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**Singing Poems, Reading Songs. Performing Pre-Reform Turkish**  
the şarkı and the Nineteenth Century Language Debate

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*Singing Poems, Reading Songs. Performing Pre-Reform Turkish: the  
şarkı and the Nineteenth Century Language Debate*

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## Abstract

This thesis discusses the emergence, in the 1890s, of the Ottoman *şarkı* as the most popular genre of the *fasıl* suite in relation to increasing literacy, new language pedagogy methodologies, and debates about language and literature reform. I focus on the three language registers constituting Ottoman Turkish, that is, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, and their use in lyrics to explore whether song supported, challenged, or was impermeable to discourses of language as an ethnicity-based practice and ‘old’ versus ‘new’ literature debates. Drawing on a wide range of sources such as language textbooks, grammars, readers, and primers, I explore changes in the teaching of Turkish, particularly the development of the *usûl-ı savtiye*, or ‘vocal method’, which taught children to ‘hear’ and reproduce (i.e., perform) a word before reading it. I then examine the debate on rhetoric that unfolded throughout the 1880s and 1890s. I connect it to song lyrics by presenting poet Mehmed Celâl’s (1862 – 1912) critical commentary on Hâşîm Bey’s (1815 – 1868) lyrics anthology, and reflect on what constituted good lyrics composition practice in relation to the poetic canon (*dîvân*).

I analyse the lyrical content of two editions of the same *şarkı* lyrics collection (*Şevk-i Dil* 1893 and 1894), as well as the lyrics printed in the 5 December 1895 issue of the periodical *Ma’lûmât*, challenging an academic and political narrative that presents pre-reform Turkish as a foreign, ‘unreadable’ (Halbrook 1994) language. I propose that we look at the language as a continuum of registers in constant flux, which were chosen according to content and context, granting greater expressive freedom. I discuss how they specifically interacted in song, demonstrating that the language of the *şarkı* remained unaffected by debates and proposed language reforms. I investigate what song lyrics can tell us about processes of language standardization, and what such processes can, in turn, tell us about song. Finally, I sketch a registral topography of song, connecting the language of the *şarkı* to a poetic and religious heritage shared across the Middle East and Central Asia, lexically represented by loanwords of Arabic and Persian origin widely used in lyrics.



# Table of Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	8
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	11
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>15</b>
General overview	15
Ottoman and non-Ottoman genres	21
o Etymology and genre, etymology as genre: Turkish and phonetic authority	
in the <i>şarkı</i>	27
Registers in the <i>şarkı</i> : a linguistic approach to a popular art song genre	29
The sense of authority: Turkish's phonetic presence, place and the <i>şarkı</i>	32
The readability of song and singability of pre-reform Turkish: diglossia or fluidity?	35
o Liminal lexical realities: loanwords	39
Structure of the thesis	42
<b>PART 1 – LITERACY, REFORM, AND DEBATE</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>Chapter 1 – Debating register</b>	<b>46</b>
Introduction	46
The Name and the Named: Ottoman, Ottoman Turkish, Turkish, Ottoman,	
Muslim, or Turk?	50
<b>Chapter 2 - Performing the Textbook, Reciting Turkish</b>	<b>69</b>
Introduction	69
Reading and performing the textbook-score	79
o Shifting loyalties and subverted authorities: Arabic and the performance	

of reading	80
o 'I'm coming from school ( <i>mektep</i> ), and I've completed the alphabet ( <i>Elif cüzü</i> );	
I will begin memorizing the <i>amme cüzü</i> , my Sultan.	89
o Reciting Turkish	102
<b>Chapter 3 – Weaving the Verbal Tapestry: <i>Belâgat</i> (Rhetoric), <i>Edebiyât</i> (Literature)</b>	
<b>and the <i>Şarkı</i></b>	<b>109</b>
Introduction	109
Approaches to verbal art: nineteenth century views on <i>belâgat</i> (rhetoric) and	
<i>edebiyât</i> (literature)	122
New and old, form versus meaning: weaving lexical elements, composing register	127
Good and bad lyrics: a literary perspective on song	131
<b>PART 2 – READING THE <i>ŞARKI</i></b>	<b>156</b>
<b>Chapter 4 - Reading the Songbook: The Collections and the Newspapers</b>	<b>158</b>
Introduction	158
o Structure of the chapter	158
o Printing lyrics	159
o The <i>güfte mecmuası</i> and Ottoman minorities	162
o The repertoire in the 1890s: anthologies and periodicals	165
Reading the song	167
o 1893/1894: <i>Şevk-i Dil</i> , heart and language delight	167
o Turkish, loanwords and the <i>şarkı</i> structure	198
The Newspapers	252
o Notating the <i>şarkı</i>	259
o <i>Ma'lûmât</i> : 5 December 1895	264

○ On the harmonisation of the <i>şarki</i> : power shifts, heterophony and socio-cultural homophony	295
<b>Chapter 5 – Registrat and Phonetic Topographies</b>	<b>300</b>
<b>‘Placing’ register, registering ‘place’: the case of loanwords</b>	<b>308</b>
○ Vocal placement versus ‘vocal tract shaping’	311
○ Place and register	322
○ Registers and regions	325
○ Phonetic authority versus dissonant harmony: accents as indexes of place and the paradox of standardisation	330
○ Urban sonic chaos: register weaving and the translation of place	338
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>344</b>
<b>Appendix</b>	<b>351</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	
Primary sources	355
○ Language materials	355
○ Lyrics anthologies and music textbooks	359
Secondary sources	360



## List of Figures

**Figure 1.** Notation sheet of *Telif Edebilsem Feleği* (Uşşâk, Aksâk, Şevkî Bey). Image from <https://www.yedinota.com/beste/telif-edebilsem-felegi-ah-emelimle-10774> .

**Figure 2.** Detail from notation sheet of *Telif Edebilsem Feleği* (Uşşâk, Aksâk, Şevkî Bey). Image from <https://www.yedinota.com/beste/telif-edebilsem-felegi-ah-emelimle-10774>

**Figure 3.** Image of *makâm Uşşâk* note series (Özkan 2012).

**Figure 4.** Detail from notation sheet of *Telif Edebilsem Feleği* (Uşşâk, Aksâk, Şevkî Bey). Image from <https://www.yedinota.com/beste/telif-edebilsem-felegi-ah-emelimle-10774>

**Figure 5.** Detail from notation sheet of *Telif Edebilsem Feleği* (Uşşâk, Aksâk, Şevkî Bey). Image from <https://www.yedinota.com/beste/telif-edebilsem-felegi-ah-emelimle-10774>

**Figure 6.** Detail from notation sheet of *Telif Edebilsem Feleği* (Uşşâk, Aksâk, Şevkî Bey). Image from <https://www.yedinota.com/beste/telif-edebilsem-felegi-ah-emelimle-10774>

**Figure 7:** Detail from *Gülmek yarâşır gül yüzüne ey gül-ı cânım* (Hicâzkâr, Düyek, Hacı Emîn Bey), published in *Ma'lûmât*, N. 24, 5 December 1895 (İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar).

**Figure 8.** Detail from *Mecbûr oldum ben bir güle* (Bestenigâr, Âğır Âksâk, Hâşim Bey), published in *Ma'lûmât*, N. 24, 5 December 1895 (İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar).

**Figure 9.** Detail from *Mecbûr oldum ben bir güle* (Bestenigâr, Âğır Âksâk, Hâşim Bey), published in *Ma'lûmât*, N. 24, 5 December 1895 (İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar).

**Figure 10.** Detail from *Düşeyim der îken eyvah vefalısına* (*Hicâzkâr, Aksâk, Rızâ Efendi*) published in *Ma'lûmât*, N. 24, 5 December 1895 (İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar).

**Figure 11.** Detail from *Gîdelim Göksu'ya bir 'âlem-i âb eyleyelim* (*Hicâzkâr, no metre given, Hristo Efendi*) published in *Ma'lûmât*, N. 24, 5 December 1895 (İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar).

**Figure 12.** Detail from *Gîdelim Göksu'ya bir 'âlem-i âb eyleyelim* (*Hicâzkâr, no metre given, Hristo Efendi*) published in *Ma'lûmât*, N. 24, 5 December 1895 (İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar).

**Figure 13.** Detail from *Aman ey yâr cefâ-pîşe nizâr etme beni* (*Beyâtî, Âğır Âksâk, Rızâ Bey*) published in *Ma'lûmât*, N. 24, 5 December 1895 (İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar).

**Figure 14.** Detail from *Aman ey yâr cefâ-pîşe nizâr etme beni* (*Beyâtî, Âğır Âksâk, Rızâ Bey*) published in *Ma'lûmât*, N. 24, 5 December 1895 (İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar).



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*Dedicated to my beloved parents Ennio and Rosanna.*

*Words cannot express my gratitude  
and how blessed I am to have you.*



Istanbul, 23 March 2022



## Introduction

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

ربي يسر ولا تعسر, ربي تمم بالخير

### General Overview

The key ideas of this project originated from an interest in two parallel phenomena that occurred during the final decades of the Ottoman nineteenth century. This thesis investigates the increasing focus, between 1850 and 1900, on literacy and language education methods as well as contemporary debates about language and rhetoric in relation to the soaring popularity of the *şarkı* song genre. The relationship between song and literacy, and the nineteenth century debate about the traditional *dîvân* corpus that the *şarkı* originated from, inspired me to investigate whether a greater engagement with verbal production contributed to the skyrocketing popularity of the genre.

At the time when its framework and tradition of origin came under critical scrutiny, the *şarkı*, paradoxically, prospered. In this thesis, I will argue that the genre was not affected by the discussions regarding language, the *dîvân* and literary theory as, from its earliest days, it had displayed a variety of registral elements catering for a varied public. The presence of Turkish, for example, was not due to ideological inclinations just as the use of Arabic did not signify a particular attachment to religion. However, I will also discuss how the emergence of a reading culture and public – thanks to increasing literacy – significantly contributed to the popularity of genre. With this project, I suggest that we look at the steady rise of the *şarkı* between 1850 and 1900 in relation to the parallel developments in literacy, which in turn were the foundation for the development of a mass reading culture and public.



The central idea of this thesis is that while, on the one hand, the emergence of printing practices and reading culture significantly contributed to the prominence of the genre in the nineteenth century, its lyrical content was not affected by contemporary debates regarding language and rhetoric. I refer to such debates by using the terms *ethnocentric* and *edep-centric*. The first term refers to an increasing tendency, in the Ottoman nineteenth century, to view language and its use as an ethnicity-centred practice. This interpretation would eventually lead to the conceptualization of Turkish as the language of the Turkish nation, a stance that became central to the ideology of the Turkish Republic, founded in 1923. The second term, translated by Findley as ‘good breeding’, sophistication, good manners, refined education (1980, 8) on the other hand, refers to the attachment towards the traditional, classic rhetoric that characterised both the *dîvân* poetic corpus and the language of the palace and bureaucracy. According to Findley (1980), the development of this poetic canon had served the purpose of legitimising the power of the nascent Empire. Together with the canon, the sophisticated language known as ‘Ottoman’ had begun to develop within the *sarây* walls, providing the Imperial centre with cultural sophistication and prestige.

The language I am referring to is Ottoman Turkish. In this thesis, however, it will not be referred to as such. I have decided to indicate it by using the expression pre-reform Turkish. That is, the Turkish that was spoken and written before the *Dil İnkilâbı* (language reform) that began on 12 July 1932. The reason for this terminology is that I believe Ottoman Turkish to be just an old form of modern Turkish, one that included a vast amount of Arabic and Persian, yes, but that was still functioning syntactically like its modern counterpart. The term Ottoman Turkish is also appropriate, but it is linked to a long history of political, ideological, and academic narratives that promoted the idea of it as a distinct language belonging to the past, to a declining and corrupt empire, and to a non-modern culture. My project resists such

notions, insisting, instead, on the fluidity and flexibility of the language but also its connection to currently spoken Turkish. I particularly insist on the idea that the language was not an agglomerate of irreconcilable etymologies, but rather a very sophisticated system providing a rich palette of terms and expressions that could be manipulated by the author according to what he or she intended to convey. Language registers played a crucial role in this process.

The way I have approached language during this project was by focusing on the use of language register in nineteenth century *şarkı* lyrics. In the case of Ottoman Turkish, these registers corresponded to the three languages that constituted it: Persian, Turkish, Arabic. Each of them was associated with and employed in a specific domain, but also overlapped with the others in the same text. Persian was primarily used for poetry, Arabic was linked to religion, education, but also bureaucracy, and later science and philosophy. Turkish, on the other hand, had more of a syntactic function, providing the structure into which these registers interwove. Turkish lexical elements were generally employed when a lower register was required. Until, in the mid-nineteenth century, debates regarding the use of these registers and their cultural connotations began. Words, both local and loanwords, became the main source of tension.

The debate about language mostly revolved around the accessibility of Ottoman Turkish, considered by some to be too sophisticated and distant from the speaking reality of the mass. The development of this language had, truth be told, occurred primarily within the power apparatus represented by *sarây* and bureaucracy. It also had deep ties with the formation of Ottoman identity as a ruling force and its place in the lands and history of Islam. The complexity of the language employed by the bureaucracy shared several features with literary language. One of the main issues debated throughout the nineteenth century was that of form versus meaning, in the language of the administration as much as poetic rhetoric. Reformers demanded that greater importance be given to the meaning (*ma'nâ*) conveyed as opposed to

the form (*suret*) used to convey it, which often resulted in empty displays of verbal skill. A kind of ‘language for language’s sake’ approach that, according to some, obscured meaning rather than conveying it. The debate preoccupied both men of letters and men of the administration and a common thread in their arguments was a new understanding and approach to register and lexical use. The more intense use of a language-register, for example Arabic, in comparison to another, Turkish, determined the overall tone of the text. It also connected it to a vast geography that shared a core vocabulary, partly because of shared religious and poetic traditions. However, these cultural, linguistic, social, religious, and poetic registers began to become problematic towards the end of the nineteenth century, particularly with the emergence of nationalism.

The period explored in this project, the 1880 - 1890s, saw a change in pedagogic approaches, especially in the domain of language learning. The wish to emphasize Turkish over the ‘Three Languages’ (*Elsine-i Selâse*) resulted in the development of a phonetic method (*usûl-ı savtîye*) to learn how to read pre-reform Turkish. While the terminology used to teach the language still heavily relied on Arabic, the phonetic turn signified a shift towards a new understanding of the value of Turkish, now considered a language with the right to its own teaching methodology and learning strategies. As to the registers, these were a much more fluid reality.

Pre-reform Turkish was a language in which every register had a function and was chosen according to the format, content, media of publication and reading audience of the text. This appears very clearly in song lyrics, where sophisticated expressions, or whole stanzas, coexisted with lower registers – often, even in the same verse. The supposed unreadability – as Holbrook famously described it (1994; see also Ertürk 2011) – of the language resided,

according to reformers, in a lack of balance in registral relationships within the text, with excessive emphasis on sophisticated Persian and/or Arabic expressions/compounds. However, what we see in the song lyrics of the late nineteenth century is, in fact, a very skilful use of registers in relation to content, *usûl* (rhythmic cycle), media of publication and *makâm* melodic development. What we see is every author making full use of the language palette at his/her disposal. The thesis, therefore, seeks to challenge narratives that present nineteenth century literary production as a monolithic reality replete with incomprehensible, bombastic Arabisms and Persianisms.

On the one hand, the texts do not show a particular inclination towards a register that is clearly attributable to ideology, or religion. On the other hand, however, a deeper analysis of the text shows that when the texts are *read as poems*, their registral composition often has a strong *dîvân* quality. When, on the contrary, they are *sung*, or analysed as *songs*, the Turkish register predominates. This marked phonetic presence is given by the use of register in correspondence with rhyme, which in turn corresponded to key points of melodic development and structural features. Interestingly, the lexical Turkish presence in the texts was scant, but it was amply compensated by its phonetic quasi-omnipresence. This brings us back to the phonetic approach to Turkish that had prompted the development of the phonetic method. It also connected the *şarkı* to the shift in 'phonetic authority' from Arabic to Turkish that the method entailed, and that also signified a shift in emphasis from the registers that were associated with the art of writing pre-reform Turkish (Arabic and Persian) to the one connected with 'spokenness' and a non-*dîvân*, non-literary, non-bureaucratic linguistic reality: Turkish.

Focusing on the 1890s, I have closely examined a range of language learning materials used in primary schools, new methodologies for the teaching of Turkish, readers, primers, works of linguistics alongside lyrics anthologies, a song-lyrics selection compiled by the poet Mehmed Celâl (1867 – 1912) and based on Haşîm Bey's (1815 – 1868) famous anthology (published in 1852 and then again in 1864), and newspapers in which song-lyrics and their notation sheets appeared. I have approached these texts asking whether the lyrical content of the *şarkı* in the 1890s and, more generally, the second half of the nineteenth century, reflected the shifts occurring in language practice and the contemporary language and rhetoric/literature debates. I have also analysed texts in relation to the notation provided in the newspapers to identify patterns and points of convergence among lexical elements, register, *makâm* melodic development, *şarkı*'s formal features and poetic devices.

Asking questions about whether the *şarkı* supported or challenged propositions for language reformation, I have concluded that the genre carried forward its own linguistic tradition. This was characterised by a great registral variety that was not employed on the basis of ideology or tradition but, rather, according to content, context and meaning. In doing so, the *şarkı* remained virtually untouched by language, religion, literature, and the ethnicity-related anxieties of the era. In this thesis, I will also argue that its registral flexibility might have been one of the factors determining its popularity, ensuring its survival well after the collapse of the Empire and into the twentieth century and Republican Turkey (1923).

The *şarkı* sat at the crossroads of several phenomena and traditions: the *dîvân* and the newspapers, language reform versus literary convention, poetry and prose, West versus East, religion, literacy, reading and recitation. Its text connected it to poetic tradition as well as new pedagogical methods, to literature and the rhetoric debate, to the development of an Ottoman reading culture and public. The composition of its lyrics and music involved poets, authors,

bureaucrats alongside musicians. The aim of this project was to show how its rising popularity in the nineteenth century was deeply connected to, but simultaneously independent from, the development of printing and of a reading culture, new language pedagogy, the emergence of the popular press and the newspaper, and debates about language reformation.

### **Ottoman and non-Ottoman genres**

This project is, to my knowledge, the first one to focus entirely on the *şarki* as genre and as part of a history of Ottoman literacy, reading culture, rhetoric, poetry, and press. The conspicuous absence of academic works about the genre was what inspired, in 2014, early ideas about what would later become the subject of my PhD research. This project looked at musical genre in a multidisciplinary framework, an approach that found great inspiration in Katherine Bergeron's *Voice Lessons: French Mélodie in the Belle Epoque* (2010), as well as Emma Dillon's *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260 – 1330* (2013). These two works have provided me with a framework and, in some ways, ideas for a methodology to examine song in relation to a variety of narratives and phenomena. Although not focusing on Ottoman repertoire, their approach to genre served as a model, particularly because of the relations between text, literacy, poetry, and song discussed in both works.

My debt towards scholarship that does not focus on Ottoman repertoire is symptomatic of a lack of studies focusing on individual Ottoman genres. When I say Ottoman repertoire, it is the period between the eighteenth and early twentieth century that I refer to. These dates

pertain to a period of intense development of the court *fasıl*<sup>1</sup> and, incidentally, the period we have most information about in regard to palace music practice (see Özkan 1995, Feldman 1996). While there is no dearth of works on Ottoman music culture, history, and style that introduce various genres of the *fasıl*, the individual genres themselves do not seem to have attracted much attention, yet. On the other hand, Turkish musical genres that developed during and after the foundation of the Republic (1923) have been the subject of important, if few, monographs. Most notably, Martin Stokes' work on *Arabesk*, *The Arabesk Debate: Music and Musicians in Modern Turkey* (1992) and *The Republic of Love: Cultural Intimacy in Turkish Popular Music* (2010), which also provided a model of inquiry in the early stages of this project, and John O'Connell's *Alaturka: Style in Turkish Music* (2013).

Walter Feldman's *Music of the Ottoman Court* (1996) remains one of the most important and exhaustive sources for a general history of Ottoman music since the early days of the Empire until those of the Republic. Denise Gill's work is an important source to understand orality, sociability and affect in current Ottoman music practice. I have particularly benefited from her discussion of *meşk* (oral transmission), performativity, and authority. Her work *Melancholic Modalities: Affect, Islam, and Turkish Classical Music* (2017), has been, on the other hand, a source of inspiration and reflection upon the affective side of *şarkı* performance, particularly with reference to its sentimentality. Among current scholarship on late nineteenth century Ottoman music studies, we find Panagiotis Poulos, whose work on musical gatherings in late Ottoman Istanbul (2014) has been very beneficial to this project when trying to socially

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<sup>1</sup> A suite including different genres. Performed at court first, by the end of the nineteenth century it had become a popular performance in the *meyhâneler* (taverns) of Istanbul. Its format evolved over time, and in the nineteenth century it came to be entirely constituted by *şarkılar*, except for an instrumental opening and closing piece. More information about the *fasıl* and its history will be found in Chapter 4.

situate the *şarkı*. However, I have keenly felt the absence of a social and cultural history of Ottoman musical genre, and I hope that my research will begin to fill this void.

The situation is not substantially different when we look at Turkish Ottoman music scholarship. Here, too, we have access to numerous works addressing various cultural and social aspects of Ottoman music and the lives of musicians and composers. However, focus on individual Ottoman genres is still to be developed. Cem Behar's work on Ottoman music culture remains a staple<sup>2</sup> and works by musician, composer, and author Cınuçen Tanrıkorur (1938 – 2000) often explore the link between music and poetry, or language, alongside questions of identity and tradition. They are highly regarded among performers of this musical tradition as much as academics and educators, and they have been an important source for my research, too. Recent Turkish studies do, however, display a growing interest in the *şarkı*. In fact, PhD and Master's theses published in the last two decades record a significant involvement with song, anthologies, language education and rhetoric (see Duran 2019, Dikmen 1994, Doğrusöz 1992, Sümbüllü 2011, Tohumcu 2009, Altun Öney 2018, Türker 2019). It is in these mostly unpublished works that much interesting song-related and genre-centred research material is found. For the most part this material is, however, still very much in the form of translation and commentary of pre-reform Turkish lyrics, which brings me back to the point made earlier about the non-existence of a work of scholarship dedicated to the *şarkı*, or any Ottoman, *fasıl*-era genre.

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<sup>2</sup> *Klasik Türk Müziği Üzerine Denemeler* (1987), 18. *Yüzyılda Türk Müziği* (1987), *Ali Ufki ve Mezmurlar* (1990), *Zaman-Mekân-Müzik – Klâsik Türk Musikisinde Eğitim (Meşk), İcra ve Aktarım* (1993), *Musikiden Müziğe – Osmanlı/Türk Müziği; Gelenek ve Modernlik* (2008), *Aşk Olmayınca Meşk Olmaz* (2016).



A work that does not fall directly under the music category, but that is somehow connected to Ottoman musical practice, is Walter Andrews' well-known *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song: Ottoman Lyric Poetry* (1985). Andrews' work has been, in many ways, the starting point of this research project. Although he does not engage with musical genre per se, the form he discusses, the *gazel*, was, in fact, a poetic form *and* musical genre. His approach to textual analysis and his discussion of text in relation to cultural, social, and religious domains helped me develop a more definite methodology. In my analysis and discussion of lyrics, I, too, have tried to emphasize those connections and gauge the impact that they might have had upon the genre and its popularity, but also to propose a way to situate the *şarki* in the shifting nineteenth century culturescape.

This project has used literacy, rhetoric, and the language debate to try and understand the *şarki* phenomenon, but it has also used song to discover what *it* reveals about *them*. In her work on French *Mélodie*, Katherine Bergeron focuses on the fusion between language and song as a musical, literary, and literacy-bound phenomenon. She examines a variety of sources spanning from the 1880s to the 1920s, almost the same timeframe as that covered in my project. Diving into the natural melodic quality of the French language, she demonstrates the subtle bond between learning to read and pronounce French and the development of *mélodie*. French and its enunciation are presented as the essential element of *mélodie*, which emerges as a musical genre beyond music, as it were. It is as if the melodic essence of the genre were almost *inherent* in the language, and its emergence in the late nineteenth century an outcome of the efforts to increase literacy in the French provinces and promote proper elocution. In many ways, the history of *mélodie* could not be separated from the late nineteenth century history of French and the experience of speaking it, reading it, listening to it. During my research, a recurring question was whether the same could be argued about the *şarki*.

Unfortunately, unlike its French counterpart and due to the oral nature of traditional music transmission and education, works discussing the voice, diction, articulation, pronunciation, in short, the vocal delivery of song, are simply not available in the Ottoman context. The closest thing we have are examples of grammars and readers that describe in detail the mouth shapes required to pronounce certain sounds. However, the phonetic approach to the *arts de dire*, the ‘art of saying’, as Bergeron calls it (2010, xii), is an important part of late nineteenth century pre-reform Turkish language education, too. It spills into *şarkı* performance, albeit in a less straightforward way than in the French case. Strictly phonetically speaking, the predominant language in *şarkı* lyrics was Turkish, as seen by its peculiar relationship with poetic elements such as rhyme, but also rhythmic cycle and melodic development. The development of the *usûl-ı savtîye* (phonetic method) and the way it emphasized Turkish in the text, however, did not seem to have had a direct influence on this aspect of the song’s registral composition: the *şarkı*, unlike French *mélodie*, had existed for at least two centuries before the development of a new language pedagogy in the mid-nineteenth century (on the history of the *şarkı*, see Feldman 1996, Uzun and Özkan 2010). Most importantly, the *şarkı* had always displayed a wide variety of registral interweaving and the phonetic emphasis on Turkish was not a new phenomenon by the 1890s.

The bond between language and song that Bergeron describes does not, therefore, exactly find a correspondent in the Ottoman context. However, a few remarks can be made about the relationship between elocution and the *şarkı*. Although pre-reform Turkish did not generate new melodic approaches as French did, the *şarkı* as a sung text certainly did weave language register to melody and rhythmic cycle. Proper elocution and verbal delivery of the vocal repertoire is at the heart of contemporary *şarkı* performance practice, but we can only guess whether this was the case in the Ottoman nineteenth century, too. Similarly, we cannot claim

with certainty that proper elocution and enunciation affected the melodic quality and the structure of the *şarkı*. However, we do know that the texts were poems, and that the *makâm*'s melodic progression was 'wrapped around' a variety of registers, often creating a convergence between structural features of the *makâm* or the song itself.

Both pre-reform Turkish and the *şarkı* were the offspring of palace and urban culture. If not linked to literacy, they both certainly entertained an intense relationship with the literary, moulding each other. The *şarkı* was a literary, before musical, genre. These poems constituted the lyrics to the musical structure that would come to be also called *şarkı*. It could be argued that the art of singing the *şarkı* poems was influenced, perhaps even shaped, by the art of poetic recitation. However, we do not have sources giving us information about what was considered good versus bad singing. We do know that the choice of *usûl* or rhythmic cycle was linked to prosody: this might be an indication of how the fusion between poetic language and song occurred in the Ottoman vocal repertoire, but it is removed from the language practice described by Bergeron, that was extended to the mass and not just specialists and professional performers.

The bond between poetic metre and rhythmic cycle, and the registral elements that poetic and musical metre emphasized, are, however, an indication of a relationship between poetic and registral content, and of the way that music was composed *around the text* (see Altun Öney 2018). The influence of the *şarkı*-poem's linguistic properties on the *şarkı*-song is, therefore, the closest we can come, in the Ottoman context, to the *mélodie* phenomenon described by Bergeron. Literacy had an indirect impact by being the catalyst for reading culture to develop. We know that new printing and reading practices played an important role in the diffusion of the *şarkı* beyond the professional music space. However, even when new language teaching methods emphasizing Turkish were introduced, the *şarkı* already operated certain

registral choices based on the requirements of content. If proper French elocution formed the melodic essence of the *mélodie* genre, we could say that the emphasis on the Turkish register promoted by the new phonetic method was also found in song, but not as a consequence of the method itself. It did so because, rather than being *made by* the language, the *şarkı* unmade and made it according to its own stylistic and content-related requirements, alongside the demands of genre-specific *makâm*, *usûl* and structural features.

#### Etymology and genre, etymology as genre: Turkish and phonetic authority in the *şarkı*

Walter Andrews' work on *gazel* has been a model for this project in terms of the approach to registers in the text. The *şarkı* genre, very much like the *gazel*, connected to and reflected disparate social domains. In this project, I have tried to show how these connections were reflected by registral composition. I have attempted to apply Andrews' remark that 'the sense of words and literary texts are informed both by the rules of language and by motivations external to language' (1985, 7) to the *şarkı* as a musical genre *and* the language that informed it. In other words, I have tried to apply elements of philological enquiry to musical genre. In his remark, Andrews specifically referred to words and words have been the main protagonists of this project.

Words are the substance registers are made of. In the case of pre-reform Turkish, a determining role was played by loanwords, which I define in this project as the 'foreign-made-local' manifesting cultural, geographical, social, and historical relationships as well as signalling different types of bonds. My thesis therefore tries to take Andrews' approach one step further by focusing on etymology, rather than the symbolism of words, as the key meaning producing system. Andrews' work focuses on the translatability across domains and contexts of symbols

represented by staple *dîvân* vocabulary: for example, the different meanings that the word *cân/’ömr* (life) can acquire in the mystical-religious, authority-related and emotional setting, alongside its literal meaning (133). He insists on the universality and yet absolute uniqueness of each symbol in relation to different contexts, and on the variety of meanings one word can produce across texts. This generates a form of intertextuality that makes certain symbols and images familiar and yet always new, due to the themes and textual contexts they are used within. In the Ottoman *dîvân*’s meaning-producing symbolic system, a rose by any other name would smell as sweet, but by a variety of sweet fragrances. These variations on a theme produce multi-layered interpretations, which can be multiple even in the text itself. The word *cân* can have multiple readings across texts as well as *within* the same text. Those internal readings would, in turn, be shaped and informed by the different contexts in which the term appears, and the way they modify it. It is a constant negotiation between the text’s outward and inward reality.

The question of the meaning (*ma’nâ*) expressed by *dîvân* poetry versus the form (*sûret*) used to express that meaning would be at the heart of the mid to late nineteenth century debate about rhetoric, discussed in this thesis’ third chapter. The issue that preoccupied authors was whether the quality of poetry consisted in its meaning, or message, or whether it was entirely based on how well it conformed to stylistic conventions. These words and this symbolic system that characterised the *dîvân* appear to have always been a source of enquiry, for late literatis as much as recent academia. The issue of ‘unreadability’ of the language (Holbrook 1994) revolved around a complex cobweb of symbolic, syntactic and registral patterns that seemingly made pre-reform Turkish impenetrable. My project takes these different understandings of imagery, symbolism, form, theme, and meanings produced, and applies it to the words making up registers themselves, turning to etymology for an

interpretation of the cultural, social, and power/authority-related significance of the *şarki* form.

Similarly to Andrews, I have looked at how the same words and their etymology changed the registral quality of each individual *şarki* text. I have explored whether these lexical elements and the worlds they represented somehow signified different domains, granting different interpretations, depending on the theme of the lyrics and their context of publication. Although individual lexical elements are necessary to create a register, their particular quality, and therefore the register's quality, does not exist outside of a whole made of several factors. Some of these factors have much to do with music and the song form itself. The social, emotional, power-related meanings of a word and its etymology significantly change in relation to the musical features that either emphasize them or reduce their significance and impact. The case of the Turkish register is emblematic, and is, in many ways, the real heart of this project and its argument. The etymologically Turkish words found in the texts are of a very limited range, and very few in number. However, Turkish is the undisputed *phonetic* authority, emphasized by key melodic moments *and* poetic devices, particularly rhyme. Their presence across texts does not yield multiple interpretations, as those described by Andrews, because the core of the *dîvân*'s imagery and lexical composition were the Arabic and Persian registers.

### **Registers in the *şarki*: a linguistic approach to a popular art song genre**

In my project, I have chosen not to engage with the meanings and symbolism of words as discussed by Andrews. I have instead focused on the bonds represented by their etymology in the context of poetic and musical elements, alongside their relationship to one another and how that changed according to context. In so doing, I have relied on linguists Susan Gal's (2018)

and Timo Kaartinen's (2015) reading of language registers in relation to social arenas and authority. The registral quality of compound expressions formed by an Arabic and a Persian word changed depending on the lyrics, their overall registral quality, but most importantly what was emphasized (or not) by melody and structure. When I talk about interpretation, then, I do not mean a reading of the word's meaning. I refer, instead, to how the linguistic and non-linguistic elements around it shape our understanding of it in a musical context, in the framework of a specific genre. In the *şarkı* texts, these elements were represented by non-lexical items. Key melodic points wrapped themselves around verbs and case suffixes. Occasionally, adjectives. Despite the richness of Arabic and Persian expressions, this lexical abundance is, in fact, the result of repetition. We find the same vocabulary over and over again, and this repletion across texts is what linguistic anthropologist Susan Gal has referred to as 'interdiscursivity', or 'registers in circulation' (2018), which brings us back to Andrews' intertextuality.

Gal argues that such interdiscursivity reiterates meanings associated with a particular register across texts, but each text makes those meanings unique. Registers, furthermore, function as a 'clasp or hinge between arenas' (3), they link social and cultural domains to one another via repetition and variation. My project sought to show how these dynamics manifest in song, and their link to the specific features of a genre. A key point in Gal's argument is the idea of registers' agency, as opposed to them being 'signals of demographic categories' (5). Gal challenges this traditional sociolinguistic interpretation. Registers are not just the linguistic representation of social structures, as 'speakers are not mere embodiments of person types' (ibid.). Rather, registers circulate from text to text, irrespective of who the speaker or writer might be, according to the purpose of their usage. This is what links texts of different origin, content, and with different functions to one another. Registers act as a joining factor, a sort of

common thread running through disparate texts. In these texts, the original domains that they represent are validated, but their meanings are also enriched or transformed by the other elements informing the text.

The registral composition found across collections and newspapers can be read using Gal's framework. Throughout the lyrics, registral interdiscursivity is seen to simultaneously anchor the *şarkı* within a clearly defined poetic tradition but also show how that tradition can be manipulated in song. We need to emphasize, here, the role of song in this process, as it is the structural features of the *şarkı* that more than anything else emphasize or highlight register. The outcome is the emergence of an in-text and inter-text registral topography, a web of connections revealing bonds to tradition (the *dîvân*), power relations and authority (the high registers of the bureaucracy), but also narrating sentimental tales in the city versus the village, public celebrations, and dedications to the Sultan. The vocabulary is repeated over and over, but in different combinations and publication contexts that alter their meanings. Their etymological origin still points to their original domains, but they emerge as intertwining routes in a vast geography of meanings, or a tapestry, in which each element has value only in its relationship with the others. Furthermore, the *şarkı* as genre and, as we can see, as text, had always inhabited different social spheres, being popular both in the palace court and the city's taverns (*meyhâne*). It, too, as a genre functioned as a clasp joining social arenas. Furthermore, this clasping function was not just performed through performance: the publication media in which it was circulated demonstrate its fluid mobility from one context to the other, and how the different media and their context affect our understanding of it as poetic text and as song.

In other words, the *şarkı* displayed a textual and genre-related fluidity that would have made it completely unsuitable to conveying language ideology or literary values, whether pro-tradition or calling for innovation. By means of its registral interdiscursivity and the



intertextuality of the etymologies making up its linguistic content, the *şarkı* was free to move from one arena to the other. However, there is one more aspect – briefly mentioned before – we should delve deeper in when discussing registral dynamics and the *şarkı*: the question of sound or, as I refer to it here, the phonetic authority of Turkish.

### **The sense of authority: Turkish's phonetic presence, place and the *şarkı***

The phonetic authority exercised by Turkish was entirely due to the *şarkı* being a song. Its format allowed for Turkish to be emphasized by melodic verse/stanza structure. The song itself as form, furthermore, played a great role in the fluidity and flexibility hitherto described. Ochoa Gautier refers to the 'malleability' of song, a quality that allows the song 'to metamorphose and exist as part of another form' such as songbooks or films, and be recognised as '“the same yet different”' (2014, 80). This remark is reminiscent of Gal's description of register's circulation and 'linkage (across encounters) that are framed, reflexively, as being the “same thing, again” or as yet another instantiation of a recognized type in some cultural framework' (2018, 2). It also brings to mind Andrews' lexical recastings, and the way that words' meanings are affected by the domains and contests they are embedded in. The malleability of song itself is mirrored by the fluidity of its registral content but registers, and particularly pre-reform Turkish registers, play an additional role in the process.

When we talk about pre-reform Turkish register use, it is three languages, each of which functioned as a register, that we are talking about. The interaction among these three registers is what resulted in the final registral quality of the piece. Given the association of each language with a specific cultural area and domain (Persian for poetry, Arabic for religion, and Turkish as the language spoken outside of bureaucratic and royal quarters), the discussion of registers in

pre-reform Turkish *şarkı* entails a discussion of the ‘musical construction of place’ (Stokes 1994) and of place in relation to sound. In this thesis, I discuss how the use of each register carried an allusion to a metaphorical topography of values, embodied by words. These ‘places’, or regions of a geography that shared a poetic vocabulary and religious vision, carried, in the framework of the *şarkı*, a phonetic quality too, that generated a link between sound, place and register. The sound we are talking about is, naturally, unheard. Very much like Dillon’s reading of the silent loudness of French motet, this sonic substance and phonetic registral pre-eminence was given by what the *şarkı* structure, in particular melodic development, emphasized.

In my thesis, I have focused on the recurrent presence of Turkish at the end of each verse, providing the lexical material for rhyme but also corresponding to the note upon which the melodic development of the verse ended (*durak*). Mine was an attempt at phonetically mapping the *şarkı* by means of register. These dynamics characterising the *şarkı* are reminiscent of Dillon’s motet, whose sonic chaos reflects the sonic chaos of the city of Paris (2012). The essence of its sonic meaning, and the sense of its sound, is precisely by the coexistence of multiple, however jarring, sonic materials. Dillon discusses this in terms of polytextuality (51), a sonic diversity from which emerges the sense of motet’s sound. I examine the overlapping registers in the *şarkı* also in terms of polytextuality, suggesting that we look at the language in song as a continuum of etymologies and geographies that interact with melodic quality in peculiar ways.

The sense of sound conveyed in the motet by means of a harmonious chaos and in the *şarkı* by polytextual, intertextual, melodic etymologies is very different from the relationship between proper reading and accurate, clear enunciation and *mélodie*. While Bergeron emphasizes unity through the standardisation of elocution as the essential linguistic quality

gradually shaping *mélodie*, Dillon focuses on fragmentation as the essential melodic quality of motet. Both approaches describe relations with place – in both cases, Paris, although Bergeron discusses the provinces, too – and such relations are also part of the melodic construction of the *şarki*. It neither emphasizes unity nor fragmentation, it accommodates, rather, what I refer throughout the thesis as a continuous flux of registers, at times overlapping, at times more homogenous, but always intertextually, polytextually fluid and generating links between social arenas and cultural realities by ever-different repetitions, etymological variations on a theme.

Dillon's approach to sonic chaos as a form of harmony has been fundamental in the construction of my own interpretation of registral dynamics in the *şarki* but it has had an even greater role in helping me understand how to approach 'silent' musical texts such as notation sheets, or songlyrics collections, in the absence of recordings of the repertoire. What fascinated me about her approach was the way in which the genre (motet) and the city (Paris) sonically shape each other in the *motet's reader's ear*. Dillon relies on written accounts of thirteenth and fourteenth century Paris (*Vie de Saint-Denis*, Guillot de Paris' *Dit de Rues de Paris*, Guillaume de Villeneuve's *Crieries de Paris*) and their sonic descriptions of the city to reconstruct the sound world that motet took shape in, and that it reflected. This is not too dissimilar from Bergeron's approach, who identified the melodic essence of *mélodie* with French itself. Adopting a similar approach in my own project meant looking at registral variation in the *şarki* as a textual translation of sonic hierarchies, too, which in turn helped me develop the idea of sonic authority in the texts.

Dillon highlights, in fact, the lack of a clearly defined sonic authority, insisting instead on the urban chaotic cacophony that informs motet. From a textual perspective, the *şarki*, too, presents a rather free, fluid and flexible registral composition, but I have exploited, so to speak, the notion that the text might serve as a form of 'sound recording' in order to explore

relationships of authority and power as expressed by registers, their written dimension and their performed reality.

### **The readability of song and singability of pre-reform Turkish: diglossia or fluidity?**

My project firmly resists academic, political, and ideological narratives of unreadability, proposing instead a new way to ‘read’ song and what it can reveal about language practice. It does so by exploring the idea of registral fluidity versus diglossia, suggesting that this could be accommodated by the *şarkı* form more than any other vocal genre. An exploration of trends in language practice can also help us understand what ideas and values the *şarkı* was capable of embodying. The *şarkı* was a very neutral space in which the full range of registers could be expressed. It therefore was, in many ways, an ideal platform for pre-reform Turkish and its own registral fluidity.

A considerable number of academic works have been dedicated to Republican efforts to free the budding Turkish Republic from the yoke of pre-reform Turkish (Algar 1969, Aytürk 2004, 2008a and 2008b, 2010, Heyd 1954, Kieser 2002, Levend [1949] 1972, Perry 1985, Sadoğlu 2003, Tachau 1964). Geoffrey Lewis and David Kushner’s works dedicate a chapter each to the state of the debate in the late 1800s. Geoffrey Lewis’ work (1999) is also an important contribution to our understanding of the language/script revolution: the first two chapters are dedicated to the late Ottoman debate and the script reform and are mostly based on Ağâh Sırrı Levend’s *Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleşme Evreleri* ([1949] 1972). The majority of the sources cited by Lewis proposed and/or supported the view of a reformed language and did so on the basis of what would become the key Republican reasons in support of such a reform: difficulty, incompatibility with Turkish identity due its being essentially a foreign

language, symbolic of a decaying power order. However, Lewis also references authors who did not support such radical changes (Süleyman Nâzif (1870-1927), for example. That they should be so few is an indication of the heavy bias towards the unreadability discourse, which dominated much twentieth century academia. My project sought to present a more balanced discussion of the debate, particularly with a view to present the *şarkı* as a genre above and beyond a specific ideology.

David Kushner's *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism, 1876-1908* (1977) has been an important source for this project. Kushner situates the language debate in the wider context of blooming nationalist sentiment. The work focuses on the intellectual debates that contributed to the formation of the Young Turk nationalist thought, particularly the discussions regarding the relationships of Ottoman Turks with other minorities in the empire, and the role played by (or ascribed to) language in the quest for Ottoman identity. As such it is, in a sense, the companion of Şerif Mardin's *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought* (1962) and *Jön Türkelerin Siyasi Fikirleri: 1895-1908* (1983). The former traces the development of late Ottoman political thought on the part of a number of literary figures, such as Şinâî, Nâmık Kemâl etc. (also quoted by Lewis). As Kushner had done with Young Turk ideology and the heritage of Turks and Islam, Mardin also analyses the rise of Young Ottoman thought by considering the influence of Islamic heritage and political theory and the way that Young Ottomans attempted fusing Islamic political thought with Western political ideas. These works were particularly significant for my project not just in terms of grounding it in a well-defined historical and intellectual moment, but also because of their considerations regarding the relationship of late Ottoman identity with its Turk/Islamic heritage. This is important for my discussion of the linguistic content found in the *şarkı* collections. The language found in the songs is extremely varied, ranging from very sophisticated, *dîvân* imagery and vocabulary to straightforward, plain

Turkish. In the language variety, the coexistence of different cultural elements, and therefore layers, can be discerned. These layers were naturally found in the spoken but also printed language of the day (see Strauss 2003, 2011) and exploring the relationship of the vocal repertoire with these different cultural strands was one of the aims of my project.

Carter Findley, in his work on bureaucratic reform (1980) mentions that developing Ottoman Turkish was part of a project to legitimise the imperial system (Findley 1980). An integral part of this project was the development of a language to fulfil the bureaucratic and literary aspirations – and needs – of an emerging power (10). But what would happen were it to come in contact with the outside world? For one thing, we know that Persian and Arabic were ‘a regular part of secondary education’ (Lewis 1999, 14). The publication, in 1876 (AH 1293), of the work *Belâgat-ı Lisân-ı Osmânî* by Ahmet Hamdî-yi Şîrvânî (d. AH 1293/AD 1889/1890) for instruction in the art of rhetoric (*belâgat*) in middle and secondary school also seems to indicate that the ability to beautifully speak pre-reform Turkish was still a significant part of an ordinary Ottoman Turk’s (school) life. Considering its role in the development of the bureaucracy and the controversy surrounding it in the late nineteenth century, we cannot fail to notice the irony of how the language served the purpose of both making and un-making the state, on the eve of the Republic (see Lewis 1999).

Christine Woodhead, in her chapter ‘Ottoman Languages’ (2012), challenges academic assumptions regarding the state of pre-reform Turkish in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and calls for a re-evaluation of the ‘Ottoman Turkish’ chimera. In particular, she suggests that the seeming divide between lower Turkish and higher Persian/Arabic-infused Turkish be thought of as varying registers within a ‘single language spectrum’ (146) – what I call pre-reform Turkish. She points out that, until the nineteenth century, Ottomans referred to their language as ‘Turkish’, seemingly not perceiving the demarcation between higher and lower

registers, in either writing or speaking, as so clear-cut (145, also see Strauss 1995). Şerif Mardin (2002) and Fahir İz's (1964) resistance to the notion of diglossia is mentioned by Nergis Ertürk (2011), who also adopts a similar position and follows Strauss in understanding diglossia as recognizing and marking a 'real linguistic tension in broad terms, not absolutize a divide between the two linguistic registers' (11, 2011). Mardin and İz propose, furthermore, that we think in terms of a tripartite division of prose styles, spanning from simple to ornamental (Mardin 2002, İz 1964, Ertürk 2011), the middle style being the *locus* of manifestation of diglossia. Woodhead highlights how the habit of differentiating between elite and non-elite language developed in the post-imperial era (146), a point reiterated by Ertürk who, referencing Develi (2006) and Fazlıoğlu (2002, 2003), points out that the term was not used before the rise of nationalism, in the mid nineteenth century (18, 2011).

Woodhead's assumption is 'that (Ottoman) Turkish was a language not only of the cultural and political elite, and that appreciation of its products was not necessarily confined to a narrow, closed circle. Rather, it should be seen as a practical and flexible language working in different registers, spoken and written, to suit the purpose of the occasion.' (146). The register variety found in song collections seems to support this. The song collections of the late nineteenth century provide a space where these class, linguistic tensions are in a sense resolved. A space where the full spectrum is allowed to unfold in a continuum, a text that is not the product of a vertical structure, but that rather unravels horizontally across social groups. Not diglossia, then. Rather, a linguistic flow suiting occasion, but also mode (*makâm*), cycle (*usûl*) and metres (*arûz* or *hece vezni*). I wish to move beyond the canonical notion of hierarchy and think about it in terms of layers. In terms of cultural attachments to worlds that may have gradually come to be seen as a dangerous, foreign element to be controlled (the

Perso-Arabic sphere), but whose coexistence was more complex than what we have learnt to expect. Not top-down but rather interweaving linguistic, social and textual relationships.

The reception of pre-reform Turkish in a multi-lingual context has been examined by Johann Strauss. In 'Language and Power in the Late Ottoman Empire' (2017), he concludes that pre-reform Turkish was not a language spoken by the majority of people and that, in a sense, the failure to establish it as the language of the ruling people and a unifying, official language, was a reflection of the failure to build an Ottoman nation (135-136). He also highlights that literary, as well as social, segregation was in place and that, except for Greek intellectuals who used pre-reform Turkish as a vehicle of literary expression, literary contacts were not developed (133) and that Turkish as a spoken language lost ground in the course of the nineteenth century (134). Additionally, members of minorities had as their goal to further the cause of their own languages, an effort paralleling rising nationalisms (Armenian, Greek) (123).

#### Liminal lexical realities: loanwords

The issue of rising nationalism(s) and ethnocentric understandings of language practice is considerably complicated by the significant amount of loanwords found in pre-reform Turkish in general, and in song lyrics in particular. In its examination of registral fluidity as well as phonetic authority, this project explores a lexical element that more than any other embodies the intertwining, layering, and co-existence of registers within and across texts. These are loanwords, that is, foreign words that are permanently adopted into one language. Loanwords constitute the majority of lexical elements used in *şarkı* and, due to their foreign-but-local quality, they embody much of the fluidity this project insists on.



This ‘foreign-but-localness’ poses some methodological issues. Etymologically Arabic words abounded both in pre-reform Turkish and its more modern counterpart. Words such as *aşk* (love), *vefâ* and *sadâkat* (faithfulness, loyalty), *kalb* (heart) are commonly used in Turkish today, and they are also staples of the *dîvân* tradition. Words of Persian origin constitute the most widely used vocabulary after loanwords, in poetry and *şarkı* lyrics (see Andrews 1985 for very useful *dîvân* vocabulary tables). Examples still in use are *cân* (soul, life), *âteş* (fire), *zûlf* (lock of hair). However, a first issue is: how can we be sure about a word’s status? Is there any way to know whether this vocabulary is recognised as etymologically foreign or not? The situation is made more complicated, in Turkish, by the fact that etymology is often an ideological affair, or one with tight ties to education and social background. In November 2018, during an *ut*<sup>3</sup> lesson with Master Necati Çelik, he remarked that often people would choose Arabic words instead of their Turkish equivalent to show off their culture and social status. Some of these etymologically ‘other’ words are used with slightly different meanings in modern Turkish, an aspect that I explore in Chapter 1. However, even basic words such as *teşekkür* or *şükr*, meaning ‘thanks’, are derived from Arabic (شكر, *shukr*, means ‘gratitude’). So where do we draw the line?

The reason why loanwords matter is that, when it comes to registral analysis, they should be considered as Turkish words. This complicates the idea of clearcut registral strands. A further methodological challenge comes from the fact that we occasionally find the same word in its Arabic, and Turkish, and Persian equivalents in the same text. The greatest challenge, however, comes from the fact that there are no clear criteria to identify these words, or all of them, anyway. I have devised a strategy and some guidelines to detect this vocabulary. Firstly,

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<sup>3</sup> Eleven-string Turkish lute.

words that are still in use, and that native speakers would not think of as Arabic or Persian (I have given some examples above). Secondly, the 1890 Ottoman Turkish - English Redhouse dictionary and its indications regarding vocabulary use (each entry specifies what contexts the terms would be used in). Thirdly, I have drawn on some of the arguments used against or in favour of *dîvân* language throughout the nineteenth century rhetoric debate to orientate myself among words that were mostly employed in poetry and words that were considered more ‘accessible’, commonly used equivalents, be they Turkish, Persian, or Arabic.

Yet, despite the methodological problem that the presence and detection of loanwords poses, these are also a key element in the understanding of the relationship between the three languages that constituted pre-reform Turkish. I envision loanwords as a liminal space in which tensions are dissolved. These tensions do not relate specifically to race or ethnicity, as these loanwords did not include words used in the Armenian and Greek minorities. Most of these loanwords return to a shared vocabulary comprising religious terminology and poetic language. This vocabulary was the fruit of social, cultural, religious, literary exchanges that took place in the vast geographical area including the Middle East, Transoxiana, and South Asia (see Schimmel 1992). Its status as fully adopted vocabulary, still in use today, and its predominance in the *şarki*, too, is emblematic of the fluidity that I have tried to explore with this project. Additionally, it gives the *şarki*’s language a degree of flexibility, allowing speakers and readers from different backgrounds to relate to it, too. In other words, the presence of loanwords adds a degree of neutrality to the song text.

Their quality as foreign but local language currency embodies the same process of ‘tension relief’ that I ascribe to registral use in pre-reform Turkish as a whole. Just as loanwords represent or symbolise a collapse of cultural, geographical, and social borders into one another, registers in pre-reform Turkish, particularly in the *şarki*, operate on the basis of values

that are not affected by ideology, religion, tradition. The main criteria regulating their usage are primarily dictated by theme, alongside context of publication and performance. To return to Gal, loanwords represent the in-text clasping of different social arenas. In the same way, etymologically more clearly defined words, and the registers they go on to form, recur across texts, constituting an inter-textual and interdiscursive clasp between arenas, strengthening but also presenting in a new form, each time, the cultural, social, religious, and geographical bonds that the use of pre-reform Turkish registers in the *şarkı* embody.

## Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided in two parts. ‘Part 1 – Literacy, Reform and Debate’ focuses on language and rhetoric debates, as well as literacy. In the first three chapters, I examine the history of the language debate (Chapter 1), language education in the second half of the nineteenth century (Chapter 2), and the debate on rhetoric that unfolded during the same period (Chapter 3). A transition into the world of song and lyrics anthologies occurs in Chapter 3, where, alongside the rhetoric debate, I discuss the author and poet Mehmed Celâl’s (1867 – 1912) literary commentary on Hâşim Bey’s (1815 – 1868) collection of *şarkı* lyrics.

‘Part 2 – Reading the *Şarkı*’ focuses on song in relation to literacy, reading, and printing culture. Chapter 3 is dedicated to the songs that were published in two editions of the same anthology, *Şevk-i Dil* (1893 and 1894), the 5 December 1895 issue of the periodical *Ma’lûmât* and the collection *Ferahfezâ, Yâhûd Yeni Şarkı* (1896). In Chapter 4, I discuss registral use in the repertoire by engaging with linguist Susan Gal’s theory of registers acting as ‘clasps’ that

link different social arenas, but also Bergeron and Dillon's work to discuss the relationship between register, vocal repertoire, and place.

Returning to the sources, the 1893 and 1894 collections shared a core of songs, some of which were also published in *Ma'lûmât* and *Ferahfezâ*. This allowed me to examine the same repertoire in different media of publication, over a timespan, and it gave me the possibility to reflect on how media affected – or not – genre and registral composition. The four sources can also be thought of as two distinct 'blocks' of repertoire, although several overlaps can be observed. In particular, it will be seen how the *Şevk-i Dil* editions, while sharing a number of songs, were two distinct products, with very different stylistic, linguistic, textual and musical connotations. The same can be said for *Ma'lûmât* and *Ferahfezâ*. Although they shared almost exactly the same repertoire, the song texts acquired a different quality depending on the media and the context of publication. In Part 2, lyrics will be presented with translations and analysed in relation to melody and song structure.

## Part 1

### Literacy, reform, and debate



# Chapter 1

## Debating register

### Introduction

With this project, I have focused on the concept of language registers and the way that these were used in song-texts. In this thesis, I support the idea that Ottoman Turkish itself functioned as a particular register of Turkish, and that a continuity exists between it and Turkish as it is currently spoken. At the heart of my research lies the wish to investigate how song participated in linguistic processes in the context of Ottoman language standardisation, and whether its status as a popular practice challenged or supported language policy and nationalist ideology. Although the issues of language and Ottoman/Turkish nationalism have been abundantly discussed in the literature, this project has sought to make these relevant to song particularly. Therefore, all of these key critical terms and concepts will have to be defined in relation to song as text but also as a text, the aim of which is to be *performed*. The *şarkı* has always struck me as a genre inhabiting different social spaces: from the court to the tavern, printed in song collections, poetry anthologies and newspapers. Songs examined in this thesis will have to be thought of, then, as occupying a liminal space between reading and singing as they are the product of literacy as much as musical practice, but also of overlapping social realities. In this chapter, I will give an overview of the nineteenth century Ottoman language debates and reforms.

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Throughout my years of study of both the Turkish *şarkı* repertoire and the Turkish language, I have always been fascinated by the *şarkı*'s versatility in both musical and linguistic terms, and in particular its sitting at the crossroads of social spaces, as a popular product of court entertainment. I have therefore chosen to focus on the *şarkı* song form and text because I believe it reflected an equally eclectic linguistic reality, that of a language made of languages (Arabic, Persian, Turkish) in which registers, constituted by those languages, interwove in complex ways. A language in which degrees of sophistication and simplicity certainly existed, but in which often the (literal) terms of that sophistication and simplicity merged due to shared, conventional usage of vocabulary as well as the requirements of context, content, and form. By way of example, we could mention vocabulary choices in a song text or set of texts. As it was found to be the case in the writings of authors across genres (see Türker 2019; Develi 2006; Andrews et al. 2006), the *şarkı* text, too, encompassed a wide registral range with the same word sometimes found in its Turkish variety, other times in Persian and others in Arabic.

While a significant amount of Persian and Arabic loanwords and grammar characterised the elaborate *inşa* writing style<sup>4</sup>, the almost romantic perception of an artificial, Ottoman language belonging to the realm of the paper versus a natural, simple Turkish constituting the spoken language becomes more problematic in the domain of song. This is primarily because song exists in both realms: the written and the voice-bound. Much of the poetic vocabulary used in song, but also prose, belonged to a shared poetic tradition (see Schimmel 1992; Hollbrook 1994; Andrews 1985) and many of those loanwords had come to be perceived as Turkish, regardless of their etymology (Türker 2019, 20, 25)<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> The intricate language used for prose. Its supposed artificiality represented one of the main issues at the core of the language and alphabet reforms (Türker 2019, 14; Ertürk 2011; Tulum 2010; Hollbrook 1994).

<sup>5</sup> Although Ottoman Turkish dictionaries, such as Redhouse (1890) do show the Arabic meaning, too, in texts such as song lyrics they were often found to be used as they are used today, with particular hues



The distinction between a high, artificial Ottoman language and a low, natural Turkish, gradually emerged at the end of the nineteenth century (see Levend 1960; Türker 2019; Ertürk 2011; Lewis 1999; Hollbrook 1994; Kushner 1977) and became a recurring idea in much twentieth century Turkish language scholarship, both in Turkey and abroad. It is true, to a certain extent, that, throughout the nineteenth century, concern with the perceived colonisation of the Turks' language on the part of Persian and Arabic dominated the public conversation about language. This foreign presence was described as burdensome and thought to obscure meaning rather than convey it. However, the terms of the debate were much more complex and subtle. Several factors were taken into account by the protagonists of this fascinating controversy. For one, a repertoire of Arabic and Persian words and grammar structures had been part of the Turks' everyday transactions and employed by writers since the eleventh century, when they had adopted Islam (Lewis 1999, 4; Tietze and Lazard, 1967).

According to Turkish literature historian, sociologist and Turkologist Mehmet Fuat Köprülü, issues stemming from the perception of Turkish as less sophisticated, 'limited, crude, and inexpressive' (as cited in Lewis 1999, 6) were already present at the Seljuk court (1040-1157). This seemingly led to the choice, on the part of the palace poets and prose-writers, to begin using classical Persian poetic elements and, more in general, to look towards the Persian tradition as a model for more sophisticated literary works. Köprülü commented that these

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of meaning. Examples still in use include *müsaade* (Arabic *musāda*: help, such as financial help, Turkish: permission, license, occasionally allowance), *tecavüz* (Arabic: to pass beyond something or to go over the limit, Turkish: rape, and in general transgression), *ceza* (Arabic: reward or recompense, can be positive or negative whereas in Turkish it is mostly negative, referring to a punishment or penalty), *muhabbet* (Arabic: a type of love, such as the one felt between friends, a meaning only partly retained in Turkish, where it is mostly used in the sense of conversation, chat), *sohbet* (Arabic *sohba*: someone's company, Turkish: conversation). Again, some words had undergone morphological transformations: *evliya*, the Arabic *awliya* as plural of *wali* (guardian, saint), is used in Turkish to refer to an individual rather than as a plural, or *evlad* (son), which in Arabic is the plural (*awlād*) of *walad* (son), but in Turkish referred to one individual, or *sadakat*, which in its original meaning in Arabic as *sadāqa* means a friendship based on truthfulness, and came to mean faithfulness and loyalty, in Turkish.

authors did use Turkish. However – according to him – they did so in an almost apologetic way, realising that it could not have the same degree of refinement as Persian, but that it was necessary in order for people to understand poetry and prose (ibid.).

The phenomenon of Persianization unfolded alongside the adoption of a significant amount of Arabic vocabulary and grammar. This occurred as a result of conversion to Islam although, as Lewis rightly pointed out, most of the vocabulary associated with spiritual practice was taken from Persian, rather than Arabic (Lewis 1999, 5). Very broadly speaking, it could be said that special bonds existed between languages, forms, and contexts, ever since Persian and Arabic gradually began to be incorporated into Turkish. While Persian dominated poetry, the domain of Arabic seemed to have been religion but also prose, of different types. Song collections published in a period spanning from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, for example, often contained introductions in which most of the vocabulary came from Arabic, together with the grammar structures that Arabic words carry with and within them (plurals, root patterns etc.). In these texts, although Persian was found – often because much of musicological terminology, very much like the spiritual one, was taken from Persian, – Arabic was the primary choice. Turkish syntax welded these foreign elements together.

Scientific, journalistic, and other types of divulgatory texts presented the same features. However, it would be wrong to generalize as there was a significant amount of crossing over and into forms of writing on the part of Arabic and Persian. Arabic incursions into song lyrics, which were poems, – in fact, the poetic form *şarkı* – were frequent. Associations of languages with registers, form, content, and context appeared early on, as highlighted by Köprülü. The issues which came with such language and register uses intensified and became gradually more complex throughout the life of the Empire, assuming strong political and ideological tones at the turn of the twentieth century.

The main issues for the ethnomusicologist approaching the Ottoman, or, as I shall refer to it, the pre-reform Turkish song-text, revolve around two points that were central to the language question: the perception of Turkish as the *spoken* reality of people and thus the most understandable medium of communication; the place of sound in the emergence of Turkish as dominant language. The latter phenomenon mainly concerned the script reform that, according to Safiye Türker (2109), was initiated by the need to reproduce the sounds of the *Türk-i basit*, or simple Turkish. According to Türker's thesis, Turkish was chosen on the basis of phonetics and it was this factor, more than anything else, that decreed its final success. It is important to reflect on this sonic aspect as related to 'spokenness'. Speech and singing are neighbouring territories, overlapping verbal realities, and it is interesting for a language to be particularly associated with the realm of vocal performance. It will considerably complicate our considerations regarding the use of Turkish vocabulary and syntax in the song-text.

### **The Name and the Named: Ottoman, Ottoman Turkish, Turkish, Ottoman, Muslim, or Turk?**

Broadly speaking, the language debate that began with and continued throughout the *Tanzimat* era (1839-1876) could be condensed into two main ideas: the issue of what Hollbrook has famously described as 'unreadability' (1994) – although unreadability became an actual issue much later, from the 1920s onwards – and the emergence of increasingly ethnocentric understandings of language and language practice. These two ideas themselves were connected to two phenomena: the parallel blossoming of journalism and that of nationalistic sentiment, of which language represented one of the cornerstones – as was, after all, the case elsewhere, during the same period (see Gal 2011, 2015; Bergeron 2010; Kamusella, 2009; Anderson 2006 [1983]; De Mauro, 1991 [1963]). Things are, however, much

more complex and layered, and reducing such an intricate public conversation to two issues only would be a misleading generalisation. It is nonetheless possible to detect traces of these two main strands of thought in most of the arguments informing the Ottoman language discourse and debate.

The first problem we encounter is, literally, one of definitions – what is this language supposed to be called? Issues of naming are a good place to start when examining the reasons for such linguistic unrest. A look at the pedagogic material published in the second half of the century gives a good idea of the interchangeability and variety of terminology used to refer to pre-reform Turkish: *Sarf-ı Osmânî* ('Ottoman Grammar,' by Selîm Sâbit, 1880), *Elifbâ-yı Osmânî* ('The Ottoman Alphabet,' again by Sâbit 1885/1886), *Yenî Usûl Elifbâ-yı Türkî* ('New Method for the Turkish Alphabet,' by Şemseddin Sâmî, 1890), the work in four volumes *Hâce-i Lisân-ı Osmânî* ('Ottoman Language Instructor') with its first volume *İlm-i Sarf-ı Türkî* ('Science of the Grammar of Turkish,' by Manâstırlı Mehmed Rifat, 1893), and so forth to 1910 (and beyond) with *Yenî Usûl Resimli Türk-Osmanlı Elifbâsı Yâhûd Türkçe Diline Başlângıç* ('New Illustrated Method for the Ottoman-Turkish Alphabet, or, Introduction to the Turkish Language,' by Mustafa Fâ'ik). As can be seen from some of these titles, there seemed to be no clear-cut distinction between the terms Ottoman, Ottoman Turkish and Turkish throughout the nineteenth century. A real unease about the terminology to be used emerged in the Second Constitutional Period, which was inaugurated by the Young Turk Revolution in 1908 and lasted until the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, in 1918 (see Zürcher 2010; Hanioğlu 2008a, 2008b; Mardin 2002; Kushner 1977; Mardin 1964). However, the Second Constitutional Period was not the first time in which uncertainties, almost anxieties, regarding the correspondence between, using Shaykh Tosun Bayrak's expression, 'the Name and the Named' (Bayrak 2000) made their appearance. They characterised nineteenth century discussions, too. Language practice terminology became much more clearly defined during the Republican period, specifically the Atatürk Era (1923-1948) (see Ertürk 2011).

Throughout this thesis, I shall refer to Ottoman Turkish by using the phrase 'pre-reform Turkish'. In doing so, I support the idea, developed by the reformist side in the second half of the nineteenth century, that the language sometimes called Ottoman Turkish, sometimes

Turkish and sometimes Ottoman functioned as one of the Turkish dialects, in particular its 'most developed, richest and most beautiful' variety (Kushner 1977, 74), Turkish itself being the 'most advanced of all the Turanian languages' (73). The understanding of pre-reform Turkish as a variety, a dialect, a mode, a register of Turkish challenges the image of a 'dichotomic relationship' (Türker 2019, 13) between Ottoman Turkish and Turkish, highlighting instead a core bond. The question was widely debated in the late nineteenth century press, with an involvement of readers, intellectuals, and thinkers. Kushner relates of a female reader of the newspaper *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* who requested a clarification as to what terminology should be used given that in the newspaper itself the terms 'Ottoman' and 'Turkish' were used interchangeably (70, 1977). The reader's letter received a response which appeared on the 28 July 1882 issue, stating that both were correct because Ottoman belonged to the Turkic languages' group, and it was the variety spoken in the Ottoman Empire (ibid.). However, the idea of a separate language more appropriately reflecting the reality of a Turkish identity and of a Turkish national culture began to take hold, and the debate found in Şemseddin Sâmî (1850-1904) and Necip 'Âsim (1861-1935) two of its most active commentators. The approach at this stage was not necessarily one in favour of a purification of the language. Rather, intellectuals, men of letters and thinkers such as Nâmık Kemâl (1840-1888), Şemseddin Sâmî and Midhat Efendi (1844-1912) highlighted the need for simplification and a reconsideration of the elements that made up the language in relation to the history and culture of the Turks and their own relation to other Turkic peoples rather than to the Arabs and the Persians. A great part of the language issue seemingly revolved, then,, around cultural, geographical and social relations as they manifested through register use.

Returning to the question of Ottoman as a register of Turkish, the reason I prefer to refer to it as pre-reform Turkish is because I, too, believe this language to function as one mode found within the wider Turkic languages group, one variety significantly shaped and influenced by certain cultural exchanges that were considerably downsized and reframed after the foundation of the Republic, in 1923. These points of encounter included literary, economic, religious, and cultural exchanges that took place in a vast area spanning from North Africa to Central Asia, South Asia via Iran. Therefore, the unease with the presence of Persian and Arabic

in the language symbolizes, in my opinion, a deeper unease with aspects of that exchange, a shift in understanding that gradually naturally led to – and was an outcome of – a greater nationalistic awareness, and the sense of having a distinct culture. However, the terms of this unease were extremely complex and even the relationship with those languages on the part of the reformers was not always straightforward.

A greater issue seemed to be posed not so much by the vocabulary itself, rather, by the Persian and Arabic syntactical structures and grammar that did not merge naturally with Turkish, generating internal, syntactic discord (Kushner 1977; Levend 1960). When looked at it from this perspective, the disturbance provoked by these external linguistic elements seemed to express and reflect wider cultural dissonances. These linguistic tensions translated an increasingly problematic coexistence. However, the definition of what exactly constituted a problem varied from commentator to commentator, with ideas fluctuating even in the works of individual thinkers themselves. Şemseddin Sâmî himself, for example, while calling for a form of purification of the language that involved purging it of Arabic and Persian structures and vocabulary, simultaneously stressed that the process should not compromise the bond between Turks and their Islamic heritage, which he recognised and valued (Kushner 1977, 73). Sâmî campaigned for the development of a Turkish national (*millî*), literary language by means of a Turkification process. He did not aim at discrediting Persian and Arabic, rather, at appreciating Turkish as a language worthy of respect, and as the language of a people worthy of reverence. He importantly acknowledged that Arabic was crucial in maintaining the bond with Islam:

In religious and literary terms, and in establishing a much needed modern terminology in the sciences and technology, the reformists generally believed that Arabic and Persian should be retained as chief sources. The common bond which the Turks held, through these terms, with other Islâmîc peoples could not be foregone. Şamseddin Sâmî, while advocating the purging of unnecessary Arabic and Persian words, specified that he did not wish to Turkify the terminology in the arts and sciences, but wanted to preserve the link with Islamic peoples. (ibid.)

My emphasis, here, is on the bond, and on the worlds that these languages represented. It appears to me that Arabic and Persian functioned as linguistic *and* cultural registers, with more or less defined spheres of influence and territories, in metaphorical and literal terms. The two languages overlapped in the domain of religion although Arabic took, understandably, centre stage, being also the language spoken by the majority of the people inhabiting the Empire's territories (see Kushner 1977). Persian, on the other hand, maintained dominance over the literary landscape. Necip 'Âsim, who, alongside Şemseddin Sâmî, was intensely active in proposing reforms and at the forefront of linguistic research, found it impossible to deny the sway over certain 'territories' held by the two languages. According to him it was '... "the obligation of both faith and patriotism" to keep Arabic words in the language, especially when they serve the understanding of religion. Similarly, literary phrases of Persian origin... are not to be discarded' (ibid.). 'Âsim deemed it, in fact, improper to do so (ibid.). This testified to deep bonds that the scholars, intellectuals, and thinkers were well aware of.

It is important to emphasize that the issue with foreign elements in the language was not, in fact, related to the foreignness per se. Or, rather, the point made by the reformers was a subtle one: foreignness is a problem in so far as it detracts from our own language heritage. The main objective, therefore, seemed to be a re-calibration of linguistic relations, by which Turkish could begin to be seen as a language with its own literary dignity. Before Şemseddin Sâmî and Necip 'Âsim, a generation of thinkers, poets and authors among whom we find Ziyâ Pâşâ (1825 or 1829-1880) and Nâmık Kemâl had begun to call for a re-evaluation of foreign presence in the pre-reform Turkish metaphoric 'language-lands', adducing different reasons. Nâmık Kemâl's discontent with the state of the language originated with his perception that it was needlessly burdened with pompous Persian expressions, too awkward to be used in daily life and to accomplish simple and straightforward communication goals (Levend 1960, 113). Kemâl objected to the idea that in order for a text to be considered of literary worth it had to be embellished to the point of becoming unintelligible. In his view, it had become impossible to extract meanings out of literary compositions because of the heavy foreign presence in the text, to the point that the text seemed to be written in a foreign

language altogether (ibid.). Although this may, on the surface, come across as a stance against foreignness, I think it is important to read between the lines and identify some key difference between Kemâl's and Sâmî's approaches. While both decried the state that pre-reform Turkish had fallen into, Kemâl was mostly focused on issues involving communication, meaning, and understanding and, as it were, a form of 'unreadability' (Hollbrook 1994) in literary and non-literary writing. On the other hand, Sâmî's emphasis was more on 'racial interests' (Kushner 1977, 74). While these two aspects did overlap in both thinkers' works – and certainly would overlap giving rise to a real language ideology at the onset of the twentieth century – it is an important distinction to emphasize because it highlights different understandings of power, culture, and geographic relationships.

Alongside the barrier to understanding posed by an unnecessarily heavy and pompous register, another intriguing aspect highlighted by Nâmık Kemâl was the impossibility of escaping certain formulas traditionally used in literary expression. This generated a sort of feedback loop that caused writers to reproduce the formulas they had been exposed to throughout their education. This loop made it almost impossible to escape deeply established literary conventions and habits, drifting further and further away from actually conveying the intended meaning (*ma'nâ*), with a heavy emphasis on form (*suret*) instead (Levend 1960, 114). The issue had also been previously highlighted by Ziyâ Pâşâ in his article *Şî'r ü İnşâ*, which had appeared on the newspaper *Hürriyet* on 7 September 1868. In this article, discussing the complexity of the bureaucrats' and scribes' use of language, he had expressed concern – even a sort of pity – towards the writers who trained at the *Bâb-ı Âlî* ('The Sublime Porte', the Ottoman government headquarters), who could not express themselves in any other language than the bureaucratic one, itself replete with literary formulas. Ziyâ Pâşâ calls the scribes a 'writing machine', 'compelled to surrender and sacrifice... bound in shackles' (Levend 1960, 121; my translation<sup>6</sup>), confined within language boundaries that they were incapable to move across. These language boundaries were, according to him, the product of a solidly established tradition that did not give room to individual – or natural, as he emphasized – expression. Ziyâ

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<sup>6</sup> *Bâbü'lî'nin kullandığı kâtibler sırasına geçer ve gûya bir yazı makinesi olur.*



Pâşâ blamed bureaucratic writing practice for preventing a genuine articulation of thoughts and feelings. More specifically, he criticised the habit of over-embellishing written pieces of work, resulting in a stifling prose that had nothing natural about it (ibid.). But one of the most important aspects highlighted by Ziyâ Pâşâ was that the boundaries between prose – specifically, non-literary writing – and poetry had become blurred.

According to him, even official, bureaucratic statements had become full of literary expressions that made understanding difficult. These were ambiguous expressions that did not seem to substantially differ from literary output (Levend 1960, 118) and the main issue with this literary language was that, in the case of the Ottomans, it had been entirely taken from the Persian tradition. At the beginning of his article, Ziyâ Pâşâ discussed what poetry meant to the Ottomans. Or, rather, what was *considered* poetry *by* the Ottomans. He – somewhat bitterly – stated that the poetry of celebrated Ottoman poets such as Necâtî (d. 1509), Bâkî (1526-1600) and Nef’î (1572-1635), Nedîm (1681-1730) and Vâsîf (1786-1824) could not be rightly called Ottoman poetry because it was essentially Persian, in form and content (117). He described the process of language acquisition as it affected the Persians, who, after accepting Islam, had incorporated much of Arabic into their own language. In the same way, the Ottoman state had gradually incorporated Persian – and its share of Arabic – into its own idiom, but with a twist. Ziyâ Pâşâ highlighted how the language had been made to bend to individual taste, giving rise to all sorts of mistakes in spelling and grammar (118). Therefore, the issue with foreign languages was not only that they had come to dominate the language spoken by the Ottoman Turks, but that they had done so in an increasingly incorrect way. And, following errors in form, came errors in meaning affecting – i.e., corrupting – ideas, because language is ‘the reason by which ideas are exchanged’ (ibid.; my translation<sup>7</sup>).

Ziyâ Pâşâ believed that it was wrong to take a foreign language and adapt its rules to one’s own taste, a process that he deemed Western Ottoman religious scholars (*ulemâ-yi Rûm*) responsible for. The result of this mixing was the development of a highly sophisticated, bureaucratic register that had come to be regarded as the standard for beauty of expression –

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<sup>7</sup> *Zira benî Adem arasında medâr-ı teâtî-i efkâr lisandır.*

but that was no longer understood in the same way by all and, additionally, was replete with grammar and spelling mistakes. Although younger generations had become accustomed to this beautiful and yet incomprehensible – and inaccurate – manner of articulation, it was impossible to agree on what certain expressions meant (ibid.). In order to understand the language, one needed to be a skilled writer trained among the ranks of the bureaucracy, capable to decode the complex high registers of official written composition (118-119). Ziyâ Pâşâ shared some of Kemâl's concerns, particularly as regarded conveying the intended meaning in a natural way. The two main obstacles he found were the use of empty convention, which revealed a greater concern with style and form, rather than effective communication, and the fact that so-called Ottoman was a language constructed on the misuse of foreign languages' grammar and vocabulary. According to him, foreign elements had been bent to suit personal taste and this increased the possibility of miscommunication, misinterpretation, and misunderstanding. This was most obvious in the gap that existed between the spoken and written varieties of the language, but also in the way the spoken was written.

This discrepancy between what was meant and what was received, what was said and what was recorded, between the way something would be intended and said and the way it would be received and recorded, was responsible, for Ziyâ Pâşâ, for damage greater than mere aesthetics. It was accountable for the perpetuation of tyranny and the proliferation of injustice (Levend 1960, 120). In his article, Ziyâ Pâşâ gave as an example the errors made in the field of jurisdiction by judicial authorities that emerged from ambiguous expression and resulted in faulty understanding and wrongful convictions (ibid.). He gave the example of a man who is being interrogated by officers and who tries to explain his position in the only language he knows, that of his neighbourhood. However, his utterances are so distorted in order to fit the style and form appropriate to the written language of jurisdiction that the poor man's statements are recorded in a language he does not recognise or understand, but one that he is expected to confirm and is pressured into accepting as conveying proof of his guilt (ibid.). The scene is described by Ziyâ Pâşâ in rather comical terms, but these only accentuate what, to him, were the tragic consequences of communication in which meaning and form were at odds with one another.

While this may be ultimately understood as a similar to the above-mentioned issue of ‘unreadability’ (Hollbrook 1994), its implications in relation to register use and song are more subtle. The issue highlighted by both Ziyâ Pâşâ and Nâmık Kemâl was one that had less to do with race or ethnic affiliation than one related to an unbalanced register relationship. Both authors emphasized the confusion generated by an excessive use of stylistic conventions, and in particular the way that it obscured meaning. However, the real problem lay not so much, or exclusively, in these conventions being foreign. The real problem was the fact that the excessive use of this very high, Persian influenced register alienated readers to the point that they felt they were trying to decode a foreign idiom. The solution would be a recalibration of registral relationships by making space for Turkish, and codifying and regulating the use of Persian and Arabic. This is a point that other thinkers would highlight, in the course of the debate. The ambiguity that this unbalanced relationship generated was the cause of confusion and – on a more practical level – injustice, a connection that would be emphasized as these linguistic anxieties came to be codified in an actual language ideology, in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Of course, it cannot be denied that Kemâl’s and Ziyâ Pâşâ’s concerns also partly stemmed from a preoccupation with how much foreignness should be allowed into the language, and how this foreignness should be regulated. However, they both recognised that the registers represented by Persian and Arabic had become part of the language and they were inextricably linked to Turkish. While Ziyâ Pâşâ described ‘our Turkish’ (*Türkçemiz*) as a language made of three idioms, each one a ‘vast sea’ (*bahr-ı azîm*) (Levend 1960, 138-139), Nâmık Kemâl pointed out that even though his time was the time during which Persian was most despised (*menfur*) among the men of letters, most of them still used it. Furthermore, works composed in it were among those that Kemâl considered *en muteber*, or most notable, most worthy of respect (139). As pointed out by Levend, while Kemâl recognised the need for a simplification of language, he also acknowledged that the merging of Turkish with Farsi and Arabic gave the language strength (ibid.).

This confusion, or ambiguity, is often found in these early writings examining the language issue. It reveals a number of contradictions that would not cease to characterise the language reform, in the early 1920s. Indeed, many such contradictions and ambiguities are still found today, in current debates about pre-reform Turkish. However, Nâmık Kemâl and Ziyâ Pâşâ's stances can be easily challenged in at least two respects. The first one has to do with the supposed lack of familiarity of the general reading public with Farsi and Arabic. While it is true, on the one hand, that the language they described was a highly specialised and technical one, learnt in the course of scribal training (see Findley 1980), on the other, Farsi and Arabic were taught in schools and there is therefore reason to believe that they would not be perceived as completely incomprehensible. The issue, then, was perhaps one of style and register use. In other words, the ability to compose and understand a text in which the languages were skillfully manipulated to generate a certain effect. And while the effect was, in our two thinkers' opinion, bewildering at best, even they could not refrain from using the very register they were condemning, in their writings.

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Examining Ziyâ Pâşâ's and Nâmık Kemâl's writings gives us a first chance to extract a possible interpretation of what registers represented, and what tensions they embodied in the text. Persian was the language of choice for poetry but also for the sophisticated bureaucratic style. As such, it was associated with the palace and literary worlds, and it was perceived by these two thinkers as a register obfuscating meaning, particularly dangerous when used in jurisdiction. I imagine the type of relationship signified by the exaggerated use of Persian syntax, vocabulary, imagery etc. as one less based on 'colonial' dynamics, resulting in a change of (linguistic) structure than one reflecting an abuse of power where there is a manifest lack of balance between high and low. While this abuse of power involves the presence of a foreign 'actor' (i.e., Persian), the issue here is that that foreign actor had become so integrated into the bureaucratic, poetic, linguistic structure that it was difficult to imagine the language functioning without it and the register it represented. However, both authors proposed that a

substantial revision of the language be undertaken, and that regulations be put in place in order to recalibrate this unequal relationship.

Nâmık Kemâl suggested five main points towards the improvement of the language (*lisânın ıslâhı*): first and foremost, the language should be codified; then, there should be a limit with respect to the amount of words used; words should be arranged and joined in orthography according to their meaning and where it is really necessary (an interesting point with regards to the form/meaning correspondence); the aforementioned connection of words, their pronunciation and the meaning intended should all be amended and renewed according to the nature of the language<sup>8</sup>; finally, the abandonment of all the overly laborious elements that posed an obstacle to the ‘natural beauty of expression’ (*ifâdenin hüsn-i tabiisi*, my translation) (Levend 1960, 114).

Both Nâmık Kemâl’s and Ziyâ Pâşâ’s points about the issues arising from excessive artificiality are interesting for us to consider in relation to the song-text. The two thinkers’ objection that conventional, ornate expression obfuscated meaning and particularly that it stifled individual expression may suggest that the lyrical repertoire, too, functioned according to formulaic patterns, similarly to what Taft has proposed regarding the structure of blues lyrics (2006, see also Finnegan 1977). While no study focusing on Ottoman song-lyrics’ formulaic structure has been carried out so far, it is an intriguing aspect of the pre-reform Turkish song-text. The idea of registers represented by distinct languages also functioning as pre-set formulas used to compose the text offers yet another perspective on the relational dynamics of these registers. I am specifically referring to the way these formulas are combined, why and what this can tell us about cultural and power relations as filtered through language.

More markedly geographical and, so to speak, almost colonial relations were emphasized by Ali Suavi (1839-1878), Ahmed Midhat (1844-1912) and the previously mentioned Şemseddin Sâmî (1850-1904). The latter’s ideas have been introduced earlier in the chapter, although it should be remembered that these, like the other thinkers’, were often contradictory, undefined and came across less as a carefully developed language reformation

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<sup>8</sup> Here, Kemâl seemed to refer to the problem of incorporating foreign language elements into Turkish keeping their original rules, which in a sense resulted in a violation of Turkish grammatical rules

strategy or a real ideology than the result of his passionate political ideals. As mentioned earlier, for example, he reiterated the importance of maintaining the ties with the Islamic world via the language (in particular, the use of Arabic) while simultaneously denouncing the inappropriateness and inadequacy of Persian and Arabic as languages of the Turks, as well as the limitations and modification that these languages had subjected Turkish to (Kushner 1977, 73). He seemed more interested in establishing clear historical, ethnic and linguistic boundaries, defining the place and role of Turkish in the Ottoman and Turkic landscapes than criticizing the foreign ‘actors’ in it because of their foreignness. However related to ‘racial interests’ (Kushner 1977, 74) his stance may have been, I personally interpret his ideas more as an attempt at ennobling Turkish than disparaging Persian and Arabic. His ambivalence would make sense if considered within this framework. Levend highlighted this ambiguity, too, which is particularly striking when found in the ideas of one of the most passionate advocates of reform (1960). As Levend pointed out, while, on the one hand, Sâmî maintained that there could not be such a thing as a language made of three, in an article published in the 14 August 1898 issue of the newspaper *Sabah* he instead asserted that Turkish could never be completely separated from Arabic and Persian (141).<sup>9</sup>

The point emerging here is an essential one: the foreign vocabulary and, to a certain extent, grammar that began coming into scrutiny in the 19<sup>th</sup> century had penetrated Turkish to such an extent that some words had acquired Turkish status. Words such as *aşk* (love), *zamân* (time), *vefâ* (faithfulness) etc. were and are still thought of as Turkish, despite their being Arabic words. At the heart of the ambivalence, typical of *Tanzimat* authors, regarding how language should be reformed, we find the great, insuperable paradox of the Turkish language question: how could this language be purified when those elements that should, according to Republican ideology, be removed had become an integral part of it? When pure Turkish was a language unknown, as argued by Ahmet Midhat, to the Turks themselves, who instead used a

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<sup>9</sup> Speakers of the so called ‘modern’ Turkish language know that only too well: Arabic and Persian words and plurals are alive and kicking in current Turkish and, in fact, occasionally the Arabic plural form of an originally Arabic word may be chosen over its Turkified plural – or even its Turkish equivalent – to suit a particular context. Usually, an especially formal or sophisticated one (a point raised by *ut* master Necati Çelik in the course of a conversation we had in November 2018).

number of related and yet distinct languages (Levend 1960, 123)? Despite attempts to define what Turkish was and what it should never be, certain bonds were nearly impossible to sever, as testified by the advocates of reform themselves. It is interesting to think of what we should make of registers represented by languages when those languages had so deeply merged. The flowery, ornate Persian expressions decried by Kemâl, for example, indicating a high level of sophistication – would we still consider those as sophisticated were we to take into account the fact that some of that vocabulary had come to be regarded as Turkish? What would be the indicator of sophistication, then? A look at language education will help us to address this question. For the moment, let us return to Şemseddin Sâmî.

In an article he wrote for the magazine *Hafta*, titled *Lisân-ı Türkî ‘Osmanî’* (‘The Turkish “Ottoman” Language’), Sâmî discussed the terminology to be used to name and describe pre-reform Turkish. He did so by referencing the geography, history, and relations around which the Ottoman Turkish character developed. His description is interesting because it partly focuses on relations and hints at an ethno-centric approach that Ziyâ Pâşâ and Nâmîk Kemâl had not quite emphasized. Sâmî disagreed with using the term ‘Ottoman’. He took issue with the fact that the language should be named after the family of the conqueror of Constantinople, Mehmet II, a son of the House of Osman, rather than after the ethnic group to which most of the people speaking it belonged (Levend 1960, 130). He highlighted that both Turkish as a language and the Turks as a race were older than the Ottoman dynasty, and that the first people who spoke this language were the Turks. He added that it would be wrong to name the languages spoken within the Ottoman Domains ‘Ottoman languages’ (*elsine-i Osmâniye*) as most individuals speaking Turkish lived outside of these domains, and the language was older than the Empire itself (131).

Drawing attention to the relationship existing between the Turks living in the West (i.e., the Ottoman Empire) and those living in the Eastern lands extending to Siberia and China, he suggested that the language be, instead, divided into Western and Eastern Turkish (*Türkî-i Şarkî* and *Türkî-i Garbî*), and that both be thought of as the *lisân-ı Türkî*, the ‘Turkish language’ (132). He pointed out that while Western Turkish had incorporated common Arabic vocabulary too, alongside more scientific, technical one, the Eastern variety had retained common Turkish

vocabulary so that the foreign presence had remained confined to technical or specialised language (ibid.). This confirms what has been mentioned earlier regarding the reality of foreign vocabulary in Turkish, and the fact that by the nineteenth century it had come to be considered a part of the language, and not only foreign terms used for particular branches of knowledge or aims. This complicates the idea of languages as associated with particular registers – it does not disprove it, but it adds another dimension and set of issues to our understanding of register interaction in the text.

In Sâmî's account, great importance was placed on historical and ethnic relationships, a sense of kinship that was more powerful than identification with a state. The relationships described by Sâmî were discussed, in greater depth, in Necip 'Âsim's work on Ural-Altaic languages (1893 or 1894). In practical terms, these relationships would be translated into writing and speaking practice by the gradual substitution of Arabic words with their Turkish equivalents (for example, the Turkish *çağ* instead of the Arabic *vakit* for time). The process would also entail the development of a language suited to both literature and politics that could be recognised by all Turks and that would emphasize the natural beauty of Turkish by selecting terminology more suited to its own structure and its own sound (let us not forget that the syntax of Turkish had been re-shaped by the introduction of Persian constructs, Arabic and Persian plurals etc.) (134). We could therefore say that one of Sâmî's goals was to enable Turkish itself to function according to its own registers, without recurring to foreign languages to do so and that this reformation of the language would ultimately emphasize the bonds among Turks, re-establishing the prestige of their own language. However, Sâmî's ideas were often contradictory, as he showed awareness of the impossibility of severing other bonds that language practice reflected. As we have also seen earlier, Sâmî did not specifically disparage Arabic and Persian because they were foreign – rather, he wished to strengthen what he perceived to be his own ethnic family, via a series of linguistic manoeuvres geared towards regaining linguistic territory.

Among the commentators, Ahmet Midhat (1844-1912) seems to me to have been the most interested in topographies of language and culture. For one thing, in his article *Osmânîca'nın Islâhı* ('The Reformation of Ottoman'), published in the magazine *Dağarcık* in 1871, he chose



to use the language register and style he was advocating for: a simpler form, or lower level – as he himself put it – of Turkish. In talking about Şinasi's (1826-1871) efforts to simplify the language, Ahmet Midhat mentioned degrees of simplification that involved the removal of Arabic grammatical and syntactical elements that, however, would not lower the level of what he intriguingly chose to call sometimes Ottoman and sometimes Turkish. Rather, the process would allow it to grow into a sophisticated language without relying on foreign elements to make it so (127). As a demonstration of the validity of Şinasi's propositions, Ahmet Midhat claimed he did not use any Arabic or Persian adjectives or grammar elements – a claim very easily disproved just by reading the text, and also disproved by the author himself (Levend 1960, 128). A great number of Arabic elements can easily be found in the text, although the syntactical structure is what gives it its Turkishness. Ahmet Midhat deemed it absurd, in fact, to extract or derive the grammar rules of a language from another language (128), thus stressing the importance of developing a Turkish grammar. He furthermore believed that doing so had caused Turkish to adapt to the grammatical requirements of Arabic and Persian instead of having them adapt to Turkish rules. This resulted in a process of 'Arabization' or 'Persianization' (125) that made it impossible to completely eliminate Arabic and Persian from the language, but that also somehow modified the structure of Turkish, subjecting it to dynamics that could be described as colonial.

A description of the colonization process has been given by Frideres, who has highlighted the profound modification that the local, colonized group undergoes in terms of the various systems making up its way of life (2012). After establishing external political control, the colonizer gradually begins affecting the local, native structures from within by causing the local population to become financially dependent on it. The process described by Frideres shares much, in my opinion, with the process of 'Arabization' and 'Persianization' of the language described by Ahmet Midhat. The author illustrated precisely the dynamics by which Turkish came to be gradually internally modified as it incorporated an increasing number of foreign elements. This caused Turkish to become dependent on these two languages, as if the language could no longer survive without them and the structures they provided (Levend 1960, 127). In his article about the reformation of Ottoman, he mentioned the point made by a

commentator, who had asked how it would be possible to get rid of Arabic and Farsi and what language would be left after doing so, considering that the Ottoman language did not exist without them (124).

However, one of the most interesting points raised by Ahmet Midhat seemingly questioned assertions, such as Şemseddin Sâmî's, that an unbreakable bond existed between Turkish as it was spoken in the Turkic world and the one spoken within the Empire. Ahmet Midhat in fact rejected the notion that the Turkish spoken in *Türkistan* could be claimed as the language of the Ottomans at all (123). In a piece titled *Ehemmiyetli bir Lâyiha'dır* ('It is a Major Petition'), published in the 23 May 1871 issue of *Basiret*, he wrote:

...is there not a language that belongs to us? They show the Turkish found to be spoken in Turkistan, is it not? No, that language is not our language. It was our language seven centuries ago, but it is not, now. Just as that Turkish is not our language, so Arabic and Farsi are not our languages, either.

But, it will be said, our language cannot, at any rate, be excluded from those. Just as it cannot be excluded [from them], it cannot be considered included [in them]. Were we to bring a Turk from Turkistan, an Arab from Najd and a Persian from Shiraz, and were we to read before them one of the most beautiful pieces of our literature, which one of them would understand it? There is no doubt that no one would understand.

That is fine, so, let us say that the language that none of them can understand is our language. No, we cannot even say that. Because even we cannot understand that piece when we read it. (ibid., my translation<sup>10</sup>)

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<sup>10</sup> [...] bizim kendimize mahsus bir lisanımız yok mudur? Türkistan'da söylenmekte bulunan Türkçeyi gösterecekler, öyle değil mi? Hayır, o lisan bizim lisanımız değildir. Bundan altı yedi asır mukaddem bizim lisanımız idi, fakat şimdi değil. O Türkçe bizim lisanımız olmadığı gibi Arabi ve Farisi dahi lisanımız değildir. Amma denilecek ki, bizim lisanımız her halde bunlardan hariç olamıyor. Hariç olamadığı gibi dahilinde de sayılamıyor. Türkistan'dan bir Türk ve Necid'den bir Arab ve Şiraz'dan bir Acem getirsek, edebiyatımızdan en güzel bir parçayı bunlara karşı okısak hangisi anlar? Şübhe yok ki hiç birisi anlayamaz. [...] Çünkü o parçayı bize okudukları zaman biz de anlayamıyoruz.

As a solution to the predicament the Ottoman Turks found themselves in, Ahmet Midhat proposed the creation of a 'language of the community' (*millet lisânı*), or the nation, although there was no talk of nation as it would be formulated later, yet. This should be the language of the people (*halk*), or one understood by everybody, because language (*lisân*), according to Ahmet Midhat, is what acts as 'means, for the man who will talk, to persuade the person in front of him' (ibid., my translation<sup>11</sup>). Language should be a tool to facilitate communication and mutual understanding. Additionally, Ahmet Midhat emphasized the importance of an accessible written idiom that would cause the listener to think that what was being read was *spoken*, rather than read (123). In practical terms, this would translate into a reform strategy by which Arabic and Persian adjectives – therefore, not all words – would be eliminated. He questioned the suitability of foreign language rules to the structure of Turkish and pointed out that it was very complicated to understand the real meaning of what was being said. In this respect, he followed Nâmık Kemâl and Ziyâ Pâşâ but he also added a more interesting dimension to his argument by using an approach that focused more on registers, particularly in his mention of 'levels' of expression. While he described pre-reform Turkish, very much like Ziyâ Pâşâ, as a language made for a few educated people, this statement should be discussed within the framework of mid to late nineteenth century education and reading practices (see Fortna 2002, 2011). As previously mentioned, Persian and Arabic were taught in schools, so the idea of an incomprehensible Persian high register, for example, should be re-contextualised and reviewed. We will do so in the next chapter.

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<sup>11</sup> *Lisan demek, lâf söyleyecek adamın söylediği sözü karşısındaki adama anlatabilmesine vasıta olan şeydir.*

In this section, I have mostly focused on the views of the reformers. This was a conscious decision. It is in their arguments that the major issues with language can be identified, and I have tried to discuss them highlighting their register-related aspects. While these were never openly framed as such by the reformers themselves, I thought that some of their ideas offered a good opportunity to begin thinking about what register was in nineteenth century pre-reform Turkish. At the heart of the debates, as Kushner points out, there was the question of which of the three identities – Turkish, Muslim or Ottoman – should have precedence (1977, 62) and languages played an important part in identification with one or the other, although they overlapped in several areas. This overlap is one I ascribe to register use, too. In the course of this thesis, I will discuss how often, the idea that Persian elements in the text pointed out to a higher, poetic register is challenged by the fact that those elements may have come to be regarded as Turkish, due to a long process of contact, exchange and linguistic assimilation.

Just as there were thinkers and authors who wished to see the language reformed and proposed measures to do so, on the other side some, like Hacı İbrahim Efendi (1826-1888), passionately argued in favour of preserving the language as it was. They argued that although it did contain elements of Turkish, extended contact with Persians and Arabs had shaped it into an entirely new creature suitable to both the Ottoman state and – crucially – the Ottoman people (Kushner 1977, 62). Hacı İbrahim was particularly dedicated to the teaching and studying of Arabic, and opened the school *Daru't-ta'lim* in 1883 with the specific purpose to facilitate the learning of Arabic (Arslan 1999). Most importantly, Hacı İbrahim Efendi believed that Arabic elements in what he called Ottoman constituted the strongest bond the Turks had to the religion of Islam – an example of how particular language/registers signified bonds to cultural spheres and places (Kushner 1977, 67). Very much like the case of Persian mentioned

above, Arabic, too, had moved out of its sphere, so to speak, into the Turks' daily life, which made the issue significantly more complex. As it had happened with Persian, Arabic words too had been Turkified, making them loanwords.

Let us now turn to the language education tools, policy and ideology that informed that interweaving, and delve a little deeper into its nature by examining the process and materials of pre-reform Turkish literacy. In the next chapter, we will see how language curriculums confirmed or disproved the reformists' arguments and claims.

## Chapter 2

### Performing the Textbook, Reciting Turkish

#### Introduction

This chapter will examine the conflict that emerged, in the 1890s, between reading instruction methods and materials influenced by Quranic recitation training – which emphasized the Arabic register of pre-reform Turkish – and the gradual emergence of Turkish linguistics. An increasing focus on Turkish is evident in the intense publication of primers and readers specifically designed to practise reading in the Turkish register, and Turkish pronunciation (*telaffuz*). The chapter will also consider the role of the new methodology known as *usûl-ı savtiyye* (vocal method) on what I describe as the Turkish register's newly found phonetic authority.

Until 1928, pre-reform Turkish was written in the Perso-Arabic script. The use of this script became increasingly controversial towards the end of the nineteenth century. The controversy revolved around the idea that this script could not reproduce all the *sounds* found in the Turkish register, particularly the vowels (Turkish has eight vowels, against Arabic's three). This issue became the driving force behind the pedagogical reforms that intensified in the second half of the century, and which focused precisely on learning language by means of the words' *sound* as opposed to their written form (see Ertürk 2011). In this chapter, I will discuss the idea that Turkish gained prominence in language learning materials and methodologies due to its phonetic quality: focus on its pronunciation *before* its written spelling emphasized its spoken component. This linked it directly to speaking practice, and therefore orality, as Turkish was

not associated with sophisticated, written texts, but rather with the ‘spoken’ reality of people (see Chapter 1). However, in doing so, I will not implicitly support the idea that it was the *only* spoken reality. I maintain that speakers had a certain degree of familiarity with the Arabic and Persian registers, as it is demonstrated by grammars and literature textbooks.

Nonetheless, while Arabic and Persian continued to be taught in school,<sup>12</sup> and despite the fact that both registers continued to be used in song lyrics, the primers, readers, dictionaries and school curricula produced in the second half of the nineteenth century clearly indicate that there was a shift towards Turkish as a language with literary dignity. These materials also presented it as a valid vehicle to convey religious, moral values, and to encourage submission to the Sultan’s authority as the preserver of morality and the bonds of Islamic brotherhood, as well as, increasingly, ethnonationalist ideas. The emergence of Turkish did not mean the disappearance of Arabic and Persian from educational and literary domains. Rather, it promoted that recalibration of registers that was discussed in Chapter 1. Here, I will examine the way in which the Turkish register came to rival, rather than replace, the traditional place of Arabic in reading instruction methodologies, particularly focusing on the issue of pronunciation.

The emphasis on the sounds of Turkish that characterised the *usûl-ı savtiyye* method aimed to familiarize pupils with the sound of words before their letter shapes. This approach naturally privileged Turkish phonetics in that the pronunciation of words would not follow the reading rules traditionally applied to reading the Qur’an, which emphasized Arabic phonetics. The shift to this new methodology signified a re-elaboration of authority/submission relations, and a recalibration of registers. The ‘performable’ aspect characteristic of the vocal method played

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<sup>12</sup> The former as part of the pupils’ religious education, the latter as the language of literature, particularly poetry, and both as part of training in beautiful speech, or rhetoric (*belâgat*).

an essential role in this process of (sound) standardization. This aspect also ties this process to the *şarkı* as an example of performed text. My intention here will be to examine the ways in which textbooks (i.e., primers, readers) promoting the Turkish register and its phonetics represented a type of language ‘score’ to be interpreted and performed and in which we can read a subversion of linguistic power relations.

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In this chapter, I will look at several language teaching resources published throughout the 1890s. The texts examined were aimed at primary school students<sup>13</sup>. The development of new teaching methodologies was part of a wider project of reformation, known as *Tanzimât* (1839-1876), literally the ‘Reorganization’ of the Empire, characterised by reforms that have been interpreted as an attempt to ‘Westernize’ the Imperial system. However, Westernization – often equated with Modernization – has become a contested term, as illustrated by Somel (2010; also see Fortna 2011). According to Somel, the process should not be understood as a radical effort to step away from an oppressive Islamic tradition, and it is not even correct to discuss it solely in terms of ‘Westernization’ (20). A strong bond with traditions could not be unmade so easily – and that there was an intention to do so in the first place is questionable (21).

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<sup>13</sup> During the same period texts focusing on pedagogy were also published, such as Selîm Sâbit Efendi’s (1829-1911) seminal *Rehnüma-yı Muallim*, published in 1881/1882 (‘The Teacher’s Handbook’), in which he proposed new teaching methods to be applied to primary schools. Selîm Sâbit was also the author of the primary school’s text *Elifbâ-yı Osmânî*, first published in 1875 and reprinted four more times between 1875 and 1921 (see Öztürk 2009), a text I will discuss in greater analysis in this chapter.



The process of reform, or renewal, or modernization, or whichever term one would choose to describe it, is one parallel to and reflective of the relational bonds and dynamics that I have sketched in the previous chapter. Somel points out that we should not think in terms of Islamic heritage versus Modernization/Westernization, a dichotomy between the world of the *medrese* and that of the modern state school, the *mektep*. Rather, he suggests that we look at them as complementary to each other in a system shaped by Islamic patterns and understandings to such an extent that the reforms themselves were modelled onto such patterns and understandings (21). This is an important observation as it points towards the essential continuity and complementarity of concepts often perceived by historiography as antithetic and irreconcilable. Somel also points out that the project of reforming and modernizing schools did not entail getting rid of traditional Islamic elements, concepts, methods, and contents. It would have been impossible to do so, as the whole concept of education had always been connected with Islam and understood within a religious framework (22). This complementarity of systems that characterized the relationship between modern and traditional institutions had a textual embodiment in the registral relationships existing in pre-reform Turkish, as well as in the pedagogical methodologies used.

The process of standardization of pre-reform Turkish would become, towards the end of the nineteenth century, an arena for political and religious ideologies to be debated and developed, and many of the choices made with regards to the curriculum would be bound to either one or the other, and, often, to both. One of the purposes behind the development of a standardized curriculum and, more generally, school system was to form individuals who would be loyal and devoted (*sâdık*) to the state (Somel 2010, 31). Additionally, the opening of junior high schools (*rüşdiye mektepleri*) had as one of its aims that of strengthening political faithfulness among Muslims. One way in which cohesion was encouraged and a sense of loyalty

nurtured and maintained was to preserve the bonds with the world of Islam as it was represented by the Arabic language (ibid., also see Fortna 2000). According to Somel, cutting ties with Arabic, the language of religion, was unthinkable within the framework of Sultan Abdülhamit II's (1876-1909), Islamist political agenda (ibid.). It appears that language standardization, and the modes of its application and development, heavily depended on the aims, the context, the interests at stake and the cultural, religious, and power bonds existing between the central authority and the different parts constituting its dominions. While a policy of linguistic Turkification characterized educational reform approaches in Anatolia and the Balkans, reforms in the Levant were more geared towards cultivating loyalty to the Sultan-Caliph and his state (ibid.). Attempts at standardization aiming at developing loyalty to the central authority hardly appeared to be standardized themselves. While preserving Arabic worked for one peripheral<sup>14</sup> element of that whole, emphasizing Turkish suited the circumstances of the relationship between the centre and some of its other peripheries (the Balkans, Anatolia to name two).

Teaching and learning Arabic did not only serve the purpose of strengthening the sense of religious belonging: it was also representative of an increased focus on Islamic morality (Fortna 2000). Often, the examples provided in grammar textbooks or alphabet books were verses from the *Qur'an* or *ahādīth* (teachings of the Prophet Muhammad), alongside sentences in de-Arabized and de-Persianized Turkish, both aiming to instil moral lessons (see Fortna 2000, Şahbaz 2004, Vurgun 2017). It is apparent from late Ottoman pedagogic materials that the

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<sup>14</sup> The idea of what is and what is not peripheric is problematic. What linguistically constituted a centre or a periphery, in pre-reform Turkish, was bound to change depending on what interests and bonds were emphasized. In the case described, the 'centrality' of Arabic seemed the natural result of a certain type of relation with religious tradition. One, in fact, also marked by the same loyalty, adherence, faithfulness that the political and administrative centre tried to cultivate as directed to its own self. At the same time, this centrality was also relevant to one part of the whole, while for another the Turkic/Turkish component had begun to represent an alternative 'centre'.

greater emphasis on Arabic in the curriculum was at the heart of what Fortna has described as a ‘task of moral regeneration’ (2000, 376). It should be, however, pointed out that this task was not a prerogative of the *medrese*. ‘Morality’, or *ahlâk*, classes were, in fact, found in public school (*mektep*) curriculums from the 1880s and 1890s (Fortna 2000, Vurgun 2017; for a discussion of texts about morality used in Hamidian schools, see Tetik 2009). This signalled, as Fortna has discussed (2000, 2011), a significant involvement of late Ottoman ‘secular’ schools with religious knowledge and pedagogy. As Somel has pointed out (21, 2010), it appears, from textbooks and the approaches to teaching and learning they described and prescribed, that secularized frameworks of learning still relied or leaned on traditional, religious, contents, and modes of knowledge dissemination. This complicated the relationship between the *mektep* and the *medrese* as we have learnt to understand them. It would also seem that this aspect of Abdülhamit II’s political agenda, that is, the strengthening of an Islamic morality and a sense of loyalty to the Sultan Caliph, relied on Arabic and that the teaching and learning of it played a vital role in the development and preservation of this bond. However, the centrality of Arabic in this respect did not prevent Turkish from becoming a vehicle for the dissemination of Islamic moral values, too. In fact, I would argue that, in some ways, Arabic *strengthened* Turkish, particularly within the framework of language instruction and phonetics.

Every language-register performed a role within a specific domain and brought with it cultural references and meanings (see Chapter 1). However, I would argue that registers were used in a more flexible way across the role-based boundaries they were assigned. While it is true that they were chosen according to audience, form and content, precisely *because* they were chosen on the basis of these three factors, the author could manipulate them to suit his or her own intentions and the aims of the text, without necessarily abiding by unspoken, unyielding, registral rules. A good example of this is a work that will be discussed in this chapter,

Muallim Nâcî's primer *Ta'îlm-i Kıraat* (1892/1893). In this work, the author employed several registers based on his readership and of the messages he wished to convey. We see that Turkish, rather than Arabic, was the register chosen to convey moral values and concepts such as submission and loyalty to authority. It has been suggested (Fortna 2000) that the Hamidian focus on teaching and learning Arabic was a tool to cement a sense of loyalty towards a benevolent Sultan-Caliph and to strengthen the bonds of (religious) affection that kept his (Muslim) community together. However, Nâcî's example shows that the choice of register greatly depended on the recipient of the author's message (in this case, primary school children) and that Turkish could perform that role just as well as Arabic did. Additionally, in his reader, although designed for *mektep* use, we find entire sections dedicated to religious knowledge, with faith and worship depicted as the heart of morality and the secret to prosperity and well-being. Nâcî's dynamic register suggests a synthesis between religious and ethnocentric bonds. In a similar, subtler way, training in the use of what I will call the 'Turkish register' of pre-reform Turkish was still heavily indebted to traditional methodologies and terminology – as well as materials – for teaching Arabic.

The structure of the textbooks, the organisation of the materials, and the terminology used to illustrate morphology (*ilm-i sarf*), grammar (*ilm-i nahiv*) and the art of conveying meaning (rhetoric, *belâgat*), were modelled upon Arabic linguistics (see Ermers 2000, 327). This practice would not undergo significant changes even with the onset of new teaching methods, such as the phonetic or vocal method (see Şahbaz 2004). In the context of this teaching and training practice, the Arabic register *served* and *strengthened* Turkish particularly in the realm of phonetics and pronunciation. The terminology, definitions and references to the *mahâric* (the letters' points of exit or articulation), as well as the modes of production of the letters themselves, were bent and adapted to the needs of Turkish pronunciation. That is, they would

not be pronounced according to Arabic rules, but according to those Turkish pronunciation, which sometimes changed the quality of the letter altogether. This phenomenon is documented in Mehmed Rıfat's *Hâce-i Lisân-ı Osmânî: 'İlm-i Sarf-ı Türkî* (Teacher of the Ottoman Language: Science of the Morphology of Turkish), a primer published in 1893. Here, we find detailed explanations of how the mouth is meant to open/close while reading Arabic script and articulating vowels and consonants not according to their actual Arabic sound, but according to the sound they have in Turkish. In Turkish speaking practice, Arabic words, in religious and non-religious contexts alike, are pronounced according to Turkish phonetic conventions. For example, the letter و (*waw*) is always pronounced as *v* and there is no phonetic differentiation between the Arabic letters ز (*zay*), ذ (*dhal*), ظ (*ḍā'*), which are all pronounced as *z* in Turkish (and actually called *ze*, *zel* and *za*), or between ك (*kaf*) and ق (*qaf*), both pronounced as *k* (and respectively called *kef* and *kaf*).<sup>15</sup> In other words, Arabic provided the tools to speak Turkish and to speak *about* Turkish.

This represents a verbal manifestation of shifts in relational dynamics, particularly when we consider how ideologically charged language practice was gradually becoming in the late nineteenth century. In this register-use flexibility I see a collapse of the same dichotomy ascribed to the *medrese/mektep* system: like Somel, I also believe that the existence of a state-run *mektep*-based system did not automatically rule out the possibility of co-existing with the system of traditional, religious learning represented by the *medrese*. This would prove particularly true during the era of Abdülhamit II (1876-1909), when the fusion between religious authority and the state was high on the political agenda (see Georgeon 2003). And it

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<sup>15</sup> However, the 'darkness' or 'brightness' of the various Arabic letters is somewhat maintained by Turkish vocal-consonant combinations. For example, the *qaf* letter would be used to represent the *ki* consonant-vowel combination, such as in *kılmak*, *kıraat* (قراآت) etc.

was again within this framework, that is, in the attempt to create a synthesis of religious and political values, that some of the ideas regarding language education and particularly standardization would be elaborated and tentatively applied.

New loyalties had begun to develop. These were evident in the domain of linguistics, although 1890s' school programs too showed an increasing interest in the teaching of a language that was referred to as *Türkçe*, or Turkish. This coexisted, on the one hand, with subjects such as Arabic, Qur'an recitation, morality, history, and geography. On the other hand, however, the way in which the language was presented in textbooks, the examples provided, the various reading methods and the vocabulary chosen all suggest a gradual shift in emphasis, one in which a greater awareness of ethnic bonds began to dictate language choices (see Demirbağ 2018, Şahbaz 2004, Kavruk and Can 2016, Topuzkanamış 2018). Indeed, some of the classroom materials encouraged the development of a distinctively Turkish and Muslim identity, with language being a necessary step in its forging and preservation (Şahbaz 2004, 12). It is within the field of linguistics, in particular, that we find a major shift towards a more ethnocentric vision of language practice. Necip Âsım's *Urâl ve Âltây Lisânları*, published in 1893/1894<sup>16</sup>, was one of the first works of Ottoman linguistics, echoing, in intent and ideas, those that had been published throughout the nineteenth century in Europe (see Robins 1997, Seuren 1998). The comparative method developed during the nineteenth century stressed genealogical relationships between languages, highlighting 'familial' ties among them. Âsım imported this method and set about describing the familial relationships among all Turkic

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<sup>16</sup> Uncertainty about the date is due to the omission of the Islamic month in which the work was published in 1311, *hijrî* year. Due to the *hijrî* calendar being a lunar one, accurately determining the corresponding Gregorian year can be challenging without knowing the *hijrî* month and/or day of publication. In the case of this publication, while we know that h. 1311 began in 1893 and ended in 1894, it is impossible to establish, without an exact date, at which point of 1311, and therefore whether in 1893 or 1894, it was published.

languages, an important step towards constructing a linguistic ideology that would reach its apex during the Republic and in the immediately following years.

While the political agenda seemingly used Arabic as a tool to cement an Islamic morality and devotion to the state<sup>17</sup>, and linguistics, on the contrary, became a tool to construct and support ethnocentric understandings of language practice, a third category of works maintained ties with a tradition of rhetoric and sophistication: rhetoric, or *belâgat*. This third category of works reflected another stance held by some of the language debate commentators, that is, the idea of literary, Perso-Islamic, *edeb*-centred bonds versus *ethno*-centric ones<sup>18</sup>. This chapter will, however, be dedicated to exploring the place and role played by Arabic and Turkish in the standardization project that unfolded in the second half of the nineteenth century. I will focus on methods to teach and learn how to read Turkish, proposing that we look at the interaction between two main elements. Firstly, the *idea* of Arabic as representative of (religious) tradition, authority and loyalty, and the challenges posed to its status by Turkish register learning. Secondly, the gradual strengthening of Turkish (by means of Arabic language linguistics) revealing the importance of ‘spokenness’. The chapter will examine the *performable* aspect of Turkish register-learning that resulted in the emphasis on sound and phonetics as teaching/learning methodology, training pupils to read and, as it were, *interpret* (i.e., perform) the text.

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<sup>17</sup> A point that I accept with reservations, and that I complicate in this chapter.

<sup>18</sup> It could be argued that the emphasis placed on beautifully and appropriately conveying meaning acted as a form of disciplining of the tongue and standardization, too. This aspect binds *belâgat* to song lyrics and text performance in significant ways (see Ochoa Gautier 2004). I will discuss the *edeb*-centred dimension of language standardization in a separate chapter.

## Reading and performing the textbook-score

The materials I will examine in this chapter, all published between 1890/1891 and 1899, differ in their approaches to language presentation and methods of instruction. My selection was, in fact, determined by such differences. They reflect the variety of thought about, and approaches to, language practice, as well as the complexity of the debate around it. The authors of some of these texts used de-Arabified and de-Persianized Turkish<sup>19</sup>, or to put it another way, the ‘Turkish register’. This approach, which has been discussed by Şahbaz (2004), may suggest that this was the register elected as the standard for pre-reform Turkish. To some extent, that is true, in the sense that several readers and teaching materials referred to a language called *Türkî*, or Turkish as an equivalent to *Osmânî*, or Ottoman. However, in this thesis I will suggest that the reason why Turkish gained prominence was its aural and oral dimension (see Ertürk 2011, Türker 2019; on aurality, Ochoa Gautier 2014), and that this dimension is crucial for our understanding of pre-reform Turkish standardization in relation to the *şarki*.

Topuzkanamış (2018) examined the contents of 1891 elementary and secondary school curriculums and the ground gradually gained by Turkish language education, discussing its place within Hamidian educational policy. It would be relatively easy to read in this a more ideological approach to language teaching, as a statement in support of ethnocentric dimensions of language practice. However, matters were more complex. A work such as the previously mentioned Muallim Nâcî’s *Ta’lîm-i Kıraat* (1893/1894), for example, displays a wide range of registers – and languages – chosen by the author according to the purpose of the text

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<sup>19</sup> For example, in the introduction and various grammar and syntax clarification sections, as well as for the examples provided in each section.



and its readers (7). Other readers/textbooks that will be examined focused on phonetic learning, that is, familiarising the children with the sound of syllables *before* they could see the letter shapes it corresponded to. This method was known as *savtî yöntem*, or *usûl-ı savtîyye*, vocal (phonetic) method and it turned school textbooks into actual scores to be interpreted by the students – very much as a singer would read and interpret song lyrics.

Returning to a point made earlier regarding the centrality of sound in promoting the Turkish register (due to Turkish representing the *spoken* reality of people)<sup>20</sup>, in this chapter, I wish to focus on the performative aspect of Turkish language standardization. I have come to believe that a key aspect of the standardization project was the issue of how the language should be pronounced when read, which in turn ignited several discussions about script-reform (see Ertürk 2011). The element of performing language is, obviously, central to song. It will be important to consider ideas regarding reading as performance (see also Kivy 2006). Therefore, I will discuss how reading instruction methods and strategies intertwined with song as an example of performed language (see Bauman 1992, 2000, Eckstein 2010, Hymes 1981; on literacy, orality and song see Henigan 2012).

### Shifting loyalties and subverted authorities: Arabic and the performance of reading

The space given to Arabic language education in Hamidian schools has been interpreted by Somel and Fortna as symbolic of an emphasis on traditional Islamic morality and honouring the bonds of (Muslim) brotherhood (Somel 2010, Fortna 2000). Its status as the language of

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<sup>20</sup> A point made by Safiye Türker in her thesis (2019). See Chapter 1 of this thesis.

religion did not only ensure its ‘preservation’ in the curriculum, it also ensured the preservation of values represented by the authority of a political/spiritual father-figure. He would in turn ensure prosperity and protection to all its ‘children’ as long as they preserved and fulfilled their mutual rights (see Muallim Nâcî 1892/1893, 72-73). Arabic’s domain was not, however, confined to religion. As it can be seen from a range of texts (newspapers, song collections, scientific works and didactic texts, history books etc.), this was the register chosen to introduce, describe, present an argument, and disseminate knowledge. Very little Persian is found in these types of texts, and even less Turkish. Most importantly, Arabic provided the template and terminology to *talk about* language: the grammars examined in this chapter were all modelled upon Arabic grammars, as were methods of language instruction (see Ermers 2000). A crucial shift in pedagogical methods occurred in the 1860s, with the development of a new method, the *usûl-ı cedîd* (‘new method’), that found in Selîm Sâbit (1829-1911) its main advocate (Buyrukçu 2002, Öztürk 2009, Ata 2009, Özkaya 2011). Although Arabic still provided the key terminology to present language, the new method promoted the verbal performance of texts as opposed to an older method based on memorization and mechanic repetition of the written word. This new method, also called *usûl-ı savtîyye* (vocal method) privileged sound over script, and accorded greater value to the aural acquisition of vocabulary (and eventually, full sentences) as conducive to oral production. Teachers were instructed to encourage students to orally reformulate the texts they had listened to and read, in order to develop their ability to understand and convey meaning (Selîm Sâbit 1881/1882<sup>21</sup>, Bağdâdî Cemîl 1896/1897, Özkaya 2011).

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<sup>21</sup> The edition of the work I consulted, available from İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı, in Istanbul, unfortunately does not provide a publication year for the work. The library gives 1299 (1881/1882) as publication date, the one also given by Öztürk (2009), while according to Şahbaz (2004) it was 1290 (1873/1874). They are probably referring to reprints of the same work, but in the one used for this thesis there is no mention of whether it was a reprint, or the number of reprints.

To fully grasp the significance of this pedagogic shift, let us take a moment to consider what the method known as *tesmiye (adlandırma) yöntemi*, or ‘the naming method’, and the reading methods based on the popular *Elifba Cüzü* (‘The Alphabet Fascicle’) primer entailed. The *Elifba Cüzü* was a primer used to teach children the rules for reading and reciting the Qur’an (Şahbaz 2004). Its main aim was to teach pupils how to recognise letters and read, but not how to write. The student who had successfully completed this reading training would then move on to writing. The method based on this primer involved learning the names of the letters of the Arabic script as well as their separate shapes (when found at the beginning, middle and end of the word). Şahbaz has examined several of these primers, highlighting the issues that could arise from this approach (2004). It is important to remember that the main purpose behind these primers was learning the rules of *tajwīd*<sup>22</sup>, that is, Quranic recitation. One of the issues was, therefore, that students would be mainly exposed to the pronunciation of letters as they would need to be pronounced when reading the Qur’an but not as they would eventually be pronounced when reading a pre-reform Turkish text (or when actually speaking the language, see Ertürk 2011, Strauss 1995, 2008a, 2011, 2017). According to Fuat Baymur, cited by Şahbaz, students ended up not being able to learn either Quranic reading and recitation or Turkish as these primers did not contain any useful, and actually used, Turkish vocabulary. Additionally, the booklets did not include letters commonly found in Turkish such as *p* and *ç*<sup>23</sup> (Baymur in Şahbaz 2004, 2).

The ‘naming method’ (*tesmiye yöntemi*) worked in a similar way, and the *Elifba Cüzü* was often the textbook of reference. It consisted in teaching pupils the names of each individual letter, showing them little by little how their shapes changed when combined with other

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<sup>22</sup> Or *tecvîd*, according to its Turkish pronunciation and transliteration.

<sup>23</sup> These are, in fact, found in the Persian script. The script used for pre-reform Turkish was, for this reason, Perso-Arabic.

letters. It made use of syllables (*heceler*) to introduce gradually longer words (a method called *heceleme*, or syllabification) but it would do so not by teaching students the *sound* of the full word – rather, by having the student spelling it, naming each letter (and vowel sign), finally reading the word. This reading strategy caused, according to Selîm Sâbit, confusion, as well as being a painstakingly slow process. He suggested an approach still based on syllabification, with shorter syllables (possibly composing ‘useful’ words such as *dede*, grandfather, *baba*, dad) that would be read out by the teacher first, and then repeated by the students ‘from one mouth’ (Sâbit 1881/1882, 11). The emphasis was here on *telaffuz* (pronunciation, enunciation) and ease, but Sâbit also made it clear that reading and writing skills should be developed simultaneously (19) and the students should write in their notebooks the words they *first* learnt to pronounce (ibid.). By having the teacher lead this text-performing choir, what Sâbit effectively promoted was a form of sound-based standardization, one that would result in a more conscious command of script and writing beyond the ambiguities generated by the discrepancy between the Arabic script and Turkish phonetic. It would also imprint on the young speakers’ minds the concept of a metaphorical speech-leading authority, to whom all should submit in order to prosper – phonetically, vocally, verbally and materially. The other crucial point made by Sâbit was that the focus should be on Turkish words. One might ask, at this point, *who* the ‘authority’ one should submit to is – was it still represented by Arabic, with its ‘status’ as the language of the Qur’an, or was a new register and mode taking centre stage?

An emphasis on sound and spokenness, in other words, phonocentrism dictated the gradual emergence of the Turkish register in the process and in the materials of Ottoman language standardization (see Ertürk 2010). It also subtly intertwined with the (re)production of textual meanings. In doing so, it represented a step away from reading/recitation methods associated with Islamic practice and instruction still, paradoxically, using its tools to bring this shift about.

As Şahbaz has pointed out, the *usûl-ı savtîyye* was innovative because it encouraged pupils to develop their writing as well as their reading abilities (2004) whereas previous methodologies emphasized reading. The shift from receptive to productive is symbolic of a more subtle shift in terms of sources of authority as well as developing an individual, independent narrative voice. A voice in control of the meanings it wishes to produce via the personal, oral re-elaboration of textual meanings and the simultaneous acquisition of the skill to fix those meanings onto a blank page. This would move ‘speech from oralaural to a new sensory world, that of vision’ that transforms ‘speech and thought as well’ (Ong 2002, 83). In the cyclical pattern described by Ong, an utterance is visually represented and thus recorded, in turn affecting the way enunciated ideas are understood, structured, and then again orally elaborated (or, in our case, copied from a blackboard).

This is similar to the way in which the intellectual and educator İsmail Gaspıralı (1851-1914)<sup>24</sup> illustrated the advantages of a vocal, interactive (i.e., question and answer) methodology over memorization: ‘reading Turkish is to read vocabulary and words exactly and to know what they are’ (in Özkaya 2011, 82; my translation<sup>25</sup>). This should be followed by a re-elaboration of the text on the part of the student, indicating his/her comprehension of the text. The word Gaspıralı used for ‘reading’ Turkish was *kıraat*, an Arabic word meaning reading

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<sup>24</sup> Gaspıralı was an important figure in the Pan-Turkic movement and for the Muslim Turkic peoples of the Russian Empire. He inspired the Jadidist movement, which sought to modernize Russian Muslim communities by means of education and he was a strong supporter of the idea of unity among all Turkic peoples, including language unification (*dilde, fikirde, işte birlik!*, ‘Unity in language, thought and action’). According to Gaspıralı, there should be a simplified Turkish for all Turkic peoples to understand and be able to communicate in, and then a literary language, with its traditional Persian and Arabic linguistic texture. As to the Turkish, this should be based on the Turkish of Istanbul. Considering Gaspıralı’s role in the development of a pan-Turkic ideology is important to understand how interconnected the diffusion of the phonetic method and the ‘Turkish’ cause were.

<sup>25</sup> *Türkî kıraat etmek lügat ve sözleri tamam okup ne olduklarını bilmektir.*

but also indicating recitation of a text, specifically the Qur'an<sup>26</sup>. The Turkish verb *okumak*, which he also used in the same text, means both 'reading' and 'reciting', but the use of the Arabic testifies to a positioning of reading practice into a wider domain of recitation with religious undertones. This made the choice of vocabulary refer back to a reading/reciting, Islamic educational tradition in which memorization of texts (religious, legal, poetic) was central (see also Messick 1993). Gaspıralı did suggest, in fact, that memorization be employed for prayers and religious formulas, but he insisted on an oral reformulation of the text that involved greater and deeper understanding on the part of the readers (ibid.). The re-elaboration of the text and thus its performance was gradually attained, with the *usûl-i savtîyye*, by means of increasingly longer words, and eventually sentences and texts. Thus, the correct reading and consequent interpretation of the meanings of the texts intertwined, as pupils were trained to hear, pronounce and understand signs and meanings simultaneously: 'Although it is necessary to learn by heart and commit to memory prayer supplications, in Turkish reading (*kıraat*) [the child] should know how to either comment on and relate the sentence or story he read or [s/he should] know how to write and present what s/he read.' (ibid.; my translation<sup>27</sup>).

In the application of the vocal method, production of sound and meaning coalesced, and learning to pronounce meant learning how to *say* in a wider sense (see also Bergeron 2010). The ultimate aim of learning how to read Turkish correctly off the Perso-Arabic script was, first and foremost, not to succumb to the ambiguities of a script that did not possess all the letters corresponding to Turkish sounds (on this fatal sign/sound discrepancy, see Ertürk 2011).

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<sup>26</sup> The Arabic *qirā'a* and the word Qur'ān share the same root. In fact, the word *Qur'ān* itself means 'recitation' and a reciter is called *qārī'* or *qurrā* (see Wehr 1979, 882). This is also the term commonly found for 'reader/s' in pre-reform Turkish texts, instead of the Turkish *okuyucu*.

<sup>27</sup> *Namaz dualarını hıfza alıp ezberlemek gerek olduğu halde Türk. kıraatta ancak okuduğu cümle ya hikâyeyi nakl ve rivayet etmeye ya ki okuduğunu yazıp bermeye bilmeli.*

Secondly, it was to teach children how to pronounce and *enunciate* their own meanings. This encouraged them to reproduce sounds and manipulate them to the desired effect in the act of re-elaborating content, as it were, in their own words. According to the champions of this method such as Sâbit, Gaspıralı, Bâğdâdî Cemîl and others we will shortly encounter, this would provide children with freedom of expression and interpretation. However, as it is clear from the methodology instructions, this freedom should still be cultivated within a structure, it had to operate within a framework, the one provided by the teacher's guidance. Pupils should *follow* the teacher in pronunciation, imitate him but without mechanically memorizing. Rather, by registering the newly learnt words into their notebooks, that would provide the starting point for their own enunciation.

The process is reminiscent of the *meşk* tradition, itself borrowed from the calligraphic pedagogical system (Behar 1993, 2016, Beşiroğlu 1998, Gill-Gürtan 2011)<sup>28</sup>. Vocal method instruction resembled *meşk* not just in its imitative component, but also because of the subtle ways in which it linked with both vocality and morality: '... the scope of *meşk* was not limited to the study of music. A student was also thoroughly schooled in ethics, culture, socialization, respect, style and "how to be".' (Gill-Gürtan 2011, 620). The link between learning how to read and speak well, but also becoming a morally responsible subject was an essential aspect of verbal/vocal education, as will be seen in the primers and readers published in the 1890s (see also Şahbaz 2004, Vurgun 2017, Topuzkanamış 2018). Indeed, ethics, culture, socialization, respect constituted the topics of reading texts found in almost every reader and primer I have

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<sup>28</sup> I am grateful to my supervisor Martin Stokes for pointing this out. The practice was also reminiscent of the collective (newspaper) reading that took place in Ottoman *kıraathaneler* (reading houses): see Fortna 2011, 162, Sajdi 2008.

examined. The reading texts were designed to not only have the pupils practise gradual word and sentence construction, but to also instruct children morally, gradually building a sense of moral excellence that was based on Islamic principles. Particularly in Muallin Nâcî's reader we see how learning how to read was presented as conducive to developing a submissive, excellent character, that would prosper under the guidance and protection of an excellent guide: the father first, the teacher later and, finally, the sultan.

According to Gill-Gürtan, *meşk* was a system 'ideally suited to the transmission of vocal repertoire' (ibid.) an aspect that puts *şarkı* song lyrics performance and *kıraat* instruction the same plane, with textbooks being recited/read in a teaching framework that resembled that of traditional musical education. As this happened under the guidance of a teacher – in the case of *meşk*, a master – the application of the vocal method also reinforced paternal/filial relationships (such as the one between the master and the apprentice), while content was read, 'transmitted', chorally recited by the class and internalized, as a piece of repertoire, by each individual student. But while traditionally Arabic had been at the heart of this linguistic education in the context of the *medrese*, the new vocal method emphasized Turkish and was, in fact, developed for the specific purpose of learning Turkish *telaffuz* (pronunciation). Turkish was gradually becoming the new phonetic authority that Arabic would metaphorically submit to. This performative aspect of both the phonetic standardization of the Turkish register and the traditional oral transmission of repertoire described by Gill-Gürtan must also be taken into account in order to understand how this shift gradually came about. In other words, how Arabic linguistic methodology gave room to Turkish, which made use of Arabic's linguistic and language pedagogy tools and adapted it to its own phonetic needs. Gill-Gürtan, reflecting on Judith Butler, writes:



On the one hand, the performative is futural, as it generates effects in the constitution of that which is not yet in existence. On the other hand, performativity [...] necessarily depends on the sedimentation of the past; it reiterates what has already been said, and its power and authority depend on how it recalls that which has already been brought into being. A performative utterance can therefore “succeed” only if it repeats or cites norms and conventions that already exist. (2011, 216)

If we transpose this to the Ottoman context discussed here, we can look at the past utterances, at the ‘already said’, so to speak, as that sedimented, Arabic/Islam-centred, pedagogical inheritance represented by the *medrese* system. This served, I believe, as the foundation of the *mektep*, with which it continued a silent conversation. The vocal performance of the Turkish register via the new, vocal method – specifically designed for this register – was the result of adapting new pedagogico-linguistic ways to the emergent linguistic, ethno-centred, conscience that revolved around Turkish. The shift in pedagogical and linguistic authority that this manifested was subtle and brought into being by performance – the performance of language and of text that the *usûl-ı savtiyye* promoted, with its emphasis on phonetic acquisition. However, we should not think that the emergence of the Turkish register meant moving away from the idea of a central authority represented by the Sultan as the spiritual and political leader of the Muslim, and more generally Ottoman, community. The idea of Arabic as conducive to greater loyalty and unity, discussed earlier, was, I believe, simply transferred to Turkish. Turkish gradually emerged as a register capable of conveying morality, faithfulness and feelings of belonging, respect, affection, and commitment to the members of the community. Let us now turn to the textbooks, readers, and primers to see how this shift was practically realized.

'I'm coming from school (*mektep*), and I've completed the alphabet (*Elif cüzü*); I will begin memorizing the *amme cüzü*, my Sultan.<sup>29</sup>

One of the texts in the first volume of Muallim Nâcî's *Ta'lîm-i Kiraat* (1893/1894)<sup>30</sup>, a primary school reader, recounts the (fictional) chance encounter between a primary school child and the Sultan. The child has just come out of the *mektep* and is on his way home. The Sultan, on the other hand, who that day decided to wander about, is impressed by the boy's demeanor (*halinden*) and understands that the pupil is quite intelligent. The conversation, in simple Turkish (*sade Türkçe*), unfolds as follows:

Sultan – *My son, where are you returning from?*

Child – *From school (mektep).*

Sultan – *What are you studying?*

Child – *I have completed the alphabet (elif cüzü); I will start the amme cüzü.*

Sultan – *Well done, my son! Here, take this gold coin and buy some candy!*

Child – *I can't take it! My father would see it and get angry, and he would say, "where have you taken this gold coin from?"*

Sultan – *If your father asks, he will not get angry after you say, "the Sultan gave it".*

Child – *But he will not believe it!*

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<sup>29</sup> An excerpt from Muallim Nâcî's reader *Ta'lîm-i Kiraat – Birinci Kısım* (1893/1894). The *amme cüzü*, or *juz amma*, is one of the thirty parts in which the Qur'an is divided. It is the last part (the 30<sup>th</sup> *juz*), comprising short chapters (*sûrahs*) that are easier to memorise for beginners and children. Due to the chapters' brevity, it is often the first *juz* to be memorised.

<sup>30</sup> Muallim Nâcî (1849-1893) was a key figure in education, as well as the author of an important dictionary, the *Lugat-ı Nâcî* (1890/1891), completed by Müstecâbîzâde İsmet Bey. Nâcî was also a poet, author, and literary critic. See Uçman 2005.

Sultan – *Why would he not believe it?*

Child – *Would the Sultan give [just] a gold coin? When he gives, he gives a lot.*

The child's answer pleases the Sultan; he fills his pocket with gold. (73, my translation<sup>31</sup>)

The Sultan is here represented as a benevolent figure who rewards diligence, education, morality, obedience, and intelligence. The scene contains references to a specifically religious context, with the pupil proudly stating that he has completed the alphabet and is ready to recite the Qur'an. However, although we would expect this training to have occurred in the *medrese*, the child tells the Sultan is going home from the *mektep*. This brings us back to the points, previously mentioned, made by Somel (2010) and Fortna (2000, 2011) that these two systems should be seen as complementary, rather than antagonistic, and the silent, ongoing conversation between the two is also heard in the use of language, which is the aspect that interests us most here. The 'plain Turkish' of the text was the result of a lucid choice made by the editor and Nâcî himself, explained by the former in the introduction:

... while so many readers are available, the publication of a new reader with selections from books written *in Turkish* and foreign languages about morals,

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<sup>31</sup> Here is a transcription of the conversation:

*Pâdişâh – Oğlum, nereden geliyorsun?*

*Çocûk – Mektepten.*

*Pâdişâh – Ne okuyorsun?*

*Çocûk – Elif cüzünü bitirdim; amme cüzüne başlâyacığım.*

*Pâdişâh – Aferîn oğlum! Âl şû âltûnı da şeker âl!*

*Çocûk – Âlâmâm! Bâbâm görür, 'bû âltûnı nereden âldın?' diye dârılır.*

*Pâdişâh – Bâbân sorârsa: 'Pâdişâh verdi' deyince dârlımâz.*

*Çocûk – İnânâmâz ki!*

*Pâdişâh – Nîçûn inânmayacak?*

*Çocûk – Pâdişâh hîç bir âltûn verîr mi? Verînce çokça verîr.*

*Çocûğun cevâpları, pâdişâhın hoşuna gîder; kesesini âltûnla doldurur.*

science, wisdom, health etc. was deemed necessary. ... Just as the beneficial contents, the wording<sup>32</sup> too was edited by one of the most excellent literary men, Muallim Nâcî Efendi, with the intention that it be *simple and in a form that may be easily understood by children.*<sup>33</sup> (5; emphasis added).

And in the appendix to the introduction, Nâcî elaborates:

Following the benevolent suggestion that came from some sides regarding the further simplification of the early parts of reading education, these were simplified as much as possible. Even though the language-related circumstances, in comparison with Istanbul, of the children who are found to live in the provinces were taken into consideration, such expressions and words had remained that their interpretation and translation would still be necessary; however, as it is well known, the most acceptable and recognized expressions employed in a language are the expressions used in the capital cities. *Consequently, while on the one hand saying, 'let us do it in a more open Turkish', we could not, on the other, allow [it] to corrupt the graceful idiom of expression.* However, with the aim of satisfying each side as much as possible, by making a greater effort, the necessary explanations of the clear Turkish meanings of Arabic and Farsi words found in each page have been shown at the bottom of that page, and this sign (\*) has been put next to them in

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<sup>32</sup> Literally, *şive-i ifâdesi*, the 'idiom of expression'.

<sup>33</sup> ... *bû kadar kıraat kitâpları mevcûd iken Türkçe ve elsine-i ecnebiye üzere yazılmış kütüb-i ahlakiyye, fenniye, hakimiyye, sıhhiye ve sâireden bilintihâp yeni bir kıraat kitabının neşri lüzmu görülmüştü. ... Mûndericât-ı müfîde gibi şive-i ifâdesi de sâde ve çocukların ânlâyabilecekleri surette suhûletli olmak üzere üdebâ-yı aşırın serfirâzânından Muallim Nâcî Efendî hazretlerinin nazar-ı tashihinden geçirilmiştir.*

order to indicate them. ... However, in the case of most of the expressions, they were conveyed with the clear Turkish ‘övmek’, ‘korumak’, ‘baba’, while in some places Arabic and Farsi words such as ‘medh’, ‘vikaye’, ‘peder’ were retained, but for those [like them] a glossary was prepared.<sup>34</sup> (7; emphasis added)

A reader familiar with pre-reform Turkish will notice that the style chosen by Nâcî for his introductory notes considerably differs from the ‘wording’ chosen for the texts to be read by students (see footnotes). The register chosen by the educator is sophisticated, rich with Arabic vocabulary and some Persian, all held together by Turkish syntax. This register was commonly found in works published during the nineteenth century. Introductions, explanatory sections, and notes to song lyrics collections, for example, employed the same language, abundant in *ezâfe* constructions<sup>35</sup>, Arabic and, depending on the topic, Persian<sup>36</sup>. Articles I have examined from newspapers such as *Hânımlara Mahsûs Gazete* (1895-1906)<sup>37</sup> and *Malûmat* (1895-1903)<sup>38</sup> presented the same features. In his appendix to the introduction, Nâcî referred to the language debate, revealing that well-meaning advisors had suggested further simplification, more appropriate to the early stages of the young readers’ training. However, he also revealed

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<sup>34</sup> *Ta’lîm-ı kıraatın ilk kısımlarının dahâ sâdeleştirilmesi hakkında bazı taraftan vârid olân ihtârât-ı hayırhâhâne üzerine ilk kısımları mümkün mertebe sâdeleştirildi.*

*Vâkıa İstânbul nispetle vilâyette bûlûnân etfâlin lisânca âhvali nazar-ı dikkate âlındığı halde henüz öyle ibâre ve kelimeler kalmıştır ki bundan dahâ âçık ta’bîrâte tebdîli iktizâ ederdi; lakin müstağni-yi izâh olduğu üzere bir lisânda isti’mâl olûnân ta’bîrâtın en makbûl ve muteberleri, pâyitahtlarda istimâl olûnân ta’bîrlerdir. Binaen aleyh dahâ âçık Türkçe yâpâlim derken kitâbın şîve-i latîf ifâdesini bozmağı (bozmayı) da tecviz edemedik. Mamâfîh her tarafı mümkün mertebe memnûn etmek emeliyle bir kât dahâ masârif ihtiyar olûnâarak beher sahifede bûlûnân Arabî, Fârsî kelimelerin âçık Türkçe maanâları ile lâzım gelen izâhât, yine o sahifenin âlında gösterilmiş ve bunların tefriki için yânlarına şû (\*) işâret konulmuştur.*

<sup>35</sup> On this fascinating grammatical particle see Parsafar 2010, Kahnemuyipour 2014.

<sup>36</sup> Texts about music, such as the introduction to Ahmet Avni Konuk’s song collection *Hânende* (1899), often present a significant number of Persian expressions, due to music-related terminology being derived from Persian.

<sup>37</sup> See Enis 2013, Öztürk 2016.

<sup>38</sup> See Uçman 2003.

his own conflict regarding whether a 'more open Turkish' could mar the elegance of a more sophisticated wording. The importance he gave, as an author and educator, to the manipulation of register is evinced from the editorial strategy he illustrated in the appendix. That is, indicating Arabic and Persian words (but also expressions) with a number of asterisks proportionate to the number of nouns composing the *ezâfe*-bound structures the readers would come across in the text<sup>39</sup>, as well as the use of a glossary with definitions and translations into Turkish of Arabic and Persian terminology (Nâcî 1893/1894, 7). He was also quick to clarify that Turkish had been preferred and used where possible, but that in some cases context had made it necessary to use Arabic and Persian equivalents. These had, however, been translated in the notes. The attention given to these linguistic and editorial explanations show that, at least for Muallim Nâcî, it was important to expose children to translations and definitions from and to Arabic and Persian, although Turkish was acknowledged as a simpler language to build reading skills on. Furthermore, Nâcî's choices are indicative of the flexible register use I have been discussing, with Turkish being aimed at a specific audience (young readers) with a specific goal in mind (to facilitate their initial training).

By the time the pupils got to the curious exchange between the child and the Sultan, they would have read and answered questions about texts covering topics such as: the benefits and responsibility of going to school, growing up, time, the animal world, planet earth and the universe, civilization, divine wisdom, respect and the lack thereof, invocations to God. The texts were not organised according to topics and the sequence feels like a random selection, but one aspect they all had in common is the development of excellence of character, moral values and submission to authority (be it parents, the Sultan or Allah). The message promoted is that

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<sup>39</sup> That is, one for one word, two for two-word and three for three words connecting structures.

prosperity and well-being are obtained through education and submission, while lack thereof results in loss of love and respect by one's peers and one's family: ...everyone loves those who are educated... I am a student. I have teachers.... I should submit to them... I am not one of the disobedient children... I will not remain ignorant... If I learn how to read beautifully... my mother and my father... will love me more.' (Nâcî 1893/1894, 9-10)<sup>40</sup>.

The choice of applying Turkish to the explanation and teaching of religious concepts, as well as moral principles, caused Turkish to act as a valid vehicle for the transmission of moral and religious values. This showed that the bond existing between certain registers of language and certain subject matters was not indissoluble, and that the choice of language greatly depended on the intentions of the authors and the text. Muallim Nâcî's work is also useful in that it illustrates the difference between the use of Arabic and Persian language/registers and vocabulary for conveying particular meanings, and their use as foreign linguistic elements fully adopted by, and used as, Turkish. That is, loanwords. The former approach can be seen in the vocabulary chosen for the introductory notes, resulting in a sophisticated and formal style. The latter is indicated by the terms found in the texts, which present a number of Arabic words still commonly found and used in Turkish. This element provides an important key to interpreting song lyrics and distinguishing between the registral elements that were specifically chosen on the basis of meaning, and those that were simply part of common language use.

Nâcî's work is interesting because while he advocated the use of plain Turkish, he also appreciated the beauty and harmony provided by words and expressions commonly found in the *dîvân* language (7). The work's language composition is similar to that found in song lyrics

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<sup>40</sup> ...terbiye görmüş olurlarsa onları herkes sever... Ben bir şâkirdim. Hocalarım vâîr. ... Onlara itaat etmeliyim. [...] ...itaatsız çocuklardan değilim. ... câhil kâlmâyacağım. ...Güzelce okûmağî öğrensem... Ânâm, bâbâm... Beni dahâ ziyâde severler. Hocalarım da banâ 'âferin!' derler.

collections, and it presents pre-reform Turkish as a language made of register/languages used according to need and intention. On the one hand, it could be argued that his choice to use Turkish confirms the belief that Arabic and Persian were reserved for particular social contexts and were foreign to readers who needed a simpler language. However, at a closer look, those foreign elements can still be detected and Muallim Nâcî's work made an effort to familiarise younger generations with Arabic and Persian jargon by using footnotes with definitions and a glossary<sup>41</sup>.

After matters of style, Nâcî provided instructions regarding *how* to read the texts. That is, the methodology to be applied by teachers and students for correctly delivering/performing them:

One of the general improvements of our reading [lessons] is the providing of questions at the bottom of every text. The aforementioned questions should be delivered by the teacher and parents after the children have read the lessons; they should move on to another lesson upon condition that the answer is sufficient and satisfactory. The aim of this is not just for the student to be satisfied with his/her reading, but to understand whether the lessons they have read have stayed in their minds, and if it is not fixed, to repeat until the exercise and skill have been mastered. (8)

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<sup>41</sup> About using the glossary, Muallim Nâcî explained: *İkinciden sonraki kısımları okûyân talebe, lûgat bellemekte, lûgat ârâyıp bilmekte âz çok meleke peydâ etmiş olacakları melhûstur* [It is expected that the pupil reading the sections after the second one will have become more or less used to the skill of memorising, searching for and becoming acquainted with vocabulary] (Nâcî 1893/1894, 8)



Alongside being a core – and, apparently, innovative – part of Nâcî’s reading method, question and answer was also an integral part of the vocal method (Sâbit 1881/1882, 26, İrfan in Şahbaz 2004, 6). Several primers contained instructions for teachers on how to guide the students while eliciting answers from them and help them in their re-elaboration of content. As we have also seen with Gaspıralı, the idea of orally conveying acquired knowledge (whether in the form of reading texts, or the sound of letters, syllable, words) was regarded as an effective methodology, conducive to intellectual development and freedom of expression. Other readers and primers promoted this approach, too, taking the students from being able to associate letter shape and sound to reading full texts. Particularly interesting, in this regard, are İsmâîl Efendi’s *Usûl-ı Kıraat-ı Osmâniye* (‘Method for Reading Ottoman’, 1893/1894) and Bağdâdî Cemîl’s *Elifbâ-yı Osmânî* (‘The Ottoman Alphabet’, 1896/1897).

İsmâîl Efendi’s primer consists of eighteen pages, with a short morphological introduction and guidelines for the teachers on how to use the exercises found in the booklet. On the title page, it is stated that ‘it will make those who cannot read at all read in one week’ and that ‘the author has translated the present work, word for word, to Arabic and Farsi for general [lit., the diffusion of] benefit’<sup>42</sup> (1). İsmâîl Efendi then dedicated two pages to explaining the sound consonants that can be read as vowels, that is, the Arabic letters ا, و, ه, ی (read, in Turkish, as *a, u, e, i*). These letters, however, are in fact *consonants* in Arabic. They require a symbol known as *harakah* (literally, ‘movement’) to be placed above or underneath the letter preceding them for the letters to be pronounced as vowels, that is, lengthened *a* (اَ), *i* (اِ) or *u* (اُ) (for example, the word نور (light) pronounced as *nūr*, with a long *u* sound). Despite their official status as consonants, and although this is indeed one of the first morphological aspects the Arabic

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<sup>42</sup> *Hîç okumak bilmeyenleri bir haftada okudur... Tamîm-i fevâidi maksadıyla müellif işbu eserini ‘Arabî ü Fârsî lisanlarına daha harfiyen tercüme eylemiştir.*

learner must familiarise him/herself with, we observe here an example of how Arabic linguistics was made to serve the particular requirements of Turkish. These letters are presented as vowels straight away, with the addition of a letter (هـ) corresponding to a light *h* sound and an explanation of how they sound. Identifying them as vowels would be priority for a reader of Turkish written in the Arabic script because vowels have an important syntactical and phonetic role in Turkish. In fact, one of the issues with Perso-Arabic script was precisely that it could not cater for the vowel variety found in Turkish (see Ertürk 2011). The consonant ‘identity’ of these letters could, then, be approached at a later stage. This would be particularly important in a ‘vocal’ approach, because – as it is seen in the exercises – these letters would then be presented in different combinations with consonants such as *b*, *p* (taken from the Persian script), *c*, *ç* and read aloud for the students to associate them with particular sounds from the beginning. An example, from İsmâîl Efendi’s primer, of the syllabic sequence to be read aloud would be *ba* (با), *pa* (پا), *ta* (تا), *sa* (سا), *ca* (جا), *ça* (چا) (1893/1894, 8).

It is interesting to think of a translation to Arabic and Farsi as conducive to general benefit when those two registers of pre-reform Turkish had become so controversial, and when an interest in promoting Turkish had become an important part of linguistic pedagogy. One also wonders about who the audience for these translations would be constituted by: more advanced, possibly secondary school students?<sup>43</sup> Returning to the primer, İsmâîl Efendi gave clear instructions in his introductory notes: ‘*First of all*, the Illustrious<sup>44</sup> Teachers should adequately *make the students understand the sounds indicated by the letters* without making

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<sup>43</sup> I was not able to investigate this point, but it is hoped that further research will shed some light on these questions.

<sup>44</sup> I have chosen this expression to translate the word *Efendi*, that in fact means ‘master, gentleman, mister’. The translation ‘Master Teachers’ seemed awkward in English, and I preferred the adjective ‘illustrious’, and later ‘respected’ to convey the deference towards the educators that the expression entails.

a distinction<sup>45</sup>, without the book, that is, *without showing the letter's shape*<sup>46</sup> (4; emphasis added). The author gave a more practical example in the immediately following section on letters (*hurûf*), where he clarified that teaching the letters' sounds as a first approach meant not giving them the name of the letter but reading it straight away in combination with other letters. This, as it will be remembered, was Sâbit's method (1881/1882), the *usûl-ı savtîyye*. At the end of the booklet, he gave more detailed instructions, and these were nearly identical to those found in Bağdâdî Cemîl's primer. As to İsmâîl Efendi Hoca,

After gaining complete confidence that the forms of composition of the letters and vowels' shapes and parts have properly settled into the students' minds, the Respected Teachers should first read, slowly, with clarity and in their presence, short paragraphs with separated letters suitable to what the students enjoy and are enthusiastic about, with the condition that [the reading] conforms to the articulation of the letters and, afterwards, they should have the students read them. (18)

Similarly, in his introduction, Bağdâdî Cemîl explained that, although he was successful in teaching children how to read by using the alphabet books, the old method hindered speedy progress as reading practice came after the study of morphology. The whole process caused students to become confused and tired their brains out with information regarding the

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<sup>45</sup> Here, the author means either without separating the letters and teaching their individual names, or differentiating between script and sound, that is, showing the script first and pronouncing the sound afterwards.

<sup>46</sup> *Muallim Efendiler evvel emirde kitâpsız olarak yani eşkâl-ı hurûfî göstermeden hurûfun delâlet ettikleri sesleri bilâtefrîk talebeye lâyıkiyla tefhim ve insanın bû seslerden başka kelime terkîbine kâbil hîç bir savte mâlik bulunmadığını tâlebin zihnine yerleşinceye kadar ta'lim etmelidir.*

morphology of letters that a child's mind could not possibly retain (1896/1897, 2)<sup>47</sup>. For Bağdâdî Cemîl, writing the lessons a blackboard, having the students read them aloud and afterwards writing them in the notebooks would prove to be a successful strategy, one that he had applied in the past and that had yielded the best results:

I have seen with perfect satisfaction that writing one of the lessons contained in this booklet on a blackboard and having them read aloud, and afterwards writing them in their notebooks, was successful in making the beginners read perfectly and write easily within three months and a half, even though they took lessons for one hour a day. (ibid.)

In the introduction to the exercises, similarly to İsmâîl Efendi, Selîm Sâbit and Gaspıralı, Bağdâdî Cemîl stressed that students should be made to read lessons once from their books first, and then again in order for them to be written in *rik'a* (cursive) on the board. Then, they should be then transcribed onto their notebooks. Following this method, the students would become skilled at writing and reading at the same time (4). The author gave more detailed instruction in the form of introductory notes to individual exercises. These are useful to understand how the *usûl-ı savtîyye* was put into practice and how the question-answer method

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<sup>47</sup> Muallimlik silkine dâhil olduğum zamandan yanî yedî seneden beri tedrîslerî uhde-yi 'âcizâneme tevdi buyûrulân etfâl için vâsıta-yı talim olmak üzere intihâp eylediğim muhtelif elifbâ kitâplarıyla onlara kırâatı öğretmeğe muvaffak olmuş isemde bû muvaffakiyet pek çok zamân sarfından sonra husûl bulmuş ve pek çok müşkilât ile müyessir olabîlmıştır. Çünkü resâil-i mezkûrede müttehaz usûle ıktıfaen vukubûlân tedrîsâtta evvel-be-evvel bir çocuk elifbanın otuz dört harfının telaffüzünü öğrenmesi ve eşkâlını bilemesi ve harekât ile cezmî öğrendikten sonra hurûf-ı muttasıla yüz adedî tecâvüz eden eşkâlını hâfızasında tûtûp sonra da kelime okûmağa bâşlâması lâzım gelir. Bû ise zihinini yormak ne olduğunu bilmeyin/bilmeyen mînî mînî etfâl için ne kadar dâi-i melâldır. Zâten kelime hecelemeğe başlayınca eşkâlını gördüğü bir âlâ-yı/âlây harfler büsbütün zihininde kârışarak kelimenin müteşekkîl olduğu harfleri temyizde izhâr-ı aciz ettiğı defaatla görülmüştür. Bazıları daha hâfızalarının vüs'atı sâyesinde muvaffak oluyorlarsada lüzumundan ziyâde bir zamâna tevakkuf ediyor.

also found in Muallim Nâcî's reader was applied to oral instruction. Lessons 1-12 took students through several vowel-consonant combinations that gradually became words. One of the most important aspects is that the vocabulary was Turkish. Here is the vocabulary contained in lesson 11, as an example:

*ûzûn üzüm ûzâk dûrdûk dârî ârî*

*Râdde zâde dûdâk evrâk ... (15)*

And, after syllabic exercises, here are some sentences from lesson 13:

*Bâdem âl. Pâra ver. Bû bârdâk boştur. Evet tâzedir. Pederim yaverdir. Bû yâzî yâştır.*

*Tâtâr vârdı. Terzî nerededir. Ârî bâl yâpâr. Bûrâda bir perde yoktur. Bû boyâ âldır.*

*O âz yâzdı. Bâbâm bûrâdadır. Onda otûz pâra vârdır. Üç bâdem vâr îdî. Bâğda üzüm*

*yoktur. Vâpûrda bir büyük bâyrâk vâr îdî. Bû topâç âz döner.<sup>48</sup>(18)*

This may remind a reader familiar with Turkish of the texts found in Muallim Nâcî's reader: they are an example of plain Turkish register. The approach to delivering these texts is explained by Bağdâdî Cemîl in the notes to lesson 8:

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<sup>48</sup> Take the almond. This glass is empty. Yes, it is fresh. My father is a helper. This writing is wet. There was Tatar. Where is the tailor. The bee makes honey. There is no curtain here. This paint is vermilion. He wrote a little. My father is here. He had thirty *pâra*. There were three almonds. There are no grapes in the garden. There was a big flag on the ferryboat. This peg-top spins little.

Suggestion – Owing to the fact that the disjointed and joined letters have not been mentioned until now, the student should be orally asked about the marked [lit., illustrated] vowels and the *cizm*<sup>49</sup> sign in the following manner:

*Teacher – (c) üstün*<sup>50</sup>? *Student (ce); Teacher – (b) with cezim? Student (ceb); (h) esre with (s)? Student (his) and so forth.*

Suggestion – In order for the students to learn the letters of the alphabet in a perfectly correct manner, they should additionally be made to read from this page.

(12)

The crucial point here is that the teacher should not use the Arabic *name* of the consonant he is going to use: in the case of *c* (ج), that would actually be *ce*, but this would confuse the student, who would then wonder how to read the combination *ce* (consonant) + *e* (vowel, the *üstün*). The method's innovation is that the ج would be directly *pronounced* but not named, creating an immediate association between shape and sound. Further instruction as to the practical steps to be taken by the teacher when illustrating the letters are as follows:

The teacher writes on the board, explaining: in order for (ل - *dâ*) to be read, we put (ل - *â*) next to (د - *d*); in order to read (و - *vâ*), we put (ل - *â*) next to (و - *v*) and in order to read (ل - *â*) they put the sign called *medde* (◌◌◌), without adding another (ل - *elif*). (15)

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<sup>49</sup> Known in Arabic as *sukūn* (◌◌◌).

<sup>50</sup> *Üstün* is the Turkish name for the Arabic vowel sign for *a*, known as *fatha* (◌◌◌), while *esre* is the Arabic vowel sign for *i*, known as *kasra* (◌◌◌).

This particular lesson is followed by the list of Turkish words provided above. Similar instructions are found throughout the booklet.

As we have seen, the new method introduced pupils to the sound of syllabic combinations and, gradually, to words. Most importantly, it provided examples in Turkish. Indeed, the whole method aimed at familiarising students with sounds and then the way those sounds could be found in script, bypassing the confusing letter names. Arabic words found in the examples (such as those in İsmâîl Efendi's primer) would most likely be read according to their Turkish pronunciation, and not according to the rules of Quranic recitation. The vocal method sought to make it easier for students to read other texts that did not necessitate those rules. These texts were mostly written in the Turkish register but extracts and phrases from Arabic religious texts were also occasionally found in some of the readers. The new method emphasized sound to produce meaning, by having the students become familiar with the sound before seeing the written word and then repeating in their own words the content of the text. This sonic approach led to a verbal performance (the conveyance of the text) that would result in a very personal understanding/interpretation of the text (see Gaspıralı in Özkaya 2011). The whole process is suggestive of song lyrics interpretations and their performance.

### Reciting Turkish

Before bringing this chapter to a close, I wish to apply Lars Eckstein's (2010) description of the indissoluble bond between lyrics and performance to the performance of language, stressing that we look at performance as having a central role in the standardization of Turkish. Eckstein, referring to poetry and lyrics as two distinct types of texts, writes: 'while the voice in

poetry is generally perceived as an internalized one encoded in the medium of writing, the voice of lyrics is by definition external. Lyrics, this is to say, cannot be conceived outside of the context of their vocal (and musical) actualisation – i.e., their performance.’ (10). Were we to revisit this statement and substitute poetry for song and reading for lyrics, we would be looking at the reading-learning process actualized by means of the *usûl-ı savtîyye* as one that relies on vocality and the external, enunciation and re-elaboration, to be *afterwards* transformed into text. We could say that the texts presented in the sources discussed above were actually functional to vocal performance and could not be thought of as existing outside of their ‘vocal actualisation’. On the other hand, song lyrics can be looked at purely as texts in which an alternative form of language standardization took place. One based on the requirements of rhetoric, poetry, tradition and, of course, also to music, in that lyrics were bound to the rhythmic cycle used (*usûl*).

However, I propose that we look at these lyrics as detached from their musical ‘actualisation’ because in and of itself, their musical component would not explain word-content choices. It could be argued that different genres were characterised by different registers, such as the *türkü*, the lyrics of which were predominantly Turkish, or more sophisticated, longer forms such as the *kâr*, with lyrics adapted from the body of *dîvân* poetry. However, a degree of registral crossing over is easily detectable in these genres too and, of course, the *şarkı* is an excellent example of registral fluctuations and overlap. Furthermore, we should not forget about loanwords, that is, words that had become part of the Turkish register, despite their Arabic or Persian etymological origin.

Returning to the performable and performed aspects of Turkish and their role in standardisation, Eckstein’s observation brings us back to Gill-Gürtan’s use of the concept of performativity as it can be applied to *meşk*, and in particular its creative component. Referring



to Butler's understanding of the term, Gill-Gürtan highlighted the creative, 'futural' aspect of performativity, the one that by building on the sedimented past 'generates effects in the constitution of that which is not yet in existence' (2011, 216). In its external, futural capacity, I suggest that we consider the 'recitation' of Turkish by means of reading-training methods that have sound as a starting point, as a creative act by which new identitarian realities came into being. The reality I am referring to here is the ethno-centric one represented by Turkish, although the ideologic dimension of Turkish learning and speaking would become fully apparent during the first twenty years of the twentieth century (see Levend 1960; Türker 2019; Ertürk 2011; Lewis 1999; Hollbrook 1994; Kushner 1977)<sup>51</sup>. The textual dimension of this creative act is an *a posteriori* one that cements, extends, so to speak, the realities generated by means of sound. In Ochoa-Gautier's words:

Once sound is described and inscribed into verbal description and into writing it becomes a discursive formation that has the potential of creating and mobilizing an acoustic regime of truths, a power- knowledge nexus in which some modes of

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<sup>51</sup> During the early years of the twentieth century, the gradually rising 'status' accorded to Turkish and the ethno-centric ideology it came with were not reflected in *şarkı* lyrics composition, although it is important to remember that a fully developed language ideology would not emerge until 1923, the year when Gökalp's *Türkçülüğün Esasları* ('The Principles of Turkism') was published. A good example of this is the song collection in nine volumes published between 1908/1909-1910/1911 known as *Vatan u Hürriyet Şarkısı* ('Songs of the Nation and Freedom'). The collection gathered songs that celebrated the 'heroes of freedom (*hürriyet*)' Enver Paşa (1881-1922) and Resneli Niyazi Bey (1873-1913), that is, the main protagonists of the events of the Young Turk Revolution (1908), but it also contained songs for the Sultan and lyrics conveying a sense of pride in being Ottoman. The songs contained in the collection display the same linguistic variety found in other, previous collections, with the language composition varying from plain Turkish to more sophisticated Arabic and Persian-infused lyrics. In this particular collection, it is interesting to see how the traditionally, *dîvân* poetry-based lyrical content of the *şarkı* was used as a suitable means to convey patriotic feelings, but also how the language itself was manipulated and the register chosen to convey those feelings.

perception, description, and inscription of sound are more valid than others in the context of unequal power relations. (2014, 33)

The issue of inscribing sound, particularly the sounds of Turkish, the ‘mishearing’ it was engendered by (again Ochoa Gautier 2014, 90) and the misreading it engendered, were an integral part of the script issue that in the Ottoman context. As amply discussed by Ertürk, this led to a ‘phonocentric conception of writing’ (Ertürk 2011, 5). Referring to the language debates of the mid-nineteenth century, Ertürk writes:

... it is during this period that debates about the insufficiency of “Arabic” writing to represent “Turkish” sounds first decisively emerge, and that a new phonocentric conception of writing begins to take hold. While the orthography of Arabic and Persian loanwords mostly followed the conventions of the source languages, orthography in Ottoman Turkish was complicated by the representation of the eight distinct vowel sounds of Turkish by the four letters of Arabic. ... the unprecedented emergence of a new, phonetically biased discourse both in and about Ottoman Turkish, in which for the first time, words are imagined to possess thing-like objectivity, and the one-to-one correspondence between the written word and its signified referent is made the focus of regulation. (2011, 5-6)

The return to text by writing it after its reading/recitation is a process of recording sound that has the potential for creating a wider gap between what is written and what will later be read, due to mishearings or simply an incorrect use of the script. In this crisis between the heard and the written, the space for Turkish to claim its own recitational place opened up,

together with the potential to generate more accurate transcription and a more faithful orthography by means of a focus on the sounds of the language. With the orthographic authority of Arabic coming into question, Turkish found an oral space to emerge as a sonic force leading an orthographic revolution. By listening and pronouncing first, and later inscribing, the young students would approach the script no longer as the unchallengeable, sacred, calligraphy of religion but as a means to establishing a new recitational practice. This was not necessarily bound to religious tradition and education but built on ethno-centric linguistic values.

The process of learning to read and write Turkish by first encountering the sound of words, and only later writing them down, increased the awareness of the insufficiency of the Arabic script that caused Turkish to emerge as a register and Arabic to submit to its phonetic authority. Additionally, this awareness dominated the oral recitation of texts that conveyed values and messages previously associated with the moral and religious dimensions of Islamic education. While religious education and Quranic recitation training naturally continued to this very day, what happened in the 1890s, with the development of the *usûl-ı savtîyye*, was an aurally/orally led shift that resulted in what Messick has called a ‘recitational logocentrism’ (1993, 26). This entailed a performance of the text through reading the script as ‘an interpretative act’ (26). But while it is the practice of interpreting vowel markings that Messick refers to, in the case of Turkish I argue that this recitational practice was generated by the act of listening to and repeating what the teacher had said. In this way, it replicated the traditional, Islamic pattern of knowledge transmission but with *Turkish* as the means of recitation, rather than Arabic. Ertürk, referring to Messick, writes:

The ground of this “recitational logocentrism” (25), as Messick terms it, which also informed pedagogical practice, is the Quran, received and transmitted orally by the Prophet as the spoken word of God. Because recitation (*qira’a*) from memory is the primary mode served by the Quran as a ritual text, the written form of sacred language is understood as secondary to its original, recitational form. ... the basic instructional mode, common to Quranic schools and to the authoritative transmission of knowledge in the core disciplines of law, hadith, and grammar, “proceeded ideally from an initial oral recitation (or dictation) by the teacher to the listening student,” who “repeated the text segment on his own” until he was ready to reproduce the original recitation for the teacher (21–22). (2011, 10-11)

In a similar way, I argue that the writing practice that followed reading, in the vocal or phonetic method, merely served as a means to fix sounds as opposed to the written text being the starting point of recitation (lyrics anthologies followed the same pattern, mostly serving as *aide-mémoire*, see Behar 1993 and Wright 1992, and Chapter 4 of this thesis). The script acted more as a mnemonic device – very much as the written Qur’an – rather than directing reading and dictating its rules. Let us not forget that, after all, the rules of the Arabic script could not be applied to Turkish fully, rather, they had to be bent to its aural/oral necessities.

Finally, given the importance of performance in the standardization of Turkish, the question we must turn to now is whether the effects of these new pedagogical methods affected song lyrics, too. Or whether, as I suspect, song lyrics texts provided evidence of a parallel process. Before I answer this question, however, we will need to look at one more area of debate and (proposed) reform: the one that focused on the literary language of the *dîvân* poetic tradition, and rhetoric (*belâgat*). The *şarkı* itself was a poetic form, before a song, and its development

took place within the framework of the *dîvân*. It will be therefore important, before moving to an analysis and discussion of the lyrics, to look at what was happening in the domain of rhetoric and literary tradition around the time that its musical offspring came to dominate the musical scene.

## Chapter 3

### Weaving the Verbal Tapestry: *Belâgat* (Rhetoric), *Edebiyât* (Literature) and the *Şarkı*

#### Introduction

The lyrics of the *şarkı* drew upon the rich literary *dîvân* tradition. The *şarkı* itself was, in fact, a form of poetry. Despite the gradual emergence of the Turkish register as the linguistic standard, the linguistic elements that had traditionally constituted the fabric of its lyrics did not undergo significant changes throughout the nineteenth century<sup>52</sup>. The elements I am here referring to are those represented by Arabic and Persian, particularly the latter. For centuries, Persian language, imagery and poetry had provided the model and content for the Ottoman *dîvân* and the literary (*edeb*) tradition (see Andrews 1985). It had, however, also become the language of the rising bureaucracy, thus serving an important political function (see the Introduction to this thesis, 16; Chapter 5, 294). The poetic canon and the language used to compose it also aimed at establishing the Ottomans' place in the wider Muslim political and cultural geography, projecting its identity and grandeur (Findley 1980). Ottoman eventually came to be regarded by some thinkers and writers – most notably, Ziyâ Pâşâ – as a type of bureaucratic register (see Levend 1960, 121, and Chapter 1 of this thesis). The language earned, therefore, a sort of political status alongside its literary one.

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<sup>52</sup> On the language and imagery of Ottoman and Persian poetry, see Andrews 1985, Schimmel 1992; on the *şarkı* as poetic form, see Bombaci 1956, Uzun 2010; and as a musical genre, see Özkan 2010.

Some of the proponents of reform saw this higher language variant as representative of an elite and of a reality far removed from the Sultan's subjects' daily life. Nâmık Kemâl and Ziyâ Pâşâ, it might be remembered, had emphasized the unsuitability of Ottoman for straightforward communication. They had pointed out that its complex, essentially decorative formulas were an obstacle both to conveying the truly intended meanings and to individual expression, and they often resulted in a display of empty rhetoric declaimed for the sake of its own beauty. It is interesting to juxtapose this with one of the goals of the *usûl-ı savtîyye*, that is, developing the school students' own 'voice' by having them relate and explain the contents of texts. While the phonetic method may at first have appeared as exclusively imitational in nature, the question-and-answer methodology aimed at helping children re-elaborate content and become aware, as it were, of ideas and the language they could use to communicate them.

On the other hand, Ziyâ Pâşâ's contention was that the *inşâ* writing style (that is, the art of sophisticated prose and letter writing) resulted in inauthentic, impersonal prose, replete with formulas used to impress the reader which, however, obscured meaning. Purely imitative practice was linked to the prestigious, written literary and bureaucratic language and this has interesting implications when one thinks about registral composition. It is often suggested that Arabic and Persian represented a static, obscure, written, verbal reality, one of pure imitation of conventional formulas and form, while Turkish constituted a more lively, spoken reality – one that possibly provided space for more genuine individual expression. Let us recall the anecdote narrated by Ziyâ Pâşâ about the man who is interrogated by officers but he can only explain himself in the language that he knows, that is, that of his neighbourhood. By means of complex, bureaucratic formulas he is made to finally sign a declaration of guilt that, however, he himself cannot understand (see Chapter 1). According to Ziyâ Pâşâ, the boundary between

poetic and bureaucratic language had become blurred to the point that official texts resembled literary works for the complexity of their expressions (see Chapter 1 and Levend 1960, 118).

Alongside Persian, which was mostly used for poetry, Arabic took centre stage when it came to official registers. It was also central to the practice of rhetoric as Ottoman rhetoric (*belagât-ı Osmâniyye*) was modelled upon the conventions of Arabic rhetoric. The relationship with Arabic was complex and controversial and it was at the heart of a heated debate regarding rhetoric, language, religion and, ultimately, literature. Additionally, the practice of ‘imitating’ (*taklit*) emotions and thoughts by using conventional *dîvân* expressions to express them, as opposed to a more genuine expression of the inward by means of new expressions, if necessary, and the use of classical lexical elements became a point of contention. According to authors such as Recâizâde Mahmut Ekrem (1847 – 1914), it generated meaningless, purely formal expressions incapable of conveying any real emotion (see Ferrard [1986b] 2016, Dilek 2013).

Both the Persian and Arabic registers were found in the *şarkı* song due to song-lyrics inhabiting both the poetic and musical domains. In this chapter, I will review a ‘lyrical standards’ framework that will help us contextualize and evaluate lyrics. This might also help us to understand the place of Arabic and Persian in the standardization project by discussing what constituted good lyrics, good rhetoric, and good literary language. These standards of lyrical and rhetoric excellence became the subject of a fierce controversy between the supporters of traditional rhetoric, modelled upon Arabic, and the champions of a new rhetorical and literary style in which Turkish and French were given greater space. In this debate, linked to but also distinct from the language debate outlined in the previous two chapters, questions of literary style, form versus meaning, innovation versus tradition as well as register intertwined (see Dilek 2013). The chapter will provide a snapshot of the culture of



‘beautiful speech’ and sophisticated expression in the 1890s, and this will serve as the basis to gauge the role of Arabic and Persian in song-lyrics composition and what they represented in the context of song. Examining the variety of views regarding what constituted good literature and its new trajectories, and, on the other hand, the importance accorded by some to tradition and the bonds to religion represented by Arabic language and rhetoric, will help us answer questions regarding the *şarki*’s place in nineteenth century literary culture and whether it reflected the shifts taking place in the literary domain or not.

The debates about *belâgat* (rhetoric) partly reflected the anxieties concerning language, religion and ethnic bonds that were a salient feature of nineteenth century Ottoman culture. However, debates about rhetoric primarily brought together questions about what I have previously termed *edep*-centred bonds, which found their full expression in literature. While the art of rhetoric had always been synonymous with literary excellence and skill, and the body of literary works such as the *dîvân* had traditionally been considered a branch of this greater science of language (see Bilgegil 1980 as cited in Dilek 2013, 10), a distinct concept of literature as a practice independent from rhetoric gradually evolved throughout the nineteenth century. One aspect that characterized this new development was the emergence of literary critique (*tenkid*, Dilek 2013<sup>53</sup>) as separate from the commentary/exegesis (*şerh*) tradition. This shift suggests a gradual movement towards more personal interpretations of literature that echoed the shifts occurring in poetry with an increasing focus on the ‘genuine’ representation of private emotional experience, as opposed to imitation (Dilek 2013, Demir 2010). This could be described as a ‘lyrical’ shift, which unfolded at the same time as prose made an entrance onto the Ottoman literary stage.

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<sup>53</sup> For a brief discussion of the terminology used, during the *Tanzimat* period, for the concept of critique, see Dilek 2013, 8-11.

The onset of Western-inspired literary criticism, a greater lyrical sensitivity that sought new forms of expression away from imitation, and the development of prose signalled a move away from literary tradition that, however, did not imply a total renunciation of traditional forms. The issue became particularly heated when the cultural and religious frameworks of reference of those traditional forms began to be perceived as under threat. In this respect, the debate about rhetoric and the development of an Ottoman rhetoric as distinct from Arabic rhetoric shared much with the language debate in that it brought questions regarding identity, religion, tradition, heritage versus innovation into focus. The debate about rhetoric also revealed, in a literary context, the tensions between Arabic and pre-reform Turkish.

Alongside these tensions, several factors/reasons make the discussion of the teaching, learning and practice of Ottoman rhetoric useful to understand where the *şarkı* as text stood and what values it conveyed or challenged. These factors pertain to two main areas that I will explore in this chapter. Firstly, the question of form (*suret*) versus meaning (*ma'nâ*) and the use of registers according to content, context, and audience. Secondly, whether the *şarkı* lyrics, as a *dîvân* poetic form-turned-song, were affected by literary stylistic transformations, thus embodying new literary values, or whether they represented tradition during transition. In other words, did the *şarkı* convey new or old values, or both simultaneously? Did its composition and performance signal an attachment to tradition or reflect a confident shift towards the new? We have seen, in the previous chapter, how Turkish was acquiring greater authority (textual, recitative, phonetic). However, the role of Arabic could not be so easily dismissed or discarded. Do we see this in the lyrics of the period? And if the lyrics really did show an attachment towards the world of the *dîvân*, did they do so solely because they were song/poems belonging to that tradition?

An aspect of these literary discussions that I have found particularly interesting was the concern with truthful, verbal representation of emotion. This is an aspect that is highly relevant to the composition and performance of song-lyrics (Eckstein 2010). I do not mean to imply that song-lyrics, or poems, as a matter of fact, should always be, or ever are, a truthful representation of the author's emotional life. A work of literature is always the product of a skilled craftsman who knows how to manipulate language to generate an effect. The question here is – and it was also one of the issues debated in the nineteenth century – whether the effect the author wished to generate should take precedence over the meanings, the emotions, that he or she intended to convey. Budak described the literary shift that began in the eighteenth century as a 'localization movement aiming at language simplification, introspection and authenticity' (2008, 113 as cited in Dilek 2013, 20; my translation). This 'inward turn' did not only involve bringing individual emotions forward, as the focus of authors shifted towards content, rather than form. It also seemed to be outwardly reflected as a turn towards 'the local', with a greater emphasis on developing a theory of language (i.e., rhetoric) and literature that suited local cultural realities rather than depending and relying on external sources.

A younger generation of authors such as Nâmîk Kemal (1840-1888), Recâizâde Mahmud Ekrem (1847-1914), Abdülhak Hâmid Tarhan (1852-1937) identified these intrusive sources with the heavy Arabic literary and linguistic heritage. Arabic was revered as a language primarily because of its status as the language of revelation, but this sense of sacredness was also extended to the literary and rhetorical tools that had been developed to analyse and interpret the Qur'an (Dilek 2013). The new generation of authors – some of them mentioned above – who would operate, between 1895-1901, as members of the literary movement *Edebiyât-ı Cedîde* (see Levend 1960), did not champion the disowning of literary tradition but

insisted on finding new ways to coexist with the old conventions, and the ‘battleground’ became words, registers, imagery and, most importantly, content and meaning (*ma’nâ*). However, while the debate about rhetoric eventually became a debate on literature and literary values, it is also important to differentiate between the two as not all of the specific points of contention were applicable to, and found in, *belagât* (rhetoric) and *edebiyât* (literature) in equal ways. The debate about rhetoric had much more complex implications for the shifting relationship with Islamic values and their representation by means of Arabic language and literature. Throughout the nineteenth century, education itself underwent significant transformations, with a growing focus on ethnocentric bonds and discussions about religious and linguistic identities (Chapter 2).

In very broad terms, an interest in Turkic roots and identity led to the emergence of new approaches to learning and education in general, that granted the Turkish register greater space in school curriculums and in the literary theory developing in the final decades of the nineteenth century. The *mektep* schools partly embodied the new tendency to move away from traditional frameworks of reference and learning methodologies, and they did so in two opposite ways. One, as we have seen, was to introduce pedagogical methods that would contribute to developing a new identity by strengthening ethnic bonds. The other entailed adopting Western methods and systems of instruction. Although these may at first appear as contradicting orientations, they are the expression of the same urge to redefine Ottoman identity by reducing the influence that Arabic (and Persian, to some extent) held over Ottoman culture.

The process took place at the same time as ‘Western ways’ were gradually adopted, impacting education, visual and performing arts, literature, and the scientific, medical, technological and military fields. Attempts were made to forge new standards and to have a

less passive approach to the interaction with tradition. This happened partly by recalibrating relations with the Arabo-Islamic tradition of learning, partly by re-shaping local models by adopting new, foreign (European) ones that were considered by some much more effective and advanced (I am thinking here of reforms in the military and educational domains, primarily), and partly by rediscovering ethnic bonds. An excellent example of this was the development of literary criticism that provided a platform for more individual interpretations – and therefore, interactions – with literary works.

The argument against ‘blind imitation’ in literature could therefore be metaphorically applied to a more general tendency to move away from passive receptions of cultural models, naturally accompanied by a growing sense of agency (on agency in late nineteenth century Ottoman education, see Fortna 2002). In very much the same way, a new agency was sought and argued for in literature, and it coincided with an urge to make writing more intimate and truthful to emotional experience (regardless of whether such experience was real or fictional). There was, in other words, an urge to render writing more natural in a sense, unburdened by rhetorical sophistication and expressions that, some argued, had been primarily used to comply with stylistic conventions. Among those who called for greater freedom of expression, we must mention Ziyâ Pâşâ (see Chapter 1) but also Recâizâde Mahumud Ekrem, who engaged in a famous debate with Muallim Nâcî (we met him in Chapter 2) regarding what constituted the new and the old in literature (see Demir 2010).

Recâizâde Mahmud Ekrem was a key figure in the process of developing and defining a new literary theory and language, and he did so in his work *Ta’lîm-i Edebiyât* (‘The Instruction of Literature’), published in 1881/1882. His polemic against what he perceived as Muallim Nâcî’s attachment to older, traditional values that favoured form (*suret*) over content was primarily founded on the question of how and what vocabulary should be used. Ekrem called for a partial

renovation of phrases (*ibâreler*) that moved away from mere formal sophistication into more meaningful expressions of intimate emotional experiences (see Demir 2010, Dilek 2013, Ferrard [1986b] 2016). This makeover was to begin with a revisitation of lexical elements and consequently compound words and phrases (*terkîbât*) of Arabic but mostly Persian origin that were the key features of *dîvân* poetry. The focus on words is significant: vocabulary constituted compounds, compounds defined register, register was the fabric and the pulsating heart of *belâgat* (rhetoric).

Very much like literature, the art of rhetoric required a skilful manipulation of verbal and syntactical elements to create an effect. It should not, therefore, come as a surprise that another lively discussion concerning the fabric of rhetorical language took place in the field of rhetoric itself. This parallel debate began with the publication of Ahmet Cevdet Pâşâ's *Belâgat-ı Osmâniyye*, in 1882. Cevdet Pâşâ's was not the first work on the subject. Works about rhetoric, such as Ahmet Hamdî's *Belâgat-ı Lisân-ı Osmânî* (1876) and Mihâlicli Mustafa Efendi's *Hadikatü'l-Beyân* (1881) had already been published<sup>54</sup> but Cevdet Pâşâ's publication and his approach quickly became controversial and attracted the criticism of traditionalists. As pointed out by Cristopher Ferrard (1988), it is surprising that an 'essentially conservative man like Cevdet Paşa' (309) would come under attack from his own circle. However, the resistance with which his approach to tradition was met by his peers eloquently tells of how fragmented and varied the perceptions of what constituted tradition, what Ottoman meant, and what Ottoman tradition represented, were.

Unlike Recâizâde Mahmud Ekrem, Ahmet Cevdet Pâşâ did not look to the West for inspiration in the project of renovating the art of rhetoric. Cevdet Pâşâ, on the contrary, sought

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<sup>54</sup> See Dilek 2013 for a history of the rhetoric debate and related publications.

to bring attention to the Turkish register, making *it* the foundation of Ottoman rhetoric. This challenged tradition (as identified with Arabic) differently from Ekrem's attempt to fuse convention with lexical elements and approaches imported from Europe, but in the eyes of his critics it did not result in anything different than what the reformers were advocating for. It still challenged and jeopardized the sacredness of Ottoman rhetoric as the inheritor of the sacred Arabic, Islamic, Quranic literary and linguistic tradition. The terms and views of this debate will not be new to those familiar with the language controversy. At the heart of it lay, essentially, a very complicated relationship with heritage and what it represented. To some, the sacred bonds of Islam; to some, the betrayal of ethnic bonds; to yet others, a conglomeration of values and practices that should neither be sacralised nor rejected, rather, 'updated' to suit new cultural, literary, and ethnocentric values.

As a new literary theory gradually developed and, consequently, new paths began to be explored, the relationship between form, meaning and register came under greater scrutiny. Of all the questions being asked regarding the status of poetical expression and literary standards, the issue of appropriately conveying meaning and communicating feeling seemed to particularly concern the debaters. The art of conveying meaning that was at the heart of *belâgat*, therefore, became a key issue in literature too, leading to a re-evaluation of language in terms of lexical elements and register. The emergence of literary criticism was an attempt at exploring and developing new forms of expression by critically examining a tradition primarily based on imitation of conventional formulas . However, these attempts, resisted as much as welcomed, did not seem to affect the linguistic and registral fabric of the *şarki*.

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As pertains to song lyrics, an important work that will be reviewed in this chapter is Mehmed Celâl's (1867 – 1912) work *Güfte İntihâbı*, published in 1894/1895. *Güfte İntihâbı* could be described as a work of poetry/song lyrics criticism, extremely helpful to understand not just what was considered good poetry and composition practice, but also, to some extent, what was 'expected' of song lyrics, the standard framework they were evaluated within and, particularly, the standard lyrics should abide by when accompanied by *makâm*. In other words, not only what was lyrically and rhetorically suitable, but also what was 'modally' appropriate: what combination of register, lexical elements and imagery were deemed fitting to a specific *makâm* and what was deemed, on the other hand, unfit for the task.

A work such as Celâl's, straddling musical and lyrical composition practice, is useful in evaluating how far *şarkı* lyrics had, or had not, ventured from their metaphorical homeland, the *dîvân* poetry tradition, and whether they were affected by contemporary debates. However, it must be also pointed out that Celâl was a traditionalist and that, therefore, his commentary was very much on the side of convention. Still, it provides a useful perspective and at least one framework to approach lyrics from. Celâl's figure was also significant as one of many authors who showed an interest in song lyrics, either by commenting on them, or by writing them: Nâmık Kemal and Recâizâde Mahmud Ekrem were the lyricists behind some of the century's most famous *şarkılar*<sup>55</sup>. This element cannot be overlooked as it represents a bridge between the world of lyrics composition and that of literary debate, and it provides the

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<sup>55</sup> Nâmık Kemâl was the lyricist behind the *Şegâh şarkı Olmaz İlaç Sine-i Sad-pâreme* by Hacı Ârif Bey (1831 – 1885); Recâizâde Mahmud Ekrem wrote lyrics for several *şarkı* by Şevki Bey (1860 – 1891). A list is provided here <http://musiklavuzu.net/?/blog/bestekarlar/recaizade-mahmut-ekrem-1847-1914>. As to authors like Ziya Pâşâ (1829 – 1880), Ahmet Rasim (1864 – 1932) among others, see these pages <https://9lib.net/article/ziya-pa%C5%9Fa-n%C4%B1n-hayat%C4%B1-ve-g%C3%BCftelerinin-i%C3%87ncelenmes.9yn7m7jz>, <https://9lib.net/article/recaizade-mahmut-ekrem-bey-in-hayat%C4%B1-g%C3%BCftelerinin-i%C3%87ncelenmes.9yn7m7jz>, <https://9lib.net/article/ahmet-rasim-bey-in-hayat%C4%B1-ve-g%C3%BCftelerinin-i%C3%87ncelenmes.9yn7m7jz>.



chance for us to directly observe how much of the shifts occurring in literary practice spilt into *şarki* lyrics making.

It could be, rightly, pointed out that one work is not enough to establish whether such standards were shared by other authors – and the public – or whether they were peculiar to its author. To address this question, it will be useful to turn our attention to other works of literary criticism and instruction written in the same period, as well as consider the publication of song lyrics in newspapers. The year in which Mehmed Celâl's *Güfte İntihâbı* was published, 1895, was the same year in which the newspapers *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* (1895-1908) and *Malumât* (1895-1903) began to be published. These made available a considerable number of song lyrics and notation sheets to the public, some of which had previously appeared in songbooks and privately owned notation collections (see Ekinci 2015). Newspapers were also the main platform for literary discussion and debate regarding rhetoric. In the nineteenth century, they became a new vehicle for literature (Dilek 2013), language, and discussions about the two. The presence of *şarki* lyrics in this new media space makes one wonder what role it played, or what place it had, in this moment of transition *and* standardisation.

With the emergence of the newspaper as alternative literary space (prose was published in instalments, see Dilek 2013), a complex merging phenomenon took place, in which traditional forms of poetry were presented on the same platform where they came under attack. A text such as the *şarki*'s, with its solid bonds to the *dîvân* tradition, found a publication and circulation space in the media in which the revisitation and 'renovation' of that same tradition was intensely debated. In addition to that, the newspaper itself, in terms of language and content, was not a neutral or linguistically clear-cut source (see Chapter 1 about the use of register in newspapers). All these strands converged at a precise point in time, the 1890s, but the decade was only the repository of ideas and shifting understandings that had been

developing ever since the beginning of the *Tanzîmât* era (1839-1876). New ideological configurations, interpretations, bonds, and the means to express them had been brewing for decades by the time *şarkı* crossed the border of the *güfte mecmû'a's* (songbook) pages and made its appearance in the pages of the newspapers.

While the emergence of this new medium of publication provided a new environment for the *şarkı* to be enjoyed in by audiences of non-specialists or non-professional musicians, could we say that these discussions about private and public lyrical expression, alongside its own circulation in the public space provided by the newspaper, affected its content and/or form? I argue here that the rhetoric and literature debates did not substantially affect either the form or content of the *şarkı* but that the variety of registers, content and media of circulation were linked to the intentions of the author and the meanings/content he aimed to convey. I also argue that, even though the *şarkı* belonged to the *dîvân* tradition that was being revisited, its form and content maintained *edep*-centric bonds in an age in which these bonds came under question.

However, it will also be important to investigate the nature of these *edep*-centric bonds. When we talk about the *şarkı* text as belonging to the *dîvân* corpus, we talk about a text in which sophisticated and less complex registers frequently mixed, even in the space of a stanza. Thus, Turkish did appear in the texts, but it did so *as part of* a tradition in which registers had always mixed (see Andrews, Black and Kalpaklı 2006). Therefore, fidelity to the traditional *dîvân*, in the case of the *şarkı*, did not imply preference towards certain registers (such as Persian and Arabic) because they had *traditionally* constituted the fabric of the poetic text. Tradition, in the case of the *şarkı*, meant drawing on a body of lyrics in which registers had always freely mixed as the result of stylistic choices not necessary bound to ideology or emerging literary theory and criticism. In the nineteenth century, the *şarkı* song did not carry

the banner of *yenilik* (innovation) and its lexical elements, compound expressions and registers were unaffected by the literary debate focusing on them. I will examine whether its peculiar circumstances can be reasonably linked/related to its status as ‘song’ *alongside* poetic form. This will provide the opportunity for reflection on whether and how the lyrical content, or, more broadly, the textual dimension, of song is affected and can be said to affect linguistic phenomena during the process of language standardisation.

We are now ready to turn to the interactions and overlaps between literary practice, debate, criticism and *şarkı* lyrics composition. The central text I will examine in this chapter is Mehmed Celâl’s *Güfte intihâbı*. The chapter will be organised around the two main points of debate indicated earlier: approaches to rhetoric and literature, and the question of form versus meaning and register use (content, context, and audience); an examination of Celâl’s lyrics selection and how these reflected their contemporary debate on rhetoric and literature.

### **Approaches to verbal art: nineteenth century views on *belâgat* (rhetoric) and *edebiyât* (literature)**

In the course of the nineteenth century, *belâgat*, traditionally the science of beautiful speech but also literary art, began to be thought of as a separate science from literature. As briefly discussed above, the development of literary criticism moved in the direction of an increasingly individual and personalised verbal production, free from imitation and traditional forms of expression. The process was a complex attempt at weaving tradition with innovation, in the form of reviewed language use and literary technique. An updated *belâgat* would provide more truthful ways of conveying emotion and a new language to express them. Prior to discussing Mehmet Celal’s text, I will need to examine briefly two works on rhetoric and

literature published in the nineteenth century that discussed rhetorical technique and proposed a new theory of literature. I have chosen to focus on Ahmet Cevdet Paşa's *Belâgat-ı Osmâniyye* (1882), Recâizâde Mahmud Ekrem's *Ta'îlm-i Edebiyât* (1881/1882). These works were publications for schools, and their contents were based on notes from each author's classes on the subject. This indicates a connection between the world of the palace and the bureaucracy with that of education and the wider community. It also indicates a movement from elite circles and 'high' culture to a less elite audience, a trajectory shared by the *şarkı*.

Cevdet Pâşâ (1823 – 1895, see Halaçoğlu and Aydın 1993) was a statesman, linguist and author who made significant contributions to the debate about language and rhetoric as well as language education, producing grammars, texts on school pedagogy and rhetoric. Recâizâde Mahmud Ekrem (1847 – 1914) was a poet and educator. Cevdet Pâşâ *Belâgat-ı Osmâniyye* was based on the author's lesson notes from his first-grade classes in the *Mekteb-i Hukûk* (Law School). It was produced in response to the necessity of revisiting traditional, Arabic-based rhetoric and develop a 'Turkish' art of rhetoric. Cevdet Pâşâ was, in the words of Ferrard, an author who could offer 'conversancy with the traditional Islamic sciences' (1988, 310) and who was also reformist. He was attached to the Islamic tradition in linguistic and religious terms but was also aware of the acute need for 'instruction in grammar and composition' (312). Part of the reasons for his engagement with reforming rhetoric are described by Ferrard as follows:

In matters of education too, he exhibited a marked reluctance to throw out the content of the classical curriculum. In the early years of his public life he began to prepare text-books for the new schools which had been established by the reforms. There being no question of replacing the old *medrese* system of higher education, the reformers contented themselves with establishing a parallel system

of schooling in which new subjects would be taught. Common to both systems, however, was a need for instruction in grammar and composition, the ignorance of which was so painfully apparent in many of the employees of the government. In the *medrese* it was Arabic alone that figured in the syllabus, and consequently the new schools had to provide a similar education in the Turkish language, including the formal study of literature. Cevdet Pâşâ assumed the responsibility for writing all the necessary text-books for the study of the vernacular. (ibid.)

More recent work on *Belâgat-ı Osmâniyye*, however, challenges the idea that Cevdet Pâşâ was the first to produce a work about rhetoric containing mostly Turkish examples. According to Eyup Barlak, an equally significant, and often overlooked, work was Ahmed Hamdî-yi Şîrvânî's *Belâgat-ı Lisân-ı Osmânî* (1876) (Barlak 2016). Barlak highlights how an attempt to use a greater amount of Turkish was made in both works, but that the topic and the terminology it required still resulted in a heavy presence of Arabic and elaborated prose (14). The comment points out, once more, how the language chosen by author heavily depended on content and audience. In fact, this is one of the definitions of *belâgat* itself as the beautiful and clear word always appropriate to a given context (see Gümüşkılıç 2016, 17, Barlak 2016, 2). The adequacy and precision of the chosen lexical elements, alongside their contexts of reception, are intrinsically bound to registers as, in the case of pre-reform Turkish, the choice of a Turkish rather than Persian term could change the tone of a line or a whole poem. In this respect, both Cevdet Pâşâ and Recâizâde Mahmud Ekrem expressed concern regarding the adaptation of foreign lexical elements' form and meaning to Turkish usage, resulting in mistakes in orthography and usage (*galatât*) (Ferrard 1988, 337 and 1986b, 152). As to Cevdet Pâşâ, he

was especially critical of ‘etymological derivations’ (Ferrard 1986b, 152) and maintained that the value of words was based on common practice, and not theory:

In other words, he is implicitly adapting the position that commonly used Ottoman words have their own validity, based on the usage of the people; to ascribe to them significations based exclusively on their original form in the language from which they have been borrowed will produce nonsense: common usage and the context will always be the surest guide. (ibid.)

Usage of fully adopted foreign lexical elements as local – that is, loanwords – is an idea I often return to, particularly when examining lyrics. Vocabulary is the foundation of register, and it is important to differentiate between foreign words that would be perceived as such versus those that came to be considered Turkish. This is a key aspect of understanding register in poetic – and *şarkı* – texts and assess whether the choice of terms somehow reflected contemporary debates and anxieties. Cevdet Pâşâ’s work was pivotal in that it presented pre-reform Turkish as a language worthy of having its own theory and practice of rhetoric. Ferrard states that he was the first to do so in the context of the educational system, but the view is disputed by Barlak.

Cevdet Pâşâ’s approach shared Recâizâde Ekrem’s inclination towards renovation without discarding the old, but they differed in one crucial aspect: while the former still operated within a firmly Islamic literary framework of reference, and tried to adapt it to pre-reform Turkish, Ekrem was keen on merging Eastern and Western tradition. This was a determining factor in the transition from rhetoric-*as*-literature to rhetoric-*and*-literature as parallel but distinct practices. A central issue for Ekrem was emotion and how to express it truthfully. While Cevdet

Pâşâ argued for greater literary and rhetoric status to be granted to pre-reform Ottoman within the framework of tradition, Ekrem found traditional expressions, in particular the mechanical imitation and repetition of conventional expressions to describe different emotional states, stifling. His work *Ta'îm-i Edebiyât*, based on the notes he took during his time teaching at the *Mekteb-i Mülkiyye* (School of Civil Service), was inspired by Emile LeFranc's *Traité Théorique et Pratique de Littérature* (1837).

Ekrem proposed a fusion between European and traditional Ottoman/Islamic rhetoric, and revolutionized the format and, to a certain extent, terminology of rhetoric treatises, using new categories and definitions (see Ferrard [1986a] 2016 and 1986b, and Yetiş 2010). Among the ideas discussed by Ekrem, particular emphasis is given to the immediacy, appropriateness, and naturalness of feelings. Feeling should be free from artificiality and contrivancy, therefore immediate (Ferrard 1986b, 5, 6). It should hit the reader without him/her having to think about it or analyze it. Additionally, every emotion portrayed should have been personally experienced by the author himself (ibid.). He insisted on developing the Turkish register and not having it bend to rules governing Arabic and Persian, particularly when it came to rhetoric and grammar (159). However, as also pointed out by Ferrard, he often contradicted himself by ultimately using examples that showcased the best of the *dîvân* style, dense with Persian and Arabic. His work did not quite propose a definitive methodology for truthfulness and immediacy and its linguistic expression. However, the fact that these questions had become urgent and in need of discussion makes us wonder whether the same anxieties pervaded the *şarkî* lyrics compositional process.

As it turned out, *şarkî* lyrics did not display a particularly wide range of themes but the range of registers with which these were expressed catered for both lovers of artifice and champions of sincerity. The relationship between meaning (*ma'nâ*) and the conventional *dîvân*

expressions/words that constituted poetic form (*suret*) that Recâizâde insisted on unfolded on a spectrum that included immediate, delicate, balanced, and straightforward lyrics to more complex poetic expressions. Sometimes, the same feeling might be expressed in both ways. In other words, while it is impossible to establish whether the emotions portrayed were real or not, it is sometimes possible to observe a correspondence between registral composition and theme. This is not always the case, and it testifies to the *şarki*'s seeming impermeability to stylistic renovation as it catered for quite a wide range of tones, emotions, shades of feeling when compared to the rest of the *dîvân*. The imitation and repetition of formulas used by other authors throughout the centuries was, it goes without saying, part and parcel of the lyric composition process, which included standard *terkîpler* (compound expressions) and, particularly, a concern with rhyme (*kafiye*). However, as it will be seen in Celâl's selection, a set of lyrics might be deemed of good quality regardless of its register. It is more appropriate to talk about a skilful mixing of register, lexical elements, emotions, publics and theme.

### **New and old, form versus meaning: weaving lexical elements, composing register**

The late nineteenth century debate about traditional versus 'modern' literary forms was mainly carried forward by two figures: Recâizâde Mahmut Ekrem and Muallim Nâcî. We have already come across the former's ideas regarding language in Chapter 1, while the latter's views in the field of education were examined in the previous chapter. According to İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, Muallim Nâcî was considered by some 'a living genius, [...] a poetry renovator, a literary interpreter (...),' for others, he was 'not a literary genius, but a language teacher/instructor'. To yet others, he was 'both a literature and a language teacher,' (1969, as cited in Demir 2010, 177). His approach to literature, and particularly poetry, was seen as



ambivalent: he was perceived to simultaneously champion innovation and the Turkish register, as well as preserve tradition, especially when it came to vocabulary and expressions that were staples of the *dîvân* (see Andrews 1985, Kaçar 2012). This ambivalence could be easily detected, for example, in the registral shifts found in his reader *Ta'îlm-i Kıraat* (1892/1893), examined in Chapter 2.

I have previously discussed Nâcî's register use when addressing his readers in the introduction and in the exercises found in his reader. However, the reader was not a platform for Nâcî to exhibit his poetic skills, which were targeted by his critics. Recâizâde Mahmud Ekrem criticized Nâcî's word choice, pointing out that the noun compounds and expressions he chose made his poetry 'ineffective' (Demir 2010, 180). One of Ekrem's accusations was that Nâcî's poems were 'devoid of emotional truth' (Ekrem, as cited by Tansel 1953, as cited in Demir 2010, 180) and thus incapable of inflaming the heart, although he did find his vocabulary beautiful. According to him it was, in other words, a pure exercise in style. For others, Muallim Nâcî's references to a carefree life, drunkenness and love encouraged readers to pursue the same 'immoral' activities (*ibid.*). According to Ekrem and other *Yeni Edebiyatçılar* (New Literati), re-introducing words such as *meyhâne* (tavern), *şarâb* (wine), *gül* (rose), *bülbül* (nightingale) – staples of the *dîvân* tradition's lexical elements – into poetry meant taking a step backward to a world of verbal sophistication and artifice that did not truthfully reflect feelings and that felt stale. Ekrem, on the other hand, looked to Europe for language renovation but also recognised the importance of traditional rhetoric. His work *Ta'îlm-i Edebiyât* proposed a synthesis between Western rhetoric and classical rhetoric. What he advocated for was the development of poetry as 'vehicle for personal/individual feelings' (Yetiş 2007 as cited in Dilek 2013, 25), as a tool to stir emotion, moving away from a pure 'style exercise' (*ibid.*).

The concepts of ‘old’ and ‘new’ intertwined with words in complex ways: lexical elements and expressions associated with the *dîvân* represented the old, valuable but not recommended. The new was represented by French terms but also the Turkish register. What new literature partly meant, then, was a literature in Turkish, influenced by French literature and resulting in the emergence of the novel and prose. How much of this new literature should be grounded in old models and what constituted the newness of its ‘new’ language and literature was passionately debated in the nineteenth century. Lexical elements, in particular, caused much unrest among authors and orators.

As a *dîvân* poetry form, the *şarkı* did not seem to be affected by the *querelle*. French terms were not used as substitutes for *dîvân* lexical elements and, while some *şarkı* lyrics were composed in the Turkish register, this was not a new phenomenon. The *dîvân* of the celebrated poet Nedîm (1681-1730), who had lived at the court of Ahmet III during the *Lâle Devri*, or Tulip Era (1718-1730), contained examples of *şarkı* that included Turkish grammar and a rich Turkish vocabulary. Turkish had, in the *şarkı* form at least, already carved a niche for itself apart from the conventional Arabic and Persian that had long dominated court literary production and intellectual activity (Bombaci 1956; İz 1978). Song collections<sup>56</sup> published throughout the nineteenth century displayed similar registral choices: in some texts, register changes can be observed even from line to line, with stanzas presenting highly ornamented Persian expressions in one verse followed by plain Turkish vocabulary and syntax in the next. This registral flexibility makes it complicated to locate the exact place of the *şarkı* text in the new/old divide.

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<sup>56</sup> Song collections will be examined more closely in the next chapter.

Registral choices found in the *şarkı* texts were not a result of new literary ideology or criticism: they were actually part of the same *dîvân* tradition that the *Edebiyat-ı Cedîde* wished to revitalize. It could be therefore said that, in fact, the *şarkı* had always inhabited a space straddling what the new generation of poets, literary educators and critics had begun calling the ‘new’ and the ‘old’. This peculiar versatility of the *şarkı* was not only limited to its registral content: as a musical genre, it inhabited different social spaces, being simultaneously part of the *saray* and urban musical entertainments (particularly in the nineteenth century. See Chapter 1 of this thesis, also Reinhard et al. 2001, Kalender 1978, Öztuna 1986a, 50-53, Hall 1989; Feldman 1996, 15, Toker 2016, 197-198 and Nardella 2020). This duality was also reflected in the *şarkı*’s media of publication, which ranged from privately owned song and notation collections to newspapers (see Ekinci 2015), thus replicating the genre’s simultaneous existence in the private and public space.

The rise of the *şarkı* has been – intriguingly – linked by scholars such as Altun Öney (2018, 86) to the process of Westernisation and transformation that began in the seventeenth century. The shift towards shorter and livelier musical forms (like the *şarkı*), as well as the changes in the poetic metre used in *şarkı* lyrics that took place in the nineteenth century, have been described and analysed as a response to social and cultural change (see Altun Öney 2018). This thesis, however, argues that such changes in metrical structure, the registral variety found in the texts, were the continuation of lyrical practices already present in the *dîvân* corpus and that, therefore, they should not be looked at as innovations or shifts. Nevertheless, the fact that the form became the most popular genre during the nineteenth century cannot be contested. As to the reasons for its success, social and cultural transformation and its impact on taste are likely to have played a role although no in-depth study of the subject exists at present. However, if we consider the parallel growth of reading practices and widening of the

reading public that took place in the nineteenth century, we could attempt to relate its success to a greater interest in, and focus on, reading.

The development of language teaching practices, and a greater merging of registers in non-poetic texts such as newspapers articles, contributed to broadening the reading public. The *şarkı* might have, then, become more popular compared to other forms that used a heavily decorated, sophisticated register because, as a poetic and musical genre, it could inhabit antithetical social spaces without compromising its form. In other words, it could be argued that, while the interest in reading and in singing increased (both tendencies are detectable in the emergence and popularity of readers and song lyrics collections, see Fortna 2011 and Paçacı 2010) this did not imply a significant transformation of the *şarkı*'s linguistic fabric. The genre comfortably sat at the crossroads of tradition and innovation due to the registral flexibility of its text and this peculiarity made it, in turn, eligible for greater attention from the reading public. A close look at song lyrics reveals that the Persian, Arabic and Turkish translations of a given word were given in the same text, as if 'naming' that particular 'item' by using different languages somehow equalled to approaching, or conveying, different shades, or depths, of its meaning. The word choice dispute that was at the centre of the debate between Recâizâde Mahmud Ekrem and Muallim Nâcî comes across, then, in the context of the *şarkı*, more as a matter linked to content than a choice dictated by the need to preserve tradition or bring about lexical renovations.

### **Good and bad lyrics: a literary perspective on song**

Mehmed Celâl's song lyrics selection *Güfte İntihâbı* (1894/1895) is an important source to reflect on the relationship between register and mode (*makâm*) in the *şarkı* genre. Celâl (1867

– 1912) achieved fame as a poet and prose writer in the late nineteenth century. His works have been described as ‘romantic and sentimental’ (see Andı 2019), and they were considerably influenced by Muallim Nâcî’s style. He shared Nâcî’s stance with regards to the *Servet-i Fünûn* literary community although he did not completely reject Western inspired stylistic innovations (see the case of *yâhût* discussed by Tümer 2008). Celâl also expressed his views with regards to the post-*Tanzimat* debate about metre and rhyme (*hece – aruz dâvâsı* and *kafiye*, see Levend 1960). In an article published on *Hazineifünun* in 1893, he lamented the mistakes often found in the works of classical Ottoman poets due to the difficulty of adapting Persian and/or Turkish poetry to Arabic metres (Levend 1960, 150). However, he was also quick to clarify that he did not approve of cleaning up ‘our Turkish’ of foreign lexical elements, and of reciting ‘our poems in our own metre’ (*ibid.*). Rather, he recognised the benefits gained in balancing Turkish with Arabic, although Turkish did possess its own ‘style and harmony’ and the question seemed to revolve mostly around the idea of developing Turkish to give it literary dignity (*ibid.*, see Chapter 1).

Similarly to Nâcî, he called the language ‘Turkish’ (*Türkçe*, see Şeyda 2009), although, in doing so, he did not specifically refer to the Turkish *register* – a further confirmation that ‘Turkish’ and ‘Ottoman’ were used interchangeably by some authors (see Chapter 1) and they did not necessarily represent two distinct linguistic realities. Celâl’s stance was mostly traditionalist although, judging by his lyrics *intihâp* (selection), he seemed to think that poetic value was not necessarily dependent on a certain register and lexical elements as, for example, the sophisticated Arabic and Persian ones. It is, in fact, striking to observe how the lyrics he deemed most worthy of critical commentary and quotation were replete with Turkish. This would seem to validate the idea that the use of Turkish did not constitute a novelty in the *şarkı* space: it was neither a sign of modernity nor a betrayal of tradition. Rather, in the *şarkı*, register

use was not subject to ideology and new literary theory, nor conversations/debates about rhetoric. Additionally, the increasing focus on the Turkish register and the development of new teaching approaches based on it did not result in a greater Turkish presence in the song-text. This was employed as much as the Persian and Arabic ones, and freely merged with them<sup>57</sup>. Examples of song lyrics written in Turkish had always existed (see Uzun and Özkan 2010), thus the production of such texts in the mid to late nineteenth century should not be considered a response to the shifting approach towards the Turkish register.

*Güfte İntihâbı* was a commentary on Hâşim Bey's famous *mecmua*, first published in 1852 and then again in 1864. The first edition was a song lyrics collection, while the second contained a section on music theory and new lyrics. The collection/treatise and the commentary were therefore published forty-two and thirty years apart, respectively. The edition he chose for his commentary was the one published in 1864 (Duran 2019 gives the year as 1863). The fact that lyrics published thirty years earlier should still be presented as examples testifies to the importance of Hâşim Bey's *mecmû'a* and also tells us something about the pace of transformation in literary and musical practice in the Ottoman nineteenth century. Mehmed Celâl discussed the *mecmû'a* as if there were no temporal distance between 1852-1864 and 1894. Despite the fact that song collections were published throughout the 1870s and 1880s, he chose a work composed decades earlier to voice his unhappiness about the state of lyrics writing. This suggests that *şarkı* lyrics had not undergone significant changes as lyrics published in the 1850s and 1860s were still considered relevant and appropriate for literary and linguistic evaluation in the 1890s. In this case, the reason might have partly been their status as 'classics'.

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<sup>57</sup> We will have to wait until the mid-twentieth for Turkish to take over song lyrics (see Chapter 2).

However, Celâl did not give any real explanation as to what led him to choose Hâşim Bey's *mecmû'a* over all the other collections<sup>58</sup>. This was the first work of Ottoman music theory to be published as a printed volume and the lyrics section contained works by renowned composers such as Hâfız Post (1630 – 1694), Hamâmîzâde Dede Efendi (1778-1846), Rifât Bey (1820 – 1896) K  m  rc  zade H  f  z Mehmed Efendi (? – 1835 or 1885), among others (see Duran 2019; on Ottoman composers' lives, see İnal [1955] 2019)<sup>59</sup>. Mehmed Cel  l's choice of H  şim Bey's *mecm  a* was significant for several reasons. Firstly, it established a direct connection between the literary and musical worlds, emphasizing the literary aspect of *şarkı* lyrics. Secondly, it presented the perspective of a literary man on *mak  m* performance and, more generally, music composition. Thirdly, it was a confirmation of H  şim Bey's status as one of the nineteenth century's prominent composers and music theorists, and one whose work was deemed worthy of literary commentary. In the brief introduction to his work, Mehmed Cel  l did not specify the reasons that led him to choose the *şarkı* form over other genres to illustrate the complex and subtle relationship between music and poetry. We can only speculate on what motivated him to do so and interpret his interest in the form as an indication of just how popular the genre had become by the end of the century. The author was, however, open about the reasons that prompted him to dedicate a whole work to the analysis of its lyrical content:

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<sup>58</sup> For an overview of song lyrics collections and music publications produced throughout the nineteenth century, see G  n  l Pa  acı's excellent *Neşriy  t-ı Mus  k  : Osmanlı M  zięini Okumak* (2010).

<sup>59</sup> Interestingly, like Rec  iz  de Mahmud Ekrem's *Ta'  l  m-i Edebiy  t* (1881-1882), which incorporated elements of both Ottoman and Western literary theory, the *edv  r* section of the *mecm  'a* discussed both Turkish and Western musical theories (see Yal   ın 2016).

Musicians' being, to some extent, knowledgeable about poetry, with respect to poetry's being, in other words, the elder sister to music, is an extraordinarily desired matter.

Should the effect of music only depend on tune and melody, the desired effect would not be achieved, no matter how beautiful the composition may be.

It is reason for regret that the majority of old, knowledgeable musicians, while consolidating their reputation with compositions that affected even the most unemotional hearts with grim sadness, did not pay attention to lyrics. The situation can be observed among old as well as new masters.

In order to substantiate my claim, let me mention some examples. (4; my translation<sup>60</sup>)

Mehmed Celâl decried what he perceived as a lack of poetic skill among musicians, pointing out that for a composition to be deemed successful there should be harmony between tune, melody, and lyrics. Words made the song as much as its musical components did. The comment is reminiscent of Recâizâde Mahmud Ekrem's criticism of Muallim Nâcî's traditional, *dîvân*-style expressions, which he deemed ineffective and incapable of inspiring emotion in the reader. Both authors emphasized the effect that words/lyrics should produce, although they did so in different contexts. Celâl did not give particular reasons for preferring certain texts over others.

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<sup>60</sup> *Mûsîke şiiirin hemşiresi, ta'bîr-i diğlerle vâveylâsı olmasına nazaran mûsîkîşinâsânın âz, çok şiiir âşinâ olmâsı fevkâlâde ârzû olunân mevâddandır.*

*Mûsîkînin te'sîri yâlnız besteye yani nağmât ve elhâna âit kâlîrsa – beste ne kadar güzel olûrsa olsûn – ârzû edilên te'sîr hâsıl olamâz.*

*Şâyân-ı teessüftür ki, ekser-i kudemâ-yı mûsîkîşinâsân, en en hissiz kalpleri bile kerîhbâr teessür edecek bestelerle ibkâ-yı nâm ettiklerî hâlde güfte intihabına itinâ etmemişlerdir. Bû nakîsa yâlnız kudemâ-yı mûsîkîşinâsânda görülmeyip zamânımız mûsîkîşinâsânında vârdır.*

*Bû iddiâmı ispât îcûn eskî ü yenî güftelerden baz-ı misâl îrâd edeyim.*



He simply described them as ‘distinguished’ (*güzide*), ‘worthy of enjoyment’ (*şâyân-ı tahsîn*) or, conversely, ‘devoid of the rhetorical embellishments of poetry’ (*bedâyi-i şiiiriyeden mahrum*), and ‘ordinary’ (*âdî*). Despite these thoughts reflecting his own personal taste rather than a universally applicable rubric to evaluate *şarkı* lyrics with, his voice should not be dismissed as it provides a perspective on what was considered good poetry in relation to music. When considered from within the context of debate regarding language and literature, his evaluations demonstrate that matters were rather complex and nuanced. The element of ‘reading/reciting’ seemed to carry some weight in Celâl’s selection, and it is another aspect that makes his work interesting in the way it connects reading/reciting, speaking, and singing practices. Additionally, he linked recitational practice specifically to the *şarkı* form, as if, somehow, reading/recitational skill found its counterpart in singing ability. Celâl approached *şarkı* lyrics as texts to be interpreted, recited. He did not elaborate on the reasons why *şarkı* lyrics should be regarded as closer to reading and recitational practice than other genres but remarked that the ability to recite/read them in the appropriate manner was not one possessed by everyone. Talking about the *fasıl*<sup>61</sup> in the *makâm Rehâvî*, he explained:

Let me pass over this *rehâvî fasıl* that is composed of some *beste* and some *semâ’î*. However, let it not be thought that I am wiping off *besteler*, *semâîler*, *kârlar*, *nakışlar* from this selection with regards to their significance. How could those musical wonders be wiped off due to a lack of significance? It (the issue) is not about some splendid masters from those of our centuries bringing a composition to life: in fact, reading them

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<sup>61</sup> The *fasıl* is a suite of instrumental and vocal compositions., divided into classical (*gelenekse lor an’anevi faslı*) and non-classical (*şarkı faslı*). The latter is still performed and very popular in Turkey. Its structure underwent significant changes over time, and its current format is that of a cycle of brief songs, opened and closed by an instrumental composition (a *peşrev* at the beginning, and *saz semâ’î* at the end). See Hall, 1989 and Feldman 1996 for a history of the suite’s evolution over time.

according to the right method is not one of the accomplishments granted to every interpreter. As I will only mention *şarkı* in this paragraph etc., I wish to summon the attention [lit., the look] of the readers/reciters to this aspect. (6; my translation<sup>62</sup>)

In setting forth the reasons he preferred not to include any material from the *Rehâvî faslı*, he highlighted that his choice was not determined by a lack of appreciation towards the compositions – and the composers – found in the *fasıl*. The issue was not whether compositional masterpieces existed or not. Rather, the choice was dictated by his interest in the recitational/reading aspect, which he wished to present to the *kârîin*, a word that can be translated as either reciters or readers, and that can therefore refer to either the reading public (and that is probably the case, here) or professional performers of a written text. This being a work about song lyrics, both interpretations of the term are legitimate.

The ambiguity opens two possible interpretative routes. The latter connects the *şarkı* to the world of proper ‘reading’ intended as recitation/singing; the former, to the process of correctly reading and reciting the written text that was encouraged by the phonetic or vocal method (*usûl-ı savtiyye*), described in the previous chapter. The meanings are interrelated, with an underlying notion that, to recite/sing well, one should read well (see Bergeron 2010). Granted, it is different types of texts we are discussing here and Celâl was not explicitly – nor necessarily – referring to reading texts. However, the concern with correct methodology and appropriate recitative interpretation is reminiscent of the concerns that led to the development of new

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<sup>62</sup> *Bû mecmuada rehâvî faslı birkâç beste, birkâç semâ’iden ibâret olduğundan bû faslı geçeyim. Fakat bû süzmeden bestelerî, semâîlerden, kârları, nakışları nazar-ı ehemmiyet iskât ediyorum zan olûnmasın. O bedâyi-i mûsîkîye nazar-ı ehemmiyetten nasıl iskât olûnûrki – asrımızdaki birkâç üstâd müstesnâ – o yolda bir beste vücûda getirmek değil, hatta onları bihakkın usûluyle okumak her nağmekâra nasîp olacak muvaffakiyetlerden değildir. Bû bendde yâlnız şarkıdan bahsedeceğim îçûn, enzâr-ı kârîini sâde bû cihete celbetmek îsterim.*

methodologies of instruction and of reading. Additionally, recitative/reading skill was, in this context, linked to musical interpretation and skill. As the author pointed out in the introduction, *words* were a necessary component of the composition and they determined its success, to some extent.

The subtle relationship between text and *makâm* was addressed in more depth by the author when discussing the *fasıllar* in the two famous *makâm* *Uşşâk* and *Hicâz*. Celâl highlighted the popularity of both, describing the *makâm* *Uşşâk* as ‘the most famous one’ (*‘En meşhûr olan’*): ‘That is, what I mean to say is that even a child who is a little familiar with being an interpreter can sing *şarkı* in this *makâm* well.’ (13, 14; my translation<sup>63</sup>). However, curiously, after this remark about the *makâm*’s popularity, no lyrics of *Uşşâk şarkı* are found. Although Celâl claimed to have chosen the most beautiful *şarkılar* from this great *fasıl*, these were not included in the edition. The only further comment we find is that the *fasıl* comprises seven *şarkı* but we need to turn to the actual *mecmûa* to have a look at their lyrics and ponder on what made them eligible for selection and presentation according to Celâl <sup>64</sup>.

On the other hand, Celâl’s thoughts about the other *makâm* that he describes as extremely popular, *Hicâz*, provide some clues regarding the relationship between register, *makâm* and song popularity – or, at least, how he understood it. Celâl presented the lyrics of a lullaby, completely written in Turkish. I have used colour coding to indicate the etymological origin of the words used: red for Turkish, blue for Persian, and green for Arabic. Loanwords have been highlighted in yellow. Regarding *Hicâz*, and the lullaby, then, Celâl wrote:

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<sup>63</sup> *Hânî demek isterimki âzâcık nağmeperdâz olmağa alışmış bir çocuk bile, bû makâmnda – hem de usûluna tevfikân –iyi şarkılar söyleyebilir.*

<sup>64</sup> Unfortunately, I was not able to find the lyrics to all the *şarkı* in *makâm* *Uşşâk*. These can, however, be found in Fatma Nur Duran’s Master’s dissertation (2019) on Hâşim Bey’s songbook. A complete list of the *şarkılar* can be found in it.

The *Hicâz faslı* surpassed *Uşşâk* in popularity. Insomuch that, if we pay attention, it is apparent that even the lullaby that our respectful mothers sing, while rocking their children's cradle in darkness and serenity, with the meaningless poem:

*Ninni derim yârâşır*<sup>65</sup>

*Bağçe*de dolâşır

*Mahalle*nin kızları

*Benim oğluma sâtâşır*

belongs to *Hicâz*.

A *makâm* that has become so common and widespread! And then, removing all the beauty from this *makâm*, they call it *Hicâz*. Anyway! Let us return here.

Let us see, are there any beautiful works among those found in the *makâm Hicâz*?

There are forty-eight *şarkı* found in the *makâm Hicâz*.

Is not my finding of these three works among so many *şarkı* worthy of regret rather than of astonishment? (15, 16; my translation<sup>66</sup>)

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<sup>65</sup> I sing a lullaby that suits  
He wanders in the garden  
The girls of the neighborhood  
Tease my son

<sup>66</sup> *Hicâz faslının şöhreti uşşâğî geçmiştir. Hatta dikkat olunursa, ânlaşılır ki, gecenin zalâm u sükûneti içinde çocuklarının beşiğînî sâllâmakta olân hürmetli vâlidelerin bîle:*

*Ninni derim yârâşır  
Bağçede dolâşır  
Mahallenin kızları  
Benim oğluma sâtâşır*

*Neşîde-yi bîmanasıyla söyledikleri ninni, Hicâz'a mensûbtur.  
İşte bû kadar taammüm etmiş bir makâm! Sonra bû makâmın bir de gariyy çıkarak, âdına Hicâz dedîler.  
Ne îse! Bûrâlarına geçelim.  
Bâkâlım Hicâz makâmındaki şeylerin içinde güzel eserler vâr mı?*

The lyrics provided after this introduction belong to two, not three, *şarkı*. The register composition is more heterogenous compared to the examples from the *makâm Uşşâk*:

1.

*Ey dilrubâ-yı dilşikâr<sup>67</sup>*

*Hûrşîd-i tal'at işvekâr*

*Aşk<sup>in</sup>la oldum bîkarâr*

*Meftûn<sup>un</sup> oldum ben senin*

§

2.

*İltifât<sup>ın</sup> çok inayettir banâ<sup>68</sup>*

*Âşığ<sup>ım</sup> çoktan beri ey mah sanâ*

*Fâriğ olmam gelse dünya bir yanâ*

*Âşığ<sup>ım</sup> çoktan beri ey mah sanâ*

(16)

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*Hicâz makâmında kırk sekiz şarkı vâr.*

*Bû kadar şarkıların ârasında şû üç eseri bûluşum şâyân-i taaccüb olmaktan ziyâde sezâvâr-ı değil mi?*

<sup>67</sup> Oh, heartravishing beloved

Amorous one, whose presence is like the sun

I have become impatient with your love

I have fallen madly in love with you

<sup>68</sup> Your kindness is great grace to me

I have been in love with you for a long time, oh moon

I could not be free even if the world came next to me

I have been in love with you for a long time, oh moon

In these two songs' lyrics, we observe a greater use of Arabic and Persian lexical elements and compounds (*dilrubâ-yı dilşikâr, hûrşîd-i tal'at işvekâr, bîkarâr, meftun, iltifât, inâyet, mâh*<sup>69</sup>) interweaving with Turkish verbs and adverbs of quantity. These were terms commonly used in poems and song lyrics: the compounds are easily found in the Ottoman Turkish – English Redhouse dictionary (first published in 1890), as well as the volume, compiled by Gülçin Yahya Kaçar, containing vocabulary and compounds found in classical Turkish music texts (2012). Their presence in the dictionary indicates that readers and/or students would have had a degree of familiarity with these expressions<sup>70</sup>. This situated the *şarkı* text with its registral heterogeneity in a traditional as well as popular space. The presence of these *dîvân* formulas in the dictionary testified to their accessibility and confirmed their status as well-known expressions in the context of poetry and song lyrics. On the other hand, the lullaby presented by the author in the introduction is in plain (*sade*) Turkish. The only two non-Turkish words found are the Persian *bağçe* (*bahçe*, garden) and the Arabic *mahalle* (quarter, district). However, both these words have entered Turkish: they are still in use today and they would not be perceived as foreign vocabulary. Their presence, in other words, would have not affected the register of the text even at the time the selection was published.

The text was described by the author as meaningless. His comments regarding how mediocre and common the application of the *makâm Hicâz* had become by his time – so much so that it was even used by mothers trying to lull their babies to sleep – did not particularly indicate, I believe, a lack of appreciation for songs in the Turkish register itself. Rather, he expressed a dissatisfaction with lyrical choice in relation to *makâm*. As far as we know, Celâl

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<sup>69</sup> 'Beloved of those who capture the heart', 'seducer whose first appearance is like a sunrise', 'inconstant', 'madly in love', 'kind treatment or favour', 'grace', 'moon'.

<sup>70</sup> I'm grateful to my supervisor Martin Stokes for pointing this out.

was not speaking as a music connoisseur or critic. His comments primarily aimed at lyrical content, but it is interesting to observe how, for him at least, musical decay corresponded to – and it was possibly affected by? – lyrical degeneration.

The number of *şarkı* deemed worthy of selection by Celâl is, to tell the truth, rather restricted. He did not include any text from several *fasıllar* in different *makâm*. Such is the case for *Nihâvent*, *Nevâ*, *Sûzinâk*, *Pesendîde*, *Büzürg*, *Zâvîl*, *Mâhûr*, *Tarz-ı Nevîn*, *Nişâbûr*, *Hüseyinî*, *Gülizâr*, *Acem*. All the *makâm* mentioned shared the same remark on the part of the author that none of the song lyrics found in the respective *fasıllar* was worthy of appreciation (*nazar-ı takdîr*) or constituted anything more than ‘ordinary’ (*âdî*). However, it is worth taking some of these ordinary lyrics into consideration in order to understand what standards they were being measured against. As to the lyrics Celâl thought worthy of attention, we find the following seven (although Celâl listed them as eight, saying: ‘I am grateful to have found these eight songs that caress feelings in this splendid/brilliant *fasıl*’<sup>71</sup>) from the *makâm Hicâzkâr*, that comprises forty-five *şarkı*:

1.

*Cân île ben ey dilrübâ*<sup>72</sup>

*Sevdim senî etmem ribâ*

*Sen de beni etme fedâ*

*Âh îcûn ey mehlikâ*

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<sup>71</sup> *Bû pârlâk fasılda ihtisâsî okşâyân bû sekiz şarkıyı bulduğuma teşekkür ettim.*

<sup>72</sup> Oh beloved, with my soul  
I have loved you, I am not usurious  
And you, do not give me up, either  
Oh beloved, for the sake of my sighs

§

2.

*Seyr eyleyip sîmîn-tenin<sup>73</sup>*

*Mecbûr un oldum ben senin*

*Şem eyleyip nâzik benin*

*Mecbûr un oldum ben senin*

§

3.

*O şûhun kadı dîlcûdur<sup>74</sup>*

*Hirâmı bir îçim sûdur*

*Demek lâzım mı şû budur*

*Rahî gül zülfü şebbudur (?)*

§

4.

*Ey gül-i tebessüm bilmez mîsîn sen<sup>75</sup>*

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<sup>73</sup> I have gazed at your fair body  
I have become devoted to you  
I have smelt the fragrance of your beauty spot  
I have become devoted to you

<sup>74</sup> The form of that flirty one is enthralling  
A very beautiful, proud, and elegant woman  
Is it necessary to say?

Tranquil rose, her hairlock is the wallflower  
Also found as şebboy: wallflower? See Kaçar 2012.

<sup>75</sup> Oh, smiling rose [one whose smile is a rose], do you not know?  
Oh, beautiful speech [one whose speech is beautiful], do you not know?  
Do you not know the manners of mercy?  
Do you have no compassion, no justice?



*Ey büt-i tekellüm bilmez mîsîn sen*

*Tarz-ı terahhum bilmez mîsîn sen*

*Rahmîn mî yok insâfın mî yoktur*

§

5.

*Ey melekhaslet şehinşâh-ı vahîd<sup>76</sup>*

*Eylesin Hak zâtını gamden baîd*

*Olsûn ikbâlın gibi ömrün mezîd*

*Her şebîn kadr olâ her rûzun saîd*

§

6.

*Tenhâda bulsam yârı yân atsam<sup>77</sup>*

*Sârsam sârılsam öpsem de yâtsam*

*Bir çâre bulsam ol şuha çâtsam*

*Sârsam sârılsam öpsem de yâtsam*

---

<sup>76</sup> Oh, angel, unique Sovereign

May The True [one of the names used for Allah] keep you away from sorrow

May your fortune be as prosperous as your life

May each one of your nights be precious [or, 'may it be like the Night of Glory', one of the last, holy nights of the month of Ramadan. Muslims believe that on this night the Qur'an was revealed], may each of your days be blessed

<sup>77</sup> Were I to find my beloved alone, were I to cast (her) aside

Were I to embrace (her), were I to be embraced, or to lie down

Were I to find a cure, were I to collide with that flirt

Were I to embrace (her), were I to be embraced, or to lie down

§

7.

*Olduğum günden berî aşk aşinâ<sup>78</sup>*

*Her kîmî sevdimse nâz ettî banâ*

*Hep helâl olsûn yine benden sanâ*

*Her kîmî sevdimse nâz ettî banâ*

(11, 12)

This set of lyrics presents a mixture of registers and the familiar pattern of Turkish syntactical elements binding Arabic and Persian lexical elements and compound expressions together. Again, the majority of the words of foreign origin found in the texts can be categorized as either words that have entered Turkish and are used as loanwords (*cân, fedâ, seyr, mecbûr, nâzik, gül, tarz, lazım, çâre, aşk, helâl<sup>79</sup>*), or words commonly used in the *dîvân* (*dilrübâ, mehlîkâ, melekhaslet, şehinşâh, tenhâ, şûh<sup>80</sup>*). Given the registral heterogeneity, it is very difficult to situate the *Hicâzkâr şarkı* lyrics in a purely traditional or, conversely, purely modern literary framework. It is evident that a winning formula, in the eyes of Celâl, was a balanced, graceful weaving of registers. As a result, the texts do not come across as either burdened by unnecessarily sophisticated expressions nor too ‘accessible’ and straightforward. It is worth mentioning, however, that the restricted space provided by a song-text would not

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<sup>78</sup> Ever since I have become acquainted with love  
Whoever I have loved has feigned reluctance  
I acquit you of all charges  
Whoever I have loved has feigned reluctance

<sup>79</sup> ‘Soul’, ‘sacrifice’, ‘journey’, ‘compelled, bound’, ‘gentle, kind’, ‘rose’, ‘manner’, ‘necessary’, ‘remedy, cure’, ‘love’, ‘legitimate, lawful’.

<sup>80</sup> ‘Heart-ravishing beloved’, ‘fair as the moon’, ‘one who has an angel’s nature’, ‘King of kings’, ‘lonely’, ‘coquettish’.

give the author the chance to indulge in displays of rhetoric (see Chapter 1 of this thesis). While, on the one hand, it could be tempting to suggest that the format of the song-text was particularly conducive to registral balance, on the other, some lyrics show the opposite tendency. The lyrics selected by Celâl do not display a particularly pompous language. They are all characterised by the graceful sobriety deriving from a skilful merging of registers. An example I am particularly fond of is the text of the fourth *şarkı* from the *Hicâzkâr faslı*, presented earlier:

*Ey gül-i tebessüm bilmez mîsîn sen*

*Ey büt-i tekellüm bilmez mîsîn sen*

*Tarz-ı terahhum bilmez mîsîn sen*

*Rahmîn mı yok insâfîn mı yoktur*

The text presents an almost mathematical registral distribution, with elements from one of the Three Languages (*Elsine-i Selâse*) in every line. The Persian *ezâfe* structure binding Farsi and Arabic lexical elements (*gül-i tebessüm*) is counterbalanced, in every line, by the Turkish rhetorical question ‘do you not know?’ (*bilmez mîsîn sen?*). In lyrics 6 and 7, on the other hand, the predominant register is Turkish. This suggests that the issue of literary value, at least in the case of song lyrics, was not as clear-cut as the debaters would have it to be. In the *şarkı* lyrics collected by Celâl, the presence – or absence – of Turkish did not seem to bear ideological significance. Furthermore, he did not prefer texts richer in *dîvân* expressions. This indicates that to him literary quality did not necessarily consist of staggering formulas and displays of rhetoric: what caressed feeling and touched the heart was the balance among registers, and their skilful merging with *makâm*. Sadly, however, with the exception of his brief observations

about *Uşşâk* and *Hicâz*, Celâ did not dwell on the relationship between *makâm* and lyrical content. Among the rest of Celâl's selected lyrics, we find two *şarkı* in the *makâm Sabâ*:

1.

*Nergisler olûr yamân ûyân gel*<sup>81</sup>

*Ey çeşm-i siyâh âmân ûyân gel*

*Bahîm gibi bir zamân ûyân gel*

*Ey çeşm-i siyâh âmân ûyân gel*

§

2.

*Değilsem de sanâ lâyık efendim*<sup>82</sup>

*Ne çâre âşıkım âşık efendim*

*Benî kıl vaslına lâyık efendim*

*Ne çâre âşıkım âşık efendim*

(13)

One set of lyrics (out of nine songs!) from the *Nişâbûrek faslı*:

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<sup>81</sup> The daffodils are superb, wake up and come

Oh, black eyed (lover), oh, wake up and come

As my fortune, wake up and come one time

Oh, black eyed (lover), oh, wake up and come

<sup>82</sup> Even though I am not worthy of you, my master [*also used for the beloved, either man or woman*]

What is the cure, my love, my lover, my master?

Make me worthy of union with you, my master

What is the cure, my love, my lover, my master?

*Bîgânelik ettin banâ<sup>83</sup>*

*Ey dilber-i cevr âşinâ*

*Rencîdedir gönlüm sanâ*

*Ey dilber-i cevr âşinâ*

Two şarkı from the Nevâ faslı:

1.

*Gülzâra sâlin mevsimidir geşt ü güzârın<sup>84</sup>*

*Ver hükmünü ey serv-i revân köhne bahârın*

*Dök zülfünü semmûr giynsün koy izârın*

§

2.

*Bîlmez mîsîn ey dilrübâ<sup>85</sup>*

*Vârım bûgün ettim fedâ*

*Lâyık mıdır cevr ü cefâ*

*Kaydın banâ yazık sanâ*

---

<sup>83</sup> You have turned me into a stranger

Oh, beautiful woman well acquainted with oppression

My heart is vexed with you

Oh, beautiful woman well acquainted with oppression

<sup>84</sup> Set yourself free to the garden of roses, it is the season of walking or riding about

Oh, wandering beloved, issue your sentence on [i.e., *enjoy*] autumn

Let your hair down, put on your sable coat and your waist-wrapper

<sup>85</sup> Do you not know, oh heart robber

I have sacrificed all I own today?

Is it deserved, this oppression and punishment?

Your record with me is a shame on you

The first song from the *fasıl* in the *makâm Nevâ*, a text by the poet Nedîm (1681 – 1730) presented a different registral composition compared to the rest of the collection. In these lyrics, the predominant register was Persian. The subject of this *şarkı* was also quite different from the ones examined so far: this was a lighthearted ode to spring, exhorting autumn (*köhne bahar*) to surrender to the beauties of the new season. These were indicated by the images of the *zülûf* (the beloved's lovelock) and the *izâr* (dimple), commonly used in the *dîvân* to describe the beloved. Conversely, the other *şarkılar*'s theme revolved – as per the conventions of the *dîvân* – around a cruelly seductive beloved, unrequited love, sacrificing oneself for the sake of the beloved, solitude, abandonment, rejection. The relationship between content and register will be explored more thoroughly in the next chapter (also see Nardella 2020). What can be anticipated here is that the relationship between register and content did change and examples are found in both song collections and newspapers. In particular, the group of *şarkı* published in the newspaper *Ma'lûmât* in December 1895 presented a rather straightforward correspondence between certain registers and certain themes. Lighthearted themes such as enjoying life, drinking, loving, flirting were expressed in Turkish while a more elaborate use of Arabic and Persian was used for topics of greater emotional intensity.

This correspondence was not as straightforward in the texts chosen by Celâl. The last two texts presented in his collection are a song in the *makâm Arazbâr* (the only lyrics out of fourteen that the author deemed to be worthy of attention):

1.

Âldın **dil-i nâşâdımı**<sup>86</sup>

**Âşık** çıkardın âdımı

Kıldın **figân mutâdımı**

**Gûş etmedin feryâdımı**

(18)

An one from the fasıl in the *makâm Gerdâniye*:

2.

Bir **dilberi** sevdim bilmezim n'oldum<sup>87</sup>

**Aşkına** boyândım sarârdım soldum

(ibid.)

Both texts depicted the state of dejection following the loss of, abandonment and betrayal by the beloved. They are both permeated by a sense of hopelessness: 'you have taken my sorrowful heart' (*dil-i nâşâdım*), 'you made my wail a habit' (*kıldın figân mutâdım*), 'you did not listen to my cry' (*gûş etmedin feryâdım*), 'I have loved a beauty, I do not know what has happened/what I have become' (*bir dilberi sevdim bilmezim n'oldum*), 'I have painted myself up with her love, I have turned pale, I have withered' (*Aşkına boyândım sarârdım soldum*).

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<sup>86</sup> You have taken my sorrowful heart

You have removed my name as lover [*I can no longer be called a lover*]

You have made my wail a habit

You have not listened to my cry

<sup>87</sup> I have loved a beautiful, I do not know what has happened/what I have become

I have painted myself up with her love, I have turned pale, I have withered

However, they expressed these feelings in two rather different registers. In the first text, we see a greater number of Arabic and Persian lexical elements: the only word commonly heard in Turkish, even today, is *âşık* (one who is in love, lover), while the rest are words easily found in the *dîvân* but not in spoken language, or less refined registers. On the other hand, the second set of lyrics was in almost plain Turkish, except for *dilber* (beautiful woman) and *aşk* (love), a word of Arabic origin which is, however, commonly used in Turkish to indicate passionate love. The register and tone of the lyrics was very direct. The metaphors used by the author were not complex, but they were effective in describing a state of weariness and misery. The transition from the colour-filled joy experienced when falling in love to the exhaustion and slow decay experienced by the suffering lover was beautifully expressed by the quick sequence of past tense verbs *boyandım*, *sarardım*, *soldum*. In other words, the use of a more direct register did not prevent the lyrics' author from describing complex emotions and subtle states.

The lyrics from the *Gerdâniye faslı* concluded Celâl's selection. The author ended his work with a note revealing disappointment at the state of lyric-writing as of 1894/1895:

And so, we have come to the end of half of the *mecmûa*, which exceeds five hundred pages. Look and have a pity on how many lyrics I could call selection. This negligence on the part of musicians is not something that can be excused. It cannot be said that it wiped off the sorrowful, graceful *şarkılar* of excellent poets. Because the works of old poets such as Pertev Pâşâ, Vâsîf, Nedîm are impressed on print and the memory of mankind. This negligence derives from the musicians' unfamiliarity with poetic taste.

What a shame for such negligence to be seen in our times.



The more one thinks of it, the more one feels regretful. I am not so unjust as to say that our new composers lack any ability to discern beauty. As a matter of fact, for example, one of our great men of letters from these composers' [verses]:

*Hîç tâ bû kadar arz-ı neşât etmez edin sen<sup>88</sup>*

*Gel bir dahâ gel handene kurbân olâyım ben*

And Nâci Efendî's<sup>89</sup> [verses]:

*Bâğlânıp zülf-ı hezârân-tâbına<sup>90</sup>*

*İbret oldum âh aşk erbabına*

that begin with these lines, Ekrem Bey Efendî and Muallim Feyzî's greater part of rhetorically beautiful poetry, and for example the melancholy melodies in the style of our Ahmed Rasım Bey:

*Âmân erbâb-ı cefâ-pîşe nizâr etme benî<sup>91</sup>*

*Ölürüm sensiz â zâlim bırakıp gitme benî*

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<sup>88</sup> You had never, until now, displayed such joy  
Come, one more time, let me die for your smile

<sup>89</sup> Muallim Nâcî (1850 – 1893)

<sup>90</sup> I have become bound to your thousand glowing hairlocks  
I have heeded the masters of love's warning

<sup>91</sup> Oh, cruel master, do not make me weak  
I die without you, oppressor, do not go and leave me

were composed by our perfectly poetry knowledgeable musicians in an enhanced and new form and all became an object of commendation. The heart demands that all lyrics be so masterly, melancholy, amorous.

I mean to say that even though the lyrics selected for composition were graceful, pleasant (things), would that the listeners were experts of, and could gain pleasure from, both compositions and lyrics!

Were that not to be the case, the redemption from most of our interpreters of melodies' complaint:

*Sâzı hâmûş ol da çâl ey mutrib nağmeşiken*<sup>92</sup>

*Sen bırâk ben şiirimi tabımca tertîl eyledim*

would seem a little difficult.

(19, 20; my translation<sup>93</sup>)

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<sup>92</sup> Make the sâz quiet, but then play, too (*do what you want, play or be quiet*), o musician, wrecker of melody

You stop, I will beautifully recite my poem my way

<sup>93</sup> *Îşte beş yüz sahifeyi mütecâviz olân mecmû'anın yârisına geldik. Ne kadar güfte intihap edebîldiğime bâkılısın da insâf olunsûn.*

*Mûsîkîşinâsâne âit olân bû müsâmaha ma'zeret götürür şeylerden değildir. Eş'âr-ı atîkede hazîn, latîf şarkılar yok etti denilemez. Çünkü Pertev Pâşâlar, Vâsıflar, Nedîmler gibi şuara-yı sâlifenin eserleri bugün matbû' u hâfıza-yı enâmda menkûştur. Bû müsâmaha zevk-i şiire aşinâ olmamaktan eylergelîr.*

*Ne çâre ki bû müsâmaha zamânımızda görülüyor.*

*Düşündükçe müteessif oluyor. Yenî bestekârlarımızın da bütün bütün hüsn-i intihâb-ı meziyetinden mahrum olduklarını söyleyecek kadar haknâşinâs değilim. Hatta bû bestekârlar tarafından meselâ bir büyük edibimizin:*

*Hîç tâ bû kadar arz-ı neşât etmez edin sen*

*Gel bir dahâ gel handene kurbân olâyım ben*

*Nâcî Efendînin:*

In the course of the nineteenth century *belâgat* and *edebiyât* debate, words and registers became a disputed territory with deep implications for the relationship with tradition, religion, and ethnic roots. While some sought for a partial reformation of vocabulary and, by extension, register, others emphasized the sacred religious bonds and moral boundaries embodied by Arabic, as well as the sophistication granted by Persian. Discourses of old versus new, tradition versus innovation, continued pervading public conversations about Ottoman identity, with a focus on verbal art. The *şarkı* genre, however, seemed to be immune from the criticism towards, and re-assessment of, the *dîvân corpus* and its language. In being so, it carried on its own ‘tradition’, that is, that of a text in which registers had always merged for seemingly no other reason than being appropriate to the song’s theme and *makâm*. In doing so, they actually

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*Bâğlânıp zülf-ı hezârân tâbına  
İbret oldum âh aşk erbabına*

*Beytiyle bâşlâyân neşidesi, Ekrem Bey Efendî ile Muallim Feyzî Efendi’nin ekser-i bedâyi-i şiiiriyesi ve meselâ bizim Ahmed Rasım Bey:*

*Âmân erbâb-ı cefâ-pîşe nizâr etme benî  
Ölürüm sensiz â zâlim bırakıp gitme benî*

*Yolundaki nağmât-ı garîbânesi mûsîkîşinâsanımızın bihakkın şiiir âşinâyânı tarafından bir tarz-ı mezîd (enhancement, boost) ü nevînde bestelenmiş ve cümlelerin mazhar-ı istihsânı olmuştur. Gönül her güftenin de böyle üstâdâne, hazîn, âşıkâne olmâsını ârzû ediyor.*

*Demek isterimki besteler için intihâb olunacak güfteler latîf, hoşâyende şeyler olsa da dinleyenler hem besteden, hem güfteden mütehassıs u müstefîd olsalar!*

*Yoksa ekser-i nağmeperdazânımızın:*

*Sâzı hâmûş ol da çâl ey mutrib nağmeşiken  
Sen birâk ben şiiirimi tabımca tertîl eyledim*

*Şikâyetinden tahlîs-i giribân (escape/elude) etmeleri birâz müşkil görünür.*

fulfilled one of the purposes of *belâgat*, that is, seeking for the most appropriate word to express a specific thought, meaning or emotion, according to context and content.

Mehmet Celâl's lyrics selection was a bridge between the literary world and that of musical composition. Although it was published in 1894/1895, it examined lyrics published thirty years earlier as if they had been composed in the 1890s. He presented them as current examples of good lyrics writing, a detail confirming that *şarkı* lyrics and their registral heterogeneity had not undergone significant changes during the nineteenth century. More subtly, but crucially, in Celâl's collection we see hints at a relationship between makâm, register, and theme, although he never elaborates on what these relationships should actually 'read' or 'sound' like. In the next chapter, I will explore these relations, discussing in greater detail the *şarkı* genre and its evolution by using examples of songs published in the 1890s in song collections and newspapers.

This chapter on verbal art acted as a bridge between the world of reading/recitation sketched in Chapter 2 and identified with the textbook, and that of the songbook, which represented a registers atlas. While the reading/recitation practices sketched in Chapter 2 tied in with the need for standardization, the songbook moved in the opposite direction, providing a written space for diversity, flexibility, plurality (the variety of registers and all the different languages making up the registers). It is this heterogeneity that made it possible for the *şarkı* to continue its own tradition, impermeable to the deep cultural and linguistic changes taking place in the final decades of the nineteenth century. Its form had always incorporated a variety of registers and in the next two chapters we will explore how this linguistic diversity might have contributed to the great popularity of the genre during the last years of the Empire.

## Part 2

### Reading the *Şarkı*



## Chapter 4

### Reading the Songbook: The Collections and the Newspapers

#### Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to the repertoire and an analysis of its registral fabric in relation to *şarkı* structure, rhythmic cycle, *makâm*-specific melodic progression, and poetic devices, specifically rhyme (*kâfiye*). The chapter will also discuss the significance of publishing vocal repertoire in two distinct media of circulation: the lyrics anthology and the newspaper. It is divided into two parts: in the first part, I will discuss the *şarkı* repertoire that appeared in the two editions of the lyrics anthology *Şevk-i Dil*, published in 1893 and then again in 1894. In the second part, I will look at the repertoire published as a supplement to the 5 December 1895 issue of the newspaper *Ma'lûmât* (1895-1903). As this repertoire was the same that appeared in the collection *Ferahfezâ, Yâhûd Yenî Şarkılar* in 1896/1897, part 2 will also contain references to this anthology.

#### Structure of the chapter

Part 1 contains a presentation of the *güfte mecmû'a* (lyrics anthology) and its place in Ottoman music but also reading cultures, its circulation among Ottoman minorities and the literary framework and context in which the two collections I examine were published. I then provide a detailed discussion of the lyrical material found in the collections, discussing the methodological issues posed by loanwords, but also how the texts reflected – or not –

contemporary literary debates. I provide translations to all lyrics, and a discussion of the *şarki* as genre, its evolution, and its structure. I link these musical elements to the issues debated by intellectuals and literatis in the second half of the nineteenth century, and propose a way to approach and interpret the relationship between musical structure and registral composition. I bring the section to a close by introducing the question of what relations are expressed through registral dynamics in song, a topic that I explore in greater depth in Chapter 5.

In the second part of the chapter, I examine newspapers and what the onset of press culture represented for the *dîvân* tradition. I begin with a discussion of the impact of the newspaper on language practice and the significance of publishing song lyrics and notation sheets in periodicals. I then move on to a lyrical, registral, and musical analysis of the repertoire found in *Ma'lûmât*'s December 1895 issue. The repertoire is presented, again, with translations of all the lyrics. In the final part of the chapter, I discuss song themes in relation to registers, highlighting once more the issue of loanwords and what they represent in the framework of the genre's relationship with poetic tradition and new reading practices.

### Printing lyrics

When approaching the repertoire published in the late nineteenth century, it is especially important to consider the platform of publication: it is in this period that printing and publishing became widespread, resulting in a transformation of reading practice and culture (see Fortna 2011, Gerçek 2019). It is important to look at the *şarki*, especially during the final decades of the nineteenth century, as part and parcel of the blooming Ottoman reading culture. Music publishing flourished during this period, particularly after the 1850s. Gönül Paçacı gives 1852 as the publication date of the earliest Turkish printed lyrics anthology, the



*Mecmû'a-i Şarkı*, by an unknown author (2010). 1852 was, the reader might remember, also the year of Hâşim Bey's *mecmû'a*'s first publication. Since that date, an ever-increasing number of music materials became available for professional musicians alongside amateurs, and in various formats: lyrics anthologies, newspapers, magazine supplements, and even postcards (see Paçacı 2010).

Despite its popularity in periodicals, the major source for nineteenth century *şarkı* remain the many lyrics anthologies published throughout the century, particularly those that circulated in the last three decades. Matthias Kappler (2015) and Cem Behar (2015) mention Greek song anthologies as the first examples of printed lyrics collections (see also Plemmenos 2002). Both give 1830 as the date of publication, and the title provided by Behar is *Biblios Kaloumeni Evterpi* (2016, 43). Although handwritten lyrics anthologies had been compiled by music students before 1830, their use had not been as widespread as it would become during the nineteenth century. The printing press and the mass production it facilitated played a crucial role (Behar 2016, 43). Technological innovation seemingly impacted musical repertoire, with the *şarkı* becoming the most consistently published *fâsıl* genre. There is good reason to believe that the increasing visibility granted by publishing – as opposed to only circulating privately, among students – contributed to the genre becoming so popular in the nineteenth century. Behar highlights how printing also altered the *güfte mecmûaları*'s original function:

Handwritten lyrics anthologies always fulfilled their duty as personal memory aids to the performer, or to the master and student during *meşk*. The anthology was also seen as a temporary list of vocal works individually passed on and transmitted. Each one was, essentially, an aid to the performer. [...] As to the period since the second half of the nineteenth century, with the spreading of the anthologies'

publication, their status and functions slightly changed. In this period, alongside their function to arrange, determine and preserve [the memory of] the singer's personal repertoire, another purpose was introduced. If the author of the *mecmû'a* was not just a singer, but also a composer, the lyrics anthologies had the task of transmitting, promoting, and distributing his newly composed vocal works. That is, many composers resorted to promotion and distribution by having the lyrics of their vocal works printed and distributed, and not by only transmitting them through the *meşk* (2016, 44; my translation<sup>94</sup>)

The appearance of the printed *mecmû'a* signified much more than just another form of music transmission. It implied a growing focus on the composer/singer as artist, with an audience now able to associate works with his name, a process reminiscent of what led to the rise of the popular music star system in nineteenth century Europe (see Scott 2008, in particular Chapter 2; also see Lagrange 1994). 'Registering', as it were, song lyrics in a printed medium also represented a pre-phonograph-era form of music recording: the *mecmû'a* functioned as an *aide-mémoire* by virtue of lyrics being organised according to prosodic rules, themselves tightly bound to rhythmic cycle (*usûl*) and *makâm* that were chosen according to the poetic metre<sup>95</sup>. While not strictly sonic, the recording of metre served as a reminder of the *makâm* and its specific melodic qualities, thus making the anthology a sort of soundless music collection. In the peculiar ethno-linguistic circumstances of the nineteenth century Ottoman

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<sup>94</sup> The traditional method of oral instruction, characterised by specific rules and etiquette (*edep*) defining the relationship between master and apprentice. See Behar 2016.

<sup>95</sup> During one of my *ut* lessons with master Necati Çelik, in November 2018, I was told of the determining role played by poetic metre in a vocal piece's composition. Necati Hoca explained that he would start from the text and choose the *usûl* (rhythmic cycle) on the basis of prosodic metre, and then the *usûl* itself would inspire the right *makâm*. This testifies to the very deep relationship among text, rhythmic cycle and *makâm*.

Empire, this ‘soundless’ sound registering also resulted in the recording of a variety of registers, inflections, dialects, languages, idioms. Returning to a point made in Chapter 2, lyrics collections performed the role of reader books registering language inasmuch as readers and primers could be ‘performed’ as songbooks. The pre-reform Turkish collections produced during the *Tanzimat* Era (1839 –1876) display a variety of registers constituted by Arabic, Persian and Turkish. However, a look at the Empire’s ethnic minorities’ lyrics anthologies – expectedly – reveals greater variety. While the *şarkı* collections produced by and circulated among minorities are beyond the scope of this thesis, it will be useful to briefly examine the nineteenth century *güfte mecmuaları* panorama.

#### The *güfte mecmuası* and Ottoman minorities

Kappler and Sia Anagnostopoulou (2005-2006), discuss praise poetry for the Sultan composed in the context of Helleno-Ottomanism. With Ottomanism (*Osmanlılık*) becoming a driving force in the second half of the 19th century, members of the Greek community (the elite ‘in the service of the Ottoman state’, 47) displayed devotion to the Sultan, offering prayers for him (51) and singing his praises (59). These attitudes were reflected in the song anthologies of the era both in terms of forms (mainly *qasîde*, a genre of praise poetry) and contents. Elsewhere, in discussing the use of Islamic mystical imagery and meanings as filtered through Phanariot sensitivity, he touches, in his conclusion, on various forms of Phanariot verse based on Pre-reform Turkish models, among which is the *şarkı* (2013b). Kappler concludes that due to its levity and lack of mystical overtones, in its ‘tone and expression’ (105) the *şarkı* was closer to Phanariot aesthetic than the *gazel*. Elsewhere, still discussing Phanariot *şarkı* anthologies, he concludes that the linguistic texture of the Greco-Turkish *şarkı* was extremely varied in

terms of tone and, most importantly, syllabic meter, so much so that we could talk about a ‘ramification’ (*diramazione*, 31) across social strata of the songs’ consumers (*ibid.*). He highlights the coexistence of classic Ottoman poetic metres with those of popular Turkish poetry, a feature, in fact, of Ottoman *şarkı* collections in general and suggests that while those who *read* the songs may have belonged to an educated class (as the list of subscribers seems to indicate), those who *sang* them may well have belonged to all strata of Ottoman society (1991). Kappler concludes that the body of songs published in the Greco-Turkish anthologies was only partly the product of an elite culture (the Phanariot, in this case). Rather, we should think of it as the reflection of a multi-lingual, multi-register, multi-ethnic community in which themes and vocabularies – as well as scripts – were mutually appropriated. We know this happened with prose (Strauss 2003), but we do not know how this affected the vocal repertoire.

Kappler has also examined Bulgarian song collections (in these, pre-reform Turkish was written in Cyrillic). In the world of song anthologies, that is in its performative dimension, Pre-reform Turkish travelled across language borders, by means of foreign scripts (Greek, Armenian, Cyrillic), and it did so across the spectrum of its registers. Kappler remarks that the first song anthologies were actually Greek ones (1830) followed by the pre-reform Turkish (1852, Hâşim Bey’s collection) and Armenian ones (1865)<sup>96</sup> (2011, 57) and that Bulgarians were consumers of Greco-Turkish collections (2011, 58). He observes that the love *motif* so dear to pre-reform Turkish poetry was reprised in the Greco-Bulgarian songs<sup>97</sup> (see also Cathzipanagioti-Sangmeister 2013 and Kappler 2015) collected in the *Karamanli*<sup>98</sup> and

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<sup>96</sup> A. Turgut Kut gives the same date for the first Armeno-Turkish song collection (1993, 20). However, in 2018 I located and worked on six Armeno-Turkish collections held at the British Library, the earliest of which was printed in Istanbul in 1861, *Yēni Sharkē*.

<sup>97</sup> These are songs with half Greek and half Bulgarian lyrics, written in both Greek and Cyrillic script.

<sup>98</sup> *Karamanli* Turkish was pre-reform Turkish written with the Greek alphabet.

Bulgarian collections (1998), and that some of the repertoire overlaps with the pre-reform Turkish anthologies. Kappler reflects on why the Turkish theme of impossible love was so central to all of the Greek and Bulgarian collections he examined, some of which contained Turkish repertoire together with Bulgaro-Greek lyrics. The interpretation he proposes is that this theme expresses the irrepressible desire to break free of restrictions, limitation in interactions (1998) – perhaps the *linguo/literary segregation* discussed by Strauss (2017, 133, 134)? The overlap of this lyrical and thematic material may signify a symbolic merging, ever-unattainable in the social reality of the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire, and yet ever-attainable in its printed text, where script and idioms crossed borders channelling, through the diversity of the scripts and idioms themselves, common sentiments.

What does the situation described by Kappler regarding non-Turkish collections tell us about pre-reform Turkish as a performed language? And what does this, in turn, tell us, about its status among communities? While the existence of these materials confirms that Ottoman language was a literary language circulating among educated elites (the Greek Phanariot one, for example), it is also telling us that perhaps the literary segregation was not as strict and that performed, sung, pre-reform Turkish had a life of its own. Kappler has further explored the point of view of the Greek minority on pre-reform Turkish (2013a), revealing a surprising ‘belief in an Ottoman language that belonged to all the subjects of the empire, be they Turcophone or not’ (78). In one of the many late 19th century Greek sources cited in the chapter, from a Greek-Ottoman grammar published in 1850, we read that the Ottoman language ‘contributes to keeping dominators and dominated united in mutual love’ (Adosidis 1850, 7 cited in Kappler 2013a, 78), an unexpected statement which however is only one of many expressing the attachment of some sections of the Greek community to the language. The autonomous, free-of-boundary life seemingly enjoyed by pre-reform Turkish in these non-Turkish collections

brings to mind the way in which song texts provided the language with a neutral platform, impermeable to ideology and literary debate. It is as if the *güfte* format granted pre-reform Turkish exemption from the rigid prescriptions of either poetic tradition or innovation, as well as ethnocentric inclinations. Furthermore, the Greco-Turkish collections' variety and its appeal across the consumers' social strata mentioned by Kappler suggests that later printed Turkish collections might have shared this quality and that their registral and metre variety might have made them, too, appealing to different publics. Their appearance in both song collections and newspapers is a hint in this direction. Seemingly, registral variety was conducive to accessibility, possibly contributing to the genre's overall popularity.

#### The repertoire in the 1890s: anthologies and periodicals

During my research, I have examined printed lyrics anthologies published in a period spanning the last four decades of the nineteenth century. However, in this thesis I have decided to focus on two of those printed in the 1890s, without completely disregarding the others, which will be occasionally referred to. My reason for this selection was dictated by the necessity to focus on a period in which language publications intensified, as well as the 1890s being an important decade for newspaper circulation. I began noticing that several of the songs found in the collections of the 1890s were also published in the periodicals *Ma'lûmât* and *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* (1895 – 1908). Additionally, many language and rhetoric/literature publications were produced during the same decade, making it possible to construct a picture of print and publishing culture at the end of the century. The web of connections among music, literature/rhetoric, language education and linguistics seemed particularly rich and multi-layered in the 1890s, a consideration that had a significant impact on my choice.

The number of anthologies printed in this decade is impressive. We have at least one for each year. The decade opened with *Nevâ-yı Aşk Veyâhud Sadâ-yı Şevk* ('The Melody of Love Or The Voice of Delight'), a series of anthologies each volume of which was compiled by a different composer. In 1891 alone, three volumes were published: the selections chosen by a Nûri Bey<sup>99</sup>, Şevkî Bey (1860 – 1890), and Hacı Ârif Bey (1831 – 1855). This was followed by *Yadigâr-ı Aşk Yâhûd Mahsûl-i Tabiat* ('Memory of Love Or The Fruit of Delight', 1892), containing songs by Şevkî Bey with an introduction by the *dîvân* poet Mehmet Hafîd Bey (1850 – 1920) and intended as an *in-memoriam* work following the death of the young composer. 1893 was the year of Mahmûd Cemîl's *Şevk-i Dil*, reprinted in a considerably reduced format in 1894. Again in 1894, we have the anonymous *Yeni Şarkı Mecmû'ası*, followed by *Ferahfezâ Yâhûd Yeni Şarkı* ('*Ferahfezâ*, That Which Increases Delight Or New *Şarkı*', anonymous, 1896), *Yenî Şarkılar* ('New *Şarkıs*', anonymous, 1896/1897) and, finally, Ahmed Avnî's *Hânende* ('The Singer', 1899). The 1895 gap in anthology publications was filled by the publication of *şarkı* in the newspapers *Ma'lûmât* and *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*.

The publication of songs in these periodicals spanned the period between 1895 and 1899, and beyond. In the first of this chapter, I will examine Mahmûd Cemîl's *Şevk-i Dil* (1893 and 1894 editions). Despite examining all of the collections listed above, I have chosen to focus on the two editions of this anthology: the differences between them provided me with a chance to discuss a wide range of topics which, I believe, characterise the circulation of the *şarkı* in the late nineteenth century. Some repertoire found in *Yeni Şarkı Mecmû'ası* ('New *Şarkı*

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<sup>99</sup> Not the renowned Bolâhenk Nûri Bey (1834 – 1910). It was not possible for me to find additional information about him, except for Paçacı's remark regarding the status of his musicianship and, consequently, fame (2010, 70).

Anthology', 1894), *Ferahfezâ Yâhûd Yeni Şarkı* (1896) and *Yenî Şarkılar* (1896/1897) was published in *Ma'lûmât* too, and it will be discussed in the second part of this chapter.

## Reading the song

### 1893/1894: Şevk-i Dil, heart and language delight<sup>100</sup>

The two editions of the anthology *Şevk-i Dil*, published only one year apart, were compiled by Mahmûd Cemîl, whom the title page describes as 'member of the Customs Administration' (*rûsûmâte mensûp*). I was, unfortunately, unable to retrieve further information about customs officer Cemîl. It is, however, striking that a man employed in the state's administration should be the compiler of a published lyrics anthology. It suggests that the web of relations sustaining the circulation of *şarkı* extended well-beyond music networks. I have already mentioned how the genre's readership included amateurs alongside professionals, and that that made its presence possible in non-strictly musical publications, too. However, the selection of repertoire on the part of a public administration officer testifies to a degree of familiarity with the genre. This should not, after all, surprise us too much: many of the nineteenth century leading *şarkı* composers – and men of letters – were also employed in, or somehow connected to, the *Bâb-ı Âlî* bureaucratic headquarters<sup>101</sup>. Some of them, such as

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<sup>100</sup> My translation is a wordplay on the term *dil*, which means both 'tongue, dialect, language' (in Turkish) and 'heart' (in Persian) (Redhouse *Sözlüğü* [1890] 2013).

<sup>101</sup> Hacı Ârif Bey worked as assistant clerk at the War Ministry (*Bâb-ı Seraskeri*) for a time, beginning in 1844, before taking up employment as music teacher at the Harem (see Sezgin 1996). Rahmi Bey (1865 – 1924) was an assistant clerk at the accounting office for the government's finance department (*Muhâsebe Kalemi*) in 1886. He became assistant functionary at the Bureau of Justice (*Muhâkemât Dairesi*) the Council of State in the same year. In 1891, he became employed as assistant magistrate in the Lower Court (*Bidâyet Mahkemesi*) and then clerk for the Statistics Council (*İstatistik Encümeni*). For a full list of his posts and decorations, see Özcan 2007. Şevkî Bey was also employed as a clerk at the



Hâcî Ârif Bey and Rahmi Bey (1865 – 1924) were also decorated officers and possessors of specific ranks in the state’s bureaucratic apparatus. One thing that these circumstances highlight is not only the familiarity with vocal repertoire, but also familiarity with the conventions of the bureaucracy’s writing style and register – those criticized by authors such as Ziyâ Pâşâ (see chapter 1). Although Mahmûd Cemîl was not the actual author of the lyrics collected in *Şevk-i Dil*, we can still reflect on the language and register range of the songs he selected in relation to his post and ask questions such as whether it impacted his stylistic choices. It goes without saying that Cemîl’s selection might have had criteria completely free of linguistic considerations. This is also something that will become a little clearer when we compare the two editions of his work.

The 1894 edition is considerably shorter than the 1893 one. While the 1893 edition contained forty-three songs, only fourteen of these were published in the 1894 edition. The songs appearing in both are the following<sup>102</sup>:

- 1) *Bahâr Oldu Açtı Sünbül* (Râst, Maşûk Bey)
- 2) *Şimdî Gönül Düştü bir Nevres Güle* (Sûzinâk, Sântûrî Edhem Efendi)
- 3) *Gönlümü âldı bir hûrî tal’at* (Sûzinâk, Hakkı Bey)
- 4) *Buyûr gülzâra erkenden* (Sûzinâk, Râşid Efendi)
- 5) *Neredesin ey tâtlı sözlü sevdâğım* (Hicâzkâr, Ârif Bey)
- 6) *Câ-yı zevk ü şevk edendim köşe-yi meyhâneyi* (Uşşâk, Hakkı Bey)
- 7) *Mir’âtı ele âl da bâk Allah’ı seversen* (Uşşâk, Girît Valîsî Mahmûd Pâşâ)

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Customs Ministry (*Rûsûmat Nezâreti*) first, and at War Ministry Record Office (*Harbiye Nezâreti Evrak Kalemî*) (see Özcan 2010).

<sup>102</sup> As per convention, the first verse of the text is used as title. The composers’ names and *makâm* are found in brackets.

- 8) *Cânânı ûyandırmadı hayfâ ki vürûdüm* (Uşşâk, Hecîn Efendi)
- 9) *Telîf edebilsem feleğim âh emelimle* (Uşşâk, Şevki Bey)
- 10) *Mecbûr oldum ben bir güle* (Bestenigâr, Hâşim Bey)
- 11) *Gel ey cismimdeki cânım* (Hicâz, Râşid Efendi)
- 12) *Âh eşk-i çeşmim hasretinle çağlıyor* (Hüzzâm, Sântûrî Edhem Efendî)
- 13) *Hele ol dilber-i ranâ ârada çakıyor* (Hüzzâm, Malîk Efendi)
- 14) *Mümkün mü bulmak bû gönlüm senî* (Hüzzâm, Fâik Bey)

The 1894 edition contained fourteen songs in total<sup>103</sup>. They were published in the same order (the one I have provided here) in both collections. This might indicate that those twelve songs were particularly popular as the 1894 edition comes across as a sort of ‘the very best of’ special edition. The two collections present other, important differences. Firstly, the publishers. The 1893 edition was published by *Matbaa-yı Safâ ve Enver* (according to the name shown on other printed works, also known as *Şems Kitaphanesi* and *Safâ ve Enver Efendi Matbaası*), which, in the 1890s, produced mostly literary texts, but also commentaries on legislation and scientific texts. It, incidentally, published some of *Güfte İntihâbı*’s author Mehmed Celâl’s works between 1891 and 1894, as well as Necip Âsım 1893 *Kitâp*, an ode to the book as item, work of art and to book-reading culture and production. Our anthology, then, was first materially produced within a markedly literary framework, as well as compiled by a poet. This suggests strong ties with the world of letters, as if the *şarkı* were considered part and parcel of it. As we will see, this was reflected in the registral composition of the work which, as a ‘read’ – as opposed to ‘sung’ – item, displayed features closer to a collection of *dîvân*

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<sup>103</sup> See Appendix 1 for a comparative table of songs found in collections and newspapers.

poetry or, at any rate, a literary work, an aspect that strengthened its bonds to reading and reading culture.

As to the 1894 edition's publisher, this was the famous '*Âlem Matbaası*, founded by Ahmed İhsân (1867 – 1942), a student of Recâizâde Mahmûd Ekrem, who had a crucial role in the story of the *Edebiyât-ı Cedîde* (New Literature) movement. He founded the publishing house in 1888 and his name became indissolubly tied with the magazine/journal (*dergi*) *Servet-i Fünûn*, the movement's official publication, which he began printing in 1891. It would continue to be so until 1944 (see Ebüzziya 1989). Ahmed İhsân and his associates (*Ahmed İhsân ve Şürekası Matbaacılık Osmanlı Şirketi*, as the house was also known) printed a range of literary and non-literary works including texts in Turkish, English, Greek, Armenian and French, as well as translations of European works (such Jules Verne's *Around the World in Eighty Days*). However, it was his role as official publisher of the New Literatis (*Yeni Edebiyâtçılar*) that made him a prominent figure in the development of late Ottoman publishing but also reading culture (see Rukancı and Anameriç 2009).

This situates the 1894 edition of our anthology within, again, a well-established literary structure, with a twist: the framework was now provided by a publisher with very clear ties to the movement that sought to renovate literature with a fresher language and rhetoric. One that, also, sought to integrate European taste into its own literary tradition, without betraying the latter. In other words, the second edition should be examined within the framework of proposed innovation that was described in the previous chapter. It is natural, therefore, to ask whether these tendencies also determined the choice of repertoire, and whether the songs selected for the 1894 edition displayed significant registral differences compared to the 1893 one. At any rate, be it because these publishers were the only available platforms for these anthologies to be distributed to a wide public, be it because the publishers themselves did not

regard song anthologies as differing significantly from works of literature, it is impossible to separate the *şarkı* as song from the world of reading and literary publishing. Additionally, in the case of the 1894 edition, we observe a connection to periodicals, although the songs themselves did not appear in *Servet-i Fünûn*. This reinforces the idea of a publication platform that straddled specialist circles and a wider reading sphere – and just how wide this might be, is suggested by the price we find on the last page of this edition.

The most interesting difference between the two editions is the price provided for the *Şevk-i Dil* 1894, which was 10 *pâra*. Findley records that, between the years 1851 – 1914, forty *pâra* made one *kuruş* (92). He also goes into some detail regarding the foreign ministers' salaries that, between 1885 – 1896, amounted to 30.000 *kuruş* per month (Findley 1986, 86), pointing out that a foreign minister's salary represented the highest income, which tells us little about the salaries of the common folk. More information is provided by Duben and Behar, who highlight that the bureaucracy was the most 'desirable area of employment for a young man' (Duben and Behar 1991, 47). According to their data, until the post-First World War period (and specifically in 1913) Istanbul civil servants earned 1.166 *kuruş*, while a labourer's wages amounted to 350 *kuruş* (37). As to the 1890s, Findley reports of a bureaucratic memoirist who, at the turn of the century, deemed 540 *kuruş* sufficient to support his small family, while a petitioner in 1897 declared a 600 *kuruş* salary would not be enough to sustain his large family (87). Findley elaborates:

... it appears that an official of the mid-1890s would have considered a salary of 1,000 *kuruş* per month adequate to support a family. Saying that she had only a very small pension, and that her son's salary was only 250 *kuruş* per month, an official's widow petitioned in 1892 for the son's salary raised to 1,000 *kuruş*. Also

referring to the 1890s, when he, too, was an official, the writer H. Z. Usakligil discussed the significance that 1,000 *kuruş* had for him on account of an "important death" in the family. (88)

These data spanning the whole decade are the closest information we have on the salary and livelihood needs of the 1890s (see Findley 1986, Issawi 1980, Tabakoğlu 2014). We conclude that the cheapest of the *şarkı* media of circulation was, intriguingly, the *mecmû'a* (anthology). The 1894 edition of *Şevk-i Dil* was cheaper than the newspapers published in the same period. In 1894, an issue of *Tarîk* sold for 20 *pâra*. Between 1891 – 1900, an issue of *Servet* was priced at 20 *pâra*, decreasing to 10 at the turn of the century. A 1894/1895 issue of *Servet-i Fünûn*, on the other hand, was quite pricey: 100 *pâra*<sup>104</sup>. In 1895, *Ma'lûmât* would also sell at 100 *pâra*, while *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*, again in 1895, costed 30 *pâra* per issue. It appears that *Şevk-i Dil* 1894 would be affordable for civil servants as well as labourers, while a magazine as *Ma'lûmât* would be quite costly as a newspaper, and a bit of a financial stretch especially for labourers. The price suggested it was a magazine aimed at cultured readership willing to invest 100 *pâra* in its purchase. We can imagine this would include individuals employed in the bureaucracy, and above. Certainly, individuals with a keen interest in literature and the arts. *Servet-i Fünûn*'s publisher Ahmed İhsân's 'Âlem Matbaası, which, it will be remembered, also published the 1894 edition, seemingly distributed the song anthology for a much wider public than the newspaper. The anthology was affordable even for individuals who would not be able to invest 100 *pâra* in a literary publication. It might also be remembered

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<sup>104</sup> See the Ankara University Political Sciences Faculty Library (SBF, *Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Kütüphanesi*) periodicals database for digital versions of nineteenth century Ottoman newspapers' issues: <https://dspace.ankara.edu.tr/xmlui/handle/20.500.12575/60>.

that this publication was the official journal of the New Literatis, that situates it in a precise cultural and literary context, one characterised by a desire for innovation but also preservation of certain elements of poetic language and form (see Chapter 3). One wonders whether the 1894 collection reflected these tendencies and to what extent, and what inclinations were displayed, on the other hand, in the registral choices of the 1893 edition.

It is important to now think of how to approach the lyrical material and language fabric of the texts without leaving music out of our analysis. A natural question is whether registral layers corresponded to specific structural features of the *şarkı*: for example, whether certain registers were especially used in the *zemîn* (first verse) or in the *nakarât* (refrain). In the nineteenth century, the genre's most common format was that of a four-verse stanza (see Özkan 2010 for a more detailed account of variations in *şarkı* structure). As to the structure of this format, verse (*misra*) 1 (*zemîn*) and 3 (*miyân*) are two distinct lines of text. The *zemîn* introduces the *makâm* (mode) and end on its *güçlü* note, a note resembling the Western music dominant in terms of function but not always occurring on the fifth degree<sup>105</sup>. The *miyân* is where modulation might occur. Verses 2 and 4 are the *zamân* and the *nakarât*, or the refrain, respectively. However, whether verse 2 will be the same as the refrain or a new verse (*zamân*) altogether depends on the structure of the *şarkı* (Özkan 2010). In verse 2 and the refrain, the song's *makâm* is re-established and explored, and the melody gradually moves towards the *makâm*'s *durak* note (tonic), that is, the first note of the *makâm* and also the one upon which the song will end (as a finishing point, the note is then called *karâr*; *ibid.*).

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<sup>105</sup> In Turkish *makâm* music, it is usually, but not always, the note joining the two four or five-note blocks (tetrachord or pentachord *cins*) upon which the *makâm* is constructed. Most importantly, it is *the* note giving the *makâm* its flavour (*çeşni*) and it is used as tonic during performance to modulate to another *makâm*. This note can correspond to the third, fourth or fifth degree of the *makâm* series.

As I will discuss shortly, the *güçlü* and *durak* notes are seen to play essential role in the unfolding of the melodic relationship between verse and register, particularly through the use of rhyme. Both of them correspond to specific registers and melodic points, which in turn correspond to specific sections of the *şarkı*, therefore having a key function in establishing correspondences among all these linguistic, musical, and poetic elements. Alongside the song structure, two other elements that we should consider in relation to register are the *makâm* itself and the rhythmic cycle (*usûl*). The anthologies help us in this regard as they always indicate both for each song. Songs were arranged according to *makâm*. An important question to ask, then, is whether a correspondence existed between registers and specific *makâmlar/usûller*. Let us delve into the texts and find out.

The following lyrics are from the 1894 edition of *Şevk-i Dil*. They had first appeared in the 1893 edition, and some of them would be found in later newspapers and collections. Except for the first *şarkı*<sup>106</sup>, the *makâm* is indicated at the top of the page, alongside the rhythmic cycle and the name of the composer. We find no specific indication regarding the lyricist. I have used colour coding, again, to indicate the different languages in the text: green for Arabic, blue for Persian and red for Turkish.

1.

(*Şarkı-yı Ma'sûk Bey*) (*Usûl-ı Sûfiyân*)

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<sup>106</sup> Current available notation sheets for *Bahâr Oldu Açtı Sünbül* indicate *Ferahfezâ* as the *makâm* and Kemânî Serkis Efendi (1885 – 1944), instead of Ma'sûk Bey (? - ?), as the composer/lyricist. The *usûl* indicated is also different: *Devr-i hindî* as opposed to *Şevk-i Dil's Sûfiyân*. Given Serkis' date of birth, it is safe to assume that the lyrics found in the anthology and those available to us with notation are not the same. Following the general *makâm*-information pattern found throughout the anthology, I am inclined to think that the lyrics provided in this one were probably adapted by Serkis Efendi to a later composition of his, and the one presented here were in *makâm Sûzinâk*, like the ones immediately after it.

*Bahâr oldu açtı sünbül<sup>107</sup>*

*Figâne bâşlâsın bülbül*

*Dehânın açmış gonca gül*

*Nakarât*

*Figâne bâşlâsın bülbül*

*Her taraftan sûlar çağlar*

*Yeşîl giymiş bütün dağlar*

*Mesken oldu bize bâğlar*

*Eyzân*

*Figâne bâşlâsın bülbül*

(3)

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<sup>107</sup> Spring has begun, the hyacinth has bloomed  
Let the nightingale begin its lament  
The rosebud has opened its mouth  
[Refrain]  
Let the nightingale begin its lament  
Waters murmur from every side  
All the mountains wear green  
Gardens have become our dwelling place



2.

### *Sûzinâk*

(Şarkı-yı Sântûrî Edhem Efendî) (Usûl- Cûrcuna)

*Şimdî gönül düştü bir nevres güle<sup>108</sup>*

*Döndü feryâdım nevâ-yı bülbüle*

*Her ne dem ol gonca-yı zîbâ güle*

### *Nakarât*

*Küstürür bülbül güle gül sünbüle*

*Söz yok ol muğbeçenin bû çağına*

*Mest olûp âlmış fesi sağ yânına*

*Vârsa bû perçemle sünbül bağına*

### *Eyzân*

*Gösterir bülbül güle gül sünbüle*

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<sup>108</sup> My heart has fallen, now, for a young, fresh rose  
My cry has turned into the melody of the nightingale  
Every time that beautiful bud [turns] into a rose  
[Refrain]  
The nightingale vexes the rose, the rose, the nightingale

(4)

3.

(Şarkı-yı Hakkı Bey) (Usûl-ı Aksâk Semâ'î)

Gönlümü aldı bir hûrî tal'at<sup>109</sup>

Sevdim sevildim âh ne saâdet

Bahtımdan artık ettim şikâyet

Nakarât

Sevdim sevildim âh ne saâdet

Me'yûs mükedder olmuştum evvel

Ben şimdî oldum nâil emel

Yeisim sürûre oldu mübeddel

Eyzân

---

<sup>109</sup> A beautiful Huri has stolen my heart [*The Huris are the ladies inhabiting Heaven, according to the Islamic tradition*]

I loved, I was loved, ah, what bliss

I have ceased complaining about my fate [*lit., 'I have already complained about my fate, so I no longer do so*]

[Refrain]

I loved, I was loved, ah, what bliss

I had been hopeless, grieving before

Now, I have attained my desire

My pain has transformed into joy

(5)

4.

*Sûzinâk*

(Şarkı-yı Râşid Efendî) (Usûl-ı Düyek)

*Buyûr gülzâra erkenden<sup>110</sup>*

*Safâyâb ol efendim sen*

*Bütün ezhâr açılmışken*

*Nakarât*

*Safâyâb ol efendim sen*

*Yetişmez mi gel insâfa*

*Kûlâk verme abes lâfa*

*Nazar kıl bâğda etrafı*

---

<sup>110</sup> Come to the garden, early  
Be peaceful, delightful, my master  
As all flowers bloom  
[Refrain]  
Be peaceful, delightful, my master  
Is it not enough? Be just  
Do not listen to empty talk  
Look around in the garden

*Eyzân*

(6)

5.

*Hicâzkâr*

(Şarkı-yı Ârif Bey) (Usûl-ı Devr-i Hindî)

*Neredesin ey tâtlı sözlü sevdiğim*<sup>111</sup>

*Sârı saçlı mâî gözlü sevdiğim*

*Âşıkına doğru özlü sevdiğim*

*Nakarât*

*Sârı saçlı mâî gözlü sevdiğim*

6.

*Uşşâk*

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<sup>111</sup> Where are you, oh beloved whose word is sweet  
My beloved with blonde hair and blue eyes  
My beloved, whose heart is fair towards her lover  
[Refrain]  
My beloved with blonde hair and blue eyes

(Şarkı-yı Hakkı Bey) (Usûl-ı Düyek)

Câ-yı zevk ü şevk edindim köşe-yi meyhâneyi<sup>112</sup>

İnşirâh-ı kalbe bâis bilmişim peymâneyi

Nağme-sâz ol dârma mutrib perde-yi uşşâktan

(7)

Nakarât

Neşelendir câm mı savn sakîya (?) cânâneyi

Berk ruhsârın görüp bülbül gibi etme figân

Sen de taklît eyle ey dil-i şive-yi pervâneyi

Ehl-i diller dâima cevherefşân feyiz olûr

Nakarât

Sânma hâli sen sâkın gencîneden pervâneyi

---

<sup>112</sup> I have provided the tavern with pleasure and joy  
I have known the winecup to be the relief of the heart  
Player, create a melody from the lovers' note, do not stop it  
[Refrain]

It cheers up the beloved, is the glass the cupbearer's shelter? [meaning unclear]

Do not moan as the nightingale after seeing his stern face

And you, imitate the moth's playful heart

The people of the heart are the inspiring light of abundance eternally radiating the essence

[I am unsure as to the meaning of the last sentence]

7.

### *Uşşâk*

(Şarkı-yı Girît Vâlîsî Mahmûd Pâşâ) (Usûlü Sengîn Semâ'î)

*Mir'âtı ele âl da bâk Allah'ı seversen*<sup>113</sup>

*Sînen ne kadar olmuş o benlerle müzeyyen*

*Bû hayret île firkate kâdir olamam ben*

### *Nakarât*

*Pâlûze mi ten yâ gümüş âyine mi gerdan*

(8)

8.

### *Uşşâk*

(Şarkı-yı Hecîn Efendî) (Usûlü Âksâk)

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<sup>113</sup> Take the mirror and look, by Allah  
Look at how adorned with those beauty spots your breast has become  
I cannot separate myself, feeling so in awe  
[Refrain]  
Is it the flesh that is so pale, or is your neck a silver mirror?

*Cânânı ûyandırmadı hayfâ ki vürûdüm<sup>114</sup>*

*Mahmûr safâdır ûyûr çeşm-i kebûdüm*

*Ol şûha gelir ninni makâmında sürûdüm*

*Nakarât*

*Mahmûr safâdır ûyûr çeşm-i kebûdüm*

*Gâhî kâpıyor gözlerînî nâzik eliyle*

*Gâhî gülüyor cıvıların en güzeliyle*

*Rüyâda meleklerle konuşmak emeliyle*

*Eyzân*

(9)

9.

**Uşşâk**

(Şarkı-yı Şevkî Bey) (Usûlü Âksâk)

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<sup>114</sup> What a shame, my coming has not awakened the beloved  
My blue-eyed sleeps, it is languid pleasure  
Sometimes, she closes her eyes with her gentle hand  
Sometimes, she laughs, with the loveliest of her flirtatious manners  
With the hope to speak with angels in her dreams

*Telîf edebilsem feleğim âh emelimle<sup>115</sup>*

*Dünyâyı fedâ eyler idim mâhasalimle*

*Ben uğrâşırım belki o demde ecelimle*

*Nakarât*

*Nakdîne-yi cânı veririm kendi elimle*

*Hem bezm-i visâl olsam eğer ol güzelimle*

*Firkatından ûsândım yeter ey baht-ı sitemkâr*

*Âh için etme beni buhrân ile bîmâr*

*Bir kere geçirse elime dâmen-i dildâr*

*Eyzân*

(10)

10.

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<sup>115</sup> If I could write my destiny with my hopes  
I would give away the world as a result  
Perhaps, at that time, I would be struggling with death  
[Refrain]  
I would give [the value of] my soul with my own hands  
If I could have an encounter with that beauty of mine  
I have had enough of separation, it is too much, oh, unjust destiny  
Do not make me sick with depression because of my sighs  
If I could only grab one time the edge of my beloved's skirt



(Şarkı-yı Hâşim Bey) (Usûlü Evfer)

Mecbûr oldum ben bir güle<sup>116</sup>

Şimdi düştüm dilden dile

Fırsat bulsam âlsam ele

Nakarât

Ben sarılsam ince bile

Sardırmam seni ellere

Nedir cevrin her dem banâ

Bir sözüm vârl dilber sanâ

Teşrif eyle bir şeb banâ

Eyzân

(11)

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<sup>116</sup> This song was also published in the supplement to the 5 December 1895 issue of *Ma'lûmât*. See table in the Appendix.

I have become devoted to a rose  
I am the talk of the town, now  
If only I could have a chance, and approach her  
[Refrain]  
Even if I embraced her a little  
I cannot fold you, bind you to my hands  
What is this oppression against me, every time?  
I have something to tell you, beauty  
Grant me the honour of just one night

11.

(Şarkı-yı Râşid Efendi) (Usûlü Âksâk Semâ'î)

*Gel ey cismimdeki cânım*

*Benim ey şûh-ı fettânım*

*Bûgün gözler dü-çeşmânım*

*Nakarât*

*Benim ey şûh-ı fettânım*

*Beni terk eyleyip gitme*

*Sezâvârî cefâ etme*

*Dil-i mahzûnum încitme<sup>117</sup>*

*Eyzân*

(12)

12.

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<sup>117</sup> Come, oh my soul that is in my body  
Oh, that flirty game of mine  
Today my eyes are two fountains  
[Refrain]  
Oh, that flirty game of mine  
Do not leave me and then go  
Do not oppress someone who is deserving  
Do not hurt my suffering heart

## Hüzzâm

(Şarkı-yı Sântûrî Edhem Efendî) (Usûlü Raks)

### Âranâmelî

Âh eşk-i çeşmim hasretinle çağlıyor

Âğlıyor bîçâre gönlüm âğlıyor

Sinemi nâr-ı muhabbet dağlıyor

### Nakarât

Âğlıyor bîçâre gönlüm âğlıyor

Bunca cevr ettin dil-i nâşâdıma

Bâis oldun hâsıl-ı berbâdıma

Yok mu rahmin dâdıma feryâdıma<sup>118</sup>

### Eyzân

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<sup>118</sup> Oh, my tears cascade down because of my longing for you

My hopeless heart cries, it cries

The fire of love burns my heart

[Refrain]

My hopeless heart cries, it cries

You have oppressed my grieving heart so much

You have been the cause of this awful consequence

Do you not have any mercy for my complaint, for my lament?

(13)

13.

### *Hüzzâm*

(Şarkı-yı Fâik Bey) (Usûl-ı Raks)

*Mumkün mü bulmak bû gönlüm senî*

*Kâra gözlerin âğlatır benî*

*Saldın âteşe bû cân ü tenî*

### *Nakarât*

*Kâra gözlerin âğlatır benî*

*Aşkınla keder sanâ bendedir*

*Ey güzel her dem gönlüm sendedir*

*Şivekârım yetmiş cânım tendedir<sup>119</sup>*

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<sup>119</sup> Is it possible for this heart of mine to find you?  
Your black eyes make me cry  
You have sent to the fire these flesh and bones  
[Refrain]  
Your black eyes make me cry  
The pain of love is your slave  
Oh, my beautiful, you always have my heart  
My flirtatious woman, it is enough, my soul is in my flesh

Eyzân

(14)

14.

**Hüzzâm**

(Şarkı-yı Malîk Efendî) (Usûlü Âksâk)

*Hele ol dilber-i ranâ ârada çakıyor*

*O zamân mest-i nigâhı ne kadar cân yâkıyor*

*Süzülüb çeşm-i sîyâhına de bâygın yâkıyor*

**Nakarât**

*O zamân mest-i nigâhı ne kadar cân yâkıyor*

*Çeşm-i mahmûrumu görenler kâna kâna boyânır*

*Seyr eden hâlimi âhın feleğe tâ dââyânır*

*Bülbülün şimdi sesinden korkârim yâr ûyânır<sup>120</sup>*

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<sup>120</sup> Also appeared in the supplement to the 5 December 1895 issue of *Ma'lûmât*.  
That especially beautiful, enchanting woman winks  
And at that time, how does the soul burn the one who is intoxicated!  
It trickles and it burns away the black-eyed beloved  
And at that time, how does the soul burn the one who is intoxicated!  
Those who see my languid eye becomes painted with blood  
Those who follow my condition (*text unclear here*)

(15)

At first glance, most texts seem to present a balanced mix of registers, except for text 5, Ârif Bey's *Neredesin ey Tatlı Sözlü Sevdiğim*, which is almost entirely in Turkish. However, at a closer look, the use of several lexical elements makes it more challenging to identify a predominant register. These elements, also known as loanwords, are those that Turkish had adopted and that would not be considered Arabic or Persian terms, despite their Arabic or Persian origin. This shared vocabulary complicates the idea of sharply defined and identifiable registers. However, it is still possible to make a distinction between foreign lexical elements customarily used in the *dîvân* and terminology that was (and still is) commonly used as part of the Turkish register.

It is, naturally, very difficult to establish at which point foreign lexical elements 'became Turkish'. Words that are still in use and presented as Turkish to language learners are a good starting point: *aşk* (passionate love), *mümkün* (possible), *ateş* (fire) are just some of the examples found in songs. Their survival after the language purge of the 1930s is an indication of their status as adopted vocabulary (see Gökalp [1923] 2017 and Lewis 2002 about language reform). The examples and reading texts found in grammar books used in schools from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards are also useful to distinguish between what was thought of as Turkish and what was not, particularly when such texts focused on teaching

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I am now afraid of the nightingale's voice, lest the beloved should wake up

the Turkish register (see Chapter 2). Additional help comes from the list of *terkîbât* (compound expressions) and conventional *dîvân* vocabulary compiled by Andrews (1985) and Kaçar (2012). Let us also not forget the indications found in the Ottoman Turkish – English lexicon compiled by Sir James Redhouse in 1890 (and published in an updated edition in 2013). Each vocabulary entry highlighted whether a given term was used for poetry (*poet.*), literature (*literary* or *literature*), whether it was sophisticated (*lrnd.*) or popular (*pop.*), making the dictionary an invaluable tool to understand how various lexical elements were perceived around the time the *şarkılar* were published. Finally, the debate on literary language discussed in Chapter 3, in particular Recâizâde Ekrem’s position on the use of traditional words and expressions, also helps us to understand what was considered foreign vocabulary mostly used in poetry and what, on the other hand, were Turkified terms.

This ambiguity characterising terminology and, consequently, register was seemingly the reality of song texts. Not only did some terms *not* fall exclusively into one category, but this eventually affected the registral quality as a whole making it difficult, sometimes, to categorise a text. This supports the idea that it is not productive to look for a well-defined registral quality in the song-text, as well as in other types of texts. Rather, the registral quality was given by the ambiguity itself, not by the separate (linguistic) elements constituting the whole. Before proceeding to examine whether registral elements corresponded to specific *şarkı* structural and formal features, an overview of key poetic terminology and its registral collocation (or the lack thereof) will help orientate ourselves in the *güfte* registral territory. The following table shows loanwords found in the 1894 *Şevk-i Dil* edition alongside Arabic and Persian words (nouns and adjectives) that were used in poetry but not regarded as Turkish. That is, words and expressions that would not be usually found in the Turkish register and were part of the sophisticated vocabulary of literary production. Turkish words are also shown. The list does

not include verbs or other elements of syntax. Except for Persian compound expressions where adjective is bound to noun through the *ezâfe* structure, the grammar of reference is, nearly without exception, Turkish. Arabic and Persian plural forms do occur, but verbs (conjugation and tenses), pronouns (subject and possessive), prepositions and cases are those used in Turkish. I have preserved the colour code used for different etymological origins to show how these did not prevent a word from ultimately being considered Turkish.

Loanwords	Persian	Arabic	Turkish
<i>Bahâr</i> (spring)	<i>Figân</i> (distress)	<i>Mesken</i> (dwelling)	<i>Sû</i> (water)
<i>Sûnbûl</i> (hyacinth)	<i>Dehân</i> (mouth)	<i>Tal'at</i> (countenance)	<i>Yeşîl</i> (green)
<i>Bûlbûl</i> (nightingale)	<i>Nevres</i> (freshly ripened)	<i>Me'yûs</i> (desperate, hopeless)	<i>Dağ</i> (mountain)
<i>Gonca</i> (rosebud)	<i>Nevâ</i> (tune, melody)	<i>Mûkedder</i> (grieved, sad)	<i>Gönül</i> (heart)
<i>Gül</i> (rose)	<i>Dem</i> (instant, time)	<i>Nâil</i> (who obtains, attains, acquires)	<i>Çağ</i> (time, period, maturity)
<i>Taraf</i> (side)	<i>Zîbâ</i> (beautiful, elegant)	<i>Yeis</i> (a despairing, despair)	<i>Sâğ</i> (right)
<i>Bağ</i> (vineyard)	<i>Muğbeçe</i> (boy waiter at a tavern)	<i>Sûrûr</i> (joy, pleasure, gladness)	<i>Kulâk</i> (ear)



<i>Feryât</i> (screech, cry, shriek)	<i>Mest</i> (drunk)	<i>Mübeddel</i> (changed, altered)	<i>Tatlı</i> (sweet)
<i>Saâdet</i> (felicity, happiness)	<i>Perçem</i> (lock of hair)	<i>Ezhâr</i> (flowers)	<i>Sözlü</i> (verbal here: <i>tatlı</i> <i>sözlü</i> , (one) whose words are sweet)
<i>Şikayet</i> (complaint)	<i>Gülzâr</i> (flower garden, rose garden)	<i>İnsâf</i> (justice, moderation)	<i>Gözlü</i> (eyed, here: <i>mâî</i> <i>gözlü</i> , blue-eyed)
<i>Baht</i> (fortune, chance)	<i>Safâyâb</i> (full of pleasure)	<i>Abes</i> (vain, useless, futility)	<i>Doğru</i> (right, correct, true)
<i>Lâf</i> (word, conversation)	<i>Peymâne</i> (cup)	<i>İnşirâh</i> (gladness, relief)	<i>Özlü</i> (here: <i>doğru</i> <i>özlü</i> , whose essence is true)
<i>Nazar</i> (look, glance)	<i>Câm</i> (glass, of glass)	<i>Bâis</i> (cause, motive)	<i>Sârî</i> (yellow, blond)
<i>Âşık</i> (lover, in love)	<i>Ruhsâr</i> (countenance)	<i>Mutrib</i> (musician, minstrel, singer)	<i>Sâçlı</i> (haired, here: <i>sârî</i> <i>sâçlı</i> , blond haired)

<i>Mâî</i> (blue)	<i>Dil</i> (heart)	<i>Savn</i> (a keeping, preserving, preservation, protection)	<i>Berk</i> (solid, strong)
<i>Zevk</i> (taste, delight, pleasure, enjoyment)	<i>Şive</i> (manner, style, gracefulness, coquetry)	<i>Ehl</i> (people, community)	<i>El</i> (hand)
<i>Şevk</i> (eagerness, enthusiasm)	<i>Gencine</i> (treasure)	<i>Feyz</i> (abundance, prosperity)	<i>Ben</i> (mole, beauty spot)
<i>Köşe</i> (corner, angle)	<i>Sîne</i> (bosom, breast)	<i>Mir'ât</i> (mirror, looking glass)	<i>Ninni</i> (lullaby)
<i>Kalp</i> (heart)	<i>Pâlûze</i> (strained, filtered, purified)	<i>Firkat</i> (separation, absence)	<i>Göz</i> (eye)
<i>Nağme</i> (melody)	<i>Ten</i> (body, flesh)	<i>Kâdir</i> (capable of)	<i>Güzel</i> (beautiful)
<i>Perde</i> (musical tone, note)	<i>Ayine</i> (mirror)	<i>Vürûd</i> (an arriving, arrival)	<i>Söz</i> (word)
<i>Hâl</i> (state, condition)	<i>Gerdan</i> (neck, throat)	<i>Mahmûr</i> (sleepy, languid)	<i>Baygın</i> (fainted, languishing)
<i>Taklît</i> (imitation)	<i>Cânân</i> (beloved)	<i>Safâ</i> (enjoyment, pleasure)	<i>Kân</i> (blood)

<i>Müzeyyen</i> (adorned)	<i>Hayfâ ki</i> (alas)	<i>Cilve</i> (coquettery, coquettish, air, grace)	<i>Ses</i> (voice)
<i>Hayret</i> (astonishment)	<i>Çeşm-i kebûd</i> (blue-eyed)	<i>Felek</i> (firmament, fate, destiny)	
<i>Nâzik</i> (delicate)	<i>Şûh</i> (coquettish)	<i>Mâhasal</i> (result)	
<i>Rüya</i> (dream)	<i>Nakdîne-yi cân</i> (the heart's worth, value)	<i>Ecel</i> (death, an appointed term, end of a period fixed beforehand)	
<i>Melek</i> (angel)	<i>Bezm</i> (banquet)	<i>Visâl</i> (meeting, lovers' union)	
<i>Emel</i> (aim)	<i>Sitemkâr</i> (cruel, tyrant)	<i>Cevr</i> (injustice, tyranny, oppression)	
<i>Telîf</i> (compile)	<i>Bîmâr</i> (sick, languishing)	<i>Cism</i> (body, matter)	
<i>Dünya</i> (world)	<i>Dâmen-i dil</i> (skirt of the heart)	<i>Fettân</i> (alluring, seducing, seducer)	
<i>Fedâ</i> (sacrifice)	<i>Dilber</i> (beautiful woman, beloved)	<i>Mahzûn</i> (sad, grieved)	
<i>Cân</i> (soul, heart, beloved)	<i>Şeb</i> (evening)	<i>Hâsıl</i> (result, effect, produce)	

<i>Mecbûr</i> (compelled, forced, bound)	<i>Dü-çeşman</i> (two eyes)	<i>Ranâ</i> (beautiful, pretty, tender, delicate)	
<i>Fırsat</i> (opportunity, occasion)	<i>Sezâvâr</i> (worthy of, deserving)		
<i>Teşrif</i> (honouring)	<i>Eşk-i çeşm</i> (tears)		
<i>Terk</i> (abandoning, forsaking)			
<i>Cefâ</i> (cruelty, suffering)	<i>Bîçâre</i> (desperate)		
<i>Hasret</i> (longing, yearning)	<i>Dil-i nâşâd</i> (sorrowful heart)		
<i>Muhabbet</i> (love, affection)			
<i>Berbât</i> (destroyed, scattered, lost, dreadful)	<i>Dâd</i> (cry, wail, lamentation)		
<i>Rahim</i> (compassionate, pitiful, merciful)	<i>Cân ü ten</i> (soul and body, body)		
<i>Mümkün</i> (possible)	<i>Şîvekâr</i> (elegant, attractive, graceful)		
<i>Ateş</i> (fire)	<i>Mest-i nigâh</i> (intoxicating look, glance)		
<i>Aşk</i> (love)	<i>Çeşm-i sîyâh</i> (black eye)		
<i>Keder</i> (grief)			

<i>Yâr</i> (lover, one's beloved)			
<i>Dâima</i> (always)			
<i>Cevher</i> (jewel, essence)			
<i>Zamân</i> (time)			
<i>Kadar</i> (degree, amount, as much as, as many as...)			
<i>Seyr</i> (moving along, progress, motion, looking on)			

A deeper look into the vocabulary of the texts shows that, interestingly, the majority of words are loanwords (33%), and that they are from Arabic. This clearly does not make the text Arabic given their status as fully adopted vocabulary and, what apparently come across as heavily Arabicized song texts are, in fact, constituted mostly by what was regarded as Turkish. On the other hand, Turkish words constitute the minority overall (15%), with Persian providing the second most used lexical elements (28%) and Arabic following it (22%). It is difficult, at first, to make sense of a text that, while displaying so many foreign words, would be regarded as 'Turkish'. It is especially challenging when it comes to establishing its registral composition: how are we to 'categorise' these texts? Is that even possible? Are they sophisticated, popular, or anything in-between? Looking at the lyrics individually, it can be suggested that these texts skilfully merged lower registers with poetic expression, which – and this is the key point – was, however, not foreign to the reading (and singing) public. As pointed out in the previous chapter, many of the compound Persian and Arabic expressions and terms found in these

*güfteler* could be easily found in dictionaries and were part of a solid poetic tradition. While they would be regarded as poetic expression, they would also be read as expected, conventional rhetorical devices. All in all, the *şarkı* texts published in *Şevk-i Dil* 1894 display registral fluctuation leaning towards Turkish. Turkish here is not necessarily understood as an etymological reality, rather, as an idiom comprising foreign-now-local terms (loanwords). It becomes very complicated to then define what exactly the Turkish register is.

Excessive rigidity will not serve us in trying to pinpoint the registral quality of the lyrics as a whole, either. Speakers of a more refined Turkish might have considered loanwords as words that to others were primarily the domain of poetical expression. This is still the case today, when native speakers of Turkish will choose to use an Arabic term instead of a Turkish one to display sophistication and a certain level of education<sup>121</sup>. The word choice also depends on the topic being discussed. The words that are still commonly used demonstrate a degree of continuity in terms of linguistic expression between the 1890s and Turkish as we know it today. However, while when considered as a readable text these lyrics might be described as neither overly sophisticated nor too accessible or popular, ‘reading’ these texts as singable pieces partly settles the matter of registral composition. While, on the one hand, it is more productive to think in terms of registral fusion and continuum or flux (see Chapter 1, and Woodhead 2011), on the other, it is possible to pinpoint certain functions that a particular register played within the framework of the song text. As it turns out, despite its scanty presence in terms of vocabulary it is Turkish that, in the 1894 collection, ultimately displays the greatest agency. This is suggested by the fact that in all the texts the end of line rhyme is obtained by using

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<sup>121</sup> A point made by my *ût* teacher Necati Çelik during a lesson (personal conversation, November 2008).

Turkish, in the form of verbs and conjugation suffixes, case suffixes and adjectives<sup>122</sup>. There are, however, some exceptions to this pattern. These make the matter even more intriguing. The first stanza and refrain of text 1 (*Bahâr Oldu Açtı Sünbül, Sûzinâk, Ma'sûk Bey*), the whole of text 3 (*Gönlümü Aldı bir Hûrî Tal'at, Sûzinâk, Hakkı Bey*<sup>123</sup>) and the second stanza of text 9 (*Telîf Edebilsem Feleğim âh Emelimle, Uşşâk, Şevki Bey*) use Persian (texts 1, 9) and Arabic (3) words as end-of-verse, rhyme-giving lexical elements. However, these words are mostly loanwords that, even though not etymologically Turkish, would still be lexical elements recognisable to the listener/reader as part of it. In other words, although not being Turkish, they would be recognised as such. Before we move on to the 1893 editions, let us take a moment to examine how these lexical elements interact with the *şarki*'s structural features and how they reflect – or not – the literary debates of the 1890s.

#### Turkish, loanwords and the *şarki* structure

Loanwords and Turkish lexical elements are observed to correspond to specific structural features of the genre. Although the lyrics anthology does not provide notation, some of these songs are still performed today, and can be therefore examined in greater musicological detail. I will use this section to provide an example of how vocabulary interacts with musical structure relying on the notation of one of the pieces as it is currently performed. I am aware of the limitations of this approach because the piece might have been performed differently in the 1890s. However, before I proceed to a more detailed analysis of the actual notation sheets

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<sup>122</sup> Turkish is an agglutinative language where meaning is conveyed by changing suffixes. These change according to grammatical cases and tense declension, alongside indicating plural forms.

<sup>123</sup> İsmâil Hakkı Bey (1866 – 1927).

published in *Mâ'lûmât*, in the second part of this chapter, it is important that I illustrate the way I interpret these music-text interactions. This section will, therefore, only aim at giving readers an idea of the genre's key structural features and how register can be interpreted to correspond to them. The patterns described here will be found again in the pieces printed in the newspapers.

Let us take, as an example, Şevkî Bey's *şarkı Telîf edebilsem feleğim âh emelimle*, in *makâm Uşşâk* and *usûl aksâk*. I have provided the lyrics earlier, but I am presenting them here again to show their registral composition.

*Telîf edebilsem feleğim âh emelimle*

*Dünyâyı fedâ eyler idim mâhasalimle*

*Ben uğrâşırım belki o demde ecelimle*

*Nakarât*

*Nakdîne-yi cânı veririm kendi elimle*

*Hem bezm-i visâl olsam eğer ol güzelimle*

Let us now take a look at the notation provided by the popular website *yedinota.com*, which is an important and widely used online reference for musicians' and lyricists' biographies as well as archive an archive for notation and lyrics sheets.



10624

USSAK SARKI  
**TELİF EDEBİLSEM FELEĞİ**

AKSAK (♩=100) ŞEVKİ BEY

TE LİF E DE BİL SEM FE LE Ğİ (SAZ  
AH AH AH E ME LİM LE (SAZ  
DÜN HEM YA BEZ Yİ FE DA EY LE Rİ  
MI VI SAL OL SAME  
DİM (SAZ GER NA OL MA OL MA SA LİM LA (SAZ  
GÜ ZE LİM LE  
BEN UĞ RA ŞI RİM BEL Hİ O  
DEM (SAZ DE E CE LİM  
LE (SAZ NAK Dİ NE İ CA  
Nİ VE Rİ RİM (SAZ KE KEN Dİ  
E LİM LE (SAZ LE KODAYA

TELİF EDEBİLSEM FELEĞİ AH EMELİMLE  
DÜNYAYI FEDA EYLEYİDİM MAHASALIMLE  
BEN UĞRAŞIRIM BELKİ O DEMDE ECELİMLE  
NAKDİNEİ CÂNNIVERİRİM KENDİ ELİMLE  
HEM BEZMİ VİSAL OLSAM EĞER OL GÜZELİMLE

Figure 1. Notation sheet of Telif Edebilsem Feleği (Uşşâk, Aksâk, Şevkî Bey). Image from

<https://www.yedinota.com/beste/telif-edebilsem-felegi-ah-emelimle-10774>

Let us begin with the lyrics and the structural features of the poem form. The *şarkı* I have chosen has a total of five verses, a structure that is not as common as the four-verse stanza (*dörtlük*), found in most *şarkılar*. Özkan (2010) gives the five-verse stanza structure as follows:

1. Verse A: *Zemîn*
2. Verse B: *Nakarât* (Refrain)
3. Verse C: *Miyân*
4. Verse D: *Miyân*
5. *Nakarât* (Refrain)

However, variations of this structure exist, and Şevkî Bey's *şarkı* is an example. In our song, we have the following structure:

1. *Telîf edebilsem feleğim âh emelimle: Zemîn*
2. *Dünyâyı fedâ eyler idim mâhasalimle: Zamân*
3. *Ben ûgrâşırım belki o demde ecelimle: Miyân*
4. *Nakdîne-yi cânı veririm kendi elimle: Nakarât*
5. *Hem bezm-i visâl olsam eğer ol güzelimle: Nakarât*

The first peculiarity of this *şarkı* is that the *nakarât* is made of two verses, not one. Additionally, verse two is the *zamân*, that is, a verse that is different from the one used in the refrain. It is common, in the *şarkı*, to find the same verse used as second verse and refrain. Let us now look at what musical phrases correspond to which verses. As to the *zemîn*:



Figure 2. Detail from notation sheet of Telif Edebilsem Feleği (Uşşâk, Aksâk, Şevkî Bey). Image from <https://www.yedinota.com/beste/telif-edebilsem-felegi-ah-emelimle-10774>

The *zemîn* introduces the *makâm*, in this case *Uşşâk*, and it usually ends on the *güçlü*, a pivotal note with a similar function to the Western dominant. It is the joining point of the two tetrachords (or pentachords) constituting the *makâm*, and it is the note that gives a *makâm* its flavour (*çeşni*). The makam *Uşşâk*'s 'series' (*dizi*) is made of one tetrachord and one pentachord, starting from the note A to its one-octave higher counterpart:



Figure 3. Image of makâm Uşşâk note series (Özkan 2012).

*Uşşâk* is an ascending (*çıkıcı*) *makâm*, which means that its melodic journey (journey) typically begins on the tonic and gradually moves up the full range of the pitch series, to finally descend again to the tonic (*karâr*—this is the name given to the end-of-piece tonic). The *durak* (starting tonic) is the pitch *Dügâh* (A), and the *güçlü* is the pitch *Nevâ* (D). We can see it joining the *Uşşâk* and *Bûselik* tetrachords. The importance of the note *Nevâ* as one of the two possible

‘entry points’ (*mebde*, the other being the tonic *dügâh*) to the *makâm* as well as its role in providing the *makâm*’s flavour is confirmed by two important sources for theory of the late 1800s: the previously mentioned work by Hâşîm Bey (1815 – 1868), 1864 edition (see Yalçın 2016) and Ahmet Avni Konuk’s (? – 1938) famous song anthology *Hânende*, published in 1899. We see it in the melodic development of the *zemîn* section, in correspondence with the loanword *telîf* (a compiling) in the second bar (highlighted in yellow), again at the second and beginning of the third bar on the Turkish verb suffix *-bilsem*. Here, the whole verb *edebilsem* (‘were I to be able to do...’) is, in fact, accompanied by a full, first tetrachord ascent to the *güçlü* (D) and back to the *durak* (A, the tonic – the whole passage is highlighted in blue). The movement fits Hâşîm Bey’s very brief description of the *makâm*’s *seyir* (‘journey’):

Firstly, we descend to *râst* (G), having begun with notes *râst*, *dügâh* (A), *segâh* (B 1 *koma* flat), *çargâh* (C), *nevâ* (D), *hüseyni* (E). Then, we end on *dügâh* after having begun [*lit., opened*] on *gerdâniye*, *acem*, *hüseyni*, *nevâ*, *çargâh*, *segâh*, *dügâh*, *râst*. (Yalçın 2016, 157; my translation<sup>124</sup>)

Finally, we find the end of verse *emelimle*, a construction made of a loanword (*emel*, wish) and Turkish possessive suffix plus the preposition ‘with’ (*-imle*) emphasized by another melodic phrase where *Nevâ* is also consistently emphasized, in the final bar (highlighted in green). The melody wonders around the dominant *Nevâ* first through the note C (*çargâh*), with a dramatic passage to the higher A pitch, known as *Muhayyer*, followed by a descending movement that begins on *Muhayyer* and lands, again, on *Nevâ*.

<sup>124</sup> *İbtidâ rast, dügâh, segâh, çargâh, nevâ, hüseyni perdeleriyle ağaze iderek rast’a kadar inüb ba’dehu gerdaniye, acem, hüseyni, nevâ, çargâh, segâh, dügâh, rast açarak dügâh’ta karar ider.*

As can be observed from the lyrics, the rhyme is based on the *-imle* suffix ending, which is a Turkish construction. It is therefore significant that this should, from the start, be highlighted by the *güçlü* (dominant) note, that also has such an important role in the *makâm* itself.

Let us move on to verse 2, the *zamân* section:

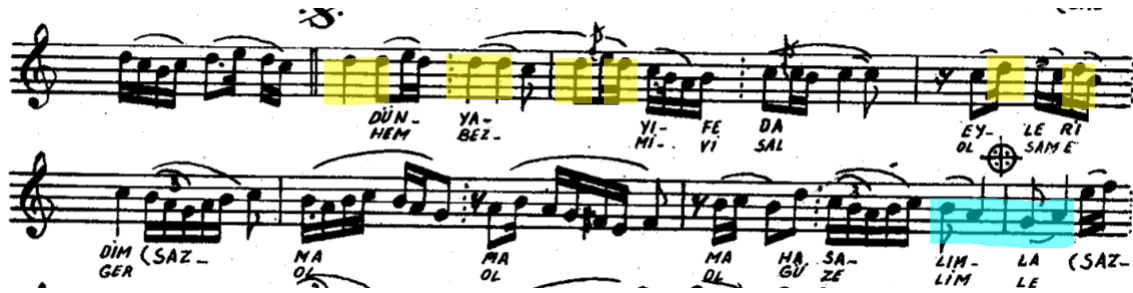


Figure 4. Detail from notation sheet of Telif Edebilsem Feleği (Uşşâk, Aksâk, Şevkî Bey).

Image from <https://www.yedinota.com/beste/telif-edebilsem-felegi-ah-emelimle-10774>

The *zamân* section is usually the section where the melodic possibilities of the *makâm* are further explored and where this ‘second round’ of melodic exploration finally leads to the tonic. We can see this pattern here. The melody is still moving within the confines of the lower tetrachord, and *Nevâ* is again consistently emphasized (highlighted in yellow). Again, *Nevâ* is seen to emphasize the loanword *dünya* (world) and the Turkish verb *eyler idim* (‘I would do...’) In bar four, we begin a gradual descent to the tonic in bar six, which we first encounter on the first syllable of the Arabic word *mâhasal* (result). We encounter it again at the conclusion of the melodic line, in correspondence with, again, the possessive + preposition suffix *-imla*, which I have highlighted in blue. The spelling of vowels that have been transliterated from the Perso-Arabic script can vary: the notation here spells the construction as *mâhasalimla*, but I have transliterated it as *mâhasalimle*. At any rate, this is the rhyming element in the text, and we can see again that it is in Turkish and emphasized by the tonic itself. The melodic line of the

*zamân* is used for the second verse of the refrain, too, and the text is no longer that of the *zamân*. We can see the refrain lyrics just below the first line of lyrics as well as the *Coda* symbol indicating the point the performer should return to (the symbol is found again at the end of the piece, together with the *Dal Segno* symbol).

The *miyân* section takes us to the second block of the *makâm* series, the pentachord starting on *Nevâ* and ending on *Muhayyer*. This section contains a modulation to what seems to be the *Hüseyni-Âşiran makâm*. However, I have not been able to identify the modulation with enough certainty as to grant a deeper analysis. Nonetheless, it is possible to observe a few elements that provide material for discussion. The section shows a focus on the pitches *Hüseyni* (E) and *Gerdâniye* (G): the melodic movement revolves around these two points. The focus on the note *Hüseyni* (highlighted in green), is reminiscent of the *makâm Hüseyni* itself, which has that note as its dominant. However, several passages highlight *Gerdâniye* instead (shown in blue), for example in bar three, where the note is held for four beats, or bar six, where much of the melodic movement revolves around its immediate neighbouring notes, F# (*Eviç*) and A (*Muhayyer*). Despite the uncertainty regarding the *makâm*, what is clearly visible is that, once again, Turkish syntactical elements are emphasized by the pitches that appear to be the main focus of the melodic development. In this case, we can see the insistence on G, in bar three, corresponding to the first person, simple present tense (aorist) suffix of the verb *uğraşamak*: *uğraşırım* ('I strive' or 'I would strive' – the form is also used in conditional sentences). Similarly, the rhyming, *-imle* construct is emphasized by the E at the end of the section that leads into the refrain.

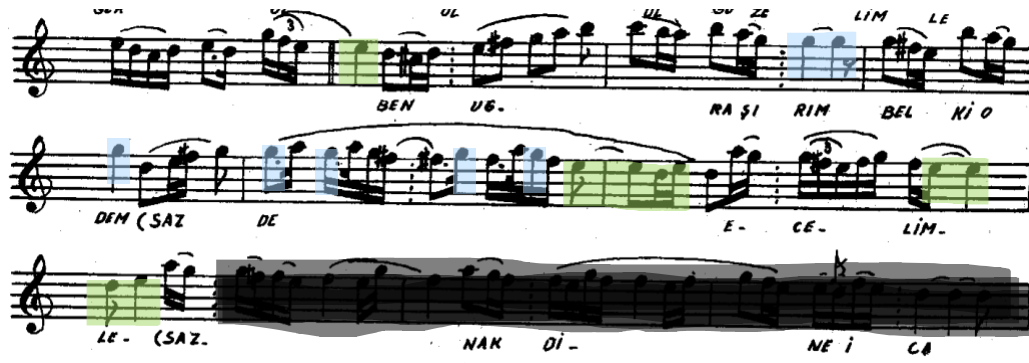


Figure 5. Detail from notation sheet of Telif Edebilsem Feleği (Uşşâk, Aksâk, Şevkî Bey).

Image from <https://www.yedinota.com/beste/telif-edebilsem-felegi-ah-emelimle-10774>

The two lines of the refrain have different melodic developments. Here is the first:



Figure 6. Detail from notation sheet of Telif Edebilsem Feleği (Uşşâk, Aksâk, Şevkî Bey).

Image from <https://www.yedinota.com/beste/telif-edebilsem-felegi-ah-emelimle-10774>

As to the first line, *Nakdîne-yi cânı veririm kendi elimle*, we can see that the verse begins with a gradual descent back to *Uşşâk*'s dominant, *Nevâ* (D), highlighted in yellow. In bar four, the melody continues wandering around *Nevâ*, particularly in a passage highlighting the Turkish simple present tense form *veririm* ('I give' or 'I would give'). Finally, we have the usual ending on the dominant corresponding to the familiar Turkish construction *-imle*, also providing the rhyme. The second line of the refrain shares its melodic development with the

*zamân* section, examined above. Let us now briefly recap our observations of the register/melody interactions in this example.

Each of these lines of verse provided pivotal points of melodic progression, or transition and modulation, of the *makâm*. It can be noted, for example, that the end of verse 1, the *zemîn*, would correspond to the *güçlü* note, upon which modulation might occur but that, most importantly, gives the *makâm* its flavour. The use of Turkish here would therefore make the register particularly sonically attractive, in that the melody would have, by that point, developed towards this pivotal point of either transition or affirmation of the general ‘taste’ of the *makâm*. Verse 2, melodically the *nakarât* and *zamân* section, provided a space for greater exploration of the *makâm*’s melodic directions and, most importantly, led towards the final, resting point represented by the *durak* note, where the *makâm* begins and ends (*karâr*). The presence of Turkish or loanwords on these specific points of melodic development is significant, and it suggests a particular bond between the Turkish register and melodic points. Melodic emphasis on Turkish can be evinced on the basis of the *şarki*’s formal conventions and the importance of rhyme in poetry but also in relation to the melodic line’s conclusion. Just as in poetry rhyme often contributes to the meaning of the poem by highlighting certain key words and giving a sense of lyrical ‘self-containedness’, compactness, and harmony to the text<sup>125</sup>, the bringing to a close of the melodic line on a particular word will emphasize that word (on the aesthetic and emotional effects of rhyme and poetry see Obermeier et al. 2013). In this

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<sup>125</sup> On the interesting debate between traditionalists and new literatis on rhyme, see Nas 2019 and <https://www.liseedebiyat.com/halk-edebiyati/142-genel-blgler/2102-kafye-uyak-goez-kafyes-kulak-kafyes.html> , <https://www.turkedebiyati.org/serveti-funun-donemi-eski-yeni-tartismasi.html> , <https://www.turkedebiyati.org/kafiye-anlaysiaiari-goze-ve-kulaga-gore-kafiye/> .



respect, not only notation-text analysis but also examining early twentieth century recordings of *şarkı* could shed light on *makâm*-register dynamics<sup>126</sup>.

There is a return, although in a slightly different sense, to the notion, illustrated in Chapter 2, of Turkish as a ‘singable’ language, one both read and recited (a verb that, incidentally, is rendered in Turkish with *okumak*, meaning both reading and reciting). At the same time, it appears that the act of singing the text or, as it is said in Turkish, of ‘saying the song’ (*şarkı söylemek*) subtly bound the performance of the *şarkı güfteleri* to the growing practice of ‘performing’ Turkish. It did so not by disregarding or eliminating its foreign elements, rather, by weaving them together in a way that took the reciter/singer (*hânende*) on a tour of the registral territory maintaining the skilfully woven ambiguity that characterised the language as a whole. Although in most texts it was Turkish that the sung melody was wrapped up on, it did so after every loanword and/or foreign and poetic compound had been performed. Turkish had, so to speak, the final word. This idea brings us back to Kappler’s suggestion that reading the *şarkı*’s lyrics as text and singing it made them appealing to different publics, who also related to them differently. Despite 1894 edition’s hybrid, neither too literary nor too popular, registral composition, we can see how the literary component is accentuated when only reading the texts as poems. It is, on the other hand, the elements that bring out its sonic, phonetic, melodic qualities that shift the focus on the less literary Turkish increasing, perhaps, the songs’ singability across social strata and ethnic groups (see Kappler 1991).

However, it is important to remember that the *şarkı*’s lyrical content at this stage was still far from being ‘Turkish’ in a purely etymological sense. We will have to wait until 1898 for a collection of poems entirely in Turkish, Mehmet Emin Yurdakul’s *Türkçe Şiirleri* (1869 – 1944).

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<sup>126</sup> On the history of recording from the late Ottoman period and throughout the twentieth century, see Ünlü 2016.

Although not poetry in the strict sense of the word, the texts found in the *şarkı* anthologies published around the same time would not display the same ideological and linguistic stance as Yurdakul's poems, their registral variety being virtually unaffected. Another important consideration involves the context of publication. It might be remembered that the 1894 edition's publisher, Ahmed İhsân (1867 – 1942), had a pivotal role in spreading the ideas and works of the *Edebiyât-ı Cedîde's* (New Literature) movement through the periodical *Servet-i Fünûn*. It is interesting to observe that the movement began with the *Abes – Muktebes Tartışması*, a debate about rhyme (*kafiye*) that began in 1895, and that became the cause of a wider re-evaluation of traditional literary parameters (see Chapter 3). The debate saw Recâizâde Mahmûd Ekrem on the frontline in support of a rhyme that would conform to the phonetic rules of Turkish, as opposed to the orthographic ones of Arabic. Until that moment, in order to be considered as rhyming, each verse had to finish with the same Arabic letter (and vowel). This, in Ekrem's opinion, meant privileging the 'eye' (*göz*) over the ear (*kulak*). He called, instead, for a reform of rhyme based on the phonetic quality of the final words and letters of the verse. In other words, he argued that words should be allowed to appear on the page with differently written final letters that still rhymed, which would, incidentally, represent an advantage for Turkish. Letters such as س (*sîn*) and ث (*tha* in Arabic but known as *se* in Turkish, and therefore also pronounced as 's') could be legitimately used by virtue of their sound, although they were orthographically different. The poetic example that began this debate are Mehmet Tâhir's (1861 – 1925) two verses:

*Zerre-i nurundan iken muktebes* (مقتبس)

*Mihr ü mehe etmek işaret abes* (عبث)<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> While fragments of light are taken from you [*they take their brightness from you*]

As it is seen from these two verses, the two last words of are spelt differently but, in their pronunciation according to Turkish phonetic (where there is no distinction between *th* and *s*), their last letter would sound identical. The key point to consider here is that their sound followed the Turkish pronunciation of Arabic letters, and this reiterates the phonetic strength acquired by Turkish in the nineteenth century and its gradual ascension at the expense of Arabic (see Chapter 2). Although words were etymologically foreign, their phonetic production had to adapt to Turkish. It is therefore curious, and worthy of thought, that this particular collection, with its abundance of Turkish rhymes, should be published by the team behind the *Servet-i Fünûn*'s literary revolution. In terms of linguistic and registral composition, too, the anthology did not completely adhere to poetic convention, straddling several registral territories. The songs ranged from more sophisticated to more popular registers, and the peculiar *mélange* cannot be called anything but Turkish. Pre-reform Turkish, as it were. Finally, let us not forget the affordability of the anthology, which was cheaper than a newspaper, and therefore accessible to a wider audience than just professionals or *lietratis*.

Registril choice does not, on the other hand, appear to have any specific connections to *makâm* and/or *usûl* (rhythmic cycle). What we can observe is, rather, the use of rhythmic cycles with a variety of registers, ranging from predominantly Turkish texts to more heterogeneous ones. One of the elements that characterized the *şarkı* was the use of short rhythmic cycles (*küçük usûller*), that is, cycles that have between 4 and 15 beats. The cycles used in *Şevk-i Dil* 1894 are (in order of appearance): *Sûfiyân* (4/4), *Cûrcuna* (10/16), *Âksâk Semâ'î* (10/8), *Düyek* (8/8), *Devr-i Hindî* (7/8), *Sengin Semâ'î* (6/2), *Âksâk* (9/8), *Evfer* (9/8), *Raks* (9/8). The 9/8 metre

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It is pointless to refer to [them as] the sun and the moon

is predominant in terms of consistence of use, and it is employed six *şarkı* out of fourteen<sup>128</sup>. The most used of its variations are the *Âksâk* (for three *şarkı*) and *Raks* (for two *şarkı*) patterns. The consistent use of the 9/8 metre (or cycle) should not surprise us: Feldman informs that it had become fashionable by the mid-eighteenth century (1996, 180). It is, however, its widespread use in much folk and traditional music that suggests an intriguing link between the *şarkı* and popular taste (see Fracile 2003, Brăiloiu 1951). Is this popularity and ‘popular feel’ reflected in registral choice? There seems to be no straightforward or definite pattern linking cycles and register in the 1894 edition. The songs using a 9/8 *usûl* present a variety of registers with only two having Turkish as predominant register, including loanwords: *Mecbûr Oldum Ben Bir Güle* and *Mümkün Mü Bulmak Bû Gönüm Seni*. These have two different 9/8 metre patterns: *Evfer* the former, and *Raks* the latter. *Âksâk* does not show particularly strong ties with a registral composition. Rather, it is used for texts with a balance between loanwords, Turkish and traditional *dîvân* terms.

As to the other cycles, they are all used in conjunction with registrally heterogenous texts. Ârif Bey’s *Neredesin Ey Tâtlı Sözlü Sevdığım* stands out in the whole collection for being the only *şarkı* in *makâm Hicâzkâr*, using the *Devr-i Hindî* (7/8) cycle. However, this should not induce us to think that this particular *makâm* and *usûl* would be more suitable for a text in Turkish. As it can partly be seen from this collection (in particular the songs in *makâm Uşşâk*), the registral composition of a *şarkı* text was not affected by *makâm*.

When all these factors are considered together, the following observations about the 1894 edition of *Şevk-i Dil* can be drawn. From a registral perspective, the collection does not show

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<sup>128</sup> Three *şarkı* in *makâm Uşşâk*: *Cânânı Uyandırmadı Hayfâ ki Vürûdüm*, and *Telif Edebilsem Feleğim Âh Emelimle*, both in the *Âksâk* cycle; *Mecbûr Oldum Ben Bie Güle*, in the *Evfer* cycle. Three in *makâm Hüzâm*: *Âh Eşk-i Çeşmim Hasretinle Çağlıyor*, and *Mümkün Mü Bulmak Bû Gönüm Seni* in the *Raks* cycle; *Hele Ol Dilber-i Ranâ Ârada Çakıyor*, in the *Âksâk* cycle.

an inclination towards a specific register. Turkish is not present in an etymological sense, however, the majority of the vocabulary constituting the overall registral quality of the anthology comprises of loanwords. Persian and Arabic terms appear in greater number than Turkish ones, but most of these (particularly Arabic) are loanwords. As to Persian and Arabic classical *dīvân* expressions, these constitute the second major lexical presence in the texts, seamlessly merging with loanwords and Turkish.

One notable feature is the recurrent use of Turkish for end-of-verse rhyme, a point in the text coinciding with pivotal melodic movements within the *makâm*, such as those towards the dominant and the tonic. This parallel occurrence would have likely emphasized Turkish. Nevertheless, this alone is not enough to make this register predominant in the anthology, and the whole collection reads as a skilful balance between loanwords and classical poetic imagery and terminology, with Turkish only really emerging as an etymological element in the poetic device of rhyme alongside providing the grammar structure holding the various syntactical elements together. Finally, the price of the collection connects it to a wider audience than music or literature professionals, while its publisher situates it in a very specific literary moment and context: that of renovation of tradition with dismantling it. Rather, the attempt of creating a synthesis between the old and the new.

It is time to now turn to the 1893 edition and ask how and if it differed from the 1894 one.

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The 1893 edition contained thirty-one additional songs, making it one of the richest collections among those examined here. It is difficult to know why only fourteen songs made it on the 1894 reprint. However, a look at registral patterns and the context of publication can be useful in determining whether significant differences existed between the two editions, and

why the anthology was reprinted in a more concise form. The full list of songs that appear in *Şevk-i Dil* 1893 is:

- 1) *Dâim etsin Hazret-i Sultân Hamîd hânı Hüdâ (Râst, Hakkı Bey)*
- 2) *Bahâr Oldu Açtı Sünbül (Râst, Maşûk Bey)*
- 3) *Şimdî Gönül Düştü bir Nevres Güle (Sûzinâk, Sântûrî Edhem Efendi)*
- 4) *Gönlümü âldı bir hûrî tal'at (Sûzinâk, Hakkı Bey)*
- 5) *Buyûr gülzâra erkenden (Sûzinâk, Râşid Efendi)*
- 6) *Pür-meserrettir cihân âlem handândır bûgün (Hicâzkâr, Hakkı Bey)*
- 7) *Neredesin ey tâtlı sözlü sevdîğim (Hicâzkâr, Ârif Bey)*
- 8) *Câ-yı zevk ü şevk edendim köşe-yi meyhâneyi (Uşşâk, Hakkı Bey)*
- 9) *Mir'âtı ele âl da bâk Allah'ı seversen (Uşşâk, Girît Valîsî Mahmûd Pâşâ)*
- 10) *Cânânı ûyandırmadı hayfâ ki vürûdüm (Uşşâk, Hecîn Efendi)*
- 11) *Telîf edebilsem feleğim âh emelimle (Uşşâk, Şevki Bey)*
- 12) *Meyhâneyi seyrettim uşşâka mutâf olmuş (Uşşâk, Ârif Bey)*
- 13) *Sabâ git gördüm cânânım (Uşşâk, Hakkı Bey)*
- 14) *Bir güzel gördüm bûgün ben beğendim âh (Hicâz, Lutfî Bey)*
- 15) *Gel ey cismimdeki cânım (Hicâz, Râşid Efendi)*
- 16) *Yine halk-ı cihan oldu garîk bahr-i handânî (Hicâz, Hakkı Bey)*
- 17) *Yâra tesir etmedi hayfâ ki bûnca sözlerim (Hicâz, Muhîddîn Bey)*
- 18) *Ey gel bâğ-ı merâm (Hicâz, Râşid Efendi)*
- 19) *Gül gül güzelim yârama bir çâre bûlunsûn (Hicâz, Cemîl Bey)*
- 20) *Güller güzelim şevkin ile gülde açılsın (Karcığâr, Cemîl Bey)*
- 21) *Vâr îken gönlümde bîn türlü yâre (Karcığâr, Ârif Bey)*

- 22) *Gönül bizim harâb-âbâd-ı gamdır (Karcığâr, Bolâhenk Nûrî Bey)*
- 23) *Hemîşe renc u gamdan lezzet âldım (Karcığâr, Hrîsto)*
- 24) *Senin ey şûh sîmîn-ten (Karcığâr, Râşid Efendi)*
- 25) *Ey serv-kad-ı bâğ-ı letâfette fidânım (Hüzzâm)*
- 26) *Âh eşk-i çeşmim hasretinle çağlıyor (Hüzzâm, Sântûrî Edhem Efendî)*
- 27) *Mümkün mü bulmak bû gönlüm senî (Hüzzâm, Fâik Bey)*
- 28) *Hele ol dilber-i ranâ ârada çakıyor (Hüzzâm, Malîk Efendi)*
- 29) *Ey perî nâzikedâ rahmet banâ (Hüzzâm, Hâcî Fâik Bey)*
- 30) *Kâçma mecbûründen ey âhû-yı vahş ülfet et (Bestenigâr, Hâşim Bey)*
- 31) *Edip sen hâtırım âbâd (Bestenigâr, Kâzasker Efendî)*
- 32) *Gayriden Bulmaz Teselli Sevdığım (Bestenigâr, Kâzasker, Mustafa Efendî)*
- 33) *Kâh lutf edip uşşâkına kâhîce üzersen (Bestenigâr, Kemânî Mustafa Ağa)*
- 34) *Dâm-ı afsunûnla bend ettin dilî (Bestenigâr, Şâkir Bey)*
- 35) *Mecbûr Oldum Ben Bir Güle (Bestenigâr, Haşîm Bey)*
- 36) *Halka-yı zülfün dilî bend eyledi sevdâye âh (Bestenigâr, Şâkir Bey)*
- 37) *Gamdan Âzâd Etmedin Bir Lahza Ey Dilber Benî (unknown)*
- 38) *Hayli demdir bağlanıp kâldık şitâda zâr ile (Bestenigâr, Eyûbî Mehmed Bey)*
- 39) *Bir cefâcû nâzlı yâre (Bestenigâr, İsmet Ağa)*
- 40) *Nasıl ârâm edersin bîlmem bensiz (Bestenigâr, Hakkı Bey)*
- 41) *Bû dil sanâ meftûn olalı ey gül-i handân (Bestenigâr, Âsâriye Hatîbî, İbrâhîm Efendi)*
- 42) *Müptelânın kastedersin cânına (Bestenigâr, Hâşim Bey)*
- 43) *Ruhları gül saçları sümbül dilî bülbül misâl (Bestenigâr, Hâcî Fâik Bey)*
- 44) *Ey serv-i nâz-ı reptâr-ı bâlâ (Bestenigâr, Kâzasker Efendî)*
- 45) *Görüp nûr-ı cemâlin mâh şâştı (Bestenigâr, Rifât Bey)*

Some differences between the 1893 and 1894 edition are detectable, and these involve both style, overall presentation of the material and themes. The collection gathers the songs of two *fasıl* that open and close the anthology. These are, respectively, in *makâm Râst* and *Bestenigâr*. Many of these songs would make it to the 1894 edition but, interestingly, not as part of a *fasıl*. Let us first have a look at the overall registral composition of the lyrics. Given the number of songs, I have chosen to highlight in yellow the loanwords in the texts instead of presenting them in a table, as I did for the 1894 edition. However, where repetition of the same loanword occurred, I have not highlighted the term more than once. Highlighting all repetitions would have made loanwords appear in a quantity superior to their actual presence in the text. The etymological origin of vocabulary will still be indicated by the colour code used until now (red for Turkish, green for Arabic and blue for Persian). The previous table will have hopefully made the reader familiar, by now, with the idea of loanwords and what was considered as such in pre-reform Turkish.

### ***Dar Fasl-ı Râst***

1.<sup>129</sup>

(*Şarkı-yı Hakkı Bey*) (*Usûlü Devr-i Hindî*)

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<sup>129</sup> The numbers that appear before each text do not correspond to the actual order and location of songs in the collection itself. For the actual sequence, see the title list provided above. The texts reported here have been numbered for ease of reference throughout the section, but they do not include the texts from the 1894 edition. Therefore, there might be a gap filled by four or five *şarkı* between one text and the other. The reader will be notified of the actual location and order when discussing relevant examples.



Dâim *etsin* Hazret-i Sultân Hamîd hânı Hüdâ<sup>130</sup>

Çünkü ol şâhin vücudu mahz-ı lutf-i Kibriyâ

Pertevezfâ-yı velâdet olduğu günden beri

Nakarât

Kâinât-ı handenümâdır çeşm-i âlem-i rûşenâ

Bâhusûs ki rûz-ı fîrûz-ı cûlûsundan beri

Oldu başka bir letâfet ru-yi arze rûnümâ

Mühür ü mâh adl u irfânı verince şa'saa

Nakarât

Zulmet-i zulm ve cehâlet oldu mu (?) mülkünden cıdâ

(3)

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<sup>130</sup> May God make His Excellency Sultan Hamid Khan eternal

Because the body of that King is pure magnificent grace

Ever since the day he became the sunrise, bestowing light

[Refrain]

Eye of the world of light, creation is laughing happily

Furthermore, ever since the auspicious day of enthronement

Other graces have come to the visible surface of the earth

After the Seal and Moon gave splendor to justice and knowledge

[Refrain]

The darkness of oppression and ignorance have been thrown away from your dominion as a javelin

## Hicâzkâr

2.

(Şarkı-yı Hakkı Bey) (Usûl-ı Devr-i hindî)

Pürmeserrettir cihân 'âlem handândır bûgün<sup>131</sup>

Her gönülde şevkle şâdî nümâyândır bûgün

Bendegân îfâ-yı tebrikâta puyândır bûgün

Çünkü mevlid-i cenâb-ı şâh devrândır bugün

Nakarât

Bâkî ol tahtında dâim ey şehinşâh-ı cihân

Lutf u ihsânınla şâhım 'âlem olsun şâdmân

Ey cihândâr-ı zâmân sultân-ı memdûh-üş şiyem

Padişâhâ dâverâ hâkân İskender himem

Bâis-i ihiyâ-yı devlet bâdî-yi şevk-i ümem

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<sup>131</sup> The world is joyful today, creation is full of joy  
Today, happiness is apparent with mirth in every heart  
The servants race to give congratulations, today  
Because today is the time of the birth celebration of His Majesty the Şah  
[Refrain]

Be eternally on your throne, always, oh King of Kings of creation  
May the world be joyful with your grace and benevolence  
Oh Emperor of Time, Sultan of praiseworthy character  
To the Sultan, to the Ruler, the auspices of the Emperor Alexander [The Great]  
The cause of the revivification of the state, the reason for universal joy  
The crown of the state, the light of the eye of all communities, the owner of mercy

*Tâc-ı devlet kurret-i 'ayn-i ümem sâhib-i kerem*

*Eyzân*

(8)

*Uşşâk*

3.

*(Şarkı-yı Ârif Bey) (Usûlü Evfer)*

*Meyhâneyi seyrettim uşşâka matâf olmuş*

*Teklîf ü tekellüften sükkânı muâf olmuş*

*Bir neş'e gelip meclis-i bîhavf ü hilâf olmuş*

*Gam sohbet-i yâd olmâz meşrepleri sâf olmuş*

*Nakarât*

*Âşıkta keder neyler gam halk-ı cihânındır<sup>132</sup>*

*Koyma kadehi elden söz pîr-i mugânındır*

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<sup>132</sup> The lyrics are a poem by Şeyh Galib (1757 – 1799).

I have looked upon the tavern, it has become the circumambulation of lovers  
Its dwellers have become exempt from the rules of etiquette and decorum  
Excitement has come and it has become a gathering with no fear or contrariness  
Grief cannot be the discourse of remembrance, their dispositions have become pure  
[Refrain]

What can grief do to the lover? Pain belongs to the people of the world  
Do not put the cup away, the word belongs to the wineshop keeper [*the cup is symbolic imagery for the heart, into which knowledge will be poured. The shopkeeper symbolizes a spiritual master or guide*]

## Uşşâk

4.

(Şarkı-yı Hakkı Bey) (Usûlü Evfer)

*Sabâ gît gördüm cânânım*<sup>133</sup>

*Hayr ver kalb-ı sûzânım*

*Firâk ile perişânım*

(13)

## Nakarât

*Meded ey mihr-i tâbânım*

*Muhabbetle derûnum âh*

*Yânıp mahvoldu eyvâh*

*O yânım olmuyor âgâh*

## Eyzân

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<sup>133</sup> Go, light breeze, I have seen my beloved  
Be charitable, oh one who burns the heart  
I am devastated by the separation  
[Refrain]  
My sustenance, oh, my brilliant sun  
My heart sighs with love  
It burns and is destroyed  
That lover of mine is not aware

## Hicâz

5.

(Şarkı-yı Lutfî Bey) (Usûlü Ağır Evfer)

*Bir güzel gördüm bugün ben beğendim âh*<sup>134</sup>

*Rengî buğdây gözleri gayet sîyâh*

*Hüsn ve onu anda cemetmiş illâh*

## Nakarât

*Bir melektir yâ perî bî iştibâh*

(14)

6.

(Şarkı-yı Hakkı Bey) (Usûlü Düyek)

*Yine halk-ı cihân oldu garîk bahr-i handânî*<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> I have seen a beauty today, ah, I like her  
Her hair is wheat, her eyes are so black  
[sentence unclear]

An angel or a fairy, without a doubt

<sup>135</sup> The people of the world have once again drowned in a sea of laughter  
Because today, the Lordly Graces have appeared clearly  
People of Islam, today the light of Allah is bright  
[Refrain]

Because today has risen the bright sun of the world

Bûgün zîrâ âyân oldu bize eltâf-ı rabbânî

Fürûzândır bûgün nûrullahı ehl-i İslâma

Nakarât

Bûgün çünkü tulû' etti cihânın şems-i tâbânî

Şitâb eyler bûgün tebrik için zât-ı hümayûnun

Sipîhr üzere melâik yer yüzünde zîrdestânî

Umûmen el açıp Osmânlılar şükr eyleyin Hakk'a

Eyzân

Bû şâh sâhib-i şefkat bize ihsân-ı sübhânî

(16)

Hicâz

7.

(Şarkı-yı Muhîddîn Bey) (Usûlü Âğır Evfer)

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Today, the Sultan hastes for congratulations  
The angels above the sky, the subjects upon the earth  
Everyone, open your hands and give thanks to the True  
[Repeat]  
This Şah [Emperor], possessor of tenderness, is Divine Beneficence to us

Yâra **tesîr** etmedi hayfâ ki bûnca sözlerim<sup>136</sup>

Âğlamaktan hâsıl Ceyhûn'a döndü gözlerim

Bir kez olsûn nîm nigâh-ı **iltifât**ın özlerim

Nakarât

Âğlamaktan hâsıl Ceyhûn'a döndü gözlerim

Îstemez gönlüm gele ol mâh-rûya bir **keder**

Gün olûr kîm tîr-i âhım âyda dildâre **eser**

Söyleyin **dostlar** **cefâcû** meşrebe neylesin **mezâr**

Eyzân

(17)

8.

(Şarkı-yı Râşid Efendi) (Usûlü Cûrcuna)

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<sup>136</sup> What a pity that so many of my words had no effect on the beloved

My eyes have turned in to the river Ceyhun from crying

Let it be only once, I miss your kind favour

[Refrain]

My eyes have turned in to the river Ceyhun from crying

My heart does not want any grief to come to the one whose face is like the moon

[meaning of the sentence unclear]

Say, friends, what will the grave do to one with a cruel disposition?

*Ey gel bâğ-ı merâm<sup>137</sup>*

*Nâz ile eyle hirâm*

*Eyle redd-i kelâm*

*Nakarât*

*Nâz ile eyle hirâm*

*Bizime buyur şân ile*

*Kıl nazar im'ân ile*

*El ele âkrân ile*

*Eyzân*

(18)

9.

*(Şarkı-yı Cemîl Bey) (Usûlü Evfer)*

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<sup>137</sup> Oh, come, garden of desire  
Strut around, with a flirting air  
Answer (me)  
[Refrain]  
Strut around, with a flirting air  
Come to us with glory  
Take a deep look  
Hand in hand with your peer



Gül gül güzelim yârama bir çâre bûlunsûn<sup>138</sup>

Bir bende değil sende de bû yâra bûlunsûn

Gönlümde ârânsın dil-i sadpâre bûlunsûn

Nakarât

Bir bende değil sende de bû yâra bûlunsûn

Kâşâne-yi dil şûnbûl zülfünle donânsın

Gencine-yi gam nağme-yi şevkinle boşansın

Âç rûyını görsün de kamar şimdi ûtânsın

Eyzân

(19)

Karcığâr

10.

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<sup>138</sup> Laugh, laugh my beautiful, let a cure to my wound be found  
Let the wound not be just in me, but in you, too  
Let the heart that is broken in a thousand pieces be searched and found in my own heart  
[Refrain]  
Let the wound not be just in me, but in you, too  
Let the mansion of the heart be decorated with hyacinth, and your hair lock  
Let the treasure of grief be divorced from the melody of your cheerfulness  
Show your face, let the moon see it and be ashamed

(Şarkı-yı Cemîl Bey) (Usûlü Evfer)

Nazîre

Güller güzelim şevkin ile gülde açılsın<sup>139</sup>

Dök zülfünü gül rûyına sünbül de saçılsın

Hoş nağme-yi handân ile bülbül de bâyılsın

Nakarât

Dök zülfünü gül rûyına sünbül de sâçılsın

Âç sîneni görsün de gönül derdi dağılsın

Âğuşuna gel al bileğim bû yine sârılsın

Çek çenber-i müjgânını aklında âlınsın

Eyzân

(20)

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<sup>139</sup> Let the roses, my beautiful, bloom into roses with your mirth  
Let down your hair, may hyacinth be scattered to your rose-like face  
Let the nightingale be enchanted by the pleasant melody of your laughter  
[Refrain]  
Let down your hair, may hyacinth be scattered to your rose-like face  
Show your chest, let the heart see the pain, let it disperse  
Come to my breast, take my wrist, let it embrace (you)  
[Unclear meaning, possibly: Draw back your round eyelashes, let it not be forgotten]

## Karcığâr

11.

(Şarkı-yı Hâcî Ârif Bey) (Usûlü Evfer)

Vâr îken gönlümde bîn türlü yâre<sup>140</sup>

Düş oldu gönlüm sen şîvekâre

Etmezdi ârzû âmâne çâre

## Nakarât

Düş oldu gönlüm sen şîvekâre

Çeşm-i elâsî pek fîtnesâzdır

Vâr îse cihânda emsâli âzdır

Hûb ve dilârâ hem işvebâzdır

## Eyzân

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<sup>140</sup> While there are thousands of wounds in my heart  
My heart fell for you, teaser  
Desire would have not been enough as cure to my sighs  
[Refrain]  
My heart fell for you, teaser  
Hazelnut eyes brings unrest  
If there are equals, in the world, they are few  
Beautiful and a sweetheart, and a teasing flirt

(22)

*Karcıġâr*

12.

(*Şarkı-yı Bolâhenk Nûrî Bey*) (*Usûlü Cûrcuna*)

*Gönül bizim harâb-âbâd-ı gamdır*<sup>141</sup>

*Gözüm peymâne-yi zâhir-i sitemdir*

*Derûnum beytülhüzn-i elemdir*

*Nakarât*

*Banâ âh u figân özge nagamdır*

(22)

*Karcıġâr*

13.

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<sup>141</sup> The heart is our dilapidated place of grief  
My eye is the overflowing cup of cruelty  
My heart is the house of sadness and pain  
[Refrain]  
Sighs and grief have become a different sort of melody, to me

(Şarkı-yı Hrîsto) (Usûlü Evfer)

Hemîşe renc u gamdan lezzet âldım<sup>142</sup>

Yine bahir-i belâya aşka dâldım

Yâzık felek-i dilî ummâne sâldım

Nakarât

Âmân yâ Rab ne müşkül hâle kâldım

(22)

Karcığâr

14.

(Şarkı-yı Râşid Efendî) (Usûlü Düyek)

Senin ey şûh sîmîn-ten<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> I have always taken pleasure in trouble and pain  
And again, I have dived into the sea of misfortune and love  
What a shame that I have released the fate of the heart to the ocean  
[Refrain]

Oh, my Lord, what a hard state I am in

<sup>143</sup> How can I not be devoted to you,  
flirt with silver-like flesh  
as you strut around, my life  
[Refrain]

How can I not be devoted to you  
Your beauty, your rose-lip is wine  
Your hair is a bouquet of hyacinths

Nasıl mecbûrun olmam ben

Hirâm ettikçe ömrüm sen

Nakarât

Nasıl mecbûrun olmam ben

Cemâlîn gül lebin müldür

Sâçın bir deste sünbüldür

Senî hiç sevmemek züldür

Eyzân

(23)

**Hüzzâm**

15.

(Şarkı) (Usûlü Evfer)

Ey serv-i kadd bâğ-ı letâfette fidânım<sup>144</sup>

---

Not to love you is a disgrace

<sup>144</sup> Oh, graceful, tall woman, garden of grace, my young tree  
My sad times are spent pleasantly in the company of your cheerfulness  
It's as if my autumn had become spring again  
[Refrain]  
You have renewed my life, my young, tall, and slender beloved  
While my heart is in the lock of her curl, I cannot look at the nightingale  
I cannot throw myself, as a moth, just at any fire

Şevkinle senin hoş geçiyor gamlı zamânım

Güyâ ki bahâr oldu yine vakt-i hazânım

Nakarât

Sen tâzeledin ömrümü ey serv-i civânım

Gönlüm ham-ı zülfünde iken bülbüle bâkmam

Pervâne gibi kendîmi her âteşe yâkmam

Gül geçse çimen solsa da ben zevkî bırâkmam

Eyzân

(24)

Hüzzâm

16.

(Şarkı-yı Hâcî Fâik Bey) (Usûl-ı Evfer)

Ey perî nâzikedâ rahmet banâ<sup>145</sup>

---

Were the rose to die, were grass to wither, I cannot leave that pleasure

<sup>145</sup> Oh, fairy whose manners are flirty, be merciful  
I am your slave who cannot be free  
Turn your rose-like face from him to me

*Bendeyim âzâd olunmaz ben sâna*

*Döndür ey gül yüzünü benden ona*

*Nakarât*

*Bendeyim âzâd olunmaz ben sanâ*

(28)

***Dar Fasl-ı Bestenigâr***

17.

*(Şarkı-yı Hâşim Bey) (Usûlü Âğır Evfer)*

*Kâçma mecbûründen ey âhû-yı vahş ülfet et<sup>146</sup>*

*Gayrı bû bigânelikten geç vefâyı âdet et*

*Bezme gel hicrin neş'eyâb vuslat et*

*Nakarât*

---

<sup>146</sup> Do not run from the one who is devoted to you, oh, wild gazelle, take me as your intimate  
Overcome this foreignness, transform It into a habit  
Do not get tired, come, make this separation a union where joy is found  
[Refrain]  
Sing, dance, become a cupbearer, talk  
You are the garden of beauty I have loved, someone whose heart is like a bunch of roses  
Were a thousand lovers to sacrifice themselves to you, you would be worth it  
You are a fresh, beautiful voice and a graceful means of sweet talk



Şarkı söyle **rak**sa çık **sâkî**lik eyle sohbet et

Sevdiğim **bâğ**-ı melâhat içre bir **g**üldestesîn

**Cân** **fedâ** etse hezâr **âşık** sanâ şâyestesîn

**Hûb** sadâ nâzik mîyân-ı şîrînzebân nevrestesîn

Eyzân

(29)

18.

(Şarkı-yı Kâzasker Efendî)(Usûlü Âğır Evfer)

Edip sen **hâtır**ım âbâd<sup>147</sup>

**Dil-i gam**hârî ettin şâd

**Banâ** senden olûr imdâd

Nakarât

---

<sup>147</sup> You have made my mind joyful  
You have made the grieving heart happy  
My sustenance comes from you  
[Refrain]  
Are you the pleasure of my heart?  
Are you the only master of my soul?  
You are beautiful, are you the most beautiful among beauties?

*Benim sen dilpesendimsîn*

*Hemen cânım efendimsin*

*Güzelsin şehlevendimsîn*

*Eyzân*

(30)

**Bestenigâr**

19.

*(Şarkı-yı Kâzasker) (Mustafa Efendî) (Ve Usûlü Âğır Âksâk Semâ'î)*

*Gayri den bulmaz teselli sevdiğim<sup>148</sup>*

*Sendedir dîvâne gönlüm sendedir*

*Âşkım eyle tecelli sevdiğim*

*Nakarât*

---

<sup>148</sup> I cannot amuse myself with other than whom I love

You have my mad heart, you have it

My beloved love, show yourself

[Refrain]

You have my mad heart, you have it

I ask Allah to be joined with you

The fire of sighs has burnt the body pure [*it has burnt it to the point it has achieved purity*]

Spare me the wailing of the heart

*Sendedir dîvâne gönlüm sendedir*

*Ben visâlini îsterim Allah'tan*

*Yândı nâb cism sûz-i âhtan*

*İhtirâz et nâle-yi cângâhtan*

*Eyzân*

(31)

**Bestenigâr**

20.

*(Kemânî Mustafa Âğâ) (Usûlü Âğır Evfer)*

*Gâh lutf edip uşşâkına gâhîce üzersin<sup>149</sup>*

*Şehrâh-ı vefâye yine dosdoğru gidersin*

*Hâhişger yine nâr ile bîn şîve edersin*

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<sup>149</sup> Sometimes you bestow grace upon the lovers, sometimes you make them suffer  
Then, you go again straight towards the straight path of sincerity  
Then, once again someone who provokes desire, you flirt in a thousand ways  
[Refrain]  
You are a fresh rose according to every pure disposition of mine  
Look into the mirror, there is no word for your rose-hued spirit  
Oh, tree of hope, there is no word for your almond eye  
There is no word for your body, silver from head to foot

## Nakarât

Her dûru mizâcımca güzel bir gül-i tersin

Mir'âte nazar kıl ruh-ı gül-fâmına söz yok

Ey nahl-i emel dâde-yi bâdâmına söz yok

Bâştan âyâğa dek gümüş endâmına söz yok

## Eyzân

(32)

21.

(Şarkı-yı Şâkir Bey) (Usûlü Ağır Evfer)

Dâm-ı afsunûnla bend ettin dil<sup>150</sup>

Hâr-ı cevrinle hazân ettin gülü

Merkez-i nâle getirdin bülbülü

## Nakarât

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<sup>150</sup> You have enslaved the heart with the trap of magic  
You have turned the rose into autumn with the thorn of oppression  
You have brought the nightingale to the heart of pain  
[Refrain]  
Do not cut me up into pieces, moon-face, be just  
Come to pleasure, my garden of hyacinths, come to joy  
I have not seen anyone more beautiful than you  
Oh, one whose brow is an arch, that is enough, do not argue

Kıyma ey mehrû banâ insâfe gel

Zevke gel sünbûlistânım şevke gel

Görmedim sen gibî bir dahî güzel

Ey kemân-ebrû yeter etme cedel

(33)

22.

(Şarkı-yı Hakkı Bey) (Usûlü Devr-i Hindî)

Halka-yı zülfün dilî bend eyledi sevdâye âh<sup>151</sup>

Cevher-i aklım perîşân oldu ey çeşm-i sîyâh

Gamze-yi hûnhârının mağlubum bî iştibâh

Nakarât

Dil sedir in oldu ey mâh sen onu ettin penâh

---

<sup>151</sup> The curl of your hair lock has bound me to passion  
The essence of my mind has been undone, oh my black eyed one  
Without a doubt, I have been conquered by your tyrannous dimple  
[Refrain]

The heart has become your seat, oh moon, you have made it your sanctuary  
Oh, beautiful woman, you have not freed me from pain for even a second  
By Allah, my enemy rejoices seeing me enamoured with grief  
Whoever sees me compares me to the embodiment of pain  
[Refrain]

With this miserable state, they think me mad

(34)

*Gamdan âzâd etmedin bir lahza ey dilber benî  
Şâd olûr biLLâh rakib gördükçe gamperver benî  
Kîm görürse bir mücessem-i gam kıyâs eyler benî*

*Nakarât*

*Bû perîşân hâl ile dîvâne zan eyler benî*

23.

*(Şarkı-yı Eyûbî Mehmed Bey) (Usûlü Âğır Evfer)*

*Hayli demdir bağlanıp kâldık şitâda zâr ile<sup>152</sup>  
Mevsim-i güldür efendim gez sâln reftâr ile  
Böyle ahdet bendenizle görmeyim âğyâr ile*

*Nakarât*

*Mevsim-i güldür efendim gez sâln reftâr ile*

---

<sup>152</sup> We have remained for a long time tied in the winter with the one who cries  
My master, it the season of roses with, let yourself go and wander about with your gait  
Pledge yourself to your servant, let me not see you with others  
[Refrain]  
My master, it the season of roses with, let yourself go and wander about with your gait

(35)

24.

(Şarkı-yı İsmet Ağa)(Usûl-ı Cûrcûna)

*Bir cefâcû nâzlı yâre<sup>153</sup>*

*Düş olûp yândım bû bâre*

*Olsa ciğer pâre pâre*

*Nakarât*

*Müptelâyım vâr mı çâre*

*Dilde âteş böyle kâlmaz*

*Sûz-i aşk ârtâr âzalmaz*

*Söylesem gönül söz âlmaz*

*Eyzân*

---

<sup>153</sup> I have fallen for an oppressor, a flirty beloved  
I have burnt this time  
My lungs are, at best, in pieces  
[Refrain]  
I am in doubt, is there a cure?  
This fire cannot remain in my heart  
The pain of love increases, it does not decrease  
Were I to say it, the heart could not take it

25.

(Şarkı-yı Hakkı Bey)(Usûlü Düyek)

*Nasıl ârâm edersin bîlmem bensiz<sup>154</sup>*

*Yetiş imdâda kâldım şimdi sensiz*

*Hazân-ı fîrkatından soldu rûyim*

(36)

*Nakarât*

*Bahârî neyleyim ol gül-dehensiz*

*Gidince nevnihâl gülşenler çimensiz*

*Nasıl geçsin bû dert-i mihnetefzâ*

*Nakarât*

*Hayâtım geçmedi bir gün mihnetsiz*

(37)

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<sup>154</sup> How can you have peace without me, I do not know  
I need help now, without you  
My face has withered in the autumn of separation  
[Refrain]  
What am I to do with spring without that mouth of rose?  
When the buds go, the garden of roses has no grass  
How can this increasing pain cease?  
[Refrain]  
My life has not been one day without sorrow



26.

(Şarkı-yı Âsâriye Hatîbî) (İbrâhîm Efendî) (Usûlü Yürük Semâî)

Bû dil sanâ meftûn olalı ey gül-i handân<sup>155</sup>

Olmakta îşim leyl ü nehâr âh ile efgân

Bir kez n'ola görsem yüzünü ey mah-ı hûbân

Nakarât

Lutf eyle benim kıl dil-i mahzûnümu şadân

(38)

Aşkın ile fâşoldu bütün 'âleme zârım

Pervâneyi hayrette kovdu sûz-i güdâzım

Senden bûdur ey şûh-ı cihân şimdi niyâzım

Eyzan

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<sup>155</sup> This heart is enchanted by you, oh rose of laughter  
I am occupied night and day with sighs  
What would happen if I saw your face just once, beautiful moon?  
[Refrain]  
Have mercy, make my grieving heart joyful  
With your love, my suffering has become evident to the whole world  
My burning fire has astonished the moth  
I am supplicating you, now, oh one whose seductiveness is known to all

27.

(Şarkı-yı Hâşım Bey)(Usûl-ı Evfer)

Müptelânın kastedersin cânına<sup>156</sup>

Ey perî-peyker düşer mî şânına

Âşığın bîhûde girme kânına

Nakarât

Ey perî peyker düşer mî şânına

Gayrî ile gördüm gezersin sûbesû

Eşkim aktı mânend-i cû

Sen düşün ben söylemem ...

Eyzân

(38)

28.

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<sup>156</sup> You make an attempt on the life of the one who is in love with you  
Oh, fairy whose face is like the moon, does it befit your dignity?  
Do not deceive your lover in vain  
[Refrain]  
Oh, fairy whose face is like the moon, does it befit your dignity?  
I saw that you stroll around with others here and there  
My tears flow as a stream  
[sentence unclear]

(Şarkı-yı Hâcî Fâik Bey) (Usûlü Evfer)

Ruhları gül sâçları sümbül dilî bûlbûl misâl<sup>157</sup>

Sen gibi bir mâhe dil verdimki terk etmek muhâl

Âteş-i firkatla yândım kâlmadı tende mecâl

Nakarât

Lutf eyle üftâdeni kıl nâil bizim visâl

29.

(Şarkı-yı Kâzasker Efendî) (Usûlü Âğır Evfer)

Ey serv-i nâz reftâr-ı bâlâ<sup>158</sup>

Kadd-ı bülendim mevzun-ı ranâ

Fikir eylediğim her lahza cânâ

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<sup>157</sup> Her cheeks are like a rose, her hair is like hyacinth, her tongue is like the nightingale  
I gave my heart to a moon like you, impossible to leave  
I have burnt with the fire of separation, there is no strength left in the flesh  
[Refrain]

Grant your lover the wish of our union

<sup>158</sup> Oh, flirty woman with a superior gait

My tall height, measure of beauty

I cannot leave you to others, my master

I cannot let go of the hem of your skirt

The fault, the blame and the rebellion are all mine

Those who are noble and generous always [have] graces and beneficence

You are the inward cure to the lovers

*Nakarât*

*Sensin efendim gayriye bâkmâm*

*Dâmân-ı lutfün elden bırâkmam*

(39)

*Hep bende cürüm ü taksir ve isyân*

*Kirâm hemîşe eltâf u ihsân*

*Sensin derûn uşşâğa dermân*

*Eyzân*

30.

*Şarkı-yı Rıfat Bey*

*Görüp nûr-ı cemâlin mâh şâştı<sup>159</sup>*

*Felekte didesi şemsin kamâştı*

*Senin medhinçün diller dolâştı*

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<sup>159</sup> The moon was astonished after seeing the beauty of your light  
The sun, the eye of the sky, was dazzled  
Hearts strayed for your praise  
[Refrain]  
The sun, the eye of the sky, was dazzled  
Beloved, you are fresh life to this man  
No one comparable to you has come to the world  
That degree of light, you have released to the world

*Nakarât*

*Felekte dâdesî şemsin kamâştı*

*Hayât-ı tâzesîn bû merde câna*

*Nazîrin gelmemiş kevn ü mekânâ*

*O rütbe nûr sâldın sen cihana*

*Eyzân*

*İntihâ*

*Şevk-i Dil* 1893 was a kaleidoscopic registral masterpiece, a collection of register, inflections and idioms (some terms are Greek, or local dialects). The collection intriguingly moves from public celebration to private domain, in a dramatic shift of registers and themes. While the work itself cannot be described as strictly speaking, 'sonic', or audible, it is a register (pun intended) of inscribed sonic realities. These communicate and express social, cultural, linguistic realities that, in turn, emerge from the intersection between word choice, literary frameworks of reference, media of publication and the context in which it was circulated, song theme, private, inward emotional states and public events narrated by the *şarkılar*. To avoid repetition, I have omitted from the texts presented above the ones that also appeared in the 1894 edition. However, I will include these and their vocabulary content in my discussion.

In terms of register, and compared to edition 1894, edition 1893 displayed a greater attachment to traditional, conventional *dîvân* expressions: Persian has the greatest lexical

presence in the texts (36%)<sup>160</sup>, followed by loanwords (28%, predominantly Arabic), Arabic (27%) and Turkish (7%). The pattern was not too dissimilar, on a much smaller scale, in the 1894 edition. Here – the reader might remember – the predominant lexical presence was represented by loanwords (33%, mostly of Arabic origin), followed by Persian (28%), Arabic (22%), and finally Turkish (15%). The predominance of loanwords in the second, 1894 edition is, however, significant. It gave the anthology overall greater registral balance compared to the 1893 edition, where references to the sophisticated world of the *dîvân* abounded. The most striking feature of both anthologies is the predominance of Turkish in so far as syntax and rhyme patterns are concerned. While Turkish lexical elements are seen to have marginal space in both collections, the situation is subverted when the texts are not read as poems only, but as sung texts, too. When we consider the lyrics as poetic and musical texts, and these are recited out loud, we understand the key function rhyme had in emphasizing the phonetic and sonic quality of the language/register used for it. This performed dimension is what made Turkish more of a phonetic and sonic presence in the texts, as it represented a sort of registral convergence point towards which the *seyir* (melodic progression or journey of the *makâm*) of the melody moved.

Two phenomena should be kept in mind when considering the phonetic pre-eminence of Turkish in the texts. Firstly, as briefly mentioned earlier, the fact that rhyme – by which such phonetic pre-eminence was brought about – had become a hotly debated topic in the nineteenth century (see Nas 2019). The issue revolved around, precisely, the phonetic versus written quality of rhyme, which led Recâizâde Ekrem to declare that ‘rhyme is for the ear, not for the eye’ (*kâfiye sem içindir, basar için değildir*, Nas 2019, 738). While the debate itself began

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<sup>160</sup> These include the texts published in the 1894 edition, but the figure does not include repetitions of the same word found in the texts.

in 1895 and these anthologies were published earlier, there is good reason to believe that a new evaluation of rhyme had been brewing for some time alongside the general re-evaluation of the *dîvân* apparatus that took place in the late nineteenth century. Secondly, a greater focus on the phonetic acquisition of Turkish was also, it may be remembered, what had spurred the development of new pedagogic approaches based on sound rather than script. In 1881/1882, Selim Sâbit Efendi (1829 – 1911) had introduced the *usûl-ı savtiyye* (see Chapter 2), and application of the new method continued throughout the 1890s. I therefore maintain what I suggested in Chapter 2, namely, that the growing focus on Turkish did not affect the *şarkı* texts in terms of lexical content and that these continued displaying the registral variety that had characterised them since their first appearance in the seventeenth century. However, the gradual emphasis on Turkish and its phonetics found correspondence in the text. While I am not convinced that emphasis on Turkish phonetics by means of rhyme occurred as a direct result of new, phonetics-based pedagogic methods, the ‘coincidence’ suggests that, at the very least, throughout the 1880s and 1890s, what was happening in the field of linguistics and language education provided fertile terrain for the *şarkı* to prosper.

A look at the lyrics selected by Mehmed Celâl’s *Güfte İntihâbı* confirms that the Turkish rhyme patterns found in *Şevk-i Dil* did not significantly differ from those of earlier collections. While his selection was published in 1895 – year of the debate – Celâl’s choice had fallen on *şarkılar* that had first appeared in Hâşim Bey’s *mecmûa*, itself published twice, in 1852 and 1864. The songs in *Güfte İntihâbı*, as previously seen, presented a graceful registral balance not too dissimilar from the material found in *Şevk-i Dil* 1893 and 1894. However, strikingly, in Hâşim Bey’s *mecmûa* too (or, at least, what we read of it courtesy of Mehmed Celâl), Turkish was the register of choice for rhyme. Fifteen *şarkı* out of nineteen had fully Turkish rhyme patterns; two out of nineteen presented a mix of Arabic and Persian loanwords, alongside one

Turkish and one Persian word; one out of nineteen used Arabic words for rhyme and one out of nineteen was constituted by mixed registers (see Chapter 2). This testifies to the fact that, in the *şarkı* repertoire, Turkish did not first emerge as registral and musical reality at the end of the nineteenth century, and that its presence in *şarkı* texts is not to be considered a product of nationalist ideology and/or propaganda. Certain linguistic patterns had been the norm for decades before the debates began – possibly, since the genre first appeared in a *mecmû'a*.

Returning to *Şevk-i Dil* 1893, Persian and Persian-Arabic compound expressions are frequently encountered, and these appear to be clearly linked to the theme of the song on two occasions, two *şarkı* that narrated and celebrated public events and ceremonies. Hakki Bey's *Dâim Etsin Hazret-i Sultân Hamîd Hânî Hüdâ* (text 1, in *Râst*) and *Pürmeserrettir Cihân 'Âlem Handândır Bûgün* (text 2, in *Hicâzkâr*) were eulogies to the Sultan: the first was a hymn to his qualities, while the second was likely composed to celebrate the Sultan's son's birth.<sup>161</sup> There is a clear correspondence between theme, context and register here. They are the only two examples that do not conform to the conventional theme of unrequited love, loss, loneliness but also reunion with the beloved that characterise the *şarkı* in general and in the collections. The official occasions providing the two *şarkı*'s subject matter are an obvious reason for the use of a high, more literary register replete with Persian and Arabic. However, while the Turkish register might not have been deemed sufficiently sophisticated and up to the task, this did not automatically prevent it from being used to express complex emotions, or to do so by itself or within a more elaborate structure of foreign terms and loanwords. The relationship between theme and register in *Şevk-i Dil* 1893 was a little more complex.

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<sup>161</sup> Example of eulogies are also found in *Yenî Şarkı Mecmû'ası*, published in 1894.



The two eulogies are not presented consecutively in the 1893 collection. Between the first text and the second we find four *şarkı*. These songs would be later chosen as the first four *şarkı* of the 1894 edition and they are: *Bahâr Oldu Açtı Sünbül* (Râst, Maşûk Bey), *Şimdî Gönül Düştü bir Nevres Güle* (Sûzinâk, Sântûrî Edhem Efendi), *Gönlümü âldı bir hûrî tal'at* (Sûzinâk, Hakkı Bey), *Buyûr gülzâra erkenden* (Sûzinâk, Râşid Efendi). The difference in tone and register between the two *şarkı*-eulogies and the songs that separate them is remarkable. Although in these four *şarkı* several Persian and Arabic elements are found, these do not feel as dense as the ones found in song 1. This is possibly due to their distribution over Turkish syntax. Both *Dâim Etsin Hazret-i Sultân Hamîd Hânî Hüdâ* and *Pürmeserrettir Cihân 'Âlem Handândır Bûgün* abound in *ezâfe* structures and these take over the syntax. On the other hand, the four in-between songs (that is, songs 1 – 4 of *Şevk-i Dil* 1894, see texts above) balance Arabic and Persian lexical elements with Turkish ones in every verse. A conclusion that can be drawn from this example is that Turkish lightened the text's registral and content-related tone, but this does not mean that Turkish register necessarily corresponded to lighthearted themes. At least not in these two collections. The link between theme and register would be, on the other hand, emphasized in some *şarkı* published in periodicals. Here, some *şarkılar* written in pure Turkish would be characterized by a frivolous, hedonistic tone as if the register were somehow deemed more appropriate to describe effervescent, carefree pleasures. I will discuss these in greater depth in the second part of this chapter.

Alongside lexical and registral quality, another difference exists between the two editions. In the 1893 collection, 9/8 and 9/4 metres are once again predominant (specifically the cycles *Evfer* (9/8) and *Ağır Evfer* (9/4)), but they appear to have very strong ties to registral composition, unlike in the 1894 edition. *Evfer* is the most consistently used *usûl* in the 1893 collection: it is found in eleven out of forty-five songs composed in the *makâmlar Uşşâk* (three),

*Hicâz* (one), *Karcığâr* (three), *Hüzzâm* (two), *Bestenigâr* (two)<sup>162</sup>. With the exception of two *şarkı* that have Arabic (*Ruhları gül sâçları sümbül dilî bülbül misâl*) and mixed (*Müptelânın kastedersin cânına*) rhyming lexical elements, it is always used in songs with a Turkish rhyme. It is followed closely by its alternative pattern *Ağır Evfer* (9/4), used in eight songs, two in *makâm Hicâz* and six in *makâm Bestenigâr*<sup>163</sup>. The use of the *Evfer* metre situates the *şarkı* in a compositional and performance territory that has strong bonds to folk and popular music-making. The metre is most often found in the *türkü* repertoire, that is, the Turkish folk (*halk müziği*) genre *par excellence* (see Karaman 2016, Kurnaz 2021), and it is also characteristic of the *Zeybek* folk dance typical of Western Anatolia (see Mihlandiz and Şahin 2015). Its use in conjunction with the Turkish register corroborates the versatility of the *şarkı* genre and contributes to the sketching of a registral topography that manifests different types of relations and cultural dynamics.

On the one hand, it is tempting to read the overlap of register (Turkish), poetic device (rhyme) and metre (9/8) as an indication that song text composition was gradually moving in a specific cultural and linguistic direction reverberating ethnonationalist ideals. The elements were, seemingly, all there. Firstly, a – rhythmical – proximity to the sensitivity of the *halk*, the ‘folk’, a term that would be at the heart of Gökalp’s rhetoric on Turkification, particularly with

<sup>162</sup> These are *Telif edebilsem feleğim âh emelimle* (Şevki Bey), *Meyhâneyi seyrettim uşşâka mutâf olmuş* (Ârif Bey) and *Sabâ git gördüm cânânım* (Hakkı Bey) in *makâm Uşşâk*; *Gül gül güzelim yârama bir çâre bûlunsûn* (Cemîl Bey) in *makâm Hicâz*; *Güller güzelim şevkin ile gülde açılısın* (Cemîl Bey), *Vâr iken gönlümde bîn türlü yâre* (Hacı Ârif Bey), *Hemîşe renc u gamdan lezzet âldım* (Hrîsto) in *makâm Karcığâr*; *Ey serv-i kadd-ı bâğ-ı letâfette fidânım* (Anonymous) and *Ey perî nâzikedâ rahmet banâ* (Hacı Fâik Bey) in *makâm Hüzzâm*; *Müptelânın kastedersin cânına* (Hâşim Bey) and *Ruhları gül sâçları sümbül dilî bülbül misâl* (Hacı Fâik Bey) in *makâm Bestenigâr*.

<sup>163</sup> In *makâm Hicâz*: *Bir güzel gördüm bûğün ben beğendim âh* (Lutfî Bey) and *Yâra tesir etmedi hayfâ ki bûnca sözlerim* (Muhîddîn Bey); in *makâm Bestenigâr*: *Kâçma mecbûründen ey âhû-yı vahş ülfet et* (Hâşim Bey), *Edip sen hâtırım âbâd* (Kâzasker Efendî), *Gâh lutf edip uşşâkına gâhice üzersen* (Kemânî Mustafa Âğâ), *Dâm-ı afsunûnla bend ettin dilî* (Şâkir Bey), *Hayli demdir bâğlanıp kâldık şitâda zâr ile* (Eyûbî Mehmed Bey), *Ey serv-i nâz reftâr-ı bâlâ* (Kâzasker Efendî).

regards to the construction of a national music (*millî musikî*) as part of ‘moving towards the folk’ (*halka doğru gitmek*, Gökalp [1923] 2017). This ‘movement towards’ seemingly manifested melodically, too, with *seyir* modulations landing on Turkish, emphasizing it in the process, and with rhyme consolidating its phonetic presence. However, as we have seen, the reality of nineteenth century *şarkı* lyrics was much more complex. The presence of each register, be it Turkish, Persian, or Arabic, gained its textual significance only when considered in relation with the others. A fully Turkish text would not be able to manifest, in other words, all the nuances and complexities of the cultural and social relationships that the interweaving of registers embodied. Even when melodically and rhetorically emphasized, Turkish needed the other registers in order to be so.

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It is important to reflect, now, on what relations and cultural dynamics are manifested in such registral eclecticism. I reserve a fuller discussion of the issue for the final chapter. However, based on what has been so far analysed, it is already possible to make important observations regarding the register phenomenon in the 1893 and 1894 song collections. Two key concepts have begun to emerge here: the registral and social flexibility of song, and the fluidity of registers that it accommodates. Reflecting on the inscription of Colombian song in the literary rather than musicological domain, Ana María Ochoa Gautier discusses the fluidity peculiar to song that allows it to emerge as the ideal space for negotiations to unfold and relationships to be defined. She highlights the ‘idea that songs are capable of enacting the relationship between place, personhood, affect, and time’ (2014, 79) alongside being ‘repeatedly seen, in many different places and in different historical moments, as a field of force capable of enacting translations between space, time, affect, and different beings’ (80). The capacity of song to enact and translate relationships she refers to is the core of the *şarkı*

phenomenon. With its ‘malleability’ (another term she uses, *ibid.*) and its flexibility across social strata, as well as media of distribution, it emerged as a form inhabiting a variety of social and linguistic domains, embodying, in other words a ‘social and formal fluidity’ (84) that also allowed it to translate meanings from and into very different contexts and spheres. This is also due to the *şarki*’s ability to remain ‘“the same” yet different’ (80) despite the media in which it appears, a quality that Ochoa Gautier ascribes to song in general.

Referring to the intermediality and malleability of song, she highlights how these make song ‘potentially able to adapt and be adopted across temporal changes, an entity that constitutes repetition, recurrence, and difference across time and across its many material supports’ (*ibid.*). The phenomenon she describes is easily detectable when we consider the presence of the *şarki* in different media of distribution that alter but simultaneously confirm the quality of the power and cultural relationship and meanings it embodies. This will become clearer as we delve into the newspaper material, but another essential aspect must be highlighted before we do so.

The properties of song described by Ochoa Gautier are not only applied to the *şarki* as a genre and its existence across media, registers, social strata. The idea of the meaning and quality of relations being brought about through recurrence and repetition across time and material supports is one that linguist Susan Gal also discussed in relation to the recurrence of linguistic elements associated with specific domains. By their recurrence across media and contexts, these terms produce what she calls ‘clasps’ or ‘hinges’ (2018, 3) that have the capacity to connect different social arenas. These interdiscursive connections obtained through register strike me as the linguistic embodiment of the *şarki* phenomenon which, by virtue of its intermediality, is capable of connecting arenas and publics. The two collections printed in 1893 and 1894 are a good example of this process. They present a textual fabric that

smoothly and gracefully moved from the registral sophistication of the palace, bureaucracy and *dîvân* tradition and a phonetic presence that, on the other hand, connected to the wider reading and speaking public via the use of Turkish. We have also seen how this fluidity made the *şarkı* appealing to different publics depending on whether the text be read or sung, and how one performance instead of the other radically changed the perception of each song's registral quality. It is now time to observe the genre's behaviour in a different media of distribution, the newspaper, before returning to a discussion of registers, song, and the relationships that they manifest.

## The Newspapers

In the second half of this chapter, I will discuss the repertoire published in the 1895 December issue of the periodical *Ma'lûmât* (1895 – 1903). I will analyse registral content in relation to theme and musical elements, which is made possible thanks to the notation sheets published as part of each supplement. The publication of the *şarkı* in newspapers and magazines is of particular interest to a study of language in song at a time of debate about tradition versus innovation and proposed reform. While the *şarkı* represented the *dîvân* literary tradition, the newspaper emerged, on the other hand, as a new form of 'literature' (see Dilek 2013, 1). According to Şemseddin Sâmî (1850 – 1904), the newspaper would play a key role in the process of language simplification, and it would also be a more affordable choice for the reading public:

The universality of the benefit gained from a newspaper that encompasses all the necessary conditions depends on two things: the first, is that it be written in a

language that everybody will be able to understand and that will not cause boredom; the second is that it be as cheap as everybody will be able to afford [it] with ease. (Levend 1960, 130; my translation<sup>164</sup>)

Şâmî's remark points to two phenomena with important implications for the *şarkı*. Firstly, that the idea behind a newspaper language (*gazete dili*) was to encourage and expand literacy by providing the growing public with accessible material of literary quality. A similar point was made by Süleyman Hayri on the thirty third issue of the newspaper *Basiret*, published in 1869. Hayri insisted that, as long as readers were not able to 'break through obstacle words and therefore understand the texts they read in the newspapers' (*çaparız sözleri sökemediği için okuduğu gazetenin ne dediğini anlamaktan yoksun olanlar*), these would fall short of their main aim:

The duty of journalists is not to teach everyone the method of literary composition, but to report events and inform. And it is to teach about events to everyone who can read the newspaper. That is, so that even those who are able to read only a few passages might read and understand. Let them not say, 'Oh! What shall I read next, after I have not understood anything?', so that they have to make an effort to explain what they wrote to the common people. (Levend 1960, 141; my translation<sup>165</sup>)

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<sup>164</sup>Şûrut-ı lâzıme'yi câmi' olan bir gazeteden olunacak istifadenin umumi olması iki şey'e mütevakkıftır: Birincisi herkesin anlayabileceği bir lisanlave usanç vermiyecek surette muhtasar yazılmak; [...]

<sup>165</sup>Gazetecilerin vazifesi herkese usûl-i kitabet öğretmek olmayup baz'ı malûmatı havî havadis vermektir. Ve verdği havadisi her gazete okuyabilenlere öğretmetmektir. Ya'ni çat pat ibareyi sökenler bile okuyup anlasınlar. "Aman birşey anlamadıktan sonra ne okuyayım" dedirtmesinler, tâ ki yazdıklarını âvama anlatmağa gayret etsinler.

Secondly, that this new quality literature should not only be linguistically accessible, but also affordable. As to the language, as seen in Chapter 1, the newspaper – very much like the *şarkı* – presented, in fact, great registral variety, and was not a platform for solely simplified, Turkish-register content. This variety corroborates the point made in this thesis that pre-reform Turkish itself cannot be associated with one specific register and that authors used whatever register was most suitable to their ideas and the content of the piece (see Chapter 1). The presence, in the newspapers, of *dîvân* literature in the form of poems and *şarkı* also indicates that the newspaper was still far from providing an escape from traditional literary forms and language. However, it did provide a platform for new genres such as prose and, undeniably, a platform for the development and expression of the *halk*'s ('people' or, here, the common public) thoughts, ideas and opinions (Levend 1960, 138). This new platform still provided a space for the 'old', although what exactly constituted the 'old' was also debated on its pages (see Chapter 3 of this thesis).

The *şarkı* was not a new musical genre. By the time it made its appearance on the pages of *Ma'lûmât* and *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* (1895 – 1908) in the 1890s it had been around for over two hundred years<sup>166</sup>. However, its publication in these two popular periodicals indicates that it was in vogue among a non-specialist audience in the 1890s. Additionally, a comparison with the repertoire found in the *güfte mecmûaları*, or song collections, printed in the same decade reveals that some songs enjoyed particular success: alongside appearing in different song collections, they also found a place in the newspapers. They also, possibly, contributed to the shaping of their composers' 'success', so to speak, replicating the anthologies' role in establishing their authors' fame. These 1890s Ottoman 'top hits' are a good place to begin

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<sup>166</sup> Uzun cites Hâfız Post's 17th century *güfte mecmûası* as the lyrics collection containing the earliest recorded example of *şarkı* songtext (2010).

exploring questions about the relationship between register and popularity, and to observe whether successful songs presented a less sophisticated register. Furthermore, the newspaper played an important role in cementing literacy and strengthening reading skills. It was the first source of 'practice' for anyone who had begun acquiring literacy (see Koloğlu 2010, 158, Türker 2019, 29, 30). The presence of the *şarkı* in the press therefore set the genre – a product of the *dîvân* tradition – in close proximity to language education and the expansion of reading practice. As a result, the increasing publication of *şarkı* lyrics collections cannot be separated from the wider phenomenon of growing literacy, the press, and the emergence of non-*dîvân* literary forms (*nesir*, prose).

It is intriguing that the *şarkı* should become so popular at a time when the literary framework it belonged to came under scrutiny and criticism, and its future was debated. Safiye Türker discusses author Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's (1901 – 1962) ideas regarding the newspaper's determining role in the gradual demise of the *dîvân* tradition:

With the appearance of print-language in the Ottoman Empire, various prose genres also proliferated such as the novel, the play, the essay, and literary criticism, newspapers being the medium in which all of these flourished and ripened (Dino, 1978, 23). According to Ahmed Hamdi Tanpınar, in no country, did newspapers play the role that they played in the Ottoman cultural context. [...] Another important effect of the newspaper was, for Tanpınar, that it caused the tradition of Divan poetry to collapse. Poems were published in newspapers without meticulous revision and [the] poet found himself in front of the mass as audience. Therefore, the internal structure of poetry also changed (Tanpınar, 2006, 181-186). (Türker 2019, 30)



But did the *dîvân* tradition actually collapse following the appearance of the newspaper? While there can be little doubt about its being subjected to proposed reformation and renovation, does not the presence of the *şarkı* – with its unchanged structure – in the press tell a different story? Or should we perhaps focus on the *şarkı*'s registral flexibility that granted it a place straddling both tradition and renovation, palace and popular culture, as the reason for its suitability to the newspapers' content? And what does the registral composition of the songs that appeared in the newspapers tell us about attachments – or resistance – to tradition? In the late 1800s, the *şarkı* was a product of the burgeoning reading culture as much as shifting musical taste, and part of its popularity was due to the press. Publishing songs in periodicals certainly contributed to the diffusion of the genre – but did the *şarkı*, on the other hand, play a role in promoting and sustaining literacy?

As regards the newspapers, one significant difference should be pointed out here. While, in *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*, *şarkı* was published in the actual issue – that is, between one article and the other, – *Ma'lûmât* offered its readers music supplements in the form of sheet music and lyrics. These were often several pages long. In other words, the *şarkı* had a separate space of its own in *Ma'lûmât*, indicative of a different approach to the vocal repertoire than *Hanımlara*. Although the newspaper medium still differed from lyrics anthologies, a separate supplement fulfilled a similar function in that it was a space reserved to the genre, appealing to professionals but also offering amateurs and general readership the possibility to collect lyrics without having to buy an anthology. The supplement notations and lyrics editions were prepared by Hacı Mehmed Emin Efendi (1845 – 1907), a key figure in Ottoman music publishing. Emin Efendi was one of the first Ottoman music publishers<sup>167</sup>, and he is credited

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<sup>167</sup> Armenian publishers had been active in printing music for fifteen years by the time Emin Efendi began his business. See Olley 2017.

with making available to the public the notation sheets of some of the major Ottoman composers' vocal and instrumental works, an enterprise that earned him the appellation *Notacı*, a term that can be roughly translated as 'one who produces notation'. He was a student of Guatelli Pâşâ (1819 –1899) and therefore well trained in Western musical theory and notation system. He was the author of *Nota Mu'allimi* (1884), a sort of music reading primer in which he presented *makâm* notes (*perdelər*) and Turkish rhythmic cycles (*usûller*) using Western notation, alongside a range of symbols to represent intervals (see Yalçın 2014). Although Western notation had been in use since 1828, Emin Efendi's work contributed to the theory by presenting the octave as divided into sixteen parts as well as additional symbols to indicate the numerous intervals typical of Turkish *makâm*. Additionally, this was a printed work. Its importance was therefore not limited only to the world of music theory, but also publishing and music education.

Emin Efendi's 'transcription' of *makâm* by means of Western musical 'script' mirrors another peculiarity presented by the song publications he prepared for *Ma'lûmât*: the texts were transliterated into Latin script following French phonetic conventions. As we have seen in other sources, the song's registral variety did not present elements necessarily or evidently relatable to increasingly Turkocentric, Eurocentric or *edep*-centric approaches. These supplements, on the other hand, provided transcriptions as if to make the *şarkı* more palatable – and pronounceable, therefore readable – to non-Ottoman readers or a Western-educated Ottoman audience. They presented the interesting feature of having the text transliterated according to French phonetic conventions (*û* transliterated as with the diphthong *ou*, *ö* as *eu*, *î* as *ui*, *ş* as *ch* etc). This does not come as a surprise as the newspaper had some sections translated in French (such as the frontpage subtitles) and the supplement itself was called *Chant Turc* ('Turkish Song'), with French translations of the composer/arranger information,

*makâm*, and rhythmic cycle in French, on the cover. The lyrics appeared after the notation, always with a transliteration. This hints at a foreign public or educated, multilingual audience. The prestige attributed to the French language, particularly in the nineteenth century Ottoman urban centres, is well known (see Strauss, 2011 and 2017). It is possible that the *şarkı* had a foreign audience too and that it was performed by expats or foreign visitors (see Ekinci 2015 on Madame Herzmainka de Slupno's collection of notations).

*Şarkı* was also published in *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*. While this periodical will not be discussed in this thesis, it will be important, I feel, to do so in the future, and examine, in particular, the overlap between genre and gender. A few things can be mentioned here. The periodical had a much more local, less heterogenous, audience. The readers were primarily, although not necessarily exclusively, women. Did this factor determine and/or impact the choice of repertoire? Were the songs presented, for example, mostly those composed by women *bestekârlar* (composers)? The *şarkılar* were not exclusively published as texts. Occasionally, notations were provided too. This hints at the possibility that some of the periodical's readers had an interest in and, in fact, actively participated in music making, albeit, most likely, in the privacy of the family home. In any case, the appearance of the *şarkı* in this particular publication expands its domain of consumption – if we may so term it – beyond the confines of professional music making, the palace and the bureaucracy. This was a genre produced by music professionals alongside intellectuals and men of the administration (see part 1) but evidently consumed in the public as much as the private sphere. Its publication with notation in *Hanımlara* strongly suggests that this was a popular genre among non-professionals, and that its public also transcended gender divides<sup>168</sup>.

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<sup>168</sup> Little research has been carried out about Ottoman female composers and musicians. A work seeking to fill the void is Turhan Taşan's *Kadın Besteciler* (2000). However, further study on the

### Notating the *şarkı*

Before we move on to the pieces found in the newspapers, the use of Western notation to present the songs deserves further attention. The adoption of Western staff notation is a phenomenon directly relatable to a number of social shifts and education reforms that began in 1839. However, Western staff notation did not make its first appearance during the *Tanzimât*. By the time the arrangements for piano of the *şarkı* appeared in *Ma'lûmât*, in the late 1800s, Western staff notation had been around for over 250 years (Ayngil 2008, Olley 2017). It is, rather, the shift in its use and area of circulation that we need to turn our attention to.

The various reforms undertaken between 1839 and 1876, known as the *Tanzimât*, or 'Reorganization', were spurred by the need to secure Ottoman territories, increasingly under threat (see Findley 2008). One of the first reforms in this direction, brought forward by Sultan Mahmud II (1785-1839) in 1826, affected the military, and the reorganization of the traditional Janissary military force into a Western-style army (*Asâkir-i Mansûre-i Muhammediye*). This had a direct impact on music education, repertoire, performance, and notation use (Yarkin 2020, Ayangil 2008). The *Mehterhâne-i Hümayûn*, the musical unit of the Janissary corps, was substituted with a Western-style military band, the *Muzika-i Hümayûn*, founded in 1827. Western staff notation began to be employed for both the military band's training and performance, alongside the traditional, oral transmission system known as *meşk*. In this sense, its adoption was the expression of a need for renovation. However, linking it to a wish for modernization and progress is problematic, and part of a 'narrative of westernisation' (Olley

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repertoire published for a female readership can shed further light on the relationship between genre, gender, and also late Ottoman female readers' relationship with poetry and register.

2017, 141). European notation should not be solely thought of as a product of Western influence, or the desire to be European and modern (see Olley 2017). Rather, we should think about the evolution in its usage in the context of local, notation methods and practices that existed simultaneously, such as the Hampartsum system, and that continued being used throughout the nineteenth century.

Prior to 1827, Western staff notation had appeared in *Edvâr* books, the main purpose of which was to illustrate *makâm* theory and methods of composition (Karabaşoğlu 2015). The adoption – as opposed to the introduction – of this notation system on the part of the military band and, more generally, Ottoman musicians signified an important shift. The ‘translation’, codification, transcription of pieces into the Western musical idiom indicated a new understanding of notation as a means to preserve and transmit repertoire in the context of a mainly oral transmission culture. It also suggested a shift towards performing this repertoire in public and in private without the need to undergo training with a master and committing hundreds of pieces to memory. Here, I propose we look at the adoption of Western notation, particularly towards the end of the nineteenth century, as a way to foster amateur, private entertainment, although notation was used by professional performers as well.

An important step towards the ‘normalization’ of Western notation and piano arrangements of *makâm* music was the publication of Emin Efendi’s treatise *Nota Mu’allimi* in 1884. In *Nota Mu’allimi*, he advocated for the use of European notation as a tool to facilitate training and described the ways in which this could be successfully applied to *alaturka* (Turkish) music (Ayangil 2008). He also highlighted that European notation was already in use for training purposes among the military band members and foreign music tutors (Ayangil 2008).

Regarding the latter, Emin Efendi described a ‘socio-cultural situation’ (Ayangil 2008, 417) in which foreign tutors actually discouraged the publication and use of European notation to

learn and perform *alaturka* pieces. This was due to a very practical reason. According to him, foreign music tutors wished to exploit the length of training by ear and imitation (*meşk*), which entailed easily forgetting the pieces and having to repeat them over and over again. The quicker assimilation by means of notation proved less lucrative for them (Ayngil 2008, 417). Emin Efendi lamented this situation and set out to provide notation sheets of *alaturka* music ‘to fulfil the needs of the common folk who wanted to learn music’ (ibid.). As a matter of fact, the notation sheets published by Hacı Emin were not exactly accessible to the ‘common folk’. This, as we will see, also reveals how the emergence of European notation as the preferred means of repertoire dissemination was partly due to financial interests (see Olley 2017).

If European notation, as opposed to *meşk*, had the potential to make music accessible to a wider public, it might have also significantly contributed to the booming popularity of the *şarkı* in the late nineteenth century. Given that nearly all the notation supplements printed in *Ma’lûmât* were *şarkı*, it is tempting to see the ‘mission’ to normalize European notation, making a certain repertoire more within reach, and the rise of the *şarkı* as interrelated phenomena. In the same way, it is important to ask why, of all genres, should the *şarkı* be chosen for these supplements. These transcriptions and arrangements might suggest that the performance of the genre inside and outside of the court (of which more will be said later) had become so widespread as to encourage its ‘translation’ into notation sheets to take home with the week’s issue.

As to the content of the published notation, particularly their arrangement for piano and use of harmonisation, it represented the most problematic aspect of such an endeavour. The main point of contention was the impossibility to ‘translate’ *makâm* for piano<sup>169</sup> and, more

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<sup>169</sup> This point is explored in greater depth later in this chapter.

generally, to somehow adapt it to Western musical theory (Ayngil 2008) – a debate that would continue well into the twentieth century. This point naturally leads to the question of why, then, Western staff notation was chosen over another important, and widespread, notation system: the Hampartsum system. Jacob Olley discusses how ‘institutional, social, and cultural contexts’ (2017, 241) contributed to the decline of the Hampartsum notation system, developed by Armenian composer and theorist Hampartsum Limondjian (1768-1839) between 1813-1815 (Özcan 2003). Its association ‘with practices that were closely linked to the *meşk* tradition, such as idiosyncrasy, secrecy and loyalty to an individual teacher... belonging more to the obscure, backward world of *alaturka* habits’ (*ibid.*) possibly paved the way. However, institutionalisation of musical education, print technology and cultural associations had a determining role in shaping the trajectories of these two systems.

Alongside not receiving state patronage, Hampartsum notation was not as compatible with print technology as staff notation was (241-242). Printing it involved a considerably high financial investment with no guarantee of profit. The latter is an important point, as it ties in with the rise of ‘music printing as a capitalist activity’ (243), which I believe can also be argued for the *Ma’lûmât* supplements, and the publication of the *şarkı* in this format specifically. The market for such publications, Olley continues, were ‘affluent Europeans and Levantines and well-to do, Francophone Ottomans from the higher ranks of urban society’ (*ibid.*) – not exactly the ‘common folk’. Printing music emerged as a potentially very profitable activity, and staff notation appealed more to the bourgeois reading public who invested in a pricy magazine such as *Ma’lûmât* (see part 1 of this chapter). Furthermore, there was a clear association between the Armenian ethno-religious community and the Hampartsum system and, in Olley’s word, the system was perceived as a much more ‘localised technology’ (247) as opposed to the upper-class cosmopolitanism evoked by the European notation system.

The rise of the Western staff notation versus local systems of transcription reflects the broader *alaturka-alafranga* debate that intensified in the late 1800s. However, discussing it only in terms of modernisation, progress, and westernisation means limiting the phenomenon to anachronistic interpretations of what is a multi-layered, nuanced, complex dichotomy – if a dichotomy at all. The diffusion of this system and the presentation of *şarkı* in its idiom appears inextricably bound to growing literacy, print technology, public and private entertainment, professional/amateur practice, financial profit, and ethno-religious associations. Olley points out that institutionalisation was also a shaping force in the process, as music education establishments founded in the early Republican Era, such as *Darülelhan* (1912), as well as societies and institutions, relied on music printing and staff notation to disseminate the repertoire (246). Discussing the *şarkı* repertoire printed in *Ma'lûmât* gives us the opportunity to explore these forces and dynamics, which – this project proposes – also contributed to the popularity of the genre.

Let us now turn to the songs found in *Ma'lûmât*. The repertoire will be approached chronologically, and the songs listed by year of publication. In my discussion, I will also refer to repertoire that appeared in some anonymous collections, namely: *Yeni Şarkı Mecmû'ası* (date of publication unknown), *Ferahfezâ Yâhûd Yeni Şarkı* (1896), *Yenî Şarkılar* (1896/1897). *Şarkı* published in these anthologies was also published in the newspapers and it will be discussed in relation to both media.



*Ma'lûmât* was a publication close to the *Edebiyât-ı Cedîde* (New Literature) movement and its official magazine *Servet-i Fünûn*, discussed in the first part of this chapter. Founded by Mehmed Fuad and Artin Asaduryan (dates unknown for both, see Uçman 2003) in 1894, it began to be published by Mehmed Tâhir (1864 – 1912) in 1895. He was given the name *Mâlûmatçı* given his involvement with the publication (see Aynur 2003), and is not to be confused with the poet Bursalı Mehmet Tâhir, also mentioned in part 1 of this chapter for his role in the rhyme debate. The 5 December 1895 issue of *Ma'lûmât* offered its readers a selection of fifteen *şarkı*, each individually printed as an independent supplement complete with notation and lyrics. Some items of the repertoire printed in this issue were reproduced in *Şevk-i Dil* 1893 and 1894, as well as *Ferahfezâ Yâhûd Yeni Şarkı* (1896) and *Yenî Şarkılar* (1896/1897). The selection is fascinating not only for the way it 'converses' with other media published in the immediately following and preceding years, but also for the patterns of interaction between register and musical elements it replicates, confirming what is found in the collections. In this analysis, I will focus on the pieces that appeared both in the newspaper and the collection. The complete list of songs is as follows:

- 1) *Hele ol dilber-I ranâ ârada çakıyor* (Hüzzâm, Aksâk, Merkel Efendi)
- 2) *Gülmek yarâşır gül yüzüne ey gül-ı cânım* (Hicâzkâr, Düyek, Hacı Emîn Bey)
- 3) *Mecbûr oldum ben bir güle* (Bestenigâr, Ağır Âksâk, Hâşim Bey)
- 4) *Bir gül-ı ranâye gönül bağladım* (Hüzzam, Düyek, Hacı Emîn Bey)
- 5) *Düşeyim der îken eyvah vefâlısına* (Hicâz, Ağır Aksâk, Rızâ Efendi)

- 6) *Gîdelim Göksu'ya bir âlem-i âb eyleyelim (Hicâzkâr, unspecified 9/8 metre<sup>170</sup>, Hristo Efendi)*
- 7) *Bâk şû güzel köylüye işte bû kızdır perî (Hüseyni, Cûrcuna<sup>171</sup>, Rızâ Efendi)*
- 8) *Ey dil ne oldun feryât edersin (Uşşâk, Cûrcuna, Civân Ağa)*
- 9) *Âmân ey yâr cefâ-pîşe nizâr etme benî (Beyâtî, Ağır Aksâk, Rızâ Bey)*
- 10) *Devâ yok mu neden bimar-ı aşka (Muhayyer, Evfer, Hâcî Ârif Bey)*
- 11) *Tarîfe gelir mi o mehin zülf-i siyahı (Nihâvent, Sengin Semâi<sup>172</sup>, Hâcî Ârif Bey)*
- 12) *Hayli dem oldu prestîş ettiğim pînândır (Nihâvent, Aksâk, Devlet Efendi)*
- 13) *Hüsn-ı güftârın senin ey mehlikâ (Hicâz, Düyek<sup>173</sup>, Ali Rifat Bey)*
- 14) *Tezyin ediyor gülşenî şîvi île sünbül (Bestenigâr, Devr-i Hindî, Hafız Selis Efendi)*
- 15) *Seyre çıkmışsın bugün Kağıthaneyi (Karcığâr, Evfer, Hakkı Bey)*

The reader might have recognised two of the titles: *Hele ol dilber-l ranâ ârada çakıyor* and *Mecbûr oldum ben bir güle*, both found in *Şevk-i Dil* 1893 and 1894. The rest of the songs were, to my knowledge, unpublished elsewhere between 1890 and 1895. On the other hand, the selection found in the anthology *Ferahfezâ, Yâhûd Yeni Şarkı*, published in 1896/1897, was nearly identical to the one found in the December *Ma'lûmât* issue. The anthology contained thirteen *şarkı* in total. Twelve of these were the same as the songs published as supplements to the newspaper. This makes *Ferahfezâ* feel as a nearly identical replica of the supplement.

<sup>170</sup> The *usûl* is not indicated in the supplement: the notation gives a 9/8 metre to be played *Allegretto*, but that could mean *Evfer* or *Aksâk*.

<sup>171</sup> The name of some metres provided in the supplements does not correspond to the time signature found at the beginning of each piece's notation. Such is the case for this piece and the one following it: the supplement's cover indicates it as *Cûrcuna*, a 10/16 cycle but the notation gives 6/8 instead as the song's signature.

<sup>172</sup> *Sengin Semâi* is a 6/8 metre pattern, but the notation indicates 3/4 as signature.

<sup>173</sup> *Düyek* is an 8/8 metre. The piece's signature, however, is given as 2/4.

One of the ideas suggested by this curious phenomenon is that, perhaps, the songs published in *Ma'lûmât* were so popular as to require a reprinted, 'deluxe edition' in the form of a lyrics collection. The pieces reprinted in 1896, and then again in 1897, might have been readers' and music aficionados' favourites. Additionally, the titles of both the 1896 and the 1897 collections describe the songs as *yenî*, 'new', strengthening the idea that these songs might have been the latest 'hits', or rage, of the '90s<sup>174</sup>.

This phenomenon naturally invites questions regarding the purpose, but also the implications, of circulating the same repertoire in two very different media. An important difference is that, in the anthology, the *şarkı* existed primarily and exclusively as text. In *Ferahfezâ*, for example, we do not find indications about the rhythmic cycle, only the *makâm* and composer. On the other hand, *Ma'lûmât* provided its readers with notation sheets. In fact, the songs were specifically arranged for piano with a view to be circulated as stand-alone pieces, rather than as part of a collection. This is an important point as the phenomenon points to a deeper, more subtle transformation in musical practice. A repertoire that had been hitherto passed down orally from master to pupil, and that had done so within the fixed and well-defined framework of *meşk* culture, had now become a product that could be independently learnt and performed in the privacy of one's own home. The anthology, on the other hand, somehow maintained the bonds with traditional instruction, as whoever owned one must have had memorized the pieces it contained already, the collection serving purely as an *aide-mémoire*.

In a way, the convergence – and, perhaps, mutual contribution to each ones' popularity? – of newspaper culture and sheet music culture created a third space for the *şarkı* to circulate:

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<sup>174</sup> See the Appendix for a comparative table of songs found in collections and newspapers.

a space beyond the oral, but also beyond the written, and by written I refer specifically to the writing of lyrics and the reading of them as mere poetic text. While the writing down, via notation, of the *şarki*'s musical component represented, to some, a distortion of tradition and of the culture around oral transmission, the 'musically unwrittenness' of the anthology emphasized the oral component of the *şarki* by inscribing its verbal content (i.e., lyrics) on page. In other words, notation brought the focus on music, and it did so by making the text secondary, not the main memento. In this way, it operated beyond the written/textual dimension of the *şarki*. On the other hand, the *mecmû'a* emphasized lyrics, with the texts functioning as a sort of reminder of the song's musical fabric.

Essentially, the two media brought out two different, and, at that point in time, debated/controversial aspects of Ottoman music making: oral transmission versus notation, two modes of learning that signified much more than just different approaches. While the former was woven around the figure of a master to submit oneself to, and a community the preservation of which depended on upholding the right *edep* towards authority, the latter encouraged, in a sense, individualism and self-instruction (on the ethics in, and of, musical education see Şenay 2020). Notation made the figure of a master unnecessary, thus calling into questions several values and the etiquette required to preserve community bonds. Additionally, it exacerbated the issue of faithfulness to/betrayal of the – supposedly – original, true, correct (*doğru*) version of a piece and the controversial fixation and enshrinement of one interpretation over others (see Behar 2016; on nineteenth century notation practice, particularly the Hamparsum system, see Olley 2017).

The presence of the same repertoire in these two different media of publication also provides new points of reflection with regards to the intersection of medium, register, text, composition and performance, and audience. We have already seen with the two editions of

*Şevk-i Dil* how much registral composition contributed to the overall character of each anthology, and hinted at the cultural and social relations it manifested. We have also seen that the quality we ascribe to each anthology was produced by a number of factors that go beyond just music. Context of publication, price, themes, authors, the recording, or lack thereof, of public events all contributed to the final picture, and the social and cultural realities that the *mecmû'a* embodied. This aspect can only be magnified when repertoire appears on media playing very different roles and connecting to reading culture in distinct ways.

One aspect that, for example, acquires greater weight in the newspapers than in the anthologies is the relationship between register and theme. We had partly seen this in *Şevk-i Dil* 1893, in the case of the two eulogies. In the December 1895 issue of *Ma'lûmât* we witness a similar phenomenon, but slightly more consistent, with certain registers being employed to describe certain states. While the reference to real places and circumstances is still there, these are accentuated by registral use. On the other hand, some musical elements and musical-textual patterns are confirmed, such as rhythmic cycles and the relationship between register and poetic devices, such as rhyme. Thanks to the notation sheets, it is possible to identify the correspondence of register to specific modal and structural elements that characterise each *şarkı*. Let us first, however, take a closer look at the lyrics, now. The two songs that appeared in *Şevk-i Dil*, editions 1893 and 1894, have been omitted, but I will refer to their registral composition in due course.

\*

Let us begin with the texts containing the highest amount of Turkish or, rather, the ones that we could identify as Turkish regardless of the language's lexical presence in the text. This first selection includes *Mecbûr oldum ben bir güle*, but I have left the lyrics out. I have used the same colour code as the one in the previous chapter to highlight the different languages: red

for Turkish, green for Arabic and blue for Persian. I have highlighted and provided alternatives where I was unsure as to the correct reading and left the words in black. Loanwords have been highlighted in yellow.

1.

*Şarkı-yı Hicâzkâr Notâ Muallimi Hâcî Emîn Bey*

*Gülmek yarâşır gül yüzüne ey gül-i cânım<sup>175</sup>*

*Gül âşığının gönlünü aç rûh-ı revânım*

*Bîneş'e mi kalsın dem-i vuslatta zamânım*

*Nakarât*

*Gül gel yüzünün nûrunu saç nazlı civânım*

*Âç sineni sâç handeni Allah'ı seversen*

*Bir gülmeli bir gül yüzünü seyredelim*

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<sup>175</sup> Smiling suits your rose-like face, or rose of my soul  
Laugh, open the heart of you lover, my beloved  
Should my time during our meeting be without joy?  
[Refrain]  
Laugh, come, show the light of your face, my young flirt  
Show your chest, show your laughter, if you love Allah  
Laugh a little, let me see your rose-face  
I will prepare a land of joy, you be merry, be merry  
[Refrain]  
Laugh, come, show the light of your face, my young flirt

*Ben arz-ı neşât eyleyeyim sen de şen ol şen*

*Nakarât*

*Gül gel yüzünün nûrunu saç nazlı civânım*

2.

*Şarkı-yı Hicâz, Rızâ Efendi*

*Düşeyim deriken eyvah vefâlısına<sup>176</sup>*

*Düştü gönlüm aman ah belâlısına*

*Doyum olmaz güzelin gerçi edâlısına*

*Nakarât*

*Düştü gönlüm aman ah belâlısına*

*Yoktur cevri ü cefâdır dev belâ çektim ben*

*Varayım uslanayım vazgeçeyim her şeyden*

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<sup>176</sup> As I told myself, 'fall for her faithfulness'

My heart fell into the tribulation of her

And yet I cannot get enough of that beauty's manners

[Refrain]

My heart fell into the tribulation of her

I have suffered tremendous misfortune, it is oppression and cruelty, nothing else

Let me reach and come to my senses, I give up on everything

My mind is at peace as I say, 'let me not love a beauty'

[Refrain]

My heart fell into the tribulation of her

*Başım âsûde güzel sevmeyeyim deriken*

*Nakarât*

*Düştü gönlüm aman ah belâlısına<sup>177</sup>*

3.

*Şarkı-yı Hicâzkâr, Hristo Efendi*

*Gîdelim Göksu'ya bir 'âlem-i âb eyleyelim<sup>178</sup>*

*Ol kadehkâr güzeli yâr olarak peyleyelim*

*Bize bu talimiz oymadı yâr neyleyelim*

*Nakarât*

*Ol kadehkâr güzeli yâr olarak peyleyelim*

*Yanarak ateş-i aşk içre semendercesine*

*Çakarak semt-i Kalender'de kalendercesine*

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<sup>177</sup> This is the *Ferahfezâ* version. The *Yeni Şarkılar* version is a bit different. There is only one stanza and one refrain, and instead of 'ah', that edition has 'Allah'.

<sup>178</sup> Let us go to Göksu and have a drink

Be the cupbearer, let me seize beauty as a lover

This fortune of ours has not cut into us, beloved, what should I do? [meaning unclear]

[Refrain]

Let me seize that cupbearer's beauty as a lover

The fire of love burning within as (if it were) the legendary Salamander

Hitting the neighborhood Kalender as (if I were) a free spirit

Feeling pleasure and enjoyment as was [appropriate to] Alexander the Great's status [or, as if I were

*Alexander the Great*]

[Refrain]

Be the cupbearer, let me seize beauty as a lover



Ederek zevk ü safâ hal-ı Sikendercesine

Ol kadehkâr güzeli yâr olarak peyleyelim<sup>179</sup>

4.

Şarkı-yı Hüseyni, Rızâ Efendi

Bâk şu güzel köylüye işte bu kızdır peri<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> This is the *Ferahfezâ* version. The *Yeni Şarkılar* is different. Again, there is only the first stanza and refrain.

<sup>180</sup> Look at this beautiful village girl, this girl is a fairy

Her beautiful hands played with soil, it is clear

Are all village beauties like this, I wonder?

[Refrain]

My heart has fallen for her love, I cannot leave this place

I have understood that the essence of love and desire was in the village

Look at the mountains, it seems it is apparent [*sentence unclear*]

The melody of the streams gives the spirit a thousand joys

Let it be my dwelling, I cannot leave this place

Look, the shepherd is at work, the *kaval* [reed] in his hands

The whole flock is listening because the *kaval* is mournful

Here, that beautiful rose appeared to me, with her flirtatious ways

My heart loved her, what can I do? I cannot leave this place

Look how beautifully sings the lover [*word unclear*] a thousand times

Here, everyone who drinks pain finds mirth without wine

Come and you, too, entertain the heart, here is the village of the beloved

I, too, cannot leave this place because of her

The flowers in the ground are the product of your laughter

The sun in the sky is the reflection of the lights of your face

As to the [*word unclear*] forest, it is the secret of your love

Everything sings of you, I cannot leave this place

What lightens up your rose-face is the light of your virtue

What makes my heart ecstatic is her languor

I believe those eyes are well-known, too

That eye captured me, oh, I cannot leave this place

Whoever looks at buds, is torn by that rose-like flesh

Whoever looks at my heart this way, her dimple is my wound

Her hair are heart strings

She has made my heart a slave, I cannot leave this place

The clouds today sprinkle this heart with pleasure

Birds sing with a different harmony today

Toprak ile oynamış belli güzel elleri

Böyle midir hep *aceb köylülerin dilberi*

*Nakarât*

Düştü gönül *aşkına terk edemem bu yeri*

Köyde imiş anladım *mâye-i aşk u hevâ*

Dağlara bak sanki *aşk olmada suretnümâ*

Cuyların *nağmesi rûha verir bin safâ*

*Meskenim* olsun benim *terk edemem bu yeri*

Elde kaval bak çoban eylemedir

Dinlemede hep sürü *çünkü hazindir kaval*

Burda göründü bana *naz ile o gül-i cemâl*

Sevdi gönül neyleyim *terk edemem bu yeri*

Bak ne güzel söylüyor *dalda şu âşık hezâr*

Burda bulur *bâdesiz neş'eyi her gam-küsar*

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[sentence meaning unclear]

The heart is overwhelmed with joy, I cannot leave this place  
Bud-like skin that spreads the fragrance of grace everywhere  
What gives pain is her love-game, let her spread the pain of love  
Have you also been stricken by love? Tell me, stream of sadness  
I am like you, I cannot leave this place

Sen de gönül neş'elen işte budur kuy-i yâr

Ben de anın çün gönül terk edemem bu yeri

Yerde çiçekler bütün handenin âsârıdır

Gökte güneş veçhinin makes-i envârıdır

Karşığı orman ise aşkının esrârıdır

Hepsî seni söylüyor terk edemem bu yeri

Gül yüzünü parlatan ismetinin nûrudur

Gönlümü sermest eden mahmurudur

Zanıma ol didenin kendi de meşhurudur

Tuttu beni ah o göz terk edemem bu yeri

Goncalara kim bakar gül teninin çağıdır

Böyle bakan kalbime gamzesinin dağdır

Saçlarının telleri sanki gönül bağıdır

Gönlümü bend eyledi terk edemem bu yeri

Kalbe safâ serpiyor hep şu bulutlar bugün

Başka bir âhenk ile ötmede kuşlar bütün

*Zannederim eyliyor burda tabiat*

*Neş'eye gark oldu dil terk edemem bu yeri*

*Buy-i latif veren gonca teni her yere*

*İşvesidir bahşeden derdini aşkın derdini sere*

*Sen de mi sevdâzede söyle mahzundere*

*Ben de sana benzedim terk edemem bu yeri*

5.

*Şarkı-yı Beyâtî, Rızâ Bey*

*Aman ey yâr cefâ-pîşe nizâr etme beni<sup>181</sup>*

*Ölürüm sensiz a zâlim bırakıp gitme beni*

*Sitem etme kerem eyle kırıp incitme beni*

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<sup>181</sup> Oh, oppressor, do not take my strength away  
I die without you, do not go and leave me  
Do not punish me, have mercy, do not break me and hurt me  
[Refrain]  
I die without you, do not go and leave me  
You have not been worse than me leaving you, now  
Let me die for you, do not harm, and destroy me  
Let me fall at your feet, trample down quickly, do not hurt me  
[Refrain]  
I die without you, do not go and leave me

*Nakarât*

*Ölürüm sensiz a zâlim bırakıp gitme beni*

*Seni terk etme bana şimdi olmadın da beter*

*Sana kurbân olayım kılma beni mahv u heder*

*Düşeyim payına çiğne (çeyne) çabucak etme keder*

*Nakarât*

*Ölürüm sensiz a zâlim bırakıp gitme beni*

After adding *Mecbûr oldum ben bir güle* and its registral content to the mix, a familiar pattern is confirmed: most of the texts present a Turkish syntax (verb as the rhyme giving element ending of the sentence) but the greater part of the vocabulary is constituted by loanwords (35%), specifically of Arabic origin (74%). These are followed by Persian (29%), Turkish (20%) and Arabic (16%) terms, conventional and recurring throughout *dîvân* poetry (see Andrews, 1985): we have met many of them in the other texts as part of a shared poetic vocabulary of affection. Unsurprisingly, despite the high Turkish grammar content – which again holds the texts together, beginning and closing each line – Turkish lexical elements are a small portion of the texts, slightly less than Persian. This is an indication of what I have been arguing so far, that is, that despite strict lexical content, a number of other registral factors and elements in each song determine their final registral quality. Syntax is one of them, but also, as we have seen, rhyme. Five out of six songs (including *Mecbûr*) have end of verse, Turkish

rhyming syntactical or lexical elements<sup>182</sup>. Thanks to the notation sheets, despite the fact that the piano arrangements might not accurately reflect the melody as it was arranged for Turkish instruments (and orally transmitted), we can observe how Turkish rhyming words correspond to key *makâm* notes in each verse and section. The following samples will provide a glimpse of the relationship between musical and lexical elements:

The opening of *Gülmek yarâşır gül yüzüne ey gül-ı cânım*, in *makâm Hicâzkâr*, is the following:

Handwritten musical score for the opening of *Gülmek yarâşır gül yüzüne ey gül-ı cânım* in *makâm Hicâzkâr*. The score is written on three systems of staves. The top system has a title in Arabic script and lyrics in Turkish and Persian. The middle and bottom systems continue the melody and lyrics. Green highlights are placed under specific notes and lyrics: 'gul mek ya' in the first system, 'nim' in the second, and 'nim' in the third. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 2/4 time signature. The lyrics are written in both Turkish and Persian script.

<sup>182</sup> The only exception is, interestingly, the bucolic *Bak şu güzel köylüye işte bu kızdır peri*, which has mostly Turkish rhyming elements but it is more mixed than the rest.



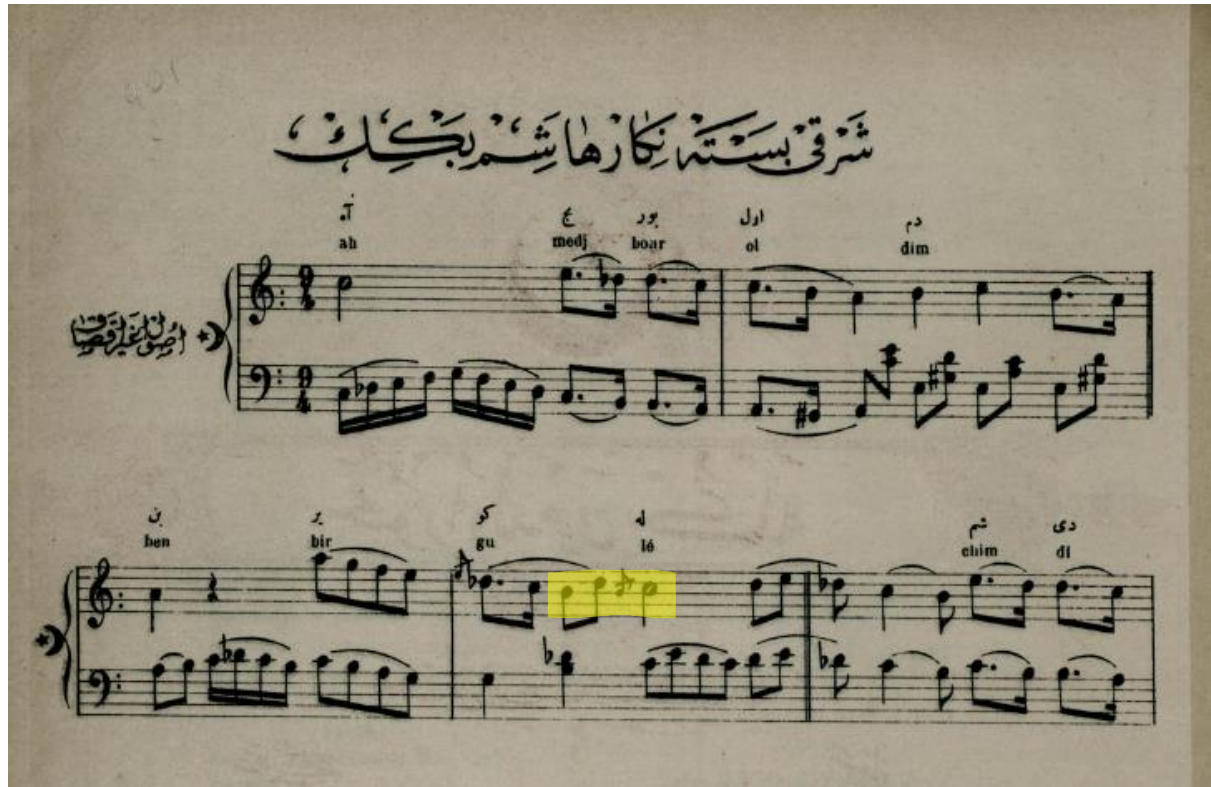
**Figure 7.** Detail from *Gülmek yarâşır gül yüzüne ey gül-ı cânım* (Hicâzkâr, Düyek, Hacı Emîn Bey), published in *Ma'lûmât*, N. 24, 5 December 1895 (İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar).

The makâm's melodic journey begins on the note known in Turkish as *Gerdâniye*<sup>183</sup>, represented according to Western convention by the note G (preceded, in the first bar, by the F# quaver note). *Gerdâniye* is the *güçlü* note of the *makâm Hicâzkâr*, that is, the note giving it its particular flavour and upon which the melodic line is expected to land at the end of the *zemîn* section (verse 1, see part 1 of this chapter). *Hicâzkâr* is a descending *makâm*, by reason of which the actual *durak*, or final note, would still be G, but an octave lower, the note known as *Râst*. In these opening measures, the text follows the expected, descending progression of the mode, described by Hâşîm Bey as a descent from *Eviç* (F#) to *Nevâ* (D) by way of *Gerdâniye*, *Muhayyer* (high A), *Sünbüle* (high A#), *Tîz Çargâh* (high C) (Yalçın 2016, 149). In other words, an exploration of the higher range of the *makâm* pitch series. The syllable *-mek* (of *gülmek*) corresponds to *Gerdâniye* (like does the Turkish possessive *-ım* ending for *cânım* and *revânım*, highlighted in green) and the final *Râst* note corresponding to the possessive suffix *-ım* for the Persian *revân* (*revânım*). The *Gerdâniye* and *Râst* correspondence with the first person Turkish possessive suffix *-ım* characterizes the rest of the *şarki*.

As to *Mecbûr oldum ben bir güle* is, according to the *Ma'lûmât* notation, as follows:

<sup>183</sup> In Turkish music, each tone has its own individual name.





**Figure 8.** Detail from *Mecbûr oldum ben bir güle* (*Bestenigâr, Âğır Âksâk, Hâşim Bey*), published in *Ma'lûmât*, N. 24, 5 December 1895 (*İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar*).

The makâm of this şarkı, *Bestenigâr*, is a descending/ascending *makâm*. Hâşim Bey highlights its ascending quality in his very short description of it: 'After having showed and begun on *Rast* (G) and *Çargâh* (C) ... it ends on *Irak* (F#) after an evolution on *Çargâh* (C), *Segâh* (B 1 koma flat), *Dügâh* (A) and *Râst*.' (Yalçın 2016, 179; my translation<sup>184</sup>). The introductory 'evolution' he talks about is easily identifiable in the first few bars. Here, in the fourth measure, we see the correspondence between the *güçlü* of the *makâm Bestenigâr*, the note *Çargâh*, represented as C in Western notation, and the final loanword *gül* plus Turkish dative case suffix

<sup>184</sup> *İbtidâ rast, çargâh gösterüb ... ağaze idüb ba'dehu çargâh, segâh, dügâh, rast açarak irak'da karar ider.*



-e, characterizing the rhyme of this *şarkı* (highlighted in yellow). And, if we continue reading the score:

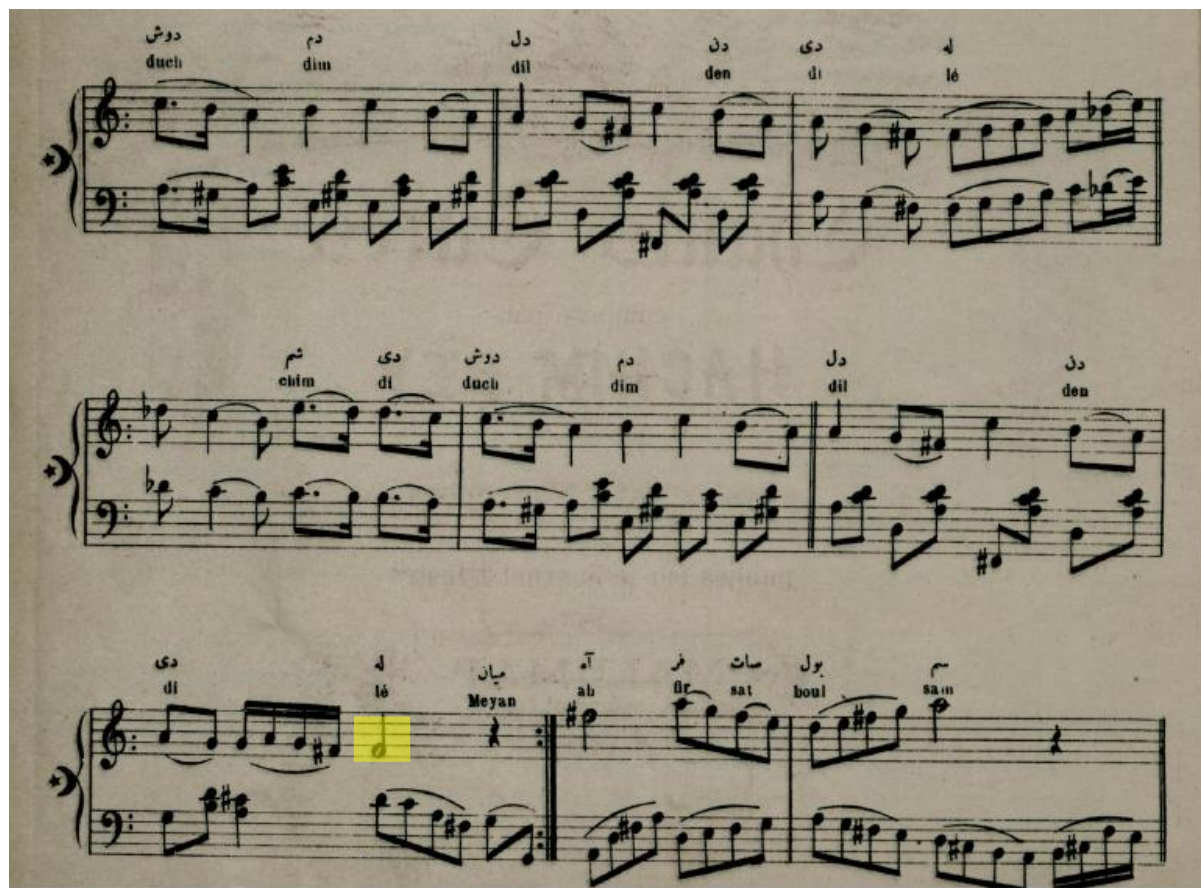


Figure 9. Detail from *Mecbûr oldum ben bir güle* (Bestenigâr, Âğır Âksâk, Hâşim Bey), published in *Ma'lûmât*, N. 24, 5 December 1895 (*İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar*).

We see the final Persian word *dil* plus Turkish dative suffix -e landing on the *makâm*'s *durak* note, the tone *Irak*, represented as an F#, right at the end of the *miyân* section, that is, verse 3 (highlighted in yellow).

As to the other *şarkılar* that display the same *makâm*/register patterns, we have *Düşeyim der îken eyvah vefalısına*, in *Hicâz*, another ascending/descending *makâm*. Here, the Turkish suffix agglutinative ending *-lısına*, characteristic of the first stanza and the refrain (*nakarât*) of





**Figure 10.** Detail from *Düşeyim der îken eyvah vefalısına* (Hicâz, Aksâk, Rızâ Efendi) published in *Ma'lûmât*, N. 24, 5 December 1895 (*İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar*).

*Gîdelim Göksu'ya bir 'âlem-i âb eyleyelim*, in *makâm Hicâzkâr* firmly hinges its sequence of subjunctive suffixes *-yelim* onto the *güçlü* (*Gerdâniye*) and *durak* (*Râst*) notes that characterise the *makâm*, represented as G in bar 6 (the end of verse 1, the *zemîn*):





Figure 11. Detail from Gîdelim Göksu'ya bir 'âlem-i âb eyleyelim (Hicâzkâr, no metre given, Hristo Efendi) published in Ma'lûmât, N. 24, 5 December 1895 (İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar).

and at the end of the *zamân* (verse 2) section, that also serves as refrain (bars 1 and 2):



**Figure 12.** Detail from *Gîdelim Göksu'ya bir 'âlem-i âb eyleyelim* (Hicâzkâr, no metre given, Hristo Efendi) published in *Ma'lûmât*, N. 24, 5 December 1895 (İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar).

*Aman ey yâr cefâ-pîşe nizâr etme beni*, in makâm *Beyâtî*, is the last *şarkı* with a markedly Turkish rhyming component. In the first stanza and in the refrain, the rhyming element is *beni*, the accusative form of *ben* (I) plus accusative suffix *-i*. The second stanza is, on the other hand, characterized by the loanwords *beter* and *keder*. Despite the presence of the Arabic *heder*, the phonetic element is solidly Turkish. And, as expected, the registral and modal converge as the abraded infinitive (*etme*) and accusative elements (*beni*) are emphasized by the *güçlü Nevâ* (D) at the end of the *zemîn* (bar 7 and 8 respectively, in red):

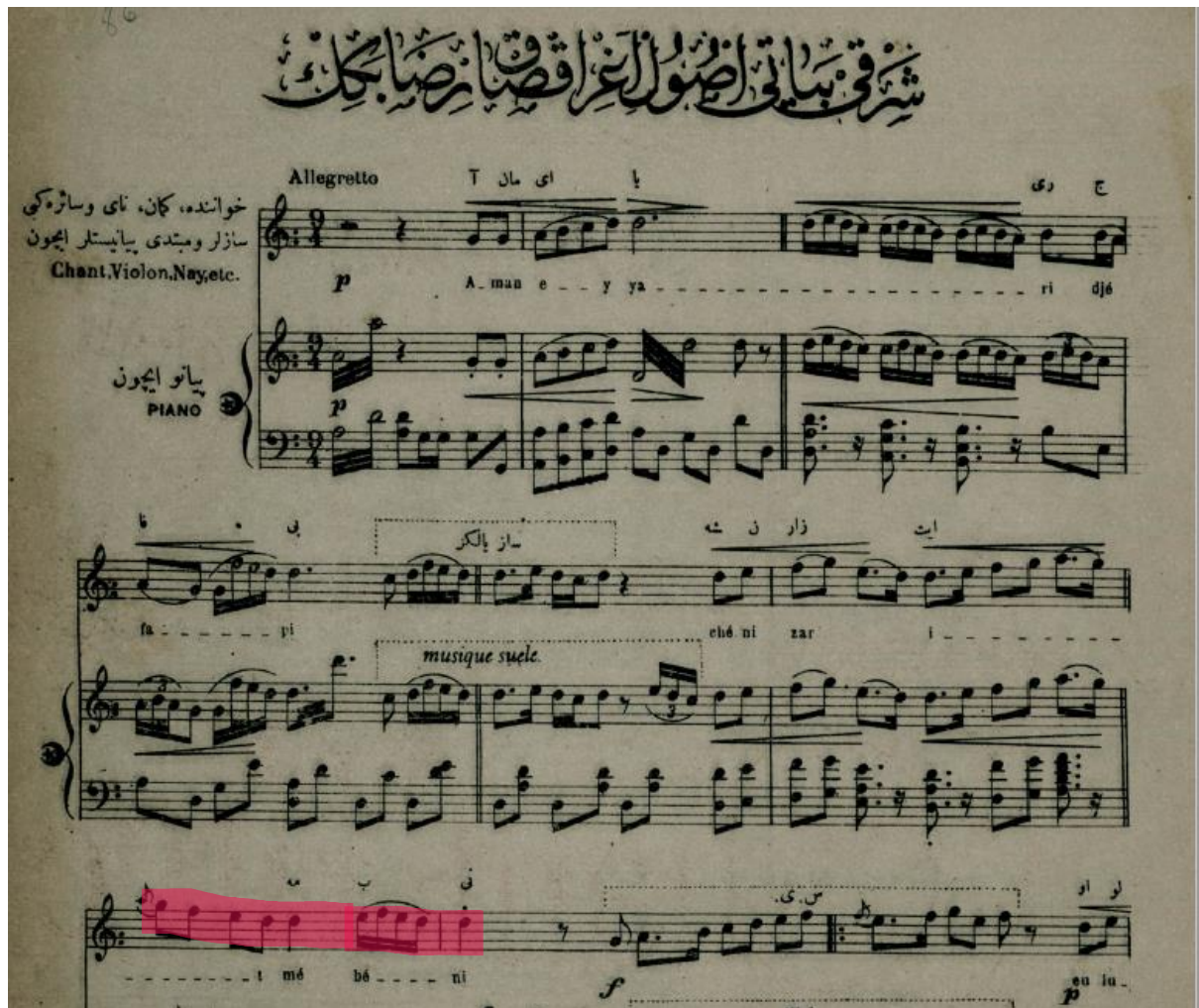
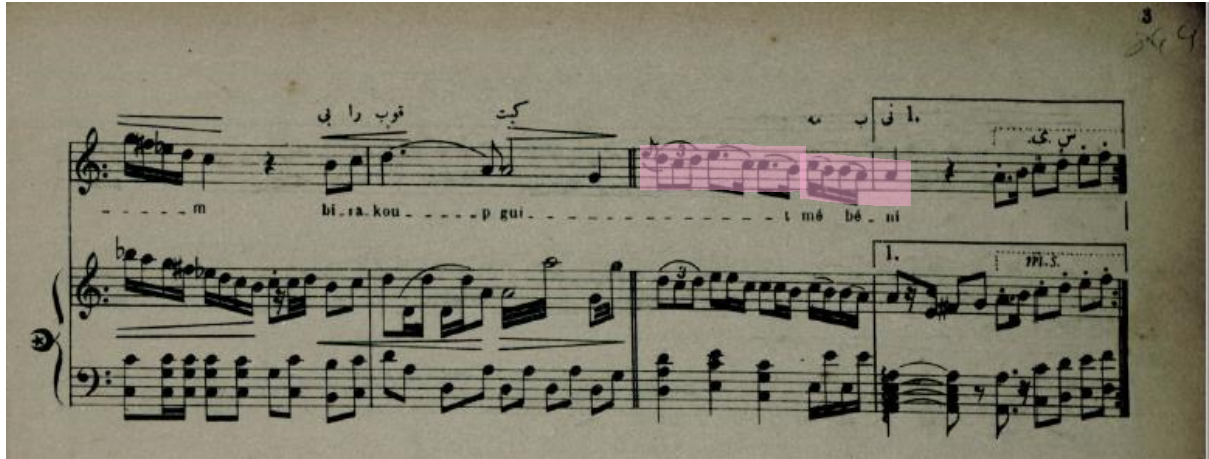


Figure 13. Detail from Aman ey yâr cefâ-pîşe nizâr etme beni (Beyâtî, Âğır Âksâk, Rızâ Bey) published in Ma'lûmât, N. 24, 5 December 1895 (İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar).

and by the *durak Dügâh* (A) itself at the end of the zamân first (verse 2) and *nakarât* (later) later (in pink):





**Figure 14.** Detail from *Aman ey yâr cefâ-pîşe nizâr etme beni* (Beyâtî, Âğır Âksâk, Rızâ Bey) published in *Ma'lûmât*, N. 24, 5 December 1895 (İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı Sayısal Arşiv ve e-Kaynaklar).

As to the language used in these songs, we observe a degree of correspondence between registers and particular themes, for example in song 3 and 4. Song 3 is an invitation to join the author on a drinking spree in the taverns of Beykoz, particularly the Göksu area. It makes references to other urban locations, such as Kalender, along Istanbul's Bosphorus and it evokes familiar *dîvân* poetry protagonists such as the *kadehkâr*, the cupbearer and an *ateş-i aşk* (fire of love) full of *zevk ü safâ* (pleasure and amusement). This staple terminology from the *dîvân* is solidly encased within Turkish syntax. The subjunctive endings (-*yelim*) that perform an exhortative function give the piece a Turkish feel even though the lexical elements are not predominantly Turkish. They are, however, mostly loanwords still in use today. Song 4 describes a different, more bucolic, village setting. It narrates of love and the attachment to a place that it is impossible to leave behind, a place where the melancholy voice of the *kavâl* and the *mây-e-i aşk u hevâ* (the 'essence' or, according to another meaning, 'melody' of love and affection, *mây-e* being a type of folk song) fill the days spent on the mountains. The love of the narrator for the *güzel köylü* ('beautiful villager') blossoms against the backdrop of these bucolic joys. It is a variation on the familiar theme of love, central to the *şarkı*, that is rendered

intriguing by the detailed description of a non-urban setting: both the subject matter and the setting are reminiscent of the folk genre *türkü* (see Kurnaz 2021). However, while Turkish is predominant, Arabic and Persian words are also found, and these are usually used to refer to the beloved (*yâr*), rosebuds (*goncalar*) and other floral metaphors for the beloved's beauty, and the lights (*envâr*) and secrets of love (*aşkının esrârı*). In fact, the text is quite interesting in that it employs a wide range of registers although the theme, the setting, the syntax, and the greater part of its lexical fabric are Turkish. The use of the Turkish word for heart first (*gönül*) and its Arabic equivalent later (*kalp*) is a good example of flexibility in registral use. We can see that occasionally, the author chose different register/languages to indicate the same item (emotion, state, object). In the case of the word 'heart', it must be, however, pointed out that the Arabic *kalp* is a loanword, still in common use today. Nonetheless, these lexical choices can determine the overall registral quality of a line, or of a whole text.

Songs 1, 2 and 5 display similar patterns. All of them are so simple in language as to be easily understood by readers today. The Arabic and Persian terminology that they display is more or less still in use, and the lack of the *ezâfe* – the particle linking two words together generating compound expressions and providing attributes to nouns, among other functions – is noteworthy.

The rhythmic cycles employed in this first group of songs also confirm previously seen patterns. Four out of six pieces have a 9/8 metre: the one seen most frequently is *Âksâk*<sup>185</sup>. These also happen to be the texts with end-of-verse Turkish rhyming elements. In this Turkish register-oriented selection we find again a correspondence between register, metre, and modal development. While Turkish is not prominent from a lexical point of view, the

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<sup>185</sup> *Mecbûr oldum ben bir güle (Âğır Âksâk), Düşeyim der îken eyvah vefalısına (Âksâk), Gidelim Göksu'ya bir âlem-i âb eyleyelim* (unspecified 9/8), *Âmân ey yâr cefâ-pîşe nizâr etme benî (Âür Âksâk)*



convergence of rhythmical and modal phenomena on it makes it a strong phonetic presence, confirming earlier analyses.

The second group of songs found below, on the other hand, contains more Persian and Arabic elements:

1.

*Şarkı-yı Hüzam, Hacı Emin Bey*

*Bir gül-ı ranâye gönül bağladım<sup>186</sup>*

*Hicri ile tâ-be-seher ağladım*

*Kendisinin meyli de var anladım*

*Nakarât*

*Aşkını tâ cân evime sakladım*

*Çeşm-i siyahında dönen cilveler*

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<sup>186</sup> I have become bound to a beautiful rose

I have cried until the moment just before dawn because of separation from her

I understand she also has an inclination

[Refrain]

I have concealed my love for you into my heart

The flirtatious graces that come and go in your black eyes

Make my heart quiver with a thousand feelings

Union is worth a life, I believe

[Refrain]

I have concealed my love for you into my heart

Kalbimi bin his ile lerzân eder

Vuslatıdır bence hayat değer

Nakarât

Aşkını tâ cân evime sakladım

2.

Şarkı-yı Uşşâk, Civan Ağa

Ey dil ne oldun feryât edersin<sup>187</sup>

Feryât u zâri mu'tâd edersin

Beyhûde ömrüm berbât edersin

Nakarât

Zannetme yârı münkâd edersin

Yârın cefâsı ta'dâde gelmez

---

<sup>187</sup> Oh heart, what has happened to you, you are wailing  
You make wailing and crying a habit  
You make my life miserable without any reason  
[Refrain]  
Do not think you will make the lover yield  
The beloved's oppression cannot be estimated  
She will listen to my sigh, she will not come [*having heard*] my cry  
She has no kindness, she will not give relief  
[Refrain]  
Do not think you will make the lover yield

Gûş etmez âhım feryâde gelmez

Bîmürüvvettir imdâde gelmez

Nakarât

Zannetme yârı münkâd edersin

3.

Şarkı-yı Muhayyer, Hâcî Ârif Bey

Of Of Of Of

Deva yok mu neden bîmâr-ı aşka<sup>188</sup>

Niçun bir çâre yok nâçâr-ı aşka

Rehâ olmaz mı bend-i nâr-ı aşka

Nakarât

Aman ya Rab yandım nâr-ı aşka

Helâk olmaktayım dağ olmadan

Yanar dil zahm-ı dil söz ve sitemden

---

<sup>188</sup> Is there no cure for the one who is ill with love?  
Why is there no cure for the one made hopeless by love?  
Is there no escape for the slave of the fire of love?  
[Refrain]

Oh, my Lord, I have burnt with the fire of love  
I am devastated without there being any wound  
The heart burns, the wound of the heart is from words and injustice  
Oh God, save me from this grief

*İlâhî beni kurtar bu gamdan*

*Nakarât*

4.

*Şarkı-yı Hicâz, Ali Rıfât Bey*

*Hüsn-ı güftârın senin ey mehlikâ<sup>189</sup>*

*Çeşm-i fettânın gibi sevdâfezâ*

*Kahkahan cilven gibi şîrîn-edâ*

*Nakarât*

*Tarz-ı reftârın gören dir (der?) mehlikâ*

*Çeşm-i fettânın gibi sevdâfezâ*

5. and 6.

*Şarkı-yı Karcığâr ve Şarkı-yı Bestenigâr, Hakkı Bey*

*Tezyin ediyor gülşenî şîvî ile sünbül<sup>190</sup>*

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<sup>189</sup> The beauty of your speech, oh one who is as beautiful as the moon  
You inflame passion like a charming, deceitful eye  
You have sweet manners as your loud laughter and your coquetry  
[Refrain]

Whoever sees the way you walk calls you moon-faced  
Inflaming passion like a charming, deceitful eye

<sup>190</sup> The hyacinth embellishes the garden with its slant  
The cry is complete with the nightingale  
I have exhausted my patience, do not look for endurance

*İkmâl ediyor zâr ile bûlbûl*

*Sabrım tükenip kalmadı arama tahammül*

*Nakarât*

*Gel seyre delim cânım efendim şa bahârı*

*Bak mutribe eyler ne güzel beste*

*Seyre çıkmışsın bugün Kağıthane'yi*

*Eyledin ma'mur dil-i vîrâne*

*Miyân*

*Söz aman söz dide-i mestâne'yi*

*Nakarât*

*Eyledin ma'mur dil-i vîrâne'yi*

This group is characterised by a more complex registral mixture. This time, most of the vocabulary is, surprisingly, Arabic (34%). This is followed closely by loanwords (34%, of which

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[Refrain]

Come, my master, let us behold the spring  
Look at the musician, what a beautiful composition  
Today you went out to Kağıthane  
You have made the devastated heart merry

[Miyân]

Drain, oh, drain the drunken eye

[Refrain]

You have made the devastated heart merry

47% is Arabic), Persian (27%) and, finally, Turkish (9%). The rhyme scheme too presents some differences: out of the five songs, three have Turkish rhyming elements, one (song 4) has Persian rhyming words and the last song has a mixture of loanwords and Turkish. Rhythmic cycles are also different, with two songs employing *Düyek* (8/8, 1 and 4), two employing *Evfer* (3 and 6), one *Cûrcuna* (2) and one *Devr-i Hindî* (5). Most of the Persian present in these texts is imagery and vocabulary that would be very familiar to *dîvân* readers. Again, the mix is held together by Turkish, which in the case of this second group of texts mostly provides verbs, but little more. The *ezâfe* is present, binding mostly Persian, but also Arabic words. The theme is, once again the pangs of love and the excitement of flirtation and love drunkenness.

What do we make of the coexistence of such registers – the cohabitation of a classical, sophisticated tone with a more straightforward one to convey grief, love, innocence, and light-hearted enjoyment? How do we read this in the midst of discourses of authority versus accessibility, ‘unreadability’ versus openness, simplification? Most importantly, what do we make of song channelling these strands? The examples above show us that choices regarding language and register sometimes depended on the theme treated and the emotions the author intended to convey. In particular, it seems to me that Persian was the choice when the beauty of the beloved (*mehlikâ*, a ‘beauty as fair as the moon’), the drunkenness that love subjects the loving heart to (*dîde-i mestâne*, ‘drunken eye’) and the piercing pain that unattainable beauty and love provoke have to be conveyed (*feryâd*, ‘cry for help,’ or a flourishing, *ma’mûr* – which is Arabic – heart that has been made *virâne*, or ‘in ruins’ – and we are back to Persian) (see Tietze and Lazard 1967 for Persian loanwords in Turkish). One word caught my attention, in song 8, and it is *nâr*, the Arabic for ‘fire’. The *ezâfe* compound is interesting here: the often-found expression ‘fire of love’ is rendered by using the Arabic *nâr* as opposed to the Turkish word for fire, *ateş* (*âteş* is also found in Persian: another loanword;

see above for *ateş-i aşk*). This detail may appear insignificant. However, it is in these language choices operated on the basis of how much sophistication is required to express a concept, or describe a certain emotion, that we can find some answers.

*Nâr-i aşk* and *ateş-i aşk* have the same meaning and they are held together by the same *ezâfe* structure. However, the ‘fire’ is evoked by a Turkish-appropriated word in a song that narrates the most light-hearted aspect of love and merry-making while the Turkish-appropriated Arabic is used in a song that narrates the anguish of incurable love (the *bîmâr-i aşk* is he ‘he who is ill with love’, using both Persian – *bîmâr* – and Arabic, *aşk*). The vocabulary, imagery and content would be known to the reader of *dîvân*. They are not particularly sophisticated or complex, but they display choices and a linguistic architecture that reflects a familiarity for both common language and poetry repertoire. They are an example of language choice operated on the basis of occasion, although we must also consider the possibility that some of these ‘choices’ might be operated to fulfil the requirements of the *arûz* verse metre, the one customarily used for the composition of *şarkı* lyrics (see Çetin 1991). The two compounds shown before, for example, might have different implications in the general metrical structure of the poem. The theme – light-heartedness versus despair – is, therefore, not the main criterion. After all, it may very well be expressed in Turkish. Rather, what is noteworthy is that particular expressions to describe particular emotions are still solidly encased within the conventions and tradition of the *dîvân*, as references to modes of expression that, despite how debated they were beginning to be, still held an important place in the self-mapping within history of readers and interpreters of the texts.

As we have seen, the pieces published in *Ma'lûmât* were not only notated, but also harmonised for piano. The harmonisation of the *şarkı* mirrored a political situation in which the central command of a *khalifah* was beginning to give way to the power – and effective control – of the bureaucracy (see Göçek 1996). In a similar way, the harmonic element represented by the chords found in the arrangements modified the song. *Makâm* music is a melodic, monophonic and heterophonic phenomenon. The addition of chords to the melody introduces structures that will either enhance the melody by highlighting some of its passages, or it will modify it as the melodic quality of the composition comes to be 'shared' between the leading voice and the chord structures underneath it. The presence of chords and harmony challenges the central authority represented by the melody in a mono/heterophonic context.

This 'distribution of power', as it were, makes it tempting to draw a parallel with the growing power of the bureaucracy, which, in the late nineteenth century, caused the imperial centre's power to disaggregate, initiating a shift in authority (see Findley 1980, 1989; Nardella 2016). While arrangements for piano of the *şarkı* might be interpreted as a consequence of socio-cultural processes that caused Western models to become a model for renovation, I wish again – as I did for notation – to direct our attention inwards, towards local causes. I want to suggest that we do not look at harmonisation as an imposition of West over East (by means of Western notation arrangements corrupting, as it were, the *makâm*). Rather, as a case of exporting *makâm* and the *şarkı* genre, expanding its range, allowing it to be translated across cultural spheres. This 'translatability' seemed to be an innate quality of the genre, with its flexibility and ability to be appreciated in domains often at opposite ends, as has been argued throughout this thesis.



However, as mentioned earlier when discussing *şarki* notation, the Western notation system's ability to convey the nuances of *makâm* is controversial, although notation is used to teach it. We can extend this idea to arrangements, and their ability to convey the nuances and the spirit, the mood/mode, as it were, of the *şarki*. Harmonisation serves the purpose of making the piece performable on an instrument which does not have the full range of tones or pitches *makâm* needs. In doing this, it substantially modifies the spirit of the *makâm*: while the *seyir* (melodic path) that defines each *makâm* can potentially be played on piano, the lack of specific pitches would corrupt its 'mood'.

However, I propose we shift our focus to the aspect of making the song *performable beyond* the boundaries of its melodic rules and tonal requirements. Although I agree that piano arrangements, particularly harmonisation, had a modifying effect on the *şarki*'s mood, I also believe that going beyond those boundaries granted greater popularity to the genre. The expansion beyond its melodic frontiers that harmonisation provided, highlighted, on the other hand, the limit generated by expansion as the *makâm* could not be fully and accurately translated. And yet, the song could be exported, and become performable beyond its cultural borders, enjoyed by expats as much as Ottoman amateurs and professional musicians.

Harmonisation and orchestration substituted heterophony, an important aspect of *makâm* performance<sup>191</sup>. The key difference between harmonisation and heterophony is the homophony (or polyphony, if the piece is arranged for an orchestra) characterising the former. The implications of heterophony for vocal performance will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. Here, I wish to briefly return to the power shifts between the central authority of the Sultan and the bureaucracy as a form of socio-cultural homophony

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<sup>191</sup> On the voice and *makâm* mono/heterophonic dynamics see Chapter 5 of this thesis.

that gradually emerged during the nineteenth century, and that provides a sociological framework to the harmonisation of the *şarkı*. Findley (1980, 1989) and Göçek (1996) have discussed the rise of the bureaucracy and the consequent emergence of an Ottoman bourgeoisie as a major cause for the gradual demise of the Empire. This transition from central leadership to state-bureaucracy authority mirrors the homophonic melody and accompaniment found in piano arrangements.

We have already discussed the intense involvement of the bureaucracy with both the composition and the consumption of the *şarkı*. As we will see in the next chapter, the bureaucracy was also active in patronage, and musical gatherings (*meclis*, plural *mecâlis*) were hosted in the bureaucrats/intellectuals/authors' private mansions and houses. The patronage of the bureaucracy represented, in fact, a key factor in the movement of the genre away from the palace and into the realm of urban entertainment. This would grant the genre continuity well into the Republican era. It also testifies to the way the *şarkı* could act as a bridge, connecting different social arenas. Additionally, we have seen how *Ma'lûmât*'s readership could be found in the ranks of the bureaucracy: the notation it provided might have been used by statesmen both during individual, amateur music performance and the *meclis*, the musical gatherings taking place in the late 1890s in Istanbul (see Poulos 2018).

Drawing this parallel between shifting musical and political arrangements can help redirect our focus to local causes and circumstances that provided an infrastructure, as it were, to piano arrangements of the genre. My intention to move past East-West dichotomies, *alaturka-alafanga* debates and narratives of Westernisation has been discussed earlier in this chapter. I wish to propose this approach here as well, suggesting that we look at the piano arrangements and harmonisation of the *şarkı* as a result of bourgeois/bureaucratic involvement with the genre as well as an attempt at pushing the geo-

cultural frontiers of the genre, expanding its borders, making it performable, consumable and enjoyable for non-Ottomans as well as Ottoman individuals who were trained in both *alafranga* and *alaturka* musical systems. In other words, I suggest we consider the possibility that piano arrangements widened the ‘prospects’ of the genre, rather than diminishing them, thus constituting a movement from East to West (using Western tools) as opposed to Western cultural hegemony.

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As we come to the close of this chapter, let us return to the repertoire found in the newspaper. Looking at the body of songs published in *Ma'lûmât* as a whole, it is possible to draw the following conclusions. The songs present a high percentage of loanwords (69%), followed by Persian (56%), Arabic (50%) and Turkish (29%). As seen in previous examples, the lexically scanty presence of Turkish does not necessarily give the lyrics a *dîvân* register quality, just as a prevalence of Persian or Arabic is not enough to consider the lyrics either Persian or Arabic. However, a correspondence between register and theme is slightly more detectable. What we learn from registral analysis is that there also existed a fairly consistent correspondence between the Turkish register and the end of the *zemîn*, *zamân* and *miyân* sections, and that this correspondence was embodied by rhyme. Turkish's phonetic presence was strong, as also seen in other sources, as modal modulation emphasized it in very verse. As to the rhythmic cycles, we notice again a preference for the 9/8 metre in its following patterns: *Âksâk* (three songs), *Âğır Âksâk* (two songs), *Evfer* (two songs), and one unspecified 9/8 pattern. In total, these metre make up just about over half of the collection, being employed for eight songs out of fifteen.

When it comes to situating the songs, it is once again difficult to fix them in a definite category. They are neither fully *dîvân* nor fully popular, although themes, lexical content, registral composition and rhythmical elements suggest bonds to both these domains. Strictly linguistically speaking, it is also impossible to pinpoint a singular registral quality predominating: lexically, they all display a high use of loanwords, particularly Arabic. Phonetically, they emphasize Turkish. What power relations and socio-cultural realities do these registral games embody? And what, on the other hand, do we make of their fluidity?

## Chapter 5

### Registral and Phonetic Topographies

#### Introduction

With regards to the idea of registers replicating relations, mentioned at the end of the previous chapter, it will be helpful to reflect now on the importance of developing a language for political as well as poetic purposes, and what this reveals of those relations (see also Strauss, 2017). In Susan Gal's words, by connecting different 'arenas of social action,' registers produce interdiscursive connections that 'link and organize not only discourses and registers but also societal arrangements' (2018, 1). The interdiscursivity that Gal discusses hinges upon repetition of elements retraceable to specific socio-political contexts but recognizable across those contexts. The repetition of an element traditionally associated with a specific domain not only gives that element an additional layer of meaning, but it actually brings out its socio-political meaning's potential, strengthening agendas and propelling action. She calls the register a "'clasp" or hinge between arenas', regulating relations (3). In the case of the *şarki* song-text, for example, the interdiscursivity regulating relations is found in formulas, word compounds, words (see Yahya Kaçar 2012) that recur throughout the *dîvân* tradition, connecting the text to a domain of poetic sophistication. It also connects the text, in a more subtle way, to a domain associated with authority and power when we consider the cradle of and chief context for the production of Ottoman poetry to be the *sarây* (palace) (see Andrews, 1985).

The poetic canon and language were, according to Carter Findley, developed in the court as part of a project to legitimise the imperial system as a whole (1980). An integral part of this

project was the development of a language to fulfil the bureaucratic and literary aspirations – and needs – of an emerging power. Findley remarks that the texture of the language itself was impregnated with the Ottomans’ sense of themselves and their place in the Islamic tradition (ibid.). It was a ruling class product bred in a rarefied space, the *sarây*. The *edep* literary tradition came to be associated with the world of scribes and the palace school (*Mekteb-i Enderûn* or *Enderûn-ı Hümâyûn*). However, this poetic tradition was not confined to the court. It existed beyond that rarefied space. The song-text, for example, took poetry across domains. The juxtaposition of traditional *divân* formulas on a media space, such as the newspaper – that, incidentally, was thought of an arena for language renewal itself (see Chapter 4) – is an example of that interdiscursivity and registers moving circularly across spheres of influence that Gal discusses.

Similarly, it is important to consider a local, urban, physical, cultural topography found in three main loci that sustained the performance of the *şarkı* and, in one case, granted its crossing over into the twentieth century and the Republican era. Taking poetry across domains and spheres should not be only examined as a metaphorical spilling-over and overlap of cultural realities, such as the dissemination of palace poetic production by means of the popular press. One of the real spaces of performance and dissemination in which the ‘crossing-over’ and overlap physically took place is the *meclis*, or musical gathering, hosted in private mansions and houses (see Poulos 2018). This space of encounters, at once literal and metaphorical, offers a parallel to register use in the collections.

The encounters might have been responsible for actual and metaphorical registral interweaving by virtue of the neutral spaces they offered for communal, possibly cross-confessional interaction, as well the suspension of societal boundaries and rigidities pertaining to ethnicity, religion, politics, ideology, language, and performance practice (Poulos 2018). This

conversation across social and cultural spheres had as much to do with the regulation of relations mentioned above as with ‘registral’ (linguistic, political, ideological, social) interaction. Physical topographies and space manifested, through the *meclis*, the interdiscursivities and the hinging of social arenas discussed by Gal. In doing so, they also replicated the intercommunal-registral dynamics seen in Greek song anthologies discussed by Kappler (see Chapter 4): Kappler had equally suggested to look at the *mecmû’a* as a space where borders could be blurred and segregations suspended (Chapter 4, 164).

When it comes to the performance of the *şarki*, we need to envision four places of performance: the palace, the private mansion, the Sufi lodge, and venues of public entertainment in the city. These also corresponded to four avenues of patronage. The one emerging in the nineteenth century as a patronage force, particularly for the *şarki*, was represented by the musical and literary gatherings hosted by men of the bureaucracy. A good starting point to examine how registral interweaving occurred in the *meclis* are the words used to refer to it: one from Arabic (*meclis*) and one from Persian (*bezm*, from *bazm*) (Poulos 2018, 107). The duality in the naming evokes one of the main ideas presented in this thesis, that is, the way in which lexical differentiation does not necessarily represent a ‘differentiation’ or ‘distinction from’. Rather, it widens the possibility for definition thus providing the opportunity for the merging of distinct realities by means of the differentiated naming. In a similar way, the *meclis* represented a point of encounter for individuals involved in a variety of social and political arenas, who, however, shared an interest in the arts and traditional education patterns (112).

Poulos describes this space, which emerged as courtly patronage declined, as ‘a dynamic field of social interaction, not necessarily unconnected to the State, its people and policies and part of those sectors that defined the late Ottoman public sphere.’ (106). The participants to

these assemblies came from disparate, and yet interconnected, spheres: ‘members of the ulema – the class of religious scholars and jurists – as well as writers, poets, calligraphers, art aficionados and musicians’ (112). The heterogeneity of the group might have been the key element to the continuity, from Empire to Republic, of both the *şarkı* and the *meclis* itself as many of the individuals taking part would go on to promote and sustain the elements of the complicated Turkish modernity. In Poulos’ words:

At the House of Kemal, the people nourished in the oral/aural religious musical culture of the Islamic institutions are the same people who appreciated the practical and analytical qualities of the use on musical notation; and those who were actually at ease with the integrated relation between the Ottoman visual and performing arts were the same people who would form the committees of modern state institutions like the museum and the conservatory that would emphasize the segregation and specialization of knowledge and skills. (118)

This overlap of traditional and modern, sacred and secular, but also the shared performance of a vocal repertoire that gained strength and dissemination from the crossing of borders and social arenas, seems to reflect what happened textually in the *mecmû’a* – which was, incidentally, used in the gathering in order to perform vocal pieces (Poulos 2018). The hybrid quality of both the locus of performance and the performed material seemingly acted as a capsule beyond time and political shifts. In the same way as, we have seen, the registral heterogeneity of the *şarkı* contributed to its success beyond political, ideological, ethnic, literary segregations, the hybridity of the *meclis*’ attendees and performing public, and its involvement



in both the late Ottoman and early Republican public spheres, ensured the survival of both the genre and the music and poetry-gathering culture that sustained it.

The transition from courtly to private patronage created a third space in which the rigidity of what Poulos called different communities' 'competing modernities' could temporarily be suspended (2019, 190). Intercommunal musical relations unfolded in these third-spaces beyond the court and beyond the city itself, as they represented the private domain, private patronage, and the crossing and interweaving of professional, social and political paths. This suspension of borders is found, on a lyrical level, in the *şarkı* collections. The songbooks can be argued to be the textual embodiment of the private house, in which professional, ethnic, political, social lines intertwined as registers did in the collections (see also Poulos 2018).

A number of parallels can be drawn between the role that the genre had in sustaining and carrying the values it embodied across the stormy sea of change and reform, from empire to republic, and the way that the *meclis* sustained and carried certain values, sociability, and culture into the Republican era. The success of both in reaching the other shore is arguably due to this liminality, hybridity, capacity to transcend borders and time. While registral heterogeneity existed before the rise of the Ottoman bureaucracy, it acquires additional meaning when considered in the context of its emergence as a political actor, particularly as court patronage waned. The *meclis* culture, therefore, enriches our understanding of how the overlap and merging of language and social registers contributed to sustaining the genre well beyond the temporal framework of its composition and production.

For the purpose of discussing language register in the *şarkı* we need to also consider the rich performance activity taking place in city cafes and open spaces, particularly between the second half of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth (see Kalender

1978). Among the previously discussed lyrics published in *Ma'lûmât*, we had found some examples written in plain Turkish, referencing specific places in the city of Istanbul (see page 271 of this thesis). It is intriguing to think of how the less poetically embroidered the texts were, the closer they came to the physicality of the city. On the other hand, an abstract, elaborate, embellished poetic language took *şarkı* texts into a more metaphysical dimension, removed, as it were, from the streets<sup>192</sup>.

One interesting aspect of these public, open-air performances is that they were often in the form of *şarkılı oyun*, that is, a musical theatre play (see Kalender 1978 for a list of venues and, partially, repertoires performed). That was, for example, often the case for the *Karagöz* and *Hacivat* puppet shows. Song was an integral part of the shows. Interestingly, despite the fact that these were a form of street performance, the songs were not exclusively of the *türkü*, or popular, type. In fact, the shows presented the full range of Ottoman-Turkish vocal genres and a closer look at the repertoire shows that the registral variety of the songs was not different from that found in the song collections<sup>193</sup>.

As to the repertoire of the *meclis*, we know that part of the performed material was provided by the *mecmû'alar*, and that the audience was constituted by a 'group with specific social and cultural features' (Poulos 2018, 110) which included statesmen, intellectuals, writers, religious scholars, jurists, poets, calligraphers. It can be socially located in a well-educated upper-class milieu, which gives us some indication of the relationship of the audience to the registral composition of the lyrics. The participants would have been familiar with the *divân* tradition as many of them – bureaucrats, religious scholars, poets and men of letters – would have received training and education in writing, prose compositions as well as the

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<sup>192</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Poulos for this insight.

<sup>193</sup> Emin Şenyer, "Karagöz Musikisi," Karagöz Hacivat, July 30, 2014, [https://www.karagoz.net/karagoz\\_hacivat\\_musikisi.htm](https://www.karagoz.net/karagoz_hacivat_musikisi.htm)

recitation of poetry and sacred texts such as the Qur'an or legal texts, which are memorised to this day.

The overlapping social worlds of the participants also reveal their common traits and their shared culture. The registers that made up the texts recited in the assemblies, heterogeneous and overlapping as they were, reflected the social registering of the assembly. They also provided the opportunity for formulas, expressions, imagery to be shared across the social worlds that made up the *meclis*. In this way, they generated the social hinging across domains that Gal discussed, and that made those utterances at once universal and individual. Each participant would relate to the register and lexical elements that constituted it in his/her own specific, peculiar way in the context of a shared culture.

Gal invites us to reflect not only on 'how registers are made, but what is made with registers' (3) and poses enregistrement as an agent, and not simply as an exercise in demographics (5). She proceeds to show how register juxtaposition and borrowing/repetition across domains works in favour of specific political agendas and highlights the sense of authority that register conveys. In the case of the *şarki*, register was not manipulated for specific political goals or ideological agendas. In fact, I have proposed, throughout this thesis, that we look at registral composition in the genre as independent from the literary, linguistic, and ideological anxieties of the nineteenth century. However, the cultural and historical strands represented by different registers in the song did inevitably bind it to specific traditional domains, as well as more innovative language. An example of the former would be the poetic and religious domains symbolised by the use of Arabic and Persian, while the use of Turkish in the 1890s would unfold in a new framework of evaluation of the language, characterised by attempts at giving it literary dignity and phonetic prominence. The authority I am referring here, then, is

not to be found in a political figure but, rather, in the voices and registers of tradition as represented by the use of *dîvân* lexical elements and registers.

Authority as inherent to register and register use are also discussed by Timo Kaartinen, who examined an Indonesian village chronicle. He highlights the way that song, among other types of oral and written texts, regulates community members' relations but also their positioning of themselves in their own history, amidst conflicts, disasters, colonialism etc. (2015). This partly resonates with the point made by Findley regarding the Ottomans locating themselves within the Islamic tradition via the development of language and a literary tradition. Kaartinen, citing Malcolm, defines register as 'predictable conjuration of codal resources that members of a culture typically associate with a particular recurring communicative situation' (2015: 165). In the case of chronicles, 'different types of formal language ... signify traditional authority and truth' (*ibid.*) and it is via registers that the speakers – and listeners – position themselves in speech and contexts of social engagement (*ibid.*). Linguistic registers, further observes Kaartinen, 'are entangled with different registers of self-knowledge and truth' (2015: 166), thus signifying a process of self-discovery and in-context positioning. The songs used by Kende in his performances, in particular, have the function to bring to the listeners the voices of 'ancestors of linguistic and ethnic others' (2015: 173), thus producing a map for the audience to move across, finding itself through the contrast with the others and their past. All of it, through recognizable and relatable register formulas. Kaartinen also highlights how song is synonymous with authority in that it is regarded as conveying the truth regarding events which are contested by different parties (2015: 175).

The most important aspect of register use in narrative/poetic texts, however, are the relationships established between the readers and the text *and* the readers and the contexts those texts took shape from. Coming back to the Ottoman *şarki*, the point is crucial in

evaluating the agency of this song form in establishing and maintaining relationships between readers from middle- and higher-class backgrounds and the debated classical heritage in transition towards modernity. That is, this vocal repertoire as it appeared in the newspaper, at this particular juncture, might have represented a tool of self-discovery in relation to tradition as well as an opportunity to reflect on one's place within that tradition. Such relations were regulated through language in the space of the song-text, in a registrally fluid language framework. This fluidity was also shared by the genre, that moved across social groups and linguistic registers thus both reflecting the debate but also resisting absolute categorisation. One way in which this fluidity is observed is in the intense use of loanwords that, as we have seen, often represented the majority of the lexical elements used in each text. Let us now focus, then, on the liminal space provided by loanwords, and what their usage in song entails.

### **'Placing' register, registering 'place': the case of loanwords**

In this section, I will discuss register use within the framework of the concepts of 'place' and 'placement' (geographical, vocal, verbal). I will focus on the issue of foreignness, 'otherness'. When we speak of registers in pre-reform Turkish, it is three different languages that we are talking about, each of them representing a register. The three languages used, Persian, Arabic and Turkish, played different roles in the text and their usage often depended on the subject of the text. Therefore, despite the 'foreignness' of their respective etymologies, etymology could not annihilate the perception of them as being part of a shared poetic tradition (see also Schimmel 1992, Andrews 1985). This point is crucial to my project, as it addresses the paradoxes behind the process by which such foreign etymologies came to be seen as 'others', while Turkish gained prominence (see Ertürk 2011).

Traditionally, a wide range of feelings and emotions found in Ottoman song-texts were expressed according to the well-known conventions of a solid poetic culture primarily drawing life from the Persian tradition, interspersed with Arabic and Turkish in a linguistic fusion that considerably increased the possibilities for expression. It provided a rich palette to portray emotion. However, the presence of such ‘foreign’ elements in the language gradually became an issue as the nineteenth century drew to a close. Those very words used for centuries came to be regarded as disposable elements with Turkish equivalents. Substitution, at least in theory, would come to represent a way to purify the language of the nation (see Gökalp [1923] 2017), a nation to be unified under the banner of a common – national – idiom. The idea of a national language had gradually developed during the second half of the nineteenth century, heavily drawing on works of linguistics such as Necip ‘Âsım’s (1893-1894), who highlighted ethnic, historical and geographical bonds (see Chapter 1). These geo-linguistic associations, however, are not useful in the context of a discussion of a language such as pre-reform Turkish. This is because, in fact, those ‘foreign’ elements making up a vocabulary of affection came to be adopted in a vast geographical area (Middle East, Transoxiana, South Asia) and, particularly in the domain of song, they became part of literary conventions used by whoever composed a poetic text (see also Schimmel 1992).

In this section, I will be discussing the notion of ‘place’ as expressed via register by using the concepts of vocal ‘placement’ and ‘vocal tract shaping’. While these concepts will be familiar to singers, I will use them metaphorically here to frame my argument regarding how registers in pre-reform Turkish translated a complex language reality in which ‘foreign’ often meant local, close, intimate. Most importantly, these metaphors will help me to describe the process by which language registers operated and the key role played by loanwords – the ‘foreign-turned-local’ lexical elements – in the process.

The notion of 'place' as traditionally understood (i.e., geographical association), will not be a useful framework. So, instead, by using the term and the concept of 'place' I will refer to the geographical origin of a certain language used as register in relation the sense of belonging or differentiation which is a peculiar aspect of the usage of foreign languages as they are integrated into a local idiom. As, in other words, those foreign loanwords become the linguistic currency of another people, thus acquiring new meanings. While, on the one hand, their 'otherness' cannot be overcome, when they become part of a shared vocabulary of emotion this turns their 'otherness' into the means to express the inward, the familiar, the close, the 'one's own-ness'. When I think of how the different languages and terms were used, in pre-reform Turkish, to produce meaning in accordance with content and context, I cannot help but think that the existence of that otherness and foreignness, regardless of whether it would be perceived as such or not, was instrumental in the shaping of meaning in the song text.

This section will deal with two key issues: that of homogenization/standardisation and difference/variety, with difference and variety being a necessary condition for (linguistic) homogeneity; and the production of meaning through variety and layering. Awareness of such dynamics is important to understand the significance of standardisation attempts in the late Ottoman context. It is essential to understand that the language that was being promoted as a 'standard' was not one that excluded foreignness in favour of ethnic affiliation, therefore defining itself on the basis of uniqueness by exclusion. Rather, we should be talking about encompassment by inclusion of variety (see Holbrook 1994): one language made of many idioms, functioning according to layers, degrees of meaning, and the demands of expression according to the occasion. After all, not everyone who contributed to the language debate demanded a reform based on ethnic association. Some reformists, rather, advocated for a recalibration of registers and languages.

In this section, I will particularly draw on the works by Emma Dillon (*The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260-1330*, 2012) and Katherine Bergeron (*Voice Lessons: French Mélodie in the Belle Epoque*, 2010) as I explore issues related to the concepts of foreign versus local, local versus national, otherness versus ‘us-ness’ and the way that such notions can be differently interpreted in the Ottoman and French contexts. These interpretations will provide my argument with a definition of register use and its implications. I understand and define language registers used in pre-reform Turkish as a poetical heritage-bound system to maintain certain cultural relations in place, and because of which the borders between the concepts of national and foreign were constantly shifting, porous and fragile. I will use their work to explore the complexity of certain geographical, social, and ethnic affiliations and relations as they were translated into the song-text.

#### Vocal placement versus ‘vocal tract shaping’

Before I begin my discussion of the relations between registers, place, and ‘placement’, I will define two concepts used to describe the production of vocal register: vocal placement and ‘vocal tract shaping’. Following a conversation with speech pathologist Katarina Hornakova in which she defined these two ideas as they are understood by herself as a speech pathologist and more generally by voice instructors, I wish to propose a synthesis between the two concepts. I think they are both useful in defining the framework of my own understanding of vocal and verbal register production.

Hornakova has defined vocal placement as a concept primarily used by vocal coaches to ‘evoke the right movements inside the vocal tract’ and ‘elicit the right sound’ (Katarina Hornakova, email message to author, December 23, 2020). She has, however, pointed out that



there is no such thing as ‘placing’ the voice although you can experience a variety of sensations in ‘different parts of the body that reflect changes in the vocal tract.’ The approach used by voice instructors evoking place does, however, suggest an understanding – however scientifically incorrect – of sound production as bound to movement, particularly the movement of the voice from one part of the vocal tract to another in order to produce tone.<sup>194</sup> Finding resonance in one’s face mask (an area comprising the cheekbones and nose) helps the singer to project his/her voice forward. The image evoked is, once again, one related to place and movement. However, several factors contribute to the production of sound, and the idea of a correspondence between tone and place in the throat and body is neither entirely accurate nor exhaustive. She preferred to describe the process as vocal tract shaping. This concept allows me to expand on the relation between register and place in order to reflect on the ways in which other factors determine tone and register.

In Hornakova’s words:

Vocal tract shaping reflects the reality of what happens inside your throat (or at least reflect better) when you speak or sing with different emotions, timbre, intent etc. For example, some studies show that happiness has a shorter vocal tract length than anger and sadness in most speakers. (ibid.)

She did mention, elsewhere, that the closest thing to the idea behind vocal placement are the ‘sensations in different parts of the body that reflect changes in the vocal tract’ (ibid.),

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<sup>194</sup> Hornakova herself has offered a number of online resources (<https://tips.how2improvesinging.com/>, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC617wuHmztAWmAMnbXkZwQ>, <https://www.instagram.com/singingroom/>) where she has illustrated, among others, the way resonance works.

therefore returning to the association between tone and place that the concept of 'vocal placement' suggests. Hornakova drew attention to the movability of vocal structures ('many vocal structures ... can be moved, change their shape or position', *ibid.*) describing how moving these structures defines tone. The need to express a certain emotion causes those structures to be moved in order to produce a certain tone to which the listener will associate that particular emotion and by which s/he will recognise it. This, in turn, determines the way in which that emotion will be produced and received, and then again reproduced on the basis of a type of 'convention'. Certain movements of the vocal tract will be associated with certain emotions not just by the speaker/singer, but also by the listener who will associate a particular tone with a particular emotion.

The process is reminiscent of the intertextual symbolism of expressions and words described by Andrews (1985). That is, a range of meanings (religious, mystical, emotional, authority and power-bound) that readers would associate with certain expressions due to their status as conventionally used lexical and syntactical poetic items. However, Andrews pointed out how what ultimately gave the expression its meaning was the context and theme of the poem (1985, 133). Still, the attachment of meaning to expression as a result of conventional use is an aspect that Hornakova also recognises as an essential part of vocal expression and its reception on the part of the listener.

Intentionality is also another major factor. Hornakova highlighted (videocall with the author, Zoom, December 26, 2020) that the movement of vocal structures involved in producing sound is bound to the intention behind the production of that particular sound. Intentionality behind sound-making makes sound, and more specifically tone production easier. Intention, in turn, is bound to emotion because emotion will direct the production of tone, in the same way as that tone will express that particular emotion. The movements caused in the vocal tract by

such intentionality clearly affect the acoustic properties of the vocal tract, as Hornakova explained (email message to the author, December 23, 2020), directly affecting harmonics dynamics. These movements generate a change of shape that produces different ‘types of voices’ (email message to the author, November 28, 2020). Once more in her words:

We all have ‘attractor states’, shapes of the vocal tract that are easier to use than others. For example, some people have naturally brighter voices, or squeakier, or velvety, or young sounding, or authoritative or any models they listen to, or because of education, language etc. These attractor states have their base in the anatomy and physiology. (ibid.)

By returning to the physiological dimension of vocal production, Hornakova introduced an idea that I find extremely relevant to my description of register use in this thesis, and that is the influence that culture has on vocal tract shaping. While she did not expand on this, it is an important point that can also be transposed onto the written song text and provide an angle to reflect on register use therein. The way cultural inflection affects vocal tract shaping resembles the way cultural inflection affects register use, guiding register and, by default, language choices. As we have seen in Chapter 4, etymologically different words indicating the same item (for example, ‘heart’ as *kalp* and *gönül*) were used in song-texts, sometimes even in the same text. It would be interesting, from a purely linguistic point of view, to explore the reasons behind such choices although I suspect that a significant reason would simply be the great variety that three languages offered an author, who had at his or her disposal a rich palette to paint his/her text with. Furthermore, let us not forget that many terms with specific

etymological origins (for example a noun coming from Arabic, then adopted into Persian and finally into Turkish) had effectively become part of the adoptive language. This is a crucial point.

What we look at as an Arabic or Persian word may very well simply have been perceived as part of inherited, conventional, and expected poetic vocabulary. What we learn from these verbal modulations, or these vocabulary choices, is that education and language influence and shape the vocal tract, thus determining the voice tone and type. In the same way, in the Ottoman context, poetical and registral convention<sup>195</sup> determined the tone of the text and shaped the emotions that constituted the fabric of its meaning. Furthermore, Hornakova's description of vocal tract shapes associated with particular emotions suggests the emergence of a 'physiological convention' by which certain emotions are produced and recognised. This resembles the manipulation of registers in accordance with content and the shade of emotions one wishes to express, elements which strengthen poetical and lyrical convention while simultaneously generating it. This idea is not too dissimilar from what Ziyâ Pâşâ had lamented, that is, the existence of a vicious cycle of pre-fixed formulas use that hindered natural expression (see Chapter 1). Returning to Hornakova's description of the variety of voices produced by moving vocal structures, we could also imagine the manoeuvring of language structures (vocabulary, syntax, and ultimately imagery) as a similar process by which each text acquired its own peculiar tone. Moving, manipulating these verbal structures was, in turn, influenced by convention and the sense of a shared verbal heritage.

Another point highlighted by Hornakova is the concept of physically located vocal registers, that is chest voice, middle-voice and head voice. The idea of placement is directly connected to them. Singing teachers often work with students on techniques to smoothen the transition

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<sup>195</sup> By register convention, I here specifically refer to the language choices that led to the use of a word and language instead of another.

from one register to the other, using images such as placing the voice forward, feeling it in the forehead or the chest, moving it up and down. However, according to Hornakova, this can create confusion as in fact, during such registral transitions, the voice is not exactly moving up and down, nor it is felt by everybody in the same place (videocall with the author, Zoom, December 26, 2020). In particular, we discussed the idea of chest voice and the confusion created by the term. According to Hornakova, from a physiological point of view voice is not actually placed in the chest. Rather, it is found somewhere at the lower back of the head, at the point where the head and neck are joined. This roughly corresponds to an area ranging from the back of the tongue opening into the throat, to the bottom of the larynx, and its tone is also produced by resonance in the lower part of the face (an area between lower nose, mouth and chin). In other words, the chesty sound is not given by the presence of the voice in the actual chest: rather, it is the result of complex movements in the mouth (tongue positioning, lifting of the soft palate in order to create space), the throat (relaxation and lowering of the larynx), the jaw (lowering it in order to increase resonance).

Chesty sound actually has to do with the production of a specific tone by means of moving and manipulating vocal structures rather than its placement in the chest. Chest voice is not a 'place' in which tone happens. Rather, it is a *tone itself*, regardless of whether it happens in the chest (for some) or not. Hornakova further clarified that everyone's face, head, throat is different and therefore these registers could be felt in different places and in different ways, depending on the condition of the body on that day.

Being the temperamental creature that it is, the voice is volatile, and so is the production of register and tone. This idea, too, could be applied to the use of language registers in the song-text by emphasizing the fact that although registers are thought of in terms of high, middle and low, the associations with the language expressing them is not so straightforward.

Certain foreign words in this shared vocabulary of love and affection became ‘Ottomanized’ or ‘Turkified’ and despite attempts at purification, they entered the fabric of Turkish and are still in use today. Therefore, the use of registers and the vocabulary and languages that make them up resembles those throat and mouth movements and manipulations described by Hornakova. We should not think that one particular language or vocabulary range is high, middle or low – rather, that the combination of these produces that particular registral tone. The two *Şevk-i Dil* editions and the songs published in *Ma’lûmât* have been used as examples to demonstrate this point: despite their actual lexical composition, what ultimately determined registral quality were a variety of factors, alongside the fact that the texts could be read and/or sung. In particular, a tendency towards a supposedly low register such as Turkish has been identified in the convergence of rhyme and lexical elements, but these would be emphasized by a *singing*, not a *reading* voice.

Returning to the voice itself, one should not think of the vocal registers as different parts of the voice. Rather, in popular singer and vocal coach Evynne Hollens’ words, ‘it is just one [...] voice and we’re figuring out how to transition through it as seamlessly as possible’ (Hollens, Evynne, ‘How to Sing: Mixed Voice’, December 4, 2015. Video, 9:10, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UiTcc0Hh1mo&list=PL8DgtKEGWDvJPU5XjVQbygd3ZikvKDOSJ&index=49&t=484s&ab\\_channel=EvynneHollens](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UiTcc0Hh1mo&list=PL8DgtKEGWDvJPU5XjVQbygd3ZikvKDOSJ&index=49&t=484s&ab_channel=EvynneHollens)). The description perfectly suits the approach I prefer to use when discussing pre-reform Turkish as a language. Namely, one language through which seamless transitions took place by means of language registers’ layering, interweaving, mixing in a text, according to content, form, and occasion.

The two conceptualizations outlined above – vocal placement versus vocal tract shaping – have been at first presented as in opposition to one another, and later as possibly complementary. In this thesis, I have tried to synthesize these two ideas, approaching the

repertoire through the concept of ‘placement’ to describe the relationship between register/languages and regions and places, and the idea of ‘vocal tract shaping’ in discussing how the foreign vocabulary belonging to Persian and Arabic came to be absorbed into Turkish. The ‘vocal tract shaping’ concept is also useful to understand how the mix of registers in one text shows that a predominantly Persian or Arabic text did not automatically correspond to a text written in a higher register, although those languages were associated with a more sophisticated range of expression. Rather, that the fusion was such that even words and expressions from Persian and therefore associated with greater sophistication could be found in predominantly Turkish texts (*Bâk şu güzel köylüye işte bu kızdır peri*, from the *Ma’lûmât* collection, is a good example. See Chapter 4).

Moving away from abstract frameworks of conceptualization into the more material aspects of vocality, how can we apply the concept of ‘vocal tract shaping’ to the vocality of the *şarkı*? What has been hitherto discussed with regard to merging, interweaving, registral manipulation and phonetic authority had a material, vocal dimension. Timbre is the synthesis of several cultural, ethnic, and socio-economic factors and singers are skilled at manipulating them to obtain their desired effects. Here, I intend to explore these dimensions of the *şarkı* voice, with a focus on what *şarkı* performance practice might tell us about the genre’s relationship to its places of performance.

Throughout this thesis, I have discussed how registers in pre-reform Turkish were linked to different cultural contexts, practices, institutions (poetry, religion, education, bureaucracy), but how they also operated independently from them depending on the occasion, audience, publication they were used for. Although I have identified phonetic authority with Turkish in the specific context of *sung*, as opposed to *read*, *şarkı*, we encounter a conspicuous lack of

registral leadership in its read lyrics. However, when we consider the genre's performance practice, it is possible to talk about 'vocal leadership', particularly in the context of the monophonic/heterophonic dynamics that characterise the performance of *makâm* music.

Voice can express hierarchies of belonging<sup>196</sup>. It is the foundational instrument in *makâm* culture. In *makâm* performance practice, the singer is the undisputed leader and it is around the voice that all other instruments, and the melodic lines they perform, unfold. This is mirrored by the importance bestowed upon lyrics, both as the entity the composition is wrapped around (see this thesis, Chapter 4, 161) and as *aide-mémoire* to the melody. The lack of harmonisation in *makâm* music and the *şarki* genre generates a unity of purpose, during performance. The singer can be thought of as a *halife* (from the Arabic *khalifah*). In its political and social connotations, that would be the 'ruler' or 'leader', the culmination of the social pyramid embodying ideology, religion, the spiritual and the mundane. The melody performed by the singer is repeated, with slight variations, by all the other instruments in the ensemble. This is what gives *makâm* music its monophonic/heterophonic quality.

The process by which the same melodic line is interpreted and performed differently in a monophonic context is reminiscent of vocabulary use in the lyrics, in particular the use of different languages for the same word that we have seen in chapter 4 (197; see also Introduction, 32). This generates the sense of registral interweaving that I have suggested throughout this project, performed by instruments and their melodic interpretations. However, the crucial difference, in the realm of performance, is the singer's presence, and the way the performance is wrapped around him. The voice functions as reference point to the rest of the ensemble playing, in a way that no specific register found in pre-reform Turkish did

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<sup>196</sup> I am grateful to Professor Alexandar Lingas for this thought.



when the text was *read*. However, as has been discussed, when the text was *performed* the phonetic authority embodied by Turkish could be said to somehow reflect the role of the voice in the performance. This established a clear hierarchy, and it is, indeed, tempting to think of the *şarkı* singer as embodying, somehow, the phonetic authority of the Turkish register.

However, the texture and material qualities of the *şarkı* singing voice manifested a variety of cultural practices and contexts, not exclusively linked to Turkish. The domain of poetry, Quranic recitation and *edep* (good manners, etiquette, propriety) culture were (and still are) at the forefront. In the sources describing what qualities singers were expected to display for them to be considered good interpreters, it is striking to notice that sheer beauty of timbre was not one of the requirements. The unwritten rules of manner, expression, phrasing, was (and still are) the foundation of excellence in performance:

The taste and aesthetic evaluation criteria for traditional Ottoman/Turkish music vocal performances were never limited to the beauty of the reciter's voice. On the contrary, priority was always elsewhere in these criteria. Concepts such as style, attitude, phrasing, '*eda*' (manner), fidelity to the original work and its *usul* (meter), soundness of pitch, knowledge of the *makâm*, level of memorization, conformance to the quality of work's nuances in interpretation and performance etc. always take precedence. (Behar 2008, 122; my translation)

Şeyhülislâm Es'ad Efendi (1685-1759), poet, composer, and compiler of *Atrabü'l-Âsâr*, a collection of musicians' biographies, also highlighted the importance of a vocal artist's and musician's 'manner' (*eda*), alongside the voice (*sada*) (*ibid.*). Importance was given to qualities such as *letâfet* (grace, subtlety) and *halâvet* (sweetness), but these were set apart from the

beauty of timbre itself (Behar 2008, 123). A voice would be thought of as having a beautiful timbre depending on the singer's ability to convey the whole range of unwritten, *edep*-centric qualities that also informed the poetic works he would perform. It was these purely immaterial qualities that gave timbre its material quality. It was this intangible moral, etiquette-bound heritage that gave the voice its beauty. A singer excelled in his performance not only because of technical skill, but primarily for the way he embodied the tradition that was transmitted from master to pupil, with all its values and mannerisms.

Conversations with contemporary performers also highlight the importance of diction, enunciation, and understanding that the physical point from which voice is produced is what distinguishes, for example, sacred recitation from singing. Vocal artist and *kanun* player Rabia Saklı illustrated to me how a forward projection of the voice, produced, as it were, by using what singers call the face mask, is a characteristic of Quranic recitation. Conversely, in the performance of non-religious repertoire, the production point can be at the back of the throat with a heavy involvement of the soft palate.<sup>197</sup> These are not fixed rules and whether to project the voice forward or use the back of the throat is the performer's choice, very often based on what has been transmitted to her/him from her/his teacher. However, it is perhaps to be expected that Quranic recitation should take place in the mask, given that many of the recited letters' exit and articulation points (*mahâric*, see this thesis, Chapter 2, 75) are found in the front part of the face.

It is important to note here how performance style, the voice projection points themselves, are bound to musical lineage. In other words, how the voice of the singer and pupil is expected to convey not only the values and manners discussed above, but also to manifest the lineage

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<sup>197</sup> Personal conversation, December 2022.

of masters that transmitted the repertoire to him or her, effectively ‘making’ his/her voice. This is an important concept in *makâm* and Ottoman music culture. The bond between the master and the apprentice, the way each performer manifests and perpetuates lineages and tradition, returns to the central idea of authority, of leadership, of individual performing voice-selves losing themselves in the chain of masters. The voice, then, can be said to manifest hierarchies of belongings, but also hierarchies *and* belongings.

In a culture where returning, or referring back, to a leader is such a vital element, identifying these patterns in music performance suggests parallelisms between the socio-political circumstances of the Hamidian late 1800s – with their emphasis on the leadership of a caliph and loyalty to him – and the way this genre was performed. It also helps us to understand how all those structures, physical and metaphorical points of enunciation, could be manipulated by performers. The ‘vocal tract shaping’ idea illustrated above can be linked to the act of conveying a set of written and unwritten rules encompassing lineage, master/apprentice relations, etiquette, manner, loyalty to a source/authority, leadership, style, the sacred and the secular. A *şarki* performing voice would work with all these structures and physical/metaphorical places.

### Place and register

In this section, I will discuss the connections between ‘place’ and register. By ‘place’ it is not an actual geographical location I am referring to. Rather, a relationship between register and the cultural, linguistic, and literary material of a specific area or region, which is itself delimited by geographical borders but the cultural output of which may be shared across a range of geographies. When we think of song texts, for example, the song-lyric culture of the Islamic

Middle East and South Asia is a good example of such dynamics, as it presents a vast geographical area sharing certain lyrical conventions<sup>198</sup>. It is predominantly a shared language of affection and emotion that I am referring to here (see Wolf 2017). Looking specifically at Ottoman poetic culture, it is well known that it was significantly shaped by the Persian poetic tradition (Andrews 1985, Schimmel 1992, Andrews, Black and Kalpaklı 2006, Halman 2011), but the terminology employed in song was one that crossed its own geographical borders to be adopted by a variety of song traditions that were developed in neighbouring lands. Alongside the lands that once constituted the Ottoman Empire, one may think of Hindustani song, for example, and its sung vocabulary of love (see Orsini and Schofield 2015).

This ‘transcendence’ above geographical and cultural borders is an important element in that it encapsulates the balance between absorption and differentiation that underlies my discussion of register use in song but also, more widely speaking, the place of language in political discourse (see Gal 2011, 2015; Bergeron 2010; Kamusella, 2009; Anderson 2006 [1983]; De Mauro, 1991 [1963]). Words are powerful tools and they have the capacity to connect as much as divide, to merge as much as separate. A love-lyric vocabulary spilling from one region to another has a bonding effect. Its use across a multitude of traditions generates a sense of recognition and belonging among different cultural realities, it generates points of encounter and transition. However, it constitutes an equally powerful tool of differentiation by means of the isolation and elimination of what comes to be perceived as a ‘foreign’ linguistic presence in the text. This war on the ‘foreign, other’ element in the language became one of the staples of nationalistic discourse in early twentieth century Turkish language ideology and reform (Ertürk 2011, Gökalp [1923] 2017). The importance of language in nationalistic

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<sup>198</sup> Katherine Butler Schofield, videocall with the author, Skype, May 15, 2020.

discourse and as a tool to establish affiliations and differences is well known. While the shared use of poetic language conventions in different geographies can never annihilate ethnic affiliation and difference, its capacity to bind and transcend a multitude of ethnic affiliations and differences cannot be overstated, as much as it cannot be overlooked.

When we think of the use of Persian, Turkish and Arabic syntax and vocabulary in the song-text, we must be aware of the points of differentiation and merging. Even though some of the terms used became part of Turkish and ceased to be recognised as foreign<sup>199</sup>, and are still in current use, in a discussion of pre-reform Turkish song-lyric one must take into account their otherness as much as their localness. I will use this section of the chapter to discuss these dynamics of merging and differentiation in relation to cultural geographies, and to frame a discourse of register and place, as well as ‘placement’, as it unfolds in the song text. To use a well-known metaphor found in the poetic and song repertoire, as well as the spiritual language, of the lands of the Middle East and South Asia, the balance and the tension between movements of ‘union’ and ‘separation’ (*jam’* and *farq*) was an essential part, I believe, of the linguistic, vocal and emotional registers’ *modus operandi*. Registers produced differentiations but their overlap and interweaving gave shape to a shared form in which the existence of every different, individual element was necessary to maintain the whole. And, conversely, the whole itself could not be expressed without its different, individual elements. In less abstract terms, I will discuss the ways in which the three languages constituting pre-reform Turkish made up a whole that should be looked at as a linguistic flux across registers, as well as a constant state of transition and ‘spilling over’ that replicates the dynamics of poetic vocabulary as shared

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<sup>199</sup> Words such as the etymologically Arabic *aşk* for love, the Persian *cân* for soul and as a way to address the beloved, again the Persian *âteş* only to name some of the most common terms encountered in song.

across a variety of regions and cultural realities. These language dynamics curiously reflect the very content of the text, with its narrative of, precisely, union and separation between beloveds, a theme that makes up so much of this shared poetic tradition and the language used to convey it.

### Registers and regions

My interest lies less in a physical geography than a metaphorical one. This abstract geography is well represented in the pre-reform Turkish text. It is possible to identify spheres of cultural influence and the places that fostered them by examining grammatical elements such as vocabulary (its origin and the implications of its usage) and syntax, a complex structure holding together and weaving the three strands that make up the language (Persian, Arabic, Turkish). Cultural domains, such as literature and music, are shaping, productive forces in turn shaped by what they contributed to form. They are always bound to the place that produced them and they contribute to the formation of the cultural identity of that same place. They are a vehicle for heritage to be shaped, preserved, transmitted and they allow members of a given community to interact with that heritage. Sociolinguist William A. Kretzschmar explored the concept of regions and culture areas in relation to linguistic systems (2011). The idea of regions as culture areas rather than physical spaces is useful for this discussion, too. Kretzschmar defines a region as ‘a location in time and space in which people behave in some particular way’ (187), adding that a region needs people to make it a culture area because the aspect of people’s interaction with the environment of the place is what defines its characteristics. Kretzschmar, referencing Zelinsky, highlights how a region is not limited by geographical borders, rather, it is delimited and defined by its participants’ perception (ibid.). Therefore, this

geography is clearly defined in terms of boundaries of cultural perception, and the community of practice, or speech community (191), is one that does not necessarily share a physical space but rather, a mental, perception-driven one. This concept detaches community language practice from a specific physical location and yet it emphasizes that such practice generates a non-physical space, or set of cultural perceptions, that define the community (ibid.). The concept of region is therefore what I am also referring to when discussing the place and the 'placement' that produces (verbal and vocal) registers.

Again, making reference to Zelinsky, Kretzschmar points out that the 'combination of place, culture, and self-awareness provide the criteria with which to determine whether speakers belong to a speech community, and whether they do not belong even though they may live in a place' (ibid.). Furthermore, the idea of a 'cultural matrix' (192), one that the author uses as a possible concept to supplant the idea of geo-linguistic bonds and boundaries, is what I think should be highlighted when discussing language practice as found in the pre-reform Turkish song-text. The vocabulary and imagery found is one shared by a great variety of cultures (see Schimmel 1992), communities and traditions that, however, by virtue of this common poetic vocabulary constitute a region in the sense delineated by Kretzschmar, one that transcends actual geographical and regional delimitations. Quoting the Horvaths, Kretzschmar further draws attention to place as "'first and foremost a social category (p. 166)'" (197), a definition that, I believe, could be also applied to the geography informing our song-texts.

I am here particularly referring to the way in which the languages were used to produce an effect according to a specific content. Place was thus registered in the pre-reform Turkish song-text via linguistic register, that in the case of pre-reform Turkish equates to the choice of a language instead of another, symbolizing areas of a vast geography chosen and defined on the basis of poetic convention rather than ethnic, political or geographical boundaries. This is an

important point in that precisely the isolation and selection of those foreign elements in this linguistic topography would soon ultimately be the cause of its demise, after the foundation of the Republic (1923). It is also important to highlight how analysis of the texts reveals no particular ethno- or *edep*-centric inclinations beyond those required by the theme of the song.

What I would like to draw attention to here is the double-layered dimension of this language performance. On the one hand, there was still a sense of differentiation: it is seen that certain words were chosen instead of others, sometimes depending on the content or general tone of the song. On the other, such choices appear as the natural consequence of composition in a language that despite its highly 'foreign' content was still interacted with as an indispensable part of 'local' heritage. Therefore, the linguistic choice was operated in accordance with the occasion and purpose of its composition.

What we see in these texts is the interaction between three distinct cultural strands: Persian, Arabic and Turkish. And yet, we can also see that registering their 'places' of origin into the text – which could be metaphorically regarded as a region itself – directs the 'placement' of tone. According to some understandings of the concept of vocal placement, in singing practice, the choice of 'placement', or where to place the voice in the body, partly depends on what the singer or speaker will wish to express. Therefore, it is in a sense *driven* by tone in that the singer or speaker will place the voice according to what he or she wishes to produce in terms of tone. We can apply this to poetry, and imagine the 'placement' to occur by placing elements of the language that constitute a certain register. The 'tone' that is produced as a result of these choices in turn causes those choices to become part of a shared set of conventions that give shape to the text (its content and its form) as much as the text gives shape to them (by means of poetic choices in matters of vocabulary, imagery, syntax etc.). Thus, the 'place' informing the linguistic choice in order to produce a certain tone



*depends on* registral choices (for example, the use of Persian in order to produce a certain poetical effect). However, the metaphorical ‘placement’ of the voice in a certain area (again the choice to use Persian, regarded as a high register) will also contribute to *produce* register (as well as being directed by it in the first place). It will also produce a metaphorical ‘tone’ with it, in that the choice of language will define the theme of the text and will also determine its audience and occasion/medium of circulation.

In brief, the choice of a strand instead of another will be influenced by the intended message and audience as much as influencing, and cementing, the conventions by which that particular register is regarded as high, middle or low. This is how, I believe, ‘place’ comes to be ‘registered’ and ‘register’ comes to be ‘placed’. These dynamics also operate in a similar way to the vocal tract shaping described above, and particularly the way in which the association between a certain shape and a certain emotion comes into being, becoming a form of physiological convention. But, most importantly, this is how the concept of a speech community defined on the basis of cultural matrix and perception of belonging and differentiation is relevant to the case of registers in pre-reform Turkish. While indicating place, requiring certain placements at the same time as producing the tone that will further define those choices in the future, these registral choices consolidate the view that in order for that flux to function as a homogenous linguistic reality, its distinctive parts must be perceived as distinct, as ‘others’, while simultaneously being recognised as non-foreign. Therefore, going back to Kretzschmar, it is more a question of interaction and perception of belonging rather than an actual awareness of distinct geographical places felt as foreign or distant.

Sociolinguist Barbara Johnstone considered the complex interaction between language and place examining various sociolinguistic approaches (2011). A particularly relevant point to my discussion here is a strand of enquiry that, according to Johnstone, ‘has to do with how places

can be socially constructed through language or talk about language and how varieties of talk get mapped onto physical and political places through talk about talk' (203). During the late nineteenth century language debate, the question of "place identity" (again Johnstone, *ibid.*) became central in the discussion about ethno-linguistic belonging versus othering and, as in many cases outside of the Ottoman Empire, the unifying element provided by language was essential to nationalism. In fact, as Johnstone has also highlighted describing similar dynamics taking place in Europe, it became a tool to shape geo-political boundaries before such boundaries were actually drawn. The "linguistic landscapes" and "linguistic soundscapes" (*ibid.*) suggested in Necip 'Âsım's work on Ural-Altaic languages (1893 or 1894) are a good example of how such topographies began to be based on perceptions of ethnic affiliation and, partly, geographical place versus the feeling of belonging to a wider, non-geographically and ethnically delimited region possessing a shared vocabulary.

In 'Âsım's work, the concept of a common ethno-linguistic root supplanted the sense of shared cultural heritage that transcended geo-political and ethnic borders. His work suggested a new understanding of 'how social meanings get attached to linguistic forms' (Johnstone, 212), an understanding that partly echoes some of the essential points in the debate about language reform. The elaboration of these new meanings strengthened bonds between language and physical place, thus producing a new topography based on new values. This idea gained increasing importance with the development of nationalist ideology. With a linguistic geography increasingly based on ethno-political boundaries and the development of an ideology to support and consolidate its existence, one would think that song-lyrics somehow reflected the shift in trend. However, lyrics from the first decades of the twentieth century show that the mixing of languages and registers continued well into the early years of the

Republic, demonstrating a deeper bond than what nationalist ideology could ever hope to severe.

To sum up the points explored so far, the way linguistic register is 'placed' also manifests a process of place 'registering' whereby certain registers, that originate from different geographical locations as well as cultural regions, are chosen on the basis of content, form and style requirements. The song-text is like a region in which foreign linguistic elements are simultaneously perceived as such and its opposite, that is, they are treated as local expressions that are also part of a shared heritage and vocabulary. Looking at this verbal/vocal practice in this way also evokes the image of a wide community that does not define itself in ethno-linguistic, geo-political terms. This is also in support of my proposition here that we look at pre-reform Turkish in terms of a linguistic flux operating on the basis of content. While the 'othering' process would acquire much greater importance in the following years, particularly the early twentieth century, we can still detect a sense of 'differentiation' operating in the text, albeit in a different form. The sense of differentiation is seen in the linguistic choices made when using certain registers – that is, languages – in different song-texts. This process of differentiation and linguistic 'othering' would take on very different tones in the early Republican period but at this point, I believe, it worked in a different way, as a tool to enrich meaning rather than obscure it.

#### Phonetic authority versus dissonant harmony: accents as indexes of place and the paradox of standardisation

In her work on French *mélodie*, Katherine Bergeron dedicates a chapter to nineteenth century reforms in French language education and discourses about the standardization of the

'mother tongue' (2010, 69). I will use her work to return to the idea of a phonocentric reading of Turkish. That is, its emergence as prominent register, a phenomenon that occurred as a result of the convergence between lexical elements, rhyme and modal progression. Bergeron's story is also reminiscent of the phonetics-based attempts to teach Turkish that were developed at the end of the nineteenth century. The case of French will be useful to further discuss the essential fluidity of registers and how this undermines attempts at establishing one over the others.

Bergeron illustrates the ways in which social hierarchies were replicated linguistically in varieties of French, particularly when it came to diction and pronunciation. Speech education and language performance merged into a wider project of social and national education, with the aim to develop a new class of citizens and fill the gaps between social groups. Language, in other words, began to be regarded as a unifying factor capable of transcending social difference. However, in doing so, the essential paradox of such enterprise became evident: it was not possible to generate unity of speech in order to increase social unity without compromising, or rendering invisible, the individual parts constituting French nineteenth century society. While the effort was towards greater social harmony by establishing a language standard, achieving this meant causing dialects and accents to merge and finally disappear, thus causing the very foundation of harmony to disappear, for how can harmony exist without the coexistence of different parts in balance with one another?

By wiping out those parts (accents, dialects, registers) in favour of a standard, the whole concept of unity came to be undermined by a paradox: there cannot be unity if there is no differentiation because if there is no differentiation, all that is left is just a chosen standard elevated and imposed over the rest, obscuring it. That standard would have been chosen on the basis of certain parameters by which the other elements were excluded. By which, in other

words, they were ‘othered’. There is seemingly no escape from this paradox: any attempt at unification or standardisation necessarily implies exclusion, differentiation and a process of ‘othering’. Returning to the ‘place’ and ‘placement’ metaphor, Bergeron’s discussion is relevant in that it highlights the relationship of accents to places and groups, a hierarchy of sounds reflecting social hierarchies. Thus, in the case of French, socio-geographical place is registered by means of diction, making sound – as opposed to vocabulary – central to the process of voice placement and register production. The paradox illustrated by Bergeron strengthened my idea that heterogeneity was and is a fundamental part of standardisation, in the Ottoman context too. Let us then take a look at the French case and discuss the pre-reform Turkish case in relation to it.

So far, my focus has been on discussing vocabulary and language choices in relation to place and cultural regions. With Bergeron, we enter a different territory, that of sound as conveyed by accent. Accent can be said to function in a similar way to register (as used in pre-reform Turkish) in one particular aspect: they both reveal geographical affiliations. On the one hand, accent and register are performed in accordance with context and occasion. On the other, a preoccupation with clarity, overall polish and purity of diction often reveals a wider concern with setting standards of excellence for the people of a speech community to abide by, to recognise itself in: such was the case of French. The story of the attempts and efforts at taming and restricting the manifold pronunciation of French told by Bergeron is one in which a struggle between centre and peripheries, the city and the countryside, the *bourgeoisie* and the common people, enfolds. It is partly a story about power relations. French diction, as well as the correct transcription of its sound, became a hotly debated issue. It revealed nationalist projects and Republican ambitions alongside a genuine concern with developing a mother

tongue the people could recognise and identify with, informed by an interest in the 'geopolitical dimension of phonetics' (86).

Some of the issues with such phonetic topographies and standardisation are not too dissimilar from the paradoxes implied in linguistic register use in pre-reform Turkish. I am particularly referring to the impossibility for peripheries to vanish into a standardised, phonetic centre in that the establishment of a standard will make the absence of alternatives even more palpable, generating what Bergeron refers to as 'desire and regret' (120). Was a similar project successful in the case of pre-reform Turkish? While the teaching of pre-reform Turkish via a phonetic approach was an attempt at merging registers in order to create a standardised version of the language, it is also evident from a variety of sources – including songs – that a multitude of registers and register uses kept existing. In addition to that, we have seen how some of the reformists were well aware of the impossibility to eliminate the foreign elements in the language due to those elements having become local and also because eliminating them would mean cutting ties with aspects of Ottoman identity, culture and tradition. The continued existence of those 'alternatives' in the form of a cross-linguistic range of vocabulary and syntax, in pre-reform Turkish, seemed to also be suggested by the position of reformists such as Midhat Efendi (1844 – 1912). He argued that there was no such thing, ultimately, as a language of the Turks: pre-reform Turkish was the product of the current culture and the forces that had shaped it (see Levend 1960).

The issue of 'othering' takes on a particular meaning in the story told by Bergeron. In the case of nineteenth century French, the 'other' language was actually the nation's own language, unrecognised and unspoken by the majority of the population who, instead, spoke a multitude of idioms: 'the peasant conscripts spoke other idioms... "a wealth of tongues" ... The nation's language was, in Weber's words, "a foreign language for a substantial number of

Frenchmen” (72). The literacy projects developed throughout the nineteenth century had essentially the aim to familiarise, teach in fact, the national language to a population who seemingly knew no French at all, and who instead relied on a kaleidoscope of local idioms (ibid.). The second stage of this enterprise would be to teach the population how to perform that foreign, national idiom which they had just been taught.

This perception of a national language as foreign was deeply bound to territory and social geographies. From Bergeron’s statement, one thing that emerges with clarity is the gap between the city and the countryside, given that the majority of the population unfamiliar with the national language consisted of ‘peasants’ (ibid.). The association between the capital Paris and the nation’s language was evident. However, Paris posed its problems, too. While regional accents demonstrated the ‘basic instability of French pronunciation’ (92), Bergeron is keen to point out that even in Paris there existed a multitude of ways to beautifully speak French, although proper usage and excellence in language performance, as well as sophistication, was ‘a bourgeois affair... squarely trained on Paris’ (93). It is interesting to consider this aspect in relation to the dynamics found in registral interaction in pre-reform Turkish song-texts. The French case as discussed by Bergeron is an example of attempts at social as much as linguistic unification. In the case of pre-reform Turkish, the alternation of registers was such an important aspect of every text that one wonders whether that sense of social unity actually *relied on* the interaction of these different cultural strands (Turkish, Arabic, Persian as well as local cultural identities) rather than on their standardised synthesis.

In the case of French, projects and efforts to increase literacy aimed at unifying the population and encouraging it to develop a relationship with a national linguistic standard, a ‘purified national language’ (101). However, the case of pre-reform Turkish seems to tell a slightly different story, that of a standardisation that could only function by maintaining its

internal linguistic and registral variety. A linguistic standard that needed all of its languages to function, and that relied on harmony among them in order to do so. So, while the case of French was one bound in more than one way to a sense of melody and phonetic sophistication, that of pre-reform Turkish seems to be one based on harmony and balance among the parts constituting its texture. Furthermore, the case of French was the case of a foreign, national idiom, the standardisation of which aimed at generating a bond between the different parts constituting French society. The case of pre-reform Turkish, however, is the case of a language in which the foreign, the 'outsider' had become a way to express the local, the 'inner' by the use of loanwords.

Let us return to the idea of national unification by speech. The problems embedded in such a mission are not difficult to detect. The essential instability of a linguistic 'standard', its unsolvable, insuperable subtle paradox, emerges the moment that sounds are put onto paper. This brings us back to the problem posed by Bergeron herself: the inevitable flaw in the logic behind unification by speech, in that it demonstrates that in so far as words can be written and read privately, it is impossible to achieve real unity, or standardisation of speech. Writing can also be considered as a form of standardisation, in that it supposedly crystallizes sound into a standard to be replicated and observed, to be respected and preserved. Writing was, after all, a form of recording before recording practices began. But the essential unreliability of transcription is made the more evident in that reading and pronunciation inflections are inevitable. Two different individuals will read the same letter in two different ways. In fact, as we have seen in the first part of this chapter, even registral quality depended on whether the text was read or sung.

Bergeron draws attention to the connections between writing and progress by quoting from Furet and Ozouf, who highlighted the French revolution's role in establishing the notion of



written culture as possessing superiority over oral culture by being a sign of ‘civic and private virtue’ (ibid.). She also reports the words of Rousselot himself, the author of *Principes de Phonétique Expérimentale* (1897, 1901), regarding the illusion of writing as reliable phonetic transcription. He emphasized the fact that the transcription of the sounds of French contributed to the emergence of more phonetic chaos, and the penetration of regional accents into the purified national language (101). According to Rousselot, what occurred with France was a veritable linguistic invasion of the capital on the part of the provinces:

What, in fact, is French? ... it is the language of the king carried by his court into the provinces. ... Hence French is originally the tongue of Paris. Even so, because its principal means of expansion was writing – a vague alphabet in which each person, at least in his vowels, could read the sounds proper to his own dialect – it was inevitably penetrated by all the patois it was meant to replace. From this situation we have all the regional varieties of French that we designate by the term “accent”.’

However, he was also ready to admit that in Paris too, the language varied ‘according to neighbourhoods, and the social condition and intention of the speaker.’ (as cited in Bergeron 2010, 102). This takes us back to the idea of placement and vocal tract shaping, with geography shaping sound. It also suggests, however, that the transcribed dimension of speech can lead to chaos, particularly from a phonetic-geopolitical perspective. Let us not forget that the impetus behind the alphabetisation of France had been to subdue, or to tame, the regional variations of the language that caused citizens of the nation to be unfamiliar with the nation’s language – with what should be their own mother tongue. Thus, Bergeron highlights, the state

had insisted on making it 'mandatory for all citizens to adopt French as their mother tongue' (83) but for all the good intentions behind the project, this could not solve the issues connected with selecting the pronunciation that 'actually represented the right way of speaking French' (ibid.). In particular, the operation required a reshaping of phonetic interpretation as much as geographical affiliation in the form of regional accents. It required new learners to adopt the foreign mother tongue thus abandoning their own inherited, local idioms. The process had evidently much to do with politics as much as geography, geology, even:

'Passy had pointed out... that... phonetics played a role analogous to that of "geography in relation to history." Geography... implied an idea of physical terrain, as well as its borders, fusing the facts of geology with those of phonetics. ... Introducing the mouth as the site of French, it also defined border conditions, the sounds that were "not French".' (86)

The project of fixing pronunciation and standardising by means of writing, transcription and precise rules, thus, reveals two essential flaws. The first one is that it actually created the opportunity for regional variations to become even more deeply established habits developed in the realm of silent, individual reading. The second one is that it widened the gap between 'my language' and the language of the nation, thus defeating its own purpose. It was also an attempt at rendering the foreign, familiar and the familiar, foreign. Alphabetisation efforts somehow elevated the popular classes' language by polishing it, purifying it, aligning it with the pure idiom spoken in bourgeois Paris. The process caused a mass of French non-speakers to begin recognising a foreign language as their own, although the realm of silent word consumption offered a space in which old phonetic habits could be preserved.

Part of this discourse shares a number of similarities with the case of register use in pre-reform Turkish. In particular, the fact that despite the political discourses revolving around adopting a language that would be ethnically based, the domain of lyrical expression could not be so easily deprived of its registral variations, probably due to its strong bonds with a well-established poetic tradition but also because of the freedom that a variety of registers gave. What complicates the matter in the late Ottoman scenario is that, as we have seen with the relationship between register and rhyme, reading a text out loud, singing it, performing it emphasized one register (Turkish) but registral quality would change if that same text was read as a written text only. The attempt at encouraging standardisation by means of phonetic approaches coincided with the development of an ethnically centred language practice. However, very much as in Bergeron's case, this would always produce contradicting results depending on whether the text was sung or performed.

#### Urban sonic chaos: register weaving and the translation of place

Emma Dillon describes overlapping voices and vocal registers in the case of motet, and in relation to the sounds of the city (2012). It is a good framework to explore notion of registral overlap and interweaving; the absorption and disappearance of regional accents into the national mother tongue; and the way in which both phenomena are shaped by actual and metaphorical geographies by dynamics of 'othering'/differentiation. In Dillon's case study, the sonic chaos described in three medieval, French poetic works constitutes a map of Paris, of its multiple, multi-layered identities. This sonic chaos is reminiscent – and as Dillon argues, it serves as a backdrop to – the polytextuality and verbal chaos found in motet. A sonic, vocal disarray that threatens to swallow meaning by making words almost inaudible. And yet, it is in

that state of disarray and apparent lack of harmony that the meaning of the motet's performance resides. I have discussed, in the previous sections, how register relates to place, and I have focussed on the importance of looking at the linguistic, registral heterogeneity in the text as a dynamic whole. I now wish to explore the idea of registral overlap as dissonance, rather than harmony. In this way, I draw attention to the separate and parallel existence of registers in the song text and the importance of preserving the existence of each cultural strand as represented by the language chosen (Persian, Arabic or Turkish) in order for that dynamic whole to function. I look at the language used in the song-text as a linguistic ecosystem, necessarily characterised by diversity. This is in contrast with twentieth century Turkish nationalist rhetoric as well as discussions, in the late nineteenth century, regarding the complexity of pre-reform Turkish due precisely to that diversity which, supposedly, obscured meaning. The co-existence of registers in the song-text is not too dissimilar from the harmonious sonic chaos Dillon describes.

Emma Dillon discusses the overlap of city sounds and the way these represent an 'audible foil to the hubbub of the polytextual motet' (Dillon 2012, 51). She explores the sonic description found in three works describing the city of Paris, written between the thirteenth and fourteenth century. These are the *Vie de Saint-Denis*, Guillot de Paris' *Dit de Rues de Paris*, Guillaume de Villeneuve's *Crieries de Paris*. Dillon looks at the works as an opportunity to enquire into the nature of sound and its construction and possible meanings for the inhabitants of medieval Paris (60). What captivated me, in her discussion, was the way in which cacophony can be understood as a form of harmony, and how it can function as such in vocal performance and the song-text. The 'chaotic textual soundtrack' (64) described by Guillot, 'voices mingling' (ibid.) against the background of 'a woman beating her laundry, the clamor of prostitutes, a man and his bagpipes, and... the sound of Latin song seeping from church interior' (ibid.) is a

map of the streets of Paris. Every sonic encounter of Guillot's occurs in a different street, as if walking in the city, transitioning from one place to another, were somehow synonymous with traversing its sounds. Thus, the Paris walker is effectively experiencing the city by means of its cacophony and it is through that cacophony that Paris acquires its meaning, a meaning dictated by sound. Guillot's poem is a sonic narrative that seems to make little sense, on the surface. It 'feels', more than 'reads', as an array of sounds that make up the city and the experience of it. Dillon often uses the expression 'sonic excess' (75) with reference to the sonic reality described in the poems she examines.

I was particularly struck by Dillon's discussion of the sonic chaos and the street cries described by Guillaume, especially her reference to a multitude of voices suggesting a 'hectic sense of movement', a multitude that 'allows non-verbal sound to communicate the sense of place' (81). Even more intriguingly, Dillon emphasizes a paradox that I find very relevant to the interaction of registers in Ottoman song and its pre-reform Turkish text. She makes reference to the dissonance of the streets due to the multiplicity of cries as the source of its consonance, 'just as the noisy hammering of the goldsmiths was "harmonious"' (ibid.). What she is referring to here is the translation into sound of the commercial and economic magnificence of the city, in which the chaos of voices signifies the human movement informing sales, trade and transactions. She also describes such dissonance as a 'commodity' (ibid.), thus an asset. Therefore, this apparent cacophony, this dispersion of voices in a state of apparent disarray, emerges in fact as a crucial aspect of the identity of the city.

Dillon highlights one aspect of the genre that perfectly describes the dynamics characterising register use in pre-reform Turkish song-text: the performance of 'a collective of voices singing as one' (86). As we have seen, this vocal multiplicity in which sounds chaotically overlap, conveys the identity, the essence, the meaning of place as represented by Paris, but

it also functions as a sonic translation of the multitude of *loci* (i.e., its streets) found in it. In a similar way, I feel that the multitude of voices represented by the different language strands found in pre-reform Turkish functioned as one, collective, multi-layered voice in which, each level, or each independent strand, had its place and specific role in the production of meaning. The chaotic overlap of ‘sounds’ in the form of nouns, adjectives, syntax, imagery, compounds etc. worked as a flux made of strands, in which a complex interaction took place and generated meaning.

This, in turn, interacted in complex ways with poetic conventions in the form of imagery and vocabulary that held an established place in the literary heritage of the Ottoman lands, and beyond. Dillon concludes her chapter with a reference to the way that the ‘entanglement of musical and civic soundworlds ... illuminated meaning’ (90) and understanding the meaning of urban sounds could provide a key to unlock the mystery of motet’s semantic chaos (91). Dillon suggests that the array of urban experiences manifested through sound may be of help in understanding the chaotic sonic reality of motet. I wish to draw from her argument to make the case that such semantic chaos animates the pre-reform Turkish text, translating a polytextual, multi-ethnic, multi-cultural reality that, however, is still perceived as ‘local’ by virtue of a poetic sensitivity, heritage and vocabulary shared across a vast region. Dillon’s Paris is, in my understanding, comparable to the wide cultural region including the Ottoman, Arab, Persian and South Asian lands – a multitude of places inscribed in the song-text, from which the meaning-making process implied in text composition drew strength.

What I found interesting in Dillon’s discussion of urban soundscape layers is also the notion of harmony through dissonance. I have thought of the language-used-as-registers in pre-reform Turkish as dissonant strands but less in sonic than meaning-related terms. Earlier, I made a few references to the idea of tone production, which I use metaphorically. I have

posited polished tone to be the product of absorption into a geo-cultural centre and the particular diction produced in that centre (Paris), thus describing a process of linguistic and social purification aiming at establishing harmony among different social classes and geographies of speech. I have also discussed this tone production in terms of ‘placement’, that is, selecting a specific language in order to convey certain meanings, and that specific language having a geographical origin while simultaneously being shared across regions. With my discussion of Dillon’s case study, I wished to point out how that layering, that coexistence of places translated by means of languages, which are simultaneously foreign and local, is crucial even when it produces dissonance, rather than harmony. One of the points of contention during the Ottoman language debate was the lack of linguistic homogeneity as the primary cause of chaos and obscurity, as if that dissonance could somehow cloud, or conceal, intended meanings. Dillon’s argument is a good way to frame the idea that, in fact, meaning can be produced by means of overlapping, seemingly unruly, registral – or sonic, in her case – interweaving.

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This chapter has provided an opportunity to reflect on the concept of registral topographies, fluidity, malleability, phonetic authority, and standardisation, together with the harmony of registral chaos and the interweaving of registers. All these ideas inform the textual composition of the late nineteenth century *şarki*. This emerges as a form with the capacity to inhabit different social spaces and media of distribution, very much like the language that constitutes the fabric its texts. This language is also seen to be the product of layering and fluidity, gaining registral quality depending on whether it is read or performed. Registral authority has been

seen to often coincide with phonetic presence (the case of Turkish), but the interweaving layers represented by each language strand yield new meaning when read together as part of a written poetic tradition. A special feature of this registral phenomenon in pre-reform Turkish is represented by loanwords, a liminal territory at once foreign and local.

When considered all together, these factors contribute to our understanding of the *şarkı* as a complex genre very difficult to categorise. It is tempting to suggest that a good part of the reason for its popularity was precisely the coalescence of all these seemingly dissonant factors. Its story continues to this day, as its very name has been adopted to indicate any sung genre, regardless of stylistic features. Let us now head to the last part of this thesis, in the attempt to draw some final conclusions.



## Conclusion

One of the aims of my project has been to investigate what song lyrics can tell us about processes of language standardization, and what such processes can, in turn, tell us about song. I have examined the late nineteenth century *şarkı* within the framework of increasing literacy and the growing late-Ottoman reading culture. I have suggested we also think about the soaring popularity of the genre as a phenomenon that had deep ties to the development of printing as well as the emergence of the newspaper. I have focused on the concept of language registers and explored the implications of its use in popular art song, suggesting that the lyrics of the *şarkı* were, on the other hand, not affected by, and independent from, the language and literary debates of the late nineteenth century.

I have concluded that the emergence of printing practices and reading culture significantly contributed to the popularity of the genre in the nineteenth century, particularly its appearance in newspapers and affordable song lyrics collections. An examination of these collections and of the repertoire found in the newspapers has also shed some light on the new approaches to literacy and pedagogical methods that, in the late nineteenth century, sought to emphasize Turkish. In particular, I have drawn attention to how the development of sound-based reading methods such as the *usûl-ı savtiye* shifted the phonetic focus – and authority – from Arabic to Turkish. I have conceptualised this shift as a new ‘recitation’ practice, where Turkish would take the place of Arabic by giving precedence to the way Turkish words sounded rather than how they were spelt by using the Perso-Arabic script, which could not represent all the sounds of the Turkish language. The practice of acquiring language skills by ear first was, to me, reminiscent of oral transmission and education practices characterising the learning of

Arabic for the purpose of reciting the Qur'an. Additionally, while the new method sought to give precedence to the Turkish register by emphasizing its sound, it still made use of Arabic linguistic terminology in grammars. However, this terminology and grammar rules derived from Arabic and 'imposed' on Turkish were gradually being overthrown by the need to develop a method that could cater for Turkish pronunciation and reading skills. This is how Arabic came to 'serve' Turkish, and how the Turkish register, in turn, became the dominant phonetic force.

I have suggested that we take this phenomenon into account when looking at the way pre-reform Turkish was used in the *şarkı* genre just around the time that these linguistic shifts were taking place. The popularity of the genre was at its highest in the 1890s, when the 'vocal method' began to be implemented. I have asked whether this had any impact on song making, or, conversely, whether song had an impact on language practices. The conclusion I propose with this project is that the *şarkı* was not directly affected by changes in language pedagogy, because its registral composition had been very varied ever since it first appeared, in the sixteenth century. However, the presence of Turkish in *şarkı* lyrics, although not a result of language debate and new teaching methods, did acquire a new dimension in the late nineteenth century. While the use of Turkish vocabulary, syntax and grammar had not become a 'political affair' yet, the fact that its use very often coincided with key melodic and poetic features of the genre makes the *şarkı* a – most likely unintentional – reflection of what was happening in the literacy domain. In this thesis, I have argued that the language used in song in the late nineteenth century seemed oblivious to the literary and language debates that raged in the same period. However, when the pedagogical developments of the era are taken into account, our examination of registral relations in the genre cannot but acknowledge that Turkish's phonetic authority was registered [pun intended] in the *şarkı* genre, too.

The strongest connection between registral choice and melodic modulation is observed in the rhyme schemes and the lexical choices for them. This also connected the song to its contemporary nineteenth century debates on rhyme and, more generally ‘old’ versus ‘new’ literature, that broadened into intense discussions about language and its registral components. I caution, however, against looking at Turkish’s phonetic authority in the *şarki* as a result of pedagogical reforms. Although the majority of lyrics share Turkish rhyme patterns that draw attention to the language, in that they are the points towards which the *makâm*’s distinct melodic paths and modulations culminate, the phonetic surge in pre-reform Turkish language practice cannot be said to have had an impact on lyrics composition. Examples of Turkish rhyme schemes existed in earlier collections, too, and the Turkish register had always been part of the *şarki*’s textual fabric.

As to the relationship between theme and register, this has been observed to vary depending on the medium of distribution and the cultural and social framework of its publication. Each collection and newspaper song publication had a distinct character. Although patterns of lexical composition were repeated in some collections (such as 1893 and 1894 editions), these patterns produced different qualities. The qualities themselves were given by the intersection of lexical composition, registral interweaving, choice of rhythmic cycles, themes of the songs, context of publication. As to the songs found in the newspapers, there seemed to be a more distinct relationship between certain themes and the language registers used to narrate them.

One of the aims of this project has also been to delineate a registral topography of late nineteenth century Ottoman popular art song, by discussing registers in relation to the cultural and geographical areas they belonged to. My intention was to propose a narrative that challenged the rhetoric, often encountered in academic as much as political discourse, that

poses Ottoman, or pre-reform Turkish as a foreign language, an incomprehensible idiom, an unreadable text. I have suggested that we look at the overlap and interweaving of cultural realities expressed by Arabic, Persian, and Turkish registers not just as the tool to convey meaning in this language, but as what gave *meaning* of the language itself. I have argued that we look at these registers as a continuum, a tool to express multiple nuances of meaning, rather than to obscure it. In doing so, I hope that my work will be of benefit to the field of Ottoman Turkish studies too, where similar approaches have already begun to emerge.

In my attempt to challenge established narratives, I have encountered – and acknowledged – a methodological issue, that of loanwords. Most of the *şarki*'s lexical elements were, in fact, loanwords, as seen in Chapter 4. It is impossible to establish with certainty when certain foreign words became part of the Turkish language, and also which ones can be actually considered to be part of Turkish. I have, however, embraced this challenge and used it to highlight the many current – and historical – contradictions and paradoxes that characterise discourses and debates about pre-reform Turkish. This has been done precisely to demonstrate that it is not possible to adopt rigid categories and understandings when examining this language. This was an important point for me to explore in this project, as I feel it is still a significant problem in academic, historical, and political understandings of this language and its culture.

I hope that my work will be of benefit to ethnomusicological studies, too. The field of Ottoman music studies, in particular, has not yet produced works entirely dedicated to individual Ottoman genres. I feel this will be the next step for the field, and my hope was to contribute to it proposing a way to examine an Ottoman genre in the context of shifting literacy and literary practices. The story of the late nineteenth century *şarki* is not, however, just one of interweaving registers and practices (reading, speaking, singing). It is one of interweaving social domains, an arena in which lyricists, composers, bureaucrats, linguists, teachers, poets,

journalists mingled and where these functions often overlapped. Bureaucrats and educators were poets and composers, literatis often worked in the administration. These social dimensions of the genre, its relationship with the administration and the state, in other words, with political power and authority is one of the many directions that I hope research on the *şarki* – but also, more generally, Ottoman music – will take.

Several areas remain unexplored. Among these, the genre's gender dimension. Among the materials examined for this project was the periodical *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* (1895 – 1908), a publication for women, where several *şarkılar* were published. While we know that the greater part of composers were men, there is still much to be said and written about the involvement of women in Ottoman music. Similarly, we do not know much, if anything at all, about women as *readers of music*. One avenue to be explored, were work on register and the *şarki* to be continued, would be the relationship between register, *makâm*, theme and women reader/musicianship. Did gender-related considerations affect the choice of repertoire published in the periodical? Were the works of women composers prominent? Similarly, further work on the repertoire that appeared in different newspapers would expand our understanding of late nineteenth century musical practice, and the way that this intertwined with reading practice. It would also enable us to understand more the ways in which popular press promoted the genre before a recording industry and musical 'star-system' came into being.

Alongside those I have just described, another area of personal interest for further research is looking at the *şarki* in relation to late Ottoman translation and transliteration practices. I have pointed out, in my chapter about song anthologies and newspapers, that lyrics were transliterated in *Ma'lûmât*. This was done using French phonetic conventions. There is much that can be discussed regarding the relationship between late Ottoman Istanbul and Europe

by exploring how repertoire was not just published, but *transliterated*, and for whom, and why. It would enable us to discuss the place of song in Ottoman translation practice, and whether it had a stronger mediating power than other media. After all, in the transliteration of lyrics for the newspaper's foreign readers we can identify a well-known issue: that of phonetic representation and the recording of sound via script. Ottoman studies have already begun to explore what this entailed when the script was Perso-Arabic – what about the Latin transliteration of song lyrics according to the phonetic conventions of a European language?

It is, perhaps, unavoidable to be acutely aware of all the missing pieces in a research project. Rather than finding answers, my PhD work has seemingly succeeded in highlighting how many more questions should be asked. Nonetheless, I consider this the fulfilment of one of my goals with this project: to create avenues to keep moving forward, to keep questioning, and challenging. I am confident that Ottoman music studies will continue moving forward on multiple overlapping, interweaving paths. I am, above all, hopeful that my work will be a meaningful contribution and offer a new perspective to approach the readable and singable shores of Ottoman song.



## Appendix

<i>Şarkılar</i>	<i>Şevk-i Dil</i> (1893)	<i>Şevk-i Dil</i> (1894)	<i>Ma'lumât</i> (1895)	<i>Ferahfezâ</i> (1896/1897)	<i>Yeni Şarkılar</i> (1896/1897)
<i>Mir'âtı ele âl da bâk Allah'ı seversen</i> (Uşşâk, Girît Valîsî Mahmûd Pâşâ)	✓	✓	X	X	✓
<i>Gülmek yarâşır gül yüzüne ey gül-ı cânım</i> (Hicâzkâr, Hacı Emîn Bey)	X	X	✓	✓	X
<i>Hele ol dilber-i ranâ ârada çakıyor</i> (Hüzzam, Malîk Efendi)	✓	✓	✓	X	X
<i>Mecbûr oldum ben bir güle</i> (Bestenigâr, Hâşim Bey)	✓	✓	✓	X	X
<i>Bir gül-ı ranâye gönül bağladım</i> (Hüzzam, Hâcî Emîn Bey)	X	X	✓	✓	X
<i>Düşeyim der îken eyvah vefâlısına</i> (Hicâzkâr, Rızâ Efendi)	X	X	✓	✓	✓
<i>Gidelim Göksu'ya bir âlem-i âb eyleyelim</i> (Hicâzkâr, Hristo Efendi)	X	X	✓	✓	✓



<i>Bâk şû güzel köylüye işte bû kızdır perî</i> (Hüseynî, Rızâ Efendi)	X	X	✓	✓	X
<i>Ey dil ne oldun feryât edersin</i> (Uşşâk, Civân Ağa)	X	X	✓	✓	X
<i>Âmân ey yâr cefâ-pîşe nizâr etme benî</i> (Beyâtî, Rızâ Bey)	X	X	✓	✓	X
<i>Devâ yok mu neden bimar-ı aşka</i> (Muhayyer, Hacı Ârif Bey)	X	X	✓	✓	X
<i>Tarîfe gelir mi o mehin zülf-i siyahı</i> (Nihâvent, Sengin Semai, Hacı Ârif Bey)	X	X	✓	X	X
<i>Hayli dem oldu prestîş ettiğim pînhândır</i> (Nihâvent, Aksâk, Devlet Efendi)	X	X	✓	X	X
<i>Hüsn-ı güftârın senin ey mehlikâ</i> (Hicâz, Ali Rifat Bey)	X	X	✓	X	X
<i>Tezyin ediyor gülşenî şîvi ile sünbül</i> (Bestenigâr, Hakkı Bey)	X	X	✓	✓	X

<i>Seyre çıkmışsın bugün Kağıthaneyi</i> (Karcıġâr, Evfer, Hakkı Bey)	X	X	✓	✓	X
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