

Nejla Melike Atalay

WOMEN COMPOSERS' CREATIVE CONDITIONS BEFORE *and* DURING THE TURKISH REPUBLIC

A Case Study on Three Women Composers:
Leyla Hanımefendi, Nazife Aral-Güran, and Yüksel Koptagel

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Women Composers' Creative Conditions
Before and During the Turkish Republic



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Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi (1850?–1936), Nazife Aral-Güran (1921–1993) and
Yüksel Koptagel (b.1931)

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Nejla Melike Atalay: *Women Composers' Creative Conditions Before and During the Turkish Republic.
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(1921–1993) and Yüksel Koptagel (b.1931)*
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Leyla Hanımefendi, Nazife Aral-Güran and Yüksel Koptagel,
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To my one and only beloved family

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	11
Preliminary Remarks on Various Uses of the Ottoman/Turkish Language	13
List of Abbreviations	14
List of Examples	15
List of Tables	15
List of Figures	16
List of Visuals	16
Introduction – Initial Steps: On my Background and Motivation for the Research – Scope of the Research – The Composers: Why These Three? – On Methodology and Foundational Factors – Overview of Chapters	19
 CHAPTER I	
Terminological Definitions in Ottoman/Turkish Music	
1.1. Defining and Categorising Turkish Music, and the Problem of Genre	33
1.2. Genre – Polyphonic Music of Turkey (<i>Türkiye'nin Çoksesli Müziği</i>) – Polyphony and <i>Çokseslilik</i> – Definition of Polyphony and <i>Çokseslilik</i> in Turkish Music Encyclopaediae and Other Reference Books	34
1.3. Categorising – Non-Turkish Approach to Polyphonic Music of Turkey and its Place in Categorising	41
1.4. The Polyphonic Music of Turkey in Turkish Music Historiography and Music Literature – <i>Alaturka</i> and <i>Alafranga</i>	46
1.5. Conclusion	59

CHAPTER II

Institutionalisation of Western Music in the Ottoman Empire and in the Turkish Republic in Music Historiography

2.1. The Introduction of Western Music to the Ottoman Empire as an Institution: Its Function and Status	61
2.2. <i>Muzika-i Hümayûn</i> – On Style and Repertoire – Some Hybrid Trials in Education Model and Practice	62
2.3. A Fanfare Orchestra Consisting of Women in the Palace	71
2.4. Music Schools in the Ottoman Empire	74
2.5. The Impact of Non-Muslim Ottomans and Non-Ottoman Citizens on the Adoption of Western Music in the Ottoman Empire	75
2.6. <i>Alafranga</i> Life and Music	76
2.7. Instrumentalisation of Western Music in Turkish Republic – Expectations and Steps Taken	77
2.8. The Contribution of European Experts in the Newly Established or Restructured Music Institutions of the Republic – On the Multiplicity of Écoles, Methods and Styles that Appeared in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic	85
2.9. Conclusion	92

CHAPTER III

Women Musicians of Late Ottoman Istanbul

3.1. Inside the Palace – Writing about the Imperial Harem (<i>Harem-i Hümayûn</i>) – Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi's memories: The Imperial Harem of the Sultans – Spaces allocated for Music in the Ottoman Palace and the Imperial Harem – Women Musicians in the Ottoman Palaces – On the Musical Training of Dynasty Members – A Glimpse Inside the Palace: The Women's Orchestra in the Palace – Pianist and Composer Sultans – <i>Dédié a Sa Majeste Imperiale Le Sultan</i> [Compositions Dedicated to the Sultans] – On Visiting Musicians and the Favours Bestowed upon Them	95
3.2. Outside the Palace – Madam Hacı Foti: <i>Attempting to establish a music school specially for women in Istanbul</i> – Advertisements for Women Teaching Piano – Some Music Professors Residing in Istanbul found in the <i>Annuaire Oriental</i>	120
3.3. Music Scores by Women Published in Istanbul in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries – Madame Herzmańska (aka Irma Herzmańska) and her Album – On Some Compositions by Women in	

the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries – Fatma Zinnur Hanım – <i>Victoire de Tchataldja</i> (<i>Çatalca Muzafferiyeti</i>) – İhsan Raif Hanım: <i>La Voix de la Liberte</i> – İhsan Sabri Hanım: <i>Pour ma Patrie</i> [For my Country] – Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi: <i>La Gloir</i> [<i>sic</i>] – Emine Şayan Hanım: <i>Rhum des</i> [<i>sic</i>] <i>Deutschen Arme</i> [<i>sic</i>] [The Victorious March for the German Army] – On the Ottoman Women who Received Music Education in Germany in the Twentieth Century – A General Framework for the Women who Travelled to Europe for Music Education on a Scholarship	128
3.4. Conclusion	148

CHAPTER IV

Conditions of Production

4.1. Circumstances determining the conditions: Socio-political environment – <i>Tanzimat</i> [Reorganisation] – Modernisation Approaches under Ottoman/Turkish Regimes and Their Discussion in Present Day Historiography – <i>Tanzimat</i> in Ottoman Historiography – Other façades of <i>Tanzimat</i> – Toward a National Awareness – On Women’s Movement in the Late Ottoman Period and Women’s Magazines	151
4.2. Early Republican Era (1923–1950) – Republic and Caliphate – Conditions of Making of a Kemalist Woman – Nazife Aral-Güran: Being of a Woman Musician of the Republic	180
4.3. Transition to Multi-Party regime (1945–1980) – [Never-ending] Censorship and its Effects – Expanding the Borders	200
4.4. Conclusion	209

CHAPTER V

Conditions of Production II (on the Personal Level)

5.1. Family Background as a Factor Determining Conditions – Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi (1850?–1936) – Children of Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi and Sırrı Paşa – Nazife Aral-Güran (1921–1993) – On Family and Last Names – Family and Social Status – Nazife Aral-Güran’s marriage to İsmail Yılmaz Güran (1952) – Yüksel Koptagel (b. 1931) – Yüksel Koptagel’s marriage to Danyal Kerven (1964)	211
5.2. Educational Background as a Factor Determining Conditions – Circumstances Determining the Conditions: (Educational Background) – Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi – Leyla Hanımefendi’s <i>Meşeks</i> – On Piano <i>Meşk</i> – Nazife Aral-Güran – Certificate for Teaching	

Music – Interactivity on Multiple Levels – Yüksel Koptagel – Towards Being a Pianist – Being a Performer who Composes – Music Writer	243
5.3. Conclusion	272

CHAPTER VI

Music Historiography in Turkey Focusing on ‘Women Composers’

6.1. Gender Perspectives on the ‘Issue of Women’ in Music Studies in Turkey – An Overview of Studies on Women Composers in the Ottoman Empire/Turkish Republic	275
6.2. The Biases against Women Composers in Turkey – Hikmet Şimşek: “Woman and Music. The Woman in Turkish Music” – Faruk Yener: “On Women and the Art of Composing” – Fazıl Say: “Improvisation 2” – Yılmaz Öztuna: “Leyla Saz”	286
6.3. Approaches to Concepts of <i>Dehâ</i> [Ingenuity] and <i>Dâhi</i> [Genius]	330
6.4. Conclusion	333

CHAPTER VII

Places of Production and Creation

7.1. Thinking of Space and Place	335
7.2. Mansions (<i>Konak</i>) and Pavilions (<i>Köşk</i>) – Defining Konak and Köşk – Mansion and Pavilion as a Space – Remembrance of Leyla Hanımefendi’s Burnt Pavilion (<i>Yanan Köşkü’nün Yâdı</i>)	336
7.3. <i>Salons, Assemblies and Gatherings</i> in Istanbul as Social-Spaces – The Tuesday Salons (<i>Le mardi Nişantaşı</i> , 62) – On Gatherings at Kızıltoprak and <i>Meşk</i> – Nazife Güran and <i>Women Musicians Club</i> Meetings – ‘Environment’ as a Factor Determining Social Circumstances and the Koptagel Case	353
7.4. Conclusion	372

Conclusion	375
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Bibliography	387
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Appendices	421
-------------------	-----

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PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON VARIOUS USES OF THE OTTOMAN/TURKISH LANGUAGE

Before delving into this book, it is crucial for the reader to be aware of a few points. The collected materials and sources used employ three languages and two different alphabets, with the majority of primary sources being in either Ottoman Turkish or Turkish; all concepts / words / terms in the main body of the text that cannot be directly translated to English, have been intentionally left in their original language. The reader will see that the original terms have been italicised, while their English equivalents – or their closest English meanings – have been written in brackets. The use of brackets rather than parentheses is intended as a reminder to the reader that the English translations of the original words do not always correspond exactly to the meanings of their Ottoman/Turkish counterparts, as meanings of concepts and the connotations they carry change in different cultural contexts; the bracketed English words serve as clarificatory translations of the provided information. Where Ottoman/Turkish words require the plural form, the English plural suffix ‘-s’ has been added (e.g. *peşrevs*, *şarkıs*, *mekteps*, etc.).

Aside from this rigorous approach to the concepts (for example, no English word can truly reflect the meaning of *makam* music, or a *mabeyn*), it is also imperative that prospective researchers with an interest in Turkey, whether they be native Turkish language speakers or not, use the original words and phrases, and sometimes even whole citations in the original language, as has been done throughout this book, so as not to cause confusion or misunderstanding through the translation process.

It is also important to know that the Turkish people first began using family names after 1934, in accordance with the adoption of the Turkish Surname Law. Prior to this, people were in the practice of prefixing their profession (Hekim İsmail Paşa [Doctor İsmail Paşa], Kemani İhsan Efendi [Violinist İhsan Efendi], or Şair Nigar [Nigar the Poet], etc.), or their place of origin (as in the cases of Giritli Sırrı Paşa [Sırrı Paşa from Crete] or Şamlı İskender [Iskender of Damascus]) to their names. Appellations or handles were commonly suffixed: *Hanım* or *Hanımefendi* for women, *Bey*, *Beyefendi*, *Efendi*, or *Paşa* for men, none of which can be translated as Lady, Miss, Mrs, Sir, or Mr.

Additionally, the reader should be aware of the change of calendar after the proclamation of the Republic. In 1926, the use of the Islamic lunar calendars (hijri and rumi) was ceased, and the Georgian calendar was adopted. Older documents which refer to the hijri calendar (abbreviated as H and/or R) have been converted to the Gregorian calendar for the Western reader, and have been placed in brackets as complementary information.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BEO.	<i>Bâb-ı Âli Evrak Odası</i> [Document Bureau of the Sublime Porte]
BOA.	<i>Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi</i> [Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives]
C. ML.	<i>Cevdet Maliye</i>
DH. EUM-KDL	<i>Dâhiliye Nezâreti Emniyet-i Umûmiye Kısım-ı Adli Kalemi Belgeleri</i>
DH. MKT.	<i>Dâhiliye Nezâreti Mektubî Kalemi</i>
HMG	<i>Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete</i> [Newspaper for Ladies]
HR. İM.	<i>Hâriciye Nezâreti İstanbul Murahhaslığı</i>
HR. SFR. (3)	<i>Hâriciye Nezâreti Londra Sefareti Evrakı</i>
HR. TO.	<i>Hâriciye Nezâreti Tercüme Odası Evrakı</i>
İ. DH.	<i>İrâde Dâhiliye</i>
İ. DUİT.	<i>İrâde Dosya Usulü</i>
İ. HUS.	<i>İrâde-i Husûsiye</i>
İ. TAL.	<i>İrâde Taltifat</i>
İST.U.NEK	İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi Arşivi [The Rare Books and Manuscript Library of Istanbul University]
MAY	Müzik Ansiklopedisi Yayınları [Music Encyclopaedia Publications]
MF. ALY.	<i>Tedrisât-ı Âliye Dairesi</i>
MF. MKT.	<i>Maarif Nezâreti Mektubî Kalemi</i>
MKT.	<i>Dâhiliye Nezâreti Mektubî Kalemi</i>
MVL.	<i>Meclis-i Vâlâ Evrakı</i>
S. M. I.	Sa Majesté Impériale
TBMM	<i>Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi</i> [Turkish National Assembly]
TRT	Turkish Radio and Television
Y. PRK.AZJ.	<i>Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Arzuhal Jurnal</i>
Y. PRK.BŞK	<i>Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Başkitabet Dairesi Mârûzâtı</i>
Y. PRK.ŞH.	<i>Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Şehremaneti Mârûzâtı</i>
Y. PRK.TŞF	<i>Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Evrakı Teşrifât-ı Umûmiye Dairesi</i>

LIST OF EXAMPLES

Example 1:	Polyphonisation of <i>İmralı Türküsü</i> by Gültekin Oransay	p. 39
Example 2:	<i>Sabah Taqsim</i> in the Herzmaińska Collection	p. 129
Example 3:	First page of the score of <i>La Voix de la Liberte</i> .	p. 134
Example 4:	Second page of the score of <i>La Voix de la Liberte</i> .	p. 135
Example 5:	Third page of the score of <i>La Voix de la Liberte</i> .	p. 136
Example 6:	Fourth page of the score of <i>La Voix de la Liberte</i> .	p. 137
Example 7:	First page of Ihsan Sabri's March, <i>Pour Ma Patrie</i> .	p. 139
Example 8:	Second page of Ihsan Sabri's March, <i>Pour Ma Patrie</i>	p. 140
Example 9:	First page of Leyla Hanımefendi's March, <i>La Gloir</i>	p. 143
Example 10:	Second page of Leyla Hanımefendi's March, <i>La Gloir</i>	p. 144
Example 11:	May 27 March	p. 206

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1:	A compilation of names and adjectives used for utopian and dystopian music in the discourse of composition programme, by Okan Murat Öztürk
Table 2:	The variety of terminology used by the agents/authors of polyphonic music of Turkey, by Nejla Melike Atalay
Table 3:	The variety of terminology used for describing the composers in polyphonic music of Turkey, by Nejla Melike Atalay
Table 4:	Women musician profiles in Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi's palace memoirs, compiled by Nejla Melike Atalay
Table 5:	Dynasty member women musicians and the instruments they played, as mentioned in Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi's palace memoirs, compiled by Nejla Melike Atalay
Table 6:	Dynasty member women musicians in Turkish [music] historiography, compiled by Nejla Melike Atalay
Table 7:	List of compositions dedicated to the dynasty members, compiled by Nejla Melike Atalay
Table 8:	List of Order of Charity bestowed upon women musicians by the Sultans, compiled by Nejla Melike Atalay
Table 9:	List of women music professors in Istanbul as listed in the records of <i>Annuaire Oriental</i> , 1868–1921, compiled by Nejla Melike Atalay
Table 10:	List of Ottoman female music students studying in Berlin, compiled by Nejla Melike Atalay from Çolak's list of Ottoman female students studying in Germany during the First World War
Table 11:	Cem Emrence's three waves of late Ottoman historiography
Table 12:	Categorical distribution of studies on gender and music in Turkey by Burcu Yıldız

LIST OF FIGURES

- Figure 1:** The fundamental sections of *Muzika-i Hümayûn* until the era of Abdülhamid II
- Figure 2:** Leyla Hanımefendi's pavilion as a public and private space, created by Nejla Melike Atalay
- Figure 3:** Networks reflected in production, created by Nejla Melike Atalay
- Figure 4:** “*Hymne de la Liberte*”, *Mehasin*, No. 6, 06.02.1324 [19.02.1909], pp. 461–462

LIST OF VISUALS

- Visual 1:** The petition submitted by Cécile Chaminade and Zoé Molé-Truffier to give a concert in the presence of the sultan.
- Visual 2:** The positive reply sent to Madame Foti for opening a music school specially for women in Istanbul.
- Visual 3:** Newspaper clipping from *Ceride-i Havadis*.
- Visual 4:** Irma Herzmainńska in *Kłosy* Journal Archive.
- Visual 5:** The cover of Fatma Zinnur Hanım's March (a) Front cover of the score book, (b) Back cover of the same score book.
- Visual 6:** The cover of Nebile Hanım's March dedicated to the Committee of Union and Progress.
- Visual 7:** The cover of *La Gloir*, Lyrics: Fehime Nüzhet Hanım, Composition: Leyla Hanım. Printed: Şamlı Selim, 1908.
- Visual 8:** The cover of *La Voix de la Liberte* (*Nidâ-yı Hürriyet Marşı*), Lyrics and Composition: İhsan Raif Hanım, Printed: Udcu Şamlı Selim, 1908.
- Visual 9:** The cover of Emine Şayan Hanım's March, *Rhum des Deutschen Arme*.
- Visual 10:** The region where the Topkapı-Imperial Palace was situated is now called the Old Istanbul.
- Visual 11:** Some of the advertisments that were published in the Annuals of Commerce of the Orient (*Annuaire Oriental du commerce de l'industrie*) in the nineteenth century.
- Visual 12:** *The Contraction of the Ottoman Empire* [map].
- Visual 13:** The location of Mimar Vedad's mansion, which was occupied by the British forces.
- Visual 14:** Mimar Vedad's petition to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
- Visual 15:** Nazife Aral, just before the Turkish Brigade left for Korea, when she visited the headquarters to conduct the singing of the march by the soldiers, with General Tahsin Yazıcı.
- Visual 16:** Nazife Güran, with her husband Yılmaz Güran, MD and her son Ali Nusret Güran.
- Visual 17:** Cover of the score book, Marches of May 27 (1961).

- Visual 18:** Leyla Hanımefendi, with Yusuf Razi, Vedat; Nezihe and Feride. (1888).
- Visual 19:** Nezihe Hanım (right), Tevfik Bey; Mimar Vedat; Şevket Bey.
- Visual 20:** Program of *Bayönder*.
- Visual 21:** Newspaper clipping from *Son Posta*. 30.09.1931, 1.
- Visual 22:** Hüseyin Hilmi and his family, Vienna, c.1915. (back) Kemal, Ömer, and Osman.
- Visual 23:** Ayşe Aliye and Nazife, Vienna.
- Visual 24:** Ayşe Aliye, Nazife and Selahaddin Nusret, Lesbos.
- Visual 25:** Nazife Güran's signatures since 1952 and her *carte-de-visite*.
- Visual 26:** Ali Nusret, Yılmaz and Nazife Güran, 1964.
- Visual 27:** Güran Family, 1968, Switzerland.
- Visual 28:** Danyal Nahit Kerven and Yüksel Koptagel, Istanbul, 1974.
- Visual 29:** Leyla Hanımefendi and her piano.
- Visual 30:** Kemani [Violinist] İhsan Bey, Hanende [Singer] İbrahim [Uygun] Bey and Leyla Hanımefendi on the piano, doing *meşk*. 1926, Istanbul.
- Visual 31:** Ayşe Aliye during a piano lesson, c.1917, Vienna.
- Visual 32:** Nazife Aral's student ID.
- Visual 33:** Nazife Aral at the piano, in Prof. Tiessen's class.
- Visual 34:** Young Yüksel at her piano.
- Visual 35:** Baha Koptagel, Yüksel Koptagel, Joaquín Rodrigo, and Victoria Kamhi.
- Visual 36:** With Alexander Tansman and his class Santiago, 1959.
- Visual 37:** "Poet and Composer Leyla dies" (Title) "The poet who died at the age of 84 was an enlightened and distinguished Turkish woman" (subtitle) "Poet and composer Leyla" (photo caption).
- Visual 38:** "Vahdet Nuri's Concert" (title) "we passionately congratulate the prospective star of the Turkish opera" (last sentence above the photo) "our precious artist Miss Vahdet Nuri who performed a successful concert yesterday" (photo caption).
- Visual 39:** "Young Turkish artist Miss Nazife Salahattin Aral, who had been studying in the Berlin Conservatory, performed a concert on Berlin radio, yesterday at five (pm). Music lovers listened to the young artist's, who have been laboring music since the age of 13, piano concert with interest, where she only played her compositions *Boğaziçi* [Bosphorus], *Karadeniz* [Blacksea], *Akşam* [Evening], *Çal Çoban* [Play Shepherd], *Oyun Havası*, *Zeybek*." (the news body).
- Visual 40:** "The interesting life of our cellist, who received a high degree medal and diploma from the Conservatory of Geneve" (Subtitle) Miss Feyha Talay, whom Atatürk called "Little Lady" with her tambour and cello. (photo caption).
- Visual 41:** The mansion in which Leyla Hanımefendi resided in Beşiktaş.
- Visual 42:** The location of the mansion in which Nazife Aral-Güran resided in Şişli.

- Visual 43:** Nazife Aral-Güran's Mansion before it was demolished, 1975.
- Visual 44:** Location of *Kaptanpaşa Houses* where the Koptagel Family resided in Nişantaşı.
- Visual 45:** Leyla Hanımefendi, in a *meşk* session with Kemani İhsan Efendi and Hanende İbrahim [Uygun] Bey. 1926, Istanbul.
- Visual 46:** Leyla Hanımefendi playing her harmonium.
- Visual 47:** Nazife Güran and *Women Musicians Club* Meetings (Nancy Wittler, Judith Uluğ, Nazife Güran (standing up), Gönül Gökdoğan, Yıldız Künutku, and Selma Berk.)

INTRODUCTION

In this book the creative/productive conditions of three composers from Istanbul are presented. These composers – Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi, Nazife Aral-Güran, and Yüksel Koptagel – lived, created, and produced in different historical periods, but all received training in Western music, and subsequently developed their musical personalities against this educational background.

Initial Steps: On my Background and Motivation for the Research

Parallel to my musicology studies in Istanbul, I was artistically active, composing jingles for commercials, and scores for documentaries and radio broadcasts. As a woman, I frequently contemplated the *visibility* – or, more to the point, the *invisibility* – of women who composed Western music and/or *Türkiye çoksesli müziği* [Polyphonic music of Turkey], and the fact that they were not featured in the music historiography. As a rare exception, I encountered some brief commentary relevant to my ponderings in a score found in an antique trader's shop: Nazife Güran's *Mezzo Soprano için 'Lied'ler* [Lieder for Mezzo Soprano]. In the back cover of the book it was printed that Nazife Güran was born in Vienna, studied with Cemal Reşid Rey, who is a member of the Turkish Five, and eventually continued her education in Berlin and Cologne. Nazife Güran's name having not previously crossed my path, I sought further information about her in accessible encyclopaediae and music dictionaries, but to no avail. The inside cover of the score prompted questions: how many composers of the Ottoman period and in Turkey, with Western musical training – like Nazife Güran, who was not known to me – composed *çoksesli* [polyphonic] music? Were there women who composed in this genre? – like the women who composed in the Ottoman *makam* music tradition, the names of whom I was aware, and whose pieces I not only recognised, but also frequently heard on radio or television, or even performed myself. Have these women ever been the focus of discussion? If so, who discussed them, and where and how were these women mentioned?

Specialising in (historical) musicology, I was, at the time, studying at a conservatory modelled on European conservatoria, which provided training in Western music, but in which the curriculum included neither women composers nor their works. Upon mustering the courage to question my music-history professor about my wonderings, I was met with the reply, “Yes, there are some talented female composers, such as Alma Mahler and Clara Schumann, but we have no time to allocate to these women; the curriculum needs to be followed, and we have only five contact hours even for Wagner”. At that point, I knew I would delve deeper into the topic in the future.

Following graduation, I travelled to Vienna to continue studying and to develop my composition skills, but all the while with these questions burning in my mind. After preliminary research for a doctoral dissertation on the topic of women composers of polyphonic music of Turkey, I began to doubt whether a dissertation would be a feasible proposition, primarily given the uncertainty of accessing sufficient materials – there were problems of language, time, and space to consider; most of the materials were in Turkey, and the range of language of these materials was diverse (some were written in Ottoman Turkish, hence the time needed to transcribe the texts became problematic). These factors were not the only hinderances; my first impression was that there might not be sufficient content on women composers who composed polyphonic music in the Ottoman period and/or in the Turkish Republic to facilitate a comprehensive study. Further, there had been no scholarly research conducted on the subject at the time. Spurred by the desire to rectify this, and despite the foreseeable obstacles, I resolved to conduct an extensive multi-disciplinary study in this area, which resulted in the successful completion of a doctoral dissertation at the University for Music and Performing Arts, Vienna, as well as this book, which is an adaptation thereof.

Following initial meetings with Univ.-Prof. Dr. Annegret Huber, who was to become my primary dissertation advisor, I set about contacting women composers of Turkey from various generations who lived in or outside Turkey. I reached Nazife Aral¹-Güran's son through the annual memorial concerts sponsored by the Ekinoks® Company for Nazife Aral-Güran, and the Güran family kindly agreed to open their private archives to me. This particular development determined the destiny of the research. Another door opened when Yüksel Koptagel agreed to meet with me. Koptagel, who is ten years younger than Nazife Aral-Güran and studied with the same teacher, Cemal Reşid Rey, had relatively more visibility in music historiography. I was set on determining whether the music environment and the socio-political conditions these two composers experienced were similar or different, and if different, how? When compared with Aral-Güran's invisibility in music historiography, what were the differences in Koptagel's conditions that made her more visible? Were there technical or aesthetic similarities between their music? To which kinds of networks and circles did they belong? What were the difficulties they faced as composers in Turkey?

¹ Neither the composer nor her son used a hyphenated last name that included the composer's father's family name, Aral. However, her output commenced before her marriage, and this last name becomes a confusing issue in her oeuvre (writings, music scores, etc.) and is addressed in Chapter V.

Scope of the Research

Great care was taken in selecting the composers to be included in the scope of both my dissertation, and subsequently, this book: composers who received Western music education – for the ability to examine how these composers create/created a bond and interaction between the Western music tradition, which is in line with their (educational) background, and their own music. Accordingly, the selection of the composers was especially subject to their interest and involvement in polyphonic music, and their production in this area. While preliminary research for the doctoral dissertation began with these aspects in mind, the necessity of locating sufficient, relevant materials to expand the research was a further ever-present aspect.

In this book, the productive/creative conditions of three composers, and people connected to these composers, are examined from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1980s. Since the principal theme encompasses more than a century – a period during which Turkey’s political system and society underwent radical change –, and given the diversity of the fundamental factors that affect the productive/creative conditions within the socio-political and socio-cultural environment, as well as familial environment and educational background, necessitating a multi-layered approach, only extrinsic factors were examined, leaving intrinsic (psychological) dimensions aside. Similarly, the composers’ relationships to religion are not considered here, as such an inclusion would require other areas of expertise – theology and psychology – in addition to the already substantial aspects explored.

The Composers: Why These Three?

Some publications mentioning an increasing interest in Western music in the palace, the development of contact with Western musicians, and Western-music education of the members of the dynasty within the palace – with regard to the establishment and institutionalisation of Western-music education in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire² – also refer to women in this new class, who received training in Western music and who composed.³ In these sources Leyla

² Examples of studies on this subject: Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal, *Türk Askerî Muzıkaları Tarihi* [History of Turkish Military Bands], (İstanbul: Maarif Vekaleti Yayını, 1955). Vedat Kosal, *Western Classical Music in the Ottoman Empire*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Stock Exchange, 1999). Burak Çetintaş, “Hürriyetin Marşları [Marches of Liberty]” *Mûsikişinas*, No. 10 (2008), 100–147. Evren Kutlay Baydar, *Osmanlı’nın Avrupalı Müzisyenleri* [European Musicians in the Ottoman Empire]. (İstanbul: Kapı Yayınları, 2010). Selçuk Alimdar, *Osmanlı’da Batı Müziği* [Western Music in the Ottoman]. (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2016).

³ Halil Bedi. “Türk Kadını ve Garb Musikisi [Turkish Woman and Western Music]”, *Hayat* 4, No. 92 (30 August 1928), 16f. Ahmet Say, *The Music and Music Makers in Turkey*. (Ankara: Music En-

[Saz] Hanımefendi (1850?–1936) was regarded as the primary representative of that generation of women composers, as she had taken piano lessons with the sultanas in the Imperial Harem after Western music entered the palace in the nineteenth century.⁴ A primary source which supports this information is a personal interview conducted by one of the earlier musicologists of the Turkish Republic, Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal, with Leyla Hanımefendi in 1930. In this interview Leyla Hanımefendi expressed that Western-music education began to become widespread outside the palace after Sultan Abdülmecid I's reign, and that she was among the “first to order and play piano.”⁵ Additionally, some secondary sources⁶ provide information indicating that she, as well as taking piano lessons, also composed in the ‘Western style’⁷. Given the criteria for the scope of the doctoral dissertation from which this book is derived, Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi became the first representative composer I encountered in music historiographical sources.

The selection of Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi for this research, rather than, for example, one of the sultanas who lived and produced in the same period, provides the opportunity for increased dimensionality: both from within and outside the palace. Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi thus played a crucial role in establishing the principal questions and aspects that constitute the main framework of my research – firstly, as a woman composer who had Western-music training and composed in accordance with this interaction; secondly, as a woman composer who has been mentioned in music historiography; thirdly, as woman who had experiences within the imperial palace and outside the palace; and finally, as an artist who had collaborative productions with other composers, musicians, writers, poets, and intellectuals of her era as part of her vast social circle and her socialisation.

cyclopedia Publications, 1995), 31, 55–56. Ahmet Say, *Müzik Tarihi* [Music History]. (Ankara: Music Encyclopedia Publications, 1997), 515. Kosal, *Western Classical Music*, 15. Mehmet Nazmi Özalp, *Türk Musikisi Tarihi* [The History of Turkish music], Vol. 1 (Ankara: Müzik Dairesi Başkanlığı, 2000), 34. Ş. Şehvar Beşiroğlu. “The women of Istanbul and their musical identities”. *ITU Journal Series B: Social Sciences* 3, No. 2 (December 2006), 3–19. Kurt Reinhard and Ursula Reinhard, *Türkiye'nin Müziği* [Musik der Türkei Band I]. Trans. Sinemis Sun (Ankara: Sun Yayıncılık, 2007), 43.

4 Mithat Fenmen, *Piyanistin Kitabı* [Book of a Pianist] (Ankara: Akba Kitabevi, 1947), 147. Say, *Müzik Tarihi* [1997], 526.

5 Mahmut Ragıp Köse Mihal Zade [Gazimihal], “Leyla Hanım ile Mülakat [Interview with Leyla Hanım],” *Vakit*, (27 October 1930), 19.

6 Say, *Music and Music Makers*, 31 and 55–56. Turhan Taşan, *Kadın Besteciler* [Women Composers] (İstanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2000), 108. Nuri Özcan, “Leyla Saz,” *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* [Encyclopedia of Islam], Vol. 27 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayın Matbaacılık, 2003), 157–158. Yılmaz Öztuna, “Leyla Saz,” *Akademik Klasik Türk San'at Musikisinin Ansiklopedik Sözlüğü II* [Encyclopedic Dictionary for Academic Classical Turkish Art Music Vol. II] (İstanbul: Orient, 2006), 266.

7 Özcan, “Leyla Saz,” 157f. Say, *Music and Music Makers*, 31 and 55–56. Kutlay Baydar, *Osmanlı'nın Avrupalı Müzisyenleri*, 246.

Undoubtedly, Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi holds a special place in various disciplines, as her memoirs shed light on the ‘imperial harem’, a very private area of Ottoman history, rendering her an important source for Ottoman/Turkish historiography. However, the more pertinent question for me was: how, and to what extent, did the sources consider her?

Until her death in 1936, she established close relationships with numerous writers, poets, musicians, and intellectuals of Istanbul during the *Tanzimat* era⁸, both as a result of her social status and via her works, and was regarded as one of the ‘celebrities’ of the period.⁹ What was the reason behind her fame then and now? Was it because of her closeness to the imperial palace, her literary personality, or her musical personality? If she was famous for her musical personality, why are there no scholarly publications that extensively research Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi’s music?

Based on the information in the secondary sources, my interest in how the writers had turned her into a ‘symbol’ in areas such as *music and women* or *literature and women* in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire was sparked. In these sources she sometimes appears in relation to her memoirs of the imperial palace, as an eyewitness to life in the imperial harem, and other times as a figure to whom one can refer when there is a desire to be able to say, “among our women composers”. However she appears in these sources, there are inconsistencies and ambivalences in her portrayal: some literary studies thematising Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi emphasise her musical personality and claim she actually improved herself in “the area of music”, and position her in the discipline of music, while the studies in music refer to her as a “poet”, subsequently limiting the scope of their investigation and creating a situation in which there can be no in-depth or comprehensive study of her works, neither in the area of music nor in literature. It seems that her oeuvre was not as significant as her public persona, position, and function, which is inconsistently described. Why did the authors of these sources

8 Commonly used to describe reorganisation, reform, rearrangement, *Tanzimat* (singular *tanzim*, plural *tanzimat*), is also the name given to a specific historical incident in the Ottoman Empire: the announcement of *Hatt-ı Hümâyûn* [Imperial Prescript] on 3 November 1839. It connotes a series of changes and reorganisations in political, administrative, economic, and social areas, and the reformation process in which the Ottoman Empire looked towards European countries as models for overcoming the domestic and international difficulties it faced in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. (See Chapter IV, for detailed analysis of the period)

9 Ercüment Ekrem Talu, “*Tanzimat Edebiyatının Kadın Şairi Leyla Hanım [Tanzimat Literature’s Woman Poet Leyla Hanım]*”, *Yedigün*, No. 638 (1945), 4. İbrahim Alâattin Gövsa, “Leyla Saz”, *Türk Meşhurları Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Yedigün Neşriyat, 1945), 229. Nevin Meriç, *Osmanlı’da Gündelik Hayatın Değişimi* [Transformation of Daily Life in the Ottoman] (İstanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları, 2000), 160. Hikmet Feridun Es, *Tanımadığımız Meşhurlar* [The Unknown Celebrities] (İstanbul: Ötüken, 2009), 484–506. Öztuna “Leyla Saz”, 85. Duygu Köksal and Anastasia Falierou, *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women: New Perspectives* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 243.

feel the need to thematise Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi? Was it because they respected her music? Was it toward the dissemination of her literary endeavours? Or is it simply due to the ‘respect’ she gained from her memoirs on the imperial harem? That is to say, would we have known, or even heard of Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi if she had not been raised together with the sultanas in the imperial palace?

The secondary sources state that Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi was able to enter the imperial harem at the age of just four years as the lady-in-waiting for Sultan Abdülmecid I’s daughter, Münire Sultan (1844–1862), due to her father’s position as the doctor of Sultan Abdülmecid I, and was raised in the palace with the children of the dynasty. Her maintained connection with the members of the Ottoman dynasty even after she had left the palace is apparent both in her memoirs as well as in the accounts of her great-grandchildren.¹⁰

Some music scholars mention in their writings that Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi’s works are seldom performed because they require *superior skills* and *virtuosity*¹¹, and state that performers of such quality could rarely be found, while others claim that – just as in her poetry and prose – she has a *clean, sincere, and intimate tone* in her compositions.¹² Is it possible to analyse the values and parameters on which these judgements are based? Such questions steered the direction of this research, and motivated me to investigate Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi and the inconsistencies in her portrayal.

During my research in the Güran family’s archive, I happened upon a news article entitled “*Bestecilikte Yeni bir Leyla Hanım* [A New Leyla Hanım in the Field of Composing]”¹³ which led me to the idea of connecting the two composers and taking a ‘continuity’ approach. Although Nazife Aral-Güran (1921–1993) was born before the proclamation of the Republic, she was raised in the period of construction of a nation-state, and so became the second stop after Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi in my historical journey. This selection provided me with the op-

10 NeziH H. Neyzi, *Kızıltoprak Stories*. (İstanbul: Peva Publications, 1999). Leylâ Saz, *The Imperial Harem of the Sultans: Daily Life at the Çırağan Palace During The nineteenth Century*, ed. Landon Thomas (İstanbul: Hil Yayın, 2001). Ali H. Neyzi, *Meyzi ve Neyzi*. (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 2005). Ali H. Neyzi, *Hüseyin Paşa Çıkmazı No. 4* [Hüseyin Paşa Dead-End Street Number 4] (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 2005). NeziH H. Neyzi, *Osmanlılıktan Cumhuriyet’e Kızıltoprak Anıları* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2016).

11 Baki Süha Ediboğlu, *Ünlü Türk Bestekarları* [Famous Turkish Composers]. (İstanbul: Ak Yayınevi, 1962), 139–143. Saz, Leyla, *Harem’in İçyüzü* [Harem Behind the Scenes], ed. Sadı Borak (İstanbul: Milliyet, 1974), 19. Reinhard and Reinhard, *Türkiye’nin Müziği*, 43. Ahmet Şahin Ak, *Türk Musikisi Tarihi*. (Ankara: Akçağ, 2014), 233.

12 Ruşen Ferit Kam, “Bestekar-Şair Leyla Hanım,” *Radyo Mecmuası*. No. 55 (1946), 8. Mehmet Nazmi Özalp, “Leyla Saz,” *Türk Musikisi Tarihi* [The History of Turkish Music], Vol. 2 (Ankara: Müzik Dairesi Başkanlığı, 2000), 24. Öztuna, *Akademik Klasik Türk San’at*, 266.

13 Hikmet Münir Ebcioğlu, “Bestecilikte Yeni bir Leyla Hanım [A New Leyla Hanım in Composing]”, *Hayat*, No. 101 (17 December 1973), 23.

portunity to examine the socio-political/socio-cultural circumstances as well as the music policies of the early Republican period, and to compare and contrast such factors in the early Republic with those of the late Ottoman Empire.

In Aral-Güran's case, she was situated historically, socio-politically, and with regard to cultural and musical aspects, right in the midst of the large-scale fractures, transformations and transitions, projects, expectations, and disintegrations that began in the 1850s and lasted until the 1980s.

In line with the improvements on women's rights after the proclamation of the Republic, Atatürk's perspective on the issue of 'women', his support of elevating women's social status in a variety of areas, and his patronage of women have been examined and analysed in numerous academic and non-academic sources.¹⁴ While there are various examples of representatives of such women in medicine, history, literature, archaeology, aviation, engineering, law, etc., are there any women he supported in the field of music? – particularly women who composed? Did Nazife Aral-Güran receive any direct or indirect support from Atatürk or the officials in her journey as a composer? If we rephrase the question as a more general inquiry: what were the perspectives on, or approaches to 'women who composed', or were there any perspectives or approaches at all?

My desire to investigate whether a decade – there is a ten-year age difference between Nazife Aral-Güran and Yüksel Koptagel (born 1931) – had any bearing on the productive/creative conditions between these two composers was my first motivation for including Yüksel Koptagel in my selection of case studies. Later, realising the inclusion of Koptagel's name and her productions in music historiography as a representative of 'Turkish polyphonic music'¹⁵ raised new questions

14 See: Bernard Caporal, *Kemalizmde ve Kemalizm Sonrasında Türk Kadını (1919–1970)* (Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1982). Afet İnan, *Atatürk ve Kadın Haklarının Kazanılması*. (İstanbul: MEB Yayınları, 1969). Esin Dayı, "Atatürk'e göre Cumhuriyet öncesi ve sonrasında Türk Kadını," *Atatürk Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Müdürlüğü Atatürk Dergisi* III, No. 1 (May 2000), 115–133. Tülin Günşen İçli, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kadının Sosyal Konumu," *H.Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi Cumhuriyetin 75. Yılı Özel Sayısı*. (1998), 93–103. İhsan Şerif Kaymaz, "Çağdaş Uygarlığın Mihenk Taşı: Türkiye'de Kadının Toplumsal Konumu," *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, 46, (2010), 333–366. Gülen Özdemir, "Türk Kadınının Toplumsal Konumunun Gelişim Süreci," *Namık Kemal Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Sosyal Bilimler Metinleri* 3, (2009), 7–18.

15 Gültekin Oransay, "Yüksel Koptagel", *Batı Tekniğiyle Yazan 60 Türk Bağdar* (Ankara: Küğ Yayını, 1965), 78–79. Gültekin Oransay, "Yüksel Koptagel", *Çağdaş Seslendiricilerimiz ve Küğ Yazarlarımız*, ed. Gültekin Oransay and Melahat Oransay, (Ankara: Küğ Yayını, 1969), 112. Lale Tekcan, "Yüksel Koptagel", *Kadın Ansiklopedisi* II. (İstanbul: Tercüman, 1984), 756. *Büyük Larousse Sözlük ve Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Koptagel, Yüksel" Vol. 13 (İstanbul: Milliyet, 1986). Aaron I. Cohen, "Koptagel, Yüksel", *International Encyclopedia of Women Composers*, 2nd Edition, Vol. 1 (New York, London: Books&Music (USA) Inc., 1987), 381. Antje Olivier (ed.), *Komponistinnen. Eine Bestandsaufnahme* (Wuppertal: Tokkata-Verlag für Frauenforschung Archiv, 1994), 182. Faruk Yener, s.v. "Koptagel, Yüksel", *The Norton/ Grove Dictionary of Women Composers*, ed. Julie Anne Sadie and

about what the criteria for inclusion as a representative of this genre were. Thus, when comparing Nazife Aral-Güran's exclusion from the music dictionaries or encyclopaediae within Turkey, one is led to wonder whether Koptagel's inclusion was a coincidence, luck, or that she captured the interest of the music circles. Could there be a conscious choice to include or exclude a composer in the music historiography? What were the values that brought a person or their works to the fore? Could the artists' environment, the circles to which s/he belonged influence their situation? Would I be able to find answers to these questions through investigating the Koptagel case?

All these questions led to one of the hypotheses of this research: the visibility of the names and the works of women who compose in the genre of polyphonic music in Turkey, within music historiography have both a correlation to their function and/or happen in an arbitrary manner.

On Methodology and Foundational Factors

Having established the criteria behind the selection of the example composers, and how they shaped the questions of this research, the next step was to devise the methodology for seeking answers for the entire range of those questions. The diversity of the contexts, issues, and questions ensured compartmentalisation of the subject, wherein each factor could be discussed within each compartment, allowing different methodologies to be pursued.

The power and weight of the materials obtained throughout the research in shaping the roadmap is undeniable. Questioning how and with which parameters each source was compiled, as well inquiring as to why and how each author transmits certain information determined the fundamental stance of the research presented here. These lines of questioning influenced the style of approach, tone, language, and writing. In establishing this stance, two of Foucault's works, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and *The Order of Things*, were useful; I was inspired by what Foucault had explored in his works – archaeology, knowledge, episteme, power, discourse, and author. For example, his approach to re-evaluating the *document* within the discipline of history – as a perspective on socio-political environment as a factor which determines the production/ creative conditions – was applied in constructing the narrative in Chapter IV, with regard to using other archival documents (personal experiences, memoirs, poems etc.) that had not previously found their place in the official historiography as alternative sources, hence, bringing new and different perspectives to historiography, separate from the collective consciousness. His ap-

Rhian Samuel (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995), 253. Antje Olivier and Sevgi Braun, "Yüksel Koptagel", *Komponistinnen aus 800 Jahren* (Essen: Sequentia-Verlag, 1996), 214–215. Evin İlyasoğlu, *71 Turkish Composers* (İstanbul: Pan, 2007), 126–129.

proach to language, discourse, and episteme, on the other hand, are implicitly reflected in almost the entirety of this book, or explicitly through quotations.

The use of language and tone in the sources I collected during my research, led me to contemplate the language, tone, and style that I should be using. This was an awareness that I developed of how to reflect the spirit of a period I had not personally experienced; how to explore, evaluate, and depict the personalities whom I have not met, as well as writing about their works. As a narrator and a transmitter of information, my main concern was to ascertain what kind of a language I should engage in my writing, so that all three example composers would be portrayed as themselves, and to look into their productive/creative conditions from as transparent an environment as possible.

To go beyond the data/information that existed within the historiographical works, I referred to the selected composers' writings (essays, diaries, poems, and correspondence), or to their oral testimonies (interviews conducted with them). By so doing, I consulted the personal experiences of each composer. This was a deliberate choice, based on the possibilities provided by the primary sources. Through examining the essays and articles that bear implicit biases against women composers in general, and specifically the composers in this research – as explored in Chapter VI –, would it be possible to ascertain the end results of such language, tone, and narration choices?

In *What is an Author?*¹⁶ Foucault explores various points which assist the reader in the contemplation of the dimensions of the relationship between language and discourse. Taking Samuel Becket's famous saying "What matter who's speaking, some-one said, what matter who's speaking"¹⁷ as his starting point, Foucault describes the situation in which the author's name overshadows the text/work, and directs attention to the emergence of texts fundamentally as a source of discourse of a tradition, a theory or a discipline, and to the placement of the writers in a *transdiscursive* position.¹⁸ In other words, with this perspective it can be considered that the author transforms into an 'ideological product' that is shaped by the discourse. Foucault writes that authors position themselves and their texts somewhere between what the texts depict and the discourse of the institutions (i.e., power).¹⁹ The texts in Chapter VI are discussed with regard to their implicit biases initially based on the identities of the authors, via the texts themselves; subsequently separating them from the authors and placing emphasis on the discourse beyond the writers was a conscious choice in the practice of interpreting thought.

¹⁶ Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?" [1969], *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Donald Preziosi (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 299–314.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 300.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 309.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

If reading of the texts were limited to who the authors were, or if rereading of the texts were rejected within those paradigms in a counter-protest, the dimensions of approach would have remained within a limited framework, whereas the questions posed with regard to the depicted scene played a crucial role in understanding the implicit power that existed in the micro-levels of examining the texts, divorced from the author and vice versa.

Another fundamental question concerned the *materials*. How, and at what point the materials would be used was equally as challenging as accessing them. In particular, the aggregate materials (copies of petitions, invoices, portraits, photographs, diary notes written on her scores, poems etc.) in Aral-Güran's Personal Collections (the Güran family's archive) required me to address this. In this regard, Beatrix Borchard's *Lücken schreiben Oder: Montage als biographisches Verfahren*²⁰ not only provided answers to my questions on the position, importance, and function of the materials, but also introduced me to Walter Benjamin's 'montage technique'.

Rolf Tiedemann, in the introduction of *The Arcades Project (Passagen-Werk)*, which Benjamin wrote between 1927 and 1940, but did not complete, writes that Benjamin's intention was to "display material and theory, quotations and interpretations in a position that would be distinguished from all kinds of conventional portrayal styles", through which all weight would be on the materials and quotations, while theory and interpretation recede to the background.²¹ In other words, the montage technique, while looking at larger structures – which I have applied, from time to time, to the events and concepts in order gain a broader perspective – is conducive to crystallisation via the analysis of the smaller structural elements that constitute the overall structure.²² This approach was not only instructive in how to use the materials, but also had an impact on how I have assembled the divisions of the narrative in the presentation of my research. For example, materials such as Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi's poems, advertisements in periodicals, photographs, etc., are used as tools to examine the larger picture whilst its smaller building blocks are still in view. In the narrative, I have applied this technique when introducing the subject of exploring "Women Musicians in the Ottoman Empire" (Chapter III): materials such as lists of musicians (their names, addresses, and area of specialisation) printed in the *Annals of Commerce of the Orient*, petitions that were found in the Ottoman State Archives, the decorations presented to women artists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by the Sultans, compositions dedicated to the dynasty, music scores etc., were used to explain the

20 Beatrix Borchard, "Lücken schreiben Oder: Montage als biographisches Verfahren", *Biographie schreiben*. Bödeker, Hans Erich (Ed.) (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2003). pp. 211–241.

21 Rolf Tiedemann, "Dialectics at a Standstill. Approaches to the *Passagen-Werk*", *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland, Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, Massachusetts; England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999). 931.

22 Ibid.

‘interaction domain’ of Western music in the late Ottoman period, broadening the dimensions of the research.

Similarly, materials such as examples of petitions, photographs, unpublished letters, *carte de visite*, student identification, etc. (Chapters IV, V, and VII), intended to give a sense of the socio-political environment, have not been used to bring the issues and contexts to a close; on the contrary, they have been used to allow future lines of questioning, in the interests of creating a richer discourse.

Overview of Chapters

Given that this research is centred around a specific music genre, exploring and defining ‘polyphonic music of Turkey’ is a requisite starting point. Chapter I focuses on *çoksesli müzik* [polyphonic music] as a genre within the other genres of Ottoman/Turkish music, contains definitions and explanations of this genre, and provides a perspective on the categorisation styles of non-Turkish sources. While the problem of a ‘multiplicity of definitions’ in Ottoman/Turkish music and its genres provide a framework for this chapter, the ideological origins and dimensions of various approaches that generate this multiplicity of definitions are also discussed.

In Chapter II, the institutionalisation process of ‘Western Music’ and ‘Western-music’ education from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic are addressed, with reference to its causes and effects, political and ideological background, modes of function, and results. To this end, the contributions of European experts invited to the Ottoman/Turkish lands, and their influence on the institutions both in the Ottoman Empire and in the Turkish Republic are discussed.

Chapter III follows the paths of the women musicians in Istanbul, both within and outside the imperial palace, from the nineteenth century until the fall of the Empire. In this chapter Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi emerges as the key figure, as the sections containing perspectives on music in her memoirs on the daily life of the nineteenth-century Çırağan and Dolmabahçe Palaces are discussed and examined as a ‘glance into the palace’. Since Leyla [Saz] Hanımefendi’s experience does not include the Yıldız Palace, the memoirs of Sultan Abdülhamid II’s daughter, Ayşe Sultan [Osmanoğlu], are used to gain a perspective specifically focusing on music in the Yıldız Palace. In addition to these two primary sources, other narrations about the imperial harem, promising an insight to the life in the palace, are included to illustrate the approaches to perspectives from within and outside the palace.

To develop an understanding of the Palace’s interest in and support of Western Music, various documents such as *takdim* [rewards], *taltif* [honouring], and other petitions from the Ottoman State Archives were consulted; a list of compositions dedicated to members of the Ottoman dynasty as well as a list of artists who had been decorated by the dynasty are also provided in this chapter. The daily lives of