neighborhoods by musicians as well as the musical interactions among the neighborhoods. Gephi, which is software to visualize social connections, was used to show the most musically connected neighborhoods to understand how the urban music was generated at the local level.

By addressing the issue of music education, the thesis aimed to show that musicians were not monolithic but diverse and reflected different values about music. Many modes of learning music lead to the formation of different musical identities. For

the majority of musicians, it was perceived as part of the urban culture, and thereby they built a non-professional (non-profit) relationship with it.

The dissertation pays particular attention to the emergence of music schools after 1909 and the radio broadcasts in 1927 to uncover the interactions between state policies and music. The study perceives the role of these two institutions as a turning point in music in terms of the transition from plurality in music-tradition to cultural uniformity, the emergence of music as a “profession”, the re-organization of musicians’ social status, and the remaking of women in music.

Keywords: Ottoman, Istanbul, musician, social history

ÖZ

GEÇ OSMANLI VE ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMLERİNDE İSTANBULLU MÜZİSYENLERİN SOSYAL PROFİL ANALİZİ: SOSYAL AĞLAR VE BİR “MESLEK” OLARAK MÜZİK

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Bu tez Geç Dönem Osmanlı Devleti'nden Erken Cumhuriyet'e uzanan bir zaman diliminde İstanbul'da yaşamış olan bir grup müzisyeni konu edinmiştir. Müzisyenlerin tanıdığı oldukları sosyo-politik ve kültürel değişimlere verdikleri tepkileri analiz etmek tezin öncelikli meselelerinden birisidir.

Tez odağına aldığı 257 müzisyenin sosyal profillerini ortaya çıkarmak için SPSS veri analiz yazılımı üzerinden çok sayıda niceliksel analize başvurmuştur. Müzisyenlerin coğrafi dağılımları, ailelerinin sosyo-ekonomik durumu, eğitim düzeyleri ve meslekleri sahip oldukları benzerlikler ve farklılıkları tartışmak için bir zemin oluşturmaktadır.

Bu çalışma İstanbul'un söz konusu zaman aralığındaki müzik haritasını oluşturmaya çalışmıştır. Müzisyenlerin şehir içerisindeki hareketliliği tespit etmek için başvurulan yoğunluk analiz metodu, mekân ve müzik arasındaki ilişkiler ağını ortaya çıkarmak içindir. Gephi yazılımı kullanılarak ortaya çıkarılan ağ analizleri, müziğin en yoğun olarak duyulduğu daireler (ilçeler) ve bunların birbirleriyle müzik üzerinden kurdukları ilişki biçimlerini anlamamıza yardımcı olmaktadır. Dairelerde bulunan tiyatrolar, gazinolar, tavernalar, semaî kahveleri, kıraathâneler, tekkeler, müzisyenlerin evleri ve meşk toplantılarının niceliksel analizleri şehir müziğinin yerel düzeyde nasıl üretildiğini göstermektedir.

Birbirinden farklı mzik eđitim sreçlerine odaklanmak mzisyenlerin aslında yekpare bir yapıda deđerlendirilmemeleri gerektiđini ortaya koymaktadır. Mzisyen olma sreçleri mzikal kimliklerini de Őekillendirmektedir. Analiz edilen mzisyenlerin önemli bir kısmı için mzik sahip oldukları Őehir kltrnn bir parçası; tamamlayıcıydı ve mzikle kurdukları iliŐki biçimi de kâr odaklı deđildi. Fakat 20. yzyılın baŐlangıcıyla hızlanan politik krizler mzisyenlerin hayatında byk deđerişimlere neden olacaktı. Bu çalıŐma politik deđerişimlerin mzikteki izdŐmlerini mzik okulları (1909 ertesini) ve radyo yayıncılıđı (1927) zerinden gstermeye çalıŐmaktadır. Mzik tarihi için kŐe taŐları olarak dŐndđm bu iki kurum, imparatorluk mziđine has çeŐitlilikten yeknesaklıđa adım, mziđin profesyonelleŐmeye ve mzisyenliđin sosyal stat kazanmaya baŐlaması ve mzik ierisinde deđerişen kadın rolleri gibi pek çok aıdan tartıŐmaya aılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Osmanlı, İstanbul, mzisyen, sosyal tarih

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ABBREVIATIONS

BOA	: <i>Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi</i>
DİA	: <i>Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi</i>
Ed.	: Editor
Gephi	: The Open Graph Viz Platform
<i>ibid.</i>	: In the same source
MEB	: <i>Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı</i>
MOI	: More than one income source
Moi	: More than one instrument player
NPI	: Not playing an instrument
NSL	: No second language
SPSS	: IBM SPSS Statistics 23.0 (Statistical Package for Social Sciences)
Trans.	: Translator
TRT	: Turkish Radio and Television
TTK	: <i>Türk Tarih Kurumu</i>
Unknown	: Not available data

Note: Abbreviations for the primary sources are provided in the Bibliography.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Thesis Subject and Research Question

The study will exclusively deal with musicians, who individually as well as collectively have generated an imperial culture, namely the Ottoman music. In other words, the thesis will not investigate the history of music but the history of musicians. Because they were part of the cultural life during the late Ottoman era and many of them experienced the process of the cultural reordering in the Early Republican period. Therefore, in order to contribute to the social history of music, some issues appear to be highly significant and would be at the center throughout the study: The social aspects of the lives of musicians (singers, instrumentalists and above all, composers), the interaction of musicians (network analysis, see Figure 1.1.) and the ways they adapt to social change they went through.

The collective biography analysis will be applied to 257 musicians gathered from a number of historical sources. The sources that the study relies on will be discussed in detail in this chapter. Methodologically, the study will apply quantitative analysis to to reveal the social profiles of musicians. The statistical outcomes will be supported by the individual life stories to better grasp the typical as well as atypical features generated by musicians. The thesis will heavily rely upon computer-based programs for this purpose: IBM SPSS Statistics 23.0 (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) for the quantitative analysis and Gephi to visualize the social networks of musicians. The historical maps will be instrumental to explore the musical setting of Istanbul at the turn of the twentieth century. Yet the visual power of photography would be instrumental to further reinforce the narrative. I will critically discuss their methodological advantages as well as their limits in this chapter.

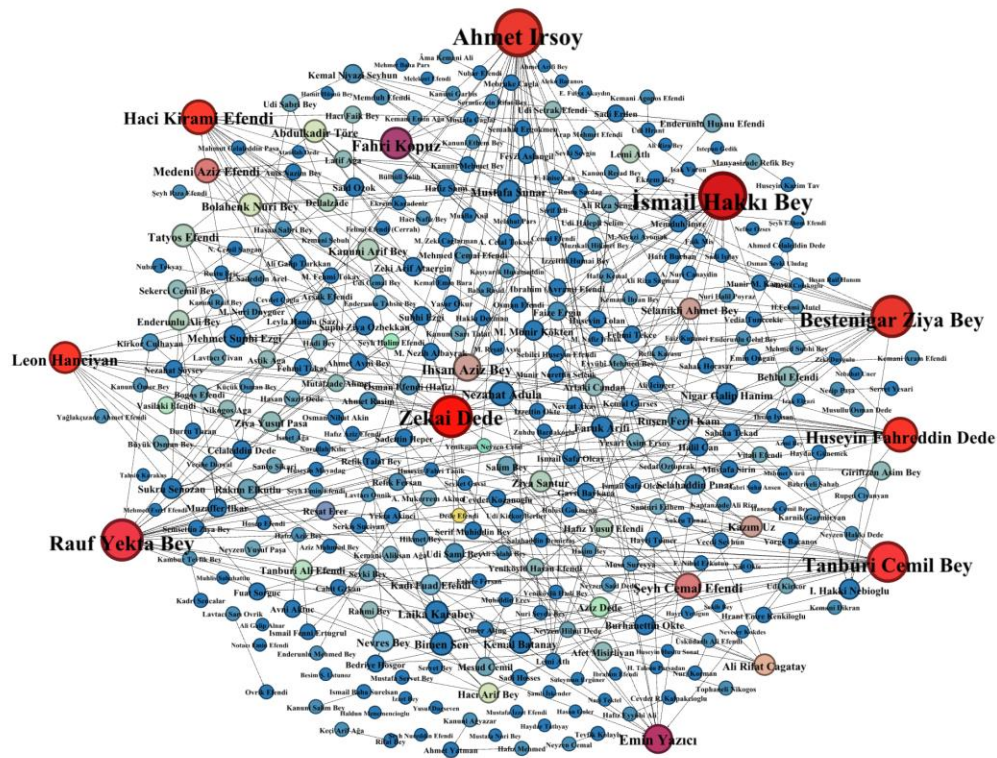


Figure 1.1. The network map of musicians under study

Figure 1.1 illustrates the social networks of 257 musicians under study and may be regarded as a glimpse of the musicians' milieu in Istanbul. Transmitting musical knowledge to one another interconnected them. The principal reason of applying collective biography analysis is to explore this immense interaction among the musicians.

On the part of the musicians' social profile, the thesis will focus on a range of issues, including family background, the way they were raised and educated, occupational continuity, age composition characteristics, and the real sources of income. Although historical sources rarely mention the financial gains out of music, they still provided insights –albeit implicitly, into the financial state of musicians. The thesis considers this critical since it argues that music could hardly be described as a profession given the limited financial opportunities music has provided. I argue that music was a part of the overall urban culture in the late nineteenth century Istanbul and hence it cannot be considered in professional terms. Musicians' social profile analysis confirms the argument that the significant number of them did not derive

income out of music and revealed the diverse socioeconomic backgrounds that musicians had.

The study will emphasize how musicians struggled against economic hurdles by highlighting ups and downs in their careers. I consider the financial conditions that musicians had in their lifetime as reliable indicators for their socio-economic status. Although musician biographies contribute significantly to the problem, it seems that the topic has not yet drawn scholarly attention.

Geographically, the thesis will explore Istanbul through musical activities. The central question is to what extent the overall urban music is shaped in the neighborhoods of the city. While forming the urban music of Istanbul collectively, did they reveal characteristic differences at the local level? Maps and visualizations through Gephi (I will elaborate on the program in the “methodological framework” section) will support statistical analysis measuring the musical activities as well as the interactions among neighborhoods of the city. The geographical approach to music will hopefully bring new understanding to the issue and will provide novel perspectives into the Ottoman urban studies as well.

How to become a musician in the late Ottoman Istanbul is another question that the study seeks to address. Exploring the cultivation of music through more frequented and less common training models, the issue will also underscore the interactions between the Muslim and non-Muslim musicians. I argue that the imperial music has been refined with the contributions of innumerable people with various ethno-religious backgrounds. The involvement of Muslim and non-Muslim musicians in the music education process will be linked to the broader argument that it will allow us to consider the everyday interactions between different religious groups in Istanbul from a musical perspective.

Yet the thesis will call into question the Ottoman bureaucracy from a musical perspective since the majority of musicians were official functionaries. I argue that they did not resort to the government jobs to resolve their economic problems. In

fact, the reverse seems to be the case. Based on the biographical accounts of musicians who served in the public offices, I would argue that the bureaucratic culture and music were inseparable, and they were part and parcel of the Ottoman urban culture. The social as well as the musical side of the argument will be further developed in the relevant chapters.

1.2. Historical Framework

The context and the structure of the Ottoman music witnessed changes that paved the way to the emergence of the new organizations from the turn of the twentieth century all the way to the Early Republican years. Even if it is not in the sense that Adorno describes, the music industry was about to create itself in Istanbul.¹ In other words, music in Istanbul was steadily becoming a profession and hence the musicians as professionals. The musicians who constituted the research data predominantly lived in these time periods and experienced the sociocultural change.

Particularly at the beginnings of the twentieth century, music schools were opened. Various amateur choruses emerged in different districts of Istanbul, most of which were related to those music schools.² With the emergence of music schools music began to create itself novel spaces, a wider audience and new types of patronage, which meant that musicians depended less and less on the older patterns of

¹ Adorno's writings on popular culture and culture industry suggests that any product of popular culture that ranges from film making to music production primarily aimed to entertain the mass consumers in the late capitalism. The artistic forms are light, easy to digest by masses and subject to the profit-making concerns and political power. Therefore, one of the main goals of the culture industry is to make profit, "Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception", Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, Continuum, New York, 2002, 1-34.

² *Dârü't-Talîm-i Musikî* (1912), *Dârü'l-Bedayî* (1914), *Dârü'l-Feyz-i Musikî* (1915), *Dârü'l-Elhân* (1917), *Şark Musikî Cemiyeti* (1918), *Türk Musikîsi Ocağı* (1923), *Gülşen-i Musikî* (1925), *Süleymaniye Musikî Mektebi* (1927). These largely privately held music schools not only provided music education, indeed helped the expansion of public concerts. Certainly a new space for Ottoman music, Güntekin Oransay, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Elli Yılında Geleneksel Sanat Musikimiz", *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Cilt VI, İletişim, İstanbul, 1983.

support. In other words, music and hence musicians now began to be supported by public. However, it did not essentially mean the new totally replaced the older ones, but the old types were clearly in a downturn trend.³

Even though the publishing of sheet music in the form of *fasıl*, and in separate sheets began by the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It became more popular by the turn of the century in parallel to the growth of the publishing sector.⁴ The dissemination of sheet music should not only be considered within the increased commercialization of music. It was critical for the Ottoman music due to the fact that the training process was overwhelmingly relied on memory from the very beginning, which faced the threat of staff notation.⁵ The time period also witnessed an increased interest in musical researches and polemical articles, which were published in journals and daily news.⁶

³ Mes'ud Cemil, *Tanburi Cemil Bey'in Hayatı*, (ed. Uğur Derman), Kubbealtı, İstanbul, (Third Edition) 2012. The memoir explicitly indicates the older types of artistic patronage in the life account of Cemil Bey (1872-1916). However, the expansion of the novel financial support mechanisms were more and more apparent in terms of public concert series, employment in the music schools and making contracts with record companies.

⁴ İsmet Süleyman Yayını *Fasıl Defteri* (1875), *Notacı Emin Fasıl Defterleri* (1876), *Mahzen-i Esrar-ı Musikî* (1897), *Udî Halil Bey's Fasıl Defterleri* (1901), *Şamlı Selim Fasıl Dizisi* (1901), (1910), *İskender Kutmanî Fasıl Defterleri* (1915), *Arşak Çömlekciyan Fasıl Defterleri* (1924), *Onnik Zadoryan Fasıl Defterleri* (1926), Güntekin Oransay, "Türkiye'de Defter ve Dergi Biçiminde Fasıl Yayınları (1875-1976)", *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vol. 22, 1978; pp. 277-295; "Cumhuriyetin İlk Elli Yılında Geleneksel Sanat Musikimiz", *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Issue 6, İletişim, İstanbul, 1983, 1496-1509; Gönül Paçacı, *Osmanlı Müziğini Okumak (Neşriyat-ı Musiki)*, T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayını, İstanbul, 2010, pp. 217-309; "Notacı Hacı Emin Efendi", *Dârü'lhan Mecmuası*, İÜ OMAR, 2017, İstanbul, pp. 23-37.

⁵ Cem Behar, *Aşk Olmayınca Meşk Olmaz: Geleneksel Osmanlı/Türk Müziğinde Öğretim ve İntikal*, YKY, Sixth Edition, İstanbul, 2016.

⁶ Âhenk (1908), *Dârü'l-Elhân* (1925), *Nota* (1933), *Türk Musikîsi Dergisi* (1947), *Musikî Mecmuası* (1952), *Musikî ve Nota* (1969), Güntekin Oransay, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Elli Yılında Geleneksel Sanat Musikimiz", p. 255-56; Bora Keskiner, "Arap Harfli Türkçe Süreli Yayınlarında Türk Musikîsi Teorisi Bibliyografyası", *TALİD*, Vol. 7, No. 14, 2009, pp. 377-378. Also see footnotes 5 and 8, above.

The impact of sound recording, the phonograph, should also be noted since there is an abundant literature about it.⁷ Rauf Yekta Bey (1871-1935) described the way the phonograph companies operated in Istanbul in the beginning of the twentieth century, and the value of musical reproduction through the new technology. He underlined the interest of ordinary people for phonographs, and the coming of new record companies one after the other from the Western countries. What he criticized was the repertoire chosen by these companies. He considered the overwhelming majority of recorded pieces had no value (*âsâr-ı mübtezel*), and were played by incapable musicians, and thus did not represent the classical (*sic*) Ottoman music.⁸ His rather elegant stance against the operational ways of record companies is noteworthy, however, his expression acknowledges the commercial success of those companies. The business, while creating job opportunities for musicians would also widen the musical audience.⁹ The list of important events in the history of music should also include the foundation of state radio in Istanbul (1927) and Ankara (1938). However, the thesis approaches cautiously to the state-sponsored radio not on the ground that it broadcasted music to wider audience but

⁷ Pekka Gronow, "The Record Industry Comes to the Orient", *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 25, No. 2, 1981, pp. 251-284; John Morgan O'Connell, "Song Cycle: the Life and Death of the Turkish Gazel: A Review Essay", *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 2003, pp. 399-414; Cemal Ünlü, *Git Zaman Gel Zaman*, Pan Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2004; Peter Wicke, *The Art of Phonography: Sound, Technology and Music*, (trans. from German by Derek B. Scott), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Musicology*, (ed. Derek B. Scott), Ashgate, 2009, p. 147-168; Peter Wicke, "The Art of Phonography: Sound, Technology and Music", (trans. from German by Derek B. Scott), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Musicology*, (ed. Derek B. Scott), Ashgate, 2009, pp. 147-168; Aristomenis Kaliviotis, *İzmir Rumlarının Müziği 1900-1922: Eğlence, Müzik Dükkânları, Plak Kayıtları*, Yılmaz Okyay (trans.), YKY, İstanbul, 2013.

⁸ Rauf Yekta, "Gramofon ve Mûsikî-i Osmânî", *İkdam*, No. 4223, 13 Muharrem 1324 (9 March 1906).

⁹ The Gramophone Co recorded the first phonographs in Istanbul, May 1900. It had a great impact on the making and listening of music. Yet many musicians developed recording careers with the outset of sound recording industry. However, this innovation was largely related to advances in the recording technology and barely to the internal dynamics of the Ottoman state. First experimental recordings was done in 1877 by Edison and the innovation had to wait two more decades for worldwide market sales, Cemal Ünlü, *Git Zaman Gel Zaman: fonograf – gramofon – taş plak*, p. 138-156.

more on institutional grounds that it attempted to impose cultural uniformity on music and thus musicians. I will elaborate on this point further in the sixth chapter. Eventually, the thesis will evaluate the weight of those events in the history of Ottoman music. It will question to what extent the musicians were affected by those changes that they have experienced. In other words, the collective biography analysis of musicians will seek to answer whether there is a valid ground to consider all those events as turning points in the history of Ottoman music.

1.3. Terminological Framework

For the sake of clarity, it has to be stated that in this study the “Ottoman cultural life” should not necessarily be associated with the high/elite culture or the Ottoman court. I do not undervalue the noble patrons of the arts. On the part of the musical patronage, the Ottoman court occasionally held music in high esteem. For instance, the literature praises the favor of Selim III (r. 1789-1807) to music and musicians at the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹⁰ However, music was also held in various places and different contexts in the Ottoman realm. In fact, Western music concerts and opera were frequently performed in the palace and in Pera from 1830s onward, on which there is a growing scholarly interest.¹¹ Yet, the overemphasis on palace

¹⁰ On the Selim III’s music and courtly patronage, see Rauf Yektâ, “Selîm-i Sâlis Mûsikîşinâs”, *Yeni Mecmua*, sy. 16 (İstanbul 1917), pp. 309-312; Şevket Gavsî, “Sultan Selim-i Sâlis”, *Peyam*, Kişisel Arşivlerde İstanbul Belleği, Taha Toros Arşivi, 001511371006; Ferid Ruşen Kam, “Selim III”, *Radyo Mecmûası*, C. 5, No. 49, Ankara, 1949; The recent historiography has not yet provided a new perspective on the musician sultan and his courtly support to music, see M. Fatih Salgar, *III. Selim Hayatı-Sanatı-Eserleri*, Ötüken Neşriyet, İstanbul 2001; Kâşif Yılmaz, *III. Selim (İlhâmî): Hayatı, Edebî Kişiliği ve Dîvânın Tenkitli Metni*, Trakya Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü Yayınları, No. 52, Edirne, 2001, pp. CXLIV-CLXV; Mehmet Güntekin, “Dâhi Bir Sanatkâr”, *III. Selim: İki Asrın Dönemecinde İstanbul*, Coşkun Yılmaz (ed.), Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Yayını, İstanbul, 2010, pp. 197-207; Ferdi Koç, “Musicians Educated at the Music School of Sultan III. Selim”, *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, Vol. 174, 2015, pp. 2166– 2173.

¹¹ Mahmut Ragıp Kösemihal’s monography on the relations between Ottoman court and Western music is still a valuable source, *Türkiye – Avrupa Musiki Münasebetleri (1600-1875)*, Vol. 1, İstanbul Nümune Matbaası, 1939, see particularly the third chapter, pp. 95-157; Vedat Kosal, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Klasik Batı Müziği”, *Osmanlı*, Vol. 10, Gülen Eren (ed.), Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Ankara, 1999, pp. 639-652; Emre Aracı, *Donizetti Paşa: Osmanlı Sarayının İtalyan Maestrosu*, YKY Yayınları, İstanbul, 2006; Naum Tiyatrosu; 19 Yüzyıl İstanbul’unun İtalyan Operası, YKY Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010; “Piyanist Hünkâr: Sultan V. Murad ve Ailesinin Avrupaî Müzik Kültürü”, *Türkiye’de Müzik Kültürü Kongresi Bildirileri*,

would severely weaken the inclusiveness of this thesis, and would subordinate the value of other private and public settings, *mekâns*, in which music was performed. These were dervish lodges, again not necessarily the Mevlevî ones, the house gatherings, coffee houses, music halls, theatres and so on.¹² Therefore, there is no need for a taxonomic hierarchy in-between. Last but not least, for the time period on which this dissertation will partly dwell, the Ottoman court played a quite insignificant role in terms of patronage relations to music.¹³

How to describe this music is a highly debated topic in the Ottoman cultural historiography. This issue needs to be touched upon in order to provide justification for the term I will use throughout this thesis. There is a vast array of phrases in literature, which I will briefly mention -albeit it is not the chief concern of this study. The most popular ones were *Enderûn Musikîsi*, *Saray Musikîsi*, *Dîvân Musikîsi* (they all associate music with noble culture, which imply that it was the music of a particular group of people and did not belong to ordinary people), *Bizans Musikîsi* (Byzantine music), *Meyhane Musikîsi* (tavern music), *Ekalliyet Musikîsi* (music of non-Muslims), *Teksesli Musikî* (monophonic music, implying primitiveness versus polyphonic Western music). Politically and culturally loaded phrases used by

Oğuz Elbaş, Mehmet Kalpaklı, Okan Murat Öztürk (eds.), Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2011, pp. 403-408; Ömer Eğecioğlu, *Müziyen Strausslar ve Osmanlı Hanedanı*, YKY Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012.

¹² Cemal Kafadar emphasizes the inclusiveness of the "Ottoman" identity in terms of elements that formed it. He suggests that being an Ottoman should not be merely attributed to being a member of the Porte and the elite circles. The interests based on either economic, political or cultural factors, were not merely shared within a restricted group of people but with numerous others, "The Ottomans and Europe", *Handbook of European History 1400-1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation*, Thomas A. Brady Jr, Heiko A. Oberman, James D. Tracy (eds.), Vol. I, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Michigan, 1994, p. 619-20.

¹³ Abdülhamid II rather enjoyed to listen Western music and preferred opera performances. He even got constructed a theater house in the compound of the Yıldız Palace in 1889, where the members of the royal family and even the foreign dignitaries were invited to watch the performances alongside the Sultan, see Fatih Akyüz, "II. Abdülhamid'in Modern Eğlencesi: Yıldız Tiyatrosu", *II. Abdülhamid: Modernleşme Sürecinde İstanbul*, Coşkun Yılmaz (ed.), İstanbul 2010 Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Yayını, İstanbul, 2010, pp. 447-454; see also Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal's *Türkiye – Avrupa Musiki Münasebetleri* on the Abdülhamid II and music, pp. 147-156.

different parties within different contexts in the first two decades of the twentieth century and continued to be discussed vehemently in the Early Republican era.¹⁴ The discourse implied that this music was produced by the Ottoman cultural institutions, and was only meaningful in this distinctive atmosphere. Therefore, republican cultural establishment had to give way to its novel artistic inspirations on music. In this fashion, the terms mentioned above bore negative connotations, and mainly served to deprecate this music and its practitioners.¹⁵ Interestingly, the term “court” was associated with another traditional music called *gagaku*, the old Japanese music, which the recent scholarship further questions its authenticity.¹⁶ *Sanat Müziği* (Art Music) or *Türk Sanat Müziği* (Turkish Art Music) was the more

¹⁴ The articles below indicate the controversial debates on the Ottoman music at the time period in question, Necîb Âsım, “Türk Mûsikîsi”, *Mâlûmât*, 5 Teşrin-i Evvel 1313 [1897], sy. 103, p. 1065, quoted from Faysal Arpağuş, “*Mâlûmât*” Mecmuası’nın 1-500 Sayılarında Yer Alan Türk Mûsikîsi ile İlgili Makâleler, MA Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, SBE, İstanbul, 2004; Süleyman Cevad, “Rauf Yektâ Bey ile Mülâkat”, *Dergah Mecmûası*, 5 Teşrinisânî 1338, No. 38, pp. 19-22; Halil Bedii, “Millî Musikimiz”, *Dârülelhân*, No. 3, Sene 1, 1 Haziran 1340; Musa Süreyya, “Savtî Musikî”, *Dârülelhân*, No. 5, Sene 1, 1 Şubat 1341; Rauf Yektâ Bey, “Musikimiz Aleyhine Yanlış Fikirler”, *Vakit*, 1 Mart 1926; “Türk Musikisi Müzeye Kaldırılmaz”, *Vakit*, 24 Mart 1926; Musa Süreyya, “Necatî Bey Merhum ve Musikî Tedrisatı”, *Musikî Bahsi Köşesi*, *Milliyet*, 10 Kanunusânî, 1929, p. 4; Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, Mehmet Kaplan (ed.), MEB Yayınları, İstanbul, 1970, pp. 33-34, 145-147.

¹⁵ Peyami Safa’s interviews held with fifteen intellectuals and artists mirror the contemporary cultural pluralities on the Ottoman music. The interviews were published in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper in episodes during December 1932. I am indebted to Prof. Cem Behar for letting me know about it. Mesud Cemil states the undervaluation of Ottoman music in the republican elite circles of 1930s, see Mesud Cemil’le Bir Konuşma, *20. Asır*, Vol. 2, No. 28, 21 February 1953, quoted from Cemal Ünlü, *Git Zaman Gel Zaman: fonograf – gramofon – taş plak*, pp. 540-44.

¹⁶ The history of this music goes back to the ceremony of Buddhist monks performed in the memory of Prince Shotokou (574-622) in the mid-seventh century. Only by the mid-tenth century the Palace performed and developed this music in the Imperial Music Office. Historically, main part of the original ceremony has not survived to this day due to the constant warfare periods in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the period of Meiji restoration in 1868, it was revived again after generations but mostly as a re-construct of the late nineteenth century systematization in the Japanese music. Yet, the Meiji bureaucracy made it more bound to imperial institution and to Shinto in order to reduce its association with Buddhism, which was considered as a foreign religion, Steven G. Nelson, “Court and religious music (1): history of *gagaku* and *shōmyō*”, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Japanese Music*, Alison McQueen Tokita and David W. Hughes (ed.), Ashgate, 2008, pp. 35-48.

recent description and it is even in popular use today. From 1920s onward, Sadettin Arel's overemphasis on the Turkish character of the Ottoman music and his endeavor to prove that there are no historical links with either Byzantine or Arabic musical cultures provided the intellectual basis the republican period needed. In his re-construction, he had to relegate the non-Muslims' role into an inferior position. Arel's schema was in parallel to the mainstream nationalist historical understanding of the Ottoman past and thus was happily accepted by the cultural elite of the period.¹⁷

This thesis will seek to explore the social background of musicians –composers, singers, instrumentalists, and teacher - in order to come up with a more comprehensive term to define this music. Did these people belong to a particular social class with similar family backgrounds and educational patterns or did socially detached individuals constitute musicians? Searching adequate answers to these questions will help to develop more reliable terminology about music. Paying attention to all terms and their connotations indicated above, I argue that the term (urban) “Ottoman music” (*mûsikî-i Osmani*) seems more representative to others. The “urban” indicates its multiple sources/traditions, which were gradually refined chiefly in Istanbul; the contribution of some other urban centers, such as Edirne, Bursa, İzmir and Manisa, in the Ottoman Empire was limited.¹⁸ The term, without dictating any hierarchical disposition, will include the older patterns of patronage – courtly, aristocratic- and new spaces of music, as well as individuals of distinct social

¹⁷ Hüseyin Saadettin Arel published his well-known study, “Türk Musikisi Kimindir?” in his own journal, *Türklük: Milliyetçi Kültür Mecmuası*, İstanbul (lasted 15 issues in 1939-40), in episodes. The articles re-published in *Musiki Mecmuası*, İstanbul, owned by Laika Karabey between 16th (1 June 1949) and 52th issues (1 June 1952) in an extended form. The book version published in 1969, *Türk Musikisi Kimindir?*, Türk Musikisini Araştırma ve Değerlendirme Komisyonu Yayınları, İstanbul, 1969; the formative basis of this study is revealed in his conference paper, “Türk Musikisi Üzerine Birinci Konferans”, İstanbul, 1927, quoted from *Cumhuriyet'in Sesleri*, Gönül Paçacı (ed.), Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 1999, pp. 108-113.

¹⁸ My research findings based on the quantitative analysis underpins the argument, which I will share in the following chapters. A polemical article on the subject matter, see Bülent Aksoy, “Orta Doğu Klasik Musikîsinin Bir Merkezi; İstanbul”, *Osmanlı*, Vol. 10, Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, Ankara, 1999, p. 801-813.

classes such as people of high rank and title, official functionaries, traders, dervishes, and artisans as the participants of it.

Last but not least, a critically vital issue is the word “musicians”. Who would constitute the musician group that I will construct? Were they professional or amateur musicians, and which criteria would separate one from other in the Ottoman context? If one thinks about the social structure of music at the turn of the twentieth century, one would see the complex matrix of activities that makes it difficult for neat definitions. On the financial side, my sampling showed that the overwhelming majority of Ottoman musicians were “amateurs” who did not essentially engage in music as a paid occupation and had to perform other jobs in order to support themselves and their families. Amongst the musicians there were many official functionaries, dervishes, artisans, merchants, etc. Interestingly, the same issue is at stake regarding the late nineteenth century English musicians. Paula Gillet argues that a very small group of musicians were professionals, whose musical careers fundamentally depended on the larger amateur musician circles. The author points out that both groups shared more or less the same music space and their positions were interchangeable.¹⁹ Albeit the musical opportunities gradually increased in the first two decades of the twentieth century, still only a small amount of Ottoman musicians could solely depend on music for a living. And for this reason, the study did not consider economical aspects as a criterion while constructing the musician sample. The primary criterion is related to music and is based on musical production. In other words, the sampling merely included musicians who composed music. The thesis took Es’ad Efendi (1685-1753) as a role model who clearly prioritized composers while constructing the only biographical dictionary on the eighteenth century Ottoman musicians.²⁰ Indeed, my musician

¹⁹Paula Gillet, “Ambivalent Friendships: Music-lovers, Amateurs, and Professional Musicians in the Late Nineteenth Century”, *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914 (Essays in honour of Cyril Ehrlich)*, Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (eds.), Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 321-340.

²⁰ Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun refers the publishing of Veled Çelebi (İzbudak) in episodes in the *Mekteb Mecmuası* in 1893, which appears as the first reproduction of the text in the nineteenth century, see, *Türk Musikisi Antolojisi: Dinî Eserler*, 2 Vol., İstanbul Üniversitesi

group contains a wide array of people from well-known ones to “insignificant” members of the Ottoman music culture and I will seek to avoid establishing a hierarchical order amongst them. The issue will be discussed in more detail when the key sources of this research are introduced.

1.4. Methodological Framework

My methodology would be to conduct a prosopographic (according to the ancient historians), or collective biography analysis (more recent usage of the term by social historians) on a group of musicians, who contributed to the Ottoman music during the late Ottoman Istanbul.

The collective biography study or prosopography is a historical research method in order to reveal common characteristics of a particular group of people within a particular historical context. The constructed group of people, more or less distinctive in the society, may belong to the same profession, as musicians in our case, or be members of any union, fraternity, party, team, etc. It is to be noted that, since the biographical data is methodologically vital, the definition of a targeted group is a challenging task for the social historians. Once the research initiative identifies the group to be focused upon, there starts the process of collecting any sort of relevant biographical information. The next phase is to prepare a set of questions to be asked to the members of the group. A kind of questionnaire will be used to obtain information on each individual’s family background, educational qualifications, religion, profession, financial situation, and so on. The idea here is to present an intelligible picture of the group on the one hand, and indicate the typical and exceptional sides of individuals on the other. In other words, prosopography

Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1942-43, pp. 788-89; Hüseyin Sadeddin Arel published the text in episodes, *Türk Bestekârlarının Tercemeihalleri, Musiki Mecmuası*, Volumes 9-24 (November 1948 – February 1950); Hakkı Tekin, *Şeyhülislam Esad Efendi ve Atrabü'l-Asar fi Tezkiret-i Urefail-Edvar*, MA Thesis, Erciyes Üniversitesi, SBE, İslam Tarihi ve Sanatları Anabilim Dalı, Kayseri, 1993; Muhammet Nur Doğan, “Esad Efendi, Ebûishakzâde”, TDVİA, pp. 338-340; The most recent publication belongs to Cem Behar, who explored the text by adopting a collective biography research strategy. I will write more on the text in the latter part of this paper, *Şeyhülislam'ın Müziği: 18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı/Türk Musikisi ve Şeyhülislam Es'ad Efendi'nin Atrabü'l-Âsâr'ı*, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010.

primarily underlines the similarities and the differences within the targeted group of people.²¹

Since the collective biography analysis entails a large amount of biographical data, the group members have to be well recorded and documented either by the state archives or by individuals themselves. Correspondingly, if the questionnaire is not filled sufficiently due to the lack of biographical data, this would cause a misleading account, called dark number. Therefore, the representativeness of the selected people would be questioned. Stone underlines that the people of lower strata in a given society are usually poorly documented. Hence, it naturally explains why the overwhelming majority of the prosopographical analyses deal with the elite/high status people.²²

The problem of “too much historical emphasis” on certain individuals at the expense of people with a minimum historical record within the constructed group is another issue. The plenty of historical accounts on some particular ones, like autobiographies, biographies, reported speeches, different sort of official or privately kept records and visual sources, would lead a more profound understanding of their individual’s inner world and the limits of interaction with the world outside. However, these accounts may easily dominate the historical narrative. Awareness on this problem, may serve to the development of well-balanced narrative on the collective biography study.²³

The study has to take into consideration the existing secondary literature and properly use it as a complement to the biographical accounts at hand. More importantly, the study should provide insights for historical actors’ motivations behind their actions and choices. Therefore, the figures would only become

²¹ Lawrence Stone, “Prosopography”, *Daedalus*, 100/1 (1971), pp. 46-47.

²² *ibid*, pp. 58-59.

²³ Krista Cowman, “Collective Biography”, Simon Gunn and Lucy Faire (ed.), *Research Methods for History*, Edinburgh University Press, 2012, pp. 83-100, see pp. 94-95.

meaningful in the light of the family backgrounds, social conditions and the networks within the group as well as in terms of the group's relations with the outside world. Put differently, the right strategy appears as combining the quantitative and qualitative methods in a well-prepared prosopographical framework.²⁴

The critical issue for the collective biography is setting the criteria for selection of the group members. How does the compiler decide to include or exclude someone into the group and therefore make him/her focus of analysis is an important question. The criteria for selection would vary and depend on many conditions, from personal affiliation to intellectual bias and from political to the economical circumstances or sometimes the combination of all these factors. In any case, it is hard to say that any collective biographical work equally and fairly approached its subject matter.

The thesis has benefited extensively from IBM SPSS Statistics 23.0 (Statistical Package for Social Sciences). To do that, I gathered the biographical material of 257 musicians and organized a questionnaire (a set of standart questions). Answers derived from the questionnaire were entered into the SPSS to transform the data into the quantitative form. In between, I prepared the syntax (formulas) necessary for the programme. Regarding the time schedule of the thesis, selecting musicians' biographies, processing 257 biographies through questionnaire and running the data into SPPS in order to transform it into quantitative data took two years after the comprehensive exam.

Methodologically, I applied more comprehensive and flexible categories, which helped to increase the possibility of analyzing rather more complex life patterns. I underlined the most common patterns but did not overlook the individual life stories that revealed reverse directions as compared to conventional patterns.

²⁴ Verboven Koenraad, Miriam Carlier, and Jan Dumolyn, "A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography", *Prosopography Approaches and Applications. A Handbook*, (ed.) K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, The University of Oxford, 2007, pp. 35-70, see p. 47.

Indeed, I underscored the musicians who could not be placed into one category. For example, when the study statistically analyzed the occupational distribution or main source of income, the multiple ones were grouped in a separate category and hence were treated accordingly.

The outcomes generated by SPSS predominantly indicated in the form of table and rarely through the chart. However, some outcomes needed an alternative way of display due to the difficulty of following the numbers. To avoid complexity of numbers, I benefited from a visual program that runs in parallel with the mechanism of SPSS. It is called Gephi, which is an open-source and free platform (see gephi.org) that explores and visualizes all kinds of social relations and maps these connections. The program did not only help to better exhibit the quantitative results but also provided new perspectives for the study. As I became more familiar with the program, I realized that following the interaction of musicians or transmitting of musical knowledge in between musician community would be easier and the results would be exhibited in more appropriate ways. History projects that applied the programme provided novel thinking ways to social networks of targeted groups.²⁵

²⁵ See some of the related web sites dealing with the social network analysis as part of their research projects,

Visualizing Historical Networks, Center for History and Economics, Harvard University, <http://histecon.fas.harvard.edu/visualizing/index.html> (accessed on 1 September 2018).

Matthew Jockers, *Computing and Visualizing the 19th-Century Literary Genome*, Stanford University, 2012,

<http://www.dh2012.uni-hamburg.de/conference/programme/abstracts/computing-and-visualizing-the-19th-century-literary-genome/> (accessed on 20 October 2018).

Mapping the Republic of Letters, Stanford Humanities Center, Stanford University, <http://republicofletters.stanford.edu/casestudies/voltairepub.html> (accessed on 20 October 2018).

Maximilian Schich, *Mapping Notes And Nodes: Building A Multi-Layered Network For A History Of The Cultural Industry*, [http://dh2015.org/abstracts/xml/HEUVEL Charles van den Mapping Notes And Nodes Buildin.html](http://dh2015.org/abstracts/xml/HEUVEL%20Charles%20van%20den%20Mapping%20Notes%20And%20Nodes%20Buildin.html) (accessed on 28 October 2018).

The photography will be another visual tool of the thesis. Discussion of the history of photography as a product of modernity and its popularity in the late Ottoman Istanbul²⁶ is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it has to be briefly mentioned that only recently historians have realized the historical significance of photography and its visual contribution to the historical studies of the late Ottoman period.²⁷ Hence, photography for this study is not a supplement to the arguments but an independent historical source that brings its own narrative.

Eventually, all these methodological approaches will be fundamental for this thesis, which argues that the social profile analysis of musicians will shed some light on the internal workings of a past culture as well as its place and role in society. An in-depth investigation into the musicians' career paths, including the ups and downs in their careers over time, will show how this group of people in society absorbed the broader socio-cultural change they faced. The survival strategies of musicians will not only tell about the complexities of individual experiences, but will also provide a rare insight into the level of continuity and change in the music culture from the late nineteenth to the Early Republican years.

1.5. Key Sources

To bring together musicians' biographical material is not an easy task as biographies are dispersed in various historical sources. For this reason, credit has to be given to four books, which assembled musician biographies and provide sources for collective biography studies. The thesis largely relied on these four books:

²⁶ Engin Çizgen, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1919*, Haşet, İstanbul, 1987; Bahattin Öztuncay, *James Robertson: Pioneer of Photography in the Ottoman Empire*, Eren, 1992; Bahattin Öztuncay, *Vasilaki Kargopulo: Hazret-i Padişâhî'nin Serfotoğrafi*, BOS, İstanbul, 2000.

²⁷ *Camera Ottomana: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Fotoğraf ve Modernite, 1840-1940*, Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem (ed.), KÜY, İstanbul, 2015; Edhem Eldem, "The Search for an Ottoman Vernacular Photography", in *The Indigenous Lens: Early Photography in the Near and Middle East*, Markuss Ritter and Staci Gem Scheiwiller (eds.), De Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston, 2018, pp. 29-56.

İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İnal's *Hoş Sadâ*,²⁸ Mustafa Rona's *50 Yıllık Türk Musikisi*,²⁹ Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun's *Türk Musikisi Antolojisi*³⁰ and Suphi Ezgi's *Nazarî ve Amelî Türk Musikisi*.³¹ Although their reliability, their representativeness and approaches are open to question in terms of the modern historiographical standards, a collective biography study cannot still ignore their contributions. When I will critically discuss the book of İbnülemin, I will also emphasize its intertextuality with other biographical sources in the following section.

Apart from the dictionaries of musicians, which merely gathered the biographies without the purpose of conducting a group analysis, this study will attempt to identify and interpret the patterns generated by musicians. Apart from Cem Behar's collective biographical analysis on the Es'ad Efendi's dictionary of musicians, there has not yet been a study to fully apply the methodology in the Ottoman music history. To be noted that, Cem Behar's analysis relied on a biographical dictionary, which did Es'ad Efendi compile it. However, this study reveals a more complex structure regarding the assembling mechanism.

For the most part, my group of musicians will coincide with the musicians in these four books, however, I will add names that were, for one reason or another, excluded in these collective biography books. Considering the number of musicians in those dictionaries, this thesis will study 257 musicians' biographies. In the appendix, I will provide a full list of those 257 musicians together with the birthplaces, the dates of birth and death. Meanwhile, İbnülemin's book collected 158 musician biographies, whereas Rona had 181. The number issue is a critical one

²⁸ İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İnal, *Hoş Sadâ: Son Asır Türk Musikîşinasları*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, Maarif Basımevi, İstanbul, 1958.

²⁹ Mustafa Rona, *50 Yıllık Türk Musikisi: Bestekârları, Besteleri Güftelerile*, 2. Edition, Türkiye Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1960.

³⁰ Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk Musikisi Antolojisi: Dinî Eserler*, 2 Vol., İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1942-43.

³¹ Doktor Suphi (Ezgi), *Nazarî ve Amelî Türk Musikisi*, İstanbul Konservatuvarı Yayını, İstanbul, 5 Vol., 1933-1953.

for the collective biography analysis. There are two types of methodological approaches in general, which I will discuss in more detail in the historiography part with the examples from Ottoman and non-Ottoman studies. In brief, one deals with all the members of the targeted group, whereas the latter forms a sampling to show what the whole is like. The first is often applied to the groups whose complete number is precisely defined and recorded. The sampling method, on the other hand, seems more appropriate for the groups whose overall populace could not be estimated in the light of the historical sources. Therefore, it would not be wrong to say that the number of 257 is largely the consequence of available historical data that I mentioned above. Hopefully, the research findings will provide a glimpse of the musicians' social environment in Istanbul from the Late Ottoman to the Early Republican years.

The study has relied on Ottoman official personal records (*Sicill-i Ahvâl*) to reinforce the musicians' biographies that served in the public offices. The Ministry of Interior (*Dahiliye Nezâreti*) produced these biographies for the officials who were in state service between 1879 and 1914. The official material consisted of 51,698 biographies in total. These sources contain a range of valuable data, including birth date, birthplace, education record, language skill, and the detailed report of career trajectory. Indeed, these accounts bear the detailed reports of investigations into the malpractices and abuse of power, a valuable source for social historians for the period. Nevertheless, these primary sources are available for the musicians who served as government officials, which roughly makes one third of the musicians under study. On the part of the secondary sources, most of the biographies were supported by alternative sources such as books and journals for the biographical material they contained.³²

³² The books are the selection of the whole, which I will fully list them in the bibliography: İbrahim Alâettin Gövsa, *Türk Meşhurları Ansiklopedisi*, Yenigün Neşriyat, İstanbul, 1945; *Musiki Mecmuası* (journal), Hüseyin Sadeddin Arel (ed.), İleri Türk Musikisi Konservatuvarı Derneği Yayını, İstanbul, 1948; Χρίστος Τσιαμούλης, Παύλος Ερευνίδης, *Ρωμηοί συνθέτες της Πόλης (17ος-20ός αι.)* [The Rum Composers of Istanbul (from 17th to 20th centuries)], Εκδόσεις Δόμος, Αθήνα, 1998; M. Nazmi Özalp, *Türk Müsikisi Tarihi*, Vol. 2, MEB, İstanbul, 2000; Kevork Pamukciyan, *Biyografileriyle Ermeniler / Ermeni Kaynaklarından Tarihe Katkıları-IV*, Aras Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2003; *Türk Sanat Müziğinde Ermeni Besteciler*, Nazar

The number of female musicians among the musicians under investigation is 23, which the number makes 8.9 % of the total. All these female musicians were Muslim. Regarding the religious distribution among the 257 musicians under study, the number of Muslim musicians was 229 (89.1 %), alongside 21 Armenians (8.2 %), four Greek Orthodox Christians (1.6 %), and three Jewish musicians (1.2 %). Considering the performers of Istanbul during the early twentieth century, perhaps the number of non-Muslims should have been more than the study asserted.³³ As mentioned previously, the under-representation is largely due to their inadequate presence in the contemporary sources and partly due to the shortcomings of the conventional historiography of music. The picture below, for instance, illustrates this argument. The biographical material on the first three non-Muslim musicians (*Ovakim*, *Hakanik* and *Karakaş*) was so inadequate that even though one can encounter their names often in the contemporary sources, I could not include them in my sampling.

Özsahakyan (ed.), *Avrupa Kültür Başkenti Yayını*, İstanbul, 2010.

³³ Münir Nurettin Beken, "Ethnicity and Identity in Music – A Case Study: Professional Musicians in Istanbul", *Manifold Identities: Studies on Music and Minorities*, Ursula Hemetek, Gerda Lechleitner, Inna Naroditskaya and Anna Czekanowska (eds.), Cambridge Scholars Press, London, 2004, pp. 182-183; Ruşen Kam, "İnce Saz Takımları", *Radyo Mecmuası*, Vol. 1, Issue 12, Ankara, 15 Senteşrîn 1942, pp. 16-24; Ruhi Kalender, "Yüzyılımızın Başlarında İstanbul'un Musiki Hayatı", *AÜİFD*, XXIII (1978), pp. 414-437; Burak Çetintaş, "İncesaz Takımları Üzerine Birkaç Söz ve Şinasi Akbatu'nun Kaleminden "60 Yıl Önce İstanbul'da İncesaz Takımları", *Musikişinas*, BÜTMK, Vol. 11, İstanbul, 2010, pp. 207-243; Χρίστος Τσιαμούλης, Παύλος Ερευνίδης, *Ρωμηοί συνθέτες της Πόλης (17ος-20ός αι.)* [The Rum Composers of Istanbul (from 17th to 20th centuries)], *Εκδόσεις Δόμος*, Αθήνα, 1998, pp. 32-40.



Photo 1.1. A group of musicians from the late Ottoman Istanbul Form left to right, *Tanburî* Ovakim, *hanende* Hakanik, *hanende* Karakaş, *kanunî* (sic) Tatyos and *kanunî* Şemsi,
 Source: Ruşen Kam, "İnce Saz Takımları", *Radıyo Mecmuası*, Vol. 1, Issue 12, Ankara, 15 Sonteşrîn 1942.

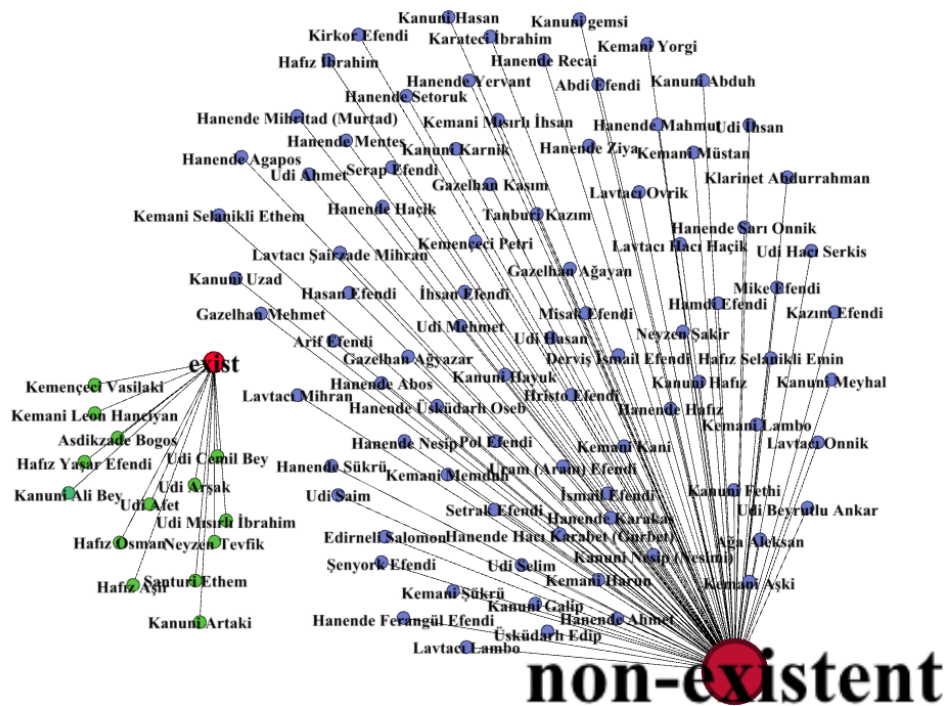


Figure 1.2. The proportion of the biographical material adequacy

Figure 1.2 shows the names of *gazino* musicians in the contemporary daily news and portrays the availability of their biographical material. The visual indicates the limits of studying Ottoman music history through biographical accounts. For the most of the musicians above, I could not reach anything but their names during the course of my research. Besides, I even had to exclude some musicians in the “exist” network partly due to incomplete biographical data and partly owing to the doubts about source authenticity.

1.5.1. The Assessment of İbnülemin’s *Hoş Sadâ*

To explain in brief the reason why I will only discuss the book of İbnülemin in more detail is that the way it collected musician biographies was in parallel with the way Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun organized his dictionary. In other words, İbnülemin wrote about the musicians in his environment, the musicians who were in the official service just like him and the musicians that he personally knew, whom I will discuss in further detail below. The case of Ergun was very similar to that. Since Ergun was a Sufi sheikh, he overwhelmingly collected musician biographies that belonged to the Sufi circles of Istanbul. Nevertheless, my study did not benefit from Ergun’s book as much as it did from İbnülemin due to the fact that Ergun provided limited biographical material. The book of Ergun, on the other hand, is a valuable source to uncover the social networks of musicians as well as the interactions between innumerable Sufi lodges in Istanbul. Mustafa Rona’s book interacts explicitly with the İbnülemin’s *Hoş Sada*, whereas the primary aim of Suphi Ezgi was to write the music theory. However, the book still included musician biographies, albeit to a limited extent.

İbnülemin’s book, *Hoş Sadâ*, in many respects overlaps with the scholarly critics against the historical biographies underlined above.³⁴ Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar’s foreword to the book frankly stated that whatever the subject matter of his books was, the reader would strongly feel that it is İbnülemin himself that he was writing about. Put differently, he was the chief actor in his narratives, in which events were

³⁴ İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İnal, *Hoş Sadâ: Son Asır Türk Musikişinasları*.

reconstructed around his character. Yet, attributing importance to someone solely depended on his personal opinions.³⁵

The question of who wrote this book is a reasonable one when one learns the story about the compilation process of the book. İbnülemin could not finish his book, *Hoş Sadâ*. When he died in 1957, he had sent only the one third of the book to the publishing house. More precisely, he entered the data of only forty-one musicians out of hundred and fifty-eight musicians for the collection. Hasan Âli Yücel states that he together with İbnülemin's son-in-law worked three days in the house İbnülemin in order to gather the missing material. Amidst thousands of notes and papers they did not find much but pieces of information on a bunch of musicians. The relevant material collected in his house was later delivered to Avni Aktunç.³⁶ It is hard to say if Aktunç completed the book with his own notes. Aktunç did not write anything about the process, therefore, it can be assumed that he basically classified the material and made it ready for the present book. Nevertheless, there is kind of a clue in the words of Hasan Âli Yücel. According to his statement, when seeking the missing material after İbnülemin's death they found only a single page on Dede. His words explicitly indicated his disappointment: "Dedeye ancak bir sahifelik yazı vardı. Lâkin Dede bir sahifelik mi idi?"³⁷ Despite that, the "Dede Efendi" entry is the longest one written for a musician in the book, which reaches up to almost forty pages (pp. 133-170). When one considers the average number of pages devoted to each entry, about two, one evidently thinks that Aktunç felt free to put extra material into the book.

To construct musician biographies, İbnülemin mainly applied to Rauf Yekta's *Esatiz-i Elhân*, Nüzhet Ergun's *Türk Musikisi Antolojisi*, Subhi Ezgi's *Amelî ve Nazarî Türk*

³⁵ Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, "İbnül Emin Mahmut Kemal'e Dair", *Hoş Sadâ: Son Asır Türk Musikînasları*, pp. XLVII-LV.

³⁶ Hasan Âli Yücel, "Üstad İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İnal", *Hoş Sadâ: Son Asır Türk Musikînasları*, pp. XXX-XXXIV.

³⁷ Hasan Âli Yücel, "Üstad İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İnal", *Hoş Sadâ*, p. XXXIII.

Musikisi, and Mustafa Rona's *Elli Yıllık Türk*. Indeed, he praised the Armenian priest Aris Dakes Hisarlıyan for his book on the history of the Armenian notation system, which also included certain Armenian musicians' life stories. Finally, he emphasized some biographical material published in various journals and newspapers on cultural life and music.³⁸

Reading the biographies one after another, one realizes that he used a very unsystematic and complicated reference system. İbnülemin sometimes addressed a lost source, sometimes a person who died long ago who gave him the information orally. In many places in the text he uses the expression "from my own notes", and pays attention to well-circled rumours on musicians (like how one ended up in alcoholism or economic obstacles faced by musicians, etc.). The rather long entries were supported with the combination of all these sources. Furthermore, he resorted to journals, daily papers and books by giving full reference to author, date and number, etc. Official documents, such as *salnames*, records of payments from palace to musicians, and *sicill-i ahval* records were frequently referred to. His accounts were supported by many different sources; he occasionally found discrepancies between them and noted this problem. Another frequent way of gathering information was to ask musicians to write on their life stories expressed in their own words. He published the ones who had sent the requested material but one never knows if there are omissions. Taking all these reservations into consideration, the reference system he used appears problematic in terms of the academic reference standards of today.

After all, the accounts on his contemporaries give the idea that he wrote more confidently and used more references from journals and newspapers. Furthermore, he personally knew the majority of his contemporaries and was aware of their musical ability. However, this paved the way to the same problem: His personal opinion many times were equipped with unreasonable judgments about a person, group, organization, etc. The main criterion was precisely formulated in his words:

³⁸ İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İnal, *Hoş Sadâ*: pp. 12-13

“He always treated me with high respect”, (*hakkımda hürmet-i kâmilede bulunurdu*).

İbnülemin stated that his book focused mainly on composers, instrumentalists, and *hanendes* (*naathâns*, *durakçıs*, and *âyinhans*). He did not mention any criterion for being a good musician, such as “a musician has to compose”, or “an instrumentalist has to play this or that piece”. However, he was impressed by a broad repertoire of a musician, whether he was a singer (*hânende*) or an instrumentalist. The talent in performing an improvisation (*taksim*) was another measure for deciding about the quality of a musician. The musician portraits show that whether they were *hafız*, *hanende* or instrumentalist, they were primarily composers. To note that, no priority was explicitly set in the classification of the musicians, such as Muslim musicians, Christian ones, Sufis, the musicians of palace/Pashas or in terms of musical specialization; the composers, hafızs, and instrument players.

Even though the subtitle of the book is problematic, *Son Asır Türk Musikişinasları*, it covers 16 non-Muslim musicians’ biographies out of 158. There are obviously many other non-Muslims that were excluded from the collection (see Figure 1.2). However, it is important to see that the book did not have a full-fledged notion of Turkifying the Ottoman music. Furthermore, he did not hesitate to indicate non-Muslim musicians as the teachers of Muslim musicians or vice-versa. The cultural interaction between the musicians that belonged to different religions was expressed without bias. On the other hand, the book well presented the Sufi musicians’ life stories, which formed the critical part of the Ottoman music, with plenty of biographical material.

The musician stories in the book reveal the close relation between bureaucracy and music, which appears as one promising research subject. A noticeable amount of musicians who held other professions, all served in various government offices. The career patterns of those musicians were somehow similar to each other. The aim was to serve in Istanbul rather than being assigned to provincial posts. If they were assigned to provincial posts, they either sought ways for a change of office (*tahvil*,

nakil, becayış) or simply resigned and held other jobs. Living in Istanbul was essential for musicians for being in the musical circles.

1.6. Thesis Structure

This first introductory chapter deals with the thesis question, terminological and methodological concerns and the thesis structure. The second chapter is devoted to historiographical debates on music. Yet the second chapter will critically discuss the collective biography studies produced by Ottoman historians.

The third chapter will interpret the biographical data to explore the social background of musicians by underlining the common characteristics as well as their distinctive features. I will present statistical analysis on many issues such as birthplaces, places of residence, fathers' professions, religions and ethnicities of musicians, education patterns, language skills, age compositions in the form of tables and charts. Economic challenges such as the limited job opportunities as well as the financial insecurities of musicians will be discussed to understand the social world in which musicians lived. The chapter will also focus on the Ottoman bureaucracy to understand why musicians' career choices noticeably inclined to it. May the situation be regarded as a model of patronage? The discussion is critical to grasp how music was perceived in the late Ottoman urban society, of which the government officials were the significant parts.

The fourth chapter will deal with the relation between music and the city. The reason why the geographical approach will particularly focus on Istanbul but not other cities is because Istanbul was the main center of music. Secondly, the availability of data about the musicians in Istanbul determined the focus. Based on the statistical data about the residences of musicians and the musical activities throughout Istanbul, I will discuss whether any of the city's neighborhoods possessed a particular musical identity. Indeed, by emphasizing the musical interaction among the neighborhoods and the network of musicians, my aim is to draw the musical map of Istanbul.

The fifth chapter will focus on various forms of music education. The relationship between the age of learning and models of training will be explored to understand the stages to become a musician. Indeed, the chapter will question the musical integration between Muslim and non-Muslim musicians, particularly during the process of music education. The religious character of music will be debated by focusing on the networks of musicians with upper level religious school education, the reciters of Qur'an and the musicians from various Sufi orders. The dissemination and the usage of Hamparsum notation is another issue analyzed in the chapter. Finally, the last section will reveal the most prominent sources of musical knowledge in Istanbul from the late Ottoman to the Early Republican years through the network analysis by Gephi.

The sixth chapter will follow the career paths of musicians towards the Early Republican era. The aim of the chapter is to revisit change and continuity in music through a new approach. The reorganization of the Ottoman bureaucracy in 1909 will be interpreted within the musical context. The sociological basis of the music schools and the emergence of radio in 1927 will be dealt with, as the statistical evidence reveal that musicians were connected to these institutions in many ways. Addressing the roles music schools and radio played in music will provide insights into the paths that musicians and hence the Ottoman music navigated. Finally, The chapter will attempt to integrate a gender-perspective into the research to better analyze the changing roles of women in music after the turn of the century.

The final chapter will evaluate the research findings in order to emphasize the ways in which the thesis contributes to the social history of Istanbul in the late Ottoman period and in the Early Republican years.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORIOGRAPHY

2.1. Scholarship on the Late Ottoman Music

The period after the turn of the twentieth century is distinguished from the previous ones, by opening new music spaces and bringing in new problems. What is promising about the recent literature is it treats music as a socio-cultural issue, and pays particular attention to its practitioners within the perception that these changes might be indicated and interpreted through the individual lives. Yet, not many in number, it is the growing interest of the recent scholarship to grasp the sweeping changes, which a positivist musicological approach seems incapable to analyze.³⁹

Cem Behar mainly focuses, among other issues, on the oral transmission of music, *meşk*, to emphasize not only the traditional aspect of it but to better understand the social relations in the Ottoman music world. He focused on the value system of musicians, the possibility of transmitting the musical knowledge from one person to other and from one generation to another, and how the aesthetical canons were established historically through the process of *meşk* in the Ottoman music.⁴⁰ The

³⁹ The positivist musicology clearly emphasized the verifiable sources. Manuscripts were discovered in the archives and were decoded. The musical output of a composer was considered independent, as it had no interaction with the socio-cultural world in which it was produced, and was treated purely as an esthetic matter, David Beard and Kenneth Gloag, *Musicology: The Key Concepts*, Routledge, USA, 2005, pp. 102-3. Many studies and critical publications fall into this musicological approach on Ottoman music, see Şükrü Elçin, *Ali Ufkî: Hayatı, eserleri ve Mecmuâ-i Sâz-ı Söz*, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, Ankara, 1976; Kantemiroğlu, *Kitabu 'İlmi'l-Musiki 'ala vechi'l-Hurufat, Musikiyi harflerle tesbit ve icra ilminin kitabı*, Yalçın Tura, (ed.) 2 Vol., YKY, İstanbul, 2001; Nâsır Abdülbâki Dede, *Tedkîk ü Tahkîk, İnceleme ve Gerçeği Araştırma*, Yalçın Tura (ed.), Pan Yayıncılık, 2006; Emrah Hatipoğlu, "Mevlevihâneler Döneminde Bestelendiği Tespit Edilmiş 46 Ayinin Makâm ve Geçki Açısından Tahlili", Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Asst. Prof. Bayram Akdoğan (Supervisor), Ankara Üniversitesi, SBE, İslâm Tarihi ve Sanatları Anabilim Dalı (Türk Din Musikisi), Ankara, 2010.

⁴⁰ Cem Behar, *Aşk Olmadan Meşk Olmaz: Geleneksel Osmanlı/Türk Müziğinde Öğretim ve İntikal*, YKY, İstanbul, Third Edition, 2006; "Text and Memory in Ottoman/Turkish Musical Tradition", *Ottoman Intimacies, Balkan Musical Realities*, Risto Pekka Pennanen, Panagiotis

perspective put forth in his studies had impact on younger scholars. Poulos, for instance, investigates the transmission issue during the Early Republican era and in modern Turkey while stressing the tension with secularization and Westernization processes. He asserts that the Ottoman musical heritage was not marginalized in modern Turkey, and rather situated itself in an “in-between” space through the state institutions such as the radio and television (TRT), conservatoires, and musical gatherings in the houses of urban people.⁴¹

2.1.1. Literature on the Nationalization of Ottoman Music

Walter Feldman points out that two main opposite parties dominated the musical discourse in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Rauf Yekta Bey (1871-1935) and Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924) were the most active members in two opposite parties.⁴² Though the political discourse on music is beyond the scope of this study, one has to touch upon it, at least briefly, since the substantial amount of debates until 1960s, related with tradition/modernity, religion/secularization, and Eastern/Western dichotomies, had an impact on their thoughts. Yekta initially dealt purely with musicological issues such as collecting repertoire, analysis of modes and rhythms, and writing up musicians’ biographies. However, he soon was pulled into the polemical field due to critical assaults on the Ottoman music.⁴³

C. Poulos, Aspasia Thedosiou (ed.), *The Finnish Institute of Athens*, Vol. XIX, Helsinki, 2013, pp. 3-16.

⁴¹ Panagiotis C. Poulos, “Rethinking Orality in Turkish Classical Music: A Genealogy of Contemporary *Musical Assemblages*”, *Middle Eastern Journal of Culture and Communication*, Vol. 4, Brill, 2011, pp. 164-183, “Private Spaces, Public Concerns: Music House-gatherings in Istanbul from the late Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic”, lectured in ARIT (The American Research Institute in Turkey), Istanbul, 23 September 2013.

⁴² Walter Feldman, “Cultural Authority and Authenticity in the Turkish Repertoire”, *Asian Music*, Vol. 22, No. 1, (Autumn, 1990 – Winter, 1991), p. 96.

⁴³ Rauf Yekta Bey was a prolific writer. Thanks to the couple of MA thesis which listed his articles published in various journals and newspapers, it is easier to access to the majority of his writings, see Muhammed Ali Çergel, “Rauf Yektâ Bey’in İkdâm Gazetesi’nde Neşredilen Türk Mûsikîsi Konulu Makaleleri”, MA Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, SBE, İstanbul, 2007; Hüseyin Özdemir, “Rauf Yektâ Bey’in Resimli Gazete, Yeni Ses ve Vakit Gazetelerinde Mûsikî İle İlgili Makalelerinin İncelenmesi”, MA Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, SBE, İstanbul, 2010; Mehmet Öncel, “Rauf Yektâ Bey’in Atı, Yeni Mecmûa, Resimli Kitap ve Şehbâl Adlı Mecmûalarda Mûsikî İle İlgili Makalelerinin İncelenmesi”, MA Thesis, Marmara

On the other side, Gökalp was a sociologist, who did not have the technical expertise on music. He built his sociological analysis on the tension between civilization and culture. In his formulation, the Eastern civilization to which the Ottomans attribute their roots belonged to the Byzantine not to Islam. Therefore, he made a distinction between Turks and Ottomans. He perceived the Ottomans as the ruling elites, and Turks as the commoners. The entire cultural heritage cultivated in the Ottoman court was hybrid, outdated, and not essentially Turkish. In terms of music, Gökalp slightly mentioned about its Byzantine, Arabic associations and highlighted its Eastern feature, however, he was not musically qualified enough to substantiate his arguments. Without any structural base, he suggested the rural music of Anatolian people reflected the true Turkish identity and it has to be technically supported by the Western music standards. His sociology was helpful to establish new cultural codes, which the newly founded Turkish republic badly needed.⁴⁴

Today a considerable amount of scholars still deal with the Turkish state's music reforms. The nationalization process, attempts to create a national music, searching for pan-Turkish links in the Ottoman music, the ways in which the musical heritage was dealt with in the national-state are frequently debated issues by post-modern cultural historians, musicologists, and sociologists. Füsun Üstel investigates the political discourse created by the state's embedded intellectuals in the 1920s and

Üniversitesi, SBE, İstanbul, 2010; Süleyman Erguner, *Rauf Yektâ Bey: neyzen – müzikolog – bestekâr*, Kitabevi, 2003, İstanbul ; Bora Keskiner's catalogue is also helpful to researchers, "Arap Harfli Türkçe Süreli Yayınlarda Türk Musikisi Teorisi Bibliyografyası", *TALİD*, Vol. 7, No. 14, 2009, pp. 375-415.

⁴⁴ Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, Mehmet Kaplan (ed.), MEB Yayınları, İstanbul, 1970, pp. 39, 45, 33-34, 145-147; Gökalp's theoretical and practical basis criticized by musicologist Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal. For more on his views, see "İlimde Sathîliğin Mahzûrları", *Mahmut Râgıp Gâzimihal'den Seçme Müzik Makaleleri-II (Türk Harf İnkılâbı Öncesi)*, Bahattin Kahraman (ed.), Müzik Eğitimi Yayınları, Ankara, 2014, pp. 27-38. On Rauf Yekta Bey's response to Ziya Gökalp, see "Ziya Gökalp Bey ve Millî Musikimiz Hakkındaki Fikirleri I-II-III, *Servet-i Fünûn*, Nos. 1480-81-82, 1340/1925, quoted from İsmail Akçay, *Musiki Tarihimizden Belgeler*, İstanbul, 1948, pp. 41-48; Cem Behar, "Ziya Gökalp ve Türk Musikisinde Modernleşme/Sentez Arayışları", *Musikiden Müziğe: Osmanlı/Türk Müziği: Gelenek ve Modernlik*, YKY, İstanbul, (Second Edition) 2008, pp. 271-279.

1930s. She stresses that the pillar of the palace was replaced by the state, and the state's impact on cultural institutions became deeper with the explicit assistance of the Republican elites to the state policies in the cultural realm.⁴⁵

O'Connell focuses on the establishment of the new musical institution in Istanbul, the Fine Arts Academy (*Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi*) in 1926. He seeks to comprehend the way in which the state designed to change the aesthetic preferences through the motivation of modernization. The institution's curriculum was heavily equipped with Western methods of music education and did not have room for Ottoman music. The author considers the process as the state enforcement to control the Turkish musical taste. He uses Bourdieu's *doxa* concept (accepted discourse of the dominant structure) to analyze the *Kemalist* cultural policy. O'Connell points out that the *doxa*, dominated by the orthodox views, is also open to heterodox attacks who wanted to expand the limits of *doxa*. He contends that Arel's attempts of Turkification of Ottoman music, formulated in the dominant republican discourse, was truly a heterodox attack in order to be heard in the established discourse.⁴⁶

Ayhan Erol refers to another concept of Bourdieu, the symbolic violence, to examine the state intervention in music. He underlines that since the Turkish state adopted "top-down modernization", music came under the strict supervision of political elites. The state monopoly on music was constructed either by the proscription of the traditional music education in the state schools in 1924, or by the establishment of the state sponsored cultural institutions that promoted Western music culture such as the foundation of the Fine Arts Academy (*Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi*) in 1926 and the radio broadcast in 1927. Indeed, the elimination of dervish lodges in 1925, which used to be transmission centers of

⁴⁵ Füsün Üstel, 1920'li ve 30'lu Yıllarda "Milli Musiki" ve "Musiki İnkılabı", *Defter*, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul, No. 22, 1994, pp. 41-53.

⁴⁶ John Morgan O'Connell, "Fine Art, Fine Music: Controlling Turkish Taste at the Fine Arts Academy in 1926", *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, Vol. 32 (2000), pp. 117-142.

musical knowledge, is also interpreted by Erol as the proper forms of symbolic violence to create national music taste/culture.⁴⁷

Güneş Ayas's book, based on his PhD dissertation, is the most recent study so far, which investigates the impact of the Turkish music reform with Bourdieu's theoretical approach. He stresses the very tension between the state policies and the musicians. The author focuses on the career patterns of certain musicians in order to show how they responded to the ongoing "othering" practices of the state. Different forms of survival strategies ranging from benefiting from Western methods of music teaching to concert performances, and from musicological researches to adapting Turkish names by non-Muslim musicians provided a basis for Ayas's narrative. Ayas concludes that the more the musicians struggled and thus sought new tactics against the modernization process, the more Ottoman music's basis was undermined, which eventually transformed the Ottoman music into "Turkish Art Music".⁴⁸

2.1.2. Emphasis on Non-Muslim Presence in Music Literature

Growing literature on non-Muslim presence in the Ottoman music appears as the promising facet of the Ottoman cultural historiography, which has long been sidelined by the mainstream scholarship.

Merih Erol's book situates the musical discourse at the center, and seeks to find out how the on-going Westernization and modernization processes affected particularly the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul in the second half of the nineteenth century. She interprets the disputes and conflicts of the Greek elite on their cultural identity, their historical roots like Byzantine and Greekness and their engagement

⁴⁷ Ayhan Erol, "Music, Power and Symbolic Violence: The Turkish State's Music Policies During the Early Republican Period", *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Vol. 15, 2012, pp. 35–52.

⁴⁸ Güneş Ayas, *Mûsiki İnkılâbı'nın Sosyolojisi: Klasik Türk Müziği Geleneğinde Süreklilik ve Değişim*, Doğu Kitabevi, İstanbul, 2014; see my review of the book, *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 2015, p. 243.

with the Byzantine music of the Orthodox Patriarchate. Her narrative stresses the cleavages inside the educated Greek elites of Istanbul, which is efficiently revealed through the musical discourse. The very contribution of her study is indicating that the Greek Orthodox community of Constantinople was not a monolithical structure. It was composed of various parties with complex and conflicting interests.⁴⁹

Kerovpyan and Yılmaz's book on the Armenian contribution to the Ottoman music is noteworthy. The book deals with the general history of Armenian Church music within the Ottoman context, the Armenian notation system (*khaz*), music education methods in terms of memory and transmission, and the interactions with the Ottoman music. Particularly the section on how the notation system of Hampartzum Limonciyan (1768-1839), with which the considerable part of the repertoire was written, led to a conflict within the Armenian Church enriches the historical knowledge on the Ottoman music. The authors argue that certain Armenian musicians, who were actively engaged in Ottoman music, were either omitted or their images were distorted in the mainstream narratives of Turkish music history. Frequently referred contemporary Armenian literature, many of which were published in Istanbul at the turn of twentieth century, clearly deal the reconsiderations on Armenian musicians' biographical accounts, which the Turkish historiography contained.⁵⁰

Krikor Çulhayan (1868-1938)'s biography in the book, which deliberately overlaps with the phases the Ottoman music underwent, gives evidence that historical narrative based on biography might offer novel perspectives on past. Due to the

⁴⁹Merih Erol, *Greek Orthodox Music in Istanbul: Nation and Community in the Era of Reform*, Indiana University Press, 2015; see also some of her related publications, "Music and the Nation in Greek and Turkish Contexts (19th – early 20th c.): A paradigm of cultural transfers", *Startseitei*, Vol. 47, No. 2, 2011, pp. 165-175; "The "Musical Question" and the Educated Elite of Greek Orthodox Society in Late Nineteenth-Century Constantinople", *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 1, May 2014, pp. 133-163.

⁵⁰ Aram Kerovpyan and Altuğ Yılmaz, *Klasik Osmanlı Müziği ve Ermeniler*, Surp Pırgiç Ermeni Hastanesi Vakfı Kültür Yayınları, 2010.

particular interest of my study with biographical material, I will touch on the issue in the following pages.⁵¹

O’Connell discusses the limits of the religious and national tolerance during the Early Republican period against the Jewish musicians as the participants of Ottoman music. The article focuses on the live performance of a Jewish cantor and composer, İzak Algazi (1889-1950) in Atatürk’s residence in İstanbul, Dolmabahçe Palace. The author compares Hafız Yaşar (1885-1966)’s memoirs, who was also at the residence at that night, with Abraham Galanté (1873-1961)’s representation of the same event. Both narratives seem to prioritize their own goals. Hafız Yaşar judges Algazi’s use of language during his *gazel* performance, his way of singing at the top of his voice, which he claims to be more appropriate for a *gazino* than a presidential audience. The critics of Yaşar indicate that new style of musical performance with a Western style concert dress is more preferred in performing Turkish music from now on. Galanté, who was supporting the modernizing reforms of Atatürk and the idea of Jewish participation into the Turkish republic, considered the event as an opportunity in terms of cultural integration.⁵²

Maureen Jackson’s published doctoral thesis draws special attention to the *Maftirim* music of Ottoman Jews. Even though only the first two chapters deal with Jewish musicians in the late Ottoman period, the study helps to fill the lacunae in the mainstream Ottoman cultural history. The historical journey of the Jewish religious music from the late Ottoman era to the present day Turkey, and the synagogue as the sacred place of musical transmission, where the *Maftirim* repertoire is held, remains at the center throughout the book. The author attaches importance to the cultural interactions between the Jewish musicians and their Muslim, Armenian and Greek counterparts. A couple of Jewish religious and non-religious musicians’ biographies Hayim Moşe Becerano (1846-1931), Nesim Sevilya

⁵¹ *ibid*, pp. 129-133.

⁵² John Morgan O’Connell, “A Staged Fright: Musical Hybridity and Religious Intolerance in Turkey 1923-38”, *Twentieth Century Music*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 2011, pp. 3-28.

(1856-1949), and Mısırlı İbrahim Efendi (1878-1948) are vital for Jackson's narrative, through which she establishes a historical basis for the Maftirim music. Jackson's biographies reveal the way certain Jewish musicians oriented themselves to the new circumstances, in which music becomes more and more popular and thus it evolves into a product that is consumed more broadly than ever.⁵³

2.2. What Do the Biographical Dictionaries of Past Mean for Collective Biography Studies?

The historical significance of constructing biographical dictionaries is a debated issue among the modern historians. Why have historians compiled these dictionaries in the past? Were they state sponsored projects or were they product of mere individual interest, or the combination of both at a certain degree?

Agirreazkuenaga and Urquijo point out that nation states needed to create their heroic past with their great men that will provide the historical depth for new socio-cultural trends and forms. Therefore, the national biographical dictionaries served to produce the national identity and generate national pride. It appears that there are two main types of dictionaries. The first one is supported by the state and played a role in the nation-building process. Swiss, Dutch, Austrian and German models mainly followed that path. On the other hand, the Anglophone model, which had an impact on the American, Australian, and New Zeland dictionaries, was largely financed by individuals. To make it clearer, one may not call them collective biography works but rather the collections of biographies in massive volumes, on which the historians applied the collective biography analysis techniques. For this reason most of the collective biography studies focused on influential group of people, the elites, who occupied the top political positions.⁵⁴

⁵³ Maureen Jackson, *Mixing Musics: Turkish Jewry and the Urban Landscape of a Sacred Song*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 2013.

⁵⁴ Joseba Agirreazkuenaga and Mikel Urquijo, "Collective Biography and Europe's Cultural Legacy", *The European Legacy*, Vol. 20:4, 2015, pp. 380-381.

Leanne Langley sought to find out the motivation behind the first dictionary of British musicians published in 1824. She considered the period between 1815 and 1837 in England as the pervasive sense of uncertainty in terms of Britishness. There was ambivalence over national identity, citizenship and civil liberty, in which musicians were among the other groups to claim recognition in this period. She argued that John Sainsbury's *Dictionary of Musicians* (1824, London) and the Royal Academy of Music (RAM) founded in 1822 were intimately related manifestations to promote British music and musicians against the frequent visits of Italian musicians to London. Yet, it was an enterprise of a businessman, John Davis Sainsbury (died c. 1862), who might probably be alert to an emerging market.⁵⁵

The huge project of replacing the Victorian *Dictionary of National Biography* (*DNB*) with the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (*ODNB*), which was published between 2004 and 2007, offers new perspectives to the history discipline and benefits from technological advancements such as online archives. The *DNB* had biographical material on 38,652 people whereas the *ODNB* has 55,828 individual entries. The extended material surely meant the inclusion of new people (over 16,000 new lives, the entries on women trebled and foreigners who played a role in British life were included) but the interesting thing is that roughly 63 per cent of old lives were revised and rewritten, considering the latest updates in history discipline. Regarding the purpose, *ODNB* stated in its introduction, it is difficult to promote a single outlook due to around 10,000 contributors (*DNB* had only 653 writers). The text claims that it neither carries the idea of national honour anymore, nor the moral message. Furthermore, the text was put on-line in order to be updated and extended steadily, which shows the relations between history writing and technological advancement.⁵⁶ These historical dictionaries are invaluable sources,

⁵⁵ Leanne Langley, "Sainsbury's Dictionary, the Royal Academy of Music, and the Rhetoric of Patriotism", *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: essays in honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, Oxford: OUP, 2000, pp. 65-71.

⁵⁶ Keith Thomas, *Changing Conceptions of National Biography: the Oxford DNB in Historical Perspective*, The Leslie Stephen Special Lecture, Cambridge, delivered in 1 October 2004, pp. 34-37; James Raven, "The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Dictionary or*

which were filled up with biographical materials and were ready to be analyzed within the collective biography research techniques by the social historians of post-World War I, as Stone mentioned.⁵⁷

The post-modern challenge to the discipline of history offered a profound change in terms of understanding the past societies and interpreting the historical “facts”. Particularly the reassessment of auto/biographical accounts, giving more space to individual experiences and to the “linked lives” are the most recent methodological fashions that is called the “biographical turn”, the impact of which is noticeable in the *Oxford DNB*.

2.2.1. The Biographical Turn and Its Influence on Collective Biography Study

The recent biographical interest in history writing is not mainly based on the life story of an individual but also add vigorously his/her social setting into the narrative. Even though the individual actions in the life story take priority over any other matter, the historical explanation of the social environment entails a closer look into the groups, of which he/she was a part. Therefore, the individual becomes more intelligible within the group portrait.⁵⁸ Cowman underlines the notion of collectivity in biography to avoid reproducing conventional life stories. Human beings get involved in a wide range of activities in their lifetime and interact with people on a daily basis. For this reason, a well-grounded biographical narrative should fairly mirror the linked lives or the social circles of the person under study such as family, kinship relations, close friends, classmates, professional partners, etc.⁵⁹ Agirreazkuenaga and Urquijo consider this research methodology applicable in collective biography analysis.

Encyclopedia?, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 50, No. 4, December 2007, pp. 991-1006, see p. 993.

⁵⁷ Lawrence Stone, “Prosopography”, p. 49.

⁵⁸ Alastair J. Shephard, “Biography and Mentalité History: Discovering a Relationship”, *Fukuoka University Review of Commercial Sciences*, No. 49, 1992, pp. 6-7.

⁵⁹ Krista Cowman, “Collective Biography”, p. 91-92.

The research will embrace quantitative and qualitative analysis in order to produce a “larger microbiographical study”.⁶⁰

I will now briefly touch upon the issue of biographical turn to see what it brings to the fore. As mentioned above, it is the decisive shift in the social sciences to promote the idea that societies and cultures might be understood through the individual agency. Rustin argues that François Furet’s study, *Interpreting the French Revolution*, in 1978, was a noteworthy analysis of events, which rejected the Marxist interpretation of the French Revolution and highlighted the role of the individuals with its distinct discourse. The recognition of individual agency and stressing the individual survival strategies that create meaning as well as identity in the life are the key elements for the “biographical turn”.⁶¹ Investigating the link between individual agency and wider social structures, both in the past and in the present, would help to reveal the social policy and power relations in the society.

The constructed life stories, on the other, are central to postmodern debates, which concomitantly make it more complex for historians. E. M. Bruner suggests that the “life lived”, the “life experienced”, and the “life told” are essentially different things:

“A life lived is what actually happens. A life as experienced consists of the images, feelings, sentiments, desires, thoughts, and meanings known to the person whose life it is... A life as told, a life history, is a narrative, influenced by the cultural conventions of telling, by the audience, and by the social context.”⁶²

⁶⁰ Joseba Agirreazkuenaga & Mikel Urquijo, “Collective Biography and Europe’s Cultural Legacy”, p. 381.

⁶¹ Michael Rustin, “Reflections on the Biographical Turn in Social Science,” *The Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Science: comparative issues and examples*, Tom Wengraf, Prue Chamberlayne and Joanna Bornat (ed.), Routledge, 2000, pp. 48-49.

⁶² E. M. Bruner, “The Opening up of Anthropology”, *Text, Play, and Story: the construction and reconstruction of self and society*, E. M. Bruner (ed.), Washington, DC: The American Ethnological Society, 1984, p. 7, quoted from J. Amos Hatch and Richard Wisniewski, “Life History and Narrative: Questions, Issues, and Exemplary Works”, *Life History and Narrative*, The Falmer Press, London, Washington, D. C., 1995, p. 129.

Kenyon explains the reasons for storytelling in the interrelated aspects of human life (structural, social, ethic, and interpersonal), which the historian should acknowledge in order to interpret the text in different contexts.⁶³ According to Jerome Bruner, autonomy and commitment are two features of self-making narrative. The genre balances the autonomy that allows the social actor to choose freely, and the commitment, which indicate the dependence to family, friends and institutions. The author considers the life writing as the struggle to balance these two entities.⁶⁴

Deliberately or not, development towards a certain goal, the retrospective teleology, in the most of the auto/biographical life accounts is noticeable, which the postmodern critic is acutely aware of. If the primary actor or the author of the text became a famous artist, a prosperous businessman or a successful professional, all the past events are placed in the narrative towards that goal. Put differently, uncertainty, discontinuity, crises and sudden interruptions experienced in the lifetime lose ground in the integration process of the past and thus, the life-story chooses the most appropriate stages in the past to provide consistency.⁶⁵

The arrangement of events in order of occurrence is like a straitjacket, which imposes restrictions to auto/biographical expressions. A. Kirmızı underlines that chronology or locating historical events in time imposes limits on the genre, but at the same time is the glue that sticks the story together.

⁶³ Gary M. Kenyon, "The Meaning/Value of Personal Storytelling", *Aging and Biography: Explorations in Adult Development*, Gary M. Kenyon and Jan Erik Ruth (eds.), New York: Springer, 1996, p. 22.

⁶⁴ Jerome Bruner, "Self-making Narratives", *Autobiographical Memory and the Construction of a Narrative Self*, Robyn Fivush and Catherine A. Haden (ed.), Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., Publishers, New Jersey, London, 2003, p. 218.

⁶⁵ Jens Brockmeier, "From the End to the Beginning: Retrospective Teleology in Autobiography", *Narrative and Identity*, Jens Brockmeier and Donal Carbaugh (ed.), John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2001, Amsterdam, pp. 251-52.

In fact, it is the chronology, which arranges life into tidy patterns. In doing so, the arbitrariness of life is deliberately reduced to a coherent whole.⁶⁶

Terzioğlu traces the biographical interest in the Ottoman historiography. As history discipline largely falls behind the recent debates in social sciences, so does the Ottoman historiography. According to Terzioğlu, Ottoman historians have long considered the diaries, memoirs and letters as a data source and thus produced many “classical” biographies. Nevertheless, the new approaches attempt to explain how he/she under study was represented through the narrative as well as the way the narrative was constructed. Albeit rather slowly, the biographical turn arouses attention and makes progress among the Ottoman scholars.⁶⁷

2.3. Literature Review on Some Collective Biography Studies in the History of Music

Collective biography analysis are more often applied to groups whose beginning and end might be estimated statistically. The presence of data and access to biographical record is vital as well. Therefore, it is reasonable that the methodology is predominantly applied to official functionaries, either military or civil, of a certain state. Even though few in number, there are studies exploring the musicians by employing the collective biographical analyses.

Cyril Ehrlich’s book, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century*, which deals with musicians as social actors and focuses on their struggle to gain a professional status in the society from the late eighteenth century to the post-World War I, is considered a seminal work in English social history. The narrative is based on the review of state and private records, newspapers, memoirs and different sort of historical accounts on music and highlighted the socio-political

⁶⁶ Abdulhamit Kırmızı, “Oto/Biyografik Vebal: Tutarlılık ve Kronoloji Sorunları”, *Otur Baştan Yaz Beni: Oto/Biyografiye Taze Bakışlar*, Abdulhamit Kırmızı (ed.), Küre Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012, pp. 11-27, particularly pp. 23-27.

⁶⁷ Derin Terzioğlu, “Tarihi İnsanlı Yazmak: Bir Tarih Anlatı Türü Olarak Biyografi ve Osmanlı Tarihyazıcılığı”, *Cogito*, No. 29, 2001, pp. 284-295.

changes in the British society and the musicians' confrontations in return. The book raises questions on how they received music education, how they made a living and their employment patterns in the business to portray the English musical world in the period under study. The author considers certain issues critical to explain the transformation of music and musicians. The headings are: the difficulty in controlling unqualified people's entry into the music market that gave rise to mass unemployment, the expansion of musical instrument manufacturing that produced cheap instruments, the increased circulation of sheet music, the competition with American musicians, particularly by the turn of the twentieth century, the arrival of electrical recording, broadcasting and the diminishing of silent cinema, in which musicians were performing live music. Much of the narrative is a sad one with a hardly optimistic conclusion. Ehrlich indicates that the life of a musician was not an easy one and it is also difficult to precisely define the term "professional musician" within the British context. The musicians' desire for a social status equal to that of lawyers and doctors proved to be irrational. Even though the economic conditions of musicians have improved over time, the best status they could achieve was roughly the same with service workers, as indicated in the official annual income statistics.⁶⁸

The book of Dave Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840-1914*, attempted to analyze the main patterns of popular music in England between 1840 and 1914, in which musician stories help us follow the processes in music that he defined as expansion, diversification and nationalization. The book could not be considered as a collective biography study; however, it is partly influenced by Ehrlich's study mentioned above, which revisits similar themes with new perspectives. The author claims that there was clearly a huge expansion in all branches of music during the late nineteenth century. In terms of diversification, many new institutes of musical education, music journals, and musical societies emerged by 1900. Here the similarities with the Ottoman case are striking. Russell states that the

⁶⁸ Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1985.

nationalization (similar and unified musical taste) developed but it should not be exaggerated. The strong regional variations existed in different parts of the country. The musical industry invested more in cities and large towns, whereas community-based music (choir and bands) was pervasive in the provinces. The English music hall industry played a great role to popularize the English music. However, the stage was not entirely devoted to music. Acrobats, comics, strongmen, pantomime, dogs, birds and baboons shared the (same) stage with music. In the socio-economical level, the author believes that the industrialization brought major changes to music. By 1881, almost half of the English population moved to live in cities and bigger towns. The growth of the lower middle classes, clerks, the commercial traveler and associated occupational groups contributed to the musical life. They organized brass bands, choirs and musical societies. Between 1876 and 1896, real wages increased by 66 percent, which means the working class had an increased economic capacity for musical enjoyment. Concerts with lower ticket prices and countrywide tours of musicians reached the lower middle and upper working class audience. By the 1890s, the music industry annually sold some 14 million tickets in England. Finally, Russell's narrative on the comprehensive social history of the English popular music culture between 1840 and 1914 has been criticized by historians for its "progressive" approach in analyzing the processes before the emergence and expansion of the popular music.⁶⁹

Deborah Rohr's collective biography study, *The Careers and Social Status of British Musicians, 1750-1850*, deals with roughly over 6,000 musicians (1750-1850) that were mostly traced from the Royal Society of Musicians' archives. She puts the daily activities of musicians at the center of her narrative and explains the geographical and social origins, education methods, and common characteristics in the musicians' career paths, their economic situation and the struggle to gain a social status in society. Rohr raises questions on why they wanted to be a musician. She claims that there is a combination of factors that range from following the family

⁶⁹ Dave Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840-1914 (Music and Society)*, McGill-Queens University Press, 1987.

tradition to talent, and from the hope of becoming rich to unanticipated economic hardships (particularly for the upper class members). The narrative asserts that the marriage meant a sort of upward social mobility for English musicians, who sought wealthy or titled family members. Regarding the patronage relationships, musicians' career reveals complex web of financial arrangements ranging from classical types (royal, aristocratic, church, municipal) to more professional ones (giving concert, playing in the music halls, teaching music). To discuss the economic situation of musicians, Rohr conducted an income survey of different professions like artisans and laborers in the period under investigation. She states that even the ones who performed for the highest salaries could do so temporarily and could not establish a regular lifetime earning from music. The more pervasive patterns were low earnings and irregular job opportunities. Apart from the economic obstacles faced by musicians, the cultural perceptions on music and musicians were also the underlying causes to prevent musicians to gain a social status and respect in the English society. Rohr states that music was perceived as not having any serious purpose. It was about entertainment and pleasure, thus was associated with immorality. Musicians, on the other hand, mainly belonged to the lower classes, who were poorly educated, "inferior" individuals. Yet, music was fundamentally a feminine art and was likely to destroy manly virtues. For Rohr, such beliefs together with the insufficient income significantly undermined musicians' chances of achieving middle class social and professional status. She concludes that musicians showed uneven advances of different groups. Teachers and some performers obtained higher positions in the society, whereas the overwhelming majority earned the minimal income needed for subsistence.⁷⁰

Cem Behar studied on the Es'ad Efendi's text, which collected 97 Ottoman musician biographies from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. According to Behar, the Ottoman music only after the mid-seventeenth century became recognizable technically and aesthetically, and thus separated itself from the

⁷⁰ Deborah Rohr, *The Careers and Social Status of British Musicians, 1750-1850, A Profession of Artisans*, Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom, 2004.

antecedent tradition. Thereby, Es'ad Efendi's collection provides historical evidence for the assertion. The text's major disadvantage is its limited representativeness. Apart from the quantitative inadequacy, the biographies merely belong to composers and singers, *hanende*. Since the sub-title of the text is *Tezkire-i Hânendegân-ı Esâd Efendi*, instrumentalists' exclusion is acceptable. However, absence of non-Muslim musicians constitutes a problem for the text. Es'ad Efendi does not provide much information about his musicians. The birthplace, the place of residence, the period in which he became known as a musician (the name of the Sultan), and finally their profession were entered to each biography. The text reveals that Istanbul was the center of musical activities. Sixty-three out of 99 musicians lived and made music in Istanbul. The musicians were engaged in various professions such as artisans, traders, official scribes, and palace servants. Dervishes and the members of the *ulema* were also among the musicians. Only two musicians were official palace musicians, or at least served in the palace for a time period as a musician, which indicates that the palace only occasionally gave financial support to music. The backbone of musical activity was not courtly patronage. Music was an amateur activity and so were the musicians. The principle, based upon which Es'ad Efendi judged the musicians, was the quality they produced through their artistic pursuits. Being wealthy or having an elite family background was not surely the point of reference for his musicians. In other words, they had to be approved by the musicians rather than the audience.⁷¹

⁷¹ Cem Behar, *Şeyhülislam'ın Müziği: 18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı/Türk Musikisi ve Şeyhülislam Es'ad Efendi'nin Atrabü'l-Âsâr'ı*, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010.

CHAPTER 3

THE DEMOGRAPHICS OF MUSICIANS

The chapter will be based on the demographic analysis of musicians, which seeks to explore their social position in society. To describe them beyond their musical output, the chapter will approach musicians through a handful of perspectives, including geographical background, educational characteristics, occupational continuity, sources of income, age compositions, and causes of mortality. Some will address the issues related to the social status of musicians, while some other will enhance our understanding of their intellectual and cultural worlds. The part will underscore any biographical data that would contribute to the principal aim of the thesis, albeit its influence on the formation of musical character is open to argument. To identify the educational profile, for instance, non-musical education level and language skills will be discussed. Based on the statistical outcome, the limits of music as the chief source of income will be debated, which will help to consider music as a profession or not at the turn of the twentieth century. Along the same lines, the musicians in the sampling were predominantly concentrated in the civil offices as a profession. The chapter will evaluate the meaning of this finding from a cultural perspective to emphasize the intersecting spaces of music and the bureaucratic culture. Indeed, identifying the causes of mortality will provide highlights into the living conditions of musicians prior to their death and thus will contribute differently to the question of musicians' social status. I believe that this "beyond the music" investigation will be instrumental to see how adaptable they were to sweeping changes during and after the late Ottoman period.

3.1. Age Composition Characteristics

The study does not restrict the time period deliberately, because the chief concern is to assemble musicians, whose larger part experienced the late Ottoman and the subsequent Early Republican years (until 1930). The majority of the musicians under research satisfy the criteria. The part will display the dates of birth and death of musicians through a variety of line graphics and tables.

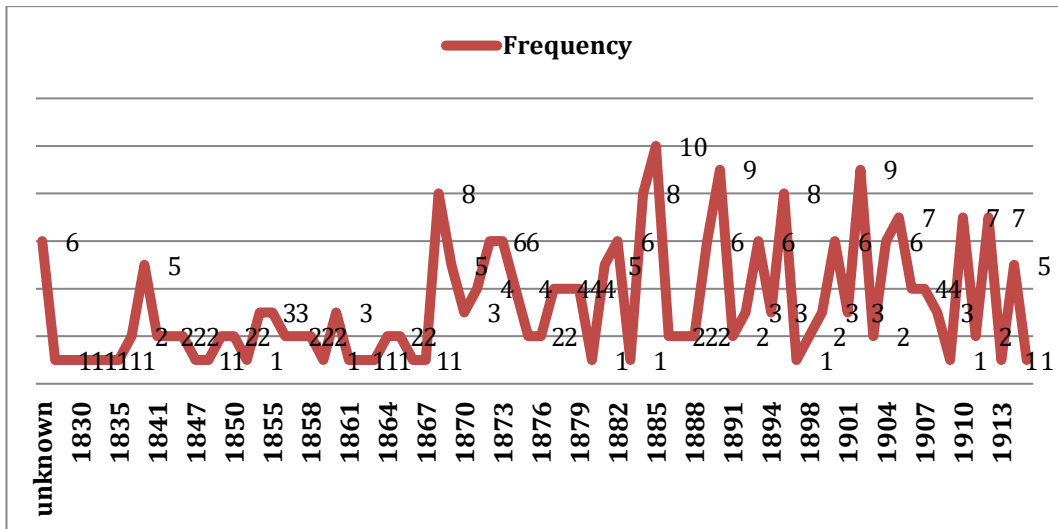


Figure 3.1. Histogram of birthdate distribution

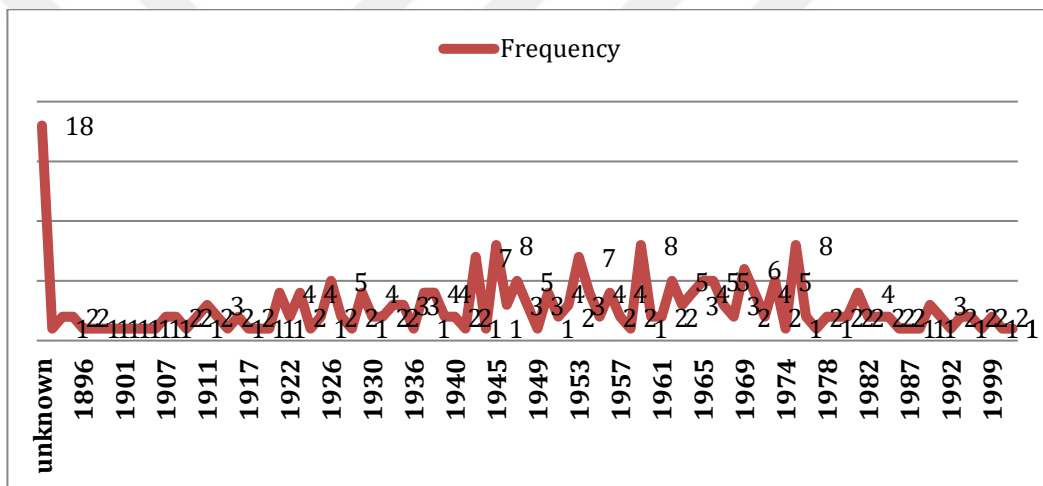


Figure 3.2. Histogram of death date distribution

In parallel with two histogram graphs above, the study, on the one hand, included some musicians who were born in the second decade of the nineteenth century (as the earliest birth date) and some that remained alive until very recently, on the other, albeit they are minor in number compared to the bulk of the sample. The important part of the musicians is well suited to the purpose of the study. The next table combines the musicians' birth dates according to time periods to display alternatively the overall distribution.

Table 3.1. Birth dates by periods

Born		
Between	Frequenct	Percent
1820-1849	23	9
1850-1899	162	62.2
1900-1918	66	26.5
Unknown	6	2.3
TOTAL	257	100.0

As emphasized above, the majority of the musicians' birth dates concentrated at the middle (88.7 %) will have more power to affect the outcomes and support the arguments throughout the thesis rather than the ones assembled at two edges.⁷²

Table 3.2. Death dates by periods

Died		
Between	Frequency	Percent
1891-1908	17	6.6
1909-1950	97	37.7
After 1951	125	48.7
Unknown	18	7
TOTAL	257	100.0

Grouping musicians' death dates by periods reveal that nearly half of them lived throughout the second half of the twentieth century. This period, however, is beyond the scope of the thesis due to the changing social conditions, in which the diversities belonging to the imperial past faded away and steadily a standard musician type was created. Therefore, the thesis will concentrate on the first half of

⁷² Cem Behar prepared the Life Expectancy map for Istanbul based on the statistical data of 1300 (1882-83) and 1322 (1904-5) population censuses. The Brass method which Behar applied, is based on the use of paternal and maternal orphanhood statistics. Owing to the shortcomings of the necessary dataset, the life expectancy figures for musicians cannot be estimated. See, Cem Behar, "An Estimate of Adult Mortality in Istanbul in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century, *Dünü ve Bugünüyle Toplum ve Ekonomi*, Issue 4, October 1994, İstanbul, pp. 95-105.

those musicians' life stories rather than their later years that they experienced the years after 1950s, which the reasoning behind it was already debated in the introduction part. The issue, however, might also be debated through the age composition of musicians. Given the musicians' birth interval that almost makes a century, one may question whether grouping the musicians in accordance with their birth dates would shed light on meaningful differences or not. Though the study does not aim to make a comparison based on two generations of musicians, the reasons should be explained. Firstly, due to the main scope of the study, which is to identify and analyze the ways musicians responded to the socio-cultural changes, the large number of my grouping was born in the same period, in the second half of the nineteenth century, and thus such a comparison would not yield meaningful outcomes. Secondly, in order to do that, the issue of periodization needs to be well defined. The issue is a highly contested one among scholars since the schemes of periodization depends on the historian's personal reorganization of the past. The practice of periodization entails historian to regard some events relatively more critical or characteristic than others, and indeed their impact should be traceable during the defined period.⁷³

The study views some of the historical ruptures in music more significant than others. These emerged at about the turn of the twentieth century all the way to the Early Republican years. Since I have discussed the issue in the introduction section in detail, I will briefly touch upon them. These events were the opening and expansion of music schools in Istanbul, the beginning of sound recording (phonographs, gramophones), developments in publishing sheet music, and music journals as a sign of increased researches and debates on music. The list should also include the foundation of state radio in Istanbul and Ankara, in 1927 and 1928, respectively. Hence all these factors support the opinion that a generation-based comparison of musicians would not be helpful to address the issues the study works on.

⁷³ A critique on the emergence of dividing the past into stages and its attachment with the ideas, including civilization and progress, see Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval & Modern*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1994, pp. 205-215.

Table 3.3. Age composition of musicians, 1906

Age Interval	Frequency	Female	Male	Percent
0-5	28	6	22	10.9
6-10	20	3	17	7.8
11-15	13	1	12	5.1
16-20	21	1	20	7.8
21-25	25	-	25	9.7
26-30	15	1	14	5.4
31-35	21	-	21	8.2
36-40	16	-	16	6.2
41-45	6	-	6	2.3
46-50	9	-	9	3.5
51-55	7	-	7	2.7
56-60	6	1	5	2.3
61-65	5	-	5	1.9
66-70	4	-	4	1.6
Died	15	-	15	5.8
Unborn	31	10	21	12.1
Unknown	15	-	15	5.8
TOTAL	257	23	234	100.0

Comparing the age composition of musicians with the general population figures, which derived from 1897 census, indicate similar trends before the ages reach to 40. 0-20 age group's proportion amongst the musician group was 31.6 %, while in the overall population it was 37.5 %. The group between the ages 20-40 constituted 29.5 % of musicians, while it was 32.3 % of the general population. For the ages between 40-60, the proportions were 10.8 % among the musicians and 20.4 in total. Ages grouped as "60 and over" constituted 3.5 % of the musicians, and 9.8 % of the total population. The irregularities between two sets are mainly related to the random variation of my sampling. Another reason is that my sampling contains a

number of unborn and died ones, together with the musicians whose ages could not be defined. Plus, there is a ten years of interval between two sets of figures.⁷⁴

3.2. Geographical Origins

I distributed the birthplaces of the 257 musicians under investigation in parallel with the Ottoman *vilâyet* system, which was valid between 1895-1908. The empire was then officially divided into thirty *vilâyet*s, which were later reduced to twenty nine due to the changes related to the political situation of Crete (*Girid*) in 1898, which henceforth would be an autonomous province.⁷⁵ The total population figures were derived from 1903 census, which was completed in three years and hence was known as 1905-1906 census. According to it, the Empire's population was 20,884,630.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ The population statistics were taken from two researches both based on the Ottoman census in 1897, Tefik Güran, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin İlk İstatistik Yıllığı, 1897*, Tarihi İstatistikler Dizisi, Vol. 5, T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, Ankara, 1997, pp. 26-29 and Cem Behar, "Osmanlı Nüfus İstatistikleri ve 1831 Sonrası Modernleşmesi", *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Bilgi ve İstatistik*, Halil İnalçık and Şevket Pamuk (eds.), T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, Ankara, 2000, p. 174.

⁷⁵ Abdulhamit Kırmızı, *Abdülhamid'in Valileri: Osmanlı Vilayet İdaresi 1895-1908*, Second Edition, Klasik, İstanbul, 2008, pp. 13-15.

⁷⁶ *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ve Türkiye'nin Nüfusu, 1500-1927*, Cem Behar (ed.), Historical Statistics Series, Vol. 2, T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, Ankara, 1996, p. 55. For the purpose of Regulation of Population Registration (*Sicill-i Nüfus Nizamnâmesi*), which was put into effect right after the Ottoman-Russian war and the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, and the brief explanations on the subsequent modifications at the Department of the Census (*Nüfus-u Umumi İdaresi*), see Stanford J. Shaw, "The Ottoman Census System and Population, 1831-1914", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3, Oct. 1978, pp. 330-334.

Table 3.4. Musicians' birthplaces

<i>Vilâyet</i>	Frequency	Percent	Ottoman Population
İstanbul	186	72.4	864,662
Selanik	11	4.3	921,359
Edirne	6	2.3	1,133,796
Hüdavendigâr (Bursa)	6	2.3	1,691,277
Aydın	6	2.3	1,727,581
Konya	4	1.6	1,249,277
Sivas	4	1.6	1,194,372
Beyrut	3	1.2	562,719
Kastamonu	3	1.2	1,121,516
Outside Ottoman territory	7	2.7	
Unknown	3	1.2	
Other <i>vilâyets</i>	18	6.9	
Hâlep	2		867,679
Trabzon	2		1,342,778
Biga (Karesi)	2		186,455
İzmid	2		290,517
Adana	1		504,396
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefîd	2		364,234
Erzurum	1		675,855
Hicaz	1		
Mamûret-ul-Azîz	1		473,324
Musul	1		161,748
Suriye	1		478,775
Yanya	1		516,766
Yemen	1		
TOTAL	257	100	

To be noted that the percentages in the Table 3.4 show the proportions among all musicians, not the proportions among overall population figures. Yet, Table 3.4 does not show the precise birthplaces of musicians. For instance, one who was born in Amasya *sancak* will inevitably appear in Sivas *vilâyet*. But the dataset stores the names of cities, towns and villages that were recorded as birthplaces if necessary. The table indicates the significance of Istanbul as the geographical origin of musicians that lived during the late Ottoman period, though the strikingly high percentage of Istanbul born musicians (72.4 %) may be criticized for

overrepresentation at the expense of others. The distribution of overall population of Istanbul in 1885 according to the birthplaces, however, shows that the trend goes in opposite direction as the proportion of Istanbul-born people was 45 %, whereas the elsewhere born were 55 %.⁷⁷

Therefore, it might be suggested that musicians were generally from more stable population. The difference between my sampling and the general population should partly be related with the relationship between arts and socioeconomic positions in the society. As anticipated, allocating budget to arts would not take priority over more pivotal concerns for the newcomers of the city. It could be explained in a more music-oriented way. According to Es'ad Efendi's (1685-1753) biographical dictionary of musicians, the association of music and musicians with Istanbul has already been established since the beginning of the eighteenth century.⁷⁸ Even at that time the city could not be compared to the rest of the empire, it retained its domination during the late Ottoman period. According to an anecdote told by İbnülemin, Hacı Arif Bey (1831-1885) heard adolescent Bimen Şen (1873-1942) during a liturgy in the Armenian Church of Bursa and immediately told him to move to Istanbul to benefit from his musical talent (*...isti'dadından hayır görmek istiyorsan İstanbul'a git*). His statement was not only about preventing him from wasting his talent, but also leaves no room for doubt about the musical significance of Istanbul.

The minor presence of musicians from different cities is credible. Salonika, Hüdavendigâr, Edirne and Aydın provinces, which the last province territorially included the city of Izmir, were significant urban centers, and well connected to the capital in terms of commerce and culture. Albeit small in number, these urban centers did supply the Ottoman music with new musicians. I intentionally use the word "supply" because the outcome below shows that nearly all non-Istanbul born

⁷⁷ Stanford J. Shaw, "The Population of Istanbul in the 19th Century", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 10, 1979, p. 270.

⁷⁸ Cem Behar, *Şeyhülislam'ın Müziği: 18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı/Türk Musikisi ve Şeyhülislam Es'ad Efendi'nin Atrabü'l-Âsâr'ı*, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010, pp. 142-153.

musicians moved to and resided in the capital. Table 5 better portrays the trend and indicates the number of non-Istanbul born musicians who immigrated to the capital.

Table 3.5. Non-Istanbul born musicians – If resided in Istanbul (cross tabulation)

<i>Vilâyet</i>	Frequency	Resided in Istanbul	Unknown
Selanik	11	9	1
Edirne	6	5	1
Hüdavendigâr	6	6	
Aydın	6	3	
Konya	4	3	1
Sivas	4	3	
Beyrut	3	3	
Kastamonu	3	3	
Outside Ottoman territory	7	7	
Unknown	3	2	1
Other <i>vilâyets</i>	18		
Hâlep	2	2	
Trabzon	2	2	
Biga (Karesi)	2	2	
İzmid	2	2	
Adana	1	1	
Cezayir-i Bahr-i Sefid	1	1	
Erzurum	1	-	1
Girit	1	1	
Hicaz	1	1	
Mamûret-ul-Azîz	1	1	
Musul	1	1	
Suriye	1	1	
Yanya	1	1	
Yemen	1	1	
TOTAL	71	61	5

Consequently, the significance of Istanbul becomes more and more clear with the statistical data. The outcome shows that 61 out of 71 musicians left their places and

established a life in the capital, whereas only a minor group of non-Istanbul born musicians (n = 5) remained in their birthplaces.⁷⁹ The overall percentage dramatically reaches up to 96.1% that covers both the Istanbul born and the non-Istanbul born musicians who resided in the capital. One may argue the credibility of the research based on the significant proportion of Istanbul-born musicians, which might influence the analyses and hence may result in risking the research findings. The argument would be credible if only the non Istanbul-born ones would not have moved to capital in such great numbers and would have continued to live where they were born or elsewhere. As demonstrated, the outcome provides evidence for the centrality of Istanbul in a study that would deal with the social aspects of music and musicians' biographies. To explain the reasoning behind this, the subsequent chapter will be related to the interactions between city and musicians.

Unfortunately, one can hardly encounter the internal immigration stories of those 61 fathers; it is such a rare data in the biographies. However, a closer look into Konya born musicians' life accounts may be helpful to understand the motivations. Marko Çolakoğlu (1896-1957) belonged to the Rum community of Konya (Karaman), whose family moved to Istanbul for unknown reasons when he was a child. His primary music education began in the Orthodox Patriarchate at Phanar, *Fener*. A female musician, Bedriye Hoşgör, was born in 1896. For some unknown reasons again, her family moved to the capital when she was still a child. There she had the chance to be privately educated by Cemil Bey (1872-1916)⁸⁰ and Nevres Bey (1873-1931). The same pattern is visible in the life story of Sedat Öztoprak (1890-1942). In 1890, he was born in Konya as his father was then the Chief Execution Judge of that city. The father was appointed to Istanbul once he completed his middle education. There he would find many opportunities to advance his musical skills. The fourth

⁷⁹ Those names are Cemal Efendi, Hasan Güler, Rakım Elkutlu, Ömer Altuğ and İzak Elgazi. Although these names were in Istanbul periodically, they have lived most of their lives in the places they were born.

⁸⁰ There is a debate on the precise birth year of Cemil Bey among the music historians. My date is derived from his personal register record, which was officially kept by the Ottoman Ministry of Interior, According to it, his birth date was on 17 September 1872, *1289 senesi şehr-i Recebinin on dördünde, 5 Eylül sene 1288*, see DH.SAID, 43-343/174.

one was an Armenian, İstepan Gedik (1886-1970), whose biographical data is less complete to support the argument.

Similarly, all roads lead to Istanbul for the Beirut born musicians indeed. However, the biographies reveal that none of them had family roots from Beirut. Kemal Niyazi Seyhun was born in 1885 in Acre *sanjak* of Beirut province because his father, Niyazi Bey, served as the district governor (*kaymakam*) there. His family moved back to the capital due to his father's assignment to a new post. Kemal Niyazi studied at *Galatasaray Sultanî* and pursued a musical career. İhsan Raif Hanım (1877-1926), whose father was Köse Mehmed Raif Pasha (d. 1911), was born in Beirut because her father then was the governor of the city. She did not only compose music but was also a prolific poet, who published her poems in journals and books. The last Beirut born musician was Zeki Duygulu (b. 1907-1974). Like other Beirut born musicians, his father served in the Excise Tax Department (*Rüsumât Emaneti*) at Beirut in 1907. Zeki Duygulu as a professional musician, wandered from Istanbul, Ankara to Izmir throughout his life.

Table 3.6 is designed to highlight the professions of non-Istanbul born fathers to explain the issue from a different perspective. The official functionary, religious functionary, and military categories can be defined as official jobs, and their shift of location was probably related to official assignments. Indeed, sheikh/dervish group might be added into this category, whose movements from one lodge to another depended on the permission (*icazetnâme*) given by the authorities of the order. Therefore, one can argue that the appointment into a new post or place was a determining factor for 27 fathers' movement to Istanbul. Other professions (musicians, artisans, merchants) may be classified as independent or lesser-independent ones, that they were certainly freer to create business opportunities in a new market. Given the large percentage of unknown group (n = 20, one-third of the group), one cannot advance further on the issue.

Table 3.6. Fathers' occupation - Fathers settled in Istanbul (cross tabulation)

Occupation of Fathers	Number of Families Who Settled in Istanbul
Official Functionary	11
Religious Functionary	5
Teacher	2
Military	5
Sheikh/Dervish	4
Musician	3
Artisan	6
Merchant	1
Solicitor	1
Other	3
Unknown	20
TOTAL	61

In fact, immigrations were not music related, but the capital had much more to offer to their children in terms of musical opportunities. The small number of music teachers, the lack of music schools, in particular, as well as of a non-dynamic musical atmosphere, in general, characterized the provinces, whereas the capital was beyond comparison. Given the musical significance of Istanbul, the subsequent chapter will concentrate on the interactions between the city and the musicians.

3.3. Education Patterns

This part will analyze the educational level of musicians to further explore the musicians' socio-cultural profiles. It will highlight the types of schools that musicians mostly preferred, the role of the private tutorage, and their language skills. Therefore, the part will discuss merely the non-musical educational behaviors, as the processes of musical cultivation are the subject matter of the fifth chapter.

It is debatable whether any person needs non-musical education to make music. Yet it is open to question to assume that it essentially improves the musical output. Nevertheless, exploring the educational patterns will enhance the quality of the thesis that seeks to analyze the social aspects of music, and hence concentrates more on the social status of musicians. In other words, to analyze the musicians' social status, each biographical data is worth to be analyzed even if its direct effect on his/her musical formation is debatable.

3.3.1. Primary Education

According to 1897 census, the Ottoman state had 34.843 primary schools, of which 28.615 (82.1 %) were for Muslims. 5.982 (17.2 %) belonged to non-Muslim Ottomans, while 246 (0.7 %) to foreigners (*ecnebi*), which means that they were not Ottoman subjects. The number of Muslim primary schools in Istanbul was 263 with 19.792 students in total.⁸¹

Table 3.7 indicates the level of primary school education and includes both the Muslims and non-Muslims. Though the non-Muslims (n = 28 in total) had their first education overwhelmingly at their own community (*cemaat*) schools, the data did not separate state-run schools and non-Muslim community schools at the primary level.⁸²

⁸¹ Tefik Güran, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin İlk İstatistik Yıllığı, 1897*, Tarihi İstatistikler Dizisi, Vol. 5, T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, Ankara, 1997, pp. 98 and 110; Cem Behar, "Osmanlı Nüfus İstatistikleri ve 1831 Sonrası Modernleşmesi", *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Bilgi ve İstatistik*, Halil İnalçık and Şevket Pamuk (eds.), T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, Ankara, 2000, p. 169.

⁸² The years of education in the Muslim primary schools differed according to the geographical location. It lasted three years in Istanbul, whereas it was four years in the provinces between 1891 and 1908. The curriculum included learning the alphabet, reading *Qur'an*, learning the principles of Islam (*ilmihal*), Ottoman Turkish language, orthography, Ottoman history, Ottoman geography, arithmetic, and calligraphy, Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi*, TTK, Ankara, 1999, pp. 85-88.

Table 3.7. Primary (*ibtidâî*) school attendance

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	211	82.1
No	2	0.8
Other	7	2.7
Unknown	37	14.4
TOTAL	257	100.0

The difference between “no” and “unknown” categories needs to be explained. The “no” group included two musicians who have not received primary education for sure. Yet the situation for the 37 musicians in the unknown category is open to interpretation. They might have received primary education; however, their educational record could not be identified. In fact, their education history is recorded as unknown in the middle and higher education columns as well, which might imply that they have not received primary education. Even so I did not place them into the “no” variable unless the biographical accounts stated it precisely. Therefore, the possibility remains open. The only exceptional case in the “unknown musicians” category is Ahmet Celaleddin Efendi (1853-1946), the Sheikh of Gelibolu and Üsküdar Mevlevî lodges, whose educational background is unidentified until his higher education in the Al-Azhar at Cairo. Therefore, it is a clear evidence for his primary education. Seven people that were placed in the other category did not receive public education but were educated by private tutors. Furthermore, a number of people that were educated in the public schools also had private tutors whose cases I will soon touch upon.

3.3.2. Secondary Education

The study divides the Ottoman mass education at the secondary level into two comprehensive categories. The lower secondary education corresponds to the *rüşdî* schools, while the upper level points to *idadî* and *sultanî* schools. To reiterate, both levels are considered to be within the secondary education.

The data derived from 1897 census indicates that 1187 (*rüşdî*) schools provided lower secondary level education throughout the empire. The number of Muslim schools was 426 (35.9 %); 687 (57.9 %) belonged to non-Muslim communities, while 74 (6.2 %) were owned by foreigners. Istanbul had 29 (*rüşdî*) schools with 4.776 students in total; however, the number did not include non-Muslim community schools.⁸³

Seven musicians continued to receive education privately as it was at the primary level. Three more whose education carried out in the palace (*mûzîka-i hümâyûn*) are included. The proportion of continuity among musicians from primary level education to lower secondary is still high, even considering the sharp decrease in number between primary and *rüşdî* schools, (see Table 3.8).

Table 3.8. Lower secondary (*rüşdî*) school attendance⁸⁴

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	161	62.6
No	17	6.6
Other	10	3.9
Unknown	69	26.8
TOTAL	257	100.0

⁸³ Tevfik Güran, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin İlk İstatistik Yıllığı, 1897*, pp. 98 and 109; Cem Behar, "Osmanlı Nüfus İstatistikleri ve 1831 Sonrası Modernleşmesi", p. 169.

⁸⁴ The existence of *rüşdiyye* schools was a matter of debate among the Ottoman authorities. Mehmed Said Pasha (d. 1914) was the governor of Hüdavendigâr *vilâyet* in 1878. He witnessed that despite the allocation of state funding to *rüşdiyye* schools, participation at the local level was far less than expected. He proposed that the state make the local people pay for the expenses; so that, the local awareness would increase. The Pasha submitted another petition to Abdulhamid in 1888. His plan was to extend the primary education to six years, and then let the students pass directly to higher education without even spending a day in *rüşdiyye*. His idea was to transform the *rüşdiyye* schools into three year occupational schools. Abdulhamid did not accept Said Pasha's plan and continued to fund the *rüşdiyyes* for several years more. The situation was bizarre: In 1892, these schools were merged with *idadî* schools, while in practice the *rüşdiyyes* did not come to an end, see Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline*, Brill, Leiden, 2001, p. 161; Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi*, pp. 107-114.

Eventually, 164 musicians (three palace-educated in the other category included) out of the 211 who received primary education continued their education in the next stage, and the overall proportion makes 77.7 % in total.

The number of upper secondary schools operated in the empire was 189, of which 56 (29.6 %) were state-sponsored schools. The non-Muslim communities had 70 schools (37.1 %), whereas 63 (33.3 %) were under the responsibility of the foreigners.⁸⁵

Tracing the educational continuity, 92 musicians further stayed in public education out of 161 musicians who completed the lower secondary education, a proportion of 57.1 %. Indeed, biographical accounts recorded 11 new cases in the upper secondary education whose lower secondary education was unknown. That is how the number reached 103 in total (40.1 %), (see Table 3.9). By keeping out the 101 musicians in the unknown category from the total population, the reasoning behind it already pointed out, the final number of musicians that eventually completed upper secondary education becomes 156, which the amount is equivalent to 60.7 % in total.

People, who attended a certain school but did not complete it, are always placed in the “no” category. For example, Tefik Kolaylı (1879-1953) could not regularly attend the classes in the (*idadî*) school in Izmir due to his health problems, and did not receive the diploma (*şehadetnâme*). Thus, I coded him to his previous school.

⁸⁵ Tefik Güran, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin İlk İstatistik Yıllığı, 1897*, pp. 98 and 108; Cem Behar, “Osmanlı Nüfus İstatistikleri ve 1831 Sonrası Modernleşmesi”, p. 169.

Table 3.9. Upper secondary (*idadî and sultanî*) school attendance⁸⁶

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	103	40.1
No	46	17.9
Other	7	2.7
Unknown	101	39.13
TOTAL	257	100.0

The dataset reveals that certain schools attracted more attention than others. *Vefa* Secondary School at Fatih, for instance, was mostly preferred among the musicians. Sixteen musicians received education in that school, which was followed by *Galatasaray* at Beyoğlu with thirteen students. Seven students were educated in the Orphanage School (*Dârüşşafaka*) at Fatih, which was the third mostly preferred school. Within the musical perspective, these schools were critical for the musical development of the pupils, who had chance to learn music from significant music teachers.

At the secondary level, 13 families' offspring received education in the foreign schools. These schools were mainly French (Catholic) and so was the language of education. Some of those schools were located in the city, namely Saint-Benoît, Saint-Gabriel, Frères (*des écoles Chrétiennes*), Notre Dame de Sion, and some were in remote provinces, such as the French schools in Beirut, Cairo and Yemen. Three out of four musicians who were educated in these provinces were the children of official functionaries. The case of Kemal Emin Bara (1876-1956) was typical for official functionary families. He was born in Istanbul but had to complete his

⁸⁶ There were two types of *idadî* education; seven years of boarding (*leylî*) schools and five years of day (*neharî*) schools. The extension of *idadi* education was related to the Regulation of Public Education of 1869 (*Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizamnâmesi*). The regulation stipulated the opening of one *sultanî* in each province. The plan did not succeed; only a handful of provinces such as *Girid* and *Suriye* had *sultanî* schools. Thereby, the Ottoman authorities extended the *idadî* education to seven years to meet a particular need. Both Ergin and Kodaman provided a detailed version of the *idadî* school curriculum, see Osman Ergin, *Türk Maarif Tarihi*, Vol. 3, Eser Matbaası, İstanbul, 1977, pp. 930-31; Bayram Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi*, pp. 143-44.

secondary education in Yemen and Beirut due to his father's official assignments. His language skills, however, became his main source of income in Istanbul, as he taught French in state schools and translated pieces from French literature throughout his life. But Nurettin Cemil Sangın's (1900-1979) life narrative differs from the families of government officials. He was the son of Cemil Bey (Şekerci, 1867-1928). After his retirement from Imperial Music Academy (*mûzîka-i hümâyûn*), in 1911, Abbas Hilmi Paşa (1874-1944) invited Cemil Bey to Cairo. The place eventually became a permanent residence for the family where his son graduated from a French school.

3.3.3. Higher Education

Higher education outcomes that were derived from occupational schools and universities indicate that 78 musicians were enrolled in total (30.3 %), (see Table 3.10). The number of cases that were fully recorded from primary school to university is 48, which means that other 30 musicians' educational records were fragmented. The situation reveals the gaps in the biographies, particularly in educational issues. Figure 3 provides the general educational condition of musicians from primary school to the university level. Musicians who achieved a university degree were almost a quarter of the total number of musicians. Yet the outcome needs cautious interpretation given the unmeasured number of people, whose educational records could have an impact on the proportions.

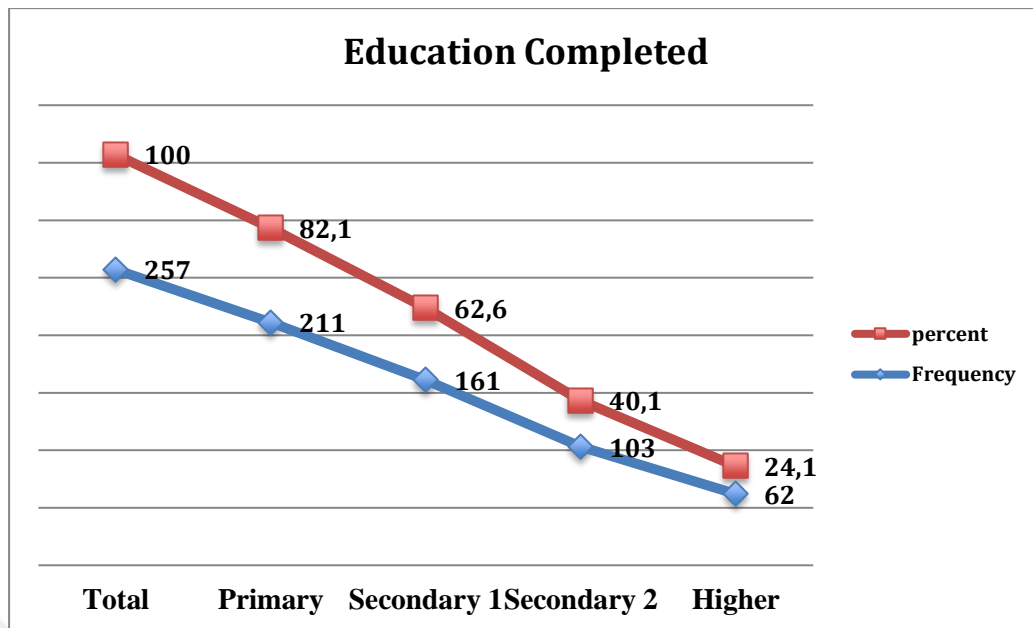


Figure 3.3. Complete distribution of educational outcomes

Though 78 musicians enrolled to these schools, not all have received a diploma. The amount of incomplete students was 16. Therefore, 62 students eventually graduated from their schools, 24.1 % of the total. The list below shows the number of musicians who attended to higher educational institutions, musicians' most frequented schools, as well as the number of students with higher education degree.

Table 3.10. The list of attended schools

School Names	Attendance		Completed	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Imperial School of Law [<i>Mekteb-i Hukuk</i>]	16	6.2	14	5.4
Civil Service School [<i>Mekteb-i Mülkiye</i>]	10	3.9	9	3.5
Imperial Civilian School of Medicine [<i>Mekteb-i Mülkiye-i Tıbbiye</i>]	7	2.7	4	1.5
Imperial Ottoman University [<i>Dârülfünûn-u Osmanî</i>]	5	1.9	5	1.9
Civil Engineering School [<i>Hendese-i Mülkiye</i>]	4	1.6	4	1.6
Imperial Trade and Agricultural School [<i>Ticaret ve Ziraat Mektebi</i>]	3	1.2	2	0.8
School of Fine Arts [<i>Mekteb-i Sanayi-i Nefise</i>]	1	.4	1	.4
War Academy [<i>Harbiye Mektebi</i>]	1	.4	0	
Universities abroad	5	1.6	3	1.2
Other ⁸⁷	26	10.1	20	7.8
No	179	69.7	195	75.9
TOTAL	257	100.0	257	100.0

Exploring the social background of those 78 families whose children applied to higher education and making comparisons with the families whose children did not receive university education might provide deeper insights into the matter, (see Table 3.11).

⁸⁷ A comprehensive list of schools that musicians attended is not essential for the analysis. However, providing a few names will give an idea: Occupational Accounting School, Istanbul Trade School, Female School of Art, Dersaadet Language School, Female Teacher School, and so on.

Table 3.11. Father occupations compared to children's higher education (cross tabulation)

F_OCCUP		H_EDU			Total
		Yes	No	Unknown	
Musician	Count	2	9	0	11
	% within	18.2%	81.8%	0.0%	100.0%
Official Functionary	Count	27	43	3	73
	% within	37.0%	58.9%	4.1%	100.0%
Religious Functionaries	Count	7	21	0	28
	% within	25.0%	75.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Teacher	Count	3	3	0	6
	% within	50.0%	50.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Military	Count	7	14	2	23
	% within	30.4%	60.9%	8.7%	100.0%

Note: Table included certain occupations.

The reason why I give combinations of selected occupations is that some numbers did not come out as expected and need to be treated carefully. The overall situation of higher education indicates a negative trend for almost each occupation, with the exception of teacher fathers, almost half of whose children received higher education. I pay particular attention to the official functionary families, as their number is strikingly low in proportion. How to explain the situation? Their offspring is expected to be better educated. But an upside down trend is apparent. The proportions are even wider for the children of religious functionary and military groups, who might also be regarded as members of the literate classes in the Ottoman society. Following the career paths of 27 children would provide an extra insight. As anticipated, the majority of these people sought bureaucratic careers (n = 12 with 44.4 %) or they were specialized in the fields that they have received higher education (three teachers (11.1 %), two doctors (7.4 %), and three engineers (11.1 %)). The cases of 43 musicians who did not receive higher education, however, are challenging. Music was the main source of income for nine of them (20.9 %), whereas two became journalists (4.7 %), but 23 succeeded in finding a post in the bureaucracy (53.5 %).

Before accounting for this high amount, I will also look into the professions of religious functionaries' and military fathers' offspring. All the religious functionaries (n = 7) who had higher education served in the public offices. But nine out of 21 children (43.2 %) who did not get university education were also able to find a job in the Ottoman bureaucracy, whereas only three (14.3 %) continued the occupational tradition. Military fathers' six children out of seven with university education were distributed evenly among bureaucracy, medicine and music (two for each, 28.6 % in each). Typical in cases with no high education, five out of 14 children served in the public offices (35.7 %), which shared the bigger proportion with five who chose to be a musician (35.7 %). The rest was distributed among other occupations.

Though the experiences emerging from each narrative might be diverse; a trend emerges from the outcomes that higher education was not the point of attraction for the majority of families with a certain degree of intellectual background. Even the positive effect of higher education could not all be neglected particularly considering the cases of religious functionaries, it might be suggested that it was not so vital and decisive for a bureaucratic career. Addressing the channels of bureaucratic recruit is not the aim of the thesis; nevertheless, broad range of factors could have played a role in it, including a network of friends and nepotism.

3.3.4. Private Tutorage

Construction of state schools in the distant corners of empire, adoption of Western methods, centralized curriculums and standard textbooks are evidences of rapid state expansion into the mass education in the Hamidian period. Nevertheless, Fortna stresses that such an approach, demarcated by cultural dualism, bears considerable risks and leads to understanding the issue in terms of "secular" or "Western". A more balanced evaluation of the late Ottoman mass education should also highlight the priority given to Islamic values to revitalize the Islamic and Ottoman basis of the empire, as well as the various types of education taken by the great variety of students no matter how efficiently the system was controlled from

the center.⁸⁸ From a musical perspective, the late Ottoman musician biographies reflected the imperial diversity that would soon be overcome by more homogeneous models in the course of nation building. The private tutorage (*muallim-i mahsus*) was one example of the imperial pluralities. But how did it function in the Ottoman daily life? Did it work as an alternative model of school education or was it connected to it? Addressing these issues will provide insights into the educational aim of private teaching and lead to a closer look into the social status of families that hired private tutors for their offspring.

In fact, studies dealt with the Hamidian educational policy provides enormous statistical data regarding the number of schools, teachers, and students. What I have not encountered is data corresponding to private tutorage. Therefore, the practice of it -albeit not commonly- among my sampling cannot be viewed with overall trends.

Yet the gender segregation was not the issue of the private tutorage. Only five out of 23 women (21.7 %) in the sampling were instructed through it, so attending state-run institutions was more common in the Hamidian era.⁸⁹ Though it was more frequent in the Hamidian period, schooling girls was in practice since Tanzimat's educational reforms.

In terms of situating the private tutorage within the mass education, statistical outcome reveals that the majority attended mass education. The number of musicians, for instance, who also joined public school, was 20 (66.7 %) against seven (23.3 %), with three unknown cases. The amount for the lower middle education was 16 (53.3 %) against nine (30 %), with five unknown cases. In the highest level of education, nine musicians who were educated privately had university education (30 %) while 21 did not (70 %).

⁸⁸ Benjamin J. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2002, pp. 202-247.

⁸⁹ François Georgion, *Sultan Abdülhamid*, Ali Berktaş (trans.), İletişim, Third Edition, İstanbul, 2015, pp. 347-348.

However, there was not such a case of direct access to university without getting public education in the lower levels.

All those 30 musicians were Muslims with a diverse social background, (see Table 3.12). The statistical table, nevertheless, brings to the forefront two types of family profiles. Families in official service (43.3 %) and religious functionaries (30 %) that served either in mosques or in Sufi lodges.

Table 3.12. Privately taught musicians' family profile

Occupation	Frequency	Percent
Official Func.	13	43.3
Religious Func.	4	13.3
Teacher	1	3.3
Sheikh	5	16.7
Artisan	1	3.3
Writer	1	3.3
Military	1	3.3
Unknown	4	13.3
TOTAL	30	100.0

Focusing more onto the official functionary families, it becomes apparent that the private tutorage was a practice widely applied by the people who had means and higher social status. Six of them hold the title of Pasha, almost all the highest-ranks in the sampling. One was in the close circle of Abdulhamid, *Mabeynci* Faik Bey, and another held a senior position in the Ministry of Finance (*Maliye Nezâreti*). One military doctor and three officials served in the less important positions relatively but not moderate at all.

On the question of being elite, it was characteristic for non-official families as well. Abdülkadir Bey's father, Seyyid Yakub Han, was an immigrant with a notable family background originating from Kashgar. Nuri Şeyda Bey's father, Hafız Efendi, belonged to the artisan class but he was a warden (*kethüda*). Religious functionary

families were indeed elites of their social class. Şerif Muhiddin's father, Şerif Ali Haydar was the *sharif* of Mecca (descendant of the Prophet through his daughter). One was the professor of religion with a title of chief judge (*kadiasker*) while others functioned as *imam* in the distinguished mosques of Istanbul. Sufi sheikhs overwhelmingly belonged to the Mevlevî order who led the distinguished Mevlevî lodges at Istanbul, including Yenikapı and Beşiktaş.

According to Table 3.13, it is apparent that the private tutorage overwhelmingly concentrated on two fields: regular subjects and language learning. Language learning was the leading subject matter of tutorage. Considering the centralized curriculum at the primary level state schools, regular subjects were precisely equivalent to primary education. The topics taught in these schools were mentioned previously. It yet included basic religious knowledge (*mebadi-i ulûm-i diniyye*).

Table 3.13. Subjects of tutorage

Subject	Frequency	Percent
Regular subjects	5	16.6
Language	15	50.0
Memorization of <i>Qur'an</i>	2	6.7
Regular subjects with language	8	26.7
TOTAL	30	100.0

As the general condition of language learning among musicians will be dealt soon, I will very brief touch on the issue here. The most preferred language was Persian by 15 musicians out of 23; followed by 13 musicians in Arabic and French by 10. It has to be noted that, the number of musicians exceeds the total number ($n = 23$) due to cases of learning more than one language. Only eight musicians (36.6 %) attempted to learn one language, while the rest were involved in multiple languages. One case was placed into the unknown category.

Seven out of 13 cases (53.8 %) who was privately educated on regular subjects did not ever attend primary and secondary level of school education, but four were enrolled to primary state schools (30.8 %). Indeed, out of these 13 cases, only two received higher education. Even though the numbers of sampling is small to draw a conclusion, it nevertheless would not be wrong to say that the private education operated as an alternative model to the Ottoman mass education particularly at the primary level for the families of higher social status.

Two musicians were instructed privately in order to memorize the Qur'an. However, the task was achieved in one case. Ahmet Irsoy (1869-1943), the son of Zekai Dede (1824-1897), specifically was instructed (*kıraat-i seb'a*, *aşere*, and *takrîb*) by Süleyman Efendi who was the *imam* of *Humbarahane* Mosque on the shores of the Golden Horn and hence became a *hafiz*. The incomplete one was Kemal Batanay (1893-1981), who attended to a religious school at Fatih, *Dârü'l-hilâfeti'l-aliyye*,⁹⁰ but, quitted without graduating.

3.3.5. Learning a Language

The thesis considers non-Muslims as native speakers of the dominant language of their respective community unless stated otherwise. Thus, the number of Armenian, Greek or Ladino Spanish languages virtually corresponds to the non-Muslims in the sampling. Given the situation that not a single biographical account has mentioned difficulties in communication experienced when using the Ottoman Turkish language, the study tends to treat it as the standard language for all.

The language statistics are not about proficiency. If only the level is stated explicitly in biographical accounts, which was a rare situation, it has to be taken as familiarity at best. Fortna defines the funding shortage and problems in teachers' training, as the main reason behind the poor preparation of students for higher education.⁹¹ His assessment supports the way I approach the capacity of language skills in general. It

⁹⁰ Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, "Dârü'l-Hilâfeti'l-aliyye Medresesi" *DİA*, Vol. 8, 1993, pp. 507-508.

⁹¹ Benjamin J. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, p. 116.

could presumably be stated that privately taught musicians were better trained and hence were more skilled in language than the pupils of the state-owned schools.

Table 3.14 is designed to indicate each instructed language together with language combinations among musicians. In the table Arabic, Persian and French appear as predominant languages, each of which had distinct cultural undertones.

Table 3.14. Most popular languages

Language Type	Frequency	Percent
Arabic	3	1.2
Persian	3	1.2
French	31	12.1
Armenian	19	7.4
Greek	7	2.7
German	3	1.2
English	1	.4
Ladino Spanish	3	1.2
NSL	44	17.1
Unknown	93	36.2
Language Combinations		
Arabic and Persian	18	7.0
Arabic and French	3	1.2
Persian and French	4	1.6
Arabic, Persian, French	15	5.8
Other	10	4.0
TOTAL	257	100.0

Though Arabic played a central part in the religious school education, *medreses*, which was taught regularly in the primary and secondary levels together with Persian. It was partially due to the fact that a great part of the grammatical structure and the vocabulary of the Ottoman Turkish were derived from these languages. Yet culturally, these languages were considered to be fundamental for cultivated Ottomans.⁹² French language also became part of this essentiality by the

⁹² Benjamin C. Fortna, "Education and Autobiography at the End of the Ottoman Empire", *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, Vol. 41, No. 1, Mar., 2001, pp. 26-30.

Tanzimat's educational reforms and continued to be so in the Hamidian period. The Regulation of Public Education introduced the French language as an elective course at the lower secondary level (*rüşdiye*) curriculum in 1869. The course nevertheless could be offered only in the more central schools due to insufficient state funding. In 1880, it became a compulsory course in the secondary education with a view to provide the latest developments and trends in commerce, agriculture and industry to students.⁹³ Therefore, culturally speaking, the French language was substantially associated with the "West rooted" modernization process and meant to be more secular.⁹⁴ NSL category points to 44 musicians without any language skills for sure (17.1 %), which the definition clearly separates it from 93 musicians placed into unknown category (36.2 %), whose language issue could not be identified and left a possibility behind.

Table 3.14 also shows the number of multilingual musicians, which means they had familiarity with more than one language apart from Ottoman Turkish. Their proportion was 19.6 %, which also contained the language combinations recorded into other category. The main reason of grouping some musicians under "other" is their undersized proportion. Table 3.15 brings to the forefront the combinations that were mostly made up by three dominant languages, namely as Arabic, Persian, and French.

⁹³ Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908*, p. 175.

⁹⁴ Interestingly, the non-Muslim community leaders considered *Galatasaray Sultanî* exaggaretedly Western-oriented and propagated against their community members' involvement in this school saying that it advocated a secular worldview, İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, İletişim, Fifteenth Edition, İstanbul, 2003, pp. 191-192.

Table 3.15. Other language combinations

Language Type	Frequency	Percent
Arabic, Persian, Armenian	1	.4
French and Armenian	1	.4
French and German	1	.4
Persian, French, English	1	.4
Persian and German	1	.4
Arabic, Persian, French, Greek	1	.4
Arabic, Persian, French and German	1	.4
Arabic, Persian, French and English	1	.4
Arabic, French, English and Italian	1	.4
Arabic, Persian, French, Armenian and Greek	1	.4
TOTAL	10	4.0

To find out the precise numbers of languages studied by musicians, I totaled the multiple ones in the previous table. Additionally, Figure 3.4 would indicate the total number of each language. Apart from the place of ruling languages, the chart presents how “insignificant” were other Western languages in the intellectual world of Ottomans, the reasons of which is not the subject matter of this study.

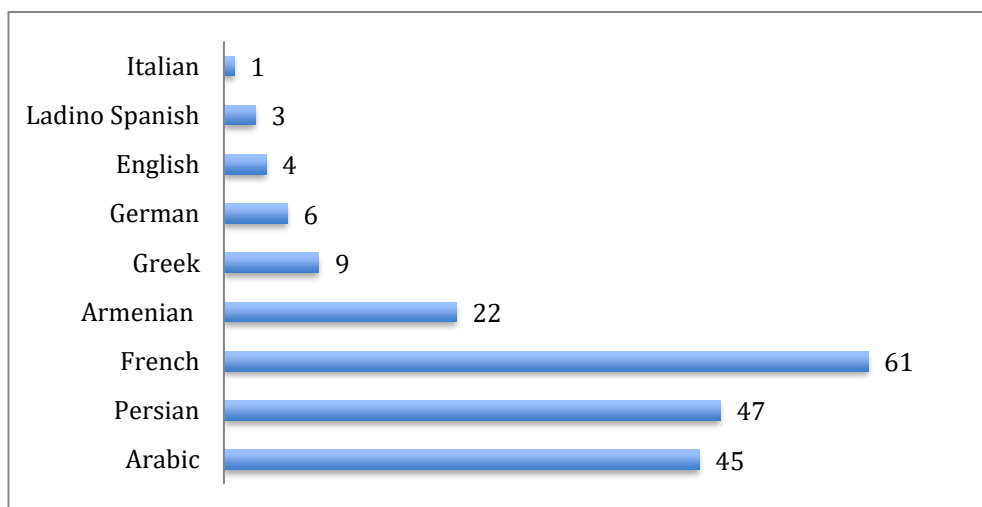


Figure 3.4. Language frequency

3.4. Occupational Continuity

Having information about the fathers' occupations is decisive for building arguments on the social backgrounds of musicians. In fact, the study asked the same question about the mothers and relatives but these variables have not produced satisfactory results. Even the names of mothers are missing in many biographical accounts. This kind of rare data could be found in cases where the mother belonged to a family with a high social status. Suphi Ziya Özbekkan's (1887-1966) mother, Ayşe Behiye Hanım, for instance, was the daughter of Abdüllatif Suphi Pasha (d. 1866). Osman Nihat Akın's (1905-1959) mother's name is known because Rasime Hanım was Ahmet Rasim's (1864-1932) daughter. Furthermore, most of the mothers seemed to have no profession or it was omitted from the accounts at best. For that reason, fathers' occupations prove to be essential and valuable to understand the social milieu in which musicians were born (see Table 3.16).

Table 3.16. Occupations of fathers

Occupation	Frequency	Percent
Official Functionary	73	28.4
Religious Functionary	28	10.9
Military	23	8.9
Sheikh/dervish	16	6.2
Artisan	15	5.8
Musician	11	4.3
Teacher	6	2.3
Merchant	3	1.2
Doctor/Pharmacist/Chemist	2	0.8
Writer	1	0.4
Solicitor	1	0.4
Other	8	3.1
Captain	2	
Laborer	2	
Farmer	1	
<i>Mültezim</i>	1	
Odabaşı	1	
Lower Court, <i>Bidâyet</i> , member	1	
Unknown	70	27.2
TOTAL	257	100

At first sight, the outcome uncovers the musicians' heterogeneous social backgrounds. It basically means that many different layers of society shared the musical knowledge in the late Ottoman period and therefore music could not be associated with a particular group of people or class. Making a brief touch on the musicians of previous generation further encourages the situation. Seyyid Abdi Efendi's (Basmacı, 1788-1856) father, Halil Efendi was a qadi. The well-known Hacı Arif Bey's (1831-1884) father served as a scribe at the religious court of Eyüp. Dellalzâde İsmail Efendi's (1797-1869) father, as anticipated from the epithet, *dellâl*, was a middleman who bought goods from producers and sold to consumers or retailers. Three of them spend years as palace musicians, performed for royal people and instructed music to pupils in the Imperial Music Academy (*mûzîka-i hümâyûn*). The list of musicians whose family backgrounds reveal the diversity

could easily be expanded for the previous generation. Nevertheless, if we had a historical study to explore collectively the social basis of musicians who belonged to the first half of the nineteenth century, it would be possible to follow the trends of continuity and change for the whole century and even beyond.

Returning back to the table, a high proportion of musicians were born into families whose professional careers evolved in the Ottoman bureaucracy (more than a quarter, n = 73). Even though the group includes a few upper-class families, a considerable amount pursued middle or lower-status official careers. The study also recorded their offices precisely. Based on that outcome, musicians by and large were born into the ordinary, middle-rank families. Since the bureaucratic trend would also continue for the offspring, that is what the variable on the income sources of musicians tells, the embedment of music into the Ottoman bureaucratic life deserves an elaborate interpretation.

The cross-tabulation table below shows the interrelation between some selected occupations held by fathers and children to grasp the continuity and change from one generation to another.

Table 3.17. Fathers' occupations – income source of children (cross tabulation)

Fathers' occupations	Income sources of children						
	Music	Official Func.	Religious Func.	Sheikhs	Artisan	Other	TOTAL
Religious Functionaries	3	15	4		1	5	28
Sheikhs/derv.	4	3		6		3	16
Artisan	5	5	2		3		15
Musician	9	1				1	11
TOTAL	21	24	6	6	4	9	70

Note: The table contains selected professions for both fathers and the offspring.

Probably the first thing regarding the table makes clear is the advancement of musicians whose main source of income was music. In one generation, the number almost doubled from 11 to 22. The situation indicates the growing of the career opportunities in music, which I will elaborate upon in the sixth chapter.

The sheikhs/dervishes variable reveals a solid family tradition in terms of professional continuity. Sons replaced the sheikh fathers in the lodges, however, many would experience the abolishment of Sufi lodges in 1925. Therefore, those six sons in the table, who were officially accepted as sheikhs, also had to struggle to create a new life. The state intervention was devastating but it seems that they were able to overcome it. Previous sheikhs and dervishes largely survived in the music industry, and they did not have to start from scratch. For example, Gavsı Baykara (1902-1967) was born in the Yenikapı Mevlevî lodge. He was a member of a sheikh family, whose grandfather was sheikh Mehmed Celaledin Dede (d. 1908). His father, sheikh Mehmed Abdülbâki Baykara (1883-1935)⁹⁵ was a natural successor of the post and was still the sheikh of the same lodge when he experienced the abolishment of the Mevlevî order. Thereby, Gavsı never had the chance to become an official sheikh in the order. Despite his education, he received a high-school diploma from Galatasaray Sultanî and having skill in Arabic, Persian, French and Greek, he preferred to be in the music industry after 1925. Self-confident about his musical ability, played in the Istanbul music market (*piyasa*); organized concerts, recorded music for different companies, composed music for the early Turkish movies and taught *ney* in the Istanbul Municipal Conservatory. All these musical activities were nevertheless not on a regular basis and so were the fees he received. As time went by, his career trajectory seemed to turn downward. The job opportunities were narrowed, and could not provide enough income. In a

⁹⁵ After 1925, Bâki Dede worked in a wide range of non-regular duties, from being a member of a commission that classify libraries, to working as a record-keeper in the Republican People's Party and from teaching Persian in the Literature Faculty at the Istanbul University, to teaching literature at the Bakırköy Armenian High School (Bezezyan), see Ahmet Baki Haksever, "XX. Yüzyılda Üç Mevlevi Şeyhi: Veled Çelebi, Abdülbaki Baykara, Ahmet Remzi Akyürek", *Tasavvuf*, special issue dedicated to Mevlâna, No. 14, Ankara, 2005, pp. 395-96.

society without an unemployment compensation system to support impoverished musicians, or a Sufi lodge to resort to with confidence, his health had deteriorated too. He eventually suffered a stroke and died in extreme poverty in 1967.⁹⁶

The adjective “musician” used before fathers, points to music as a primary source of income. Eleven fathers were actively involved in music as performers and offered private lessons to supplement their income. The musician category also contains music teachers in the state schools. The cross-tabulation table above displays the strong family tradition in music. The statistical outcome indicates that nine children out of 11 musician fathers chose to make music professionally. It appears that the children of musician fathers were encouraged to perform music. The family influence and free music training as well as the fathers’ established business connections should be noted. All these factors combined with the aptitude for music seemed to design the career-paths. For example, Yorgo Bacanos (1900-1977) could hardly complete the secondary school because of his enthusiasm for music. His father taught him to play the oud when he was five years old and he was not even twelve years old when he began to play oud in the *fasils* together with his father Haralambos (1860-1915) and uncle Anastas (d. 1939).⁹⁷

Theoretically, employing children weakens their chance to obtain education. However, other ten musicians’ school report cards may explain if there is a negative correlation between music and standard (non-musical) education. Table 3.18 will indicate other professions to make this comparison. The table covers only the middle education (*rüşdî* and *idadî*) levels to grasp the patterns. The reason why I exclude the primary (*sıbyan*) and higher education (*âlî*) is that musicians by and large completed the former, and only a minor group continued to the latter.

⁹⁶ M. Nazmi Özalp, *Türk Müsikîsi Tarihi*, Vol. 2, MEB, İstanbul, 2000, p. 291; Interview with Niyazi Sayın at his house in Üsküdar (May 2016).

⁹⁷ Χρίστος Τσιαμούλης, Παύλος Ερευνίδης, *Ρωμηοί συνθέτες της Πόλης (17ος-20ός αι.)* [The Rum Composers of Istanbul (from 17th to 20th centuries)], *Εκδόσεις Δόμος*, Αθήνα, 1998, pp. 39-40.

Table 3.18. Fathers' occupations – Education level of children (cross tabulation)

Fathers' occupations	<i>Rüşdî</i>	<i>İdadî</i>	TOTAL
Musician	5 (45 %)	3 (27 %)	11
Official Func.	52 (71 %)	35 (48 %)	73
Rel. Func.	19 (68 %)	8 (29 %)	28
Sheikh/derv.	9 (56 %)	3 (19 %)	16
Military	17 (74 %)	12 (52 %)	23
Teacher	5 (83 %)	3 (60 %)	6
Artisan	7 (47 %)	4 (27 %)	15

The outcome points that the percentages for the musician fathers' offspring are in parallel with the artisan category but not so strikingly lower than other groups. I assume that the idea of considering each occupation in its own inner world will help to understand the issue better. Musicians that followed the fathers' footsteps in bureaucracy had to at least complete middle education to gain a desk in an official bureau. The situation was more or less the same for religious functionaries' offspring. Since a separate chapter will elaborate on the types of musical education, suffice here is to say that musicians by and large were trained as apprentices and learned their trade from a skilled employer. In their cases that was mostly father, mother or a close relative. Without restricting the learning model into that, they were also trained in the house gatherings and learned by watching other musicians play. They also attended music schools and listened to other musicians' recordings.

The religious functionaries included predominantly *imam*, *hatib*, and *muezzin*. Though small in number, *qadi*, *naib* and religious school teachers (*müderriş*) are also inside the group. Yet the variable contained non-Muslim religious functionaries, such as an Armenian priest, an Armenian Church chorist (*muganni*) and a Jewish cantor. The religious functionaries and the Sufi fathers' proportions (n = 16) are acceptable but the outcomes still require analysis. Very much in the same vein with the Sufi fathers, their families lived in a world of profound musical intensity. As music was a part of their world, their children developed an early interest in music

and grew up in an atmosphere to excel at music. Why their children did not continue the family tradition like the kids of the musician fathers and chose to seek career opportunities primarily in official service is a question, which is beyond the scope of this thesis's interests.

Another interesting point is that more than half of the musician fathers are non-Muslims (n = 6). Oud player Hapet Efendi's (1850-1922) father was a clarinet player and Bacanos's father was a lute (*lavta*) player. The high proportion of non-Muslim fathers who pursued career in music is significant because the study relied on 257 people in total, only 28 of whom were non-Muslims.

Twenty-three fathers who served in the military were largely middle-rank officers except a few. The father of Sabiha Tekad (b. 1911) was a colonel, the highest in military rank we have in our sample. Others were commanders and lieutenants. Military father's deep engagement with music is noteworthy. Cevdet Çağla (1902-1988) and Mebruke Çağla's (1904-1982) father, Eşref Bey, who was the governor of a provincial district (*kaymakam*), regularly held *fasıls* and gathered musicians at home. Musa Süreyya (1884-1932) and Fatma Nihal Erkutun's (1906-1989) father, Asım Bey (1851-1929), was a military fireman who taught music when he was exiled to Amasya and was forced to live there for almost twenty years. The father of Salahaddin Demirtaş (1912-1997), known as Salâhî Dede, was a naval officer and a Sufi dervish who frequented Mevlevî and Uşşakî lodges in the Kasımpaşa district together with his son.

The proportion of female musicians whose fathers served in military is worth mentioning (n = 6), since the study contains 23 female musicians, which the number makes 8.9 % of the total. The occupational continuity between fathers and offspring seemed apparently weakest in the military group since not even a single child adopted a military career, however, high number of female children should be taken into account. The outcome indicates that eight musicians' primary source of income was music, followed by five who were employed in government jobs and two were doctors.

On the part of the 15 artisan fathers, many of whom were shopkeepers, the situation reflected the social and economic status of musicians. Barbers, carpenters, sellers in market, caffè-house owners, and gardeners constituted a social group, which can be considered as lower-middle class. In terms of continuity, the children of artisan fathers were not so determined to continue the family tradition than the offspring of the Sufi and musician fathers' groups. Therefore, the children of artisans either became a member of the Ottoman bureaucracy or sought musical employment rather than follow in their fathers' footsteps. I suppose the issue is partly related with the social meaning of professions, rather than mere financial factors.

Presumably, the engagement with music professionally or to pursue a bureaucratic career were more promising in terms of upward social mobility. However, such a thesis may oversimplify the problem, because some individual accounts reveal contrasting stories. Artaki Terziyan's (1885-1948) father did run a barbershop in Salonika, and wanted his son to complete his education. Being aware of Artaki's aptitude for music, he was afraid that he would be a musician (...*oğlumun çalgıcı olmasından korkuyorum*). Soon his father sent him to Istanbul to study medicine. In spite of strong parental objection, Artaki deliberately left the Imperial Civil School of Medicine (*Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye-i Şâhâne*) for music. Elsewhere, there is a different story. Behlül Efendi's father was a stallholder (*pazarcı*) in Üsküdar. Once he completed his middle education (*rüşdiye*), his moderate bureaucratic career began in the Ministry of Navy (*Bahriye Nezâreti*). Meanwhile, he made a name for himself owing to God-given voice. He was often invited to distinguished house gatherings, *meşk*. Behlül Efendi (d. 1895) continued to hold more than one hat until his retirement from office. He gained respect and recognition through music more than he probably could in bureaucracy but surely much more than being a stallholder.

Consequently, the individual life stories show that the perception of music varied according to the social status of people. Thus defining what really motivated them for music is still demanding. Keeping financial profit at bay, financial insecurities

appearing to be more widespread, music provided social advancement; admiration, recognition and popularity particularly for people socially lower in status. For people of upper classes the motivation for learning music was rather different. It was acknowledged as a part of the culture, necessary for cultivation and taste. However, some cases pointed to the fact that their musical knowledge would turn out to be the means of support in the difficult times they were to experience. I will soon deal with the issue in more detail.

3.5. Musicians' Profession

The title might seem confusing, however, the term "profession" is used to emphasize the real income source of musicians. As mentioned above, the thesis underscores the line between making music and earning money out of it. The statement nevertheless does not mean musicians could not gain a living through music. In fact, the research findings indicate that a considerable number depended on music to get by. To call someone a musician, the sole criteria the thesis relied upon was if she/he composed music. Questioning the ways in which they economically survived points to another diverse and complicated situation indeed. Why musicians could not make a living out of the art they performed at the end of the nineteenth century? There could be many economical and political factors behind it. It is likely that music was not yet enough to provide them with regular income because of its limited market conditions in general. But the cultural viewpoint tells a different story. In the light of biographical accounts, it appears that some musicians did not approach music as a source of income anyway. Therefore, such a question might hinder us to understand how actually the music was perceived and performed. Or perhaps both factors need to be considered critically.

Providing examples from a remote past might be helpful to understand the relationship between music and its economy. How was then the situation for the earlier generations? The predominant model was occupational diversity or were the musicians more "professional" than their counterparts that lived in the late Ottoman period? The earliest example, which might also be considered as the unique one, to analyze musicians' real source of income, could be found in

Şeyhülislam Es'ad Efendi's dictionary of musicians. The source was written between 1728-1730 and thus included musicians from the early eighteenth centuries. Despite the fact that Behar questioned its representativeness partly due to the lack of non-Muslim and female musicians and prioritization of composers at the expense of singers, his prosopographical analysis reveals the diverse occupational distribution among the musicians. The biographical dictionary identified 75 musicians' occupation out of 97. According to it, not more than 10 % of musicians' chief source of income was music. The musician group was involved in various professions, including state officers, religious functionaries, artisans and members of Sufi orders. The outcome clearly points to the fact that musicians were predominantly non-professional and hence did not receive a regular income out of music. Yet it brings to the forefront the diverse sociological basis of music at the turn of the eighteenth century.⁹⁸

Table 3.19 shows that things seem to have changed almost two centuries after Es'ad Efendi reported about musicians. Musicians that constituted the sampling continued to come from a number of different occupations. It appears that the art was accessible to people from any segment of society as it was before. Besides, it shows that more and more musicians gained a living by music than their counterparts lived in the beginning of the eighteenth century. When the four musicians placed in the "more than one income" group is added, the proportion reaches up to 33.6 %, which is incomparable with 10 % in the text of Es'ad Efendi.

⁹⁸ Cem Behar, *Şeyhülislam'ın Müziği*, pp. 158-163.

Table 3.19. Musicians' principal source of income

Income Source	Frequency	Percent
Official functionary	83	32.3
Music	81	31.5
Religious functionary	13	5.1
Teacher (non-music)	11	4.3
Sheikh/Dervish	11	4.3
Artisan	6	2.3
Self-employed	7	2.7
Doctor, Pharmacist	5	1.9
Engineer	5	1.9
Writer, Journalist	4	1.6
Other ⁹⁹	13	5.1
Unknown	8	3.1
MOI	10	4.0
TOTAL	257	100.0

Another distinction was the type of musical employment between the musicians of Es'ad Efendi and the musicians under study. The professional musicians that Behar mentions predominantly belonged to palace and served as palace musicians. It was then the predominant model or probably the only one to make a living out of music. However, the majority of the professional musicians indicated in the table above represent just the opposite case. The palace supported musicians shrunk in number, whereas the significant amount of them earned income through a range of activities that were carried out "outside the palace", including providing private tutorage, engaging to music schools, organizing concerts, recording music, and so on. The outcome points their proportion almost over 90 %. That clearly points the changing conditions in the music world as the musical activities expanded and became more diverse in the late Ottoman period. In other words, the growing music market made new opportunities available. But at the same time the result expresses even further reduced role of traditional patronage relationships and the

⁹⁹ Other category includes one military, three merchants and three solicitors. The group also contains six people of wealth, whose biographies provide no work record at all.

far-limited impact of palace. As mentioned previously, this dramatic shift, which I call as the emergence of public patronage would open unprecedented channels but also would introduce new problems to musicians. The chapter will continue to discuss the impact of change on musicians' lives.

The MOI (more than one income source) group includes people with multiple professions, (see Table 3.20). The reason why I gather two occupations holders under one category is to prevent complicating the table with minor results and not to distract attention from the main patterns. These occupations in most cases did not overlap with each other. The rule was once the person either resigned or quitted the job, involved with the second one. Therefore, I decided to present it in that way to not to miss any information given in the biographies.

Table 3.20. Musicians with multiple income sources

Source of Income	Frequency	Percent
Music-Teacher	1	0.4
Music-Artisan	1	0.4
Music-Doctor	1	0.4
Music-Other	1	0.4
Official Func.-Solicitor	2	0.8
Official Func.-Freelance	1	0.4
Religious Func.-Teacher	1	0.4
Religious Func.-Artisan	2	0.8
TOTAL	10	4.0

Rather than dealing with the mainstream groups here (because I will deal with official functionaries in the subsequent part), I will touch on the life stories of minor occupational groups. For example, there are five engineers whose occupational choices should be regarded as more distant from music.¹⁰⁰ What made these

¹⁰⁰ Yekta Akıncı (1905-1980), Ali Galip Alnar (1890-1951), Mehmet Fehmi Tokay (1889-1959), Sabri Süha Ansen (1908-1990), and İsmail Baha Süreلسan (1912-1998).

mechanical, agricultural and civil engineers end up in music? A number of parallel features could be emphasized in their narratives, like fathers of three were state officers, two were born elsewhere but all grew up in Istanbul. Three of them actually graduated from the same school: The Ottoman School of Civil Engineering (*Hendese-i Mülkiye Mektebi*) and all continued steadily with the jobs on which they professionally educated. Three engineers performed in the Istanbul radio and so on. But the most common and relative part is how they were educated musically. Except Sabri Süha Ansen who learned to play violin in a music school, *Dârü't-Talîm-i Musikî*, they all grew up at a home in which music was heard regularly. Either their father or mother were fond of music, played an instrument and regularly invited musicians to their home for musical gathering, *musikî meclisi*.

Though I did not add all the occupational groups but only the most frequent ones, Table 3.21 provides a general insight into the occupational continuity and changes in two generations. Musician fathers' children retained the family tradition to a great extent, whose underlying factors, such as hereditary musical skill, free music instruction, easy procurement of musical instrument, and established business networks, would be dealt in a separate chapter. It appears that the highest occupational discontinuity was experienced in the military and artisan classes, whose children sought career opportunities mainly in music and state service. Interestingly, even though both are considered to be religion-based occupations, there was not any relocation from Sufis to religious functionary class. The subsequent part will elaborate on the second largest professional group, namely the government officials.

Table 3.21. Fathers' income source compared to offspring's (cross tabulation)

Fathers	Offspring					
	Music	Official Func.	Religious Func.	Artisan	Sheikh/Dervish	Military
Music (n = 11)	9	1				
Official Func. (n = 73)	14	37	1		2	
Religious Func. (n = 28)	4	10	6	1		
Sheikh/Derv. (n = 16)	4	3			6	
Artisan (n = 15)	5	5	2	3		
Military (n = 23)	8	5	1			3

Note: Table included certain occupations.

3.6. Musicians' Career Paths in the Ottoman Bureaucracy

As stated before, there has been a solid pattern in the Es'ad Dede's musician dictionary that music was not the primary source of income and musicians predominantly had professions other than music (see "Musician's Profession" part). This pattern emerges in my sample as well. Why my sample of musicians did not concentrated on the financial side of music is partially related with it. If I would have to attach priority to the musicians whose income was derived from music, the study would automatically eliminate the two third of the musicians in the sampling and hence it would lead to a misleading conclusion. The research findings also show that musicians that earned money out of music steadily increased in number from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the late Ottoman period. Only less than 10 % of the Es'ad Dede's musicians made a living out of music, whereas it is slightly the largest group in my sampling with 33.6 % (see Table 3.17). The causes of this change will be discussed in detail in the sixth chapter.

To interpret the connections between bureaucracy and music in the late Ottoman Istanbul, a detailed examination of the official functionaries is necessary since they

constituted the largest part of the “unpaid” musicians.¹⁰¹ According to the statistical outcome, musicians who served as civil officials constitute the largest group in the sampling. Table 19 indicates that 83 musicians were officials, making 32.3 % of the total. Three more should be added from “more than one occupation” group, which eventually makes 86 officials (33.4 %). In fact, the situation was not different at all one generation ago. Seventy-three fathers were civil servants that make 28.4 % of the total (see Table 3.16). As stated before, two occupations revealed strong continuity from fathers to sons. One was musicians with nine out of 11 fathers (81.8 %) and official functionaries with 37 out of 73 fathers (50.7 %).

Table 3.22 clearly points out that civil officials were mainly born in Istanbul. To compare it to the birthplace figures of Istanbul in the overall musician population (72.4 %, see Table 4), the ratio even exceeds it. The birthplace proportions for other occupations lead to Istanbul as well. 67.1 % of musicians, 69.2 % of religious functionaries, and 77.8 % of Sufis were born in the city. Indeed, the outcome has already showed that a significant number of non-Istanbul born musicians moved to Istanbul in the early ages of their life. Thus, the proportion of musicians that grew up in Istanbul reach up to 96.1 % in total. The trend runs in parallel to a great extent for the official functionaries. All the rest of the civil officials that were born outside of the city (n = 10) later on were moved to and resided in Istanbul.

¹⁰¹ It is noteworthy that the part will excessively benefit from the official personnel registers of the Ministry of Interior (under the title BOA, DH.SAİD). Nevertheless, these official records do not provide any information about their engagement with music. Two biographical accounts about the same person’s life, one an official record and the other written by a third-person, do not overlap except the principal parts, including birth place, birth date, the name of father, so on. The only exceptional case is the official biography of Kazım Bey (Uz, 1873-1943), in which there is information about music since he wrote books on music and on the Persian language and needed to obtain official licence to publish, “...Lügatçe-i İstilahat-ı Musikiyye ve Musikî İstilahatı ve Edvar ve Musikî ve Sualli Cevaplı Kavaid-i Farişî nam Türkçe eserlerini Maarif Nezaret-i Celilesi'nin dört kıta ruhsat-ı resmîyesiyle tevarih-i muhtelifede tab' ve neşr ettirmiştir...”, BOA, DH.SAİD, 110-23 (13).

Table 3.22. Official functionaries' birthplaces

<i>Vilâyet</i>	Frequency	Percent
İstanbul	75	87
Edirne	2	2.32
Hâlep	2	2.32
Hüdavendigâr (Bursa)	1	1.16
Aydın	1	1.16
Girit	1	1.16
Outside Ottoman territory	3	3.48
Unknown	1	1.16
TOTAL	86	100

As mentioned above, 50.7 % of the official functionaries' fathers were civil servants. What was the occupation of other half part then? According to the research findings, only one father was musician. 14 % of fathers were religious functionaries; equal number of fathers was either worker in a skilled trade or belonged to military class (5.8 % for each). 3.5 % were Sufi sheikhs, and 7 % percent were distributed to other professions. The occupations of 18 civil servants' fathers were unknown (20.9 %).

3.6.1. Education Records of Musicians in the Ottoman State Service

Regarding the education levels of official functionaries, I paid particular attention to the children of literate classes, including official functionaries, religious functionaries, and the members of the military. The expected outcome was that their children would be well educated. The biographical accounts reveal that the trend was other way around. It was not they but the children of less-educated families that showed more interest in getting higher level of education. What was equally suprising was the career paths of civil officials' children. Statistically, 58.9 % did not receive higher education (n = 43), however, more than half of them could still be employed in the Ottoman bureaucracy. I argue that the higher level of education was not needed in their cases. They received education as much as the

job (official post) required and a considerable number of them served in the public offices.

Table 3.23 shows that there are differences between the two sets of numbers; however, the trends are not contrary to each other. The higher concentration of the official functionaries both on the secondary and higher levels of education is reasonable. Although I stated previously that children of the literate classes poorly received higher level of education, there is not any discrepancy between my words and the outcome above. The occupational continuity for the children who were coming from official functionary families was only 50.7 %, which helps to explain the situation.

Table 3.23. Official's education levels compared to overall statistics

School	Officials		Total	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Primary	81	94.2	211	82.2
Secondary 1 (<i>rüşdî</i>)	73	84.9	161	62.6
Secondary 2 (<i>idadî</i>)	39	45.3	103	40.1
Higher	31	36	62	24.1

Regarding the higher education institutions, some schools were clearly more popular among those 31 state functionaries. Eight officials were educated in the School of Law (*Mekteb-i Hukuk*), whereas seven in the School of Administration (*Mekteb-i Mülkiye*). Only two were from the School of Trade and Agricultural (*Ticaret ve Ziraat Mektebi*). Three officials received education in the School of Medicine (*Mekteb-i Tibbiye-i Mülkiye*), Civil Engineering School (*Hendese-i Mülkiye*), and War Academy (*Harbiye Mektebi*). "Other" category included 11 government officials that received higher education from a number of different schools.¹⁰²

¹⁰² Some of these schools were Dersaadet Language School, Ottoman University (*Dârülfünûn-ı Osmânî*), Istanbul Trade School, and School of Teacher Education.

Regarding the higher education degree holders in the musician sampling, 78 musicians attended but 62 succeeded in graduating (79.5 %). The proportion for the officials was analogous to that. Twenty-three out of 31 officials completed the education and hence received a diploma (74.2 %).

The statistical outcome regarding the private tutorage indicates only 15 official functionaries (17.5 %). The proportion is slightly higher than the overall ratio, which was 12 % (see Table 3.13). Language learning was the most popular subject of private learning, which was chosen by seven officials. Three officials taught regular subjects, which were analogous to primary level of education, whereas other three were taught privately on the same two subjects.

Table 3.24. Civil officials' language familiarity

Language Type	Frequency	Percent
Arabic	2	2.3
Persian	1	1.2
French	17	19.8
English	1	1.2
NSL	20	23.3
Unknown	25	29.1
Language Combinations		
Arabic and Persian	7	8.1
Arabic and French	1	1.2
Persian and French	2	2.3
Arabic, Persian, French	7	8.1
Persian, French, English, German	1	1.2
Arabic, Persian, French, Indian	1	1.2
Arabic, Persian, French, Greek, Armenian	1	1.2
TOTAL	86	100.0

I will not mention the cultural codes of each language, since it was discussed in the "Learning a Language" part. Once the language combinations are totaled, the precise amount of each language emerges. Therefore, three languages were the

most popular among the official functionaries and ran parallel to the general patterns, (see Table 3.24). Twenty-eight officials were familiar with the French language. Twenty officials knew Persian, while 19 were familiar with the Arabic language. Abdülkadir Töre (1872-1945) should be noted not only for his knowledge on several languages, but being the only one among the musicians with his familiarity with the Indian language (probably Urdu). He was descended from an Amir family and his family immigrated to Istanbul from Kasghar when he was a child.¹⁰³

The reason why Armenian, Greek and Ladino, which were spoken languages in the Ottoman state, did not appear in the statistics is directly related to the fact that there was not any non-Muslim in the official functionary group.¹⁰⁴ The only official, who was familiar with Greek and Armenian, was Mehmed Nuri Şeyda Bey (1866-1901).¹⁰⁵ Interestingly, neither Rona nor İbnülemin mentioned Greek and Armenian among the languages Nuri Şeyda was familiar with. He was a graduate of Military School at the secondary level (*Askerî Rüşdiye*) and did not continue to higher education. According to his biographical material in the Rona's book, he was a self-

¹⁰³ "Evvela mekatib-i müteaddide ve muahharen muallim-i mahsusdan Arabî ve Farsî ve Türkçe ve hesap ve tarih ve coğrafya fûnun-u müdevven ile bir mikdar İngilizce ve Fransızca talim etmişdir Farsî ve Türkçe tekellüm ve kitâbet eder Hind lisanına âşinadır", BOA, DH.SAİD, 32-73 (38).

¹⁰⁴ The overwhelming existence of Muslims in the group of officials was largely owing to the inadequate biographical material of the non-Muslim musicians in general. Vitali Efendi (d. 1935), for instance, was a kanun player who served in the Ministry of Post and Telegraphs for many years. I spent hours in the Prime Minister's Ottoman Archives to find out his personal register, which turned out to be an inconclusive effort. Available parts of his life story was so fragmented that I could not include him into the musician sampling. Despite that, the proportion of non-Muslims employed in the late Ottoman officialdom in general was substantially positive compared to minority members in other bureaucraciest, see the collective biography studies of Abdulhamit Kırmızı, which I stated in the bibliography.

¹⁰⁵ "Muallim-i mahsustan okumuştur Arabî ve Farsîye âşinadır Türkçe okur yazar ve Ermenice ve Rumca ve Fransızca tekellüm ve kitâbet eder", DH.SAİD, 45-117 (60). For a discussion on the various definitions of language proficiency in the Ottoman official records, see Olivier Bouquet, *Sultanın Paşaları (1839-1909)*, pp. 297-337.

taught multilingual, *kendi kendine çalışarak tahsilini ilerletmiştir*.¹⁰⁶ In fact, apart from being an official, he was a writer, who published a history book (*Mücmel Tarih-i Enbiya*, Cihan Matbaası, İstanbul, 1310) and wrote polemical articles on music to daily news, *İkdâm* (1894-1928). He was working on a biographical dictionary on the nineteenth century musicians, *Tezkire-i Musikişinasân*, but could not live long enough to complete it.

3.6.2. Career Patterns of Musicians in the Ottoman State Service

Based on the years of entering the state service, 40 officials were identified out of 86. The earliest date of first appointment is 1847, while the latest is 1920. Indeed, three officials' first appointments were in the Early Republican years: 1925, 1932 and 1936. Ten officials entered the service between 1847 and 1871, whereas the majority's first appointment date was between 1880 and 1903 (75 %).

Statistics on the first appointed city of the officers reveal that they predominantly entered the government jobs in Istanbul. Seventy-five out of 86 officials began to work in Istanbul, which makes 87 % in the total. Six officials were distributed among Hüdavendigâr, Ankara, Aydın and Tuna provinces in their first appointments. Biographical accounts did not mention the first appointed city of five officials.

It appears that more than half of the official functionaries did not leave Istanbul during their professional careers. Regarding the last place of appointment, the outcome points out Istanbul again. Forty-eight out of 54 officials ended their official career in Istanbul (56 %). More common way of departure was retirement. İsmail Fethi [Fennî] Bey (1856-1926) was an accountant in the Ministry of the Interior (*Dâhiliye Nezâreti*) when he retired on 13 July 1909.¹⁰⁷ The departure from the job might be so sudden as in the case of Mustafa Nuri Bey (Menapirzâde, 1841-

¹⁰⁶ Mustafa Rona, *50 Yıllık Türk Musikisi*, pp. 236-237; İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İnal, *Hoş Sadâ*, p. 73.

¹⁰⁷ "Müşarünileyhin 1327 senesi Cemaziyelahirinin on dokuzunda 24 Haziran sene 1325 2196 kuruş maaşla tekaüdü icra edilmiştir" BOA, DH.SAİD, 26-381 (193).

1906).¹⁰⁸ Mehmed İzzet Efendi (1861-1894) was another similar case. He was only 33 years old when he died on 13 September 1894. Since his date of first entry to official service was on 20 March 1890, he could work in the Dersaadet Post Office for only three years and nine months.¹⁰⁹

Lemi Atlı was dismissed in December 1908 due to an official order, which was called *tensikat*.¹¹⁰ It was a huge operation in the Ottoman bureaucracy to decrease the number of official functionaries right after the Second Constitutional era in 1908. In fact, it was more about undermining the dominance of officials who were thought to be pro-Hamidian.¹¹¹

Kazım Uz's case (1873-1943) is a good example of dismissal, as another way of departure from the service encountered in the personnel registers. He entered into the civil service when he was 19 years old. His career trajectory included working as an accountant in the Ministry of Post and Telegraphs (*Posta ve Telgraf Nezâreti*) for a year. He resumed his official career in the Imperial Music School due to an official order in July 1893, *bâ-irade-i seniyye-i hazret-i padişahi musika-i hümâyûn'a nakl ve neferlik ile kaydolunarak*. However, he did not last long and resigned from his duty in March 1895, the reason of which was unknown, *hizmet-i mezkûreden istifâen*

¹⁰⁸ "Müşarünileyh 1324 senesi Cemaziyelevvelinin yirmi beşinde irtihal-i dârü'l-beka eylediği Hazine-i Hassa-i Şahane Sicil Şubesi'nin 3 Eylül sene 1322 tarihli vukuat pusulasında beyan kılınmıştır", BOA, DH.SAİD, 25-101 (53).

¹⁰⁹ "Mumaileyhin maaşı 1312 senesi Rebiülevvel onikisinde 140 guruşa iblağ edilmiş ve şehri mezkûrun yirmi dördündünde vefat etmiştir", BOA, DH.SAİD, 65-249 (126).

¹¹⁰ "326 senesi Zilkadenin on dokuzunda memuriyetinin lağvından dolayı kadro haricinde kalıp devletçe müttehiz karara tevfiikan ol-vakt tahsis kılınan 1500 guruş maaşı 327 senesi Recebinin yirmi yedisinden itibaren tensikât kanununa tevfiikan 685 guruşa tenzil etmiştir", BOA, DH.SAİD, 169-427 (215).

¹¹¹ About the motivations behind the law and its drastic impact on the Ottoman bureaucracy, see Erkan Tural, "II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi'nde Devletin Restorasyonu Bağlamında 1909 Teşkilat ve Tensikat Kanunu", Prof. Ergün Aybars (Supervisor), Unpublished PhD Thesis, Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, AİTE, İzmir, 2006; Abdulhamit Kırmızı, "Meşrutiyette İstibdat Kadroları: 1908 İhtilalinin Bürokraside Tasfiye ve İkame Kabiliyeti", *100. Yılında Jön Türk Devrimi*, Sina Akşin, Sarp Balcı, Barış Ünlü (eds.) Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010, pp. 333-355.

infikâk eylemiş. Weirdly, the next phase in his career began in the Ministry of Finance (*Mâliye Nezâreti*) in January 1896, but as a teacher in the public schools. His teaching career seemed to expand to many fields. Taught accounting, geography, the Ottoman language and Persian in the Topkapı Rüşdî School until September 1898. A month later he was assigned to the Correspondence Office of the Ministry of Finance (*Mâliye Nezâret-i Celilesi Mektubâ Kalemî*). From November 1900 on, he was additionally and voluntarily employed as a teacher of mechanics and algebra at the school of which he was a graduate, *ilâveten fahrî olarak Dârüşşafaka Mektebi'nin sekizinci sınıf fenn-i mihanik ve altıncı sınıf ilm-i cebir dersleri muallîm muavinliklerinde bulunduğu ve mâh-ı mezkûrun on birinde 1 Eylül sene 1318* [14 September 1902] *yine fahrî olarak mekteb-i mezbûrun altıncı sınıf ilm-i cebir muallîmliğine tayin...* In March 1906, he was appointed as *mümeyyiz* in the Office of Personal Registeries of the Ministry of Finance, *Mâliye Nezâret-i celilesi Sicill-i Ahvâl Şubesi mümeyyizliğine bi't-terfi resm-i tahlifi icrâ...* In September 1909, he was transferred to a highly prestigious position with a stipend more than the double of what he was earning before: The inspector of Rüşdî Schools. Nevertheless, he remained only two months in the position due to an assignment, which ordered him to investigate the provincial secondary schools. The record did not list the places he was expected to visit but it was clear that he did not want to leave Istanbul. Eventually, he was dismissed from his official career due to his disobedience in November 1909.¹¹²

As evident seen in the case of Kazım Uz, the shift between ministries during the professional career was not a rare practice in the Ottoman officialdom during the Hamidian period. Since the civil officials' flow between government departments is not the subject matter of the thesis, I will not further elaborate on similar situations. Table 3.25 will indicate in which ministries they were first appointed to.

¹¹² “şehir-i mezkûrun on yedisinde [1327 Şevval] 19 Teşrinievvel sene 1325 müfettişlik vazife-i asliyesinden dolayı taşraya i'zamı mukarrer iken istinkâf eylemesine mebni memuriyetinden infisâl ettirildiği”, BOA, DH.SAİD, 110-23 (13).

Table 3.25. Ministries of first appointments

Ministry	Frequency	Percent
Ministry of Post and Telegraphs (<i>Posta ve Telgraf Nezâreti</i>)	7	8.1
Municipalities (<i>Belediye</i>)	1	1.2
Ministry of Finance (<i>Mâliye Nezâreti</i>)	8	9.3
Foreign Ministry (<i>Hâriciye Nezâreti</i>)	5	5.8
Ministry of the Interior (<i>Dâhiliye Nezâreti</i>)	7	8.1
Ministry of Justice (<i>Adliye ve Mezâhib Nezâreti</i>)	9	10.5
Customs Administration (<i>Rusûmât Emaneti</i>)	6	7.0
Ministry of Education (<i>Maarif Nezâreti</i>)	3	3.5
Public Debt Administration (<i>Duyûn-i Umumiye idâresi</i>)	1	1.2
Imperial Office of Land Registry (<i>Defter-i Hakanî</i>)	2	2.3
Ministry of Public Works and Trade (<i>Nâfia ve Ticâret Nezâreti</i>)	4	4.7
Ministry of Forest, Mines & Agriculture (<i>Orman ve Meâdin ve Ziraat Nezâreti</i>)	1	1.2
Ministry of Police (<i>Zabtiye Nezâreti</i>)	1	1.2
Ministry of the Imperial Treasury (<i>Hazine-i Hâssa-i Şâhâne Nezâreti</i>)	2	2.3
Ministry of Military Affairs (<i>Bâb-ı Seraskeri</i>)	6	7.0
Ministry of Naval Affairs (<i>Bahriye Nezâreti</i>)	5	5.8
Imperial Music Academy (<i>Mûzîka-i Hümayûn</i>)	2	2.3
Regie Company (<i>Reji Şirketi</i>)	1	1.2
Republican Period ¹¹³	12	13.9
Other	2	2.3
Unknown	1	1.2
TOTAL	86	100

Two musicians in the “other” group were Fahri Bey (Kopuz, 1885-1968) and Rauf Yekta Bey (1871-1935). Fahri Bey entered the office in the Council of State (*Şûrâ-yı Devlet*) in 1903. After serving only six months, he was transferred to the office in the Ministry of Military Affairs (*Bâb-ı Seraskeri*, which was transformed into the *Harbiye Nezâreti* on 22 July 1908). There he served until the end of the World War I.

¹¹³ The “republican period” category consisted of 12 musicians whose professional careers evolved in the republican institutions due to their birthdates that were largely after 1900s.

He resigned from the office on his own will in 1918. Afterwards he devoted all his life to music. Rauf Yekta Bey (1871-1935) was the second musician in the group whose official career began in 1883 in the Imperial Council (*Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn*). It seems that when his personal register was written he was still in office. The last entry to his register was on 5 September 1909, which informs that his professional status was elevated to a higher position with an increase in the salary.¹¹⁴ Yet his official career continued until 1922 in the same office.

Eventually, more than two third of musicians in my sampling had other occupations than music calls for an alternative perspective to reconsider music as a profession. I argue that music was part of the Ottoman urban culture and it was not perceived as a profession particularly among the official functionaries. Otherwise it would not be possible to understand the internal working of music in the late Ottoman Istanbul, whose significant part of members engaged with it on an unpaid basis. I believe that even the term “amateur” might be used, but only to emphasize the musicians’ limited financial gain from music rather than implying that they did not have the necessary skills or expertise of the art. Above all, I suggest that the difference between “professional” and “amateur” musicians under study manifested itself in the perception of music and hence in the musical output. I will further develop the argument in the following chapters.

3.7. Causes of Mortality

A variety of factors, including socioeconomic conditions, ethnic origins, sex and age compositions, high-risk periods like wartimes, epidemics, environmental catastrophes such as dry periods, floods and many other circumstances may be the origin of death. Yet sometimes not a single factor but a combination of factors may lead to it. Therefore, as anticipated, the death rates for a given society might change over time either in an upward or downward trend according to the

¹¹⁴ “327 senesi Şabanının on dokuzunda 23 Ağustos sene 1325 icra kılınan tensikâta iki bin kuruş maaşla kalem-i mezkûr mümeyyizliğine terfi edildiği salifü'z-zikr müzekkerede beyân kılınmıştır”, BOA, DH.SAİD, 46-285 (144).

improvements or deteriorations in socioeconomic conditions. Yet technological advancement in medicine and more investments in public health policies are other influential factors that lead to change in mortality rates. Given the plenty of forces, there was not a standard list of the causes of mortality and hence demographers have constructed many different models to grasp the patterns of mortality.¹¹⁵ Determining the cause of death is a challenging task even for experts.¹¹⁶

My previous variable model categorized the deaths into the two general ones: Natural and age associated (premature) deaths. My aim was to divide and examine the cases of death according to that. The point of demarcation was the ages between 60 or 65 and after. Nevertheless, the validity of this approach is in question by recent epidemiological studies. Though to the association of aging with the serious chronic diseases is credited, it stresses the difference between association and causation. Therefore, the assumed age-associated diseases should be reconsidered because they can be prevented and even reversed.¹¹⁷ In parallel with the argument, I reorganized the dataset and concentrated on the causes of death rather than the age as a parameter. Additionally, Figure 3.5 will provide raw data on the composition of death dates.

Regarding the causes of death among my group of musicians, the proportion of those whose cause of death is definable makes 30 % in total. Giving the large proportion of unknown category, it would not be reasonable to draw conclusions

¹¹⁵ Ian Bowen, *Economics and Demography*, Routledge, 2012, pp. 22-37.

¹¹⁶ An elderly, for instance, may have died due to a combination of health problems leaving an uncertainty behind in terms of identifying the factor that actually led directly to death. It might also be the case that many factors together contributed to the fatal outcome. Therefore, it is an issue of great complexity, see Monica Pace, Eric Jouglu, Barbara Leitner, Jan Kardaun, Torsten Schelhase, Anne Gro Pedersen, Peter Ocko, and Gleb Denisson, "Causes of Death Statistics – People over 65", Online Publication, September 2017,

[http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Causes of death statistics - people over 65](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Causes_of_death_statistics_-_people_over_65) (accessed on 29 June 2018).

¹¹⁷ Luigi Fontana, "Modulating Human Aging and Age-Associated Diseases", *Biochim Biophys Acta*, 1790 (10), 2009 Oct., pp. 1133-1138.

on the issue. Despite the raw data's shortcomings, Table 3.26 still provides insights into the trends of death among musicians.

Table 3.26. Causes of mortality

Category	Frequency	Percent
Ischaemic Heart Disease	41	16.0
Respiratory Diseases	8	3.1
Cancer	6	2.3
Diabetes	4	1.6
Accident	3	1.2
Alcoholism	5	1.9
Suicide	1	0.4
Other ¹¹⁸	9	3.5
Unknown	180	70.0
TOTAL	257	100.0

The category of Ischaemic Heart Disease, also known as coronary heart disease, was linked directly to the circulatory system. The group accounted for forty-one deaths (16 %), which makes it the most common cause of mortality among musicians. Heart attack, stroke and brain (cerebral) hemorrhage comprised the group. The category of respiratory diseases is the second most common cause of death among musicians (3.1 %). They are defined as chronic lower respiratory diseases that cause difficulty in breathing and are usually connected to allergic reaction, including as asthma, influenza, bronchitis, typhoid, pneumonia, and tuberculosis.

Deaths resulting from alcoholism, various types of accidents and suicide have been regarded as external causes of death. Alcoholism, for example, is not a medically

¹¹⁸ The other category includes nine deaths resulted from dysentery (two cases), cholera, and yellow bile. Two musicians could not recover from surgery and died soon after. One was related with the appendicitis, another was not defined. Though the accounts did not mention the origins of, two musicians were disabled by illness and were house bounds.

recognized cause of death but rather the health problems caused by it is taken into consideration. It is regarded as one of the ways of intentional self-harm together with suicide and hence the cases are subject to psychological research.

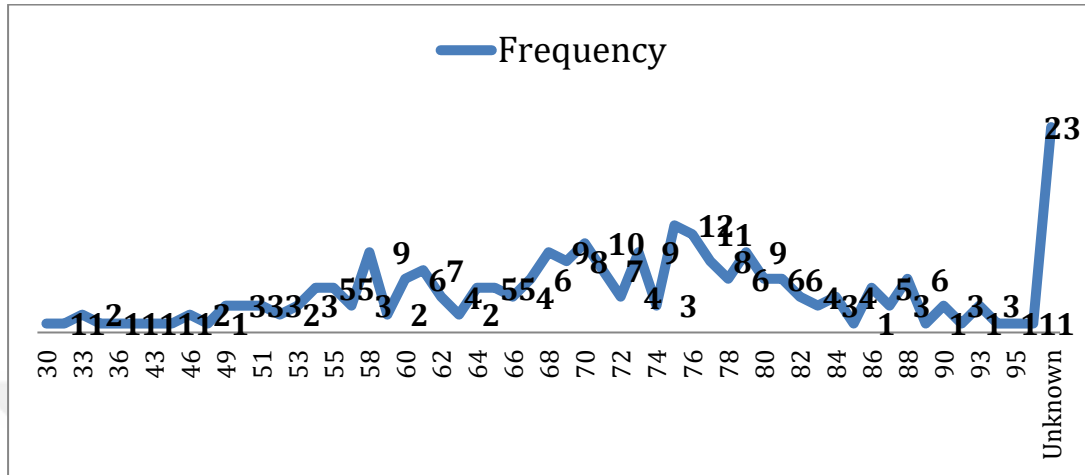


Figure 3.5. Age of death composition

The median age of death for the musician population under study was 71. The youngest date of death was 30, while the oldest musician age was 96. The most frequent ages of death were 75 and 76. Twelve and 11 musicians have died at these ages respectively. The rarest ages for death were 30 and 96, which were also in parallel with the youngest and oldest ages of death.

3.8. Lives Struck by Poverty

It is true that the biographical accounts did not contain rich data on the medical (technical) origins of death and hence did not leave much space to deal analytically with the patterns. But a cautious reading of biographies brings other issues to the forefront. These might provide important insights into the social and economic positions of musicians in the late Ottoman society.¹¹⁹ Though unintended,

¹¹⁹ My argument on the death as a social phenomenon differs distinctly from the anthropological approach, which questions the socially constructed meanings of death and analyses the diverse forms of death rituals that provides insights into the complexities of death, rebirth and the religious beliefs, *Death on the Move: Managing Narratives, Silences and Constraints in a Trans-National Perspective*, Philip J. Havik, José Mapril and Clara Saraiva (eds.), Cambridge Scholars Publishing, UK, 2018; *Taming Time, Timing Death: Social*

biographical accounts highlighted the musicians' latter years while describing the conditions prior to death. Expressions such as "she/he died in isolation", "passed away due to lack of care", or "so destitute the musician was that could not even afford medical care", are not infrequent. Yet a number of musicians have died as nursing home residents, the situation appears to be another indicator of social isolation and the state of severe poverty. Alcohol dependence was another frequent factor that had a role in a number of musicians' death.

Leon Hancıyan (1860-1947) is a typical case. He became impoverished during the older ages after having a long period of musical success and popularity. He officially instructed musicians in the palace and the members of the notable families. His fragmented biographical account did not reveal the factors that contributed to his downward trend in music, and why he could not cope with it. All we know is that he spent years previous to his death in the Mental Hospital in Bakırköy, where his life eventually ended in poverty and misery.

The devastated life stories were more than a few and were not peculiar to people who solely depended on music. Hafız Aziz Efendi (1856-1923) was the *imam* of the Ortaköy Mosque. He was taught music by Zekai Dede and Aziz Efendi and was acknowledged by his immense repertoire among musicians. He taught music to many at his mosque, also at numerous Sufi lodges. Though little was known about his life after the retirement, he became fully destitute to the extent that İbnülemin could not believe the circulating stories about him begging in the streets until he eyewitnessed it one night in the Çemberlitaş neighborhood, "*kameti iki kat olarak sokaklarda dolaşırdı...Çenberli taşın dibinde çömelüb istiane ettiğini görerek fevkalâde müteessir oldum*". Yet the case implies that the monthly payment made by the state for the pensioners was either not regular or too meager for economic survival.

Technologies and Ritual, Dorthe Refslund Christensen and Rane Willerslev (eds.), Routledge: London, New York, 2016.

Mahmud Aziz Bey (1870-1929) was another state officer whose father was a renowned musician, Tanburi Ali Efendi (1836-1890), the second *imam* of Sultan Abdülaziz. A musician by blood, he played *tanbur* like his father. According to his personal register, he was employed by the Ministry of Trade and Public Works (*Nafia ve Ticaret Nezâreti*) on May 24, 1892. His last record belongs to September 22, 1909, which reports that his stipend was raised to 800 *piastre*.¹²⁰ The reason why the record ends after that is practically related with the date of issue. When his personal record was written in 1909, he was still working. İbnülemin's statements for the period between 1909 and 1929 are both inadequate and inconsistent. He mentions that the Agricultural Bank moved to Ankara but he did not, so he was dismissed in 1909. In fact, the move was during the War of Independence. Due to the political conditions in Istanbul, the gold deposits of the bank were secretly brought to Ankara and the bank ceased to operate in Istanbul. It is probable that he was dismissed in 1909, because of the general reduction (*tensikât*) in the Ottoman bureaucracy right after the Second Constitutional era in 1908. Meanwhile, the house of his father's friend where he was residing was destroyed by fire. The date of the fire is again unknown. Following this, Mahmud Aziz Bey disappeared from the social network and he eventually was found dead suffering from hunger in 1929.

Kanunî Mehmet Bey (1859-1927) is another story of suffering and a rare example of musicians whose different life stages, transition points and struggle to adapt to new situations are detectable in his biographical narrative. He was dismissed from the Imperial Music Academy (*mûzika-i hümayûn*) in 1909. The next step was the critical decision to seek a career beyond music, because he believed that it would not provide more than basic necessities. He first sold his instrument, and later his house in order to procure financial resource. He moved to Adana as the base of his (unknown) business activities, but the adventure did not last long for Mehmet Bey. He had to return back to Istanbul due to his unsuccessful economic activities, which eventually forced him to continue with a state pension. Soon after, he was employed as a cleaner (*hademe*) in a state school through the network of an old

¹²⁰ BOA, DH.SAİD, 59-399 (201).

friend. The work was not sustainable for various reasons, including the difficulty of the work and the workfellow's insulting behaviors. Thus he soon left the job. It seems that the conditions in the last stage of his life was beyond his control. In the state of severe poverty he resorted to one of his music student's house, where he eventually died in 1927.

A handful of cases indicate that the destitution was not a rare phenomenon among musicians. Even more musicians might be added to the list of those who lived below the acceptable living standards. The musicians who went through hard times were from every corner of life, including previous state officers, official palace musicians, musicians by profession, and so on. The causes of musicians' deteriorating socio-economic conditions were many and complex. Some of these cases seem to be related to the disruption of the established networks of musicians based on the imperial order. It has to be emphasized that innumerable well-to-do families or political notables regulated the financial support of musicians during the Hamidian era, whereas the role of the palace in this mechanism was negligible. These connections collapsed due to political changes, which drastically affected the social milieu of certain musicians. The alterations are well depicted in the life accounts of Cemil Bey (1872-1916) and Refik Fersan (1893-1965). I call the process an external force, which was beyond their control.

But cases such as Kel Ali Bey (1831-1899) require an alternative analysis because poverty hit him well before the aforementioned socio-political changes had taken place. As a palace musician, he experienced an impoverished life after retirement. He could barely sustain himself through irregular music classes at a coffee house in Kadıköy.

Given the complexity of the issue, I suggest that the larger portion of the problem was related to the lack of future planning. It was an internal factor, which might be confronted with personal capacity and initiative. It seems that they thought that the advantages they acquired from music would regularly continue and failed to plan for old age. Put differently, once the financial challenges emerged, many musicians

were unequipped to deal with the situation. Nevertheless, the case of Faize Hanım (1894-1954) shows that severe poverty did not only hit men but was also shared by female musicians. It seems that the situation was not peculiar to the Ottoman musicians; many English musicians were also beset with financial challenges. The problem seemed to be overcome, at least partially, through musical charity organizations whose history goes back to the eighteenth century. The Royal Society of Musicians (RSM), the first musician charity society in England that was founded by more than 200 people in 1738, the majority of whom were musicians, with money received from benefit concerts, donations from nobles and from the public. Similar benefit societies followed the footsteps of RSM in England throughout the nineteenth century to assist both male and female musicians and their families.¹²¹ It is true that such corresponding organizations were heavily needed in Istanbul as well. Although the individual cases show that the chances of survival for the Ottoman musicians who ran into difficulties were very low, they did not fully surrender to the problems they faced. There were signs of collective acting. I will discuss the issue in more detail in order to explore the social basis of the music schools in the sixth chapter.

3.9. Conclusion

The debate on the demographic characteristics of musicians throughout the chapter sought to underscore certain characteristics. The empire's vast territories clarified the position of Istanbul as being the center of music production, as it was in the previous century. The concentration of non-Istanbul born musicians in the city further supported the argument. The study treated musicians' educational record as a way to assess their intellectual depth. The statistical data revealed that the musicians were not illiterate and received as much education as others. The imperial diversity in educational matters was apparent in the musicians' life narratives, even though the era witnessed the rapid standardization of mass education. The principal aim of tracing the occupational continuity was to

¹²¹ Deborah Rohr, *The Careers and Social Status of British Musicians, 1750-1850, A Profession of Artisans*, Cambridge University Press, United Kingdom, 2004, pp. 157-158; <http://www.royalsocietyofmusicians.org/> (accessed on 6 July 2018).

understand how music was regarded as a professional occupation. Music was highly preferred by the offspring of musician, Sufi and artisan fathers, whereas it was limited among children of the families in the state service and religious functionaries. My interpretation was that music had more to offer to people with lower social status and income and it might be understood in terms of social advancement, recognition and popularity. However, it is more likely that it meant unpredictable future with financial insecurities and irregular job vacancies for others. My second explanation was related with the perception of music. It seems that music for many of the musicians in the sampling was internalized as part of the urban identity and not considered to be profitable. The bulk of the musicians in the sampling, including official or religious functionaries, military officers, teachers (non-music), traders and workers in a skilled trade that were engaged in music unprofessionally confirm my argument. The musician life stories that ended up in crisis and severe poverty indicated two aspects of musicians. One was that, as a chief source of income, music was still a difficult choice for one to survive in the late Ottoman period, even though more and more musical opportunities emerged in the music market. Secondly, the rapid social changes during and after the late Ottoman era caused a breakdown in the conventional networks of musicians, some of whom were unable to adapt to new conditions.

CHAPTER 4

MUSIC AND GEOGRAPHY: MUSICIANS ON THE MOVE

While the previous chapter explored the demographic trends of musicians, the principal aim of this chapter is to portray the musical setting in Istanbul by focusing more on each district.¹²² The chapter will analyze the geographical distribution of the musicians in the city to reveal the center(s) of musical activities. The directions of musician mobility and the level of local participation to the musical events will be interpreted to uncover these centers. Yet the districts will highlight the musical advantages and the obstacles they had, with a view to relate the musical institutions, house gatherings, *meşks*, private music classes, and the types of musical employments to the locations of musicians in the city. The part will additionally use the network analysis program called Gephi and historical maps to better visualize the frequency of musical activities throughout the city. In other words, by seeking links between the locations of musicians and the distribution of musical activities, the chapter will attempt to explore the musical interactions among districts as well as the musical characters of each neighborhood.

4.1. The Musical Setting of Istanbul

The statistical outcome on the residence-based distribution of musicians defined 173 musicians' living places, which is 72.2 % in total. The unknown group comprised

¹²² The complicated history of administrative system in Istanbul calls for a brief explanation. *Şhremâneti* was founded in 1855 to deal with the city's infrastructure and facilities such as roads and buildings. Istanbul was divided administratively into fourteen districts/municipalities (*devâir*) in 1868. Ergin underlined that the divisions of the city changed many times in the late Ottoman period. In 1877, the city was divided into twenty districts. Only three years later, in 1880, the districts in Istanbul were reduced to ten, whereas in 1912 Istanbul consisted of nine municipalities. My categorization is based on the fourteen districts of 1868, since the later divisions reduced the number of districts and unified many smaller residential areas under more central ones: Eyüp joins Fatih, Kasımpaşa went to Beyoğlu, and Beykoz to Üsküdar. See Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediye*, Vol. 3, İBB Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1995, pp. 1269, 1346, 1422-27 and 1443; Tarkan Oktay, *Osmanlı'da Büyükşehir Belediye Yönetimi: İstanbul Şhremâneti*, Yeditepe, İstanbul, 2011, pp. 35 and 125; İlber Ortaylı, "Belediye", Vol. 5, *DİA*, 1992, p. 400.

69 musicians (27.4 %), however, from which 40 were born and lived in Istanbul. In fact, the only missing element is where they were precisely located in the city; therefore, the lack of data consequently leads them into the unknown group. Albeit they resided in the city, the analysis will exclude those 69 and will be based on the musicians whose districts were clearly stated in the biographical accounts.

Table 4.1. The districts in which musicians have resided most¹²³

Districts	Areas Covered	Frequency	Percent	Total Population
1 th Daire	(Yenikapı, Unkapanı, Süleymaniye)	4	1.6	151,933
2 nd Daire	(Fatih)	84	33.3	114,545
3 rd Daire	(Yedikule)	3	1.2	123,037
4 th Daire	(Eyüp)	10	4	
5 th Daire	(Kasımpaşa)	5	2	
6 th Daire	(Kurtulus, Beyoglu, Macka)	8	3.2	231,293
7 th Daire	(Beşiktaş, Şişli, Mecidiyeköy)	18	7.1	70,767
8 th Daire	(Tarabya, İstinye)	1	0.4	13,850
9 th Daire	(Büyükdere, Sarıyer, Rumelifeneri)	2	0.8	14,645
Anatolian Part				
10 th Daire	(Beykoz)	6	2.4	29,158
11 th Daire	(Çengelköy, Beylerbeyi)	7	2.8	
12 th Daire	(Üsküdar)	27	10.7	95,667
13 th Daire	(Kadıköy, Erenköy, Bostancı)	8	3.2	22,796
14 th Daire	(Adalar) ¹²⁴	-	-	
Unknown		69	27.4	
TOTAL		252	100	867,537

¹²³ Due to the continuous changes of administrative structure of Istanbul discussed above, the population figures partially cover the districts of 1868. Eyüp and Kasımpaşa as the fourth and fifth administrative units, for instance, disappeared completely in the 1885 order of districts and unified with more central ones. Given the complexity of the issue, I will still give the population figures of each districts based on 1885 census, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ve Türkiye'nin Nüfusu, 1500-1927*, Cem Behar (ed.), Historical Statistics Series, Vol. 2, T. C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, Ankara, 1996, p. 75.

¹²⁴ The population figures for the Islands quoted from Vital Cuinet. The data, as Behar mentions, that his numbers were derived from 1885 census. According to that, islands had 10,553 people (Büyükdere with 5,960, Heybeli 2,895, Kınalı 398, and Burgaz 1,250) in total, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun ve Türkiye'nin Nüfusu, 1500-1927*, Cem Behar (ed.), p. 72.

Forty-eight musicians lived in the Anatolian part (19.1 %), whereas 125 resided on the other side of the Bosphorus (53.5 %). The historical accounts underline the capital's inadequate transportation conditions not in between the opposite directions but also nearby districts throughout the nineteenth century. Ortaylı states that the movement was not easy from one point to another in the city; a visit from Aksaray to Çengelköy entailed an overnight stay.¹²⁵ According to Behar, the move between places within the city was a matter of adventure and that meant a day travel even towards the end of the nineteenth century. The author argues that people living in different districts of the city were relatively disconnected from each other, which ultimately instigated the local solidarity at the expense of a common city identity.¹²⁶ Though the authors focused on different issues, the way they portrayed the city make sense from the standpoint of music. When İbnülemin mentioned his house gatherings, he emphasized the musicians whose houses were not in the near distance, usually stayed overnight at his home, *...semti uzak olanlarla beraber beytûtet edilirdi*.¹²⁷ It is not to mean that they stayed just because they could not move in the middle of the night. The musical gatherings were a kind of social activity that necessarily involved eating, drinking and chatting alongside the music for long hours. They all contributed to the result.

The other factor, which helped to underpin the argument, was the security risks in the city especially after sunset. The problem seemed to limit the city dwellers' movement and was one of the reasons why musicians frequently stayed overnight in the houses, at where the *mesk* sessions were organized. For example, Hafız Sami (1874-1943) after a *mesk* gathering in Eyüp, refused to stay overnight despite the strong objection of the host. Even though he was accompanied by an armed guard,

¹²⁵ İlber Ortaylı, *İstanbul'dan Sayfalar*, Turkuaz Kitap, İstanbul, 2008, p. 18.

¹²⁶ Cem Behar, "Kasap İlyas Mahallesi: İstanbul'un Bir Mahallesinin Sosyal ve Demografik Portresi: 1546-1885", *İstanbul Araştırmaları*, No. 4, İstanbul Araştırmaları Merkezi, İBB, 2000, p. 16.

¹²⁷ İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İnal, *Hoş Sadâ: Son Asır Türk Musikişinasları*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, Maarif Basımevi, İstanbul, 1958. p. 114.

the nighttime journey towards Fatih, where his home was, interrupted by two armed men at the Edirnekapı Cemetery.¹²⁸

Some musicians' daily routines seem to be well-organized when one considers the insufficient transportation infrastructure of the city. Emin Yazıcı (1881-1945), for instance, was used to welcome his musician friends and students at his home in the Tophane neighborhood throughout his life. In addition to that, he visited the Galata Mevlevî lodge on a regular basis, which was at a walking distance from his home. There he was musically educated by *kudümzenbaşı* Raif Dede (d.?) and later became the leading ney player (*serneyzen*) in the Galata Mevlevî lodge before the Sufî lodges were officially closed in 1925. The only exception was teaching ney in the *Dâr'ül-Elhân* Conservatory in Fatih for a short time.¹²⁹ There are other musicians whose musical practices were mainly concentrated within close distances to their homes. Ali Rıza Şengel (Eyyübî, 1878-1953) was born in the Eyüp district, where most of his musical activities took place. He held music classes at home, frequented the Kadirî and *Rifaî* lodges of Eyüp and founded the Eyüp branch of *Musikî-i Osmanî* with a group of musicians where he also taught music between 1922-1927.¹³⁰

The other side of the coin is that a significant number of musicians under study require us to approach the arguments above with some reservation. The musicians rushed around the city's musical activities. In fact, musicians' capability of reaching different spots of the city for music probably became possible by the swift advance in city transportation during the latter part of the century. Tekeli's study underlines three decisive dates on this issue: The beginning of sea-transportation in the city with the *Şirket-i Hayriye* company, which was founded in 1851 and signaled the growing of the sea traffic in Bosphorus. Five years later, two ships crossed the city

¹²⁸ Sadi Yaver Ataman, *Mehmed Sadi Bey*, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, 1987, pp. 40-41.

¹²⁹ Halil Can, "Edebileşen Dehalarımız: Emin Dede", *Türk Musikisi Dergisi*, No. 4, 1947, İstanbul, pp. 2,3 and 23; No. 5, pp. 4,5 and 20.

¹³⁰ Salih Dizer, "Alaturka musiki üstadlarımız: Eyyübî Ali Rıza ile bir konuşma", Taha Toros Archive, No. 001511093006, İstanbul Şehir Üniversitesi.

eight times a day on the Eminönü-Üsküdar line. In the 1880s, the company's daily transportation capacity reached 25.000 people, and roughly to 49.000 in 1912. These numbers included all the routes the company ran; a broad network between the opposite directions as well as the circuits to the residential districts alongside the two shores of Bosphorus. Tekeli's second phase focused on the land-traffic. The beginning of horse-drawn trams in the first half of the 1870s, which initially ran only in two directions (Azapkapı to Beşiktaş and Eminönü to Aksaray) and transported more than 17.000 people daily. A new tramline was opened in 1881, which connecting Karaköy to Şişli via *Cadde-i Kebir*, Taksim and Pangaltı. A shift occurred in 1911; the trams pulled by horses were hereafter powered by electricity. Together with the line in the Asian part (Üsküdar, Kısıklı to Alemdağ), the trams were carrying more than 30.000 people each day in the same year. The last stage began with the functioning of railroad in the city. In 1875, the railroad with seven stops connected Küçükçekmece district to Sirkeci via Makriköy.¹³¹

The pattern of mobile musicians is apparent in the life story of Nasibin Mehmed Yürü (1882-1953). He was born and lived in Kanlıca in the Beykoz district. As an active *piyasa* musician, he constantly played oud and sang in Memduh Efendi's (1868-1938) *fasıl* groups. His existence in the music market was recorded in the historical accounts, particularly in daily papers. He performed at the Fevziye Coffee House in the Şehzadebaşı neighborhood (within the Fatih district), at the Kılburnu Casino in the Fener neighborhood and at the Arif's Coffee House in the Sultanahmet neighborhood. Another mobile musician was Hasan Sabri Bey (1868-1922), oud player who was born and lived in the Üsküdar district. At a very young age he entered the service in the Ministry of Education (*Maârif Nezâreti*). After long years in the same office, he was forced to retire due to the general reduction of state

¹³¹ İlhan Tekeli, *İstanbul ve Ankara İçin Kent İçeri Ulaşım Tarihi Yazıları*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010, pp. 22-37. Zeynep Çelik's narrative provides a detailed examination of public transportation networks in the city during the period under study. According to Çelik, the overall effort of the Ottoman authorities to advance the transportation facilities in the city underpinned the idea of "civilized" and "Westernized" society, Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, University of Washington Press, Seattle and London, 1986, pp. 82-103.

functionaries (*tensikât*) in 1909. Shortly after leaving public office, he sought to put his sidelined career back on track. He offered private music lessons at home and began to regularly visit Şehzadebaşı neighborhood at the Fatih district, where the *Dârü't-Talîm-i Musikî* of Fahri Kopuz (1885-1968) was located. The school operated three days a week and provided a platform for live concerts from 1912 onward.¹³² Hasan Sabri Bey worked there as a music teacher and performed in the live concerts. Another oud player was Sami Bey (1867-1939) who was born and lived in the Aksaray district. His music-teaching career was, however, on the other side of Bosphorus. He taught music in the *Musikî-i Osmanî* in Kadıköy and People's House (*Halkevi*) in Kızıltoprak during the Early Republican period.

Tables 4.2 and 4.3 will demonstrate the musicians' pattern of behavior particularly in terms of mobility and daily routines. The outcomes will provide a comprehensive perspective upon the directions of musical movements in the city, the interactions between the neighborhoods and ultimately will shed light on the musical character of certain districts. I believe that the meticulously designed tables will display the patterns and promote novel questions on the musical setting of the city.

Table 4.2. Locations of musicians' activities

District	Areas Covered	Frequency	Percent
1 th Daire	Yenikapı, Unkapanı, Süleymaniye	1	.4
2 nd Daire	Fatih	45	17.5
4 th Daire	Eyüp	7	2.7
5 th Daire	Kasımpaşa	-	-
6 th Daire	Kurtulus, Beyoglu, Macka	46	17.9
7 th Daire	Beşiktaş, Şişli, Mecidiyeköy	1	.4
8 th Daire	Tarabya, İstinye	1	.4
9 th Daire	Sarıyer, Rumelifeneri	2	.8

¹³² Güntekin Oransay, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Elli Yılında Geleneksel Sanat Musikimiz", Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, No. 117, Ankara, 1973, pp. 244-245; Nuri Özcan, "Dârü'tta'lîm-i Mûsiki", *DîA*, Vol. 9, 1994, pp. 9-10.

Table 4.2. Continued

<i>10th Daire</i>	Beykoz	1	.4
<i>11th Daire</i>	Çengelköy, Beylerbeyi	2	.8
<i>12th Daire</i>	Üsküdar	8	3.1
<i>13th Daire</i>	Kadıköy, Erenköy, Bostancı	4	1.6
Musicians that were active in more than one district			
<i>2th and 6th</i>		31	12.1
<i>6th and 9th</i>		10	3.9
<i>2, 4, and 6</i>		8	3.1
<i>2th and 4th</i>		7	2.7
<i>2th and 13th</i>		6	2.3
<i>6th and 13th</i>		4	1.6
<i>2th and 12th</i>		3	1.2
<i>1th and 2nd Daires</i>		2	.8
<i>7th and 10th</i>		2	.8
<i>2, 6, and 9</i>		2	.8
<i>2, 6, and 12</i>		2	.8
<i>2, 6, and 13</i>		2	.8
<i>6th and 7th</i>		1	.4
<i>2th and 10th</i>		1	.4
<i>6th and 12th</i>		1	.4
<i>9th and 12th</i>		1	.4
<i>12th and 13th</i>		1	.4
<i>2, 4, and 5</i>		1	.4
<i>2, 4, and 12</i>		1	.4
<i>1th and 4th</i>		1	.4
<i>2, 12, and 13</i>		1	.4
<i>2, 6, 9, and 12</i>		1	.4
Outside Istanbul		15	5.8
Unknown		32	12.5
TOTAL		257	100.0

A few comments seem necessary to read and interpret the figures better. The first eleven rows, where the names of the areas covered by districts stated, represent

the musicians whose activities were limited to only one district. The second part of the table that begins right after the row “musicians that were active in more than one district” indicates the frequency of musicians whose musical activities extended over at least into two districts. Therefore, the outcome clearly indicates the musicians’ mobility in the city. In accordance with the finding 45.9 % of musicians concentrated their musical activities within the borders of one district, in fact, almost always the one where they lived. 35.8 %, on the other, constantly changed locations and frequented different districts for musical opportunities.

Table 4.3, which has to be considered together with Table 4.2, will be based on the same outcome. I will only make minor changes by adding the figures in the multiple rows to districts to which they belonged in order to refine the data. The aim here is to highlight the principal districts regarding the musical concentration.

Table 4.3. Locations of musicians’ activities recorded in the city (multiples added)

District	Areas Covered	Frequency	Percent
1. Daire	Yenikapı, Unkapanı, Süleymaniye	4	1.2
2. Daire	Fatih	106	31.7
4. Daire	Eyüp	25	7.4
5. Daire	Kasımpaşa	3	0.9
6. Daire	Kurtulus, Beyoglu, Macka	102	30.5
7. Daire	Beşiktaş, Şişli, Mecidiyeköy	4	1.2
8. Daire	Tarabya, İstinye	1	0.3
9. Daire	Sarıyer, Rumelifeneri	17	5.9
10. Daire	Beykoz	2	0.6
11. Daire	Çengelköy, Beylerbeyi	2	0.6
12. Daire	Üsküdar	18	5.4
13. Daire	Kadıköy, Erenköy, Bostancı	18	5.4
Unknown		32	9.6
TOTAL		334	100.0

The outcomes, in the first place, reveal the way the musical opportunities were dispersed among the most parts of the city. However, one can observe the unequal

relationship between music and each district. Certain districts dominated the musical activities more than others. They were Fatih, Eyüp and Galata/Beyoğlu in the Istanbul side of the city; and Üsküdar together with Kadıköy on the Anatolian side. My plan is to treat some of these districts separately to explore the musical traffic of the city. To bring the analysis to a required state, I organized a comprehensive table, in which I will compare musicians' living places to the locations of their activities.

Table 4.4. Musicians' living quarters and the location of musical activities in number (cross tabulation)

Musicians' Districts	The Location of Musical Activities (frequency)															
	1.Yenikapı	2.Fatih	3.Yedikule	4.Eyüp	5.Kasımpaşa	6.Beyoğlu	7.Beşiktaş	8.Tarabya	9.Sarıyer	10.Beykoz	11.Çengelköy	12.Üsküdar	13.Kadıköy	Outside	Unknown	TOTAL
Yenikapı		2				2									1	5
Fatih	2	59		7		26	2		2			1	6	2	9	116
Yedikule		2			1	1										4
Eyüp	1	3		8		2								1		15
Kasımpaşa		3		1	2	2										8
Beyoğlu		3		1		7								1		12
Beşiktaş		6		2		12	2		3			1	1		2	29
Tarabya		1				1			1							3
Sarıyer						1			1				1			3
Beykoz		3				4			1	1			1			10
Çengel köy		2				2					2				2	8
Üsküdar		11		2		11			3	1		13	2	1	1	45
Kadıköy		4				3							3		1	11
Unknown	1	7		4		28		1	6			3	4	6	16	76
TOTAL	4	106		25	3	102	4	1	17	2	2	18	18	11	32	345

Table 4.4 contributes extra features to the issue in such a way to complete the required information. Tables 4.2 and 4.3 defined the frequency of activities happening in the districts. Table 1 has already showed the distribution of musician population among the districts. It was yet difficult to establish a relationship between these statistical outcomes. In order to fill that gap I organized the last table. It will simply associate the musicians' living places to the locations of their musical activities. Put differently, the study will reveal, for instance, where the two Sarıyer (9th Daire) born musicians' activities took place. Or it will be possible to

check the percentages of locations from where the musicians have poured into the Fatih district (2nd Daire).

A few explanations seem necessary in order to easily read and interpret the Table 4.4. The rows, which start with the name of each district written in bold, indicate the musicians' living places in the city, while the columns are designed to show the frequency of musical activities carried out in each district. The point at which the lines intersect, display both the number of activities happening at each district (columns) and the density of participation by the musicians of each district (rows).

By considering the figures in Tables 4.1, 4.3 and 4.4 together, it is possible to define the musical setting of the city in terms of residential and performance centers of musicians. Fatih (n = 84, 33.3 %) and Beşiktaş (n = 18, 7.1 %) in the old part of the city and Üsküdar (n = 27, 10.7) in the Anatolian part were the residential centers of musicians (see Figure 4.1). On the other hand, Fatih (n = 106, 31.7 %) and Beyoğlu (n = 102, 30.5 %) were the areas where the majority of the musical activities concentrated (see Figure 4.2). A third category could be created based on the two for the Fatih district as both the residential and the performance centers of Istanbul.

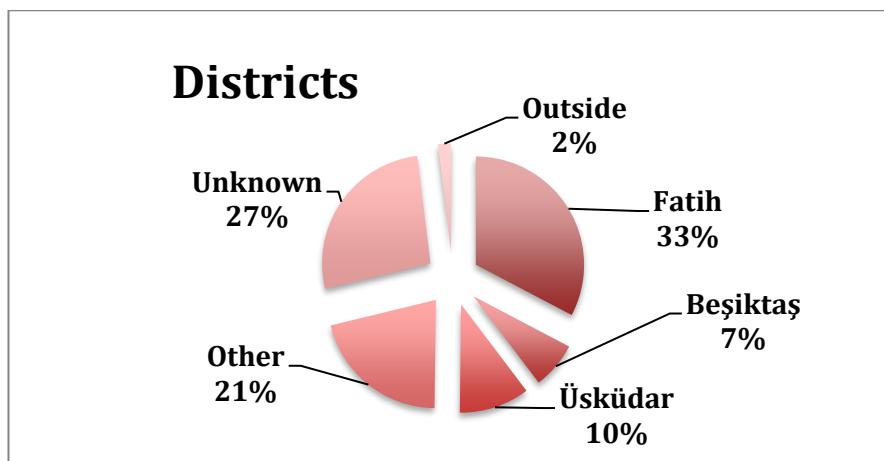


Figure 4.1. Residential centers of musicians in Istanbul

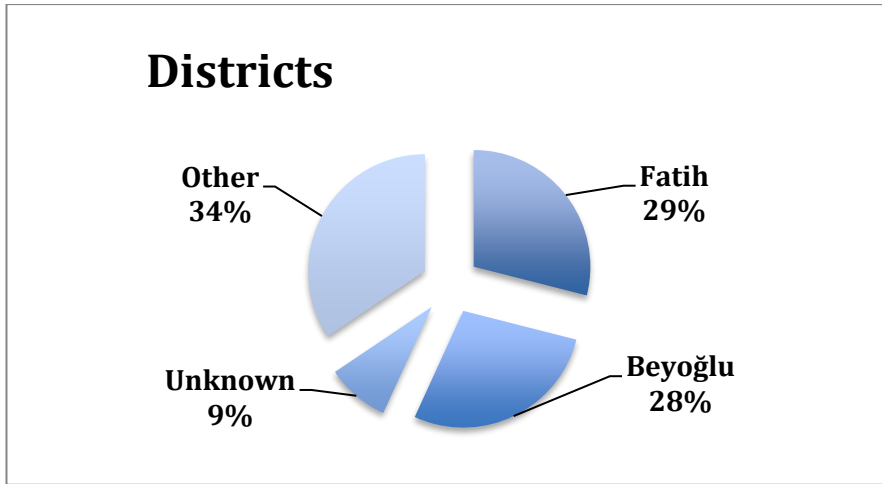


Figure 4.2. Performance centers in Istanbul

In a different perspective, I will concentrate on the concept of locality based on the statistical outcomes of Tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3.¹³³ I organized the next table to give an idea about different sort of perspectives these tables may provide to the study.

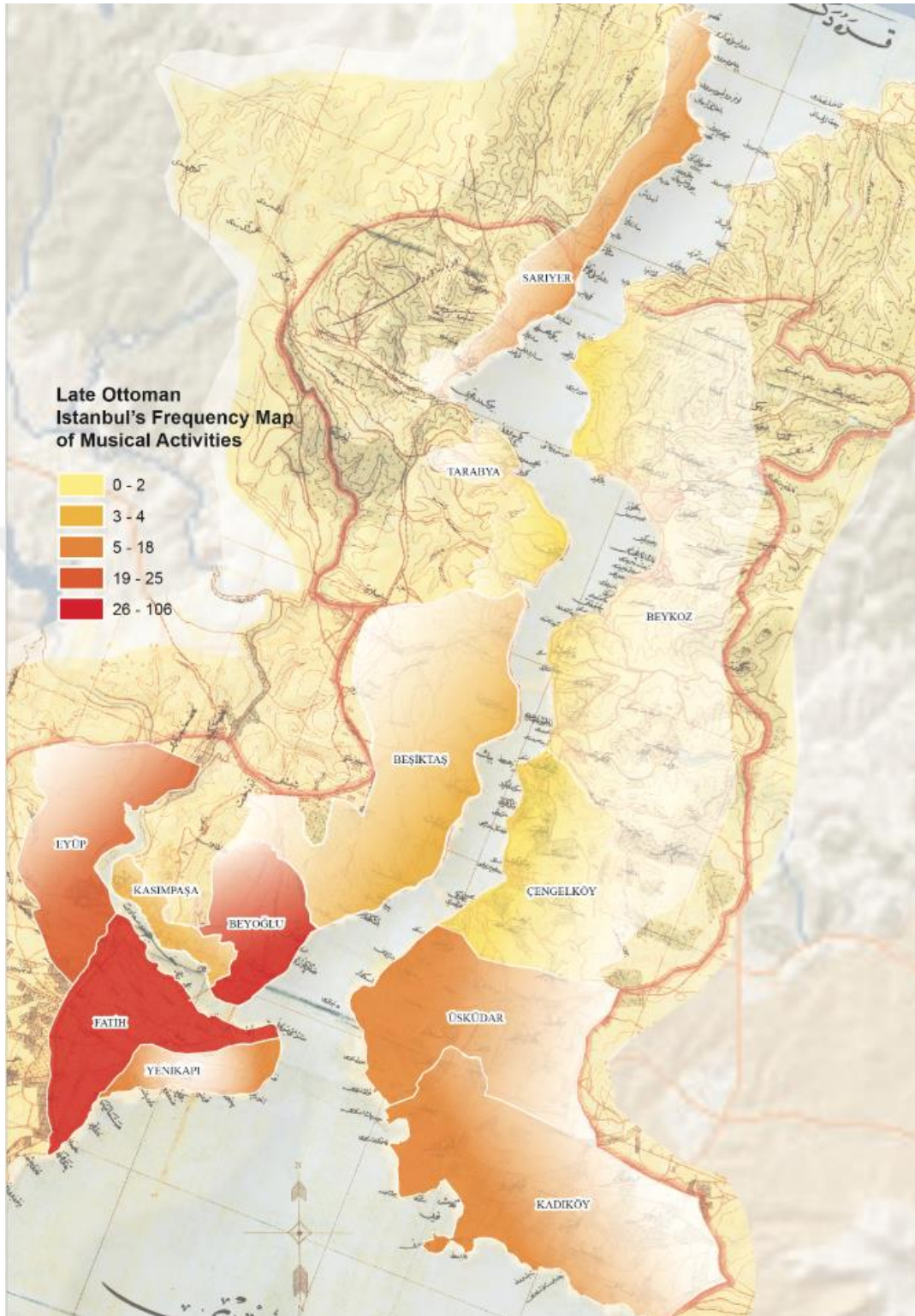
Table 4.5. Musical events of musicians in the district they resided (cross tabulation)

District Population	Musicians' Local Participation		Musician
Fatih	59	(70 %)	84
Eyüp	8	(80 %)	10
Beyoğlu	7	(87.5 %)	8
Üsküdar	13	(48 %)	27
Kadıköy	3	(37.5%)	8

Note: The district of Beşiktaş may also be added to the list since 12 out of 18 (67%) were musically active in the 6th *Daire* that included the Beyoğlu, Kurtuluş and Maçka areas, which were at a close distance.

¹³³ The study perceives the concept of "locality" to be totally music-oriented. Thereby, the term locality will refer to the musical activities in the neighborhoods, rather than dealing with the local color of music practices (stylistic differences). Issues such as mobility and the interaction of musicians will be discussed within the context of locality.

Moreover, the way of seeing the statistical outcomes would set the stage for observing the musicians' pattern of behavior at the local level and will help to understand how promising was the musical potential at each district. The musical potential means to explore the variety of musical activities as they were recorded in the sources, with which the outcome would provide a basis to argue whether one may attribute a musical character to a district. In other words, it would test the reliability of arguments, such as Üsküdar (12th Daire) seemed to produce overwhelmingly religious or *tekke*-based music, whereas music for entertainment dominated the Beyoğlu or Sarıyer district. Starting with Eyüp, my plan is to separately deal with certain neighborhoods to identify the typical and uncommon traits, as well as to reveal the musical interactions between neighborhoods.



Map 4.1. Frequency map for Istanbul's musical setting
 Source: The map is prepared by Necib Bey in 1918. ArcGIS version 10.2 and Adobe Illustrator CS6 were used to visualize the musical activity frequencies throughout the city.

4.2. Eyüp: The Sense of Locality

Musicians who resided in Eyüp (n = 10) indicate a distinct character to a certain extent that may be described as homogenous. First, they were all male and Muslims. To be noted that, the study does not claim neither non-Muslim nor female musicians have not lived in the Eyüp district. Simply put, all the non-Muslim and female musicians the study focused on were born elsewhere. Another distinction was the Sufi involvement,¹³⁴ which appeared far more frequent compared to other districts. Seven out of ten musicians in the Eyüp district were connected to a Sufi order (70 %), (see Table 4.6). The particular one was the Mevlevî order: four musicians were among its members. The comparison with other districts will reveal how high the percentage was regarding the Sufi connection.

Table 4.6. The Sufi affiliation in certain districts (cross tabulation)

Districts	Sufi musicians	Non-Muslims	Unknown ¹³⁵	Total
Fatih	25 (30.0 %)	4	55	84
Beşiktaş	5 (28.0 %)	5	5	18
Üsküdar	10 (37 %)	1	16	27

The way the district was constructed may provide an explanation to the high percentage of Sufi attachment. In fact, Eyüp district was similar to Fatih and Üsküdar districts in terms of its religious atmosphere, the dominant religious architecture and particularly the numerous Sufi lodges,¹³⁶ all of which have seemed

¹³⁴ The term “Sufi involvement” embraces a number of narratives from being a member of a Sufi order (Sheikh, dervish) to occasionally visiting a lodge (*muhibbân*). Yet, the degree of affinity is beyond the scope of this study.

¹³⁵ I tend to interpret the unknown category as closer to the negative answer. The reason is that adherence to a Sufi order is a comprehensive issue that gradually affects and puts marks on almost all aspects of life, which is more or less traceable. Musicians with Sufi connection, for instance, almost always compose hymns devoted to the order’s most influential characters as a way to manifest their devotion. The way I interpret the unknown category is valid only for this issue and not applicable to other variables.

¹³⁶ Regarding the complete list of Sufi lodges that functioned at Eyüp, their impact on the local culture, as well as the interaction among the numerous lodges in the neighborhood, see Nuran Çetin, “Eyüp Tekkeleri”, Assoc. Prof. Safi Arpaguş (Supervisor), Unpublished PhD

to influence the social life and gave the areas its character. The religious architecture takes precedence over any other issue in Artan's article that focuses on historical Eyüp. She states that the neighborhood was surrounded with numerous works of Mimar Sinan (d. 1588) that virtually made an impact on the formation of social identity.¹³⁷ Sufi lodges were another facet of the religious life in the Eyüp district, many of which functioned until 1925.¹³⁸

The biographical accounts of musicians underpin the idea that religion was an influential factor on music and thus shaped the musical practices. It is now time to analyze a couple of individual life narratives to find out how determining was the locality and religious music culture in the neighborhood.

Zeki Dede (1824-1897) composed music for Mevlevî rites (*ayîn-i şerif*), also numerous hymns. Besides, he taught music at the Ebusuud Efendi Primary School in Eyüp. His son Ahmet Irsoy (1869-1943) became a *hafız* in the Eyüp Mosque and served as imam-hatip both in the Cedid Ali Paşa and Hasib Efendi Tekkesi Mosques of Eyüp. Following the footprints of his father, he became a member of the Mevlevî order and attended the ceremonies at the Bahariye Mevlevî lodge in Eyüp as a *kudümzenbaşı*.

Thesis, SBE, Temel İslam Bilimleri Anabilim Dalı, Tasavvuf Bilim Dalı, Marmara Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 2012, pp. 395-415 and appendix.

¹³⁷ Tülay Artan, "Eyüp", *DİA*, Vol. 12, 1995, pp. 4-6.

¹³⁸ Mustafa Kara provides a list, whose author is unknown, of 260 lodges that functioned in the late Ottoman Istanbul according to the orders they were bound to: "Asitâne-i Aliyye'de ve Bilâd-ı Selâse'de Kâin El'an Mevcûd ve Muhterik Olmuş Tekkelerin İsim ve Şöhretleri ve Mukâbele-i Şerîfe Günleri Beyân Olunur", *Din Hayât Sanat Açısından Tekkeler ve Zâviyeler*, Dergâh, İstanbul, 1980, pp. 424-435.

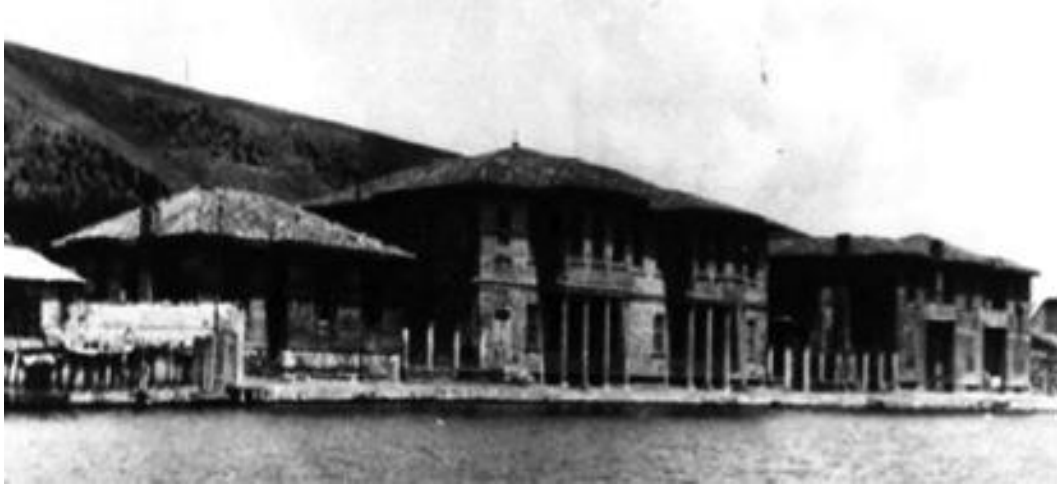


Photo 4.1. Bahariye Mevlevî Lodge in Eyüp at the beginning of the twentieth century

Source: M. Baha Tanman, “Musiki Tarihimize Önemli Yeri Olan Bahariye Mevlevihânesi’nin Tarihçesi ve Sosyokültürel Çevresi”, *Dârülelhan Mecmuası*, İÜ OMAR, İstanbul, 2017, p. 15.

I already mentioned *Eyyübî* Ali Rıza Şengel (1878-1953), whose musical character was formed by Rufaî and the Kadirî orders in the Eyüp district. In fact, the study included his father as another Eyüp-born musician. Served as a scribe in the Excise Tax Department (*Rüsûmat Emaneti*) and Ministry for Imperial Religious Foundations (*Evkaf Nezâreti*), respectively, Mehmed Cemal Efendi (1847-1916) learned music from Sheikh Rıza Efendi of Hatuniye lodge in Eyüp and Zekâî Dede. He seemed to never break off the relations with the Sufi circles, as he became the *zâkirbaşî*¹³⁹ at the Sertarikzâde and Hatuniye lodges in Eyüp and Nureddin Cerrâhî lodge in Fatih. The fact that his son continued to hold the post of *zakirbaşî* reveals the continuity of roughly half-a-century family tradition. Besides, he tirelessly wrote (notated) the music performed in the Sufi lodges. Sadeddin Heper (1899-1980) was another Eyüp born Mevlevî musician. His father was a religious functionary in the Eyüp Sultan Mosque. His home was next door to Ahmet Irsoy, who taught him Mevlevî music. He also benefited from *nayî* Hakkî Dede (? - d. 1918) at the Bahariye Mevlevî lodge in Eyüp. Being a scribe in the Ministry of Finance (*Mâliye Nezâreti*) until 1946 did not prevent him from retaining close ties with the Mevlevî culture: composed

¹³⁹ Similar to the function of a maestro in an orchestra, he conducts the audience in the course of a *zîkr* ceremony in the Sufi lodges.

hymns, Mevlevî rites and was one of the main actors in the revival of the Mevlevî ceremonies in the first half of the 1950s.¹⁴⁰

Two main clusters in Figure 4.3, one on the right and one on the left, depict precisely the situation in both districts.

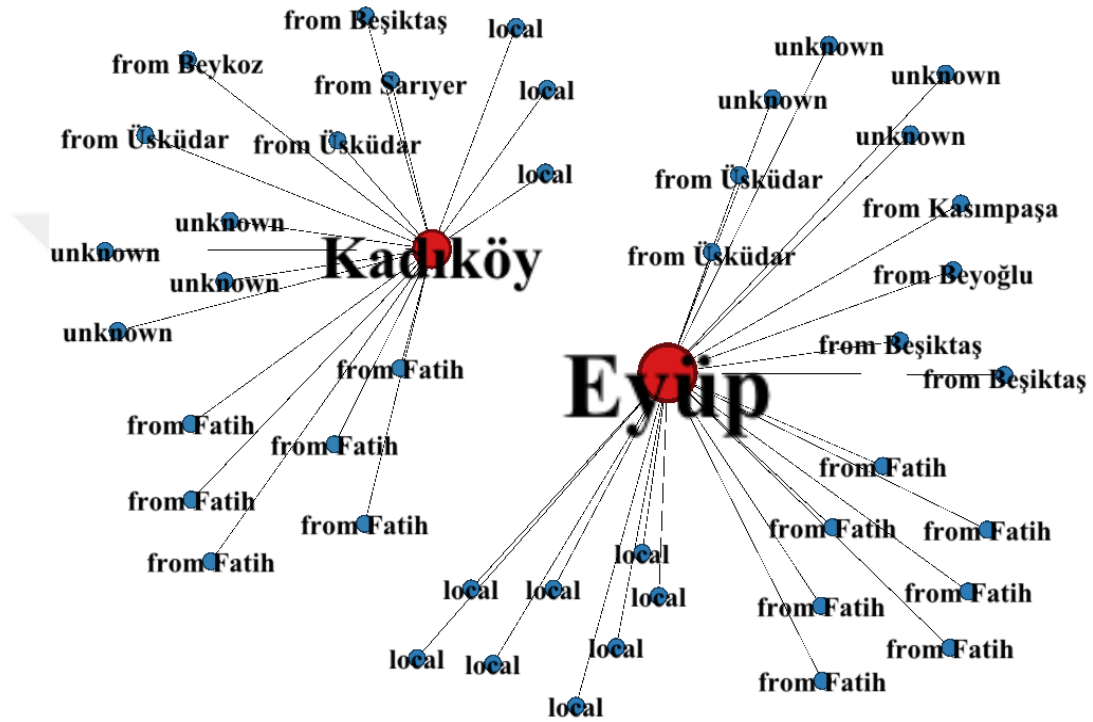


Figure 4.3. Comparison of local and visiting musicians' participation in Kadıköy and Eyüp

Kadıköy is comparable to Eyüp due to their similar musical frequencies. Eyüp had 25 overall activities, eight of which belonged to the local musicians (32 %), whereas Kadıköy's musicians were engaged in only three of 18 activities in their own neighborhood (16.6 %). The visual additionally presents visiting musicians' districts through which one may observe the musical interaction in the city.

¹⁴⁰ Yavuz Selim Ağaoğlu, *Neyzen Selami Bertuğ'un Anılarından Belgelerle Hazret-i Mevlâna'yı Anma Törenleri (1942-1974)*, Kültür A.Ş., Konya, 2013; Particularly to the role of Sadeddin Heper for the Mevlevî rituals' re-organization after about thirty years of interruption, see Burcu Sağlam, "Türk Müziğinin Hafızası: Saadeddin Heper", *Musikişinas*, No. 14, İstanbul, 2015, pp. 46-93.

All in all, musicians of Eyüp were not so monolithic. The aforementioned local occasion and the dominant Sufi/religious features did not principally shape all the Eyüp-born ones' music career. Albeit a few, there were musicians, namely as Kadri Şençalar (1912-1989) and Muzaffer İlkar (1910-1987), whose life experiences revealed distinct characters from the musicians stated above. Having said that, analyses based on the statistical outcomes cannot be blind to the widespread inclinations, though the study acknowledges disparate life patterns. The hegemony of the religious music underlined by the vigorous Sufi tradition was one solid pattern for the Eyüp district. The other typicality was the strong sense of locality. A sizeable number of musicians have maintained firm cultural ties with the neighborhood. Both factors were critical in shaping the musical output. Tables 4.4 and 4.5 elaborate on the issue from different perspectives. Comparing Kadıköy, for instance, with Eyüp in terms of musicians' strong ties with their local environment additionally support the assertion.

4.3. Üsküdar: The Composite Structure

The demographic structure of the district reflected the imperial plurality. In 1914, Üsküdar had a little over 90,000 inhabitants, of which 64 % were Muslims, 20 % were Armenians, 13 % Greek Orthodox and less than 3 % were Jews.¹⁴¹

The musicians of Üsküdar display two noticeable features in the outcome of Table 4.4 In terms of locality, the study counted overall eighteen musical activities in the district. The local musicians participated to thirteen (67 %) of them. As has been already discussed in the section above regarding the Eyüp district and displayed through Table 4.5, there also appears a strong sense of locality, which means mainly local participation in the musical events. Yet, these outcomes have to be supported by additional data. It is true that the strong sense of locality is visible for the musicians of Üsküdar in Table 4.7.

¹⁴¹ M. Hanefi Bostan, "Üsküdar", *DİA*, Vol. 42, 2012, p. 367.

Table 4.7. The density of local involvement as compared to total activities in districts (cross tabulation)

District	The Frequency of Local Involvement Activities in Total	
Üsküdar	13 (72 %)	18 (100.0 %)
Fatih	59 (56 %)	106 (100.0 %)
Eyüp	8 (32%)	25 (100.0 %)
Kadıköy	3 (17 %)	18 (100.0 %)

Interestingly, the proportion of Eyüp was somehow reduced to 32 % in the same table, though the study previously underlined the local vein in the Eyüp district (see Table 4.5). There is not a mistake of reading the outcomes; the reason that is testing the effect of different independent variables on the dependent variable in a dataset may produce conflicting outcomes on the very same issue. None of the outcomes is misleading; simply they highlight the different aspects of it. Table 4.5 searched for the percentage of local involvement in the musical events within the overall musician population. Besides, the purpose of Table 4.7 is to define the density of local involvement to the total activities in a district. The requirement necessarily counts all the activities carried out and thus the local initiative shrinks. It is the effect of other districts' musicians. Eventually, Table 4.7 may be interpreted in a way to stress how intense the interaction was in Eyüp, whereas the district of Üsküdar was to a large extent isolated due to the rare appearance of musicians from elsewhere.

The Gephi will provide one visual perspective to the issue, through which the study will be able to see the precise directions of each individual musician who resided in Üsküdar. Figure 4.4 visualizes the musical network, which provides a clear picture of individual practices. The circles in red refer to the districts (see Table 4.1). The 2nd *Daire* is Fatih, 6th is Beyoğlu and 12th is Üsküdar neighborhoods. The green and blue circles symbolize the musicians. The program automatically sets the dimensions of circles in accordance with the frequency response. The visualization is an alternative

display of the Üsküdar row in Table 4.4; however, presents the movements of individuals in further detail. For example, it portrays that Salim Bey paid visits to 2nd, 3rd and 12th districts, whereas Emin Ongan frequented to 6th and 12th districts.

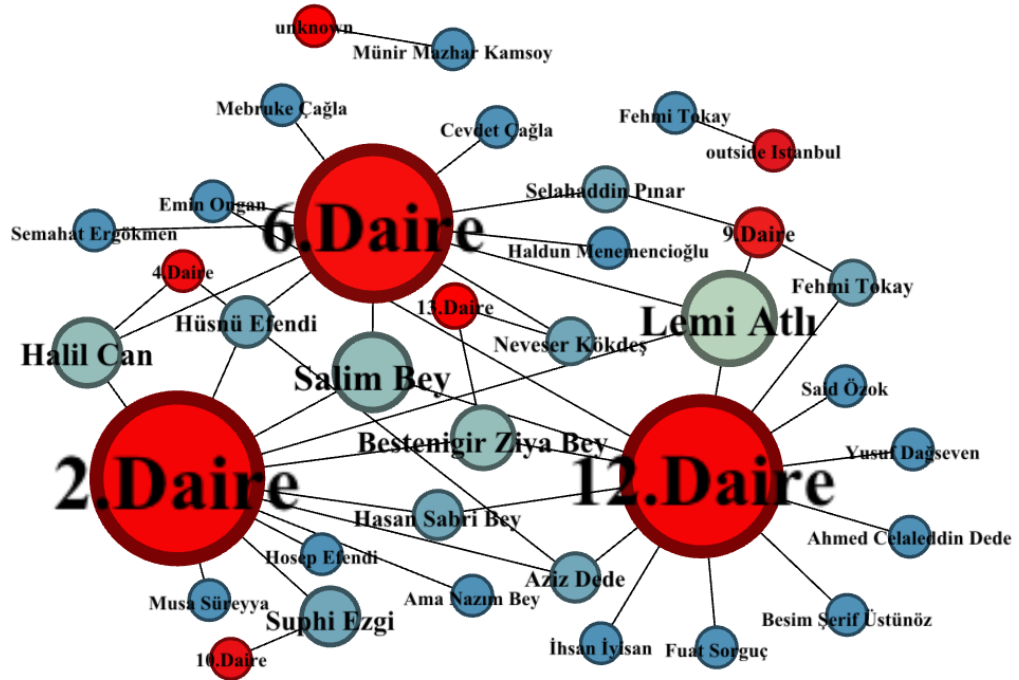


Figure 4.4. The activity directions of Üsküdar's musicians

The visualization of the musical network provides a clear picture of individual practices. The circles in red refer to the districts (see Table 4.1). The 2nd *Daire* is Fatih, 6th is Beyoğlu and 12th is Üsküdar neighborhoods. The green and blue circles symbolize the musicians. The program automatically sets the dimensions of circles in accordance with the frequency response. The visualization is an alternative display of the Üsküdar row in the Table 4; however, presents the movements of individuals in further detail. For example, it portrays that Salim Bey paid visits to 2nd, 3rd and 12th districts, whereas Emin Ongan frequented to 6th and 12th districts.

From the standpoint of Üsküdar's musicians, the term isolation still needs reconsideration. It is true that Üsküdar did not generally welcome musicians of other districts as we see in the Tables 4.4 and 4.7, and the local musicians ultimately

dominated the musical events. The statement does not necessarily mean that the musicians of Üsküdar were hesitant to move outside. Rather, they frequented other districts in much higher percentages than they participated in local events. In fact, Üsküdar's musicians were the most mobile musicians of all. Table 4.8 will first highlight the percentages of local participation (local), later the frequency of the same musicians who joined the events beyond the borders of their neighborhoods (elsewhere) and finally the overall number of musical activities at certain districts. Indeed, Table 4.8 is designed to indicate the behavior patterns of musicians who resided in Fatih, Eyüp and Beyoğlu districts, which are very similar.

Table 4.8. Musicians' local music activities compared to the outside activities (cross tabulation)

Musicians' Districts	Participation			Total
	Local	Elsewhere	Unknown	
Fatih	59 (51 %)	48 (41 %)	9 (8 %)	116
Eyüp	8 (53 %)	7 (47 %)		15
Beyoğlu	7 (58 %)	5 (42 %)		12
Üsküdar	13 (28.9 %)	31 (68.9 %)	1 (2.2 %)	45
Kadıköy	3 (27.2 %)	7 (63.7 %)	1 (9.1)	11

They were part of the musical events both at the local level and elsewhere almost in similar proportions. The musicians of Üsküdar and Kadıköy, whose musical directions were towards other districts in greater proportions, maintained the opposite position. The statements, while strongly entailing uniformity in the behavior patterns, do not say much about the factors behind this. Outlining the patterns is one of the principal aims of this study, yet the complex and many-sided individual life narratives, which simply generate those patterns, are also extremely important. Even though Fatih, Eyüp and Beyoğlu revealed similar types of behavior, the biographical accounts emphasize the local nuances and the variety of motivations for behaving in a particular way.

Although Table 4.6 indicated ten Sufi musicians for Üsküdar; there is not a discrepancy between the two sets of figures; as the footnote 134 clarified the degree of affinity. The Sufis may also be added to the music-based group as music was inherent in the profession. İhsan İyisan (1873-1946), for instance, was inside the Sufi musician group, but his life was not reducible to one category. He was born and grew up in the Nalçacı Halil Efendi Sufi lodge (the *Şabaniyye* branch of *Halvetî* order) in Üsküdar, where his musical character developed. He held the post of sheikh in the very same lodge between 1910 and 1925 after his father and older brother passed away. Meanwhile, he served in the Imperial Office of Land Registry (*Defter-i Hakanî*) for a short time; however, the official records do not tell much about it. Hence, what we know about his other employment is less than complete. İyisan is included into the Sufi group not just because we have limited information about his career, but also the bureaucratic milieu was, at best, of minor importance in his life. Said Özok (1855-1945) is another case in point. He was born in the Saffetî Paşa lodge in Üsküdar. His father was the sheikh of the lodge, and had succeeded to his father. He is not in the Sufi group due to his more profound involvement in official service. Özok has served for more than forty years in the Ministry of Military Affairs (*Bâb-ı Seraskeri*, it was renamed as *Harbiye Nezâreti* in 1908) and thus his life accounts contain more related material. Reducing them into one category seems to flatten the peculiarities; however, I would use these rich life samples in the related arguments. Aziz Dede (1835? -1905) was a Üsküdar based ney player, whose mobility frequency resembled very much to the pattern of the music-based ones' group. His musical map tells that he constantly participated in the musical events throughout the city, being the *ser-nayî* of three Mevlevî lodges, namely Üsküdar, Galata (Kulekapısı) in Beyoğlu and Bahariye in Eyüp (Figure 4.3).

The aim of questioning the real income source of musicians is to connect it to a range of issues, such as the musicians' mobility, differentiation in music spaces and their approaches to music. The latter is related to the financial aspect of music, however the way the question is asked implies the perception of music by musicians.

Two main camps come to the fore in Table 4.9. First, musicians for whom music was not the chief source of income were Ottoman civil servants. To compare the occupational distribution among the 10 musicians of Eyüp, only two musicians earned money out of music, while three were state officials and two were religious functionaries. The other three were a teacher, a Sheikh, and a merchant.

Table 4.9. The real income source of Üsküdar's musicians

	Frequency	Percent
Music	6	22.2
Official Functionary	8	29.6
Religious Functionaries	1	3.7
Teacher (non-music)	1	3.7
Sheikh/Dervish	3	11.1
Doctor, Pharmacist	2	7.4
Engineer	1	3.7
Solicitor	1	3.7
Other	3	11.1
Unknown	1	3.7
TOTAL	27	100.0

In fact, the characteristic, which is clearly seen in Table 4.9 that deals merely with Üsküdar, principally encompasses almost all aspects of this study. In more general terms, musicians under study have generated two principal categories; musicians whose main or primary source of income is music and the musicians who did not earn a living out of music. Musicians who served in the government posts were overwhelmingly represented in the latter group. Claiming that the second group never received money is not possible, the matter is whether they solely depended on music or not.

In the process of categorizing musicians' behaviors, I observed certain differences but also similarities in terms of musical practices particularly between Üsküdar's musicians whose chief source of income was music and musicians that served in public offices. Bestenigâr Ziya Bey (1877-1923), who retired from the the Ministry of

Military Affairs in 1916, worked as a music teacher at the *Şark* Music School, Üsküdar Music School and in *Dâr'ül-Elhân* Conservatory. Besides, he offered private classes to the members of prosperous families, as he was known as *hoca* due to his active involvement in music teaching. One encounters his name in many musician biographies as a regular attendant of musical gatherings, *meşks*, in various locations. I have already mentioned Hasan Sabri Bey's name (1868-1922), when discussing musicians' mobility in the city. However, now I will discuss his musical activities. Shortly after retiring from the Ministry of Education (*Maârif Nezâreti*) in 1909, music became his focal point. He offered private music teaching and taught music in the *Dârü't-Talîm-i Musikî* in Fatih. Lemi Atlı (1870-1945) is another musician case from bureaucracy. He served for almost twenty years in the Ministry of Interior (*Dahiliye Nezâreti*), Ministry of Police (*Zabtiye Nezâreti*), and also worked for *Takvim-i Vekâyi'*, which was a state funded newspaper, until his retirement in 1908. The biographical accounts do not provide much information about the latter part of his life, particularly on the period from his retirement to his death in 1945. All we know is he taught music at the *Şark* Music School in Kadıköy for a short while and continued to attend musical gatherings at various neighborhoods.¹⁴²

There were Üsküdar's musicians whose sole income was derived from music. Amâ Nazım Bey (1884-1920) was a lifetime music teacher, who worked at many schools. He taught music at the *Musikî-i Osmanî* School in Fatih between 1910-1912 and *Dârü't-Talîm-i Musikî* School from 1912 onwards. Yet he was the founder and the teacher of the *İnas Musikî* School. Selahaddin Pınar (1902-1960) was one of the founders of *Dârü'l-Feyz-i Musikî* School (1918) in Üsküdar. He spent much of his life performing in music halls (*gazinós*), yet he signed recording contracts for the songs he composed. Fuad Sorguç (1904-1970) taught tanbur, played on stage and hence solely depended on music to get by throughout his life.¹⁴³

¹⁴² Ebubekir Hazım Tepeyran, *Canlı Tarihler*, No. 6, Türkiye Yayınevi, Ankara, 1947, p. 139.

¹⁴³ Fuat Sorguç gave an interview about his life and music career. I would like to thank to Celal Şalçını to provide this audio record.

Though we do not know much about whether Pinar has attended any house gathering, it was a habit for Amâ Nazım Bey and Fuad Sorguç.

Üsküdar's entertainment places where music was performed among other artistic forms present a contrast to the way the neighborhood was generally depicted in literature. In one of his novels, Gürpınar describes the neighborhood as destitute, ordinary, frozen in time, oriental. Mosques, Sufi lodges, religious schools came to forefront in such a way that Üsküdar was established for spiritual rather than material happiness.¹⁴⁴ I suppose that the construction of an indivisible and uniform social structure conceals the neighborhood's multifaceted character. Furthermore, describing it in an idealized fashion seemed to have an impact on the scholarship that emphasizes the religious but particularly the Islamic character of it.¹⁴⁵ The contemporary accounts provide evidences that the neighborhood was socially more complex and hence had much more to offer than the way it was represented. Even though Eyüp and Üsküdar had similarities regarding the dominant Sufi lodge-based music, the latter's musical atmosphere was much more diverse than Eyüp. In accordance with the related advertisements compiled by Kalender, Üsküdar's entertainment places might be divided into three groups: Theatres, coffee houses (*semaî kahve*), and picnic areas (*mesire*).

¹⁴⁴ "... Adım başında minareleri, kubbeleri, damlarıyla gözleri karşılayan hesapsız camiler, mescitler, tekkeler, medreseler görürsünüz. Hayattan çok ölüme ayrılmış bir memleket..." Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, *Ölüm Bir Kurtuluş mudur?*, Everest Publishing, İstanbul, 2010, p. 41, quoted from Fatih Ordu, "Toplumsal Bir Bellek Olarak Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar'ın İstanbul'u", Asst. Prof. Şeyma Büyüksavaş Kuran (Supervisor), Unpublished PhD Thesis, Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi, SBE, Yeni Türk Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı, Samsun, 2013, pp. 126-27.

¹⁴⁵ Articles submitted to Üsküdar Symposiums, which has been organized by Üsküdar Municipality since 2003 is one good example of it. The majority of the articles that were published are related with the Ottoman and Islamic heritage of Üsküdar. All the published articles from the first symposiums to the last one are open to public view, see <http://www.uskudarsempozyumu.com/tr/sempozyum/pages/sempozyum-pdfleri/334> (accessed on 9 November 2017).

Table 4.10. Places in which music was performed in Üsküdar between 1895-1916 (quoted from Kalender)

Head Musician	District	Place	Other Musicians
Tahsin Efendi	Üsküdar	Not given	-
Mehmet Efendi	Üsküdar	Selimiye, Hamam Coffee House	Hanende Şükrü
Hasan Bey	Üsküdar	Hayalhâne-i Osmanî Company	Kemençeci Ağabey
Hakkı Efendi	Üsküdar	Kısıklı Mesiresi (Picnic Area)	Arif Efendi
Hasan Bey	Üsküdar	Bulgurlu Mesiresi	-
Şevki Bey	Üsküdar	Bağlarbaşı Theatre ¹⁴⁶	-
Şevki Bey	Üsküdar	Bağlarbaşı Theatre	-
Bülbüli Salih	Üsküdar	Küçük Çamlıca Mesiresi	Udi Cemil Bey
Bülbüli Salih	Üsküdar	Küçük Çamlıca Mesiresi	-
No name	Üsküdar	Bağlarbaşı Theatre	-
No name	Üsküdar	İcadiye, Theatre	-
No name	Üsküdar	Paşakapısı, Millî Osmanî Theatre	-
No name	Üsküdar	Paşakapısı, Dilküşâ Theatre	-
No name	Üsküdar	İcadiye, Theatre	-

Without claiming that the collected advertisements covered every single music activity at Üsküdar but it helps to catch a glimpse of it. The initial impression from advertisements is that the role of music in these programs seemed to be secondary and complementary. For instance, if the drama was not musical, which combines songs, dialogues and dance, then music was generally performed during a theatre interval. Many advertisements explicitly stated that music was performed during

¹⁴⁶ For further on the Dilküşâ and Bağlarbaşı (Beyleryan or Beyleroğlu) Theatres, see Mehmet Nermi Haskan, *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Üsküdar*, Vol. 3, Üsküdar Municipality Publishing, 2001, pp. 1297-1305.

the intervals. However, the theatres were indeed functioning as concert places. Musicians hired them to perform due to the lack of specifically built spaces for music performance.¹⁴⁷

Regarding the picnic areas (*mesire*) it seems that visiting those places was one habitual practice for the city dwellers. First of all, it was seasonal; starting around May and lasting until the autumn. People frequented open-air spaces for many reasons, which cannot be merely reduced to leisure activities. The practice might be defined as one of the means of socialization, in which city dwellers interacted with others. The literature on these informal gatherings explains the unwritten rules of it. The determining force seemed to be the social status. The wealthier attended with an entourage that also included musicians and mostly stayed overnight. Many of the ordinary dwellers gathered around to follow the display. In fact, these informal gatherings provided an opportunity for the higher-ranking people to be seen by the public.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ *Kadıköy'de Apollon tiyatrosunda ince saz takımınca ahenk. Yöneten: Kemanî Aşkî Efendi* (ikdam 7.5.1914 and 13.5.1914), quoted from Kalender, p. 436.

¹⁴⁸ Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey, *Eski Zamanlarda İstanbul Hayatı*, Ali Rıza Çoruk (ed.), Kitabevi, İstanbul, 2011, pp. 119-123; Fakiye Özsoysal, Metin Balay, *Geleceğe Perde Açan Gelenek: Geçmişten Günümüze İstanbul Tiyatroları*, Vol. III: *Anadolu Yakası*, YKY, İstanbul, 2011, pp. 253-57; Sermet Muhtar Alus, *İstanbul Kazan Ben Kepçe*, Necdet Sakaoğlu (ed.), İletişim, İstanbul, 1995, pp. 185-191.



Photo 4.2. The Sweet Waters of Kağıthane, Abdullah Frères, ca. 1890

Source: Bahattin Öztuncay, *Vasilaki Kargopulo: Hazret-i Padişâhî'nin Serfotoğrafi*, BOS, İstanbul, 2000, p. 58.

Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar narrates the culture of following or escorting the people of importance in the Kağıthane and Göksu streams. Similar to the picnic areas, the crowd was set in a row right behind the boat of musicians to listen the live performances. Hisar states that the dignitaries' derived pleasure and satisfaction from gathering the best musicians for the public. It seems there was a fierce competition among the notables to hire the renowned musicians. Another unwritten rule was that the notable who organized the music event would never sail with the musicians' boat but follow them from a distance.¹⁴⁹ After all, open-air organizations could not be restricted to the type explained above. In accordance with Table 10, which provides details, theatre companies undertook the

¹⁴⁹ Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, *Boğaziçi Yalıları*, Varlık, İstanbul, 1954, pp. 22-23; Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, *Boğaziçi Mehtapları*, YKY, İstanbul, 2010, pp. 46-49, 66-67. Ahmet Rasim narrates the gathering of boats behind the musicians and explains it in more detail. However, the boat trip takes place in the Kağıthane brook, see *Dünkü İstanbul'da Hovardalık: Fuş-i Atik*, Arba, İstanbul, 1987, pp. 61-68.

responsibility of the entertainment. The private or company-owned enterprises were all-inclusive: From hiring the place, employing artists and musicians to promoting the programs by advertising. It appears that the principal driving force was theater, whereas music was secondary. Some programs also provided comic entertainers and acrobats.

Considering those with coffee houses, their programs may be defined as the most music-oriented. Musicians generally performed *fasıl* programs without interruption. It appears that musicians played all year around but the peak was during the month of Ramadan. Some coffee houses were known for their musical quality. Indeed, the quality of music was related with the social status of frequenters. In other words, the more esteemed the clients were, the more renown the musicians.¹⁵⁰ *Fevziye* Coffee House in Şehzadebaşı, Fatih was a typical example of it. The place functioned almost as a concert hall at the turn of the twentieth century. The *fasıl* programs were performed by respected names, such as Tatyos Efendi, Vasilaki Efendi, Udi Cemil Bey and Lemi Atlı.¹⁵¹ However, coffee houses were not the property of musicians. They had to share the space with others. Theatre companies hired them to meet the public. The performers of the shadow theatre (*hayâl-i zıl*), public storytellers (*meddâhs*) and illusionist (*hokkabazes*) were also being staged in the coffee houses. After all, none of these traditional performing ways could be considered distant artistic forms. They rather benefited from each other and hence reinforced their artistic outputs. Briefly, music is one of the essentials of the shadow theatre, in which the person behind the curtain (*hayâlî*) has to sing pieces both from “classical” and folk repertoires while narrating the story. Probably, the very same musicians helped in the musical parts.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ Sermet Muhtar Alus, *İstanbul Kazan, Ben Kepçe: Eski Kiraathaneler*, Akşam, 28 Kanun-ı evvel 1938, quoted from Reyhan Elmas Keleş, “Sermet Muhtar Alus'un Eserlerinde Sosyal Meseleler”, Assoc. Prof. Muhammet Gür (Supervisor), Unpublished PhD Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 2009, p. 64.

¹⁵¹ Bekir Tosun, “Direklerarası”, *DİA*, Vol. 9, 1994, pp. 367-68; Salâh Birsal, *Kahveler Kitabı*, Koza Yayınları, İstanbul, 1975, pp. 101-119.

¹⁵² Hayali Küçük Ali, “Eskiden Karagöz Nasıl Oynatılırdı?”, *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Vol. 6, No. 140, 1961, pp. 2239-2240; Cevdet Kudret provides the list of song-text

I suppose that Üsküdar reflected the colorful musical character of the Ottoman state. Though Gürpınar emphasized the religious Üsküdar, I found the idea that the neighborhood was pious or as pious as Eyüp is rather controversial since the outcomes indicate a more varied musical structure. The existence of religious-based music enhanced by countless Sufi lodges was almost identical for Üsküdar. The pattern resembled that of Eyüp. Nevertheless, the neighborhood cannot be reduced to that. It was socially more diverse, which was manifested by vibrant music life: Sufi circles on the one hand, music schools, theater companies, coffee houses and outdoor activities, on the other, bore traces both from Eyüp, as well as from Beyoğlu. Sermet Muhtar Alus and Ahmet Rasim explicitly emphasized this complexity in their narratives.

4.4. Beyoğlu or an Essential Tour from Pera to Galata

Though Beyoğlu district (6th Daire) at the turn of the twentieth century covers the areas such as Maçka to Kurtuluş and Tophane to Galata, Pera and particularly *Cadde-i Kebir* (Grand Rue de Péra) come to the fore. There are certain reasons behind this diagnosis. The overall non-Muslim populace, the very existence of the Western diplomatic agents, the non-Muslim dominated business owners,¹⁵³ and the operations of the 6th District through which the area is considered to be the most Westernized part of the Ottoman Istanbul.¹⁵⁴ In addition to that, abundant

collections (*güfte mecmûaları*), that contained the songs played in the shadow theatres. These collections were published after the second half of the nineteenth century, *Karagöz*, Bilgi Yayınevi, 1968, p. 60; Cevdet Kudret, *Ortaoyunu*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, Ankara, 1973, pp. 52-59; Ethem Ruhi Üngör, *Karagöz Musikisi*, Kültür Bakanlığı, Ankara, 1989; Ethem Ruhi Üngör, "Karagöz Musikisi", *Karagöz Kitabı*, Sevgül Sönmez (ed.), Kitabevi, İstanbul, 2005, pp. 91-97.

¹⁵³ Naum Duhanî's detailed depiction of the area covers not only the histories of buildings but also their inhabitants. Nevertheless, the narrated Beyoğlu was inhabited by people of wealth and status, *Eski İnsanlar Eski Evler: XIX. Yüzyılda Beyoğlu'nun Sosyal Topografisi*, (trans. Cemal Süreyya), Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1982.

¹⁵⁴ The 6th Municipality of Paris was the source of motivation as well as the role model for the ways Sixth Municipality of Beyoğlu (founded in 1857) operated. See the list of the works and services provided by the Municipality of Beyoğlu from the outset, Özdemir Kaptan (Arkan), *Beyoğlu (Kısa geçmişi, argosu)*, İletişim, İstanbul, 1988, pp. 126-127; Nur Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, Literatür, İstanbul, 2011, pp. 97-121; related with the general principals of the Sixth Municipality of Beyoğlu, see Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i*

historical material related with Pera dominates the historiography, and hence marginalizes the Muslim dominated parts as well as the more ordinary non-Muslim inhabitants' history.¹⁵⁵

Beyoğlu underwent serious changes in terms of its architectural and demographic structures from the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the Early Republican years. The frequent fires that destroyed the residential areas and the lives of people was the significant factor conducive to the physical change. Yet, the public construction plans, which was partially related with fire damages, paved the way for opening new roads, the arrangement of older living spaces and the transformation of cemeteries into green spaces and residential areas. Thereby, the predominantly wooden-made residences in the district were replaced by brick and stone (*kagir*) made buildings.¹⁵⁶ Regarding the demography of the district, the predominant non-Muslim populace has disappeared gradually and the structure has changed in favor of Muslim inhabitants by the turn of the twentieth century.¹⁵⁷ Even though non-Muslim residents diminished gradually, the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the district seemed to remain in place until the late 1920s. Cezar

Umûr-ı Belediyeye, Vol. 3, İBB Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1995, pp. 1307-1343.

¹⁵⁵ Debates on the changing perceptions towards Beyoğlu from the turn of the twentieth century to the modern times are discussed by Ethem Eldem, "Ottoman Galata and Pera Between Myth and Reality", in *From "milieu de mémoire" to "lieu de mémoire", The Cultural Memory of Istanbul in the 20th century*, Ulrike Tischler (ed.), München: M. Meidenbauer, 2006, pp. 19-36; In a similar framework, Çağlar Keyder analyses the perception of Istanbul through the rising elites of High Republican period (1923-1950) lived in Ankara. The new policy that was fully based on nationalist sentiments regarded the still multiethnic structure of the city as impure. The city was a remnant of the past that could still carry the spirit of the generated empire, "The Setting", in *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*, Çağlar Keyder (ed.), Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., New York, 1999, pp. 3-28.

¹⁵⁶ Nur Akın, "Beyoğlu", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 2, Kültür Bakanlığı & Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul, 1994, pp. 212-218; *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, pp. 99, 124-126, and 297-312.

¹⁵⁷ According to Cezar, the non-Muslim population has decreased from 190,000 to 127,863, whereas the number of Muslim inhabitants increased from 125,000 to 145,990 in Beyoğlu in a period of time from 1886 to 1935, *XIX. Yüzyıl Beyoğlusu*, Ak, İstanbul, 1991, pp. 357.

stated that the decrease of the non-Muslim population in the district started first with the abolishment of the capitulations by the Treaty of Lozan in 1923. Not only the foreigners but also their non-Muslim local partners gradually left the city. Yet the moving of the foreign embassies that were predominantly located in Beyoğlu to the new capital of the Republic between 1927 and 1929 had an impact on the cultural transformation of the district.¹⁵⁸

From the standpoint of music, the method of grasping the musical character of the district through the musicians who resided there is likely to yield poor returns. The reason is the small number of musicians who resided in the Beyoğlu district. Only eight musicians lived there. Therefore, the practice of grasping the local vein through the local musicians' activities, which I sought for Eyüp and Üsküdar districts, is not applicable for Beyoğlu. But I suggest that the musicians that poured from other districts to Beyoğlu for a range of musical activities is fundamental to understand the musical character of the neighborhood.

Tables 4.3 and 4.4 indicate the flow of musicians into the Beyoğlu district from elsewhere. Indeed, it is only the Fatih district that slightly superseded Beyoğlu in terms of overall activities. These two districts are critical to further improve our knowledge on the late Ottoman music world as they both attracted musicians from all around the city and were the places of various music organizations. From the standpoint of the state, these two districts were regarded as first-rate places in the city in 1908 and thus more tax were imposed to places that provided events such as theatres and music performances in these two districts.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ *ibid*, pp. 446-447.

¹⁵⁹ "Çalgı ve Lu'biyât Ruhsatıyeleri Tarifesi (Sekizinci madde): "Galata, Beyoğlu ve Şehzâdebaşı ve yaz mevsiminde Boğaziçi ve Çırcır suyu gibi şerefli mahaller birinci ve bu yerlere nisbeten şerefi olmayan mahaller ikinci ve ücrâ yerlerdeki kaba çalgıcı esnafı üçüncü sınıf itibar olunmuştur", Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umûr-ı Belediye*, Vol. 4, İBB Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, İstanbul, 1995, pp. 1997-2000.

Table 4.11. Overall musical activities in the city

Place of residence	Frequency	Percent
Fatih	106	31.8
Beyoğlu	102	30.5
Rest (unknowns included)	126	37.7
TOTAL	334	100.0

Eleven (n = 11) activities happened outside Istanbul is not included.

Besides, before dealing with the particular music organizations and performances held at Beyoğlu, the Gephi visualization will portray the musicians' locations from which they mostly frequented the Beyoğlu district. The general rule for the visual is the more the interaction the bigger the circles. Regarding to the musicians' mobility in the city, Beyoğlu welcomed musicians from almost every other neighborhood. This characteristic only shared with Fatih in similar proportions. Thereby, both Beyoğlu and Fatih districts lie at the heart of the city music even though both possessed distinct features. Despite that, many of the features are not comparable, partly due to the unequal musician populace these two districts possessed (see Table 4.1).

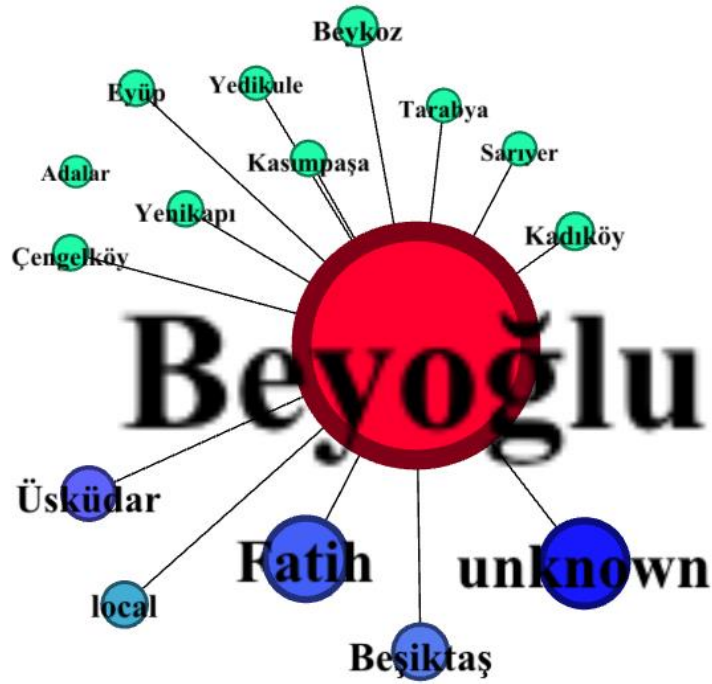


Figure 4.5. The location of musicians who made music in the Beyoğlu district

Musicians of Fatih, Beşiktaş and Üsküdar paid more frequent visits to Beyoğlu respectively. The precise numbers and frequency are already given in Table 4.4. With the help of Gephi that additionally visualizes these networks, it becomes easy to grasp the data. Musicians who visited Beyoğlu under the unknown title are also the musicians whose precise locations I could not identify.

In terms of music patterns, three types of musical activities appear to be vital in the Beyoğlu district: Performing music in its innumerable music halls and theatres that offered singing, dancing, acrobatics and comedy (see Table 4.12). Secondly, performing religious music mainly in the Galata (Kulekapısı) Mevlevî lodge but also in other Sufi lodges in the area. Thirdly, the growing industry of the sound recording, many of the companies operated in the district right after the turn of the twentieth century. To noted that, Sirkeci and Vezneciler were the alternative

centers of sound recording business.¹⁶⁰ There is a scholarly interest in and a growing literature on the subject matter due to its association with the technological impact on music, the changing patterns of music consumption, the expansion of the music market, etc., right after the turn of the twentieth century (see footnote 7 in Chapter 1). It seems that there was not a clear line of demarcation between these patterns. Although Sufî in origin, Gavsî Baykara and Hayrî Tümer are two figures whose life stories contained various types of music makings from radio performances to concerts in abroad and from attending Mevlevî ceremonies to engaging in the sound recording companies. Sebilci Hüseyin's (1894-1975) biography reveals similar patterns: He was a Sufi musician who was raised and educated by his uncle, Mustafa Hilmi Safî Efendi (1881-1960), the Sheikh of *Uşşakî* lodge in Kasımpaşa. When the Sufi lodges were banned in 1925, he got involved in the music business and hence music provided the income needed for his subsistence. Performed in Istanbul, Izmir and Ankara for more than two decades, made sound recordings particularly of a religious music, and was involved actively in the film industry as a singer.

Nevertheless, not all the Sufi musicians were participants of different types of music activities stated above. Ataullah Efendi (1842-1910) was born into a sheikh family. His father, Kudretullah Dede (d. 1872), was the sheikh of Yenikapı Mevlevî lodge. Ataullah Dede had been the sheikh of the Galata Mevlevî lodge since 1871 when he died in 1910. Ahmed Celaledin Dede was assigned to his post and would be the last official sheikh in the Galata when the Sufi lodges ceased to operate in 1925. The book called *Sonometren*, was built on his experiments to explain scientifically the intervals within the Ottoman *makam* music. Indeed, it contributed to the studies of the Committee to Classification and Fixing [of Historical "Turkish" Music], (*Tasnif ve Tesbit Heyeti*) which was founded in 1926.¹⁶¹ The committee operated under the

¹⁶⁰ Cemal Ünlü, *Git Zaman Gel Zaman: fonograf – gramofon – taş plak*, p. 90-91; Selçuk Alimdar, *Osmanlı'da Batı Müziği*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2016, pp. 299-305.

¹⁶¹ Thierry Zarcone claims that Ataullah Dede's scientific interests seemed to be related with his friendly connections with the Anglo-Saxon masons, through which he was introduced to non-Muslim elites of Pera and Galata. The Bulwar (Masonic) Lodge in Pera

Ministry of Education (*Maarif Nezâreti*) and the aim was to preserve (in staff notation) the Ottoman music in general but the religious repertoire in particular.¹⁶²



Photo 4.3. Sheikh Ataullah Dede posed with his dervishes in front of Galata Mevlevî Lodge at Beyoğlu before 1910

Source: *le grand tour II: Constantinoble 1905. Fotografies d'Antoni Amatller a Turquia*, Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic, 2006, p. 63.

Emin Yazıcı (1881-1945), as another Sufi musician, whose habitual music practices I already mentioned in terms of geographical placement in the city, resided in the Tophane part of the Beyoğlu district. His biographical material tells that the Mevlevî order shaped his musical character in most cases. Mehmet Sabri Bey (Tophaneli) (1848-1914) was also a Mevlevî dervish. Presumably, he personally knew Emin

was at a close distance to the Mevlevî lodge, “Şeyh Mehmed Ataullah Dede (1842-1910) and the Mevlevîhâne of Galata: An Intellectual and Spritual Bridge Between the East and the West”, *The Dervishes of Sovereignty – The Sovereignty of Dervishes. The Mevlevî Order in Istanbul*, Ekrem Işın (ed.), Istanbul Research Institute, 2007, pp. 64.

¹⁶² Rauf Yekta, “Mukaddeme”, in *Türk Musikisi Klasiklerinden İlahiler*, Rauf Yekta Bey, Zekaizade Ahmet Bey, Ali Rifat Çağatay (eds.), Vol. 1, İstanbul Konservatuarı Neşriyatı, İstanbul, 1931, pp. III-VIII.

Yazıcı since both served in the government jobs –albeit in different offices, both were Mevlevî dervishes and both again lived in the same neighborhood in the roughly overlapping time period. Nevertheless, his life accounts reveal that he regularly attended the Mevlevî ceremonies held at the Bahariye Mevlevî lodge at Eyüp, rather than the Galata lodge, which the latter was walking distance from his residence.

Regarding the Beyoğlu's entertainment places is that they differ clearly from the ones in Üsküdar. In terms of spaces, where the music was heard, theatres, coffee houses and picnic areas were common in Üsküdar, whereas music halls and taverns formed the majority in Beyoğlu. Theaters were common in both neighborhoods. The theatres, at least for the ones in Beyoğlu, need to be explored further due to their unrecognizable position. Concordia Theatre, founded in 1871, for instance, was a complex that extended into a large area on *Cadde-i Kebir*. It contained two halls; each was used seasonally. Various groups but mainly the ones with the repertoire of Italian operetta were on stage. Duhanî states that due to its non-Ottoman owner, the place was legally untouchable by the local authorities, and in its inner halls it provided the customers with a range of illicit goods and services like gambling and drugs. Ironically enough, Concordia would put itself in order in the course of Ramadan, during which traditional Ottoman theatre (*ortaoyunu*) and music were performed. Hasan Efendi and Aşkî Efendi's *fasıl* groups, whose names are indicated in Table 15, probably performed music here during the Ramadan periods. What's more, after six years from its closing date, a religious building was constructed over its ruins in 1912, namely St. Antoine Catholic Church.¹⁶³

¹⁶³ Yavuz Pekman, Metin Balay, *Geleceğe Perde Açan Gelenek: Geçmişten Günümüze İstanbul Tiyatroları*, Vol. II: *Beyoğlu, Şişli, Beşiktaş ve Çevresi*, YKY, İstanbul, 2011, pp. 59-62; Indeed, Sermet Muhtar Alus was amazed with this sharp change, see Sermet Muhtar Alus, *İstanbul Kazan Ben Keççe*, pp. 34-35; Said N. Duhanî, *Beyoğlu'nun Adı Pera İken*, Nihan Önel (trans.), Çelik Gülersoy Vakfı, İstanbul Kütüphanesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1990, p. 71 and p. 75. Meanwhile, the official website of the church does not mention the anecdote while giving a detailed account of its own history, <http://www.sentantuan.com/kilisemiz/tarih/>

Table 4.12. A list of places where music was performed at Beyoğlu between 1895 and 1916 (quoted from Kalender)

Head Musician	District	Place	Other Musicians
Zafiraki	Beyoğlu	Galata Beer House ¹⁶⁴	-
Hasan Efendi	Beyoğlu	Concordiya Theatre	-
Aşki Efendi	Beyoğlu	Concordiya Theatre	-
Hafız Efendi	Beyoğlu	Yorgancı Garden	-
Anastas	Beyoğlu	Eftalopos Music Hall	Sarı Onnik ¹⁶⁵
Hacı Karabet Efendi	Beyoğlu	Pangaltı Gülistan Garden Theatre	-
Bülbülî Salih	Beyoğlu	Galata Harbour Garden	-
Afet Efendi	Beyoğlu	Pangaltı Afropoli Music Hall	Kemanî Lambo ¹⁶⁶
Anastas	Beyoğlu	Royal Music Hall	Kanunî Şemsi ¹⁶⁷
Memduh Efendi	Beyoğlu	Eftalopos Music Hall	Udî Afet ¹⁶⁸
Anastas	Beyoğlu	Aynalı Music Hall	Oseb ¹⁶⁹
Ethem Efendi	Beyoğlu	Eftalopos Music Hall	Kanunî Şemsi ¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁴ Galata part was another center of entertainment. Places mainly operated as taverns with live music, which were generally named as *baloz* by the frequenters, Metin And, *Tanzimat ve İstibdat Döneminde Türk Tiyatrosu (1839-1908)*, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, Ankara, 1972, pp. 213-214.

¹⁶⁵ Other musicians were Ovik (*sic*), Lambo, and kanunî Meyhal (*sic*).

¹⁶⁶ Other musicians were kanuni Karnik, lavtacı Mihran, hanende Şetoruk, Aam (*sic*), Kirkor, and kemençe Petri Efendi.

¹⁶⁷ Other musicians were udi İbrahim, hanende Karakaş, Ahmet, and lavtacı Ojik (*sic*) Efendi.

¹⁶⁸ Other musicians were kanuni Hafız, hanende Mihritad, lavtacı Şairzade Mihran Bey, and hafız İbrahim Efendi.

¹⁶⁹ Other musicians were udi Mısırlı İbrahim, kanuni Nesip, hanende Oseb, and Setrak Efendi.

¹⁷⁰ Other musicians were udi Arşak, hanende Ahmet, Mihritad, lavtacı Ovik Efendi, and Emin Efendi.

Table 4.12. Continued

Hasan Efendi	Beyoğlu	Odeon Theatre ¹⁷¹	-
Bogos Efendi	Beyoğlu	The Garden of Municipality	-
Unknown	Beyoğlu	At Cambazhanesi (?)	-
Unknown	Beyoğlu	İğneli Music Hall	-
Unknown	Beyoğlu	Odeon Theatre	-
Anastas	Beyoğlu	Hamdi Bey Music Hall	Udi İbrahim ¹⁷²
Karakin	Beyoğlu	Tepebaşı Bolu Beer House	Kani Efendi
Unknown	Beyoğlu	Eftalopos Music Hall	-
Arşak Efendi	Beyoğlu	Music Hall, Galatasaray	Aleko ¹⁷³
Anastas	Beyoğlu	Eftalopos Music Hall	Mısırlı İbrahim ¹⁷⁴
Anastas	Beyoğlu	Taksim Café Türk	Mısırlı İbrahim ¹⁷⁵

My suggestions concerning the entertainment places in Üsküdar are also valid for Beyoğlu: Neither places nor musicians in the tables can give a complete musical setting of the district but probably only a glimpse of it. It is likely that many unknown musicians performed in many other halls, taverns, and theatres. However, historiography omits the undocumented pieces of life. Violinist Salih Efendi (Bülbülî,

¹⁷¹ Metin And gives a detailed history of the theatre, however, this narrative is mainly based on dramas and theatre groups rather than musicians who also hired the place to perform music, *Başlangıcından 1983'e Türk Tiyatro Tarihi*, İletişim, İstanbul, 1992, p. 93.

¹⁷² Other musicians were udi Selim, kanuni Şemsi, karateci (*sic*) İbrahim, Oseb, Emin, and lavtacı Hacı Haçık.

¹⁷³ Other musicians were kanuni Fethi, lavtacı Lambo, hanende Hafız Yaşar, Üsküdarlı Edip, and Selanikli Emin.

¹⁷⁴ Other musicians were Selim, gırnatacı İbrahim, kanuni Şemsi, hanende Karakaş, gırnatacı İbrahim, Selanikli Emin, Ağapos, Mihritad Efendi, and lavtacı Onnik.

¹⁷⁵ Other musicians were kanuni Şemsi, hanende Mithat, Karakaş, Ağapos, and Emin Efendi.

d. 1923) is a fine example of a model characterized by a busy and active music life in his time. His music path is traceable through advertisements that he performed in the coffee houses, music halls, and picnic areas from Üsküdar to Fatih and to Beyoğlu, recorded violin solos and accompanied to some of Cemil Bey's recordings. However, what survived from those were a bunch of fragmented and sketchy pieces and details. If it had been otherwise, it would be possible to enhance the inner working of the music sector through this remarkable person.¹⁷⁶



Photo 4.4. Violinist Bülbülî Salih Efendi (d. 1923)

Source: Tanburi Cemil Bey Külliyyatı, Kalan Müzik, İstanbul, 2016, p.64

It should be noted that musicians related with Beyoğlu had two other features; teaching music and attending home gatherings, *meşk*. Not the tutorage but the home gatherings appears in many life accounts –albeit in different proportions- that

¹⁷⁶ The biographical approach to music brings fresh insights and novel perspectives. Bob Van Der Linden's study of the reconstruction of Indian music at the turn of the twentieth century brings the biographical accounts to the core, *Music and Empire in Britain and India: Identity, Internationalism, and Cross-Cultural Communication*, Palgrave Studies in Cultural and Intellectual History Series, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, UK, 2013; John Morgan O'Connell's narrative traces the transition period through the life account of Münir Nureddin Selçuk, *Alaturka: Style in Turkish Music (1923-1938)*, SOAS Musicology Series, Ashgate, 2013.

transcend categories and thus might be defined as a comprehensive school in music. The pattern seems to have less power only in the musicians of music halls. Afet (Hapet) Mısırlıyan (1850-1922), whose music career, for instance, spread over a large area from Istanbul to Cairo. He performed music in Birinci Tavern at Yüksekaldırım, Eftalopos Music Hall and Balozcu Miltiyadi's Tavern in Galata. His life account, after all, does not bear a piece of information whether he attended to any house gathering at all. A close resemblance should be noted between Afet Efendi and Ibrahim Efendi (Avram Hayat Levi, 1879-1948) who also traveled for music from Damascus to Cairo and from Aleppo to Istanbul. Ibrahim Efendi played oud in Aynalı Tavern and Hamdi Bey's Music Halls. Both were in Taksim. Similarly, Avram Efendi's life story does not particularly refer to information related to house gatherings. Ahmet Bey of Salonica (1869-1926) was musically educated by the dervishes of the Salonica Mevlevî lodge and partly by Refik Karasu (d. ?). Interestingly enough, he arrived in Istanbul in April 1909 as a volunteer in the Army of Action in order to suppress the rebellion. After the rebellion was put down successfully in about ten days, he was not so eager to return to his hometown. It seemed likely that the decision was taken much before he became a participant of the armed forces. In Istanbul, he performed music with many musicians until 1920 and died in 1926. His name was among the list of musicians who performed in the Royal and Eftalopos Music Halls at Beyoğlu. His relatively extended biography, in which Nazmi Özalp's narrative claims completely a different trajectory after the 1909 event, however, does not mention any house gathering activity at all.

The social profile and musical behavior pattern of Nail Ökte (1884-1963) largely coincide with musicians that worked in public offices, whose characteristics I explained in the Üsküdar sub-chapter. Born and living in Cihangir, Ökte was truly the musician of house gatherings. As a scribe in the State Harbors, his unique professional involvement with music occurred in his last years when he performed at the Istanbul radio together with his musician sons, Burhaneddin Ökte (1905-1973) and İzzeddin Ökte (1910-1991). It is likely that his two sons were the driving force behind the radio broadcasts. Karnik Germiyan (1872-1947) belonged to the Armenian community of Beyoğlu and worked as a private accountant. As another

prevalent pattern for non-Muslim musicians, he was introduced to music through the church choir just like Bimen Dergazaryan Şen (1873-1943). Bimen Şen's father was an Armenian priest, from whom he received his primary music education. As an accountant and exchange broker, though he recorded music and rarely appeared to perform in the concerts, his music world was mainly about attending house gatherings.

As stated before, Beyoğlu underwent a process of transformation particularly owing to the municipal authorities that were intent on creating more green areas out of "dead spaces" to promise new vitality to city dwellers from the last quarter of the nineteenth century on. The vast area in Tepebaşı, previously shared both by Muslim and non-Muslim burial grounds, was transformed into a public garden by the Municipality of Beyoğlu in 1866, and included a concert hall, restaurant, footways, playground for children and two theatres that operated seasonally. Asdikzâde Bogos Efendi's (1872-1945) group performed music in the Garden of Municipality, Tepebaşı. In 1870, similar open-air arrangement, namely as Taksim Garden, opened to public under the responsibility of the Municipality of Beyoğlu. None of these were non-profit initiatives. The ground was turning into something functional together with a new revenue source for local authorities.¹⁷⁷ Nevertheless, historical accounts provide limited information regarding the musicians who performed in those commonplaces.

Eventually, following the chronological order in which they occurred, the radio broadcast in Istanbul should be considered within the different context. The outset of radio had a great impact on the lives of musicians and hence on music. However, it began to operate in 1927. Even though it was based in the Beyoğlu district, to consider radio together with the musical activities that have been carried out since the turn of the century, will lead to methodological problems. Thereby, sixth

¹⁷⁷ Sermet Muhtar Alus, *İstanbul Kazan Ben Keççe*, p. 26; Nur Akın, *19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera*, pp. 290-292.

chapter will particularly discuss the emergence and the impact of radio within the framework of continuity and change in music in the Early Republican Period.

4.5. Fatih: The Musical Stronghold of the City

The Fatih district deserves to be the music center of the city since the overwhelming majority of musicians under study resided in the area. The district is by far the most densely inhabited with 84 musicians. This proportion is about one third of the total number of musicians the study contains. Thereby, making social analyses of musicians would yield more meaningful results that would help to analyze the musical ground of Fatih and hence the city. Indeed, exploring the mobility of musicians from Fatih to other districts and from others towards Fatih could be critical to portray the level of the musical interaction in Istanbul.

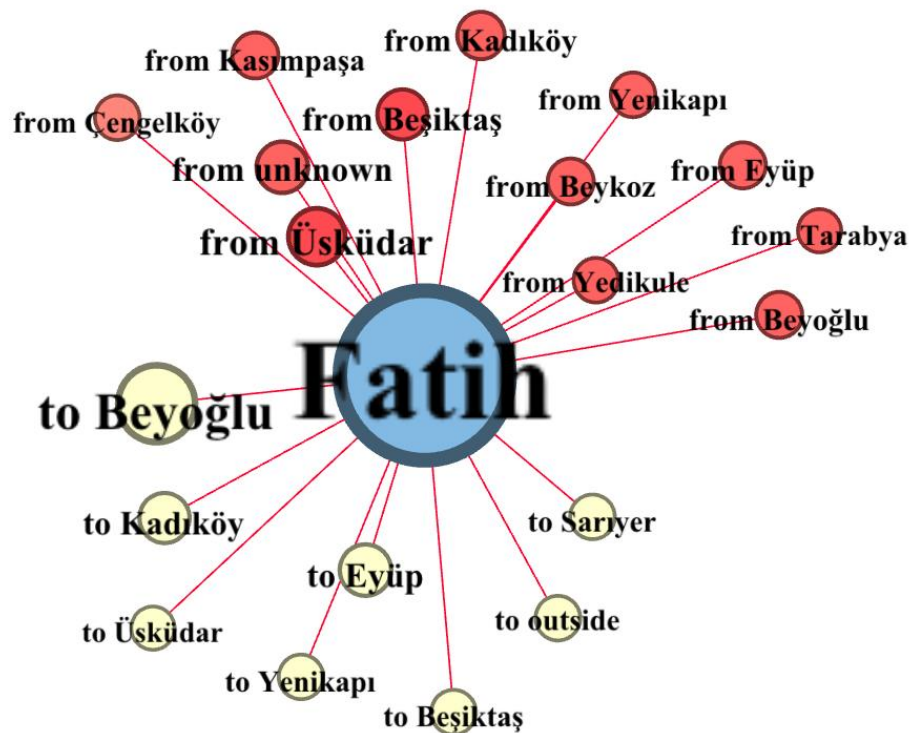


Figure 4.6. The activity map of musicians to Fatih and from Faith to other district

The cluster above visualizes the centrality of Fatih regarding the movements of musicians in the city, the frequency and numerical version of which is already given

in the Table 4.4. The relation between red circles (edges) and blue (node) displays the movements of musicians towards the district and hence portrays the centrality of it. Fatih attracts musicians from almost all over the city. The size of the edges (red) is almost the same, which means that the number of musicians that regularly visited Fatih was close to each other. The only exception was Üsküdar, whose edge appears slightly larger than other reds. Musicians who visited Fatih under the “unknown” title are also the musicians living in the city but whose precise locations are undefined. The light yellow edges, on the other hand, symbolize the local musicians’ movement towards other districts. The most frequented districts were by far Beyoğlu, followed by Eyüp and Kadıköy, respectively. Since the local musicians’ (from Fatih) activities in their own neighborhood were already described, the cluster deliberately leaves out their proportions from the activity map.

Table 4.13 emphasizes the birthplaces of musicians who resided at Fatih, and will also separate the proportion of the musicians elsewhere born.

Table 4.13. Birthplaces of musicians who resided in Fatih

Musicians’ Districts	Frequency	Percent
İstanbul	66	78.6
Other <i>vilayets</i>	12	14.4
Outside Ottoman territory	5	6
Unknown	1	1.2
TOTAL	84	100.0

The outcome indicates that, apart from one unknown, only 17 musicians were born elsewhere and moved to live in Fatih (20.2 %), whereas 66 of them (77.8 %) were born in the city that is more than three-quarter of all musicians that lived in Fatih. The outcome is musically important as it declares that those people got their music trainings in Istanbul. Ahmet Nuri Canaydın (b. 1881) was musically educated at his home in Aksaray by his elder sister, who was a kanun player. Kazım Uz (1873-1943) was a student of Zekai Dede at the *Dârüşşafaka* (Orphanage) School in Fatih. The

father of İzzeddin Hümaî Bey (1875-1950) was *Kadirî* sheikh in Fatih, from whom he received his music lessons. The various education types reflect the many forms of music transmission in the late Ottoman Istanbul, which I will discuss the issue in the subsequent chapter.

Similar to Üsküdar, the real income sources of musicians reveal two chief patterns; musicians who make a living out of music and musicians whose economical basis depend on other professions. Those whose income was not derived from music were overwhelmingly involved in the Ottoman officialdom. From a different perspective, the outcomes might be read in two chief groups, namely as salaried and non-salaried jobs. I define the regular or salaried jobs within the institutional framework, which by and large indicates the ones that operated in the state machinery, such as any regular position in the bureaucracy, teaching at state schools or serving as religious functionary through which the official stipend was received.

Table 4.14. Income sources of musicians who resided in Fatih

Income Source	Frequency	Percent
Official Functionary	36	42.9
Music	17	20.2
Teacher (non-music)	3	3.6
Sheikh/Dervishe	3	3.6
Religious Functionary	2	2.4
Artisan	4	4.8
Other	7	8.4
Unknown	1	1.2
MOI	11	13.2
TOTAL	84	100.0

The MOI group contained 11 musicians with multiple professions; however, these occupations, in most cases, did not overlap with each other (see Table 4.15).

Table 4.15. Musicians with multiple income sources who resided in Fatih

Sources of income	frequency	percent
Music- Official	1	1.2
Music-Sheikh	1	1.2
Official-Rel. Fun.	2	2.4
Official-Sheikh	1	1.2
Official-Trader	1	1.2
Rel. Fun.-Teacher	1	1.2
Rel. Fun.-Artisan	1	1.2
Official-Solicitor	2	2.4
Official-Other	1	1.2
TOTAL	11	13.2

Mustafa Nezihi Albayrak (1871-1964), for instance, was a scribe in the Ministry of Education (*Maarif Nezâreti*) whose father was a government official indeed. During the later part of his life, he retired from the official post and became a tea merchant. Oud player Cemil Bey (Şekerci, 1867-1928) retired from Imperial Music Academy (*mûzîka-i hümâyûn*) in 1911 and went to Cairo as a guest of Abbas Hilmi Paşa (1874-1944) for a short period of time. Nevertheless, he did not return back to Istanbul and permanently settled down in Cairo. He offered music classes to the members of the Cairo's wealthy families. In between, he opened a candy shop. In fact, he had been an apprentice to a master candy maker in Grand Bazaar of Istanbul when he was thirteen years of age. After all, Cemil Bey's case is the only one in which two jobs are being held coincidentally and both provided financial support.

Accordingly, the regular (salaried) jobs are clearly ahead of the non-regular ones. Government officials, teachers and religious functionaries make about the half of the total number. Additionally, the "MOI" (more than one income source) category should be counted in the salaried jobs since eight out of 11 jobs were again salaried jobs. I refer here to the first jobs of those 11 musicians. Memduh İmre (1891-1956) was a scribe in the Ministry of Military Affairs (*Bâb-ı Seraskeri*).

After retirement, he was actively involved in music as he joined a music school (*Dârü't-Ta'lim-i Musîkî*), the school was active between 1912 and 1939. He performed in the school's music group, and he also became part of the teaching staff. Hacı Kiramî Efendi (1840-1909) was a scribe in the Ministry of Military Affairs (*Bâb-ı Seraskeri*). His sorrowful life story begins with becoming a personal religious functionary (*mu'addhin*) to Mehmed Reşad Efendi (1844-1918) during the reign of Abdulhamid II. He was petitioned to palace (*Yıldız*) due to his association with Mehmed Reşad. Following that, he was disregarded and publicly looked down upon. Consequently, social isolation destabilized him psychologically and paved the way to his suicide in 1909. Even though it is unknown how many years he endured "killing by silence", he performed in the Sufi lodges to get by. According to İbnülemin, though this might be an exaggeration, an official was sent to exile only due to his presence in a Sufi ceremony while Kiramî Efendi performed. After all, I am inclined to regard music as an irregular profession and these biographical examples support my opinion.

A fine example to understand how limited the income that one could gain solely out of music was is the case of Nevres Bey (1873-1937). It would not be wrong to say that Nevres Bey could not achieve a decent life standard in return for his high quality of music both as an instrumentalist and a composer. Irregular job opportunities, such as accompanying Münir Nurettin Selçuk in his concerts, recording music to foreign companies, and offering music classes to members of upper class families were prestigious. Yet these were rare occasions and were not sufficient for him overcome his poor living conditions.

The financial situation of Refik Fersan (1893-1965) was not far from Nevres Bey. His memoir clearly reveals the family's vulnerable economic situation, particularly in his older ages. It could not actually be called a memoir, as a genre, since his accounts are mostly the exchange of letters written in different periods of time with his family members and musician friends. The text also includes notes kept in the form of diary from 1948 to 1965. Bardakçı collected them to publish in a book without mentioning whether if he left any letter unpublished. Regarding the diary, he

underlines that he published parts of it. Refik Fersan's father suddenly dies in 1894 and his mother finds shelter in her older sister's house. The house surely provided them with an upward socioeconomic mobility in terms of wealth, comfort and material availability. Under the protection of her aunt, Refik Fersan got the best possible education in the city. He received his education both from Robert College and Galatasaray. Additionally, the new house of Fersan was the place where artists, intellectuals and musicians gathered regularly. Mabeynci Faik Bey (1870-1937), the elder son of the house, provided financial support to many artists, among whom there was Tanburi Cemil Bey (1872-1916). It was the house of art where Refik Fersan grew up and became a disciple of Cemil Bey.



Photo 4.5. Refik Fersan, Cemil Bey and Musa Süreyya in 1914 (from left to right)
Source: Mes'ud Cemil, *Tanburi Cemil Bey'in Hayatı*, (ed. Uğur Derman), Kubbealtı, İstanbul, (Third Edition) 2012, p.188.

Nevertheless, things were about to change for every person in the Ottoman state, when the Ottoman revolutionaries took the control of state affairs in July 1908. At the micro level, it was more than destructive for Refik Fersan and his family. Since Mabeynci Faik Bey belonged to the close circle of Abdulhamid II, the new political order meant being the target of accusations. In 1917, Faik Bey secretly left Istanbul

for Cairo then for Switzerland, and was able to return to Istanbul only during the first years of the Republic. Oddly enough, this distinctive life account became the focus of neither an academic interest nor a biographical study. Though Refik Fersan became a radio member in the newly founded republic, it seemed that he would never ever be able to come close to the living standards he had had before. The deteriorating economic conditions were explicitly voiced in many parts of his letters and diaries.¹⁷⁸ Without overemphasizing the ups and downs Nevres Bey and Refik Fersan underwent, the biographical accounts tell that a larger part of these two esteemed musicians' life was about a struggle to improve poor living conditions.

In terms of professional continuity of Fatih's musicians, the bureaucratic tradition predominates over all other occupations. Indeed, the trend of holding government jobs shows a correlation between fathers and sons. According to the proportions above, 15 out of 25 official functionary fathers' children sought a career in bureaucracy (60 %). In the general table, 37 followed the family tradition out of 73 bureaucrat fathers (51 %).

¹⁷⁸ From his diary, "*Allah'a çok şükür olsun, şu ara cümlemiz sıhhatteyiz. Ben biraz nezleyim. Yegâne üzüntümüz ise, parasızlık. Hâlâ kömürümüzü alamadık. Gerçi havalar da iyi gidiyor. 16 October 1947.*" Refik Bey... Refik Fersan ve Hatıraları, Murat Bardakçı (ed.), Pan, İstanbul, 1995, p. 67. Another passage from a letter written to his son, "... bu paranın beş-altıyüz lirasını kömüre ve öteberiye sarfetmiş olduğumuzdan eczacı Sâkine hanımdan bir kısmını borç alarak bir aylık kirayı tamamladık. 9 November 1963, Refik Bey..., p. 29.

Table 4.16. The occupational continuity (cross tabulation)

Fathers' occupations	Income sources of children						
	Music	Official Func.	Religious Func.	Sheikhs	Artisan	Other	TOTAL
Rel. Func.	1	7	1	1	1	1	12
Sheikh/Derv.		2		2		1	5
Off. Func.	4	15				6	25
Artisan	1	3	2		1		7
Musician	2						2
TOTAL	8	27	3	3	2	8	51

Note: The table contains selected professions for both fathers and offspring.

Perhaps the most striking feature in the table is the problem of continuity in the religious functionaries. Only one out of 12 religious functionaries' offspring continued the family profession (8.3 %), but overwhelmingly made their choice for bureaucracy (58.3 %). The overall pattern is also typical. Only four out of 28 religious functionaries' children continued with the same profession (14 %), and 15 of them chose the bureaucratic career (54 %). As underlined before, digging for roots why they did not choose to walk in the same line with their fathers and sought their main source of income elsewhere, almost always in bureaucracy, is beyond the research interest of this thesis.

Who were these two sheikhs that walked the same path as their fathers? Mehmed Celaledin Dede (1849-1908) held the post of sheikh in the Yenikapı Mevlevî lodge after his father Osman Selahaddin Dede's death in 1886. He grew up in this lodge that typically operated as a music school. He played tanbur and composed a Mevlevî ceremony in the mode of *dügâh*. Another Sufi was Nurullah Kılıç (1879-1975), whose father was the sheikh of Pirî Pasha *Sünbülîye* lodge (a sub-branch of *Halvetî* order). He was musically cultivated by Hüseyin Fahreddin Dede (1853-1911) and eventually became a ney player. As a sheikh of Merkez Efendi lodge, he was in

charge of the ceremonies that took place there, and he also attended to the Sufi rituals at the Yenikapı and Bahariye Mevlevî lodges.

After all, the individual life stories of Sheikhs question the validity and the social acceptability of state intervention against the Sufi lodges. Even though the lodges officially ceased to function after 1925, the decision did not necessarily mean the abolishment of the social networks among the Sufi circles. What was the social response of the Sufis to this intrusion? Having said that the tradition was severely affected, sheikhs still continued to be regarded as sheikhs among the people and so did dervishes. Moreover, the ceremonies largely persisted in alternative ways, among which there were the house gatherings. Both the life of Gavsı Baykara and of Sebilci Hüseyin formed a basis for this claim. They belonged to the Sufi world before 1925; however, the new circumstances directed them into different professions, for which they relied upon the credentials they possessed from their Sufi background. They survived due to the fact that they had the ability to adapt their music to the market expectations. Nurullah Kılıç, for example, lived a half century after the state decision to close dervish lodges in 1925 and was still regarded to be the last official sheikh of the Merkez Efendi lodge in his social milieu until his very last breath.¹⁷⁹

Table 4.17 indicates that almost one third of musician population in Fatih was connected to a Sufi order (29.50 % in total). As mentioned before, the idea here is rather than dealing with how deep their connection was to understand the relationship between Sufi music culture and their musical output.

¹⁷⁹ Even though the interview contains bias and an amount of indoctrination, it still offers a glimpse of Kılıç family's Sufi past, see <https://odativ.com/bizde-hic-basortulu-yoktu-annem-sapka-takardi-3008151200.html> (accessed on 11 June 2018).

Table 4.17. Affiliation to a Sufi order among the musicians of Fatih

Sufi order	Frequency	Percent
<i>Mevlevî</i>	14	16.7
<i>Kadirî</i>	3	3.6
Other Sufi orders ¹⁸⁰	8	9.2
Non-Muslim	4	4.8
Unknown	55	65.5
TOTAL	84	100.0

The Mevlevî order was by far the leading Sufi order to which the musicians were affiliated. Some life stories in order to examine the interactions between Sufi culture and music therefore will come from the Mevlevî musicians. Ahmet Rasim Bey (1864-1932) received his elementary music education in the *Darrüşşafaka* (Orphanage) School. His music teacher at school was Zekai Dede (1824-1897). Yet, his music class continued in the Bahariye Mevlevî lodge since his teacher was a frequenter of the lodge. There he also met Hüseyin Fahreddin Dede (1853-1911) who additionally helped him to deepen his musical knowledge. Interestingly, Kazım Uz (1873-1943), another Mevlevî musician who resided in Fatih, would pursue precisely the same order of music education, from *Dârüşşafaka* to Bahariye lodge with Zekai Dede. Rauf Yekta Bey (1871-1935) was another product of Mevlevî order but this time at another lodge, at Yenikapı. He was musically educated by Celaleddin Dede, for *tanbur*, and Nayî Cemal, for *ney* in the lodge. He was a prolific writer of music, also a musician who attended Mevlevî rites at the Yenikapı and Galata lodges with his *ney*. Hayri Tümer (1902-1973) is a solid evidence of continuity of tradition. He got his primary music education at Vefa Middle School by Kazım Uz, who was a disciple of Zekai Dede. As one identifies the music education patterns, the social networks of musicians become more apparent. Furthermore, biographical accounts provide the ground on which the teachers and teachings methods that

¹⁸⁰ Here the situation is, seven Sufi orders (*Rufaî, Uşşakî, Halvetî, Sadî, Nakşî, Halidî, and Bektaşî*) have one musician affiliated to. Yet one regularly visited more than one lodge, hence I placed him in the “affiliation unclear” category.

dominated the field. Even though the subject matter is promising, I will not further discuss it since the issues of the differences and similarities between teaching methods as well as the genealogic understanding of transmitting the musical knowledge will be elaborated upon in the following chapter.

The practice of teaching, either privately or in a music school was characteristic among the musicians who resided in the Fatih district. Mehmed Eşref Efendi (d. 1930), for example, offered private classes at his home in Cerrahpaşa and ran a music store in Divanyolu Street, Sultanahmet. It is odd that he only accepted women for his classes. Ahmet Nuri Canaydın (b. 1881) resided at Vefa, where he regularly organized musical gatherings. He was also among the teaching staff of *Dârü'l-Musikî-i Osmanî*, which began to operate in 1908, in the Koska neighborhood of Aksaray. Another Fatih located musician was Memduh İmre (1891-1956). As mentioned before, he was under the contract of the German Polidor recording company. The job did not prevent him from teaching music at the *Dârü't-Ta'lîm-i Musikî*, founded in 1912 by Fahri Kopuz (1885-1968) in the Bayezid neighborhood. Violin player Abdülkadir Bey's (Töre, 1872-1945) life was devoted to musicology and teaching music. His home at Cerrahpaşa operated literally as a music school, and eventually was transformed into a fully music school in 1918, named *Gülşen-i Musikî*. The biographical accounts reveal the situation that the Fatih district was the place of a large number of music schools that began to function after the first decade of the twentieth century. The meaning of their presence and their overall effect on the musical setting of the city will be debated in the Chapters 5 and 6.

The list of places where the music was performed helps to further portray the musical structure of Fatih. Kalender's article contained more than 90 musical activities together with a great number of musicians regarding to the Fatih district. The very reason of preparing the table is to emphasize the places where music was performed, so my catalogue mentions each place once only.

Table 4.18. Places in which music was held in Fatih between 1895 and 1916 (quoted from Kalender)

Head Musician	District	Place	Other Musicians
Şevki Bey	Vezneciler	Hâne-i Osmanî Company	-
Tahsin Efendi	Şehzadebaşı	Abdurrezzak Theatre	-
Memduh Efendi	Şehzadebaşı	Şehzadebaşı Theatre	-
Aşkî Efendi	Şehzadebaşı	Şark Theatre	-
Unknown	Şehzadebaşı	Ferah Theatre	-
Dârü't-Talîm-i Musîkî	Şehzadebaşı	Millet Theatre	-
Salim Efendi	Sultanahmet	The Garden of Municipality	Udi Saim ¹⁸¹
Celal Efendi	Edirnekapı	Beylerbeyi Fountain	-
Tatyos Efendi	Şehzadebaşı	Fevziye Coffee House	Udi Afet, Kanuni Ali Bey
Memduh Efendi	Şehzadebaşı	İrfan Coffee House	-
Tahsin Efendi	Şehzadebaşı	Şemsi Coffee House	-
İbrahim Efendi (Avram)	Bayezid	Merkez Coffee House	kemençeci Aġabey ¹⁸²
Kâtib Salih Efendi	Şehzadebaşı	Ali Çavuş's Coffee House	Violinist Aşki Efendi
Aşki Efendi	Yeşiltulumba, Aksaray	Dilküşa Coffee House	Violinist Aşki Efendi
Zafiraki	Vezneciler	Osmanî Coffee House	Kanuni Nesip ¹⁸³
İbrahim Efendi (Avram)	Divanyolu	Arif's Music Hall	His brother Selim ¹⁸⁴
Yorgi Efendi	Fener	Midilli Music Hall	-
Aşkî Efendi	Hasköy	Türkiye Music Hall	-
İbrahim Efendi (Avram)	Fener	Serafim's Music Hall	His brother Selim ¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Other musicians were kanuni Âmâ Ali, Karakaş Efendi, Ahmet Bey.

¹⁸² Other musicians were kemani Harun, kanuni Abduh, hanende Selim, Salomon Efendi.

¹⁸³ Other musicians were lavtacı Lambo, udi Serkis, hanende Aġopos, Seras, Pol Efendi.

¹⁸⁴ Other musicians were kanuni Abdah, Kemani Şükrü.

¹⁸⁵ Other musicians were kanuni Abdah, Kemani Harun.

Table 4.18. Continued

Unknown	Fener	Dünya Music Hall	-
Bülbülî Salih	Fener	Kılburnu Music Hall	Hanende Ahmet ¹⁸⁶
Memduh Efendi	Fener	İskele Music Hall	Kanuni Şemsi ¹⁸⁷

Each neighborhood promoted a street or a specific area at which the majority of musical activities were held. It was *Cadde-i Kebir* in Beyoğlu or Bağlarbaşı Street in Üsküdar where the theatres, music halls and concerts carried on. The counterpart of it was unquestionably Şehzadebaşı Street in Fatih where the well know *Direklerarası* was. Almost all the coffee houses listed above were located on the street. Regarding the atmosphere, however, there was a considerable difference between other musically prominent streets and Şehzadebaşı mainly owing to its location that was/is at the intersection of the major mosques, namely Süleymaniye, Fatih, and Şehzade. Probably because of that *Direklerarası* was highly associated with the *Ramadan* nights in the nineteenth century Ottoman Istanbul. When precisely the street started to operate in that way is unknown, however, the concentration of various forms of artistic performances seemed to have increased towards the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The time period also refers to the expansion of local theatre groups' activities. It is likely that theatre and music attracted people to the area. Many coffee houses corresponded to that and began to function as theatres or music halls. Alus stated that the street and hence the area retained the vitality and dynamism until the end of the 1920s.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ Other musicians were Mihran, udi Selim, Hafız Efendi.

¹⁸⁷ Other musicians were Karakaş Efendi, Mihran Efendi, Ahmet Bey, Udi Selim.

¹⁸⁸ Sermet Muhtar Alus, *İstanbul Kazan Ben Kepçe*, pp. 101-113; Sermet Muhtar Alus, "Direklerarasında Ramazan Piyasası", *Tarih ve Toplum*, January 1994, Vol. 122 and February 1994, Vol. 130, Taha Toros Archive, No. 001580761010, İstanbul Şehir University; Salâh Birsell, *Kahveler Kitabı*, pp. 101-163; Bekir Tosun, "Direklerarası", 367-368.



Photo 4.6. A general view of Direklerarası Street at Fatih in the Late Ottoman Istanbul

Source: Fakiye Özsoysal, Metin Balay, *Geleceğe Perde Açan Gelenek: Geçmişten Günümüze İstanbul Tiyatroları: Suriçi İstanbul'u, Bakırköy ve Çevresi*, Vol. I, YKY, İstanbul, 2011, p. 37.

The places on the list together with innumerable places where music was performed, such as music schools, coffee houses and Sufi lodges, produced a vibrant and dynamic musical climate. This is the reason for the highest concentrations of musicians who resided in Fatih. The musicians who combined music with other occupations but particularly with official service is near to one half for Fatih. Given the distance from many of the state offices might be another underlying factor.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ The geographical setting of the Ottoman administrative mechanism in Istanbul covered the areas from Sultanahmet to Bayezid throughout the nineteenth century, Yasemin Avcı, *Osmanlı Hükümet Konakları, Tanzimat Döneminde Kent Mekânında Devletin Erki ve Temsili*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, pp. 38-48.

Map 4.2 is taken from German Blues Map of 1914 and it is cropped from the section of J7 (Feuille No J7) that covers the areas between Bayezid, Şehzadebaşı and Süleymaniye.¹⁹⁰ The map displays the Direklerarası Street in Fatih, where the bulk of the places with live performances and music schools were concentrated. The location of some places is tentatively described, such as the Şehzade Theatre or *Dârü't-Talîm-i Musikî*. All we know is both places operated on this street. Another loosely described location belonged to *Dârü'l-Elhân* Conservatory, which hired an estate (*konak*) on the Fevziye Street. However, the map is more precise in identifying some others. Fevziye Coffe House operated at the corner of the Fevziye Street and right at the opposite of the Şehzadebaşı Fountain. *Musikî-i Osmanî* hired the second floor of the same estate. The location of Ferah and Millet Theatres were precisely identified thanks to the map of Jacques Pervititch. Pervititch map also indicated explicitly the Letafet Apartment, where the music school, *Dârü'l-Bedayî-i Musikî* was.

4.6. Conclusion

The chapter, while exposing the musical setting of Istanbul at the turn of the twentieth century, also underscored the contribution of certain districts to the overall musical structure. Fatih, Eyüp, Beyoğlu, and Üsküdar, as the main arteries due to the frequency of inhabited musicians and the musical activities, sustained the system. In accordance with the quantitative analysis, Fatih, Beşiktaş and Üsküdar appear to be the main places where the musicians resided (the residential centers), whereas the districts of Beyoğlu and Fatih emerge as the performance centers of Istanbul. Nevertheless, Fatih should be considered as residential as well as performance center of the city.

¹⁹⁰ As mentioned above, I used the digital version of the map. It is an open source provided by Fatih Municipality. Yet, German Blues are published by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in 2006 and 2007, *Alman Mavileri: 1913-1914, I. Dünya Savaşı Öncesi İstanbul Haritaları*, İrfan Dağdelen (ed.), İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı Kütüphane ve Müzeler Müdürlüğü, İstanbul, Vols. 1 and 2 in 2006, Vol. 3 in 2007.

Focusing more on the city helped indeed to emphasize the pluralities at the local level, which might alternatively be regarded as the musical characteristics of certain neighborhoods. Music was largely diffused through theaters, coffee houses, Sufi lodges and seasonal picnic areas in Üsküdar, whereas music halls, taverns, theatres, music stores with all kind of musical instruments, recorded music (gramophones) and sheet music, and the radio broadcast mainly characterized the Beyoğlu district. Fatih was the place of tradition but also of transformation. House gatherings, Sufi lodges and the music organizations at the immense coffee houses were part of the story. What was new was the rapid increase of the number of music schools in the city, the majority of which were concentrated in Fatih after the turn of the twentieth century. That was the cornerstone of music in many ways, including the changes in the educational patterns, the huge expansion of concert giving, and probably the most critical of all, the transition from private patronage to “public” patronage, which will be debated in the following two chapters.

Indeed, taking into consideration the biographical accounts in order to explore music across the city, I observe common features but also divergences:

i. To emphasize first the widespread practices, musicians overwhelmingly shared a common ground: Musical gatherings, *musikî meclisi*. Both “professional” and “non-professional” (these terms refer to the financial relationship of music) musicians met at this common music space. The motivations might be different. It could happen at the beginning of a music career in order to learn music, or it might be solely to perform music. Other reason of attendance was socialization, which suggests that the way the organizations operated was akin to musicians’ union. All these suggestions point to the multiple layers of these social gatherings.

ii. Another common space was music schools, which expanded rapidly after 1908. Musicians from both groups were actively involved in these institutions. In fact, the schools were musician enterprises in most cases. There, music classes were held, concerts were organized, all of which eventually brought a new energy to music. However, there was a significant distinction between house gatherings and music

schools. The former's audience was principally musicians or the musician candidates at best. The places were designed based on musical rather than financial concerns. The principal target of music schools was to assemble wider group of people, who had lesser musical credentials. The point was critical for the contextualization of music.

iii. Offering music teaching either privately or to a group was a well-established practice among musicians. Regarding the official functionaries, I noticed that musicians' lives became more music-oriented immediately after they retired from office. Music teaching, either privately or in the music schools, was the most common practice for them to survive. Even though they had a regular retirement payment, an additional income was needed. The cases of poverty, which I discussed in the previous chapter, confirm the argument.

iv. Interestingly, non-professional musicians almost never performed in the music halls even after they retired and music became the focal point of their lives. It seems that there was a line, which should not be crossed by some musicians. That music halls were places where alcohol was consumed might be a reason. Another one could be the commercial purposes through which music halls treated music as a product to make profit. However, the biographical accounts of Lemi Atli, Hafız Sami, Ahmet Rasim reveal that they did not seem to question the issue in terms of being ethical or moral as they enjoyed listening to live performances in the *gazinos*. I also find it questionable whether they disapproved it for the reason that music was solely performed for entertainment. I disagree with such an elitist approach that implies too much solemnity and gravity in Ottoman music. Burdening it with rigid moral codes eventually makes music colorless and uniform in which neither *köçekçes* nor the numerous profane songs could be understood. I believe that the matter was not about whether there was an approval or disapproval. My understanding of the non-professional musicians' stance to music halls in general is more pragmatic rather than ethical. These places had their own unwritten rules. Music was only a part of the whole business, and other musicians recognized the situation. They seem to have tried not to exceed the line of demarcation. Besides, it

was a matter of network, a kind of business connection, which had been established among certain musicians. I only encounter the names of these *gazzino* musicians in the contemporary daily news, many of whose life narratives seldom, if ever, are to be found in the biographical accounts.

I deliberately made a distinction between the musicians who performed in the music halls and those who did not. The articles and memoirs related to the musical atmosphere of the city at the turn of the twentieth century confirm my opinion. Ruhi Kalender's article is a fine example. The article scanned one daily paper, *İkdâm*, from 1895 to 1916 in order to portray the colorful music life of the city. It reveals a great variety of information: The names of the musicians, the locations of musical activities, the places of music institutions as well as private music teachers, and even the stores at which music scores (*fasıl* notations) and instruments were produced and sold.¹⁹¹ The eyewitness accounts of Sermet Muhtar Alus (1887-1952), which were published in some daily newspapers, but particularly in *Akşam*, from 1930 to 1940, are other sources that I refer to. Many of his articles were elaborate explanations of the city's music life. The majority of his articles were republished after the second half of the 1990s,¹⁹² which seemed to arouse academic interest indeed.¹⁹³ Based on these accounts, I encountered only a handful of musicians, such as Memduh Efendi, Tatyos Efendi, Afet Efendi and Arşak Efendi who exceeded the

¹⁹¹ Ruhi Kalender, "Yüzyılımızın Başlarında İstanbul'un Musiki Hayatı", *AÜİFD*, No. XXIII, 1978, pp. 414-437.

¹⁹² *İstanbul Yazıları*, Erol Şadi Erdinç, Faruk Ilıkan (eds.), İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, İstanbul, 1994; *İstanbul Kazan Ben Kepçe*, Necdet Sakaoğlu (ed.), İletişim, İstanbul, 1995; *Masal Olanlar*, Nuri Akbayar (ed.), İletişim, İstanbul, 1997; *Eski Günlerde*, İletişim, İstanbul, 2001; *30 Sene Evvel İstanbul: 1900'lü Yılların Başlarında Şehir Hayatı*, Faruk Ilıkan (ed.), İletişim, İstanbul, 2005.

¹⁹³ Neslihan Seven, "Sermet Muhtar Alus'un Romanlarında ve Öykülerinde Eski İstanbul", MA Thesis, Assoc. Prof. Alâattin Karaca (Supervisor), Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi, Van, 2006; Meral Demiryürek, "Sermet Muhtar Alus: Hayatı – Sanatı - Eserleri", Unpublished PhD Thesis, Prof. Şerif Aktaş (Supervisor), Gazi Üniversitesi, SBE, Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı, Yeni Türk Edebiyatı Bilim Dalı, Ankara, 2006; Reyhan Elmas Keleş, "Sermet Muhtar Alus'un Eserlerinde Sosyal Meseleler", Assoc. Prof. Muhammet Gür (Supervisor), Unpublished PhD Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, SBE, İslam Tarihi ve Sanatları Anabilim Dalı, İstanbul, 2009.

line of demarcation that I emphasized. In other words, they interacted with both groups' social networks, which probably was the reason why they left more historical account. The overwhelming majority of the musicians appear to be historically silent characters giving voice to them is difficult due to insufficient evidence.



CHAPTER 5

CULTIVATING MUSIC

The aim of this chapter is to reveal the musical characteristics of the targeted group in order to make a debate on the social meanings behind it. The instrumental distribution analysis, for instance, will not only provide the proportions for each instruments or singers, but will pave the way for exploring singers or oud players socially. Factors such as age and family impact on the musical development will be instrumental to understand the issue of being a musician in the late Ottoman period. The chapter will separate the sampling on the religious differences for the first time to analyze and thus to compare the educational models of Muslims and non-Muslim musicians. The idea is to observe the level of musical interactions between the people of different religions, particularly at the initial stages of music education. On the part of the Muslim musicians, the section will question the religious ground of music by highlighting the networks that paved to the dissemination of the religious repertoire in the Ottoman music. Therefore, musicians with Sufi affiliation, musicians who have received religious education and particularly the reciters of Qur'an will be the center of interest. Besides, the chapter will contribute to the debates related with the Hamparsum notation usage at the turn of the twentieth century by offering quantitative outcomes on the subject matter. Finally, Gephi visualizations on the educational networks of musicians will offer a novel way of observing the significant channels (people and styles) in the late Ottoman Istanbul.

5.1. Distribution Based on Musical Instrument

The debate on the musical skills will highlight the popularity of instruments and the mostly applied combinations between them. Outcomes will give an insight into the social aspects of instruments like whether there was a common pattern among violin practitioners or typicality related with the piano players. The part will also question the reasons of musicians' instrument choices and will seek connections among a range of issues such as inheritance of traits as well as financial benefits.

Table 5.1. Musical specialty

Instrument	Frequency	Percent
Voice	72	28.1
Tanbur	12	4.7
Kanun	13	5.2
Ney	18	7.0
Oud	32	12.5
Kemenche	9	3.6
Violin	26	10.1
Piano	6	2.4
NPI	16	6.2
Other	2	0.8 (79.6 cumulative)
Moi	51	20.4
TOTAL	257	100.0

Two musicians in the other category played clarinet and *santur*. Yet Moi category (more than one instrument players) contained eight musicians with other (non-grouped) instruments, which were *santur*, lute and clarinet. NPI category that gathered 16 musicians meant the non-instrumental association, whose situation should not be considered with unknown category. In fact, the instrumental distribution table is one of the most representative in the study considering the general number of unknowns (black holes) in the statistical outcomes presented previously.

I suppose the more complex one is the singer category, which represents the biggest group. To put it briefly, the general rule in the Ottoman music education is to give the sounds correctly by mouth. Thus the instrumental instruction no matter which one is, almost always comes with the voice practice. The idea here is if one might respond to the sounds correctly with his mouth then it proves that one has musical ear, which leads to the next step as seeking these correct sounds in the instrument. The practice has no difference for the singers at all. İbnülemin describes in detail the way Dede Efendi taught music to his two eminent students, namely as Dellalzâde and Zekai Efendi. His method was based on two principles: Hear (musical

ear) and store (memorization) it. To underline it, singing correctly and having a beautiful sound are quite apart from each other. The former expresses that one can technically learn music and advance in the art, whereas the latter is a God-given quality. The explanation eventually underlines that each one in the sampling were able to use voice as expected. The reason why 72 musicians placed in the table as singers is because they were originally educated to sing and thus gained expertise in voice. But for the rest (instrumentalists), it came in as a part of the education package. Given the difficulty of a clear demarcation between singing and playing, the table, however, is designed to indicate the principal one, either voice or an instrument. But the things are more precise for instruments in general, if not stated otherwise. If one played kemenche or kanun, for instance, she/he would not be associated with ney or violin. The exceptional cases are always minor in number. Only two musicians were able to play kanun and viola, two again were involved both with tanbur and viola.

Though oud and tanbur are both stringed instruments and it is possible to sing while playing, there occurred a gap between the participants of both combinations. Only one musician both sang and played tanbur, whereas 17 musicians played oud and sang. The conventional patterns appear clearly in the Moi category regarding the popularity of oud. The underlying reasons lie in the comparison of these instruments both technically and practically. From a technical perspective, playing tanbur while singing is challenging due to its lengthy and fretted fingerboard (neck). It surely demands more concentration on the instrument, whereas the oud allowed the instrumentalist to sing along due to its short and fretless neck. Another technical concern is related with the structures of instruments. The oud is evidently more durable to pressure, damage, and humidity due to its body form and the type of woods it is produced from. The fragile form of tanbur, on the other hand, often creates problems; including the dislocation of neck from its body (*sap atma*) and the collapse of its very slim cover (*kapak çökmesi*). Indeed, oud practically produces louder sounds, which precisely what was needed for a music predominantly

performed together with many instruments and singers.¹⁹⁴ Though the economical part was not mentioned in my sources, picking an oud should be more affordable for ordinary people. My suggestion is mainly influenced by the current price differences in the music market, a tanbur is much more expensive than an oud of the same quality.

The position of oud and tanbur in music was also a matter of historiography. Historians of music debated the issue in order to explain the contribution of Kantemir's (1673-1723) treatise, *kitâb-ı 'ilmü'l mûsikî 'alâ vechi'l hurufât*.¹⁹⁵ All in all, variety of sources might additionally be interpreted to display the significance of oud in the late Ottoman music world. The instrumental reference books (guide) were overwhelmingly written on oud.¹⁹⁶ Secondly, oud was the mostly encountered instrument in the *fasıl* music on the list of taverns and the musician groups of Istanbul. As presented in the previous chapter, the source listed the names of musicians together with instruments.¹⁹⁷ Finally, the early history of sound recording overwhelmingly carried out by companies, including Colombia, Favorite, Odeon,

¹⁹⁴ Fiket Karakaya points to more technical issues but also provides information on its historical evaluation throughout the ages, "Ud", *DIA*, Vol. 42, 2012, pp. 39-41.

¹⁹⁵ According to the argument, the text apparently underlined the shift from oud to tanbur in music, which had been under the theoretical and musical domination of the former before the beginning of the seventeenth century. The time period also signals the gradual emergence of Ottoman way in music, *tarz-ı Osmânî*, and Istanbul as the center of musical production. Though the date could not be precisely identified but oud regains popularity after the mid-nineteenth century. My research findings apparently support its triumph over other instruments at the turn of the twentieth century. Behar stated that its re-emergence might be related to the importation of the instrument with lute (*lavta*) from Arabic provinces and Egypt and the arrival of luthiers from same regions to Istanbul by the mid-nineteenth century, Cem Behar, *Kan Dolaşımı, Ameliyat ve Musikî Makamları: Kantemiroğlu (1673-1723) ve Edvâr'ının Sıra Dışı Müzikal Serüveni*, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, pp. 160-170; Eugenia Popescu-Judet, *Prens Dimitrie Cantemir: Türk Musikisi Bestekârı ve Nazariyatçısı*, (Selçuk Alimdar, trans.), Pan, İstanbul, 2000, pp. 36-62.

¹⁹⁶ Hafız Mehmed Efendi, *Ud Muallimi, İkdâm*, 18.8.1901, 11.1.1902, 5, 8, and 11. 2. 1902; Muallim Fahri [Kopuz], *Nazarî ve Amelî Ud Dersleri*, İstanbul, 1336; Ali Salâhî, *Hocasız Ud Öğrenmek Usûlü*, İstanbul, 1336; *İlâveli Ud Muallimi*, İstanbul 1340; Şerif Muhiddin Targan, *Ud Metodu* (ed. Zeki Yılmaz), İstanbul, 1995.

¹⁹⁷ Ruhi Kalender, "Yüzyılımızın Başlarında İstanbul'un Musiki Hayatı", *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vo. 23, 1978, pp. 414-437.

Owner's Voice (*Sahibinin Sesi*), The Gramophone (Zonophone), is another indication. Oud together with violin was the two most popular instruments, either in solo or in combination, in the early recordings.¹⁹⁸ Eventually, it appears that all these factors played a role in its growing popularity in the late Ottoman musical world.

The outcome supports this fact given the higher proportion of oud playing among other instruments and its frequency in the Moi category.

Table 5.2. Oud combined with other instruments

Combinations	Frequency	Percent
Oud and Voice	17	6.6
Oud and Piano	3	1.2
Oud and Kanun	2	0.8
Oud and Tanbur	1	0.4
Oud and Ney	1	0.4
TOTAL	24	9.4

When 32 oud players are totaled with musicians in the Moi category (means oud players, n = 24), the proportion reaches 22.2 % at the total. Together with violin players who are counted as 36 (14 % in total), the overall outcome indicates that more than one third of the musicians under study concentrated on these two instruments (36.2 %). The popularity of oud and violin among musicians as well as the leading role in the music market should also be seen through the related outcomes.

¹⁹⁸ For the list of the oud players in the early history of phonograph recordings, see Pan Publishing's online catalogue

http://tasplak.pankitap.com/index.php?pg=1&firma=&katalog_no=&eser=&makam=&yorumcu=ud

http://tasplak.pankitap.com/index.php?firma=&katalog_no=&eser=&makam=&yorumcu=keman (both accessed on 2 August 2018).

I collected different occupations under non-music-based category, which the official functionaries, as anticipated, held the biggest proportions for two instrumentalists with 18 (that makes 60 % in the non-music-based, 31.6 % in the total) musicians among the oud and 10 (62.5 % in the non-music based, 27.7 % in the total) musicians among the violin players.

Table 5.3. The chief income source of oud and violin players

Income Type	Oud		Violin	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Music-based	21	37.5	18	50.0
Non Music-based	30	53.5	16	44.5
Unknown	5	8.9	2	5.5
TOTAL	56	100.0	36	100.0

Although the music-based income percentages do not seem strikingly high, I believe that they are powerful enough to underpin the argument. For example, only five musicians' chief source of income was music (22.7 %) within the 22 kanun players, whereas the number even dropped to four out of 21 for ney players (19.0 %). None of the instrument in the list comes close to the percentages that oud and violin had. The only exception seems to be the kemenche. The musical income for kemenche players was 63.6 %. Nevertheless, the number of players who played the instrument should be taken into consideration. It was only 11 musicians in total. The statistical outcomes could also be interpreted to understand the employment of instruments in the music, which means that some instruments, such as oud, violin and kemenche, were more visible in the market whose financial gain was critical when compared with ney and kanun, which were less commercial and unprofitable.

Piano appears to be an interesting case. Kösemihal's study still the chief historical study about the beginning of European music in the palace, underlines the instrument first emerged in Europe around the beginning of the eighteenth century and did not wait long to circulate particularly in the wealthy households of non-

Muslim families of Istanbul. But its entrance to the palace was a little later, during the reign of Abdülmecid (1839-1861).¹⁹⁹ From that period on, the piano stood firm in the palace and was used to perform Western rather than Ottoman music. Though the piano does not belong to Ottoman music, many accounts underlined its limited presence in the Ottoman music. The instrument even appeared in the Mevlevî lodges, though on rare occasions, to accompany Mevlevî rituals. The oldest known accompaniment of piano to a Mevlevî ritual was in the Galata Mevlevî lodge during the period of Sheikh Galib Es'ad Dede (d. 1799). According to the biographical account of Hüseyin Fahreddin Efendi who was the Sheikh of Bahariye Mevlevî lodge in Eyüp until his death in 1911, he was practicing Western music with his ney, accompanied by his nephew's piano. Ahmed Hüsameddin Dede (1839-1900), the *kudümzenbaşı* of Yenikapı lodge, was another Mevlevî dervish, who liked to play *peşrevs* in the piano during his visits to the house of Mısırlı Halim Paşa (1863-1921).²⁰⁰ Still, the individual cases were not sufficient to change its marginal place in music. Therefore, it would not be incorrect to state the piano never became a mainstream instrument in music and neither for the Ottoman society in general.

¹⁹⁹ Mahmut Ragıp Kösemihal, *Türkiye – Avrupa Musiki Münasebetleri (1600-1875)*, Vol. 1, İstanbul Nümune Matbaası, 1939, pp. 93-94.

²⁰⁰ Mahmut Ragıp Kösemihal, *Türkiye – Avrupa Musiki Münasebetleri*, p. 94. Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun provides more detailed biography of Ahmed Hüseyin Dede; *Türk Musikisi Antolojisi: Dinî Eserler*, Vol. II, İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 1943, pp. 494-495. Meanwhile, Kösemihal reported an interesting event regarding to the presence of piano in Istanbul, which relates the issue to ney. The author underlines that Salim Bey (1830-1934) trimmed the length of his instrument in order to accompany the piano. The passage simply implies the story behind the arrival of *mansur* ney (its accord corresponds to piano with A440 Hz) into the Ottoman/music (ibid, p. 94). The statement is open to contestation. Ali Tan's doctoral dissertation, which focused on the historical development of ney and to what extent the instrument responded to the change of sound intervals from the beginning of the eighteenth century, examined 65 neys held in various museums and private collections, from 1718 to 1951. The earliest recorded *mansur* ney belonged to the first quarter of the eighteenth century, which proves that *mansur* ney was already in circulation more than a century ago in the Ottoman Istanbul and hence Kösemihal is clearly mistaken about his statement, "Ney Açkısının Tarihi ve Teknik Gelişimi", Unpublished PhD Thesis, Ass. Prof. M. Nuri Uygun (Supervisor), Marmara Üniversitesi, SBE, İslam Tarihi ve Sanatları Bilim Dalı, İstanbul, 2011, pp. 190-191; For the images of instruments he had focused on during his dissertation project, see Ali Tan - Mustafa Çıpan, *Ney...*, Konya Valiliği, İl Kültür ve Turizm Müdürlüğü, Konya, 2013. The book, *Ney...*, provides the image of Kazasker Mustafa İzzet Efendi's (1801-1876) *mansur* ney additionally proves its much earlier presence in the Ottoman music.

The employment of piano in Ottoman and Western musical cultures is not comparable for different reasons. The place of the piano in the Western music was/is fundamental,²⁰¹ while it was tried, not accepted commonly and hence stayed as an outsider in the Ottoman music largely due to musical concerns. The instrument simply proved to be inappropriate to sound intervals of the Ottoman music; also some sounds in the Ottoman music did not exist in piano. Even so, the historical sound records show that it was still used but without taking the leading role. Above all, a corresponding piano-centered social analysis could not be done because of its minor musical role and of the inadequate historical material. Therefore, based on the 14 pianists in my sampling, questioning their social background could yield limited results but, still, it might indicate whether they belonged to upper classes or not, since the instrument was rare, and expensive to purchase.

It seems that only two fathers shared the lowest social status and income among the fathers of pianists. The first was a military fireman and musician Giriftzen Asım Bey (1851-1929) whose children, Fatma Nihal Erkutun (1906-1989) and Musa Süreyya (1884-1932), played the piano. Another was Leon Hancıyan Efendi (1860-1947) whose father was a moderate servant (*odabaşı*) in a state office. What additionally made their case similar was the fathers' intimate relationship with music. They were practitioner musicians. The first was a ney player and later *girift* (a

²⁰¹ The piano, nevertheless, had a completely different story in the English case. It was only around the mid-nineteenth century when the piano became increasingly accessible for middle-class English people. It was partly economic. The increased level of income rendered middle class to go more often to the concert halls to listen to performers but also buy products that were beyond their means previously. Besides, piano manufacturers were critical in the process of musical commercialization. They produced cheaper and lower quality forms of the instrument. Even its size was shrunk deliberately to fit into the houses of middle-class people, which could hardly be called a piano in terms of the musicality and appearance. From a sociocultural perspective, the widespread acceptance of piano, being able to attend concerts, availability of piano education for children were indications of cultural refinement and a way of affiliation with the standards of upper classes. Cyril Ehrlich, *The Piano: A History*, Revised Edition, Oxford University Press, New York, 2002, pp. 9-27 and 88-107; Derek B. Scott, "Music and Social Class in Victorian London", *Urban History*, No. 29, 1, 2002, pp. 60-73. Interestingly, the cultural aspirations of middle-class English people of previous century related to piano appear to be quite similar to the social meaning attributed to it in modern Turkey.

similar but a smaller version of ney), while Leon's father, Nazaret Efendi, played lute while his mother played oud.

Table 5.4. Pianists' family background

	Frequency	Percent
Official Func.	6	40.0
Religious Func.	1	6.7
Military	3	20.0
Other	1	6.7
Unknown	4	26.7
TOTAL	15	100.0

Fathers of Mualla Anıl (1909-1985) and Osman Nihat Akın's (1905-1959) occupations were recorded as unknown, however, with a note that they were from notable families (*eşrafdan*) of Manastır and Çorlu respectively. Muhlis Sabahattin (1889-1947) and Neveser Kökdes's (1904-1962) father was Hurşit Bey, who was sent to exile from Istanbul by Abdulhamid II because of his critical position (*başmabeynci*) during the reign of Abdulaziz, who preceded him. Leyla (Saz) Hanım's (1850-1937) father, Hekim İsmail Pasha (1807-1880), served in the high-ranking official positions, such as the governor of Girid, Salonica, İzmir and as the Minister of Trade and Public Works (*Nafia ve Ticaret Nezâreti*).²⁰² Mustafa Nuri Bey's (Menapirzâde, 1841-1906) father was Yusuf Menapir Pasha who served as the Governor of Maraş. Medenî Aziz Efendi's (1842-1895) father was an *imam* in Medina. When he died during a visit to Damascus, child Aziz was adopted by a palace servant in Istanbul and grew up in the palace circles. The sad situation after all would be highly beneficial for him as he would have the opportunity to be

²⁰² The memoir of Leyla Hanım portrays in detail the piano education in the Çırağan Palace. She even provides the names of royal family members who had proficiency in piano. Because the thesis discusses the employment of piano in the Ottoman music, whereas the memoir of Leyla Hanım points deliberately to the presence of Western music in the palace, her account remains beyond the scope of the thesis, *Memoirs of Leyla (Saz) Hanımefendi, The Imperial Harem of the Sultans: Daily Life at the Çırağan Palace During the 19th Century*, Landon Thomas (trans.), Hil Yayın, İstanbul, 2001, pp. 131-136.

musically educated by Kazasker Mustafa İzzet Efendi (1801-1876). Fatma Enise Can (Elisabeth, 1896-1975) and Emine Fulya Akaydın (Panfilia, 1906-1975) were sisters. They were of Greek origin and Orthodox Christians who later embraced Islam. Their family background record is unknown but they both received private piano education from a certain Oresti Çalapatani, which might be read as a sign of their economical level.

What might eventually be said related with the pianist musicians is that they predominantly belonged to notable families who could afford to own a piano and provide tutorage. Yet it appears that the existence of piano at home attracted the attention of other members in the family. Six musicians in the group had family relationship. Another interesting aspect to be underlined is the high number of female participants, almost half of the pianist population (seven out of 15). Since the overall number of female musicians in the sampling was 23, such an atypical gender pattern upon any other instrument could not be the case. The outcome indicates that female musicians were regularly distributed between other instruments, with an exception of singing. The outcome shows ten female singers. But the female concentration on the voice category is far below the piano group. It is 10 out of 72 musicians (13.8 %), while the amount is beyond comparison for pianists (46.6 %).

5.2. The Age of Music Education

The part will seek to analyze the relationship between music education and age groups. What was the general tendency for the onset of music training among the musicians? Yet it will question whether or not instrumentalists or singers reveal any particular pattern regarding the age groups. Searching the links between learning types of music and age combinations will provide an alternative perspective to further discuss the role of Istanbul in the overall music culture. The argument will be supported by the statistical results comparing the models of learning between Istanbul and elsewhere born musicians.

Table 5.5. Age of music education

Age Categories	Frequency	Percent
Earlier than 10	170	66.1
10-15	39	15.2
15-20	14	5.4
Unknown	34	13.2
TOTAL	257	100.0

It might generally be said that biographical accounts of musicians have shortcomings by modern standards. One is that they do not precisely point the starting age for music education but give rough information about it. Rather, there are phrases such as “educated musically when s/he was a child” or “his music education started in her/his childhood”. Thus, my categories, which have five-years intervals, are in parallel to the imprecise statements regarding the musicians’ education records.

No matter how vague the descriptions were, the accounts still overemphasized the music education at early ages (see Table 5.5). 170 musicians were instructed musically before they reached to the age of 10. It appears the onset of education after 10 years of age was atypical and considered to be too late probably. The outcome shows that less than one third received music education after 10 years of age (20.6 %). Besides, the place where the education took place is reported in most cases. The musicians were predominantly educated at home. Thus I grouped those, who learned music at home during the childhood period, under the “earlier than 10” category.

Accounts also emphasize the role of the family in the educational process. For those whose music education began at home were generally supervised by a family member, which might be father, mother, older brother/sister, a close relative or a combination of them. While the family impact was almost a prerequisite for the musicians grouped in the first category (earlier than 10), the next category (between 10-15), on the other hand, includes musicians whose families did not get

involved in music education. Therefore, whether one was introduced to music through family and one did not, became one of the criteria through which the age categories were separated from each other.

Table 5.6. Family impact among the age categories (cross tabulation)

Age Categories	Frequency	Percent
Earlier than 10	113	95.8
10-15	4	3.4
Unknown	1	0.8
TOTAL	118	100.0

The table above proves how decisively two groups were in contradistinction to each other regarding to the role of family (see Table 5.6). It could yet be said that music for those whose involvement did not begin at early ages (apart from the first category) did not inherit anything from the family and may even be perceived as “outsiders” to the art. In fact, the criterion that represented those musicians’ education was anything but private tutorage.

Table 5.7. Private tutorage distributed to age categories (cross tabulation)

Age Categories	Frequency	Percent
Earlier than 10	131	67.5
10-15	32	16.5
15-20	9	4.6
Unknown	22	11.3
TOTAL	194	100.0

The role of the family members that did set the boundaries between first and next two groups in the previous table could not be the case for private tutorage. Statistically, 131 musicians out of 170 in the “earlier than 10” group and 32 musicians out of 39 in the “10-15” group have received private tutorage, which makes 77 % in the former and 82 % in the latter. According to that, the private

tutorage model was highly prevalent in both categories. Hence, due to its strong presence in both categories, the private tutorage could not be regarded as how characteristic the family association was for the musicians in the “earlier than 10” and made the distinction decisively with other age groups. Statistically again, family involvement according to the general table was 113 out of 170 in the “earlier than 10” group (66.5 %), whereas it showed a drastic drop for the next one; only four musicians received a family advantage out of 39 (10.2 %).

An alternative interpretation regarding the difference between family involvement and private tutorage might be that the former points to a process in which children were exposed to music due to the musical atmosphere at home and were eventually accustomed to it. The same, on the other hand, could not be said for the latter, which seemed to be a more deliberate attempt, a more personal matter that demanded more effort clearly.



Photo 5.1. Santurî Ziya Bey (1868-1952) posed with his daughter, Bergüzar
Source: Halil Nadaroğlu, “Santurî Ziya Santur’la Bir Konuşma”, *Türk Musikisi Dergisi*, 1 Ekim 1948, pp. 24-28.

Whatever the case the outcomes revealed that those 170 musicians in the earlier than 10 group were significantly more advantageous than the rest, as their families created the appropriate circumstances, which would increase the chances of success in music. Favorable conditions were innumerable, such as meeting with the art in the early stages of the life, growing up in a musically dominant environment. Not needing to struggle to find a music teacher or an instrument and so on. It seems that they had everything that was needed.

Table 5.8. Types of learning in the earlier than 10 years of age (cross tabulation)

Models	Frequency	Percent
Family	19	11.2
Tutorage	38	22.3
<i>Mûzîka-i Hümâyûn</i>	8	4.7
Self-taught	4	2.4
Music School	2	1.2
Unknown	1	0.6
Family and Tutorage	80	47
Family-Tutorage-Music School	9	5.2
Family and Music School	5	2.9
Tutorage and Music School	4	2.4
TOTAL	170	100

While the age patterns point to the musicians' first touch with music, nonetheless, learning is a process that demands years of endeavor. As reported in many accounts, it should be enriched by numerous stages of music education, such as having private tutorage, meeting with musicians, being in house gatherings, attending activities of music schools, following live performances and even listening to recorded music. The place of house gatherings among the musicians will be debated separately, so the table does not count the popularity of it. The table shows the various forms of learning for each musician without totaling the cases that had two types to single ones. That would help to identify not only the

proportions separately but also the most frequent combinations between the learning models.

Eighty-nine musicians (52.2 %) combined the most popular two types, namely the family involvement and private tutorage. It appears that both models functioned together in order to support one another and enhance the musical output. Astik Aga's (Asadur Hamamciyan, 1840-1913) uncle, Mofses Papazyan, was an actor, who also taught him how to sing. Additionally, he benefited from a music teacher, Aristakes Hovannesyan. The case reveals how the musical knowledge was inherited and family transmitted to next generation. Astik Aga taught what he got from his uncle to his son, Bogos Efendi (Astikzâde, 1872-1945). Another musician who combined family support with private tutorage was İhsan İyisan (1873-1946), whose uncle was musician Behlül Efendi (d. 1895). Biographical accounts underlined that Behlül Efendi and his nephew İhsan İyisan were always closely in touch with Sufi circles. While Behlül Efendi benefited from Sheikh Osman Dede of Yenikapı, İhsan İyisan frequented Sünbül Efendi Sufi lodge to be raised by *zakirbaşı* Sinan Efendi. Hasan Sabri Bey (1868-1922), the son of a military doctor, learned to play oud from his mother, Zehra Hanım. A scribe in the Ministry of Education (*Maarif Nezâreti*), he was further instructed by Hayık Usta (d.?) and oud player Cemal Bey (d.?).

Self-taught category sounds very strange at first sight. One may assume that musicians in the group were thoroughly isolated from the culture and pursued success by self-effort. The suggestion, in fact, is not convincing and only acceptable in one respect. The category emphasized not the music in general terms but the instruments that the musicians became an expert of. In fact, they were involved in music through different ways, either because of their family or by self-interest. Eventually they picked an instrument and struggled to overcome the technical issues on their own.

Sedat Öztoprak (1890-1942) learned how to play the oud alone. However, one has to consider the fact that he regularly followed the Mevlevî ceremonies held in Konya, the city where he grew up. It is likely that he inspected carefully the *tanburî*

dervishes to grasp the technique while he was enriching his repertoire in general during the Mevlevî rituals. Naci Tektel (1902-1975) was a self-taught violinist. However, one should not overlook the impact of his father, a well-known clarinet player, İbrahim Efendi (d. 1925), on his overall progress in the art. İbrahim Efendi is a critical figure because it is believed to be he was the musician who introduced the clarinet to Ottoman music. The biographical accounts of Ömer Altuğ (1905-1965) did not mention any teacher in his hometown in Sivas. A particular detail, nevertheless, gives information about his music education. A self-taught tanbur player, he had listened to the records of Cemil Bey passionately. The life story of Halûk Recai (1912-1972, although his real name was Haldun Menemencioglu, he never used it throughout his music career) revealed similar details indeed. Growing up in a family, whose members were amateur musicians, he was strongly inspired by Cemil Bey's music, which directed him to play kemenche. He acquired skill on the kemenche without a teacher. What these individual cases emphasized is the process of learning contained a range of models, which truly contributed to each other. Therefore, the self-taught model of learning music should be understood in the narrow sense. Finally, being in provinces might also be related to the cases of self-taught owing to the general scarcity of musicians and hence music culture outside of Istanbul; nevertheless, this suggestion demands more evidence.

Fourteen musicians in the "15-20" years of age category might be considered as further marginal due to their late engagement with music. In the light of the debates related to the importance of family involvement for the offspring's musical development in the early ages, the absence of family involvement in this group was surely a negative factor. The outcome underlined they were coming from families who were unrelated to art.

Yet one issue, which was emphasized in the self-taught part and considered to be inapplicable due to the limited number of cases, seems worth to be questioned for all age groups.

Table 5.9. Birthplace compared to age categories (cross tabulation)

Birth Place	Earlier than 10	10-15	15-20	unknown
Istanbul	135	22	5	24
Out of Istanbul	33	17	9	9
Unknown	2	-	-	1
TOTAL	170	39	14	34

In the light of the quantitative analysis, it is now reasonable to connect the issue of being outside of Istanbul to the cases of late engagement with music. Table shows the wide difference between “earlier than 10” and other groups. 79.4 % of musicians in the first group were born in Istanbul, while the percentage is reduced to 56.4 in the subsequent one and even dropped to 35.7 in the “15-20” group. The percentages makes possible to claim that they were latecomers to music partly owing to the fact that they did not have the musical opportunity as others had plenty in Istanbul. The conditions were simply unequal. The raw data, which the argument is based on, indicates that nine musicians were born outside of Istanbul (in the 15-20 group) but have moved to Istanbul without exception. However, they all completed primary education in their birthplaces except one, according to their education records. It was Muhiddin Erev (1884-1952), who was born in the *sanjak* of Siroz of Salonica province and completed the primary level at Bayezid. The number rises up to 3 in the secondary level education. Aziz Efendi (1842-1895) came from Medina and studied in Üsküdar, while Kemal Niyazi Seyhun (1885-1967) from Acre *sanjak* of Beirut province was enrolled to Galatasaray High School. The educational records show that they did not arrive in Istanbul before 10 years of age, which also had an impact on their late entrance to music. In fact, the outcomes confirm the centrality of Istanbul in music from an alternative perspective.

After all, two models of learning were widespread for 14 musicians in the “15-20” years of age category. Having a private tutor and enrolling to a music school were distributed almost evenly. Six musicians had only private tutorage, while four continued only to music schools. Three musicians applied both models, whereas the

last one was a self-taught musician. All in all, when the multiple cases were added together, it comes out as nine musicians taught music privately, seven through music schools. Ahmed Celal Tokses (1898-1966) was born in Aydın province. He settled in Istanbul and was enrolled to *Dârü't-Talîm-i Musikî*, which began to operate at Şehzadebaşı in 1912. Şerif İçli (1899-1956) registered to Beşiktaş Music School in 1921, which was founded by İhsan Aziz Bey (1884-1935) in 1921. Meanwhile, İhsan Aziz Bey appears to be an enthusiastic figure in organizing musicians towards profit oriented projects. He was also among the founders of *Musikî-i Osmanî* and *Dârü't-Talîm-i Musikî*. It might be argued that he understood well the impact of newly founded educational institutions in music and oriented quickly towards new opportunities in the expanding music market. Mustafa Çağlar (1910-1961) first registered to a music school in Balıkesir. Ali Hikmet Ayerdem (1877-1939) was the founder of the first music school in the area. As a former Ottoman Pasha, he was appointed as the corps commander to Balıkesir in the newly founded republic. Since his inauguration in the city started in 1925, the school could not be opened before it. Çağlar moved to Istanbul in 1931 and was enrolled to *Dârü't-Talîm-i Musikî*. The date is problematic owing to the fact that the school closed down in 1931. It seems that Çağlar either moved to Istanbul before 1931 or if the date of arrival was correct then he could only be educated there at best for less than a year. Muzaffer İlkar's (1910-1987) music education stated only one type of education: He registered to the *Şark Musikî Cemiyeti* in Kadıköy. The school was founded in 1915 through the cooperative efforts of musicians, including Ali Rifat Çağatay (1869-1935), Sami Bey (1876-1939), Bestenigâr Ziya Bey (1877-1927) and Nuri Duyguer (1877-1963).



Photo 5.2. The members of the *Şark Musîkî Cemiyeti*
Ali Rifat Çağatay sits at the center.

Source: Cem Atabeyoğlu, "Musiki âlemimizden...", p.21, Taha Toros Archive, No. 001527875006, İstanbul Şehir University.

Music schools from the late Ottoman to the Early Republican years could not only be restrict to age categories but to be explored from many perspectives. These institutions were new phenomena, which deliberately provided new spaces to music but created problems as well. I will deal with them more profoundly while discussing the change and continuity in a transitional period from empire to nation-state in the sixth chapter.

The next analysis will seek links between age categories and instrumental distribution. The idea is to check whether any instrument has specifically concentrated on an age group or whether or not singers show any particular pattern for music education.

Table 5.10. Instrumental distribution to age categories (by frequency)

Instrument	Earlier than 10	10-15	15-20	Unknown	TOTAL
Singer	47	13	4	8	72
Tanbur	10	0	1	1	12
Kanun	6	4	0	3	13
Ney	11	4	1	2	18
Oud	19	5	2	6	32
Kemenche	5	2	2	0	9
Violin	19	3	1	3	26
Piano	5	1	0	0	6
NPI ²⁰³	7	2	0	7	16
Other	0	2	0	0	2
Moi ²⁰⁴	41	3	3	4	51
TOTAL	170	39	14	34	257

It is widely believed that the younger the children engage in music the more their musical potential would develop. It could be argued that this commonly held belief was apparently practiced in the Ottoman music based on the overall age distribution outcome (66 %). Besides, the numbers above showing the dominance of “earlier than 10” over others, further confirm the argument. The majority of musicians that belonged to any of the instrumental categories were involved in music in the earliest possible ages. Tanbur is apparently by far leading instrument. Even though the frequency of tanbur among the age groups may seem odd due to its lengthy fingerboard, luthiers overcame the problem by producing appropriate versions for children as well as women, just like the way piano producers solved the problem in England. Eventually, because the figures in the table seem predictable

²⁰³ The NPI category refers to the musicians without instrumental association, as stated before. The distinction between NPI and singer was explained previously indeed.

²⁰⁴ As anticipated, the far leading combination was voice and oud playing (16 in total). The rest was allocated evenly between other instruments but was low in numbers. Voice was almost always one part of the combination. The underlying reason was the significance of singing in the Ottoman music culture.

and yet none of the pattern reveals a kind of atypical response, that leaves not much to interpret. Perhaps the only thing it underscores is the popularity and hence the vitality of engagement in music in infancy.



Photo 5.3. Ercüment Batanay (1927-2004) posed with tanbur adjusted to his age
Source: Muhittin Serin, *Kemal Batanay*, Kubbealtı Neşriyat, İstanbul, 2006, p. 75.

5.3. Non-Muslim Musicians and Music Education

Questioning in particular the music training among the non-Muslim musicians is reasonable to see the dominant and less significant models of learning as well as to reconsider the musical relationship between Muslim and non-Muslims. From a historiographical perspective, encounters seem not to be exceptional and highly positive. One can assume the Ottoman music world was a kind of mutually built society. İsmail Hakkı Bey (1865-1927) had knowledge on the Jewish religious repertoire, who even contributed to it by composing and was one of the music teachers of Nesim Sevilya (1856-1949).²⁰⁵ Armenian musician Kirkor Çulhayan (1868-1935) invited his friend Rauf Yekta Bey (1871-1935) to the Armenian Church in Kumkapı in order to listen to his religious composition in the mode *nihavend*.

²⁰⁵ Maureen Jackson, *Mixing Musics*, pp. 32-34.

İbrahim Efendi (Avram Hayat Levi, 1879-1948) was actively involved in music as an oud player, one might even encounter him performing in the music programs during the Ramadan nights. Pappas examined particularly the intimate relationship of Tanburi Cemil Bey (1872-1916) with Rum musicians of Istanbul and the interaction between musicians who belonged to different religions.²⁰⁶ These individual cases may be extended easily to emphasize the mutual relationship. The picture, below, might be interpreted to support the argument, which shows an ensemble formed by Muslim and non-Muslim musicians.

5.3.1. Musical Specialty Questioned

My sampling might be instrumental to enhance our understanding to what extent the harmonious relationship expressed in the individual life accounts was reflecting the general tendencies. As stated previously, the sampling contained 28 non-Muslim musicians, 21 of whom were Armenian, four belonged to the Greek Orthodox community and three to Jewish community.

Table 5.11. Instrumental distribution among the non-Muslim musicians

Instrument	Frequency
Voice	7
Oud	4
Kanun	2
Kemenche	2
Violin	5
NPI	2
Moi	6
Oud-Voice	4
Violin-Piano	1
Kanun-Kemenche	1
TOTAL	28

²⁰⁶ Miltiadis Pappas, "Tanburi Cemil Bey ve Rum Müzisyenlerin Karşılıklı Etkileşimleri", in *Tanburi Cemil Bey Sempozyum Bildirileri*, Hasan Baran Fırat-Zeynep Yıldız Abbasoğlu (eds.), Küre Yayınları, İstanbul, 2017, pp. 117-129.

The outcome shows the figures for the non-Muslim group run parallel to the general trends in musical specialty, namely as voice, playing oud and violin. Interestingly, non-Muslims had a preference neither for the ney nor for the tanbur. Ney demands a special treatment not only because non-Muslim musicians did not have a tendency to play it but also for a number of reasons. The study will soon discuss the sociocultural as well as religious aspects of the instrument exclusively. The reason why non-Muslim musicians did not seek to play tanbur is an open debate. The argument proposed previously in order to understand the radical popularity of oud against tanbur might also be helpful to analyze the situation. The primacy of oud and violin over ney and tanbur in the history of early recordings as well as in the musician lists who played in the music halls, coffee houses and theatres at the turn of the twentieth century has to be taken into consideration. The historical records indicated that tanbur and ney were not preferred mainly by musicians who performed music in public. I need to emphasize at this point that my arguments are not exclusively based on the names appeared in the recording business and the list of musicians published by Kalender. Besides, regarding the tanbur players, it could not be said that the instrument was entirely excluded from music market. My sampling contains tanbur players, who derived a living from music. Another point is my sampling does not entirely consist of musicians who were active participants of music business. Therefore, the argument about the insignificant place of tanbur and ney is only relevant to more market oriented musicians (professionals), and not applicable to the whole. Even so, exploring the degree of non-Muslim musicians whose chief source of income was music would provide an explanation to the argument that certain instruments were more appropriate to the demands of market than others.

Table 5.12 reveals that the percentages of the Muslim and non-Muslim musicians that regarded music as the main income source are clearly quite the reverse. After all, results might generate controversy owing to the situation that Muslim musicians constituted the majority in the sampling, while the non-Muslims formed slightly more than 10 %.

Table 5.12. The chief source of income for Muslim and non-Muslim musicians

Income Type	Muslim		Non-Muslim	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Music-based	66	28.8	20	71.4
Non Music-based	156	68.1	7	25
Unknown	7	3.1	1	3.6
TOTAL	229	100.0	28	100.0

Without disregarding the dangers of deducing from the disproportionate number of non-Muslim musicians, it could be argued that the situation, however, is largely due to the general absence of non-Muslim musicians in the historical sources, which I have already overemphasized. On the part of the non-Muslim musicians' outcome reliability, there seems to be ways to counterbalance and hence to increase the validity of the results. The method of cross tabulation analysis, which has been applied throughout the thesis, is one of them. The study revealed the proportions of musical specialty for the non-Muslims and compared the results with the overall trends. The comparison yet helped to indicate to what extent the non-Muslims were typical. In addition to that, instruments that became prominent in the general table were also in fashion within the non-Muslim group. The results showed that two categories have run parallel to each other. To further prevent the disproportionate influence, the second cross-examination would be on the fathers' occupation. Yet the analysis would be instrumental to interpret the high proportion of music-based income among the non-Muslim musicians.

Table 5.13. Fathers' professions of Muslim and non-Muslim musicians compared

Income Type	Muslim		Non-Muslim	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Music-based	5	2.1	6	21.5
Non Music-based	166	72.5	10	35.7
Unknown	58	25.4	12	42.8
TOTAL	229	100.0	28	100.0

The analysis, nevertheless, should not be confused with the role of family in the educational process. Therefore, the table, above, simply questions the fathers' profession but not the musical propensity. On the part of the non-Muslim musicians, the figures above do not strongly suggest music as a family tradition. However, the high number of Muslim and non-Muslim fathers in the unknown category should be taken into account. Even the proportions were to be appropriate to the argument; children's career choices could not be explained through fathers' profession alone. A range of factors, from social to economic would play a role during the process.

The comparison still indicates two critical points from fathers to the offspring. One is the upward trend in two generations of non-Muslim family members whose source of income was music. It advanced from 21.5 % up to 71.4 %. Similar trend is apparent for Muslim families, whose percentages have risen from 2.1 % to 28.8 % in one generation. Another is the corresponding proportion of the professions other than music. The situation was not different at all for Muslim families either. Statistically speaking, the proportion of professions other than music for Muslim families was almost equal to each other in two generations, which was 72.5 % for fathers and 68 % for offspring. What created the difference was music-based income between fathers and offspring. As mentioned before, the method of comparing the outcomes with the general patterns is functional to compensate the potential shortcomings of research findings regarding the non-Muslim musicians.

With regards to the music specialty, instruments might indeed be interpreted through an alternative perspective. It is possible to establish a correlation between musicians who played certain instruments and the ones who gained a living out of music. Put differently, instrument-centered quantitative analysis might provide insights into the characteristics of instruments; also the results might be helpful to explain why the percentage of professional non-Muslim musicians was so high (71.4 %).

Table 5.14. Musical specialty compared to source of income

Instrument	Music Based	Non Music-based	Unknown	TOTAL
Singer	30	72	1	103
Oud	20	32	2	54
Violin	17	17	2	36
Tanbur	7	12	2	21
Ney	4	17	-	21
Kanun	5	17	-	22
TOTAL	83	167	7	257

The reason why the figures for music specialty differed from the general table presented at the beginning of the chapter is I added up the musicians in the Moi category to corresponding instrument. Even though the numbers have changed in the musical specialty classification, however, the musicians in the Moi category corresponded to general patterns that the majority were singers, oud and violin players, respectively. Thus the increased numbers of each instrument did not cause a change in the musical specialty patterns. What is the contribution of figures to the overall debate is certain instruments were more market oriented than others. 29.1 % of singers gained a living through music, the percentage advanced to 35 % for oud and peaked to 47.2 % in violin. Although the numbers are not strikingly high, they could not be overlooked for the thesis, which underlines the different aspects and features of music and the significance of music practitioners whose source of income revealed diversity. Music as main source of living was 22 % for kanun,

whereas the percentage further dropped to 19 % for ney. Apparently, only tanbur weakens the argument, which reached to 33 % in terms of income source. Although explaining the outcome that seems to generate unanticipated results is demanding but claiming that one argument could explain the story behind every single instrument is simply unrealistic. The debate on the pianists, for instance, would not be appropriate to understand the musicians who played ney. Yet my sampling contains musicians from a range of historical sources, which brings to the forefront the diverse backgrounds and hence entails different social analysis to explain musicians.

5.3.2. Who Teaches Whom Among the Non-Muslim Musicians?

On the question of the music training, a general picture of the Non-Muslim musicians points to the family involvement and community based musical transition as predominant models. The family association with music or houses in which music was heard regularly was not a rare phenomenon for the musical cultivation of non-Muslim children. The part that discussed the types of music learning within the different age categories pointed to the significance of it.

The community based music learning means musicians were instructed by a teacher who belonged to the same community. Those hired ones were often an extended family member or the member of the religious institution, to which they were attached. Such a self-sufficient model explicitly contradicts the idea of mutual relationship between musicians from different religions that one may often encounter in historical accounts. After all, my sampling demonstrates that the presumed interaction was limited at least in the process of music training.

The father of Ovrik Kazasyan Efendi (1872-1936) was an amateur lute player. The uncle Kazasyan was the deputy of Patriarch; which shows the role of church in his musical development. Additionally, Sarı Ovrik Efendi was his lute teacher. Sarkis Efendi (Suciyan, 1885-1943)'s father, Onnik Ohannes Efendi, played kemenche and was the person who introduced music to his son. Violinist Aliksan Aga taught him music. Another Armenian musician, Sahak Hocasari (1889-1946) was trained by

Aram Efendi for the violin and learned how to read notation. Izak Elgazi's (1889-1950) father was a cantor in Izmir, who sang liturgical music and led prayer in the synagogue. He also benefited musically from Şemtov Şikar (1840-1920) and Hayim Alazraki. Oud player Hrant Emre Kenkiloğlu's (1901-1978) father, Garabet Efendi was a carpenter whose musical knowledge was not mentioned in his biography. His music teachers were all Armenians; violinist Dikran, violinist Agob and oud player Kirkor. The trend is apparent among the non-Muslim musicians that the majority did not learn music from a Muslim teacher.

Apart from the pupils who grew up in a house with music and entirely benefited from the situation, the children of families whose involvement with music was at the marginal level if any, had to rely on a music teacher. Thus it was more probable for those to find a Muslim teacher, however, they indeed sought help from the community they were the part of. It seems that only a small number of cases submitted the mentioned interaction but even those life stories showed that it was not so decisive. Isak Varon (1884-1962) was the scribe in the law office in Salonika that was owned by well-known Manyasizade Refik Bey (1853-1909). Because Refik Bey had undertaken the defense of Midhat Pasha at court, he was exiled to Kavala, Salonika during the reign of Abdulhamid II. The Ottoman general election held in 1908 made him first the deputy of Istanbul, later the Minister of Justice. Apart from his political identity, Refik Bey was a well-known composer, who taught music to Isak Varon. However, his biographical accounts pointed to his father's musical role before he met with Refik Bey. The story behind the move of Bimen Şen (Dergazaryan, 1873-1943) from Bursa to Istanbul when he was 13 years of old was already stated. In Istanbul, he benefited from a group of eminent musicians, including Hacı Arif Bey, Hacı Kiramî Efendi, Nedim Bey, and so on. Above all, his father, Kasbar Dergazaryan was a priest and Bimen Şen was already a member of the church choir who sang liturgical music before his involvement with those names in Istanbul. The short life story of kanun player Nubar Efendi (b. 1885) appears to be unique in a way that it mentions violinist Âma Ali Efendi as his only music teacher.

Biographies emphasized the role of religious institutions in the development of non-Muslim musicians. A considerable amount of non-Muslims were equipped with religious music either by listening to choirs in the days of public religious worship or by participating to religious choirs. Even though Leon Hanciyan (1860-1947) grew up in the house in which family members were amateur musicians, he was familiar with the Armenian religious music. Priest Kapriel taught him the notation system called Hamparsum. Ovrık Efendi (1872-1936), Karnik Garmiryan (1872-1947), Kirkor Berber (1884-1959), Izak Elgazi (1889-1950), Marko Colakoglu (1896-1957) were among the musicians that religious music held at the Orthodox Churches and Synagogues formed the basis of music education and helped to shape their musical identity.

I argue that a range of historical sources, such as biographies, musical advertisements, programs of music halls, coffee houses, and theatres but particularly the photographs of music ensembles lead to a teleological view of the past due to which many historians of music took for granted that the interaction was always there. The research results, albeit derived from a small number of non-Muslim musicians, call into question the reductionist type of historical understanding by demonstrating that the presumed interaction barely existed during the process of non-Muslim musicians' training. The argument, however, does not provide for the entire music careers, which the interaction seemed to be more widening for the performers. In order to perceive the overall tendencies, the situation should be questioned vice versa, from the Muslim side. Therefore, the subsequent part will analyze the limits of interaction by concentrating more on the Muslim musicians. The part will indeed look into the role of the corresponding Muslim religious institutions, such as the mosques and Sufi lodges, during the musical development of Muslim musicians.

5.4. Social Analysis of Muslim Musicians

Muslim musicians constitute the majority of the sampling. The part will call into question to what extent religion formed the basis of music through analyzing musicians whose family backgrounds; education types and musical output

manifested more religious colors. Given the difficulty of such a task to explore the religious character of music, the part will emphasize the patterns produced by musicians who received religious school education, trained to be a reciter and were influenced by Sufi music and its culture. The socio-cultural analysis of those musicians will also provide insights into the social changes they have experienced particularly in the field of music. The last sub-section will focus on the ney and musicians of this instrument to its center. Rather than overemphasizing the musical background of practitioners by questioning the predominant model of music training and teachers, which would essentially bring Mevlevî lodges to forefront, the part will approach to ney and its players in a way to explore the social history of the instrument.

5.4.1. Debating the Religious Character of Music through Sheikh Cemaleddin Efendi (1870-1937)

The previous part emphasized the vital role of religious music in the course of the non-Muslim pupils' musical identity formation. This section will call into question the influence of religion on the Muslim musicians, as many biographical accounts provide plenty of details related with the subject matter.

Focusing on the musicians whose fathers were religious functionaries will provide a basis to the argument. As mentioned before, 28 fathers served in a range of positions, from religious scholar to imam and from priest to synagogue cantor, which the study placed them all under the category of religious functionary. Because the part will particularly discuss the Muslims, three non-Muslims will be excluded from the analysis. The outcome indicated that 25 fathers were critical for the musical development of their offspring in two ways: They either personally trained their children or arranged a tutor from their personal network for the purpose, which the patterns resembled the music learning process for the non-Muslims. However, the explanation does not restrict the music education to fathers but emphasizes the importance of it. The importance of family involvement in the early ages, also in the part dealt that with the professional continuity. Regarding the children of religious functionaries' music education, the outcome clearly supports

the argument. Out of 25 Muslim musicians, only three were educated in the Imperial Music Academy (*mûzîka-i hümayûn*). The rest (n = 22) was either trained within the family, or by a tutor. The educational details show that the tutor was either a colleague (a religious functionary with a skill in music) or a musician that father knew personally.

Kadı Fuad Efendi's (1890-1920) father was Hafız Ahmed Efendi who asked Tanburî Ali Efendi to train his son. Tanburi Ali Efendi and Cemil Bey personally knew each other, and often participated in musical house gatherings. It is possible that Fuad Efendi was introduced to Cemil Bey through Ali Efendi. Similar pattern is apparent in the course of the Hadi Bey's (Yeniköylü, d. 1920) musical refinement. His father was the imam of Tarabya Mosque and a friend of Hasan Efendi (Yeniköylü, 1822-1910). Hadi Efendi musically benefited from Hasan Efendi whose considerable repertoire was transmitted from his teacher, İsmail Dede Efendi (1777-1846).²⁰⁷

Sheikh Cemal(eddin) Efendi of Kasımpaşa (1870-1937) is one of the distinctive characters in the late Ottoman music, whom historiography failed to notice. Cemal Efendi retained his father's position as the *imam* of Küçük Piyale Pasha Mosque in Kasımpaşa. Being one of the students of Yeniköylü Hasan Efendi ultimately made him one of the next carriers of İsmail Dede Efendi's legacy.



Photo 5.4. Sheikh Cemal Efendi of Kasımpaşa (1870-1937)

Source: M. Nazmi Özalp, *Türk Müsîkîsi Tarihi*, Vol. 2, MEB, İstanbul, 2000, p. 167.

²⁰⁷ Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun provides more detailed biography of Yeniköylü Hasan Efendi (1822-1910); *Türk Musikisi Antolojisi: Dinî Eserler*, Vol. II, p. 444.

However, even though the musical inheritance made him so special, it is not the reason of bringing him to the forefront. What makes him even more noteworthy is his active involvement with music teaching. The outcome indicates 12 musicians who learned music through one religious functionary. It seems that Cemal Efendi was one of the popular music teachers of his time.

Table 5.15. Religious functionaries who instructed music

Musician Names	Music Teachers
Emin Yazıcı (b. 1945)	Cemal Efendi
Vefalı Ali Rıza Bey, (b. 1855)	Osman Efendi (Beylerbeyi Mosque)
Kemal Gürses (b. 1882)	Cemal Efendi
Kadı Fuad Efendi (1890)	his father
Kemal Batanay (b. 1893)	Cemal Efendi
Besim Şerif Üstünöz (b. 1893)	his father
Sebilci Hüseyin Efendi (b. 1894)	Cemal Efendi
Cevdet Kozanoğlu (b. 1896)	Cemal Efendi
Mustafa Nafiz Irmak (b. 1904)	imam Hafız Aziz (Ortaköy Mosque)
Sadi Hoşses (b. 1910)	Cemal Efendi
Sadettin Kaynak (b. 1895)	Cemal Efendi
Süleyman Ergüner (b. 1902)	Sadettin Kaynak (Sultan Selim Mosque)
Abdulkadir Töre Bey (b. 1904)	Hafız Vehbi Efendi
Yeniköylü Hadi Bey (b. ?)	his father

Cemal Efendi could not teach music to Vefalı Ali Rıza Bey logically due to the age gap. He was fifteen years older than Cemal Efendi. The list associated him with seven musicians. Besides, a broader search in the sampling indicated two more of his other students: Hulusi Gökmenli (1902-1975) and Salahaddin Demirtaş (1912-1997), both grew up in the Sufi circles of Istanbul. It should be noted that, Cemal Efendi was not only an *imam* but also a Sufi sheikh and a well-known *zakirbaşı*. Meanwhile, his mosque in Kasımpaşa also functioned as a Sufi lodge, in which he was the Sheikh as well as the one who lead the rituals, *zıkr* sessions. The situation explains how the last two names met with Cemal Efendi and eventually became his disciples both religiously and musically. Although one would often encounter his

critical to understand the types of music transmitted from Cemal Efendi to his students. Those who learned music from Cemal Efendi and listed above, almost always had other teachers who were rather more specialized on non-religious music. Kemal Gürses (1882-1939) studied with Bestenigâr Ziya Bey (1877-1923) and Hacı Kiramî Efendi (1840-1909), while tanbur player Kemal Batanay (1893-1981) studied with a number of musicians, including Rauf Yekta Bey (1871-1935) and Refik Fersan (1893-1965). Oud player Cevdet Kozanoğlu (1896-1986) additionally learned from Santur Ziya (1868-1952) and Ali Salahi Bey (1878-1945). Sebilci Hüseyin Efendi (1894-1975) benefited from the non-religious repertoire of Ahmed Efendi of Salonika (1869-1926) and oud player Abdi Bey (b. 1868).

The presence of several teachers in the course of music education should not be considered as showing that Cemal Efendi was not an accomplished musician in the non-religious field and that his students needed more skillful masters. In fact, studying with multiple teachers was highly a common practice among musicians. If one were to play tanbur he would not merely engage with a tanbur teacher to achieve a particular end. He would need musicians who had proficiency in repertoire or religious/non-religious forms. The above-mentioned musicians provided a good example of this general rule. Besides, musicians in the sampling predominantly studied with much more than one teacher; an issue that I will deal with in more detail by exploring musicians' networks. A small passage from the biographical record of ney player Emin Yazıcı (1881-1945) underlines how comprehensive one had to be in the Ottoman music:

He first learnt Mevlevî rite in the *Rast* mode from certain Haşim Efendi. *Kudümzenbaşı* Raif Dede of Galata Mevlevî lodge taught him more Mevlevî rites with emphasis on rhythmic structure. Ahmed Celaledin Dede (1853-1946), the Sheikh of Üsküdar Mevlevî lodge, taught him a few more rites. Hobçuzade Ahmed [Gavsi] Efendi (d. 1908)²⁰⁸, the *zakirbaşı* of Kadirî lodge at Tophane, trained him on *miraciye*. He

²⁰⁸ Further information on him and his extended family, whose members continued as the Sheikh of Kadirî lodge in Tophane for three generations, see Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk Musikisi Antolojisi: Dinî Eserler*, Vol. 2, pp. 483-484; Hasan Aksoy, "Mehmed Şâkir Efendi", *DİA*, Vol. 28, 2003, p. 530.

continued to study with his brother Hobçuzade Rıza Efendi (d. 1924) after the death of Ahmed Gavsi Efendi. Bolahenk Nuri Bey (1834-1911) taught him two Mevlevî rites composed by himself, on the modes of *Buselik* and *Karciğar*. Rauf Yekta Bey (1871-1935) helped him to be familiar with hamparsum notation and theoretical issues in music, while Şevket Gavsi (1873-1954) trained him on the Western notation. He was a student of Sheikh Cemal Efendi particularly on the religious forms.²⁰⁹

The quotation underlines the fact that religious music consisted of innumerable sub-branches. One should also keep in mind that Emin Yazıcı's proficiency was in the instrument of ney, not in voice. From an alternative interpretation, the situation underscores that it was the contribution of each participant that ultimately made the Ottoman music culture immensely deep and diversified.

5.4.2. Musicians with Religious School Education and Reciters of Qur'an

The sampling contains a considerable amount of musicians who received religious school, *medrese*, education and/or musicians who were educated to become Qur'an reciters. This particular situation could not be overlooked to analyze the religious basis of music.

Nine musicians were trained in the religious schools to become a member of the *ilmiyye* class. However, six out of nine musicians could not accomplish the task successfully and left their school without a certificate. Their biographical accounts did not mention much about the failure stories. Only one out of these six incomplete students ended up in memorizing the Qur'an hence became a reciter, *hafız*. That person was Kemal Batanay (1893-1981), whose case of we saw within a different context. Ali Rıza Sağman (1890-1965) was the only musician that succeeded in graduating from Süleymaniye Religious School and he also achieved the task of memorizing the holy book of Islam.

On the part of the Qur'an reciters, the sampling contains more than a few number of musicians. As the task did not essentially entailed religious school education, they

²⁰⁹ Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk Musikisi Antolojisi: Dinî Eserler*, Vol. 2, p. 669.

predominantly studied under the supervision of an experienced reciter. In addition to Batanay and Sağman, the study included 26 reciters, a proportion of 11 %. Thus, social and musical analysis of those is necessary to put their case within the general picture.

According to Table 5.16 reciters were coming largely from rather more spiritual families. These religiously more devoted families were religious functionaries and Sufi families. Interestingly, probably for the first time the outcome does not indicate any official functionary family background.

Table 5.16. Profession of reciters' fathers (cross tabulation)

Profession	Frequency	Percent
Rel. Func.	12	42.9
Teacher	1	3.6
Sheikh/dervish	4	14.3
Artisan	1	3.6
Merchant	1	3.6
Military	3	10.7
Unknown	6	21.4
TOTAL	28	100.0

Regarding the association of family types to the process of education, the family involvement or influence once more appears as a prominent model of training even though only a few cases explicitly stated that fathers or close relatives trained the reciters: Süleyman Hikmetî Efendi, the *imam* of Cedid Ali Pasha Mosque in Eyüp, was the father of Zekai Dede (1824-1897). His father was his calligraphy teacher, while his uncle, İbrahim Zühdi Efendi, known as Pepe Hoca, was his Qur'an teacher when he was enrolled in primary school in Eyüp. Mustafa Zeki Çağlarman's (b. 1900) father, Raşid Efendi, was a scholar in the Fatih religious school. Rakım Elkutlu (1872-1948)'s father, Şuayip Efendi, was the imam of Hisar Mosque at İzmir. Nevertheless, the small amount of fathers who were reported to raise their offspring for the purpose of being a reciter does not generate controversy. The argument gives

emphasis to pervasive religious atmosphere in the family and the professional networks set by fathers, but not necessarily the direct engagement of fathers. The network points out, among other advantages, to the ease of procuring a teacher without great effort.

Besides, the study stated previously that out of 28 religious functionary fathers only four continued with the family tradition and served as religious functionary, which was a clear downward trend for the profession. The majority's professional future was shaped in the bureaucracy by serving in various posts and positions (see Table 3.17). In other words, the proportions told explicitly that children of religious functionaries did not prefer to follow the footsteps of their fathers.

The majority of the reciters came from similar family background (religious functionaries), which indicates the strong family impact. However, there is not any inconsistency or contradiction between the outcomes of Table 3.16 and the outcomes in Table 5.16. They simply analyze two different things: Table 5.14 emphasized the main income sources of children whose fathers were religious functionaries. Table 5.16 provides figures for the occupation of reciter musicians' fathers. As mentioned before, being a reciter neither entails to serve officially in the religious affairs nor restrains one to get engaged in other occupations. Eventually, when one compares two associated datasets it would not be wrong to interpret the situation that 12 out of 28 musicians whose fathers were religious functionary, have learned the principal part of the job, memorizing Qur'an, but only four chose to continue professionally. The majority (n = 24) sought career opportunities elsewhere.

How then these reciters made a living is a good question to understand the future career choices of those 28. Because it seems there is a correlation between them.

Table 5.17. Main income source of reciters

Income Source	Frequency	Percent
Music	3	10.7
Official Functionary	9	32.1
Religious Functionary	9	32.1
Sheikh/Dervish	1	3.6
Artisan	2	7.1
Self-employed	1	3.6
MOI	3	10.8
Rel. func - Teacher	1	3.6
Rel. func - Artisan	1	3.6
Off. Func. – Self emp.	1	3.6
TOTAL	28	100.0

Table 5.17 brings two jobs to the forefront. Religious functionaries would slightly exceed official functionaries when the jobs in the “more than one income source” category totaled. It has to be noted that, four out of nine religious functionaries fathers were also religious functionaries, whose cases were just discussed above. Briefly, being a reciter occupationally made those closer to be a part of the religious affairs. Another set of outcome regarding to the chief income source of musicians in total provides a basis to the argument as well. The study contained 257 musicians, in which 16 musicians were official religious functionaries (6.3 % in total). Thus nine out of those 16 were reciters.

Yet the table indicates only three reciter musicians whose main income source was music: Zekai Dede (1824-1897), Mehmed Esref Efendi (d. 1930), and Hafız Burhan (1897-1943). Actually, Zekai Dede’s case was more or less the traditional patronage relation which is a pattern not many musicians in the sampling shared with. He lived under the artistic patronage of Mustafa Fazıl Pasha (1829-1875) for about twenty-five years. Mehmed Eşref Efendi owned a music store in Divanyolu Street, Sultanahmet, where he traded music instruments, printed (sheet) music and held

music classes. Hafız Burhan was a significant figure in the music market. He recorded innumerable songs and *gazels* for Columbia recording company.²¹⁰

Eventually, the study discussed to what extent being a reciter had an impact on the future career choices of reciters. It was surely more helpful to find a position in the religious affairs and hence it was the predominant pattern among the reciters. What about the musical advantages of it? It is possible to discuss the issue through the musical specialty distribution among reciters.

Table 5.18 does not leave much room to analyze the outcomes. The dominant musical specialty was profoundly related with the background of musicians.

Table 5.18. Reciters' musical specialty

Instrument	Frequency	Percent
Voice	18	64.8
Tanbur	2	7.1
Ney	1	3.6
Oud	4	14.3
NPI	2	7.1
Tanbur-Piano	1	3.6
TOTAL	28	100.0

A reciter was essentially a singer whose musical education was decisively focused on how to use the voice correctly and efficiently. They were already prepared and trained before entering the music market. That explains the high frequency of voice at the expense of other instruments. Probably the only interesting case is the one who played tanbur and piano. He was Medenî Aziz Efendi (1842-1895). He was born as a son of an *imam* but was adopted by Abdulmecid's daughter Fatma Sultan's

²¹⁰Online catalogue prepared by Pan Publishing House, Istanbul, lists the Hafız Burhan recordings:

https://tasplak.pankitap.com/index.php?pg=1&firma=&katalog_no=&eser=&makam=&yorumcu=haf%C4%B1z%20burhan (accessed on 22 August 2018).

household and he was raised in the palace. That explains his engagement with piano.

The subsequent part will continue to analyze those whose musical character was mainly shaped by religious music. The section will place the Sufi lodges to its center. The impact of Sufi institutions to music and musicians raised in the Sufi lodges will be the main topics of the following section.

5.5. A Sociocultural Analysis of Musicians with Sufi Affiliation

The part together with subsequent sections will particularly focus on two issues: Analyzing the characteristics of musicians who were affiliated to a Sufi organization and the Sufi impact on the music education. Indeed, it will pay particular attention to the Mevlevî order, whose participants constituted the bigger proportion in the distribution of orders among Sufi musicians.

Table 5.19. Sufi involvement distributed to orders

Mevlevî	40	15.6
Rufaî	10	3.9
Nakşî	2	.8
Hâlidî	1	.4
Kadirî	5	1.9
Halvetî	5	1.9
Ahmediyye, Uşşakî	1	.4
Cemâliyye, Nasuhî	1	.4
Bektaşî	1	.4
Sadî	2	.8
Affiliation unclear (visiting more than one lodge)	4	1.6
Other	3	1.2
Unknown	182	70.8
TOTAL	257	100.0

The frequencies are based on the clear statements on the Sufi involvement in the biographies. As mentioned previously, the term includes a wide range of positions, from being an official member of certain Sufi order to paying visits to a Sufi lodge irregularly (*muhibbân*).

Related with the unknown category, it also contained 28 non-Muslim musicians, 11 %. It does not obviously mean that a Non-Muslim would not visit a Sufi lodge; in fact, there were non-Muslims who frequented the Sufi lodges. However, biographies of non-Muslim musicians in the sampling did not refer to such an involvement. The unknown category particularly for this case should be considered in the negative sense. I pointed the underlying reasons when I analyzed the musicians that were resided in the Eyüp neighborhood.

According to the results, the Sufi association reaches 29.2 % of the total. Within these 75 musicians, the Mevlevî order was the predominant one. In fact, the sum of other orders was smaller than the Mevlevî musicians. The situation entails more concentration in the Mevlevî order and the musicians who were in a range of ways affiliated to it.

5.5.1. Mevlevî Musicians Reconsidered

Exploring the family background of musicians in the Mevlevî category reveals that about one third (32.5 %) of them belonged to families of government officials, while 20 % were born into Sufi families (mostly members of Sheikh families). As to the statistics on the birthplaces, Istanbul was clearly the main city. It was the birthplace of 32 Mevlevî musicians, 80 % of the Mevlevî musicians in total. Yet the same number of musicians received primary education there. Higher education rates in the group were also considerable: Fourteen musicians (35 %) received higher education. When the percentages are compared to the overall educational statistics, one may realize that Mevlevî musicians shared a notable part. Seventy-eight musicians (30.3 %) in the sampling have received higher education, while the Mevlevî musicians constituted 18 % of it. Interestingly, only two received higher education in the religious studies. However, none have completed it: They were

Nurullah Kılıç (1879-1975) and Gavsî Baykara (1902-1067). The frequency of reciters was also significant in the group. The study included 28 reciters. Amongst them the number of Mevlevî musicians was nine that eventually made 32% of the group.

Regarding the cultural contribution of Mevlevî musicians, almost half of the group was active in writing and publishing on musical and non-musical issues. Seventeen musicians in the group (42.5 %) published books, wrote articles to journals and newspapers.

Searching into the occupational distribution, the outcome described the situation that 42.5 % served in the bureaucracy, while 15 % gained income from musical activities. Yet the results pointed to four Sufis (10 %), who all passed away before the state officially closed the Sufi lodges in 1925. Otherwise they would have searched for an appropriate occupation. The rest of the musicians were religious functionaries, teachers, artisans, and doctors, more or less represented equally in the sample. In a broader perspective, questioning 75 musicians' occupational distribution in the Sufi group does not generate radical change but represents similar income trends: 44 % employed in public offices, while 14.7 % financially supported by music and 12 % made a living through a Sufi lodge. All in all, the socio-economic basis of the Sufi organizations might be derived from the occupational distribution results. The argument is relevant to the Mevlevî order since it presented similar patterns as well. The order achieved to attract the attention of musicians from different layers of society and the condition was not contrary at all given the sociological background of the Ottoman music, which the study underlines it from different perspectives.

5.5.2. The Sufi Impact on the Music Education

Musicians in the Sufi category did not produce an atypical picture in terms of training models when the proportions are compared to the general trends. The family impact and private tutor were apparently two dominant models of learning within the Sufi musician category:

Table 5.20. Music education types among Sufi musicians

Types	Frequency	Percent
Family	2	2.7
Tutorage	29	38.7
Music School	1	1.3
Self-taught	2	2.7
Mûzîka-i Hümâyûn	2	2.7
Unknown	1	1.2
Combined types		
Family and tutorage	32	41.6
Other combinations	6	7.8
TOTAL	75	100.0

In fact, analysis of learning models presented above would be in parallel with the interpretations on the previously debated musicians. However, focusing more on the educational details brings one feature to the forefront and it is what would make the real difference with other categories. The educational records overemphasize the spot where the music education has taken place: It was the Sufi lodges but particularly the ones belonging to the Mevlevî order. Fifty nine musicians out of 75 had ties to a Sufi lodge in order to learn music, which is 78.7 % in total.

Mehmet Cemal Efendi (1847-1916) was truly a musician of Sufi production. He was trained by Sheikh Rıza Efendi of Hatuniye Sufi lodge in Eyüp. Zekai Dede (1824-1897) also played role in his education process. Yet he studied to learn *hamparsum* notation system with ney player Baba Raşid. It was not others but Sufi musicians who trained him at every stage of his music education. Two stages were critical for the musical development of Ahmet Rasim Bey (1864-1932). The music classes held during the elementary level at *Darrüşşafaka* (Orphanage) School and the musical atmosphere in the Bahariye Mevlevî lodge, to which he paid visits in his early life. Zekai Dede was the source as well as the one who linked the two places for Ahmet Rasim. İzzeddin Hümaî Bey's (1875-1950) father was a sheikh of Kadirî order in Fatih. His father and *zakirbaşı* Mehmed Efendi instructed him musically. The father

of Ali Rıza Şengel (Eyyübî, 1878-1953) was *zakirbaşı* in the Cerrahî lodge in Eyüp and his uncle was a Sufi sheikh, which shows that extended family networks and the surrounding community already determined his musical path. Behlül Efendi (d. 1895) was affiliated with Sheikh Osman Selahaddin Dede (1820-1887) of Yenikapı Mevlevî lodge, where he received music training. When Kazım Uz (1873-1943) decided to compose a *na't*, his music teacher Zekai Dede told him to acquire knowledge and skill from Behlül Efendi, “*na't ve durağın tavrını bu zattan öğren*”. The attitude particularly declared the authority of Behlül Efendi in certain religious forms. The relative examples might easily be extended, nevertheless, brief quotations from biographical accounts demonstrate clearly the significance of Sufi lodges in the Ottoman music world. Eventually, the research findings lay a solid foundation to the often-encountered historiographical debate about the educational function of Sufi lodges.

Focusing more on the Sufi musicians’ instrumental specialty will provide an alternative perspective to the debate.

Table 5.21. Musical specialty among Sufi musicians

Instrument	Frequency	Percent
Singer	31	41.3
Ney	16	21.3
Tanbur	1	1.3
Kanun	1	1.3
Oud	3	4.0
Kemenche	1	1.3
Violin	2	2.7
NPI	6	8.0
Moi	14	18.2
TOTAL	75	100.0

The outcome demonstrates that musicians in the Sufi group explicitly concentrated more on two instruments: The voice and the ney. The oud would follow those when one totals its frequency in the Moi category. The two instruments were

undoubtedly the ones who took the lead in Sufi rituals, particularly in the Mevlevî ceremonies. However, I do not specifically deal with the music performed in the lodges. The musicians who learned music in Sufi lodges did not constrain their musical identity to religious music only. In fact, one encounters references to musical gatherings playing non-religious repertoire even in the Sufi lodges. Thus, musicians either Sufi in origin or not would be familiar with all the forms, religious and non-religious. The musician networks confirm the opinion. As their case has been discussed before, even the reciters, who were supposed to be the most pious of all, were in close relation to the teachers who had more proficiency in non-religious music, in order to get the relevant repertoire.

Fourteen musicians in the Moi (more than one instrument players) group included primarily singers and oud players.

Table 5.22. Musical specialty among Moi group

Instrument	Frequency	Percent
Singer-Kanun	3	4.0
Singer-Oud	5	6.7
Singer-Violin	1	1.3
Kanun-Oud	1	1.3
Kanun-Violin	1	1.3
Ney-Oud	1	1.3
Oud-Piano	1	1.3
Ney-Other	1	1.3
TOTAL	14	18.2

Zekai Dede, who joined the Mevlevî order in his older ages, might be an example of an opposite case. Therefore, all those individual cases point the general rule in the Ottoman/music that, no matter which instrument the specialty was, musicians were to be familiar with all the forms without any restraint. However, the special field was to demand more time, energy and sacrifice. It was the underlying reason of studying with multiple teachers, which would essentially help to broaden the musical knowledge.

Indeed, the research findings call for an explanation on ney, which the instrument demonstrated a huge concentration considering the overall number of ney players in the sampling. Nineteen out of 21 ney players in the sampling were Sufi affiliated musicians, 90.4 % of the total.

5.5.3. A Brief Social History of Ney and the Players

To write on ney is in a way undemanding due to extensive literature on the subject. However, the situation also limits the author because the literature predominantly and repeatedly underlines its role within the Mevlevî culture.



Photo 5.5. Ney, the principal instrument of Mevlevî music

Source: The photograph was taken by Sébah and Joailler, from Engin Çizgen, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1919*, Haşet, İstanbul, 1987, pp. 120-121.

The general consensus on the role of the instrument in the religious music acts as an impediment in the way of developing alternative approaches to the issue. Historians of music have not yet produced a biographical study of a ney player to analyze the social change that the Ottoman music underwent from the late

Ottoman to Early Republican periods. Cem Behar’s study on Hayri Tümer (1902-1973) is still an exception in the field.²¹¹ In brief, the author underscored Tümer’s hesitations to take a more liberal stance towards the changing conditions of music. Due to the lack of biographical researches, it is still difficult to grasp the impact of change at the micro level, on the participants of this music who experienced the time period in question. Thus, given the limitations of literature, the section will collectively analyze ney players in order to reveal the typical and atypical patterns they have produced.

Table 5.23. Profession of ney players’ fathers

Profession	Frequency	Percent
Official Func.	5	23.8
Religious Func.	3	14.3
Teacher	1	4.8
Sheikh/dervish	5	23.8
Military	1	4.8
Unknown	6	28.6
TOTAL	21	100.0

The table indicates that the social background of ney players was not unconventional, as they were coming either from government officials or Sufi families. When the percentages are compared to reciters’ fathers there appear differences. To be noted, reciters and ney players did not overlap with each other, so comparing both groups will enhance the analysis. Yet why these two groups consisted of different musicians should be questioned. The fathers’ occupational distribution shows that reciters were predominantly coming from religious functionary families (42.9 %). It might be considered that they responded in a more conservative way towards their offspring and raised them as reciters. For the ney players, the occupational distribution of fathers does not imply such a pattern.

²¹¹ Cem Behar, “Gelenek ve Modernlik Arasında Bir Yirminci Yüzyıl Neyzeni: Hayri Tümer (1902-1973) ve “Ney Metodu”” in *Musikiden Müziğe, Osmanlı/Türk Müziği: Gelenek ve Modernlik*, YKY, Second Edition, 2008, İstanbul, pp. 117-134.

Statistical analysis on the birthplace of ney players reveals that 17 out of 21 were born in Istanbul (81 %), except one who lived in Izmir. Three out of four non-Istanbul born musicians moved to Istanbul where they received primary education. Attendance to higher education was significantly high as the results show that nine out of 21 have received higher education (42.9 %). Three ney players further studied in religious field but only one succeeded in completing. He was Ahmed Celaleddin Dede (1853-1946) who studied in the al-Azhar at Cairo.

Questioning the language skills between ney players, reciters, and pianists might yield results for the argument. Persian and Arabic were most frequent languages among ney players; each language had seven musicians. Four of them spoke French, while seven musicians' language skill was unknown. Given the Mevlevî literature, which fundamentally relied on Persian, this high frequency is reasonable since the number slightly exceeds the amount of sheikh families. The proportions for language skills run in parallel to the reciter's language patterns. Out of 28 reciters in total, seven were familiar with Arabic and six with Persian, while only three had the knowledge of French language (10.7 % in total). Nevertheless, comparing the figures with pianists might be interesting: French language, for instance, is dramatically high among the pianists. Seven out of 15 pianists were familiar with French (46.6 %) while none of them showed interest in Persian. Yet the outcome shows that only one pianist was familiar with Arabic. Yet, there was not any pianist that came either from religious functionary or from Sufi families. Although statistical outcomes on language results and family background alone are not adequate to classify and hence perceive certain instrument as more traditional or less modern in the Ottoman music, however, they do provide insights into the argument.

Table 5.24. Income source of ney players

Income Source	Frequency	Percent
Music	4	19.0
Official Func.	10	47.6
Religious Func.	1	4.8
Sheikh/dervish	4	19.0
Doctor	1	4.8
Military	1	4.8
TOTAL	21	100.0

Official service appeared as the prevailing way of providing income. However, the argument that associated reciters with religious functionary occupationally cannot be applied to practitioners of ney. Neither their family background nor the professional career choices generated characteristics similar to those of reciters. Based on the research results it might be said that being a reciter was more influential in the career paths of those than musicians who were affiliated with ney.

The outcome showed four ney players derived income from music at least more regularly than others. Cemal Efendi (İzmir, 1874-1905), Tevfik Kolaylı (1879-1953), Gavsî Baykara (1902-1967) and Burhaneddin Ökte (1905-1973). The case of Gavsî Baykara was already mentioned in the context of the financial insecurities related to music. One may also question Tevfik Kolaylı who with his life choices challenged the established rules. No matter how misfit he was, music and thus music-based income represented him more than anything else. It could not be said that other musicians never benefited from ney financially, as it was in the case of İhsan Aziz Bey (1884-1935). He served in the Ottoman bureaucracy for long years and his music career began immediately after his retirement. Therefore, the study grouped those according to their primary occupations.

Given the musical homogeneity among the ney players, I still emphasize certain points. Ney players were taught the ney almost always in a Sufi and mainly in a Mevlevî lodge. Yenikapı, Bahariye, Galata and Kasımpaşa Mevlevî lodges were

frequently stated places of music education in the biographical accounts. Apart from the highly encountered names such as Aziz Dede (d. 1905) and Hüseyin Fahreddin Dede (1853-1911), accounts pointed out to the names of Hilmi Dede (d. 1921), Hakkı Dede (d. 1918), Celâl Dede (Hafız Melek), and Halid Dede as ney teachers of significant musicians.²¹² Although they were *serneyzens* of Mevlevî lodges in Istanbul at the turn of the twentieth century, I could not include them into the sampling owing to the insufficient biographical material. There was only one case of self-taught in the group: Hafız Hüsnu Efendi (1858-1919). Rifat Bey (*Sermüezzîn*, 1820-1888) and Hacı Faik Bey (d. 1890) trained him musically in the Imperial Music Academy (*mûzîka-i hümâyûn*) on voice.

5.6. Hamparsum Knowledge Among Musicians

The transmission of musical knowledge in the Ottoman music heavily relied on memory from the very beginning, as stated previously. Although the practice of oral transmission was the most common model, there were a number of attempts to develop musical notation from the second part of the seventeenth century on.²¹³

²¹² Burhaneddin Ökte described elaborately his music education in the Yenikapı Mevlevî lodge with Hilmi Dede, Celal Dede and Halid Dede, see Burhaneddin Ökte, “Musiki Âleminde 30 Sene”, *Türk Musikisi Dergisi*, No. 35, 1950, pp. 10 and 24, No. 36, 1950, pp. 10 and 24.

²¹³ To briefly touch upon the critical figures, a multifaceted palace musician Ali Ufkî (d. circa 1677) recorded on paper more than 500 pieces that belonged to 21 different modes. His musical notations included a range of musical forms, from song repertoire to instrumental compositions. However, his (Western-based) musical notation indicated a reverse direction: from right to left, see the critical publishing of Şükrü Elçin, *Ali Ufkî: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Mecmûa-i Saz ü Söz*, MEB, İstanbul, 1976. The Sheikh of Galata Mevlevî lodge, *nayî* Osman Dede (d. 1730) and Kantemiroğlu (1673-1723) developed musical notations similar to one another, both of which were based on Arabic letters, see Kantemiroğlu, *Kitabu 'İlmi'l-Musiki 'ala vechi'l-Hurufat, Musikiyi harflerle tesbit ve icra ilminin kitabı*, Yalçın Tura, (ed.) 2 Vol., YKY, İstanbul, 2001. Only about 70 instrumental pieces that were notated by Osman Dede survived to today. The grandson of Osman Dede, Abdülbaki Nasır Dede (1765-1821) developed a musical notation based on the Arabic letters, which again resembled to Kantemiroğlu to a certain degree. Hrisantos, a member of the Greek-Orthodox church developed a musical notation on the ancient Byzantine model in around 1820s. Under the support of the Church, the notation of Hrisantos also spread into non-religious Greek music (*exoteric*) and Ottoman music from 1830s on, see Nâsır Abdülbaki Dede, *Tedkîk ü Tahkîk*, Yalçın Tura (ed.), Pan, İstanbul, 2006; Eugenia Popescu –Judetz, *Türk Musikî Kültürünün Anlamları*, Bülent Aksoy (trans.), Pan, İstanbul, 2007, p. 49; Cem Behar, *Musikiden Müziğe*, pp. 250-252.

Nevertheless, none of the aforementioned notation models can compare to musical notation developed by Hamparsum Limonciyan (1768-1839) in terms of popularity among musicians.

A member of the Armenian Catholic society of Istanbul and a chorist in the church, Limonciyan's model was not entirely innovative but a modified version of the ancient *khaz* system, the history of which dates back to ninth century. In fact, the underlying reason for Hamparsum was to preserve the Armenian Church music as well as to prevent the further impact of Greek Orthodox music on the Armenian repertoire. Nevertheless, his colleagues stood against his system on the ground that their authority on the religious repertoire would be shaken. He overcame the confrontation by offering classes outside of church and by building connections with Mevlevî musicians. Kerovpyan stated that he frequented to Beşiktaş Mevlevî lodge in order to make it known that his notation could be effective on the Ottoman music. Hence, the system, which was essentially formulated for the Armenian religious music, overran the ethno-religious boundaries and was gradually spread into the Ottoman music due to its easy application and simplicity. Towards the last quarter of the nineteenth century, his notation has also gained ground in the Armenian Church, however, he was not alive to witness it.²¹⁴

The recent study of Jacob Olley on the writing culture of music in the late nineteenth century Istanbul offered fresh insights into the subject matter. Oley did not only question the emergence of Hamparsum notation in the socio-cultural context, but also considered its employment both in the Armenian religious repertoire and in the Ottoman music in general. Yet, his quantitative analysis, which was based on the 69 manuscripts covering about a century from the early nineteenth century up to the turn of the twentieth century, is highly relevant to my thesis. The statistical outcome showed that the Hamparsum notation was used by a small number of musicians and was not as popular as it was believed to be.

²¹⁴ Eugenaia Popescu –Judetz, *Türk Musiki Kültürünün Anlamları*, pp. 50-52; Aram Kerovpyan – Altuğ Yılmaz, *Klasik Osmanlı Müziği ve Ermeniler*, Surp Pırgıç Ermeni Hastanesi Vakfı Kültür Yayınları, 2010, pp. 93-106.

Statistically, It was lower than 10 % before 1880 and it was likely to become around 25 % for the latter period. He also argued that the Armenian musicians recorded 45 out of 69 manuscripts, 65 % of the total. The situation showed clearly that the Hamparsum notation was under the Armenian domain, even though the proficiency among Muslims, particularly among the Mevlevî musicians seemed to rise steadily towards the end of the nineteenth century.²¹⁵

My research findings on the popularity of Hamparsum notation among musicians run parallel to the conclusion of Olley. In fact, my statistical outcome showed that the percentages were even less than the percentages he has pointed out. Only 31 musicians' biographies explicitly stated that they knew the notation. It is equal to 12 % of the total.²¹⁶ Nevertheless, the numbers should be approached with caution since the statistical analysis is based on the biographical material. Barkçin emphasized the issue in his biographical work on Ahmed Avni Konuk (1868-1938). His students declared clearly that he did not know how to read musical notation. Even the author hesitated to comment on whether he was familiar with Hamparsum or not, due to the fact that all the songs he selected for his song-text collection, *Hanende*, were already notated in Hamparsum.²¹⁷ The biographies of Abdülkadir Töre (1872-1945) and his disciple Ekrem Karadeniz (1904-1981) who were deeply concerned with the theoretical aspects of music and even developed alternative notation model, did not mention anything about the issue. Even so, one cannot be convinced that they were unfamiliar to it.

The source of knowledge is traceable in some biographies. Mehmed Cemal Efendi

²¹⁵ Jacob Olley, "Writing Music in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul: Ottoman Armenians and the Invention of Hampartsum Notation", Martin Stokes (Supervisor), Unpublished PhD Thesis, King's College London, 2017, pp. 203-205.

²¹⁶ Muslim musicians familiar with Hamparsum notation were Atullah Dede, Celaleddin Dede, Hüseyin Fahreddin Dede, Rauf Yekta, Cemil Bey, Nevres Bey, Refik Fersan, Sadettin Heper, Ahmed Irsoy, Emin Yazıcı, Mehmed Cemal Efendi, Suphi Ezgi, Hüseyin Sadettin Arel, Mustafa Nezihi Albayrak, Fehmi Tokay, Hayri Tümer, and Halil Can.

²¹⁷ Savaş Ş. Barkçin, *Ahmed Avni Konuk: Görünmeyen Umman*, Klasik, İstanbul, 2009, pp. 129-130.

(1847-1916), the zakirbaşı of Sertarikzâde and Hatuniye lodges in Eyüp and Nureddin Cerrâhî lodge in Fatih, learned the notation from Baba Raşid. However, little is known about his life except that he was a palace musician. Yet his affiliation with the Mevlevî order is unclear, as it was the case for the majority of the ney players in the sampling. The Hamparsum source of Hüseyin Fahreddin Dede (1853-1911), the sheikh of Bahariye Mevlevî lodge in Eyüp, was Sheikh Halim Efendi of Rifaî order at Kozyatağı.²¹⁸ Sheikh Halim Efendi (d. 1896) played the tanbur and ney and Aziz Dede regarded him as the true master of the instrument.²¹⁹ Rauf Yekta Bey (1871-1935) benefited from Ataullah Dede (1842-1910) and Celaledin Dede (1849-1908), the Sheikhs of Galata and Yenikapı Mevlevî lodges, respectively, on the music theory and notation systems. Nevertheless, searching one generation prior to find out who instructed Hamparsum to those two sheikhs remains uncertain.

Rauf Yekta seems to be the main source of Hamparsum training since many of the musicians' biographies pointed out his name. Emin Yazıcı (1881-1945), and Fehmi Tokay (1889-1959) were among those. Ahmed Irsoy (1869-1943) the son of Zekai Dede (1824-1897), learned Hamparsum from Emin Yazıcı, who was actually his repertoire teacher. It appears that Emin Yazıcı taught Hamparsum notations to his ney students, who frequented the Galata Mevlevî lodge before the closure of the Sufi lodges in 1925: Hayri Tümer (1902-1973) and Halil Can (1905-1973). Mustafa Nezihi Albayrak (1871-1964), who was related to Dede Efendi through the maternal side of the family, were taught by Ahmet Irsoy, in Hamparsum notation. Besides, he developed one musical notation, which he named as the "Stenographic Notation of M. Nezihi Albayrak".

Another argument put forward by Olley highlights the Armenian presence on the production of manuscripts he studied.²²⁰ My findings underscore its popularity

²¹⁸ Nuri Özcan, "Hüseyin Fahreddin Dede", *DİA*, Vol. 18, 1998, pp. 546.

²¹⁹ Nuri Özcan, "Halim Efendi", *DİA*, Supplement No. 1, 2016, 522-523.

²²⁰ Afet (Hapet) Mısırlıyan published a journal in 1910, *Saz ve Söz*. To make the public familiar with the Western type of music notation, the journal published the same compositions that were written both in Hamparsum and staff notations.²²⁰ Arşak Efendi

among Armenian musicians and hence support his argument from a different perspective. Only three out of 21 musicians did not know the notation for sure, while three biographies were silent about the subject matter. One musician, Hirant Emre Kenkiloğlu (1901-1978) had been blind since infancy. Eventually, 14 out of 21 musicians were equipped with the Hamparsum notation, which makes 66.6 % in the Armenian musician group.²²¹

Consequently, two groups were apparently engaged more with Hamparsum notation. Armenians constituted the first. Their religious music background surely played a role in that. Most of those were trained in the church choirs since childhood and hence were accustomed to repertoire that was largely written with Hamparsum. There were also practical reasons. Many of them made music in professional terms and offered music classes. It was easy to follow or remember a composition through Hamparsum notation while performing or teaching. Another group was Mevlevî musicians. When Hamparsum Limonciyan required his notation to be known outside the church community, he first visited a Mevlevî lodge. He probably anticipated that Mevlevîs with an institutional structure, refined music tradition and advanced writing culture would respect and welcome his system. Besides, the Mevlevî support would pave the way for the utilization of it in the wider circle of Muslim musicians. Time proved that he was right. His system gradually spread among Muslim musicians but particularly within the Sufi circles during the late Ottoman period. Nevertheless, the popularity should not be exaggerated due to its limited percentage indicated by statistical results. Olley also

(Çömlekciyan, 1880-1930) published many *fasıl* series in his music store. Kirkor Çulhayan Efendi (1868-1938) was even entrusted with the task of notating Jewish religious music through the reference of Izak Varon (1884-1962), Izak Elgazi (1889-1950) and Moshe (Moiz) Kordova (1881-1965). Karnik Garmiryan (1872-1947) was a participant of church choir and learned the Hamparsum notation from his master, Kapril Efendi. His life story corresponds to Bimen Şen, who was a part of the church choir as well. Thus, the familiarity of Bimen Şen with the Hamparsum notation is open to debate.

²²¹ Musicians with Hamparsum knowledge were Afet (Hapet) Misirliyan, Arşak Efendi (Çömlekciyan), Astik Ağa (Asadur Hamamciyan), Bogos Efendi (Asdikzade Hamamciyan), Hosep Efendi (Ebeyan), Karnik Garmiryan, Kirkor Berber, Kirkor Çulhayan Efendi, Leon Hancıyan Efendi, Melekzet Efendi (Mustafa Nuri), Nubar Tekyay, Serkis Suciyan, Tatyos Efendi (Keseryan).

pointed out two political events, the diminishing of Armenian community in size and the closure of the Sufi lodges in 1925, with which I also agree in terms of its effects.²²² In fact, those external factors were not only critical for the decreased popularity of Hamparsum notation but had more important effects on the weakening of the Ottoman music culture.



Photo 5.6. Leon Hancıyan (1860-1947, on the left) poses with Hamparsum notation
Source: Aram Kerovpyan and Altuğ Yılmaz, *Klasik Osmanlı Müziği ve Ermeniler*, Surp Pırgıç Ermeni Hastanesi Vakfı Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010, p. 106.

5.7. Exploring Musicians' Networks: Who Teaches Whom?

Given the complexity of the task, the quantitative analysis will not only give an idea about the most popular music teachers of the time period, but will also show the predominant styles through which music was transmitted. Among the musician sampling nine names come to the forefront that were more actively involved with music education.

²²² Jacob Olley, "Writing Music in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul", pp. 241-242.

Table 5.25. Most popular music teachers

Names	Student Frequency
İsmail Hakkı Bey (1865-1927)	23
Ahmet Irsoy (1869-1943)	22
Bestenigâr Ziya Bey (1877-1923)	19
Zekai Dede (1824-1897)	18
Tanburi Cemil Bey (1872-1916)	17
Rauf Yekta Bey (1871-1935)	16
Hacı Kiramî Efendi (1840-1909)	12
Hüseyin Fahreddin Dede (1853-1911)	11
Leon Hancıyan (1860-1947)	10

Zekai Dede presumably would have more students if he had lived one more decade more due to the number of musicians in the sampling who were born after 1890s. When one totals his students with the students of Ahmet Irsoy, his son, it would not be a misleading statement to say that the family was the most fertile school of music training from the late Ottoman to the Early Republican periods. Yet the outcome apparently reveals the increased role of music schools immediately after the first decade of the twentieth century. Five out of nine musicians on the list either owned a music school or taught in the music schools.

As stated previously, students might have more than one teacher and it was actually the case for musicians in general. Thus, the student numbers in Table 25 contained cases of overlapping students, which the Gephi visualizations would better express those musicians.

Besides, a couple of points should be noted in relation to the problems in the process of developing educational statistics and visuals for musician networks. The networks did not include musicians beyond the sampling. For example, Ali Rifat Çağatay's (1869-1935) nephew Hatif Efendi was the student of Cemil Bey. The network analysis did not mention his name since he was not in the musician sampling. In other words, the statistical analysis is confined to musicians under

study and explores the interactions between them. Another issue is related to the childhood period of musicians, whose houses welcomed musicians for live performances. In fact, these cases are not so few as to be overlooked. The amount of musicians could vary from only a handful to more than ten musicians and even more. For sure, all these teachers had a role in the musical refinement of the children at home, and their name could be written to the list of music teachers. However, to prevent further complexity, the network map visualized the people whose names stated as the music teacher(s) in the biographical accounts.

Finally, the visuals show the teacher at the center, whose students might be followed by arrows. Arrows help to locate his teachers and his students in different directions, which the teachers are generally above and are indicated with same color. The students are in a variety of color and their circles are in different dimensions in general. These differences do not mean anything for the particular network map of certain musician. It actually makes sense for the overall network map of musician sampling for the various algorithms that were used by Gephi.

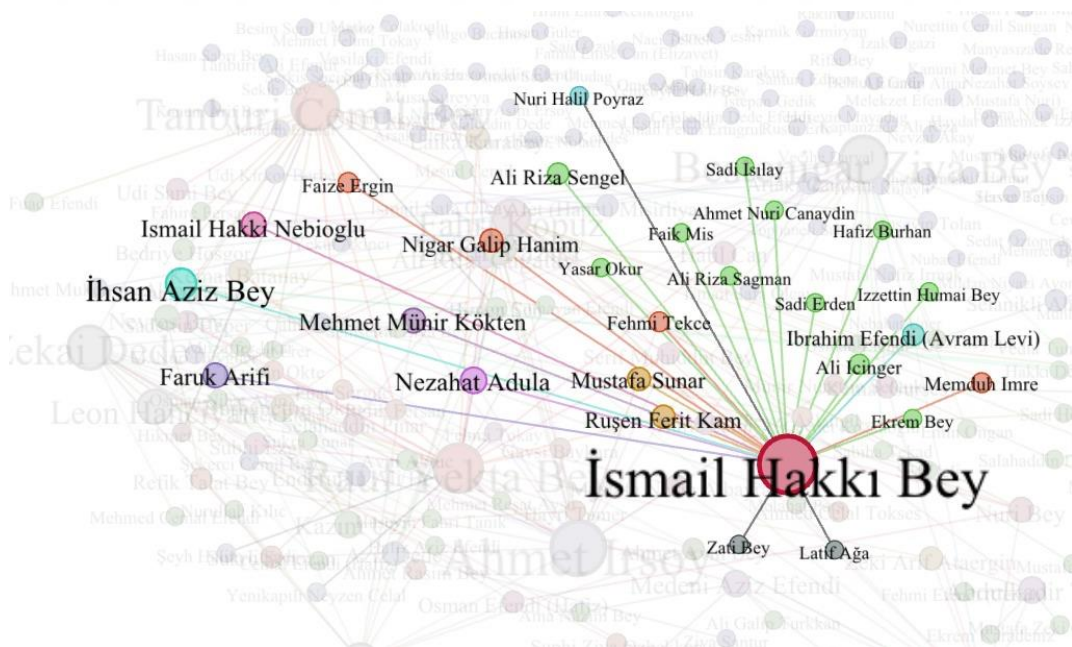


Figure 5.2. İsmail Hakkı Bey's (1865-1927) teaching network

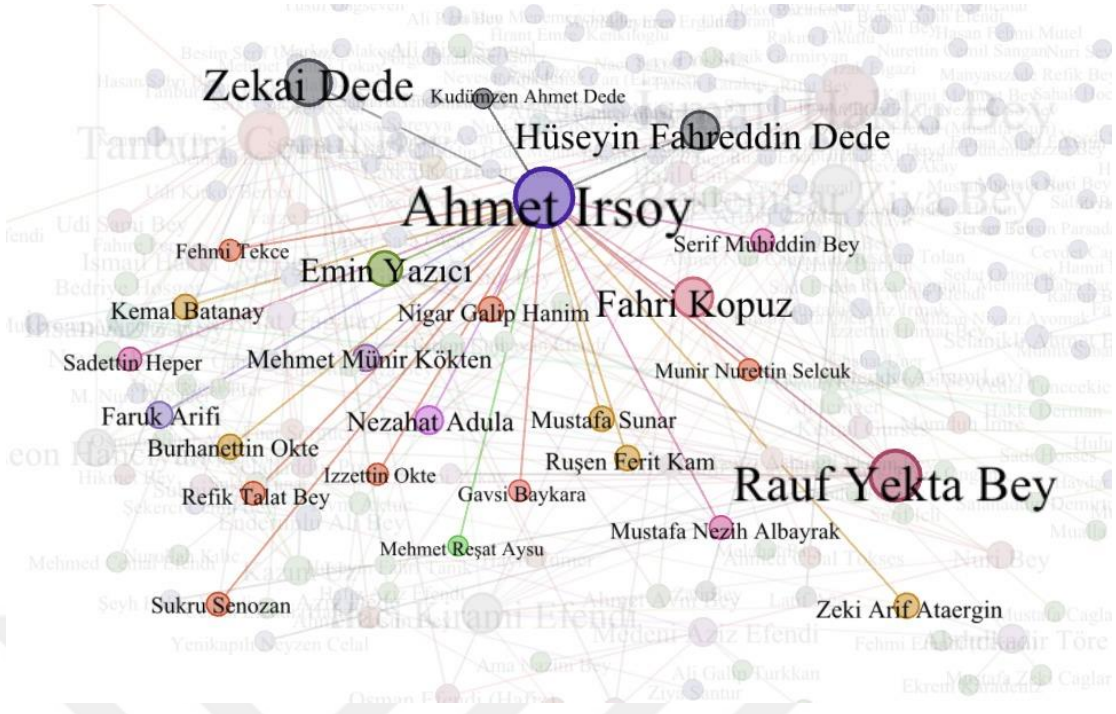


Figure 5.3. Ahmet Irsoy's (1869-1943) teaching network

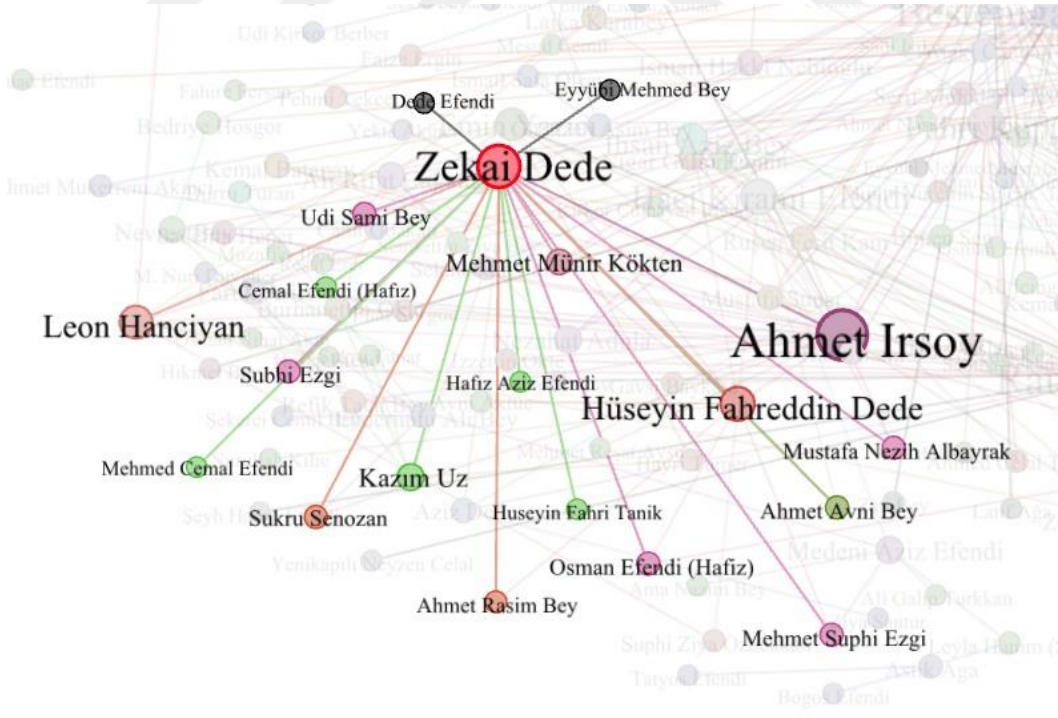


Figure 5.4. Zekai Dede's (1824-1897) teaching network

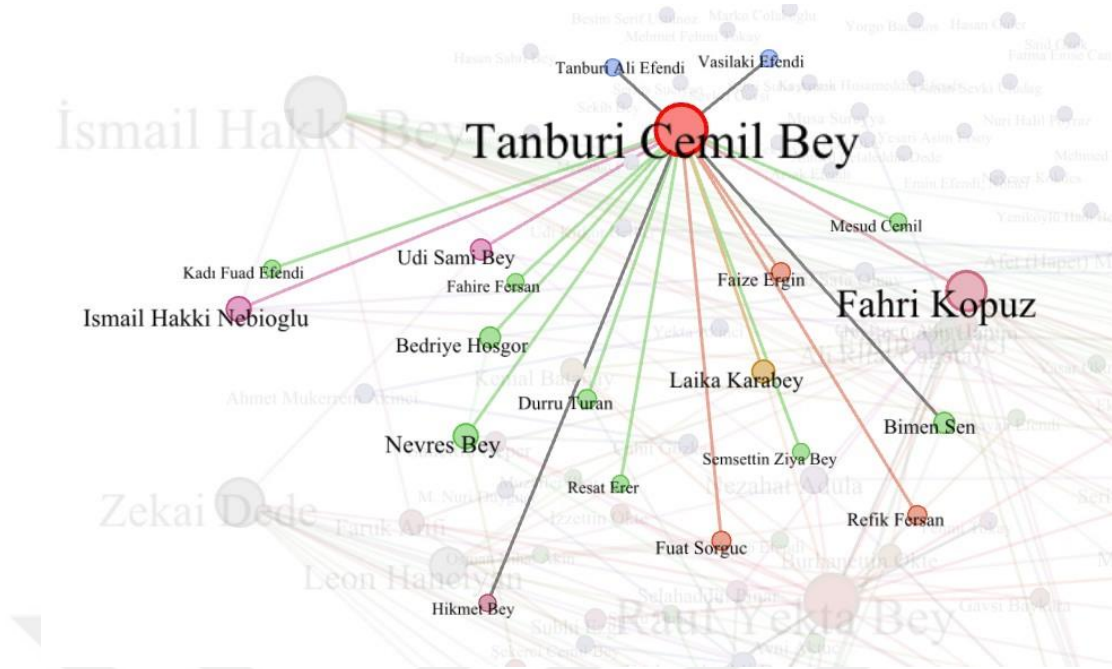


Figure 5.5. Cemil Bey's (1872-1916) teaching network

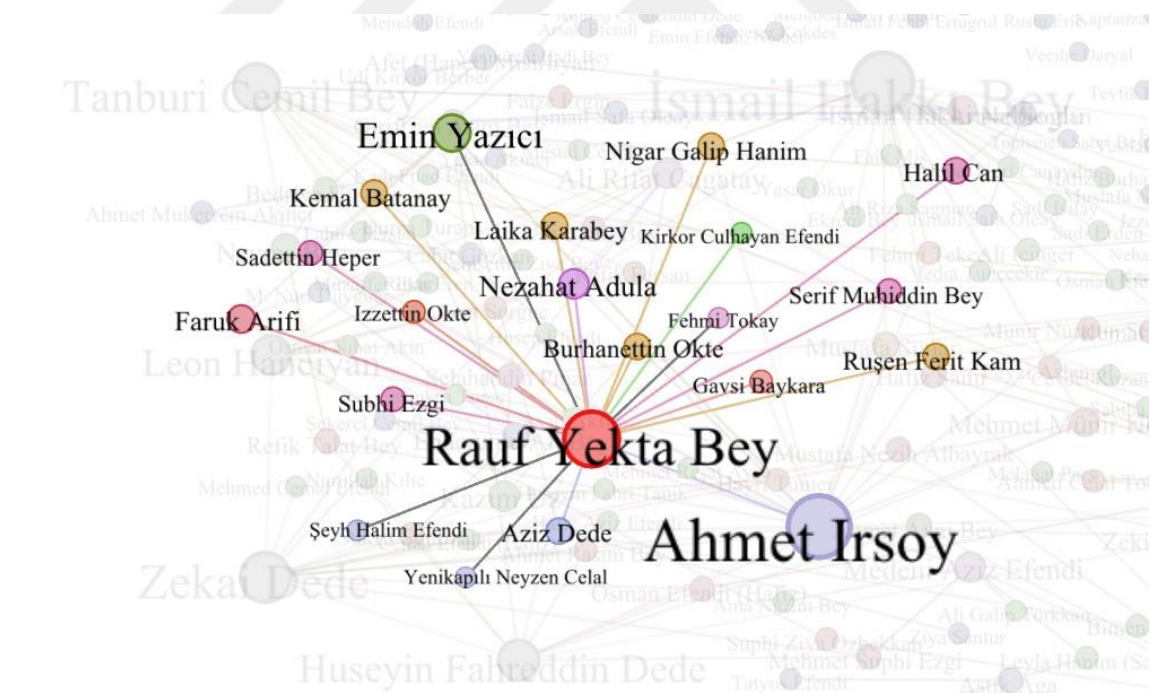


Figure 5.6. Rauf Yekta Bey's (1871-1935) teaching network

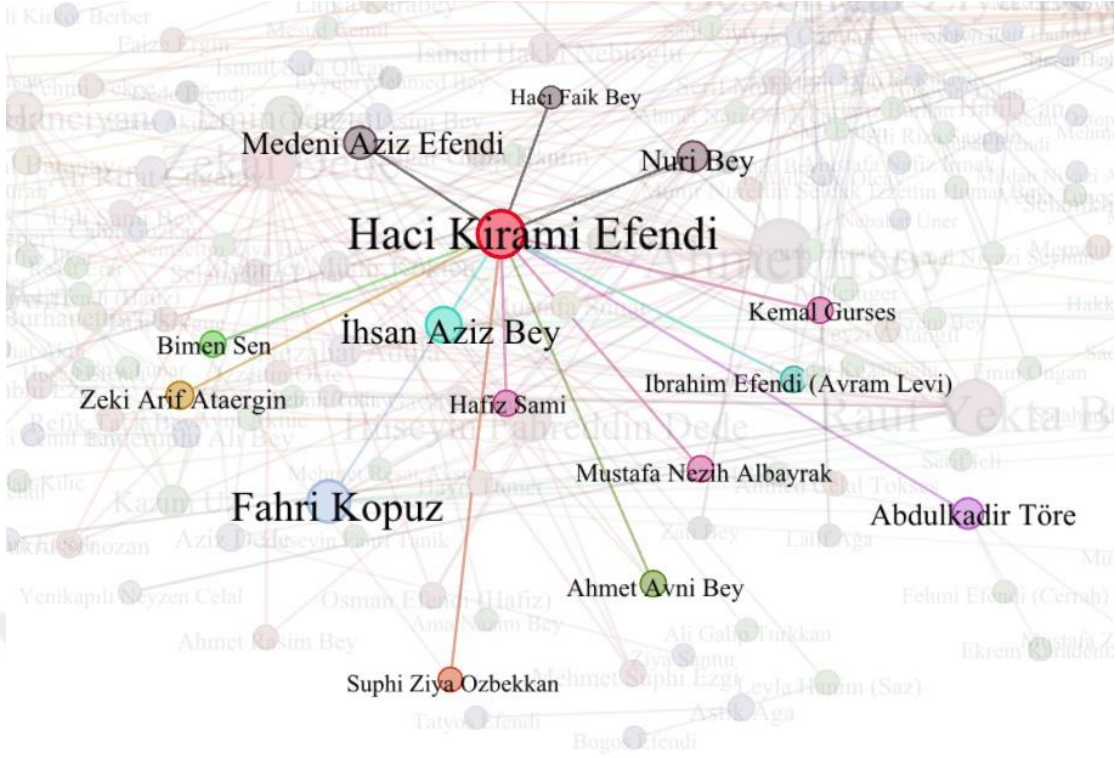


Figure 5.7. Hacı Kiramî Efendi's (1840-1909) teaching network



Figure 5.8. Hüseyin Fahreddin Dede's (1853-1911) teaching network

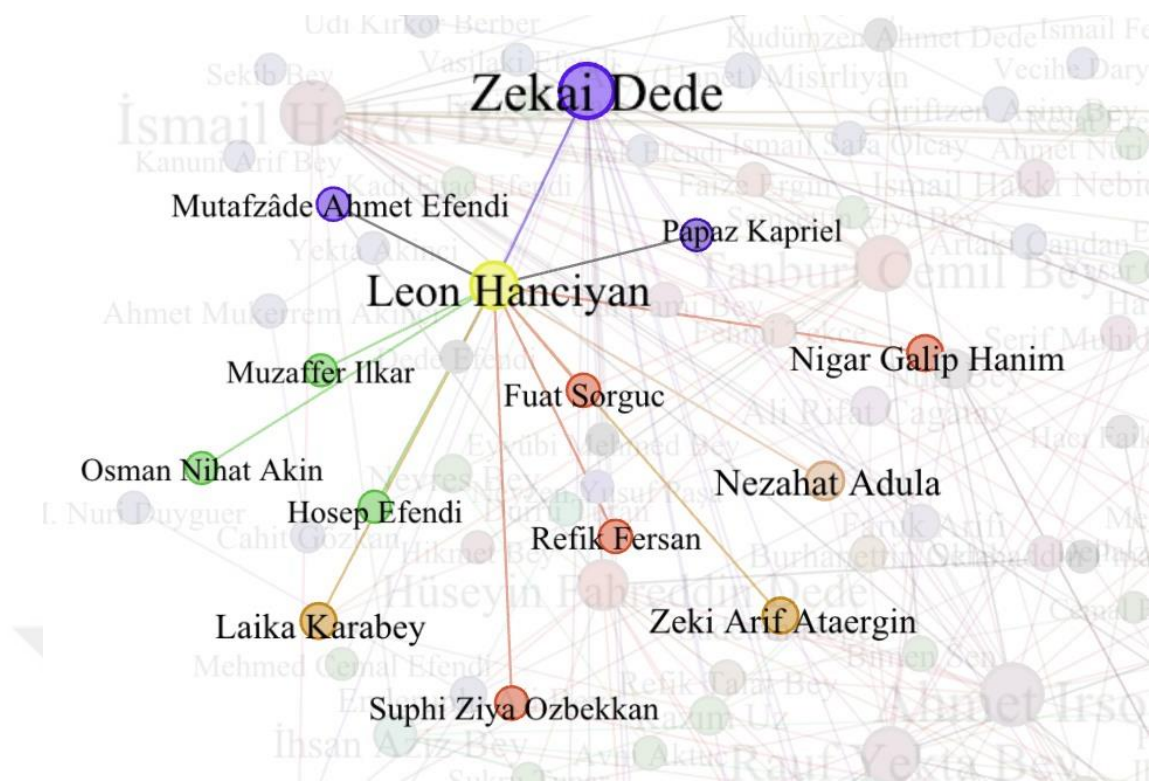


Figure 5.9. Leon Hanciyan's (1860-1947) teaching network

5.8. Conclusion

The outcomes indicated that some instruments were apparently more popular than others and thus provided evidences to write more on their social history. Practical reasons could explain the popularity issue to a certain degree but some were more related to the growing commercialization of music right after the late nineteenth century. Oud, for instance, was the leading instrument among the musician sample as well as the most visible instrument in the more and more commercialized music world. The advertisements for live performances in the music halls, theatres, and concerts, the documents of record companies all underpinned that. Instrumental reference books were mainly written on oud. Ney indeed produced enough for a social history. Outcomes on the players' music education models revealed that Sufi lodges were the real center to learn it. Another outcome helped to reveal more on the lodges is that musicians instructed there were predominantly ney players and singers, since these are the principal instruments of this kind of music. The place of religious institutions in the musical development was critical for the non-Muslim musicians as well. The research findings show that their musical education started

in the religious choirs. Interestingly, non-Muslims revealed a more conservative pattern in that they have barely studied with Muslim teachers, a fact which is likely to generate controversy with the mainstream historiography. The Gephi analysis on the overall music education networks brought to the forefront some new names. Sheikh Cemal Efendi of Kasimpaşa was one of them, on whom historiography has not produced something serious. But the network maps pointed him as the critical musician particularly for transmitting the religious repertoire. Yet collective network analysis highlighted the multiple sources of many musicians, which may contribute to the future studies that would follow the transmitting of one particular repertoire, such as focusing on the *durak* form, a Mevlevî repertoire, or to explore the Hamparsum chain in the late Ottoman era.

CHAPTER 6
RECONSIDERING CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN MUSIC
THROUGH THE CAREER PATHS OF MUSICIANS

The previous chapter has dealt with the models of music training and becoming a musician in the late Ottoman Istanbul. In other words, the main concern was musicians' initial steps to the art. This chapter is in a way designed to keep up with the point where we have left in the previous chapter. To follow the career paths of musicians will enhance our understanding regarding the change and continuity in music from the late Ottoman to the republican period. By following the career patterns of musicians, the aim is to provide new perspectives to the historiographical debates regarding the breaks with tradition, modernization as well as continuity in music. The chapter will pay particular attention to music schools and state radio through a new perspective with a view to reevaluate their roles in the process of change in music. Yet, the latter part will question the process of change from a gender perspective to emphasize the women's responses to change.

6.1. Interpreting the Career Changes

In order to grasp the change and continuity, I analyzed each musician's career paths in the sampling and categorized them accordingly. My categorization is not based on occupations, which means that one may encounter official functionaries in each group.²²³ An official, whose professional career might evolve into music after retirement from the official post, would be a proper case of change at the turn of

²²³ The basis of the categorization differs from the classification done by Güneş Ayas. The aim here is to observe and identify the career changes in the sampling in order to see if the musical opportunities increased, to what extent the musicians were the participants of the change and eventually what sort of new patterns they generated in the period under question. Ayas defined Musa Süreyya (1884-1932), for instance, as a proper example of musicians who adjusted his stance to justify the Early Republican politics in music and thus to marginalize Ottoman music. The author's classification sought to explore changes in the cultural stance of musicians. Nevertheless, Musa Süreyya is included in the group of musicians whose career path did not reveal a change over time. See *Mûsiki İnkılâbı'nın Sosyolojisi: Klasik Türk Müziği Geleneğinde Süreklilik ve Değişim*, Doğu Kitabevi, İstanbul, 2014, pp. 197-210.

the republican era. A musician, on the other hand, who was in the music market (*piyasa*) from the beginning of his musical career and continued to do so throughout his life, would be interpreted in the group of musicians who did not change the career track.

6.1.1. Change in Career Patterns Towards Music

As mentioned above, the categorization does not point to the number of musicians whose main source of income was music. It simply shows the ones whose careers had evolved elsewhere but inclined towards music over time. In other words, the career changes are observed. It is not possible to precisely set the onset date of change but based on the biographical accounts one may roughly estimate the time period. It seems that the change in most cases begins with the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. To state that, there are exceptional cases but small in number.

Table 6.1. Career changes towards music

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	80	31.1
No	174	67.7
Unknown	3	1.2
TOTAL	257	100.0

Social background analysis of those 80 musicians' brings officials to the forefront once again. The majority of those who experienced career shifts towards music are the official functionaries. Forty-two former officials sought career opportunities in music, 52.6 % of the total. Other professions were distributed evenly among teachers (3.8 %), religious functionaries (6.3 %), self-employed people (5 %), traders (3.8 %) artisans (2.5 %), doctors (2.5 %) and so on. The previous occupations of two cases were in the unknown category.

Dürrü Turan (1885-1960) was in the "yes" group due to his professional career

change. He was the son of an official functionary whose father, Saffet Bey, served in the Ministry of Finance. Turan completed his higher education in the Ottoman University (*Dârülfünûn-ı Osmanî*) and taught Turkish literature in the public schools. In between, he was taught music by a number of musicians, including Mustafa Servet Efendi (1840-1918) and Cemil Bey (1872-1916). He was in the teaching staff of the *Dâr'ül-Elhân* Conservatory in 1917 and when it was re-opened in 1923. The school was transformed into the Istanbul Municipal Conservatory in 1926. He played tanbur, taught music and Turkish literature in this institute throughout his life. Indeed, he was among the first musicians of Istanbul Radio, the broadcast of which began in 1927. He toured Anatolia with a group of musicians and musicologists to collect traditional folk music in 1927, which was the practice that characterized the Early Republican politics in music.

Another musician whose career trajectory was mainly shaped in the Early Republican period was Emin Ongan (1906-1985). He was born into a military family in Edirne and completed his education in the Edirne High School (*Sultanî*). His professional life began in the Tobacco Monopoly (*Tütün İnhisarı*) in 1936, from where he retired in 1951. Although he started to play violin in his early ages, his real music education has begun only after his graduation from the high school. His family had moved to Üsküdar and he was enrolled in *Dârü'l-Feyz-i Musîkî*, whose history was closely linked to that of Emin Ongan. The conditions during the World War I was troublesome for a music school to keep up with the regular education. Hence the school was closed, the precise date of the closure is unknown, but it was re-opened by Atâ Bey (*Telgrafçı*, d. 1934) in 1920 under the name of Anadolu Music School.²²⁴

²²⁴ Nurettin Öztan, "Üsküdar Musîkî Cemiyeti ve kurucusu ATÂ BEY", *Musîkî ve Nota*, Vol. 10, Issue. 1, August 1970, pp. 16-19.



Photo 6.1. The musicians of Anadolu Music School, 1920

Source: Nurettin Öztan, “Üsküdar Musîkî Cemiyeti ve kurucusu ATÂ BEY”, p. 16

Eventually, the school was re-named as the *Üsküdar Musîkî Cemiyeti* in 1923. It seems that there is a controversy among historical sources regarding Emin Ongan’s involvement in the school. His musical career evolved in this school while he still served in the Tobacco Monopoly. He was first enrolled as a music student, and then became a teacher and eventually the head of the school. Yet his teaching career continued in the Istanbul [University] Municipal Conservatory from 1945 on and in the Istanbul Technical University Conservatory from 1976 on.

Indeed, there were musicians inside the “yes” group, who did not engage in music teaching either privately or in the music schools but derived income from other musical practices. Although smaller in number ($n = 9$), they performed music in various places, including coffee houses, theatres, music halls and so on.²²⁵ Hafız Hüsni Efendi (1858-1919) was born into a moderate religious functionary family. His father, Mehmet Hakkı Efendi, was the *imam* of the Harem Mosque in Üsküdar. Hüsni Efendi was educated in the Imperial Music Academy (*mûzika-i hümayûn*)

²²⁵ Hafız Hüsni Efendi (1858-1919), Mehmed İzzet Efendi (1861-1894) Ahmet Bey (Selanikli, 1869-1926), Asdikzâde Bogos Efendi (1872-1945), Ali Rıza Bey (Kaptanzâde, 1881-1934), Tahsin Karakuş (1892-1959), Hüseyin Efendi (Sebilci, 1894-1975), Marko Çolakoğlu (1896-1957), Hakkı Derman (1907-1972).

whose teachers were Rifat Bey (1820-1888) and Hacı Faik Bey (d. 1890). He was assigned prestigious positions in the palace, such as teaching to read Qur'an in the *enderûn* (Imperial School) and being the second *imam* of the *Hırka-i Şerîf* room in 1900. Although the retirement date from the palace could not be determined, his life account states that he was an active practitioner in the music market. He was a member of the Hafız Burhan's (*fasıl*) group for many years, which was on stage in a music hall in Şişhane in the Beyoğlu district. Marko Çolakoğlu (1896-1957) was born into the Rum community of Karaman. After his family moved to Istanbul, he began to learn music as a disciple of the first cantor (Protopsaltis, *başmuganni*) Iakovos Naupliotis (1864-1942) in the Orthodox Patriarchate at Phanar (*Fener*). He was a self-employed broker and commissioner. His account does not mention why and when he changed his career track but he bought a tavern in the Arnavutköy shore, where he played oud and sang with his (*fasıl*) group.

İsmail Safa Olcay (1907-1969) presents an interesting case as his career trajectory ran in the opposite direction. He was born into a low class religious functionary (*vaiz*) family in Amasya. In fact, he was quite lucky to meet an important musician from Istanbul in his hometown. He got his initial training in music by Asım Bey (1851-1929), who was a political exile to Amasya in the Hamidian era and was forced to live there for almost twenty years. When Olcay moved to Istanbul after 1921, he worked with Vitali Efendi and Artaki Efendi to play kanun. In Istanbul, he was a practitioner musician who played violin and kanun in the (*fasıl*) groups of Leon Hancıyan and Kemani Serkis. It is likely that he was not satisfied with working in the music market and was seeking a career opportunity that would allow for regular working hours with a steady income. Eventually, he found a regular job. Between 1937 and 1954 he taught making and repairing wooden structures in a school in Eskişehir, which belonged to the State Railways. Then he was appointed to a factory in Adapazarı that produced wagons. His biographical account does not mention that he ever returned to Istanbul close to his death in 1969.

What comes out from the biographical accounts is that former civil servants were the subjects of the change in most cases. They were musicians by nature and hence

shifting to a career in music was not anticipated. However, the aim is to explore what sort of patterns they produced in their careers that took a new turn. It appears that many of them concentrated on the music education but particularly teaching at the music schools. Therefore, there appears to be a connection between musicians with the official past and the music schools. Moreover, there are musicians in the “no” category, who associated with the music schools. I argue that the music schools, in majority a joint enterprise of musicians, stood at the center of the change in music. I will further develop my argument in the part that would deal with these institutions’ impact on music and musicians.

6.1.2. The Consistent Musicians

Musicians whose life stories did not show critical track change in the professional terms formed the “no” group (n = 174). Many of those were “professional” musicians and were placed in this group, on the ground that their source of income continued to be based on the art that they were the experts of. Indeed, an artisan, whose musical world was shaped largely by musical gatherings or within the Sufi circles and did not seem to change the musical habits, was inside the group of consistent musicians.

Table 6.2. Continuity observed among the occupational groups

Source of Income	Frequency	Percent
Music Based	74	42.5
Official Functionary	44	25.3
Religious Functionary	8	4.6
Teacher	9	5.2
Sheikh, dervish	7	4.0
Artisan	6	3.4
Doctor, Pharmacist	3	1.7
Engineer	3	1.7
Writer (journalist, etc.)	4	2.3
Self-employed	3	1.7
Other	8	4.6
Unknown	5	2.9
TOTAL	174	100.0

The concentration of musicians in the group is not surprising since I placed professional musicians here. Among those 30 musicians were strictly bound to the music market (40.5 %), whereas the proportion was only 11.5 % for the musicians in the “yes” category.

In fact, what was the main characteristic for those 74 musicians was their lesser connection with the music schools and hence with teaching music. That was a significant difference between the musicians that were organized in these two different groups allowing us to observe the continuity and the change in their careers. The statistical outcome shows that 72.5 % of musicians in the “yes” group (58 out of 80), whose career paths shifted to music, were in connection with music schools in a range of positions, from teaching to performing. The proportion for the musicians with unchanging career paths dropped sharply to 28 % (49 out of 174). I will discuss the issue of music schools in more detail in the next part.

One of those 30 musicians was violinist Memduh Efendi (1868-1938) who was born into a musician family in Istanbul and whose father was violinist Emin Ağa. He was part of the music groups performing in the coffee houses and music halls of the city (see Tables 15 and 22 in the Chapter Four for places where he performed). He opened a music store in Kapalıçarşı in 1908 in order to sell musical instruments as well as to offer music classes. Later on, he began to run a tavern in Kadıköy with a group of musicians. Yet he recorded music for various companies.

Arşak Efendi (Çömlekciyan, 1880-1930) who learned to play violin from the customs officer Kirkor Çulhayan (1868-1938), performed at music halls and taverns of Beyoğlu. Yet he owned a music shop, where he sold instruments, wrote and published *fasıl* notations and taught music. Similar life pattern was that of the kanun player Nubar Efendi's (b. 1885). His musical performances in the taverns, music halls and coffee house extended over a wider geographical area, from Istanbul to Cairo and to Baghdad. He eventually settled in Aleppo and ran a tavern there. Neither the place where he died nor the date is known.

Ahmet Mükerrerrem Akıncı (1885-1940) was born into a religious functionary family. His father served in the Davutpaşa Kışla Mosque. After he graduated from *Menşe-i Küttab-ı Askeriye*, he entered the official service at the Ministry of Military Affairs. In between, he voluntarily served in the same mosque after his father's death. It seems that he did not receive a proper music education since he was a self-taught oud player. Only in 1919, he began to study music with kanun player Mehmet Bey, who was the student of Latif Ağa from the Imperial Music Academy. According to İbnülemin, his official life ended in 1909. However, his personal record shows that he was still in the office in September 1911.²²⁶ More importantly, his career did not evolve into a musical career, in opposite to many of the former official functionaries' career trajectory that I examined. His musical habits did not change much as he was connected to the music by musical gatherings. It seems that he did

²²⁶ "...şubesi Hesab Kısmı mümeyyizliğinde mumaileyhin müdavim ve hüsnü ahlak ahabından olduğu tasdik kılınmıştır...13 Eylül 1327", BOA, DH.SAİD, 183-13 (13).

not give up this practice throughout his life. Musicians were gathering in his house first in Fatih and then in Bostancı after he moved there.

Hadi Bey (Yeniköylü, d. 1920) was a scribe in the Regie Company (*Reji Şirketi*). His father was an *imam* who helped to develop his musical character. In between, he was taught music by one of Dede Efendi's (1777-1846) students, Hasan Efendi (Yeniköylü, 1822-1910). He particularly specialized in the religious music due to his lifetime affiliation with the Sufi circles of Istanbul. After his official duty ended, the precise date of which is unknown, he was not employed by one of the music schools even though he was known for his immense song repertoire, nor did he perform music in public apart from the Sufi lodges.

The father of Hulusi Gökmenli (1902-1975) was a reciter of Qur'an, which helps to explain his association with the Sufi milieu of Istanbul. He paid visits to the Tahir Aga Sufi lodge in Cibali (Fatih), of which Sheikh Cemal Efendi (1870-1937), Kazım Uz (1873-1943), Kemal Batanay (1893-1981) and Saadeddin Kaynak (1895-1961) were the avid frequenters. Indeed, he was the student of Sheikh Cemal Efendi. The classes were held in the Küçük Piyale Pasha Mosque in Kasımpaşa, where Cemal Efendi served as an *imam*. He owned a glass factory and ran a shop where he traded glass in Eminönü. Partly owing to his well-established business on glass and partly to his affiliation with Sufi circles and hence his attachment to the religious music, he never performed in the music market. He was nicknamed *Camcı* Hulusi.

As the story of his life reveals, Cevdet Çağla (1902-1988) seems to be a proper example due not only to his consistency in music but also his ability to adapt to a range of new musical opportunities, including recording music, employment in music schools and membership in Istanbul and Ankara radios. He was born into a musical family. His mother played the piano and his father organized regular musical gatherings at home. Antonyadis, who was then the violin teacher of the *Dârü'l-Elhân* Conservatory, taught him Western-style violin. In between, he was a regular student of the *Dârü't-Talîm-i Musîkî*, where he was employed as a music teacher for a long time. When the Istanbul radio operated between 1927 and 1938,

he was in the first group of musicians to attend the programs. Between 1938 and 1949, he was an Ankara radio musician. He returned to Istanbul with the re-opening of the radio in 1949 but this time he was there only for six years. Between 1956 and 1959, he was invited as a music teacher to the Baghdad Conservatory with a group of musicians, including Mesud Cemil (1902-1963).

Eventually, the aim was to define the change in better terms and to see how comprehensive the change was in music. Based on the statistical outcomes, roughly one third of the musicians in the sampling whose previous careers had evolved into other professions, sought financial gain in music. The amount might easily be interpreted as a growth in the music market. It is noteworthy that slightly more than half of those newcomers to the music sector were former official functionaries. The finding has to be further explored, as none of the people belonging to other occupations entered into music professionally as the officials did. Therefore, the following part will call into question the music schools and the officials, who avidly participated in this novel space of music.

6.2. The Social Basis of the Music Schools

Music schools whose number increased rapidly after the first decade of the twentieth century were totally a new phenomenon for the Ottoman/Turkish music. The model, which did not exist a generation ago, provided a new understanding on the process of music training and quickly spread into the musical centers of the city. Indeed, the cases indicate that this type of organization reached wider areas in the empire, which meant more people got in touch with music than before. Furthermore, the music schools provided students with more musical opportunities under one roof. A high number of musicians and a range of instruments were to be found in a music school. Such a comfort should be considered serious due to the often-encountered expressions of musicians regarding the difficulties they experienced in the course of music training.²²⁷ Finally, public concerts organized by

²²⁷ Burhaneddin Ökte is a good example of troublesome music training, see Burhanettin Ökte, "Musiki Âleminde 30 Sene", *Türk Musikisi Dergisi*, No. 35, 1950, p. 10.

music schools (another novelty) were an effective means to broaden its base, reach out to more people and bring them into the music community. The outcome, which is learning music according to the age categories, confirm the argument that the students of these institutions were coming mainly from the families with a low level of interest in music, if any. Thus, I called those “outsiders” to the musician community, due to the fact that they entered into the art late in life as compared to the majority of musicians (see the relevant outcomes in the Chapter Five).

All these music-related issues are significant to understand the effects of music schools. The available literature that consisted of memoirs, journal articles, books and academic studies inform in detail the names of the founders, teaching staff, the musical activities, music education models, students, so on.²²⁸ However, none of them calls into question the social role they played. A whole new approach to the music schools will provide an alternative view to the issue. Apart from their musical contribution, which I pointed above, my question is why did these schools emerge? In England, for instance, musicians came together to discuss the problems they faced and to improve their living standards towards the end of the nineteenth century. The Society of Professional Musicians was founded in 1892 (renamed as the Incorporated Society of Musicians in 1896), and the Union of Graduates in Music in 1893. Indeed, similar organizations were opened in the provincial cities of England. Although they were to provide financial support to deprived musicians, the real motivation behind these organizations may be summarized under three headings: obtaining legal recognition (and license), forming musician unions similar to other professional unions and improving music education. In order to aid

²²⁸ Hüsnü Tüzüner, “Gülşenî Musiki Mektebi Hatıralarım”, *Türk Musikisi*, Vol. 2, Issue 19, May 1949, p. 7 and Vol. 20, June 1949, p. 6; Laika Karabey, “Şark Musiki Cemiyeti Nasıl Teşekkül Etti?”, *Musiki Mecmuası*, Vol. 60, 1 February 1953, pp. 356-360; Cem Atabeyoğlu, “Musiki âlemimizden...”, p.21, Taha Toros Archive, No. 001527875006, İstanbul Şehir University; Güntekin Oransay, “Cumhuriyetin İlk Elli Yılında Geleneksel Sanat Musikimiz”, *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Yayınları*, No. 117, Ankara, 1973, pp. 227-272; Nuri Özca, “Dârülmûsikî-i Osmânî”, *DİA*, Vol. 8, 1993, p. 553; Dârütta’lîm-i Mûsiki”, *DİA*, Vol. 9, 1994, pp. 9-10; Nuri Güçtekin, “İlk Türk Mûsikî Cemiyeti: Dârülmûsikî-i Osmanî Cemiyeti (Mektebi) ve Faaliyetleri (1908-1914)”, *Rast Müzikoloji Dergisi*, Vol. 3, Issue 1, 2015, pp. 42-58.

unemployed and elderly musicians, they organized charity concerts, collected membership dues and sought the economic support of the wealthy people.²²⁹ I argue that the music schools that emerged from the late Ottoman to the Turkish Republic might be considered in the similar context. It is obvious that they were not a kind of guild or labor union but were music schools. Although they did not declare such a mission, the ways they operated allows this study to perceive them as such.

The first characteristic to be underlined was collectivity. The majority of these schools were a joint enterprise of musicians. Probably the only example of support given by a patron was *Şark Musikî Cemiyeti* that was established in 1918 in the Kadıköy district. The financial support provided by Süreyya Pasha (İlmen, 1874-1955), albeit for a limited period of time, did not change the fact that the school was founded by a group of musicians. Due to the projects he designed for the school, it might be said that the school was not more than a profit-making enterprise for the Pasha.²³⁰ The motivation of financial gain, nevertheless, was not unique to *Şark Musikî Cemiyeti*. Almost all the schools that operated in Istanbul undertook similar paid activities, including public concerts, regular music training, sheet-music publishing, and contract with record companies.

My approach to these schools as the financially autonomous, collective effort of musicians as well as a means of support for the employed musicians does not encompass *Dârü'l-Bedayî-i Musikî* and *Dârü'l-Elhân* Conservatory due to the fact that both were state sponsored projects.

²²⁹ Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History*, pp. 126-129; Deborah Rohr, *The Careers and Social Status of British Musicians, 1750-1850*, pp. 182-183.

²³⁰ Laika Karabey's article elaborately explains the formative period of the school, which also provides the letter of Süreyya Pasha written on the subject matter, "*Şark Musikî Cemiyeti Nasıl Teşekkül Etti ?*", pp. 356-360.

Cemil Pasha (Topuzlu, 1866-1955) established the former as an imperial theatre in 1914, which included music branch and was administrated by Istanbul Municipality, whereas the Ministry of Education founded the latter in 1917.²³¹

The second significant feature is that the musicians of these schools were mainly former official functionaries. Such a characteristic, which went unnoticed by the historiography, is revealed through the social background analysis of musicians. Although these schools also employed musicians who were never involved in governmental jobs, it does not undermine the argument. The critical figures of these schools were former officials. *Dârü'l-Musikî-i Osmanî* was the first music school to be opened in Istanbul in 1908. The school was a collective initiative of musicians, among which the majority was former official functionaries: Hacı Kiramî Efendi (Ministry of Military Affairs), Kazım Uz (Ministry of Post and Telegraphs and Ministry of Finance), Santurî Edhem Efendi (Ministry of Finance), Kaşıyarık Hüsameddin Efendi (mu'addhin in the palace), Ekrem Bey (Ministry of Finance) and Kanunî Arif Bey (Ministry of Post and Telegraphs). The school was reorganized a year later and moved to the Fatih district with a new name, *Musikî-i Osmanî*, and a new teaching staff, many of whom were again former officials: İsmail Hakkı Bey (first mu'addhin in the palace), Fahri Bey (Council of State [*Şûrâ-yı Devlet*], Ministry of Military Affairs), İzzeddin Hümayî Bey (Ministry of Justice), İhsan Aziz Bey (Ministry of Justice).

²³¹ Yavuz Daloğlu, [*Türk Devrimi'nin*] *Tiyatro ve Opera Komitesi Raporu*, Opus, İstanbul, 2013, pp. 20-22; Erhan Özden, "Arşiv Belgeleriyle Dârülelhan", *Conservatorium*, Vol. 5, Issue 1, Istanbul University Press, 2018, pp. 97-130.



« موسیق عثمانی » هیئت

Photo 6.2. İsmail Hakkı Bey (1865-1927) and his *Musîkî-i Osmanî* School. He sits at the center, poses with the staff and students of his music school, which he opened it in 1909.

Source: *Şehbal*, Hüseyin Sadeddin, Vol. 7, 1 Temmuz 1325, İstanbul, p. 134.

One encounters the names of Fahri Bey and İhsan Aziz Bey this time among the founders of *Dârü't-Talîm-i Musîkî* in the Fatih district in 1912. There are more schools revealing the same pattern: Bestenigâr Ziya Bey (1877-1923) was among the founders of the *Şark Musîkî Cemiyeti* in 1915. He retired from the Ministry of Military Affairs in 1916. Abdülkadir Bey (Töre, 1872-1945), who was an official in the Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Foreign Affairs respectively, founded *Gülşen-i Musîkî* in 1918 in his home at Cerrahpaşa. Following his retirement from the Ministry of Justice, Ali Salahî Bey (1878-1945) founded *Terakki-i Musîkî* in the Eyüp district with a group of musicians, among whom there was Fahri Bey (Council of State [*Şûrâ-yı Devlet*]). Ata Bey (was nicknamed *Telgrafçı*, d. 1934) restored the *Dârü'l-Feyz-i Musîkî* under the name of Üsküdar Musîkî Cemiyeti in 1923. Emin Ongan (Tobacco Monopoly) was another critical figure of the school. As mentioned before, many of these officials were dismissed due to the reorganization of the

Ottoman bureaucracy in 1909 (*tensikât*) or retired around the time as the music schools began to increase in number in Istanbul. Thus, the concentration of the former official functionaries in the music schools could not happen by chance and should be explained.

Given the official status of these people, being a music teacher was more respected than playing in the music halls or in the coffee houses, where the musicians had to work for long and irregular hours. On the one hand, music schools seemed to provide protection against the tough working conditions of performing music outside, and integrated them smoothly into the music market, on the other. Table 22 (Fourth Chapter) showed this process of integration, the musicians of these schools gave public concerts just like the (*fasıl*) groups of Aşkî Efendi or Tahsin Efendi in the very same places. But the difference was eye-catching on the ground that they were on stage as a representative of the schools they were bound to. The performances were made in the name of schools. The process might be defined in terms of formalizing an institutional identity that would eventually provide prestige and status. The photograph of İsmail Hakkı Bey's *Musikî-i Osmanî* School (Photo 6.2) confirms the argument. The uniform clothing, the tidy arrangement of the people posing for the photographer, and above all the expression of seriousness on faces convey the messages of authority, order and above all dignity. It seems that İsmail Hakkı Bey wanted to retain his training from those old days in the Imperial Music Academy (*mûzîka-i hümâyûn*).

One alternative way to look at the subject matter is from the statistical perspective. Table 5.25 explored the most active nine music teachers in the late Ottoman Istanbul. Hüseyin Fahreddin Dede (1853-1911) was the only one on the list who did not connect himself to music schools either as a practitioner or as a teacher. His base was a Sufi lodge. All the rest of the most popular music teachers were either the founders of one, some were more than one, or actively involved musicians in the schools that I stated above. Hence it might be interpreted that their popularity was not about transmitting music better than others but they were simply in a more advantageous position.

The second relevant outcome is that 107 musicians in the sampling were school-affiliated musicians, 42 % of the total. The number of musicians who received music training in one of those schools was 35, which make 14 % of the total. The proportion seems insignificant but should not be overlooked given the number of musicians in the sampling that had received music training before the schools were established (see “Age Composition Characteristics” in the Third Chapter regarding the precise amount of younger generation of musicians who were born at the turn of the twentieth century). The proportion of the school-affiliation for the older group of musicians, on the other, increases that 72 musicians participated in them both as a teacher and performer, 28 % of the total.

All in all, my argument was that the dynamics of change in music was strongly related to the issue of music schools. Thus, the statistical outcomes and social network analysis of musicians alternatively underestimated the expanded influence of music schools at the time period in question. I argue that the effect of the music school-centered change in music stood at the center up to the formation of state radio in Istanbul (1927-1938) and in Ankara (1938-1949).

6.3. Radio Broadcast: An Opportunity or Threat to Ottoman Music?

The onset of radio broadcasts in Istanbul was in 1927. It is noteworthy that the radio began to operate quite early when one considers that the first regular broadcast in the world became possible only in the 1910s.²³² According to this study, music schools triggered the first critical change in music after the turn of the twentieth century, the underlying reasons and consequences of which were discussed above. I argue that the second change was the establishment of the state radio in 1927. Although its influence on music and musicians was not similar to that of the music schools, it seems that they both dominated gradually the musicians’ world.

²³² Studying astronomy and physics at Stanford University, Charles Herrold (1875-1948) unintentionally discovered the radio broadcast while he was working to improve wireless telephony in 1909, Gordon Greb and Mike Adams, *Charles Herrold, Inventor of Radio Broadcasting*, McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, Jefferson, North Carolina, and London, 2003, pp. 15-18.

As mentioned before, the beginning of radio broadcasting marks the time limit of this thesis. Even though it created a unique platform for music and hence the musicians, it coincidentally imposed uniformity and undermined plurality. Hence, the bulk of the musicians in the sampling appeared to be the last generation who carried the cultural plurality of the imperial ages. Rona's book, *20. Yüzyıl Türk Musikisi: Bestekârları ve Besteleri Güftelerile*, evidently confirms my argument.²³³ Why my thesis does not extend the time limit is also related to the issue of state intervention in music through the cultural policies, the implementation of which coincided with the onset of radio broadcasts. Cultural historians stated different opinions regarding the roles the radio played from its emergence to the 1950s.²³⁴ However, from the statements of Mesud Cemil, it is clear that particularly the first period of Istanbul radio (1927-1938) should not be considered within the same political context as the Ankara radio (1938-1949):

“...at the beginning, our audience seemed to be between 3.000 to 5.000 people. ...It might be said that the programs were better in quality [he compares it to the Ankara Radio]. ...The popularity was limited and

²³³ In fact, the author changed the title of the book, however, it is the expanded version of his first book, *50 Yıllık Türk Musikisi* and contains about four hundred more pages. The book's newly added musicians were born in the first two decades of the twentieth century. It seems their differences are less than their similarities regarding the career patterns, most of which ended up in state radios, see Mustafa Rona, *20. Yüzyıl Türk Musikisi: Bestekârları ve Besteleri Güftelerile*, Türkiye Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1970.

²³⁴ Meltem Ahıska argues that the transfer of radio to Ankara in 1938 was analogous to that of making Ankara the capital of the new republic. Symbolically, İstanbul was the center of extreme Westernization and thus degeneration, also the center of anti-republicans and the supporters of the Islamist policies. Hence, the authorities of the new order had to keep a distance with İstanbul. However, the gap between the ideal and the reality was immense regarding the sociocultural level of Ankara compared to İstanbul. Within this cultural struggle, the radio was one of the strong instruments to decrease that gap. The author states that the decision to cease the İstanbul radio until 1949 was a part of that plan. Meltem Ahıska, *Radyonun Sihirli Kapısı: Garbiyatçılık ve Politik Öznellik*, Metis, İstanbul, 2005, p. 27-31. Tamer Kütükçü approaches the issue from a rather more musical perspective as compared to Ahıska. He argues that the Ottoman music found a proper channel to reach more people than it was possible in the Ottoman era, despite the unwillingness of the new political elites. The second issue he made a point of was that the political intervention was very limited, particularly in the İstanbul radio and thus musicians were selected with respect to the musical talent they had. As a consequence, the standard of broadcast was praiseworthy thanks to the musicians of fine quality. Tamer Kütükçü, *Radyoculuk Geleneğimiz ve Türk Musikisi*, Ötüken, İstanbul, 2012, pp. 51-55.

hence we could work with any musician we wanted to without bureaucratic barriers...”²³⁵

What Mesud Cemil implied was that the radio broadcast was not yet an area of interest for political authorities, and it appears that the logic behind it was to entertain the public rather than using it as a means of conveying political propaganda. However, things would turn out to be very different during the Ankara radio period.

From the standpoint of this thesis, the argument that the radio undermined the plurality in music is derived from the radio-affiliated musicians’ career tracks. The system identified 88 radio-affiliated musicians, the majority of whom had similar social backgrounds and career paths, which I will demonstrate through statistical outcomes.

Table 6.3. Musicians’ distribution between Istanbul and Ankara radios

Radio	Frequency	Percent
Istanbul Radio	48	18.7
Ankara Radio	14	5.4
Both	26	10.1
TOTAL	88	34.2

It is noteworthy that 48 musicians in the sampling have died before the onset of radio broadcast in 1927. Hence the radio-affiliated musicians make 42 % of the musicians in the sampling. Regarding the “both” group, Ankara radio started to operate in the same year the Istanbul radio was closed. Therefore, the majority of those musicians in the “both” group were transferred to the new radio in Ankara. Yet five musicians employed in the “Istanbul Radio” group died before the opening of the Ankara radio in 1938.

²³⁵ Ayhan Dinç, “İstanbul Radyosu’nun Öyküsü”, in *İstanbul Radyosu: Anılar, Yaşantılar*, Ayhan Dinç, Özden Çankaya, Nail Ekici (eds), YKY, İstanbul, 2000, p. 74.

The outcome on the instrument specialty of those 88 musicians shows that voice took the leading (n = 27), followed by oud and violin (13 for each), ney (n = 8), kemenche (n = 7), tanbur and kanun (6 for each) and other instruments in smaller numbers. The proportions run parallel to the outcomes regarding the general instrumental specialty in the sampling.

The income source of radio-affiliated musicians shows that the largest proportion belongs to the musicians that made a living by performing music: 58 % were professional musicians. The former official functionaries' participation in the radio was only about 19 %. As stated before, the proportions ran in the opposite direction for the music schools, in which the majority were former officials and the association of professional musicians was at an insignificant level. It might be interpreted that music schools and radio stood at the two different sides of the change facing one another. Yet in their relationship there was more than meets the eye. The life stories of the 55 out of 88 radio-affiliated musicians revealed the connection. They were part of those music schools, either as students, performers or teaching staff, which makes 62.5 %. More precisely, 26 out of those 55 received music education in the music schools founded by the former official functionaries (47 %). The music schools employed the rest as music teachers or as members of their music groups.



Photo 6.3. Musicians of Istanbul radio in the early period
(Standings, left to right) Nevres Bey, Refik Fersan, Ali Rıza Şengel, Mesud Cemil, Selahattin Demircioğlu.
(Seated, left to right) Hayriye Örs, Vecihe Daryal, Ruşen Ferit Kam
Source: Ayhan Dinç, “İstanbul Radyosu’nun Öyküsü”, p. 73.

A distinctive feature of the radio was the employment of the female musicians, as it is seen in the Photo 6.3. In fact, defining 23 female musicians’ occupation was a challenge for me because the majority did not have a definable occupation. As the biographical accounts revealed, some were born into upper-class families, which presumably provided them with an income and inherited wealth and they did not need to work. Leyla (Saz) Hanım’s (1850-1937) father was Hekim İsmail Pasha (1807-1880), while İhsan Raif Hanım’s (1877-1926) father was Mehmed Raif Pasha (Köse, 1836-1911). Both Pashas served as ministers in the Trade and Public Works (*Nafia ve Ticaret Nezâreti*). Nigâr Galip Hanım (1890-1966) was the granddaughter of Ahmet Mithat Efendi (1844-1912) and the daughter of Muallim Naci (1849-1893). The father of Neveser Kökdeş (1904-1962) was in the close circle of Abdulaziz, *başmabeynci* Hurşit Bey. She was one of the rare musicians under study who graduated from a foreign school (Notre Dame de Sion). I have already stated the

cases of Faize Ergin (1894-1954) and Fahire Fersan (1900-1997) while discussing the tragic life story of their father, *Mabeynci* Faik Bey (1870-1937). In fact, only three female musicians' occupations were definable. Nezahat Adula (1901-1959) taught music, while Mualla Anıl (1909-1985) taught literature in public schools. Sabiha Tekad (b. 1911) was a civil servant in the Supreme Court. The significant point about the radio broadcast is that 15 out of 23 females in the sampling participated in the radio broadcast either as contracted-musicians or as permanent staff (65 %). Although it provided a safe environment, it was the radio through which women eventually found a platform to perform music in public and to assert themselves as musicians.

Consequently, radio functioned differently than music schools in certain ways:

i. The social basis of schools was quite different than the radio in that the former emerged as collective effort of musicians, whereas the latter was a state-sponsored project.

ii. The music schools might also be viewed as an attempt to increase the status of musicians but particularly the music teachers in the Ottoman urban society. Musicians of those schools derived status but not wealth by formalizing institutional identity.

iii. Yet the schools provided an open platform for the participants who hoped to excel at music. The radio was not a school –albeit Ankara radio held classes for a while but only to the musicians under contract, the space was restricted only to musicians.

iv. Music schools -albeit more limited, but particularly the radio had a discernable effect on the careers of women musicians. The integration of female musicians into music has transformed the field into a more egalitarian one, even though the decision-making roles in music continued to be held mostly by the male members.

v. More importantly, the radio produced a prototype musician, which eventually

became a role model. As employees for the government, they became embedded in the state organization. The situation, however, was highly different from the case of the musicians who served in the Ottoman bureaucracy. As I tried to underline by quantitative and qualitative methods throughout the thesis, music was part of the Ottoman urban culture and only a small portion of the musicians was earning a life out of music. With the emergence of state-run institutions, such as the state radio, the diversity that nourished this culture started to fade away, particularly due to the professionalization of musicians. It was true that musicians were financially secured more than ever through state-run institutions, however the amateur spirit started to lose ground. When the state policies turned against the Ottoman music in the 1930s, the bulk of the musicians were not in a position to oppose the state, since they were the state functionaries. Sadly, very few of the music schools that emerged as a result of the collective efforts of musicians after the 1910s, that might have provided a shelter from the storm, still existed since most of the musicians had become radio artists.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This thesis collectively analyzed the musicians who lived during the late Ottoman and in the Early Republican years, a method of that has not yet been employed for the time period in question. The aim of gathering a significant amount of musicians was to reveal their social characteristics. Calling into question what sort of typical patterns they have generated and to what extent they differed from each other yielded valuable returns, thanks to which sociocultural complexities have become discernable.

This study aimed to shed light on the socio-historical basis of the Ottoman urban music. The family background of musicians demonstrated the social diversity of musicians. They were born into families of state officials, religious functionaries, military personnel, Sufi sheikhs, musicians, artisans, traders, laborers and so on. Another noteworthy aspect was that they were predominantly coming from average, middle-rank families. These research findings expressed clearly that music connected many different layers of society in Istanbul. Moreover, the music did not belong to a particular group of people or class; each member of the musician community has participated on equal terms. It appears that these characteristics did not undergo an important change since the time of Es'ad Efendi (d. 1753). It is noteworthy that, they were probably the last generation of musicians that maintained this type of plurality of social profile. If I had employed the method to a group of musicians that were born after the turn of the twentieth century, there would have been major proportional differences between the musicians who earned a living out of music and those who did not.

Calling these issues into question was instrumental in understanding whether music was a profession in the late Ottoman urban society. Notwithstanding that less than one third of the population of musicians sought career opportunities in music, from the standpoint of this thesis; it was a profession in the marginal sense. The

perspective that I have offered, considered music as a part of the urban culture and one of the ways to express urban identity. The fact that a greater proportion of musicians engaged in music on an unpaid basis reinforces this argument.

The study attempted to explore living conditions in order to better understand the socio-economic position of musicians in society. Scholarship regarding poverty and social isolation in the Ottoman urban centers does not provide much guidance. Yet, the study demonstrated that musicians suffering from poverty were not few. It is noteworthy that most of the destitute musicians were either former official functionaries or were the members of the Imperial Music Academy. Given the complexity of the issue, I continued to examine the individual life stories to better grasp the common problems they faced. It appears that both internal and external factors were at play. I showed that the socio-political changes the Ottoman state went through by the turn of the century were traumatic for many musicians. The majority of the musicians in the official service were dismissed with a meager retirement income due to the reorganization of the Ottoman bureaucracy in 1909. It was only in music that they could pursue a career. The study revealed that some musicians were more fragile when they had to confront financial problems of music, including unemployment, underemployment, and irregular job vacancies, who eventually faced poverty in retirement. Some of the former official functionaries, on the other hand, sought ways to survive, better adapted to change and played a critical role in transforming the music world.

From a broader perspective, the thesis tried to link the political crises the Ottoman state experienced after the turn of the century to the changes in music. More precisely, by approaching the Ottoman bureaucracy from a musical perspective, the thesis attempted to understand the transformations in music by following the career paths of civil officials, which predominantly constituted the musicians under study. From this viewpoint, the members of the bureaucracy were the individuals who generated the Ottoman urban culture, and also its music.

Focusing on the spatial networks of musicians throughout the city was a particular way of viewing the issue, offering a new understanding on the music performed in the city and introduced new perspectives to Ottoman urban studies as well. With a view to identify the habitual practices of musicians and hence to draw the musical map of the city, geographically definable networks of musicians were visualized through historical maps and graphics. To do that, the thesis statistically recorded every single move of musicians mentioned in the biographical accounts. The places where the music was heard, including places of music classes, music schools, Sufi lodges as well as the houses where the musical gatherings were carried out. Indeed, the statistical analysis also covered coffee houses, theatres, music halls, and picnic areas as the places of musical performances. This frequency analysis produced two significant outcomes: The first outcome was the neighborhoods where the musical activities were mostly concentrated. Secondly, the frequency analysis displayed the musical interactions between neighborhoods.

The quantitative outcomes showed that Fatih, Beşiktaş and Üsküdar are the residential, whereas the Beyoğlu and Fatih districts are the performance centers of Istanbul. The two neighborhoods together almost had half of the recorded musical activities in Istanbul. However, characteristic differences separated them. What made Beyoğlu musically significant was the frequency of places for entertainment. Innumerable music halls, taverns and theatres characterized the district. Indeed, innumerable music stores, sound recording companies, and the emergence of radio broadcast in 1927 made the neighborhood even more musical. Yet, the presence of prominent Sufi lodges, including the Galata Mevlevî lodge and the Tophane Kadirî lodge, contributed further to the diversity of the area.

The study recorded most of the musical house gatherings in Fatih. It was mainly due to the fact that musicians predominantly lived in the old city (33.3 %). Sufi lodges in Fatih were the places, in which religious music was performed continuously, such as Yenikapı Mevlevî lodge, Nişancı lodge, Nureddin Cerrahî lodge, Sertarikzâde lodge, and so on. Coffee houses were another characteristic of Fatih, where musicians gathered to socialize and to perform music. Above all, Fatih seemed to have

foreseen the change ahead and responded accordingly. The emergence of music schools was revolutionary in many ways that set the music on a new path. Most of these institutions were opened in the neighborhood. Therefore, it would not be wrong to argue that Fatih stood at the center of the change in music.

On the part of the musical interactions between neighborhoods, Üsküdar was the place of the most mobile musicians in the sampling. They carried out most of the local music activities, also frequented even most distant places, such as performing music in the picnic areas of Sarıyer. Although Eyüp and Üsküdar corresponded to each other in terms of their religious character, which was disseminated through the notable religious architecture and dynamic Sufi presence, the latter revealed more musical diversity. Particularly theatres and theatrical organizations, mainly concentrated around the Doğancılar and Bağlarbaşı areas that meant more musical opportunities for musicians.

Exploring the network structures that linked the musicians to one another created circumstances to open up even the isolated interactions. Above all, the approach brought an alternative perspective to re-evaluate the existing historical material and shed light on the issues, many of which were the least-visited in the history of music.

Firstly, musicians predominantly learned music before the age of 10 and the family involvement in the process of music education was characteristic for those musicians. The majority of the rest who learned music when older, were born into families with a lesser musical interest. The music schools were the main address to learn music for many of those “outsiders”, which showed clearly that the schools brought a novel group of people into the music community, thereby music gained a new ground.

Secondly, contrary to what is commonly thought, the musical interactions between Muslim and non-Muslim musicians were very limited in the process of music training. Non-Muslim groups of musicians revealed a very conservative character in

that they were almost always educated musically either within the family or through their religious institutions. Muslim musicians, on the other hand, revealed a more liberal pattern in music education and had more connections with the non-Muslim music teachers.

An analysis of the personal connections among musicians, revealed Zekai Dede (d. 1897) and his son Ahmet Irsoy's (d. 1943) position in music clearly. Based on the statistical outcomes, it is possible to argue that the family was the most active as well as fertile transmitter of Ottoman music from the middle of the nineteenth century to the Republican era. Without failing to notice nevertheless other critically significant actors. The network analysis revealed alternative names such as Sheikh Cemal Efendi (d. 1937), who was barely discernible in the music history. He was an authority particularly in the religious repertoire and played an important role in transmitting it to younger generations of musicians.

Historiography of Ottoman music has produced a dense literature on the re-formulation of music in the 1930s. Historians have focused on this cultural shift, which was the nationalization, thereby, the Turkification of music. The novelty of this thesis is that it puts the music schools at the center of attention. The study considered their emergence by 1908 as the first critical change in music after the turn of the century. In accordance with that, the radio broadcast (1927) marked the second turning point in music for the thesis. Why these institutions were worthy of re-consideration was that they offered insights into the argument of music as a "profession" and were instrumental in understanding change and continuity in music.

The way the study approached the music schools suggested a new perspective in which more emphasis was given to their socio-historical basis. In contrast to conventional historiography, I sought to discover the reasons for their emergence. Based on the statistical findings, the thesis linked the reorganization of the Ottoman bureaucracy in 1909 with the appearance of the music schools in Istanbul in order to explain the concentration of the former officials in those schools. More precisely,

out of the political crises, music schools emerged as a whole new ground in music. I have argued that, apart from music training, they functioned to advance the status of musicians in society. The former officials while integrating gradually to the music market through the institutional identity of those schools, gained prestige and status as musicians. Thus, these schools were significant as they represented the initial steps towards professionalism, which would be achieved fully with the radio broadcast in Istanbul (1927) and Ankara (1938).

The thesis attempted to shed light on the advantages of radio as well as the problems it created to better grasp the musicians' career paths towards professionalism. From the standpoint of this study, the radio, just as music schools stood at the center of the transformations in music. Yet, both had a different impact on music. Under the state protection, music was recognized as a profession with a regular income and predictable working hours. The positive effect was that the musicians' longing for status and respect was fulfilled. On the negative side, radio deliberately eliminated the differences between musicians and homogenized them. The uniformity, which gradually became a model for musicians, was essentially against the idea and practice of music as financially rewarding. The majority of musicians in the sampling did not build such a relationship with music, which I emphasized throughout the thesis. In fact, the change defined in the career paths of musicians should be interpreted as Ottoman music losing ground while transforming itself into something new. I argued that what was obtained was not equivalent to what was lost and it could not be recovered. For these reasons, I considered radio as the second watershed in music history.

Furthermore, the impact of music schools and radio broadcast was also critical from a gender perspective. Before the emergence of music schools and the radio, the study regarded "stay-at-home" as a norm for the majority of women musicians. The most positive effect, as I pointed out, these institutions helped musicians to gain a professional status in society and the increased visibility of women musicians supported the argument.

One of the contributions of this thesis is to emphasize musicians that were largely forgotten by the historiography. The biographical studies on Bülbülî Salih Efendi (d. 1923), İhsan Aziz Bey (d. 1935), Mabeynci Faik Bey (d. 1937) and Sheikh Cemal Efendi (d.1937) remain to be written. The thesis pointed out that more biographical material would enable us to better understand the sociocultural changes in music and would bring new perspectives to the field. I also have to admit that this collective biography study would have been more comprehensive, if we had more biographies particularly on the non-Muslim musicians and musicians who performed in various music venues of Istanbul.

Eventually, the present thesis offered an unconventional approach to the musicians that lived from the late Ottoman to the Early Republican years in Istanbul. To uncover the social history of music, the study attempted to connect the musicians' responses to changes that the Ottoman state underwent. I hope that this research will bring about new questions that would lead to new research initiatives and in this way may have an impact on the future studies dealing with social history in the late Ottoman period.

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APPENDICES

A. The Full List Of Musicians Under Study

ID	NAME	BIRTH_ PLACE	DATE_ BIRTH	DATE_ DIED
58	Fehmi Efendi (Cerrah)	Islimye	?	?
81	Ibrahim Efendi (klarnet)	?	?	?
32	Behlul Efendi	Fatih	?	1895
206	Hadi Bey (Yenikoylu)	Yenikoy	?	1920
161	Salih Efendi (Kemani, Bulbul)	Istanbul	?	1923
196	Mehmed Esref Efendi	Istanbul	?	1930
224	Ata Bey	Istanbul	?	1934
152	Rifat Bey (Miralay)	Istanbul	1820	1896
189	Zekai Dede	Eyub	1824	1897
162	Salim Bey	Uskudar	1830	1894
11	Ali Bey (Enderunlu, Kel)	Tosya	1831	1899
140	Bolahenk Nuri Bey	Karagumruk	1834	1911
26	Aziz Dede	Uskudar	1835	1905
104	Mahmut Celaleddin Pasa	Vefa	1839	1900
170	Mehmet Sadi Bey	Cengelkoy	1839	1904
220	Husameddin Efendi (Kasiyarik)	Istanbul Mevlevihane	1840	?
61	Haci Kirami Efendi Astik Aga (Asadur	kapi	1840	1909
23	Hamamciyan)	Ortakoy	1840	1913
124	Mustafa Servet Bey	Istanbul	1840	1918
143	Osman Efendi (Hafiz, Musullu)	Musul Kahramanma	1840	1920
123	Mustafa Nuri Bey	ras	1841	1906
168	Servet Bey (Mustafa)	Istanbul	1841	1917
29	Aziz Efendi (Medeni)	Medine	1842	1895

24	Ataullah Efendi	Topkapi	1842	1910
46	Emin Efendi, Notaci	Beylerbeyi	1845	1907
183	Vasilaki Efendi	Silivri	1845	1907
	Mehmed Cemal Efendi			
245	(Zakirbasi)	Eyup	1847	1916
	Sabri Bey (Mehmet,			
154	Tophaneli)	Istanbul	1848	1914
37	Celaleddin Dede Efendi	Topkapi	1849	1908
193	Ziya Yusuf Pasa	Istanbul	1849	1929
103	Leyla Hanim (Saz)	Istanbul	1850	1937
2	Afet (Hapet) Misirliyan	Kumkapi	1850	1922
		Yenisehir,		
22	Asim Bey (Giriftzen)	Fener	1851	1929
218	Refik Bey (Manyasizade)	Istanbul	1853	1910
72	Huseyin Fahreddin Dede	Besiktas	1853	1911
219	Ahmed Celaleddin Dede	Gelibolu	1853	1946
3	Ahmet Arifi Bey	Istanbul	1855	1908
209	Ali Riza Bey (Vefali)	Bayezid	1855	1923
51	Edhem Efendi (Santuri)	Bayezid	1855	1926
86	Ismail Fenni Ertugrul	Tirnova	1856	1926
28	Aziz Efendi (Hafiz)	Istanbul	1856	1929
188	Yusuf Efendi (Hafiz)	Hanya	1857	1925
	Melekzet Efendi (Mustafa			
115	Nuri)	Istanbul	1857	1937
182	Tatyos Efendi (Keseryan)	Ortakoy	1858	1913
79	Husnu Efendi (Enderunlu)	Uskudar	1858	1919
107	Mehmet Bey (Kanuni)	Beykoz	1859	1927
178	Sevki Bey	Fatih	1860	1891
52	Edhem Efendi (Ibrahim)	Fatih	1860	1934
102	Leon Hanciyan Efendi	Haskoy	1860	1947
91	Izzet Bey	Isanbul	1861	1894

19	Arif Bey (Kanuni)	Istanbul	1862	1911
221	Said Özok	Istanbul	1863	1945
147	Rahmi Bey (Mehmet)	Istanbul	1864	1924
9	Ahmet Rasim Bey	Fatih	1864	1932
41	Cemil Bey (Hanende)	Fatih	1865	1926
87	Ismail Hakki (Muallim)	Balat	1865	1927
142	Nuri Seyda Bey	Istanbul	1866	1901
40	Cemil Bey (Sekerci, udi)	Sehzadebasi	1867	1928
116	Memduh Efendi	Ayvansaray	1868	1938
63	Hasan Sabri Bey	Uskudar	1868	1922
5	Ahmet Avni Bey (Konuk)	Istanbul	1868	1938
100	Kirkor Culhayan Efendi	Kumkapi	1868	1938
14	Ali Galip Turkkan	Istanbul	1868	1949
246	Nuri Korman	Ortakoy	1868	1951
62	Hamit Husnu Bey	Istanbul	1868	1952
222	Ziya Santur	Kanlica	1868	1952
4	Ahmed Bey (Selanikli)	Selanik	1869	1926
13	Ali Rifat Cagatay	Ayvansaray	1869	1935
6	Ahmet Irsoy	Eyub	1869	1943
30	Azmi Bey	?	1869	1944
112	Mehmet Suphi Ezgi	Uskudar	1869	1962
27	Aziz Mahmud Bey	Istanbul	1870	1929
38	Cemal Efendi (Hafiz)	Kasimpasa	1870	1937
101	Lemi Atli	Uskudar	1870	1945
149	Rauf Yekta Bey (Mehmet)	Aksaray	1871	1935
243	Yusuf Dagseven	Uskudar	1871	1945
56	Faiz Kapanci	Selanik	1871	1950
110	Mustafa Nezih Albayrak	Vefa	1871	1964
42	Cemil Bey (Tanburi)	Aksaray	1872	1916
146	Ovrik Efendi (Kazasyan)	Kumkapi	1872	1936
1	Abdulkadir Bey (Tore)	Kasgar	1872	1945

35	Bogos Efendi (Asdikzade)	Ortakoy	1872	1945
94	Karnik Garmiryan	Beyoglu	1872	1947
148	Rakim Elkutlu	Izmir	1872	1948
133	Nevres Bey	Malatya	1873	1937
34	Bimen Sen (Dergazaryan)	Bursa	1873	1943
95	Kazim Uz	Draman	1873	1943
247	İhsan İyisan	Uskudar	1873	1946
73	Huseyin Fahri Tanik	Lofca	1873	1953
177	Sevket Gavsi (Ozdonmez)	Istanbul	1873	1954
169	Servet Yesari (Mehmet)	Istanbul	1874	1943
199	Hafiz Sami	Filiba	1874	1943
39	Cemal Efendi	Izmir	1874	1945
		Suleymaniye,		
179	Sukru Senozan	Ist.	1874	1954
77	Huseyin Husnu Sonat	Selanik	1875	?
		Fatih,		
92	Izzettin Humai Bey	Nisanca	1875	1950
98	Kemal Emin Bara	Sehzadebasi	1876	1956
163	Sami Bey (Udi)	Aksaray	1876	1939
83	İhsan Raif Hanim	Beyrut	1877	1926
192	Ziya Bey (Bestenigar)	Uskudar	1877	1923
106	Mehmet Baha Pars	Bursa	1877	1953
111	M. Nuri Duyguer	Kadikoy	1877	1963
16	Ali Riza Sengel (Eyyubi)	Eyub	1878	1953
18	Ali Salahi Bey	Istanbul	1878	1945
76	Huseyin Sadeddin Arel	Vefa	1878	1953
80	Hosep Efendi (Ebeyan)	Uskudar	1878	1966
210	Tevfik Kolayli	Bodrum	1879	1953
47	Ekrem Bey	Fatih	1879	1934
	Ibrahim Efendi (Avram Hayat			
82	Levi)	Halep	1879	1948

		Merkez		
248	Nurullah Kilic	Efendi	1879	1975
20	Arsak Efendi (Comlekciyan)	Gedikpasa	1880	1930
17	Ali Riza Bey (Kaptanzade)	Kanlica	1881	1934
125	Mustafa Sunar	Draman	1881	1959
8	Ahmet Nuri Canaydin	Fatih	1881	?
50	Emin Yazici	Tophane	1881	1945
74	Huseyin Kazim Tav	Fatih	1881	1957
254	Osman Efendi (Güvenir)	Istanbul	1882	?
244	Kemal Gurses	Sehremeni	1882	1939
68	Haydar Gunemek	Fatih	1882	?
174	Semsettin Ziya Bey	Vefa	1882	1925
113	Mehmet Yuru (Nasibin)	Kanlica	1882	1953
109	Mehmet Munir Kökten	Eyub	1882	1969
44	Cevdet Refik Kalpakcioglu	Fatih	1883	1959
129	Nail Okte	Cihangir	1884	?
130	Nazim Bey (Ama, Kanuni)	Uskudar	1884	1920
215	İhsan Aziz Bey	Istanbul	1884	1935
121	Musa Sureyya	Uskudar	1884	1932
173	Sekib Bey	Istanbul	1884	1938
119	Muhiddin Erev	Seres	1884	1952
99	Kirkor Berber (Udi)	Istanbul	1884	1959
84	Isak Varon	Gelibolu	1884	1962
141	Nuri Halil Poyraz	Inebolu	1885	1956
54	Fahri Kopuz	Istanbul	1885	1968
21	Artaki Candan (Terziyan)	Selanik	1885	1948
45	Durru Turan	Fatih	1885	1960
96	Kemal Niyazi Seyhun	Akka	1885	1967
137	Nubar Efendi (Kanuni)	Istanbul	1885	?
7	Ahmet Mukerrem Akinci	Fatih	1885	1940
167	Serkis Suciyan (Kemani)	Besiktas	1885	1943

64	Hasan Fehmi Mutel	Beylerbeyi Kocamustafa	1885	1964
184	Yasar Okur	pasa	1885	1966
236	Ali İcinger (Bulbul Ali)	Edirne	1886	1976
90	Istepan Gedik	Konya	1886	1970
171	Suphi Ziya Ozbekkan	Istanbul	1887	1966
118	Mildan Niyazi Ayomak	Safranbolu	1887	1947
59	Fehmi Tekce	Fethiye	1888	?
25	Avni Aktunc	Eyub	1888	1961
238	Izak Elgazi	Izmir	1889	1950
157	Sahak Hocasar	Besiktas	1889	1946
120	Muhlis Sabahattin	Adana	1889	1947
60	Fehmi Tokay	Uskudar	1889	1958
145	Osman Sevki Uludag	Bursa	1889	1964
136	Nigar Galip Hanim (Ulusoy)	Cibali	1890	1966
151	Resat Erer	Istanbul	1890	1940
164	Sedat Oztoprak	Konya	1890	1942
202	Kadi Fuad Efendi	Istanbul	1890	1920
201	Hikmet Bey	Istanbul	1890	1923
12	Ali Galip Alnar	Istanbul	1890	1951
53	Faik Mis	?	1890	1959
67	Haydar Tatliyay	Drama	1890	1962
15	Ali Riza Sagman	Unye	1890	1965
117	Memduh Imre	Topkapi	1891	1956
208	Munir Mazhar Kamsoy	Uskudar M. Kemal	1891	1973
181	Tahsin Karakus	Pasa	1892	1959
10	Aleko Bacanos	Silivri	1892	1950
176	Serif Muhiddin Bey	Istanbul	1892	1967
150	Refik Fersan	Sehzadebasi	1893	1965
231	Sevki Sevgin	Istanbul	1893	1969

88	Ismail Hakki Nebioglu	Besiktas	1893	1975
33	Besim Serif Ustunoz	Uskudar	1893	1970
69	Hayri Yenigun	Kumkapi	1893	1979
97	Kemal Batanay	Fatih	1893	1981
57	Faize Ergin	Istanbul	1894	1954
213	Refik Talat Bey (Alpman)	Bebek	1894	1947
249	Huseyin Efendi (Sebilci)	Istanbul	1894	1975
237	Sadettin Kaynak	Fatih	1895	1961
234	Fatma Enise Can (Elizavet)	Istanbul	1896	1975
31	Bedriye Hosgor	Konya	1896	1968
194	Cevdet Kozanoglu	Kasimpasa	1896	1986
190	Zeki Arif Ataergin	Besiktas	1896	1964
232	Ahmet Yatman	Istanbul	1896	1973
65	Hasan Guler	Drama	1896	1984
105	Marko Colakoglu	Nigde	1896	1957
159	Sadi Erden	Kiziltoprak	1896	1963
		Kocamustafa		
197	Hafiz Burhan	pasa	1897	1943
228	Ahmed Celal Tokses	Marmaris	1898	1966
186	Yesari Asim Ersoy	Drama	1898	1992
175	Serif Icli	Besiktas	1899	1956
160	Sadi Isilay	Laleli	1899	1969
158	Sadettin Heper	Eyup	1899	1980
240	Fahire Fersan	Divanyolu	1900	1997
233	Mustafa Zeki Caglarman	Fatih	1900	?
66	Hasan Tahsin Parsadan	Kars	1900	1954
187	Yorgo Bacanos	Istanbul	1900	1977
128	Munir Nurettin Selcuk	Sariyer	1900	1981
139	Nurettin Cemil Sangan	Sehzadebasi	1900	1979
135	Nezahat Adula	Findikli	1901	1959
70	Hirant Emre, Kenkiloglu	Adapazari	1901	1978

205	Mesud Cemil	Aksaray	1902	1963
204	Rusen Ferit Kam	Beylerbeyi	1902	1981
43	Cevdet Cagla	Acibadem	1902	1988
198	Hayri Tumer	Zeyrek	1902	1973
252	Naci Tektel	Istanbul	1902	1975
172	Suleyman Erguner	SultanSelim	1902	1953
165	Selahaddin Pinar	Uskudar	1902	1960
195	Gavsi Baykara	Yenikapi	1902	1967
71	Hulusi Gokmenli	Besiktas	1902	1975
131	Nebahat uner	Bebek	1903	1955
223	Zuhdu Bardakoglu (Santuri)	Tophane	1903	?
132	Neveser Kokdes	Drama	1904	1962
239	Mebruke Cagla	Istanbul	1904	1982
122	Mustafa Nafiz Irmak	Istanbul	1904	1975
55	Faruk Arifi	Istanbul	1904	?
203	Fuat Sorguc	Uskudar	1904	1970
48	Ekrem Karadeniz	Rize	1904	1981
212	Omer Altug	Sivas	1905	1965
138	Nubar Tekyay	Istanbul	1905	1955
216	Burhanettin Okte	Istanbul	1905	1973
225	Halil Can	Uskudar	1905	1973
185	Yekta Akinci	Sarachane	1905	1980
144	Osman Nihat Akin	Bakirkoy	1905	1959
211	Fatma Nihal Erkutun	Amasya	1906	1989
235	Emine Fulya Akaydin (Panfilia)	Istanbul	1906	1975
49	Emin Ongan	Edirne	1906	1985
108	Halil Dikmen	Istanbul	1906	1964
126	Mustafa Sirin	Fatih	1906	?
180	Sukru Tunar	Edremit	1907	1962
226	Hakki Derman	Kabatas	1907	1972
191	Zeki Duygulu	Beyrut	1907	1974

89	Ismail Safa Olcay	Amasya	1907	1969
251	Nefise Ozses	Istanbul	1908	?
227	Laika Karabey	Asir, Yemen	1908	1989
155	Sabri Suha Ansen	Bursa	1908	1990
256	Mualla Anil	Edirne	1909	1985
207	Mustafa Caglar	Midilli	1910	1961
217	Izzettin Okte	Istanbul	1910	1990
156	Sadi Hosses	Istanbul	1910	1994
127	Muzaffer İlkar	Istanbul	1910	1987
257	Feyzi Aslangil	Bayezid	1910	1965
78	Huseyin Tolan (Hafiz)	Karaferye	1910	1976
200	Mehmet Resat Aysu	Tekirdag	1910	1?
153	Sabiha Tekad	Beylerbeyi	1911	?
36	Cahit Gozkan	Fatih	1911	1?
230	Vecihe Daryal	Beylerbeyi	1912	1970
242	Vedia Tunccekic	Istanbul	1912	1982
229	Haldun Menemencioglu	Uskudar	1912	1972
85	Ismail Baha Surelsan	Bursa	1912	1998
253	Rustu Eric	Iskece	1912	?
93	Kadri Sencalar	Eyup	1912	1989
250	Salahaddin Demirtas	Kasimpasa	1912	1997
166	Semahat Ergokmen	Uskudar	1913	2008
241	Nezahat Soysev	Istanbul	1915	?
134	Nevzat Akay	Kanlica	1915	1969
214	Vecdi Seyhun	Kanlica	1915	1984
75	Huseyin Mayadag	Selanik	1915	1965
255	Rustu Sardag	Halep	1915	1994
114	Melahat Pars	Fatih	1918	2005

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