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Traces of the Ottoman Musical Tradition in Early 20th-Century Western-Style Turkish Art Music

ABSTRACT

The Turkish Five (*Türk Beşleri*) is a name given to a group of composers whose works set out the direction for modern Western-style Turkish art music. After the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, the new generation of musicians trained in Europe had been given the task to establish a new musical tradition for the modern Turkish society. It was supposed to replace the Ottoman musical tradition. According to outlines given by the Turkish government, the new “National Music” (*Millî Musiki*) should encompass elements of Western-style art music and melodies of Turkish folk music. Five composers were especially successful in fulfilling this task, Necil Kâzım Akses, Hasan Ferit Alnar, Ulvi Cemal Erkin, Ahmet Adnan Saygun and Cemal Reşit Rey. By their compositions, they brought to live music that was appreciated by Kemal Atatürk himself. Although they were supposed to avoid any elements of the Ottoman musical tradition, even in the most popular works of this period, one can hear influences that were not to be heard in the *Millî Musiki*. In this paper, the author presents the main guidelines and historical overview of the “musical revolution” which took place in Turkey of the early-republican period (1923–1938). Next, provides a list of compositions which prove her thesis that composers born in 1904–1908, as the youngest generation of the Ottoman Empire’s elite, did not completely reject the Ottoman musical heritage in which they were raised and brought some of its elements into 20th-century Western-style Turkish classical music.

KEYWORDS

Turkish Music, Ottoman Music, Turkish Five, Milli Musiki

Introduction and Basic Musical Terms

In 1923 the Republic of Turkey was proclaimed. Its first president, Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938), dedicated his life to conducting wide-ranging legal, political and social reforms in his newly founded secular nation-state. The very important ideological framework of those reforms was the desire to cut off ties to the Ottoman Empire's legacy, regardless of possible cultural loss for the society. Ayhan Erol accurately worded it saying: "Atatürk's ideal was to build up a «nation» from the ashes of the empire. The state tried to construct an official (westernized) culture which underestimated the cultural needs of the Turkish people."¹ It is generally believed that the most important cultural changes in Turkey of the early-republican era (1923–1938) took place in the fields of language and customs, especially those related to Islam. This paper aims to show that Western-style Turkish classical music (field of culture sometimes forgotten in the context of the westernization process in the Republic of Turkey) had been a significant symbol and medium of change.²

Before we start evaluating how the ideal of new national Turkish music had been formulated and put into practice by the first generation of modern composers, called today The Turkish Five, it is crucial to define basic musical terms and concepts used in this paper. Contemporary musicology formulated several possible classifications of music genres and a few definitions of "classical" or "art" music as one of them.³ The author understands "classical music" or "art music" in three ways. First is the professional way—as being performed by professional musicians educated in specialized institutions of musical education. Second is highly formalized—as written works regarding its theory and history and formalized system of transmitting its tradition, regardless of developing or not musical notation. Third is elitist—as being created and performed for or by the members of the highest social stratum at

¹ A. Erol, *Music, Power and Symbolic Violence, The Turkish State's Music Policies During the Early Republican Period*, "European Journal of Cultural Studies" 2012, No. 1 (15), p. 39.

² It is important to remember that the early-Republican Turkish government was not the first to perceive music as a symbol of modernization process within the state. Throughout the most of the 19th century, remaining sultans of the Ottoman Empire, starting with Selim III (1789–1807) and Mahmud II (1808–1839), conducted reforms within their court's cultural institutions and Western-style classical music had been played by professional musicians in Istanbul and beyond since then. See more about the westernization process of the musical culture in the Ottoman Empire in another Author's paper. A. Pawlina, *Muzyka klasyczna Europy w Imperium Osmańskim*, „Przegląd Orientalistyczny” 2014, nr 1–2.

³ See, e.g. *Music*, [in:] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, eds. S. Sadie, J. Tyrrell, M. Levy, New York–London 2002.

some point of its history. With those three features in mind, to define “Western-style classical music,” instead of in-depth musicological definition, the author wishes to use simple popular connotation known by all Readers—it is music that the Reader knows from European philharmonics and opera theaters. In the context of contemporary Turkish musical culture that term can be applied to all compositions created by Turkish artists in the 20th and 21st-century using principles of European compositional techniques and Western musical instruments.

On the other hand, ‘Ottoman-style classical music,’ as a phenomenon, not particular known, requires some further remarks. It emerged as the youngest of art music traditions of the Muslim Middle East at the court of the Ottoman Empire’s rulers in the late 16th century. Its practice had been transmitted by oral tradition (within close master-pupil relation) in *meşkhanes*—one of the cultural facilities of sultan’s court and Mevlevi Order.⁴ Its theory encompasses elements of Arabic and Persian musical traditions and had been described in numerous treatises, called *edvar*, within the period of 16th–21st century.⁵

Even though Western-style and Eastern-style art music shares an ancestor—ancient Greek music theory, throughout centuries they became very different from each other. The most significant difference in theory of music, one that had been used by Kemalists⁶ to build a strong anti-Eastern music argument, was its sophisticated monophonic system of melodic patterns called *makam* and rhythmic patterns called *usul*,⁷ juxtaposed with European

⁴ For detailed definition of *meşk* in English see: J. M. O’Connell, *Fine Art, Fine Music, Controlling Turkish Taste at the Fine Arts Academy in 1926*, “Yearbook for Traditional Music” 2000, Vol. 32, p. 120.

⁵ For further readings in English on the Ottoman music’s history and theory see: C. Behar, *The Ottoman Musical Tradition*, [in:] *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, ed. S. Faroqhi, vol. 3, New York 2006, pp. 398–407; D. Ertan, *Cycles and Peripheries, An Ottoman “Kitâb el-Edvâr”*, “Asian Music” 2007, No. 1 (38); W. Feldman, *Music of the Ottoman Court, Makam, Composition and the Early Ottoman Instrumental Repertoire*, Berlin 1996; *Writing the History of “Ottoman Music”*, eds. M. Greve, E. Oğuz, O. Nobrega, Würzburg 2015.

⁶ A term used to describe followers of Kemalism or Atatürkism—ideology based on Kemal Atatürk’s vision of a modern Turkey, in which culture and society was to fully embrace Western way of living. For details see e.g.: S. J. Shaw, E. K. Shaw, *Historia Imperium Osmańskiego i Republiki Tureckiej*, t. 2, tłum. B. Świetlik, Warszawa 2012, pp. 562–585.

⁷ For further readings in English on Middle-Eastern classical music’s modal system see: A. Shiloah, *Scales, Modes and Rhythms*, [in:] *Music in the World of Islam, A Socio-Cultural Study*, Detroit 2001. On Turkish makams and usuls: E. Popescu-Judetz, *A Summary Catalogue of the Turkish Makams*, İstanbul 2010; K. Signell, *Makam, Modal Practice In Turkish Art Music*, Washington 1977; O. Yarman, *A Comparative Evaluation of Pitch Notations in Turkish Makam Music, Abjad Scale & 24-Tone Pythagorean Tuning – 53 Equal Division of the Octave as a Common*

polyphony, especially tonal harmony.⁸ Tension and disputes between practitioners of both traditions, Western-style and Eastern-style classical music, were an important part of public debate and Turkish culture as a whole throughout all 20th century, as we will see below.

***Millî Musiki*—The National Music and “musical revolution”⁹ (1923–1938)**

Musical reform policies were indicative of the overt political strategy of situating the Ottoman past in opposition to the bright future of an alliance with Europe.

Kathryn Woodard,
*Music Mediating Politics in Turkey*¹⁰

For Kemal Atatürk and his political advisors for reforms in the musical education system and in the music itself were no less important than those conducted in other fields of Turkish cultural life. Ideological principles of those reforms had been formulated by Ziya Gökalp (1876–1924), influential sociologist and philosopher, often characterized as the father of Turkish nationalism. In the second part of his book-manifesto entitled “The Principles of Turkism” (tur. *Türkçülüğün Esasları*), in short chapter he describes the current state of music known in Turkey and states that the invention of a new national-style music (tur. *Millî Musiki*) is essential for the foundation and cultural development of modern Turkish society. He gives very specific guidelines (quoted in

Grid, “Journal of Interdisciplinary Music Studies” 2007, No. 2 (1); S. Yöre, *Makam in Music as a Concept, Scale and Phenomenon*, “Zeitschrift für die Welt der Türken/Journal of World of Turks” 2012, No. 3 (4); *Maqām Traditions of Turkic Peoples*, eds. J. Elsner, G. Jähnichen, Berlin 2006; *The Structure and Idea of Maqām, Historical Approaches*, eds. J. Elsner, R. P. Pennanen, Tampere 1997.

⁸ See: Western Polyphony and Harmony, [in:] The New Grove Dictionary..., op. cit.

⁹ In following chapters the term “musical revolution” will be written without quotation mark. The author believes that we can call changes in the early 20th-century music in Turkey as a “revolution” because of their impact on high culture of Turkey of the early Republican period. It seems that Ayhan Erol would agree with that term, saying “For Atatürk, the revolution had to be an all-encompassing undertaking affecting every aspect of life in Turkey. Thus, all kinds of reforms implemented by the state were perceived as a revolution. There is no doubt that music had an important place within reforms that Atatürk wanted to realize. The music reform was an example of the most important symbolic violence aimed at imposing a particular vision of the state”. A. Erol, op. cit., p. 40.

¹⁰ K. Woodard, *Music Mediating Politics in Turkey*, Kindle 5 Edition 2011, p. 4.

full below) for future composers and performers of music. Guidelines that had been carried out by the newly founded state-endorsed cultural institutions within a few years after publishing “The Principles of Turkism” in 1923.

Nowadays [in Turkey] we encounter three types of music, Eastern music, Western music and folk music.¹¹ But which one of those can we deem as our national music? I have shown above that we should regard Eastern music as morbid and foreign to our nation [tur. *hem hasta hem de gayrî millî*]. Folk music is a part of our culture, Western music—a part of our new civilization and both cannot be regarded as foreign. Thus, our national music must emerge from a fusion of folk music and Western harmony [here means, polyphony].

Our folk music gave us plenty of melodies. If we gather those melodies and combine them with Western compositional techniques we will gain music that will be both—national and European. [...] And that is precisely our program of musical change with accordance to the principles of Turkism. The next step—putting those guidelines to practical use, lays in hands of our future national musicians.¹²

As we may see, Gökalp uses very emotional language in his description of the music. Nowadays, it is clear that the purpose of it was rather ideological than scientific. Gökalp’s historical overview of Ottoman-Turkish and European music, mentioned in the quote, is only one page-length, vague and significantly diverges from musicological knowledge.¹³ He focuses on the most obvious differences between musical traditions of the Ottoman Empire and Europe and values the first as boring, hermetic, too ancient for modern times and unable to incorporate any changes. Thus, he argues, it should be completely abandoned and replaced by European polyphony with elements of Turkish folk music.

Even though Gökalp’s knowledge of the Ottoman-style art music was clearly insufficient, his opinions on it turned out to be crucial for the musical culture of the young Republic of Turkey. It seems that by publishing this short chapter regarding music, he formulated the main purpose of the musical revolution—creating Turkish-style music, a new national-style genre in European classical music. For political purposes, as soon as possible, Turkish-style music, in terms

¹¹ Turkish counterparts of those musical terms used by Gökalp are as follows: *Şark musikîsi, Garp musikîsi, Halk musikîsi*, Z. Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, ed. 7th, Istanbul 1968, p. 130.

¹² Ibidem, pp. 130–131 [The author’s own translation].

¹³ Gökalp’s views on the Ottoman musical culture had been widely discussed and criticized by Turkish and non-Turkish musicologists. The list of references on this topic is provided by Erol, see: A. Erol, op. cit., p. 41. For further readings in English on his contemporary critics see also: O. Tekelioğlu, *Modernizing Reforms and Turkish Music in the 1930s*, “Turkish Studies” 2001, No. 1 (12).

of aesthetics and cultural value, had to achieve level equal to e.g. 19th-century Russian, Polish or Hungarian-styles in music. The first step to obtaining this objective was conducting reforms in Turkish musical education.

In 1924 the Law on Unity of Education (tur. *Tevhîd-i Tedrîsât Kanunu*) established a state-operated school of music in Ankara called *Musiki Muallim Mektebi*. Its main purpose was to educate teachers of Western-style art music for future generations of composers and performers. The first beginning of school year there took place on 1 September 1924, with only six students enlisted.¹⁴ The same Law abolished Ottoman institutions of musical education and outlawed teaching Ottoman-style art music.¹⁵ Fine Art Commission (*Sanayi-i Nefise Encümeni*), whose purpose was overseeing the process of change in fine arts and musical culture, had been established a few months later.¹⁶ During next four years all educational institutions and musical bands of Eastern and Western-style music, which existed during late Ottoman period in Istanbul, had been either abolished or reformed, renamed and moved to Ankara, the new capital city of Turkey. The most important of those, former imperial military band, now “newly” established orchestra undertaking the name of *Riyaset-i Cumhur Musiki Heyeti* (The Orchestra of the President of Republic) had been moved to Ankara on 27 April 1924.¹⁷ The eastern-style musical tradition suffered greatly in 1925 when along with abolition of the Mevlevi Order the last existing institutions of education and performance of it had been banned.

Institutional part of the musical revolution had been successfully progressing,¹⁸ but still in the early 1930s, Kemal Atatürk was not satisfied with its

¹⁴ See: F. Kılıç, *Çok Sesli Batı Müziğinin Türk Modernleşmesindeki Önemi*, [in:] 38. ICANAS (*Uluslararası Asya ve Kuzey Afrika Çalışmaları Kongresi*) 10–15.09.2007, vol. 1, Ankara 2009, p. 459.

¹⁵ The first conservatory of the Ottoman-style classical music in the Republic of Turkey had been established about fifty years later, in 1975. *Türk Musikisi Devlet Konservatuarı* is now a part of Technical University of Istanbul [online] http://www.tmdk.itu.edu.tr/en/main/page_detail/25 [access: 11.07.2019].

¹⁶ J. M. O'Connell, *Fine Art, Fine Music...*, op. cit., p. 132.

¹⁷ In 1935 its name had been changed to *Cumhurbaşkanlığı Senfoni Orkestrası* (Presidential Symphony Orchestra) and nowadays it remains one of the most prestigious institutions of Western-style classical music in Turkey. It seems to be proud of its Ottoman roots and celebrates its nearly 200 years-existence (1826–2018) [online] <https://www.cso.gov.tr/tar304hccedile.html> [access: 11.07.2019].

¹⁸ For further readings in English on timeline and details of musical revolution in Turkey see: J. M. O'Connell, *Fine Art, Fine Music...*, op. cit.; in Polish: A. Pawlina, *Turkizm w muzyce. Związki muzyki i polityki w młodej Republice Tureckiej (1923–1938)*, „Wrocławskie Studia Erazmiańskie” 2018, t. 12: Orient Daleki i Bliski.

achievements. In 1934, in one of his opening speeches for the Turkish Parliament, he stated that the Ministry of Culture should regard musical reforms as its priority. As soon as possible, modern national Turkish-style music, imagined by Ziya Gökalp, should be brought to life by legal and further institutional means. Only with this objective accomplished, the modernization process of Turkish culture will reach its “universal level.”¹⁹ In the framework of Kemalist ideology “universal” always meant “Western” or “European.” As a result of this speech, in 1934 the Ottoman-style classical music had suffered final blow—it had been formally banned from the radio broadcasts. Although the legal ban had been revoked two years later, in practice, marginalization of the Eastern-style Turkish classical music (as it started to be called from now on) in public space continued until the 1970s.²⁰

When the Eastern-style art music suffered political censorship and struggled to survive, Turkish folk music, a phenomenon redefined by the Kemalists, became the main field of research in newly founded educational institutions. Ankara State Conservatory (*Ankara Devlet Konservatuarı*) had been established in 1936 and two years later, as a part of it, specialized Archive of Turkish Folk Music (*Türk Halk Ezgileri Arşivi*) was founded. In 1937–1957, every year, those institutions organized scientific ethnomusicological expeditions to various regions of Anatolia to gather and analyze Turkish folk music.

***Türk Beşleri*—The Turkish Five.**

Works Influenced by Ottoman Musical Tradition

With institutional and educational background established, the first generation of modern Turkish composers could finally bring to life Western-style Turkish art music as it was imagined by Turkey’s authorities. Five composers are deemed to be especially influential while fulfilling this task, Necil Kâzım Akses (1908–1999), Hasan Ferit Alnar (1906–1978), Ulvi Cemal Erkin (1906–1972), Cemal Reşit Rey (1904–1985) and Ahmet Adnan Saygun (1907–1991). The idea for their collective name, “The Turkish Five,” seems to be based on the name of 19th-century creators of the Russian national style in music called

¹⁹ See: S. Y. Ataman, *Atatürk ve Türk musikisi*, Ankara 1991, p. 4.

²⁰ Further readings in English on how the Ottoman-style classical music survived the period of its neglecting in the official republican debate and culture and gained a name of “Eastern-style Turkish classical music” see: W. Feldman, *Cultural Authority and Authenticity in the Turkish Repertoire*, “Asian Music” 1990, No. 1 (22); J. M. O’Connell, *In the Time of Alaturka, Identifying Difference in Musical Discourse*, “Ethnomusicology” 2005, No. 2 (49); K. Signell, *Turkey’s Classical Music, a Class Symbol*, “Asian Music” 1980, No. 1 (12).

“The Mighty Handful” or simply “The Five.”²¹ By attributing this name on the first generation of Turkish composers of the Republican era, Turkish researchers are symbolically expressing the fact that art music of Turkey reached the desired level and became an equal and important part of the modern history of Western music.

Indeed, all members of the Turkish Five dedicated their knowledge, skills and creativity to Atatürk’s vision of modern Turkish musical culture with a full-hearted commitment. Each of them, except the oldest Cemal Reşit Rey, started their careers by being sent to Europe for one year-length musical training as a part of a scholarship funded by the state in years 1924–1928. Necil Kazım Akses and Hasan Ferit Alnar studied in Vienna, Ahmet Adnan Saygun in Prague, Ulvi Cemal Erkin in Paris.²² Upon coming back to Turkey they were not only skillfully composing pieces inspired by Turkish folk music, but also took an important part in ethnomusicological research in Anatolia and in establishing modern musical and educational institutions (bands, orchestras, music halls, etc.). They personally knew Turkish authorities, including Kemal Atatürk and İsmet İnönü (1884–1973), the second president of the Republic, and occasionally they were creating music ordered specifically by them.²³ Therefore, their artistic efforts were significantly influenced by the cultural policies of the state.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, Contemporary Turkish Music (tur. *Çağdaş Türk Müziği*) flourished. George Weldon, English conductor who in 1951 attended the 4th Anglo-Turkish Music Festival in Ankara, was “most impressed by Turkey’s musical progress” and commented in detail some works of “five main Turkish composers.” According to him, each of them “appears to have a creative style of his own, and their output includes all types of music, ranging from symphonic works to oratorio and opera. [...] There are, of course, many younger composers developing on their own lines, but under the guidance of those already established.”²⁴ Max T. Krone, another conductor who attended the same festival, in his review, unknowingly confirms that Gökalp’s vision of *Millî Musiki* had been brought to life: “Saygun’s is a new and refreshing voice in

²¹ All of them lived in Saint Petersburg in the second half of the 19th century, Mily Balakirev, Alexander Borodin, Cesar Cui, Modest Mussorgsky and Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov.

²² E. E. Kaya, *Cumhuriyet Sonrası Müzik Politikamız ve Batıya Yönelim*, „SBArD Sosyal Bilimler Araştırma Dergisi” 2011, no. 17, p. 118.

²³ The famous example of that is given by the history of creation of the first Turkish opera “Özsoy” by Ahmet Adnan Saygun. Atatürk himself choose the topic—the Turkish-Iranian friendship, for the occasion of diplomatic visit of Shah of Iran Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. “Özsoy”’s premiere took place in Ankara on 19 June 1934. For further details see e.g.: K. Woodard, op. cit.

²⁴ G. Weldon, *Music in Turkey*, “Tempo, New Series” 1951, No. 20, pp. 29–30.

Western music. He is a scholar in the field of folk music [...] and his music has a rhythmic, melodic and harmonic flavor that smacks both the East and the West. [...] He has arranged many Turkish folk songs for the chorus.”²⁵

But even though “national composers” were supposed to avoid any elements of the Ottoman musical tradition, in a small part of the Turkish Five’s works, one can hear influences that were not to be heard in the *Millî Musiki*. Those Ottoman-style inspirations can be traced either in terms of compositional techniques (e.g. using Ottoman-Turkish instruments, harmonizing Ottoman-Turkish composer’s pieces, incorporating elements of Ottoman-Turkish modal system into melodic progression, etc.) or in non-musical elements (e.g. title or, in vocal music, chosen topic and plot) of works listed below:²⁶

Hasan Ferit Alnar

Cello Concerto (1943)—in 1st and 2nd movement melodic progression is influenced by Ottoman-Turkish makam *Hicaz*.

Kanun Konçertosu (1944–51)—the first musical piece in which Western-style orchestra accompanies Eastern-style instrument solo, *kanun*—kind of large zither, one of the main instruments in Middle Eastern classical makam music; significantly influenced by Ottoman-style art music.

Those two pieces are composed in Western-style, but Hasan Ferit Alnar composed also numerous pieces in Eastern-style as the only one from The Turkish Five. He was *kanun*-player himself.

Necil Kazım Akses

İtri'nin Neva Kâr Üzerine Scherzo for orchestra (1969–70)—İtri was the Ottoman composer who lived in late 17th and early 18th century; in the piece Akses used exact melodies of İtri’s *Neva Kâr* composition and harmonized it in scherzo form.

Bir Divan’dan Gazel (1976)—song for tenor solo and orchestra; *divan* in classical Ottoman literature is a compilation of poems and *gazel* is one of the classical forms in Ottoman poetry and art music.

Viola Concerto (1977)—a melodic progression of the 2nd movement is influenced by Ottoman-Turkish makam *Bestenigâr*.

Mimar Sinan (the 1980s)—unfinished opera (only 1 act exists); Mimar Sinan was the famous Ottoman architect, lived c. 1490–1588.

²⁵ M. T. Krone, *Music in Turkey*, “Music Educators Journal” 1952, No. 2 (39), p. 28.

²⁶ The author gathered here list of pieces influenced by the Ottoman musical tradition or the Ottoman culture as a whole, for further investigation in the future. Titles are given along with years of creation, musical genre and a short explanation of possible source of inspiration.

Ulvi Cemal Erkin

Köçekçe. Orkestra için dans rapsodisi. (1943)—orchestral suite; *köçekçe* was a piece of dance music played as an accompaniment for male dancers dressed as women, phenomenon popular in urban Ottoman culture.

2nd Symphony (1948–1958)—its third movement called *Allegro alla köçekçe*; see above.

Cemal Reşit Rey

Karagöz (1930–31)—symphonic poem; *karagöz* is the traditional Turkish shadow play, popular during Ottoman times.

Çelebi (the 1940s)—opera; its plot is based on the life of Çelebi Mehmet Efendi, Ottoman musician of the 18th century. In one of the tenor's arias Reşit Rey quoted Ottoman-Turkish song (*şarkı*), composed by Müezzîn Çelebi in the 18th century and used Ottoman-Turkish tambourine *def* in instrumental accompaniment.

Fatih (1953)—symphonic poem; 'fatih' in Turkish means 'conqueror'; Mehmed the Conqueror was the sultan of the Ottoman Empire in 1444–1446 and 1451–1481; his main achievement was the conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

Sultan Cem (1922–1923)—opera; Cem Sultan (1459–1495) was the third son of Sultan Mehmed II, sent to exile after being defeated by his brother Bayezit.

Ahmet Adnan Saygun

Yunus Emre Oratoryosu (1942)—oratorio based on poems of Yunus Emre, Turkish folk poet of 13th/14th century; Saygun uses in it mostly elements of Turkish folk music but in some fragments (bass arias) Ottoman makams' can be felt in melodic progressions and *ney*, kind of flute, that had been used in Mevlevî Order's ceremonies, is being used in instrumental accompaniment.

2nd Violin Quartet (1957)—melodic progression is influenced by Ottoman-Turkish makam *Bestenigâr*.

Conclusion

Until this day only a few of Turkish Five's compositions inspired by Ottoman-Turkish music had been analyzed in detail using musicological methodology.²⁷ It is worth to emphasize, that some of those pieces, like Ulvi Cemal Erkin's *Köçekçe* or Hasan Ferit Alnar's *Kanun Konçertosu*, were the most popular works of the period and are still often performed and recorded nowadays. The question is—if the first generation of Turkish national composers clearly agreed with state's musical policies, why would they use elements of Ottoman musical culture, deemed as "morbid" and "primitive," as inspiration for their music?

²⁷ See: M. Aydın, *Türk Beşleri'nin Eserlerinde Gelenekli Müziklerimize İlişkin Unsurların Kullanımları ve Bu Unsurların Kullanımları Ekseninde İki Örnek Piyano Eserinin Analizi*, [in:] 38. ICANAS (Uluslararası Asya ve Kuzey Afrika Çalışmaları Kongresi), vol. 1, Ankara 2009 and references to that paper.

Scientific intuition and reasoning bring us to the conclusion that it had been caused by the fact that all composers of the Turkish Five were born in the late Ottoman period, in the families of high social stratum. Birth and growing up in the biggest cities of the Ottoman Empire (Cemal Reşit Rey in Jerusalem, Ahmet Adnan Saygun in Izmir, Necil Kazım Akses, Hasan Ferit Alnar and Ulvi Cemal Erkin in Istanbul) influenced on them. They were exposed to the Ottoman urban culture in which Eastern musical styles flourished for centuries. Progressing their musical education and careers under the political supervision of Turkey's Kemalist government, they focused on Western-style music. However, they did not want to completely neglect a few centuries old, strong Eastern-style musical tradition. More importantly, they must have deemed this music, nowadays called "Ottoman-Turkish art music" or "Eastern-style Turkish art music," as their own. Since they were approved by Turkish authorities as "Turks" in terms of nationalist's definition of Turkishness, and their works were acknowledged by the state's officials, the music they have known since they were younger must have been "Turkish" enough to incorporate its elements into modern Turkish national style.

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