

INSTRUMENTALIZATION OF MUSIC IN THE LATE OTTOMAN EMPIRE:

THE CASE OF THE *TEUTONIA*

by

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to my family,

THESIS ABSTRACT

Ayşe Seren Akyoldaş,

Instrumentalization of Music in the Late Ottoman Empire:

The case of the *Teutonia*

This thesis intends to perceive music as a medium being influenced by the political agenda of its epoch. In order to observe the use of music for political goals in the late Ottoman Empire, in the light of the archival materials, memoirs, newspapers, journals, and travel accounts, this thesis focuses on the evolution of the Western Classical Music in the Ottoman Empire.

Having developed within the palace and then moved outwards through “catching up” with the Western ideals, the use of Western Classical Music will show that music had been perceived as an important part of the Ottoman Westernization process. In the second part of the thesis, the cultural performances, especially the musical activities, which were organized by the German Club *Teutoina* will be examined, where the political instrumentalization of music is again visible. Though economic imperialism in the Ottoman Empire has been dealt with by many economic historians, however, German cultural imperialism in the Ottoman Empire is underresearched. In order to fulfill this gap and challenge the conventional historiography regarding the position of the Ottoman Empire in terms of the German cultural imperialism, through the case of the German club in İstanbul, called the *Teutonia*, which was founded in 1847, German cultural imperialism in the Ottoman Empire will be discussed in details.

Reading between the lines, this case study will prove how music had been instrumentalized for the political, cultural and social agendas of not only Germany, but also of the Ottoman Empire.

Keywords: instrumentalization of music, Western Classical Music in the Ottoman Empire, German cultural imperialism, the *Teutonia*.

TEZ ÖZETİ

Ayşe Seren Akyoldaş,

Teutonia Örneği Üzerinden Geç dönem Osmanlı Müziğinin Araçsallaştırılması

Bu çalışma, müziği; siyasi gündemler tarafından yön verilen bir mecra olarak ele almayı amaçlamaktadır. Arşiv belgeleri, hatıratlar, gazeteler, dergiler, seyahatnameler ışığında bu tez, geç Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda müziğin siyasi amaçlar uğruna kullanımını gözlemleyebilmek için Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda klasik batı müziğinin evrimine odaklanmıştır. Sarayda başlayarak, Batıya erişme emelleri ile saray dışına çıkan klasik batı müziğinin kullanımı, Batılılaşma sürecinin önemli bir parçası olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Tezin ikinci bölümünde, müziğin araçsallaştırılmasının gözlemlenebildiği; başta müzikal faaliyetler olmak üzere Almanlar tarafından düzenlenen, kültürel performanslar incelenmiştir. Her ne kadar pek çok iktisat tarihçisi tarafından Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda ekonomik emperyalizm ele alınmışsa da, Alman kültür emperyalizmi oldukça az çalışılmıştır. Bu eksikliği gidermek ve Alman kültür emperyalizmi açısından Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun durumuna dair üretilmiş tarih çalışmalarına yeni bir bakış açısı getirmek amacıyla, bu tez 1847'de kurulmuş olan Alman kulübü *Teutonia* vaka incelemesi yardımıyla Alman kültür emperyalizmini tartışmaktadır. Vaka incelemesinin satır araları, müziğin siyasal amaçlarla araçsallaştırıldığı tezini kanıtlayacaktır.

Anahtar sözcükler: müziğin araçsallaştırılması, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda klasik batı müziği, Alman kültür emperyalizmi, *Teutonia*

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The challenge of modernity marked the nineteenth century in the Ottoman Empire. Various methods, different kinds of models had been implemented in order to catch up with the ideals of the “modern life” of Western Europe, or in order to oppose to the trends which were introduced by modernity. The concept of an “Islamic Empire” or the tired paradigm of the “Eastern Question,” even “the long nineteenth century” approach and many others can be listed as attempts to express what was going on in the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century.

The nineteenth century is called as a period of ‘Westernization’ in the Ottoman Empire, primarily an especially in its capital city, İstanbul. ‘West,’ became a model in all manifestations, during the *Tanzîmât* Era (1839-1876), when the vast plan of reforms, various social, cultural, legal, economic, political and architectural transformations in the Western European model had been implemented. This era has been perceived as a new era regarding the conduct of international relations -both economic and cultural- between the Ottoman Empire and the West. Traditional forms were being challenged by new encounters, and one may argue that new life styles had been adopted into the Ottoman life-style in this century. Almost all spheres of Ottoman life had undergone change: social and artistic practices, life styles, and understanding of art, and more importantly, taste. The growing interest in the Western life style and its art forms, especially of the Ottoman élite (*havâss*) and the palace (*sarây*) circles had an impact on the urban image and practices, and cultural life in İstanbul.

The primary goal of this research is to work on the Westernization of music in the late Ottoman Empire, and to find out whether the music has been instrumentalized in terms of the pursuit of Western legitimization, or not. The outcome of our research is that music has been politically, culturally and socially instrumentalized. First, the general survey of the practices of Western Classical Music signalized that the polyphonic music in the Ottoman Empire had been used as a symbol in order to prove how “civilized” the Ottomans were. Furthermore, the case study of this thesis; the *Teutonia* marked how the popularity of a concert hall or a particular type or genre of music is dependent on politics. Whereas Italian musicians were dominating the sphere of Western musical practice in the Ottoman Empire from the late eighteenth century onwards, with the Hamidian Era (1876-1909), German tradition started to compete with the Italian one, parallel to the inevitable rise of German political and economic presence in the Ottoman Empire.

From works such as Jean-Philipp Rameau’s *Les Indes Galantes*,¹ Christoph Willibald Gluck’s *La Rencontre imprévue*,² Michael Haydn’s *Turkish Suite*, Joseph Franz Haydn’s “Military” Symphony and *L’incontro improvviso*³, Franz Christoph Neubauer’s symphony *Sinfonie a grand orchestra La Bataille de Martinestie, oder Coburts Sieg über die Türken*, Joseph Starze’s *Le gelosie del seraglio*, Carl Maria von Weber’s *Abu Hassan*,⁴ Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart’s *Rondo Alla Turca*, Die

¹ *Les Indes galantes* is an [opéra-ballet](#) consisting of a prologue and four *entrées* (acts) by [Jean-Philippe Rameau](#) with libretto by [Louis Fuzelier](#).

² *La rencontre imprévue* (The Unexpected Encounter) is a [comédie mêlée d'ariettes](#), a form of [opéra comique](#), by [Christoph Willibald Gluck](#) with libretto by [Louis Hurtaut Dancourt](#).

³ *L’incontro improvviso* (The unexpected encounter) is an [opera](#) in three acts by [Joseph Haydn](#) with libretto by Carl Firberth.

⁴ *Abu Hassan* is an [opera](#) in one act by [Carl Maria von Weber](#) to a [German libretto](#) by Franz Hiemer, based on a [story](#) in [A Thousand and One Nights](#).

*Entführung aus dem Serail*⁵ and Ludwig van Beethoven's *The Ruins of Athens*,⁶ many music listeners are familiar with the Western practice of evoking the sound of Turkish music, primarily the effect of Janissary music, within European works of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁷ Series of works had been produced in the field of musicology that tried to examine the Turkish influence on European Classical Music. On the other hand, the fact that Western music also made its way into Ottoman Empire is neglected. The first attempt of this thesis is to fulfill this gap in the historiography of music in the Ottoman Empire by narrating the journey of the Western Classical Music in the Ottoman Empire until the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918). Aiming to fulfill this gap, initially, a critical close reading of the existing literature on history of music in Turkey will be done, after having situated music history within the context of musicology. Throughout this study, the instrumentalization of music in the late Ottoman Empire is tried to be emphasized. First, the journey of Western Classical Music in the Ottoman Empire is told in details, and then through a case study on the German club *Teutonia*, this hypothesis tried to be proved: Yes, music was socially and politically instrumentalized in the Ottoman Empire.

In this research, different types of sources had been used. The sources and the bibliography of this thesis may be classified under diverse topics among a scattered

⁵ *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (The Abduction from the Seraglio) is an [opera Singspiel](#) in three acts by [Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart](#) to a [German libretto](#) by [Christoph Friedrich Bretzner](#) with adaptations by [Gottlieb Stephanie](#).

⁶ *The Ruins of Athens*, Opus 113, is a set of incidental music written in 1811 by [Ludwig van Beethoven](#).

⁷ Catherine Schmidt Jones, 10 May 2010, *Janissary Music and Turkish Influences on Western Music*, <http://cnx.org/content/m15861/1.2/> [21 June 2010].

archival material and a vast secondary literature. The aim of the whole research was to be an initial attempt to merge all the available primary and secondary sources, including the Ottoman and German archives. Although the main sources of music have not been the diplomatic archives of the period, my choice of case study owes a lot to my efforts in the Ottoman diplomatic archives. The number of the documents where I witnessed the name of the *Teutonia* was quite a lot and it attracted my attention to search for this case. The documents in the Ottoman Archives allow us to observe the Western orientation in music with the numbers of the petitions in order to organize the concerts in İstanbul. About my case, eleven documents in *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA)*, let me to grasp the information who attended to the Western Classical Music concerts organized at or by the *Teutonia*, which Germans gained an imperial title from the sultan, thanks to their contribution to the Ottoman music.

Its own archival materials of the *Teutonia* played a crucial role for this study. The information about the history of the club, its members and the events organized by this German club, rely on these materials which are kept in the German Archeological Institute in İstanbul. The fact that the club witnessed various fires, which resulted in the destruction of the numerous very important documents, created a major problem for this study. Unfortunately, a further problem for this study was the fact that I did not have the opportunity to work on the German primary materials which are now kept in the German Foreign Ministry Archives in Berlin. The references to these materials are taken and quoted from the secondary source, written

by Barbara Radt: *Geschichte der Teutonia* (“History of the Teutonia”).⁸ In the light of the existing documents in İstanbul and always referring to Barbara Radt, the case study could have been completed.

Apart from the archival sources, memoirs, among all these primary sources played a crucial role for this thesis by letting us to read the socio-cultural activities primarily the musical practices in the late Ottoman Empire. The memoirs which have been used in this study can be classified in two different categories: the memoirs that have been used for the case study on the *Teutonia*; and the memoirs which were used by narrating the general history of polyphonic music in the Ottoman Empire.

The memoirs written by the members of the German community in İstanbul formed the first category. The memoirs of Radowitz, who worked as the German Ambassador in İstanbul between 1882 and 1892, and the account edited by German journalist Franz von Caucig,⁹ where one can witness various stories and detailed anecdotes about the cultural life in İstanbul, through the memoirs written by members of the German community in İstanbul in the late Ottoman Empire. These memoirs helped me to observe and grasp the importance of the *Teutonia* for the cultural life of the German community in İstanbul. Moreover, giving information about the participants of the musical activities, which were organized at or by the *Teutonia*, these sincere accounts of memoirs gave me the opportunity to analyze how this atmosphere was actually perceived by Germans.

⁸ Barbara Radt, *Geschichte der Teutonia*: [deutsches Vereinsleben in İstanbul 1847-2000](#) (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2001).

⁹ Franz Von Caucig, *Von Constantinopel nach İstanbul*. edited by: Annemarie Hagen (Erlangen: [n.p], [1970]).

The second category consisted of memoirs which were written by the distinctive figures of the Ottoman elite. The memoirs of Ayşe Sultan,¹⁰ Şadiye Sultan,¹¹ Leyla Saz Hanım,¹² and İbnü'r-refik Ahmet Sekizinci¹³ have been used in my study, and all these memoirs helped me to see the transformation of the life-styles. Furthermore, reading these memoirs, the meaning of music for the cultural and the political milieu of the period could also be detected. All of these memoirs, in short, allowed me to feel the *Zeitgeist* and let me to come to the conclusion that in the Ottoman cultural life, music was used very much in accordance with the political agenda.

Travel accounts constitute a further category among the primary sources of this thesis. The travel account of Gotthold Schulz-Labischin¹⁴ is one of the key sources for this study on *Teutonia*, because his travelogue allowed me to observe far closely how music was perceived as a tool of German cultural imperialism and how the Ottomans perceived and behaved Germans during this trip in 1908. Having listed every single piece of repertoires in the concerts, this rich account gave the reader the unique opportunity to analyze the politization of the repertoires and the effect of nationalism and cultural imperialism on music.

¹⁰ Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *Babam Sultan Abdülhamid (Hatıralarım)* (İstanbul: Güven Basım ve Yayınevi, 1960).

¹¹ Şadiye Osmanoğlu, *Hayatımın Acı ve Tatlı Günleri* (İstanbul: Bedir Yayınları, 1966).

¹² Leyla Saz Hanım, *Harem'in İç Yüzü*. edited by: Sadi Borak, (İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1974).

¹³ İbnürrefik Ahmet Nuri Sekizinci, *İbn-ür Refik Ahmet Nuri Sekizinci (1866-1935)*, edited by: Mehmet Rebi Hâtemi Baraz, (Ankara: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2001).

¹⁴ Gotthold Schulz-Labischin, *Die Sängerreise der Berliner Liedertafel nach dem Orient: Bukarest, Konstanz, Konstantinopel, Smyrna, Athen, Saloniki, Budapest; 28. April bis 15. Mai 1908* (Berlin: Selbstverlag des Vereins, 1908).

The press of the epoch was indispensable source for this thesis. The newspapers and the journals allow us to observe the reception of “Western,” “Westernized” and “Westernizing” effect of music in the late Ottoman Empire. In a similar way, music could be examined as part of the discourse of Westernization and modernization through the pages of these newspapers and journals of the period. Besides the press in Ottoman Turkish, various newspapers and journals published in German, English and French have also been utilized for this study. Among these sources, namely the following ones were extremely helpful in the research for this study: *Osmanischer Lloyd*, *Vossische Zeitung*, *La Turquie*, *the Levant Herald* and *the Eastern Express*, and the *Oriental Advertiser*. The concert programs and the concert reviews could be found in the pages of these primary sources, which played a crucial role especially for the case study on the *Teutonia*.

The rapprochement of history, anthropology, sociology and music; the importance of inter-textuality in terms of the historical musicology would be visible throughout the lines of the first part of the first chapter. Having pointed out flexible boundaries of these disciplines, subsequently, the thesis focuses on the Turkish historiography on music. Narrating the evolution of Western Classical Music from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic, the instrumentalization of music for political goals had been underlined. Underlining the role of political agenda as part of writing music history, the choices of cases by the musicologists have been mentioned, as well. Following this analysis, regarding the general attempt to neglect the continuity from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey in the official historiography of modern Turkey, the situation of historical musicology has been detected.

Western Classical Music and opera have been perceived as the symbols of the culture of Western élites by the Ottoman and later Turkish intellectuals. In the eyes of the Ottoman élites, in order to catch up with the Western civilizations, an essential role had been attributed to opera and Western Classical Music. The musical performances in the Western line determined the everyday life in the Ottoman court.

The second part of the first chapter of this study starts with the Ottoman “consumption” of Western Classical Music in the reigns of Sultan Selim III and Sultan Mahmud II. Having mentioned the effects of Western music onto the music in the Ottoman court in these periods, the story of the following period, when very important step regarding the Western Classical Music took place, had been narrated: the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid, who reshaped the patronage of Western Classical Musicians by giving these musicians “imperial titles” or “imperial orders.” From my point of view, this was a sign for a shift to appropriation of this “new” type of music. In this chapter, finally, the period of Sultan Abdülaziz had been dealt with. His era marks another turning point in terms of the Western Classical Music, because the sultan himself supported the practice of polyphonic music also without the boundaries of the palace. The best example for this case would be the Naum Theater. Another crucial feature of the Sultan Abdülmecid’s reign was the frequent use of Western polyphonic music in the official ceremonies, especially in the receptions.

Usually, perceived as the “Divine Khan” in the Islamist historiography, and “The Red Sultan” in the Western world and in the modern official Turkish historiography, Sultan Abdülhamid II constitutes a separate sub-chapter in this thesis, due to his “unique” stance regarding the Ottoman style of Westernization. Before focusing on music in the Hamidian Era in detail, the journey of the Western

Classical Music from the Unionist period to the Republican period has been narrated, whilst the instrumentalization of music was observable in details in the third part of the first chapter.

Being neither the “Red Sultan,” nor the “Divine Khan,” according to me, Sultan Abdülhamid II was a “weird” figure for the topic modernization and Westernization in the late Ottoman Empire. “Why do I call him as a “weird” figure?” The answer in my point of view will not be “difficult,” at all. Mostly, to the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II is referred as an anomaly in the path to Turkish modernity and Westernization. Why? Because, on the one hand, he based his legitimacy on Islam and portrayed himself as a conservative and moderate Caliph, on the other hand he never hampered or reversed the secular reforms of the early *Tanzîmât* Era. A long list of Ottoman novelties in the way of being “modern” or “Westernized,” dates back to the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II, including the emphasis on the “Westernized” music. The fourth sub-chapter of the first chapter is titled as the “Western Classical Music in the Hamidian Era” and it consists of three subtitles. The first one is the personal musical life of Sultan Abdülhamid II and his family, which is followed by *Muzikâ-yı Hümâyûn* in the Hamidian Era, and the last one is called the “musical performances at the theater in the Yıldız Palace.”

Apart from the musical activities organized within the boundaries of the Yıldız Palace, in the Hamidian reign various concerts and performances in Western line occurred in the Ottoman Empire. Scrutinizing archival materials and newspapers of the period, we observed that the German club called the *Teutonia* was very active regarding the Western musical activities, especially during his rather long reign (1876-1909). Generally, the term *Teutonia* has been known primarily as a German

place for the cultural events such as concerts, theater plays and exhibitions. Although the exact date of its foundation is unknown, it is believed that the *Teutonia* in İstanbul was founded in 1847.¹⁵ Though the members of “*Teutonia*”s in Germany and Austria were mainly university students, the founding members of *Teutonia* in İstanbul were predominantly craftsmen. The club offered its German members an opportunity for socializing, exchanging ideas and participating in community life of İstanbul.¹⁶

The curiosity about the history of the *Teutonia* club started in the 1950s. In the *Teutonia Mitteilungsblatt* of October 1957, all of which were free and monthly published releases for the current members of the association, the first case of the series in terms of the history of the *Teutonia* club was prepared. A work by the former director of Deutsche Schule İstanbul (the German School of İstanbul), Scheuermann had been written down in the light of the records of board meetings and general assemblies, and printed annual reports of the *Teutonia*. What is more, the reporting manuscripts by Sauslein over the first 50 years existence, anecdotes, stories, memoirs and diary excerpts were used as additional references by him.¹⁷

Having lived in İstanbul for almost 52 years, the gifted journalist Franz von Caucig also refers to the history of *Teutonia* İstanbul in his manuscripts. According to von Caucig, the most important point regarding the history of the club is that it is

¹⁵ Anne Dietrich. *Deutschsein in İstanbul: Nationalisierung und Orientierung in der deutschsprachigen Community von 1843 bis 1956*. (Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 1998), pp. 98-99.

¹⁶ Ibid, pp. 50-51.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 100.

unknown: “The following records are collected from volatile and completely yellowed notes that have been found after the Second World War in an envelope with old papers in the library of *Teutonia*. They had disappeared, just like the original history of *Teutonia*.”¹⁸

As stated above, von Caucig’s account is very valuable; not only because it contains excerpts from the *Mitteilungsblatt* of October 1957, but it also includes compilations of eye-witnesses in the form of letters or diaries from the nineteenth century. Through reading this account by von Caucig, one can grasp detailed information about the German club *Teutonia*.

Anne Dietrich’s Ph.D. dissertation *Deutschsein in İstanbul* (“Being German in İstanbul”) is another important source, where the life in *Teutonia* is depicted in details. Because her only concern was not the history of the club, only six pages were dedicated to the history of the *Teutonia* İstanbul. However, reading between the lines, we are able to find various points where the *Teutonia* was extremely active. For instance, Anne Dietrich points out the role of the Christmas Markets in the life of the German community in İstanbul. There, we should keep in mind that *Weihnachtsmarkts* were significant events, which had been organized actually by the *Teutonia*. A parallel example could be given from the Turkish side: Mustafa Gencer in his following two works: *1908-1918 Dönemi Türk - Alman İlişkileri ve Eğitim*, and *Jöntürk Modernizmi ve Alman Ruhu*, he mentioned in terms of the *Teutonia* only that Germans of İstanbul were gathering at the *Teutonia*.¹⁹

¹⁸ Quoted in Radt, Ibid, p. 14.

¹⁹ Mustafa Gencer, *Jöntürk Modernizmi ve Alman Ruhu* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2003), p. 63.

Although von Caucig claimed that its original history had disappeared, Barbara Radt was eager for unfolding the mist over the history of this German club. Having scrutinized all possible primary and secondary resources, which were all available in German, she narrates the history of the German club *Teutonia* through depicting the life of the German community in İstanbul, from 1847 till 2000. Her work *die Geschichte der Teutonia* was published in 2001 by the Orient Institute İstanbul.²⁰ This book consists of five chapters. The structure of each chapter is almost the same: she starts with the significant events of the specific period, and afterwards she talks about further German associations. Having mentioned them, she moves into the other associations or clubs, which were founded by other foreign missionaries, such as French, British and American... “Regarding people and their manners” subtitle is followed by Galata and Pera part. She concludes each chapter with “important historical remarks.”

In her first chapter, which is called *Bis zur Gründung des Deutschen Kaiserreiches 1847-1870*, (“Until the Foundation of the German Empire”), she first talks about the significant events of the period, then she illustrates the German presence in Galata and Pera by referring to prominent German figures and German associations.

In her second chapter *In der Zeit des Deutschen Kaiserreiches von 1871-1918 (1923)* (“During the German Empire from 1871 to 1918 (1923)”), the author situates the German presence in İstanbul among other foreign presences as the growing one,

²⁰ Radt, Ibid.

she claims that the popularity of *Teutonia* ascended especially with its new location in today's Galip Dede Sokağı.

The third chapter *In den frühen Jahren der Türkischen Republik* (1923-1944) (“In the Early Turkish Republican Era”) is the longest among all chapters; here the main thesis of the author is that the change of the regime from the Ottoman Empire into the Republic of Turkey did not influence the growing situation of the *Teutonia* in the beginning. According to Radt, the Second World War changed the destiny of the club. The fact that there were National-Socialists among the members of *Teutonia* caused the confinement of this German club, although there were many members who were in favor of the neutrality of the club.

Her following chapter deals with the period between 1945 and 1970. Here, we witness the re-opening of the *Teutonia*. In her final chapter, we observe the transformation of *Teutonia* into such a place, where the majority of the participants to the activities that were organized by the club, were not Germans anymore. She explains the reasons of this shift in details.

Three years following the work by Barbara Radt, an exhibition about the history of *Teutonia* took place in its own building of the club. I call this exhibition as a recapitulation of the work of Barbara Radt. Adding new documents upon which no one has touched yet, and focusing on the cultural influence of the club, my hope is to make a debut contribution to the historiography of the German club: *Teutonia*.

Having talked about all available literature on the *Teutonia*, I must confess, that one of the aims of this study is to fulfill a gap in the historiography of the *Teutonia* by examining it through the sources which so far have not been researched.

These sources are the Ottoman archival materials and the press of the time which were focusing on the cultural activities, mainly music, that were organized at or by the *Teutonia*. Although the *Teutonia* was a German club, Ottoman élites and non-Muslims attended to the cultural events organized by the *Teutonia*, frequently. Hence, the musical activities organized at or by the *Teutonia* have been chosen as a case study in this thesis. This case study allows us to read how politics was in charge in the consumption of music and it also reveals the internalization of the Western Classical Music also in public venues through joint concerts performed by German and Ottoman musicians in the *Teutonia*.

Before delving into the musical activities organized at or by the *Teutonia*, in the first part of the second chapter of this thesis, the historiographical debates on German imperialism in the Ottoman Empire have been mentioned. Having referred to the German presence in the Ottoman Empire, in the second part of the second chapter, the background information about the *Teutonia* as an extension of German cultural presence is given. Defining the term the *Teutonia* initially, following the state of the art of this German club in İstanbul, the history of the club with its buildings, its structure, and its cultural and musical events have been narrated.

The third part of the second chapter in this thesis is based on the musical activities organized in the buildings of the *Teutonia* or the concerts that were held outside the club, but organized by the board of the *Teutonia*. In the light of the existing concert programmes and information given in the diaries, memoirs and travel accounts, the choices of repertoires, the performers, and the consumers of the concerts had been dealt with. The last pages of the second chapter gives place to the concert series of the *Berliner Liedertafel*, which was a German choir and who gave a

series of concerts in 1908 in İstanbul including a private concert for Sultan Abdülhamid II. I believe this trip was a very obvious sign in order to prove the hypothesis of this thesis that music has been politically instrumentalized. On the one hand, these pages revealed how this trip was perceived by the German administration as part of German imperialism, on the other hand it showed that the Ottoman administration paid special attention to this trip. From the eyes of the Ottomans, organizing joint concerts with these German singers with the imperial orchestra of the Ottomans would have strengthened the German-Ottoman partnership as an extension in the cultural sphere.

In the past, many thinkers have emphasized the importance of music and its social significance. Music directly reflects the society, there is no doubt. Daily experiences, long-term routines, customs, emotional life, social happenings, etc., are all embedded in the music of a country. So, the shared values of a society create its music, which means that, music is a collective product and has certain components built in it. Following this view, most politicians supported in making music a tool for shaping the society. Many countries had politically shaped musical policies, based on this particular view. These policies are to be seen in many countries, such as Hitler's Germany with an emphasis on strong music like Wilhelm Richard Wagner, or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with political constraints upon famous composers like Shostakovich or Prokofiev. The last part of this thesis is based on concluding remarks, this chapter tries to situate music of the late Ottoman Empire within this context and it underlines the instrumentalization of music, both politically and socially.

CHAPTER II

‘READING’ MUSIC

Musicology is the study of music and it includes all musically relevant disciplines and all manifestations of music in all cultures, if one would define musicology in its broader sense. Traditionally, musicology implies the study of music history.

However, in the twentieth century, the definition of the term had been broadened.

Today’s use of musicology perceives this discipline not only as the study of form and notation, or the study of the lives of composers and players, besides comparative musicology it also deals with the development of musical instruments, and its field includes aesthetics, acoustics, and physiology of the voice, ear, and hand.²¹

Musicology incorporates a mixture of humanities and sciences, and is based on musical practice with its all spheres: the performance, the production, the consumption, etc. of music. Apart from these, musicology comprises also a wide range of non-musical disciplines and their methodical tools. This widely interdisciplinary nature of musicology put a great responsibility onto the shoulders of musicologists, that person should be both musicologist and psychologist. An ethnomusicologist should be both musicologist and anthropologist or ethnologist. The examples can be proliferated: music sociologists are, or should be, both musicologists and sociologists, while music historians are, or should be, both musicologists and historians, and so on.

Musicology has always been considered both as a multi-disciplinary and an inter-disciplinary field. For instance, music did not mean only an art, but also it was a

²¹ Charles Rosen, *Critical Entertainments: Music Old and New* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000), pp. 255–272.

matter for scientific and philosophical investigation for the ancient Greeks by dealing with number theory and ratios, musical intervals and their consonance, tetra-chords and scales. These ancient people also wanted to investigate the relation between musical emotion and ethos, and they wanted to find out the cosmic foundation of music. In the middle ages, music was tried to be studied very intensively in order to reach the divinity.

Although there existed innumerable early flowering of theoretical discourse around music, musicology had been recognized as an independent field of knowledge and research in the nineteenth century. For instance, in the preface of the book *Jahrbücher für musikalische Wissenschaft*, published in 1863 by Chrysander, we are able to read the debates on the nature of the music as a discipline.²² The initial phase could be dated back into the eighteenth century. First time published in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, John Hawkins's *General History of the Science and Practice of Music*;²³ and Charles Burney's *General History of Music*²⁴ constitute the mile-stones for the music discipline. All of these works were affected deeply by the Enlightenment. The idea of progress, the concept of continuity between past and present of the Enlightenment pushed the authors to search for the situation of music

²² [Friedrich Chrysander](#), *Jahrbücher für musikalische Wissenschaft: 1863-1867* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Haertel, 1863), pp. 9-16.

²³ John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (New York: Dover Publications, 1963).

²⁴ Charles Burney, *General History of Music: From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* (1789) (New York: Dover Publications, 1935).

with these concerns. Periodization and the classification regarding musical styles and musical genres was started to be done by scholars.²⁵

The role of music in the formation of the nation-state, instrumentalization of music for political goals dominated the field of music history in the nineteenth century. The rise of historiography as a discipline was influenced on the publication of biographies of well-known composers. Besides the biographies of composers and performers, the nineteenth century witnessed the development of research methods in music and so the term “historical musicology” was used for the first time in 1885, by Guido Adler in the introductory pages of his *Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft* in the book titled *Vierteljahresschrift für Musikwissenschaft*.²⁶ According to him, musicology should be divided into two sub disciplines: historical and systematic. The growing interest in non-Western music let the emergence of ethno-musicology as a new subfield of music as a discipline. Until the developments of the recent decades, tripartite division of musicology: historical, ethnological, and systematic, had been welcomed by most scholars. Recent studies in general erode the tripartite model.

In the United States of America, music theory appeared as a new field. In the 1970s and 1980s, the rise of cognitive science influenced on music and music-psychology emerged as a new branch. Music acoustics maintained a further strong autonomous identity gradually. Various fields of musical research, such as music education, have become as important as the traditional branches. All these new

²⁵ David Beard & Kenneth Gloag, *Musicology: The Key Concepts* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 82.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 82.

branches within and around musicology have recently declared their own independent identities. The emergence of “new musicology” in the 1990’s eroded all these divisions by underlining the necessity of multi-disciplinary aspect of “new musicology,” which focuses on culture, gender, and subjectivity. The emergence of “new musicology” is related with the rise of post-modernism. Post-modern art and post-modern music may include more than one style in a single piece or sound event, thereby abandoning the unified subjectivity that was previously taken for granted. Similarly, a post-modern musicology may be regarded as a musicology that is multi-disciplinary: this new musicology may be interpreted as implicitly suggesting that music has sexual, political, and emotional connotations.²⁷

Susan McClary is a very important scholar in the field of new musicology. *Feminine Endings* written by McClary analyses the sonata form in terms of the constructions of gender and sexual identity.²⁸ She compares “masculine” key to the “feminine” key. According to her, feminine key represents the other, a territory to be conquered by the tonic home key, which is masculine. In her *Conventional Wisdom*,²⁹ she argues that the traditional musicological assumption that music should be dealt with without taking its cultural and social contexts, is a big problem. According to her, social and political imperatives of the world-view had influence on the production and the consumption of music. Therefore, the creation of meanings

²⁷ Don Michael Randel, (ed.), *Harvard Dictionary of Music*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, Fourth Edition, 2003), pp. 452–454.

²⁸ Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1991).

²⁹ Susan McClary, *Conventional Wisdom: the Context of Musical Form* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 63-108.

and identities, some oppressive and hegemonic, some affirmative and resistant, should be examined within the field of “new musicology.”

Recently, in Turkey, many works started to be written down under the heavy influence of “new musicology,” especially the works on “arabesque” by Martin Stokes,³⁰ and Meral Özbek³¹ could be considered as examples of this trend with their methodologies. My aim in this thesis is to work on Western Classical Music in the late Ottoman Empire by utilizing the methodological tools of this field called “new musicology.”

According to the Republican Turkish historiography, the Early Republican Period covering 1923-1929 was the reconstruction period of state institutions and the economy of Turkey, in line with the needs of the newly-born Republic. In those years, the state intervened in the economical, political and social aspects of the society, directly or indirectly. In the Early Republican Period, the target was to go beyond the Western civilization. This historiography perceives the movements within the education system, based on the Western model, as well as in the military and the political arena during the Ottoman period as “some restoration movements.” Especially, the period of the *Tanzîmât* and the following years have been mentioned, however, the stress was always on the powerful effect of the Republic regarding music as part of “modernization.” Western polyphonic music education and its institutionalization were not though systemized yet according to this view. The works in this line start narrating the story of Westernization of music with the

³⁰ Martin Stokes, *The Arabesk Debate: Music and Musicians in Modern Turkey* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

³¹ Meral Özbek, *Popüler Kültür ve Orhan Gencebay Arabeski* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1991).

Republican Era and disregard the long process of Ottoman Westernization, which had started to take place in the late eighteenth century, followed by the *Tanzîmât* Era, and continued even in the oppressive reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II.

Works by Emre Aracı, Vedat Kosal and Pars Tuğlacı do challenge in this sense the Republican stance, because their works focus on the Westernization of music, in the Ottoman Empire. However, the problem of these works is that, all of these authors focus only on the production side of music, while none of these names narrate us what happened in terms of the consumption. Reading throughout the lines, one gets the feeling that Westernized music was consumed only by the Ottoman élites. Although it is possible to refer to a literature on music regarding the history of Westernization such as the books and articles written by Emre Aracı, Vedat Kosal and Pars Tuğlacı, or after the Armistice period such as the works of Şenol Durgun, Fethiye Erbay, Filiz Ali; up until today no one worked the instrumentalization of music in the late Ottoman Empire.

Especially the position of music in the Ottoman Empire as part of imperialistic policies has not been studied yet. The aim of this thesis is to fulfill this gap in Turkish historiography and continue along the way which was opened by recent works in the West that try to examine music with the tools of “new musicology.” I think focusing on Western Classical Music in the late Ottoman Empire would allow me to trace how music was politically and socially instrumentalized.

In order to enrich my goal, first the history of Western Classical Music is going to be narrated and then via the case study of the *Teutonia*, the hypothesis of

this study: that “music in the late Ottoman Empire had been socially and politically instrumentalized” is going to be tested.

Musical Encounters in the Late Ottoman Empire until the Hamidian Era

Cultural and artistic encounters between the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe had already begun in the eighteenth century. Being the central district of business and commerce in the nineteenth century with various banks, insurance companies, and trading firms; Galata was the setting of cultural exchange, where foreigners played intermediary roles for material and literal transfer between cultures.³² Pera had been considered as the most Westernized part of the city, and it developed as an extension of Galata, with its *hâns* and *cites*, and luxury quarters like *café chantants*, theatres, hotels, shops, clubs, and beer houses. Besides goods, new artistic forms, methodologies and tendencies were being imported from Europe and they were also being adopted by the Ottomans, through the individual artists or the companies traveling to İstanbul.

Among these intermediary figures, Giuseppe Donizetti, brother of the famous opera composer Gaetano Donizetti, would be a very distinctive example. He was invited to İstanbul in the reign of Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839), who was very

³² Steven Rosenthal, in his *The Politics of Dependency: Urban Reform in İstanbul* (Santa Barbara California: Greenwood Press, 1980), draws attention to Galata's exclusiveness and arrogance vis-a-vis the rest of İstanbul, and that it is accepted as the area of pleasure, referring to cabarets, gambling and prostitution. Thus, concepts like inconvenience, fear and danger emerged were linked to the district.

interested in theatre and kept various theatre texts in his library.³³ In 1828, Giuseppe Donizetti arrived in İstanbul to form a military orchestra on Western lines. This institution would also function as a conservatory, where young people of the palace were trained in both music and the stage arts. *Muzikâ-yı Hümayûn* or ‘Imperial Military Music School’ had a crucial role both in the spreading of Western music and the education of young artists and teachers. Donizetti supported the annual Italian opera season in Pera, organized concerts and operatic performances at the Ottoman court. Additionally, he composed the first national anthem of the Ottoman Empire, and was also active in organizing the visits of important musicians to İstanbul, such as that of Franz Liszt in 1847, besides others; Parish Alvars and Leopold de Meyer. The fact that a celebrated virtuoso like Franz Liszt was invited to the city to give a series of concerts at the Ottoman court is “an important indicator of the growing popularity of European music in the Ottoman household.”³⁴ People, who wanted to be part of the Ottoman élite, bought expensive luxurious pianos in order to show off how Westernized they were. Especially female figures; daughters or wives of the sultans and high bureaucrats were playing the piano in this time.

Actually, poly-phony had been introduced to the Ottoman world long before the establishment of the *Muzikâ-yı Hümayûn*. In general, it is perceived that poly-phony which developed in the West over many centuries, was alien to traditional Turkish music, which is monophonic. Visiting European troops gave orchestral concerts, had opera, ballet and choir performances. Francois I of France had sent an

³³ It is known that, in 1836, around 500 texts were brought from Europe for Sultan Mahmud II’s personal library.

³⁴ Emre Aracı, 2000, *European Music at the Ottoman Court*, http://Humanist.nl/loacm/pages/the_music.htm, [21 December 2007]

orchestra to Süleyman the Magnificent after the treaty between France and the Ottoman Empire was signed in 1543; this orchestra gave three performances in the Ottoman court.³⁵

In the seventeenth century, Grand Vizier Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed *Paşa* had intended to invite opera singers from Venice for the circumcision festivities of the son of Sultan Mehmed IV, and for the wedding party of his daughter Hadice Sultan.³⁶ “One particular item sent to Sultan Mehmed III in 1599 by Queen Elizabeth I of England, was an organ built specially by the English organ builder Thomas Dallam, who installed the instrument at the Topkapı Palace in the presence of the Ottoman ruler.”³⁷

Emre Aracı tells us that, through their ambassadors, the Ottomans were kept further informed about the musical life of Europe. Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi was one of these figures in the eighteenth century. During the reign of Sultan Ahmed III, he attended to an opera performance in Paris, and in his account, he told that it was a splendid art.³⁸

It seems that the Ottoman ambassadors not only made observations about the musical life around them, but sometimes were also the source of inspiration for musical compositions. This can clearly be seen in the case of Yusuf Agah Efendi, the

³⁵ Vedat Kosal, *Western Classical Music in the Otoman Empire* (İstanbul: İstanbul Stock Exchange, 1999), p. 11.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 12.

³⁷ Stanley Mayes, *An Organ for the Sultan*, (London: Putnam, 1956), p. 19.

³⁸ Quoted in: Aracı, Ibid.

first permanent ambassador of the Sublime Porte to St. James's court in the year 1794. In the holdings of the British Library, there is a piece for the 'harpsichord or the pianoforte' entitled *The Turkish Ambassador's Grand March* by one W. P. R. Cope, no doubt composed to mark the appointment of the new ambassador. Coincidentally or otherwise, Haydn's only 'Turkish' Symphony, the *Military*, was also first heard on 31 March 1794, at the Hanover Square Rooms.³⁹

In the eighteenth century, and especially during the Tulip Period, still perceived as the flowering of arts, culture and architecture in the Ottoman Empire, music was deeply influenced by the novelties of the epoch. The subjects of the songs changed, they started to talk about getting out of the domestic spaces, joining amusements. Çolakoğlu give the songs of Tanburi Çavuş as examples to this changing nature and to the "Westernization" in Ottoman music.⁴⁰

In the reign of Sultan Selim III (1789-1807), novelties marked this era in cultural life as well as in music. Except for the classicists of the time like Sadullah Ağa and Dellâlzâde, who preferred to remain outside this fervor of change, among those innovators in music were well-known composers such as Tanbûrî Emin, Nu'man Ağa, Zeki Mehmed Ağa, Nasır Abdûlbakî Dede, Hampartsum, Küçük

³⁹ Aracı, Ibid.

⁴⁰ Gözde Çolakoğlu and Murat Nur Çolakoğlu, "Western Effects and Responses in the Ottoman Court Music Identity during the Eras of Selim III and Mahmud II" (*Musical Societies and Politics: Ottoman and Early Republican Turkey in its European Context Conference*, Boğaziçi University, İstanbul, the text of the presentation held on 29-31 October 2009).

Mehmed Ağa, Şehla Hafız, Kemani Ali Ağa, the young İsmail Dede, Şakir Ağa and Kemanî Rıza Efendi.⁴¹

In the period of Sultan Selim III, the studies on *maqâm*, notes and theory became important. In the light of these studies, new combinations of traditional and new “Western” forms were invented by these musicians. Regarding the introduction of Western forms, the concerts and performances in the Western line played important roles. The piano-harp concerts organized in the Ottoman court can be given as examples. Moreover, a Western opera company was invited to İstanbul in 1797, whose performances were met with great delight around the Ottoman court.⁴²

Following the foundation of the *Muzikâ-yı Hümayûn* (1826) in the reign of Mahmud II (1808-1839), the effect of Westernization on music increased gradually. Where *mehterhâne* was serving the role of educating musicians in the Ottoman Empire, with the abolition of the Janissary corps in 1826 by Sultan Mahmud II, the *Mehter* Era had ended. *Muzikâ-yı Hümayûn* was the new name of the military band and school attached to the Ottoman palace. It replaced the *Mehterhâne* of the Janissaries, and the former *Meşkhâne*, for place music. Giuseppe Donizetti, as stated before, was honored by the imperial title: “*Paşa*.” He not only ordered musical instruments and instructors from Europe, but besides the imperial orchestra, he also formed small musical groups, where the members of these groups played Western Classical Music compositions.

⁴¹ Cinuçen Tanrıkorur, *The Ottoman Music*, http://www.turkmusikisi.com/osmanli_musikisi/the_ottoman_music.htm#_ftn1 [21 December 2008]

⁴² See: Kosal, Ibid.

In the Mahmudian and Mecidian reigns, as a reaction to the dominance of foreign musicians, Ottoman composers produced new songs where Western taste can be felt. İsmail Dede's "*Kâr-ı Nev*," "*Yine neş'e-i muhabbet*" and "*Yine bir gülnihal*" would exemplify those. İsmail Dede (1777-1845) expressed his discontent in the following lines: "there is no more joy left in this game."⁴³

Referring to the Western music in the Ottoman Empire, one should talk about the different layers here, until the Mecidian reign, as tried to be depicted, Western music had always existed only among the court circles. Especially from the 1850s onwards, the number of the imported scores, instruments, instructors, and works had increased sharply. Importation was not limited to objects rather, it should be stated that many teachers and musicians were brought from Western countries, for the public performances. For instance, in 1852, Naum managed to acquire a patent granting him a monopoly in the production of theatrical and operatic performances in İstanbul for ten years,⁴⁴ and in 1856, he engaged the famous Italian composer and conductor Luigi Arditi, who had conducted concerts before Sultan Abdülmecid, the predecessor of Sultan Abdülaziz, also dedicated a Turkish ode to Sultan Abdülmecid, and managed to receive awards from both of these sultans. Furthermore, besides the famous works of Gaetano Donizetti, Vincenzo Bellini, Gioachino Rossini, and Giuseppe Verdi, the first recorded play⁴⁵ acted in Turkish was performed in May 1858, in this theatre. On 8 October 1861, New Italian Dram

⁴³ Cem Behar, *Musikeden Müziğe: Osmanlı / Türk Müziği: Gelenek ve Modernlik* (İstanbul: YKY, 2005), pp. 17-18.

⁴⁴ Metin And, *A History of Theatre and Popular Entertainment in Turkey* (Ankara: Forum Yayınları, 1963), p. 112.

⁴⁵ Translated by Hekimoğlu Sırap, this unidentified play was 'The Hypocrite and the Reckless-one.'

Company started performing in the Naum Theatre, and due to the fact that this company, together with its chorus manager, director, conductor, stage manager, and scenery designer, was an Italian company, and mostly Italian performances had been staged, the Naum Theatre came to be recalled as 'Italian Theatre.' As an engraving dated 1862 shows, various social activities such as the Garibaldi Festival, were also organized by the Italians living in İstanbul.

After Sultan Abdülmecid, the Ottoman court moved from the Topkapı Palace, which had functioned as the official and primary residence of the Ottoman sultans in the city from 1465 to 1853, to the Dolmabahçe Palace, which then became the main administrative center of the Ottoman Empire. Served from 1853 to 1922, apart from the twenty year interval (1889-1909), in which the Yıldız Palace was used by Sultan Abdülhamid II, Dolmabahçe Palace was considered as the first European-style Ottoman palace.⁴⁶ As the palace moved from the old city to the coasts of the Bosphorus, there occurred change in the balance of relationships within the urban context. The shift in center marked social and urban transformations and districts outside İstanbul also acquired new roles. Besides Pera, which had always been an active urban center, due to its commercial relations with Europe as it was situated close to Galata, the port district, the Dolmabahçe Palace, and after that, the Yıldız Palace became centers of theatrical endeavors within the confines of the court. However, the Gedikpaşa Theatre, which was founded in the old city kept the cultural dynamism alive in this district more at the public level.

Sultan Abdülmecid's major hobby, his attending the theatre performances in Pera, especially in the Naum Theatre, can be considered among the major motivations for the establishment of the Dolmabahçe Palace Theatre in 1855. Sultan Abdülmecid was aiming to have the opportunity to watch theatre in his own residence, by considering its potential function as a sign of prestige and respectability of not only of his palace, but also the Ottoman Empire. Of course, this prestige sign was to address foreign statesmen coming from Europe to the Ottoman capital, who would watch performances by foreign and local permanent theatre companies in the Ottoman palace.⁴⁷ Other than performances, several balls and important meetings were also organized in the Dolmabahçe Palace Theatre, which eventually became a kind of an élite social center.

The opening ceremony of the Dolmabahçe Palace Theater was full of Western European diplomats and their wives. According to Emre Aracı, Lady Bulwe, who was the wife of the British ambassador, was seated on the left of Sultan Abdülmecid's lodge, while the wife of the Swedish ambassador, Mme. Sibern, was seated on the right of the Sultan's lodge.⁴⁸ Sultan Abdülaziz shared the same table with the European princes and their wives in the formal and casual gatherings, which could be perceived as a novelty for the Ottoman dynasty. Now, the sultan was not representing a distance and superiority, rather the sultan was now behaving like Europeans.

⁴⁷ German Kaizer Wilhelm II visited the Dolmabahçe Palace Theatre twice, first in 1889, and second in 1899. After the building of the palace theatre, Sultan Abdülaziz continued to go also to the Naum Theatre. It is known that, together with King Edward VII, Sultan Abdülaziz went to see performances on 2 and 8 April 1868.

⁴⁸ Emre Aracı, *Donizetti Paşa: Osmanlı Sarayının İtalyan Maestrosu*. (İstanbul: YKY, 2006), pp. 124-125.

Sultan Abdülaziz had several trips in Europe, and during his visits, being a musician himself, he always attended to the concerts or operas. For instance, during his trip to Paris in 1867, he and his entourage attended to a performance in the opera house which was located on Boulevard des Capucines.⁴⁹ A further example took place during his visits in England, where he watched Auber's *Asaniello*.⁵⁰ Apart from these musical activities, foreigners organized concerts to his honor, which led him to organize similar concerts in the Western line in the receptions. First, the sultan's lodge in the Naum Theater had been reserved for the Prince of Wales and his wife.⁵¹ The reception ceremony organized for the visit of the French Empress Eugénie had been a stage for the Western Classical Music as well. Naum called his performers earlier than the usual, with the petition from the sultan and for the honor of the French Empress, the imperial band directed by Guatelli also performed. The program of the reception included an opera performance in the Naum Theater as well, it was planned that the empress was going to watch the performance from the sultan's lodge, but due to a last minute change she could not attend.⁵²

A similar program of reception was organized in the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz for the visits of the Austrian King François Joseph,⁵³ where again Western Classical Music was consumed. All these reception ceremonies, organized for the

⁴⁹ Ibid, pp. 134-135.

⁵⁰ Ibid, Referring to the theatrical performance organized for the formal reception ceremony.

⁵¹ Ibid, pp. 134-135.

⁵² Ahmet Refik Sevengil, *Opera Sanatı ile İlk Temaslarımız* (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1959), p. 42.

⁵³ Ibid, p. 42.

European rulers, were like the replicas of Sultan Abdülaziz's reception ceremonies in Europe, in 1867.⁵⁴

All in all, as tried to be shown, that from the Tulip Era onwards, the production and the consumption of Western Classical Music increased in the Ottoman Empire. First, this type of music was practiced within the boundaries of the Ottoman Palace, but gradually it spread to the whole city, and was not only consumed usually by the foreigners, but also by non-Muslims and Ottoman élites. Moreover, this spread had an influence upon the traditional Ottoman music, and 'hybrid' forms had been invented and in the process the music in the Ottoman Empire slowly, but insistently, started to become "Westernized." In the following next sub-chapter, one reign would be examined closely, and the "Westernization" of music would be analyzed through the musical performances in the Hamidian Era.

Western Classical Music from the Unionist Period to the Republican Era

During the war years, regarding music and musical policies, it is hard to mention that a certain policy has been committed. However, it is possible to argue that this period played an important role regarding the transition to the new regime: "İstanbul had always been a cosmopolitan city, but during the Armistice, it was

⁵⁴ Melis Süloş, "Theatrical Politics: The Use of European Music and Drama in the Ottoman Society," (*Musical Societies and Politics: Ottoman and Early Republican Turkey in its European Context Conference*, Boğaziçi University, İstanbul, the text of the presentation held on 29-31 October 2009).

internationalized.”⁵⁵ The Allied Forces, as the new-comers, presented their way of life to İstanbul and thus disturbed the traditional way of life in the city. Willingly or unwillingly, every single person in İstanbul became a part of this new social life with its new models in the social and cultural space in the years of Occupation (1918-1923). By focusing on music as a mirror of cultural practices, a social map of İstanbul beyond the binary oppositions can be drawn. This imaginary map will depict the multiplicity of the voices, among which the love and hate relationship regarding the Westernization was the soloist.

With the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, Turkey started to apply a serious cultural policy in the first years of the Republic. Music was, of course, an important part of the policy, being a major discipline in fine arts and supposedly having the ability to shape culture and society. Like in many revolutionary cases, the cultural policies were implemented on the society without leaving much space for public debate. The transformation had to be done both quickly and efficiently.

The Kemalist Revolution came with its radical social reform programme. “Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was planning to use a popular approach as a unifying force, because Ottoman society was divided into two different cultural worlds, namely the ‘palace culture’ and the ‘folk culture.’ Such a division also served as a barrier to communication between the rulers and the ruled.” The situation is best described in Şerif Mardin’s words:⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Kosal, Ibid, p. 52.

⁵⁶ Emre Kongar, “Turkey’s Cultural Transformation,” in: Günseli Renda & C. Max Kortepeter, (eds.), *The Transformation of Turkish Culture: The Atatürk Legacy*, (Princeton, New Jersey: The Kingston Press. Inc., 1986), pp. 19-68.

Two different cultural worlds existed side by side in the Ottoman Empire without much contact with one another. One of these was the world of partly orally transmitted literary traditions, the world of folk-culture, of tales, epics and widely-read popular poetry. The second, the world of “polite” culture, was separated from the first by a virtual Chinese wall. In the rarefied atmosphere of this so-called *divân* literature, the media of communication were controlled by a relatively small group of Doctors of Islamic law (‘*Ulemâ*’), higher employees of ‘departments’ of the central administration (*Divân* employees or *Hâcegân*) and a few additional unattached ‘*hommes de lettres*.’ In general, most of the literati held some governmental post. Thus strategic lines of communications were concentrated in the governmental machine and, for all practical purposes, ‘communications’ meant the ability of state servants to please one another with the literary productions and to keep the flow of governmental and judicial information running.⁵⁷

Culture was one of the most important elements in the agenda and music had a dominant role in culture. It is known that the Republic of Turkey had an official policy towards polyphonic, Western style music. The views of Ziya Gökalp had a substantial influence on this transformation process of music. Ziya Gökalp defined Classical Turkish Music as an Eastern music under Iranian and Arabic influences and he represented great admiration of folk music in his writings: “our national music therefore is to be born from a synthesis of our folk music and Western music. Our folk music provides us with a rich treasure of melodies. By collecting and arranging them on the basis of the Western techniques, we shall have both a national and a modern music.”⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Şerif Mardin, “Some Notes on an Early Phase in the Modernization of Communications in Turkey,” [Society for Comparative Studies in Society and History](#), Vol. 3, No. 3 (April, 1961), pp. 250-271.

⁵⁸ Quoted in: Karl Signell, “The Modernization Process in Two Oriental Music Cultures: Turkish and Japan,” *Asian Music*, Vol. 7, No. 2, Symposium on the Ethnomusicology of Culture Change in Asia (1976), p. 78.

In 1925, governmental scholarship examinations were introduced for talented music students to provide them an education on composition and musical interpretation and to be sent to main European music centers such as Budapest, Prague, Paris, Berlin, and etc., to learn the Western polyphonic music system. In 1928, the same scholarship examination was re-introduced. Among those who have got state grants were Ulvi Cemal Erkin, A. Adnan Saygun, Necil Kazım Akses, and Hasan Ferit Alnar. These composers, who were later called the “Turkish Five” with the inclusion of Cemal Reşit Rey, had private music education in the late period of Ottoman Empire, in cosmopolitan Ottoman cities such as İstanbul and İzmir. Except for Cemal Reşit Rey, who studied on his own resources, other composers were sent abroad for education by the government. These young people, who were sent to Europe, were later appointed to teaching positions in Music Teachers’ School in Ankara, after their returning back to Turkey.

Involving music lessons in the curriculum, sending talented musicians abroad, among which ‘Turkish Five’ became the most famous, constituted the backbone of the nationalist discourse in music in the Republican Era. The opening of Western style music schools like *Dârü’l-elhân* or *Musiki Muâllim Mektebi*, and the setting up of orchestras like *Riyâset-i Cumhûr Mûsiki Hey’eti*, etc. were all signs of that policy.⁵⁹ In the 1930’s, this policy became stricter and many measures were taken for Western polyphonic music to spread out. Apart from conservatories and orchestras, *Halk Evleri* (“People’s Houses”), choirs, theatres, and radio stations were also among the newly developed institutions, all promoted by the government. The People’s Houses in the cities and the People’s Rooms in the villages, which were founded in

⁵⁹ Ahmet Say, *Mûzik Tarihi* (Ankara: Mûzik Ansiklopedisi Yayınları, 2006), pp. 513-514.

1932, supported the reforms of Atatürk; and in these centers educational activities on fine arts, sports, music, literature, history, and etc., were conducted in a broad range. Regular Western music concerts were organized in many of the People's Houses.⁶⁰

Fine Arts General Directorate was established in the 1930's under the rubric of the Ministry of National Education. It is possible to argue that it took over the progress on music, turning into another controversial issue in these years. This controversy mainly involved the need for a Ministry of Fine Arts and Music, and the limited sphere for culture and art, despite all radical changes introduced during the Early Republican Era.

During the Second World War period, although Turkey did not directly involve in the war, Turkey still got influenced by the negative consequences of the war such as the fall of production, and losses on the tax incomes, etc. Application of projected development plans became rather difficult, but in spite of all difficulties, many activities, which had already started in the early years of the Turkish Republic, still continued. The coming of "war refugees,"⁶¹ or the ex-German *Hymatlos*, who were professional experts in their areas, contributed to the transformation of the music reform, initiated by the Republic. Paul Hindemith,⁶² Carl Ebert,⁶³ Lico Amar, Joseph

⁶⁰ Kuvılcım Şenürkmez, "An Overview to the Institutionalization Process of Polyphonic Music in the Early Republican Period of Turkey," (*Musical Societies and Politics: Ottoman and Early Republican Turkey in its European Context Conference*, Boğaziçi University, İstanbul, the text of the presentation held on 29-31 October 2009).

⁶¹ Many of these foreign experts came to Turkey to escape from the negative influences of the Second World War.

⁶² He visited Turkey several times during the years 1934 to 1937 and played an important role in the foundation of the Ankara Conservatory.

⁶³ He worked for the Conservatory as theatre and opera director.

Marx,⁶⁴ Eduard Zuckmayer, and Ernst Praetorius⁶⁵ played important roles regarding the development of the Turkish music.

The theatre department had been inaugurated within the Conservatory, which compromised only the music department, following that Music Teachers' School was finally transformed into a conservatory. Between 1938 and 1940, Radio Ankara established its own Western Classical Music department, while professional choirs started to be formed. In this era, many music and compositional contests took place, such as the March Contest for the tenth Anniversary of the Republic (1933).

String Orchestra in İstanbul, which was performing since 1927, changed its name in 1943 as "Conservatory String Orchestra." It had the permanent staff sponsored by the İstanbul Municipality. Two years later, İstanbul Governorship allocated an extra symphonic orchestra fund to the budget of the conservatory, this orchestra was converted to a symphonic orchestra which gave regular concerts and was conducted by Cemal Reşit Rey.

Where developments in music were mainly supported by the government, in the 1940s, musical activities started to move also with private initiatives. In 1944, the İstanbul Philharmonic Society was established, and it was a very important step in this manner. İstanbul Philharmonic Society can actually be considered as a semi-

⁶⁴ Violonist Lico Amar and composer Joseph Marx were asked to prepare detailed reports on the development of the Turkish music.

⁶⁵ Pianist Eduard Zuckmayer and conductor Ernst Praetorius were among those foreign musicians who worked in the Ankara Conservatory until the end of their lives.

governmental institution. İstanbul Philharmonic Society organized many concerts in full speed until 1962, when İstanbul Municipality limited the orchestra performances.

In the state sponsorship side, towards the end of the 1940s, various official works and legal changes were introduced. The aim was to provide grounds for the education of talented young Turkish students in music and arts. The Law No. 5245, dated 1948, was one of these changes, and thanks to this law, İdil Biret and Suna Kan were sent abroad for their further music education.

In the 1950s, with the change of power from the Republican People's Party (CHP) to the Democrat Party (DP) as a result of free multi-party elections, the attitude towards cultural policies changed. In this era, the religious activities started to be tolerated, while strict measures against the leftist ideas would still continue. Emre Kongar interpreted these years as “the period of conflicts.” According to him, since the Republican attitude towards religious movements was based on secular ideas, the main controversy in the area of politics turned out to be a struggle between the secular modernists and religious traditionalists, who were backing religious viewpoints. As the Democrat Party (DP) was advocating more liberal economic practices, their traditionalism in social and cultural affairs, coupled with the liberalism in the economy resulted in a peculiar synthesis of “traditional-liberals.” Against them, the Republicans with their “étatist” inclinations in economics and a revolutionary “élitist” attitude toward social and cultural affairs, allied themselves with the civilian and military bureaucrats, and formed the “statist-élitist” approach.⁶⁶ As an extension

⁶⁶ Emre Kongar, “Turkey's Cultural Transformation,” in: Günseli Renda & C. Max Kortepeter, (eds.), *The Transformation of Turkish Culture: The Atatürk Legacy* (Princeton, New Jersey: The Kingston Press. Inc., 1986), pp. 19-68. I agree with Kongar by this use of quotation marks, because these adjectives projected the perception by the Democrat Party supporters.

of this rivalry, the support of art, provided by Ankara decreased and the interest to art in the public opinion dropped.⁶⁷

Moreover, many People's Houses and People's Rooms were closed down by the new government. According to Usmanbaş, "People's Houses, which had a library, a sports center, a performance stage, and a band existed in almost all towns of Turkey... There was no discrimination in terms of age or social classes... Towns had their own music life, even if a little primitive in nature... People's Houses were closed down because of a political envy. The flourishing cultural lives of these poor little towns were abandoned to their fates."⁶⁸

The drop in the state support in arts led the way for private initiatives. In 1952, the establishment of the Helikon Society, a small group in Ankara, is one these examples.⁶⁹ Alongside the Helikon Society, another association called the Students' Music Society has been founded. These students were from diverse backgrounds including the faculties of law, politics, language, history, and geography, etc.

Music festivals were organized in order to bring the works of Turkish composers up to the agenda in Ankara. However, with the changing climate of the

⁶⁷ Yakup Kepenek, *Türkiye Ekonomisi* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitapevi, 1994), p. 81.

⁶⁸ Quoted in: Kırılcım Şenürkmez, "An Overview to the Institutionalization Process of Polyphonic Music in the Early Republican Period of Turkey," (*Musical Societies and Politics: Ottoman and Early Republican Turkey in its European Context Conference*, Boaziçi University, İstanbul, the text of the presentation held on 29-31 October 2009).

"[Halkevleri] bir kitaplığı, bir spor salonu, bir tiyatro sahnesi, bir bandosu olan kurumlardı. Türkiye'nin az çok her kasabasında vardı... Sınıf ayrımı, genç, yaşlı ayrımı yoktu... Kasaba biraz ilkel de olsa, kendi musiki hayatını kendi yapar olmuştı... Halkevleri bir siyasi kıskançlık yüzünden kapatıldı. Zavallı küçük kasabaların filizlenmeye başlayan kültür hayatları kendi alınyazılarına bırakıldı."

⁶⁹ Founders of the Helikon Society were Bülent & Selma Arel, Rasin & Zerrin Arsebük, and Bülent & Rahşan Ecevit. In 1953, a string orchestra called the Helikon String Orchestra was founded by this society and it performed for three years.

Turkish political life in the 1960s, the activities of this society first got disrupted and later totally ceased.

Between the two military interventions of 1960 and 1980, the centralized governmental structure in the field of music still prevailed. The City Opera was established as part of İstanbul Municipality in 1961. With the formation of the opera in İstanbul, posts of thirty musicians were transferred to the City Opera Orchestra from the City Orchestra. İstanbul City Opera, which performed several times in the 1960's, carried out its activities under the umbrella of the Opera and Ballet General Directorate which was founded in 1970, with the name of State Opera and Ballet. The City Orchestra, financially dependent on İstanbul Municipality, was transferred to the state control under the name of İstanbul State Symphony Orchestra and it operated under the Ministry of Culture.⁷⁰

With the support of İstanbul Culture and Art Foundation, which was established in 1967, İstanbul Festival was first organized at the 50th Anniversary of the Turkish Republic in 1973. This was the first comprehensive private sector support in Turkey. In Ankara, Voice and String Society, established in 1940, was structured as a foundation under the new name of Sevda and Cenap And Music Foundation in 1973. This foundation played the leading role in the organization of the Ankara Music Festival. While these developments were taking place in the private side, after the free elections in 1973, in the side of the “state,” some paranormal actions took place: “the Kemalist Republicans (CHP) allied with their eternal enemy, the religious National Salvation Party (MSP). This was a very important political development, which not only legitimized the religious groups

⁷⁰ <http://idso.gov.tr/idso.htm> [21.01.2010].

politically, but also had a deep impact on Turkish cultural synthesis between the “modernists” and “traditionalists,” or in other terms, between the Kemalists and the Islamists. This coalition of the “leftist” modernists with the “rightist” Islamists did not last very long. Following this period, and a period of transition, the so-called “Nationalist Front” (*Milliyetçi Cephe*) was formed among the racists, the Islamists (MSP) and the liberal conservative rightists (MHP), under the leadership of the Justice Party (AP). The opportunity for right-wing terrorists to infiltrate into the government apparatus came about through this “front.”⁷¹ In this period, in terms of cultural sponsorship of the state, traditional values gained much more importance. Moreover, the “arabesque” culture was diffusing in all spheres of all cultures, from music to life-style.

In 1980, the military intervened once again, and put an end to every kind of political activity with the resulting implications for social and cultural life. The strongest transformation of society and human design in the history of the Turkish Republic was realized in the post-1980 period. Turgut Özal and his Motherland Party (ANAP) played a major role in this era, when nationalist-religious ideology started to be supported by political élites and the government. The religious identity of the Turkish society began to be underlined systematically, hence radical deviation from Kemalist ideology also occurred. This period was crucial in terms of the notion of the “social-state.” The dissolution of the Soviet Block, the polarization of the Cold War, and emergence of capitalistic globalism and its neo-liberalist principles, all had deep impacts on the national social state, and Turkey began to adopt a ‘hands-off approach to the individual.’ So, Turkey’s policy towards her nature of being a social state had

⁷¹ See: Kongar, Ibid.

started to change. Consumption became a *primus inter pares*. The middle-class was disappearing, because the gap between the lower and the higher socio-economic classes was getting bigger everyday. In this era, the situation in culture was also very interesting. Many artists, intellectuals and writers were arrested, punished, prizoned, or simply ran away and migrated to other countries with the coming of the *coup d'états*. Innumerable university professors and intellectuals were dismissed from universities, and many actors and musicians lost their jobs in the subsidized institutions, because of their political choices and activities. Self-censorship by the artist or the producer, as well as open censorship by the government dominated this period. In fact, the post-1980 Turkish society was transformed into an apolitical society as a whole, on the other side arts and music had been instrumentalized politically during the ANAP period, when basic perspective was: “if an art form as a commodity has no common demand from the society, it is not very rational to support it.” Besides, these politicians “stressed that if they pay the money, they have the right to control it.”⁷²

In this period, ANAP that main agenda of the government regarding cultural policies was supporting the notion of “national culture.” So, endless discussions regarding the “arabesque” started, due to its dominant position in the society and being supported by the ruling élite as well. To what extend could one have argued that “arabesque” was “Turkish national culture,” where the term itself derives from the word “Arab.” Did it mean that the definition of national culture was shifting

⁷² Selen Korad Birkiye, “Changes in the Cultural Policies of Turkey and the AKP’s Impact on Social Engineering and Theatre,” *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, Vol. 15, No. 3, pp. 261-274.

towards a new orientation, which would completely separate its links from the Republican ideology? Or, putting these questions forward was an over-arching act?

Neo-liberal policies led various private institutions in Turkey to allocate certain amounts each year for projects of art and culture. The 1990s has seen a recession, parallel to the economical situation of the country. However, despite the adverse conditions, sponsorship gradually developed in Turkey, with the help of the private sector, especially after the 1990s. In the field of Western Classical Music, Borusan, Akbank, Tekfen etc. orchestras would constitute leading examples of this trend.

Music in the Hamidian Era (1876-1909)

This sub-chapter will consist of three sub-titles: The musical life of Sultan Abdülhamid II and his family, *Muzıkâ-yi Hümâyûn* in the Hamidian Era and Musical Activities at the theater in Yıldız Palace.

The Musical Life of Sultan Abdülhamid II and his Family:

Sultan Abdülhamid II (21 September 1842 - 10 February 1918) was the 34th sultan of the Ottoman Empire. He ruled from 31 August 1876, until he was dethroned on 27 April 1909. As stated by Selim Deringil in his class discussions and by İlber Ortaylı as a quotation in the book *Abdülhamid'in Kurtlarla Dansı* of Mustafa Armağan,

Sultan Abdülhamid II was the last Ottoman sultan ruling with absolute power.

Moreover, for İlber Ortaylı “he was the last absolutist monarch in the world.”⁷³

The “enlightened despotic”⁷⁴ age of the Ottoman Empire was Sultan Abdülhamid II’s reign. Music was an important element in this era. Before mentioning the details of the musical productions in that time, his personal relation to music will be pointed out.

From the memoirs of Ayşe Osmanoglu, we can retrieve the following statements of his father:

My major entertainment is to listen to the music... I do not recognize my exhaustion when I am occupied with music... When I was young, I was interested in playing the piano. My father Abdülmecid I had ordered a piano from Europe for each of his sons. Italian and French music instructors were employed in the Palace. One among the French ones, Alexandre Efendi was appointed as my music teacher. I studied for a period of time. Though I was getting pleasure from music, unfortunately the fact that life is difficult it did not allow me to have the essential time to work on music.⁷⁵

The beginning of the quotation above explains the personal attitude of Sultan Abdülhamid II towards music. For him, music was at first a tool of self-entertainment. For example, around 1895’s, the orchestration of the opera *Norma* by

⁷³ Quoted in: Mustafa Armağan, *Abdülhamid'in Kurtlarla Dansı* (İstanbul: Ufuk Kitap, 2006), p. 285. “Dünyanın son hükümdarı, son evrensel imparator II. Abdülhamid Han' dır.”

⁷⁴ The term used by Edhem Eldem and Selim Deringil.

⁷⁵ Ayşe Osmanoglu, *Babam Sultan Abdülhamid (Hatıralarım)* (İstanbul: Güven Basım ve Yayınevi, 1960), p. 25.

“Başlıca eğlencem musiki dinlemek... Bununla uğraşırken yorgunluğumu hissetmiyorum. Gençliğimde piyanoya merak etmiştim. Babam I. Abdülmecid bütün şehzadelerine Avrupa'dan piyano getirmişti. Saraya İtalyan ve Fransız musiki muallimleri alınmıştı. Bu muallimlerden Fransız Alexandre Efendi bana hoca tayin edilmişti. Bir müddet çalıştım. Musikiyi çok sevmeme rağmen, ne yazık ki gaili hayat bana musikiye lazım gelen vakti verdirtmedi.”

Bellini did not encompass piano partitur, and Sultan Abdülhamid II ordered that the piano should be included to the work, and Guatelli *Paşa* kindly rejected this order. As a result of this event, Guatelli stopped playing for a while the palace orchestra and then continued to work in the Palace.⁷⁶ In my point of view, this story is a proof of the statement that Sultan Abdülhamid II perceived music really as personal a tool of self-entertainment.

Emre Aracı tells us another funny story, in which Sultan Abdülhamid II perceived music also as a field under his absolutist control. He executed his power over the musicians:

At that point, it is necessary to mention the rule that in the concerts in the presence of the sultan, before the sultan raises his hand the performance can not be finished, continued in the Hamidian Era could be detected from the memoir of famous violinist Leopold Auer (1845-1930), who had a recital in the Yıldız Palace in the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II. Auer was warned for not stopping till the cue of the sultan in the beginning of his recital by one of the music instructors of *Muzikâ-yı Hümayûn* d'Arenda *Paşa*. Auer was anxiously observing Sultan Abdülhamid II during the concert, while he stopped for a while to tune his violin, d'Arenda scampered around and adjure him to continue immediately. Auer asked how to play with a "out of tune" violin, the response of d'Arenda was certain: "*Cela ne fait rien; allez toujours!*" which meant "it does not mean a thing for him, go a head!"⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Nihat Ergin, *Yıldız Sarayı'nda Müzik: Abdülhamid II* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Osmanlı Eserleri, 1999), p. 5.

⁷⁷ Emre Aracı, *Donizetti Paşa: Osmanlı Sarayının İtalyan Maestrosu* (İstanbul: YKY, 2006), p. 151. "Bu noktada şunu ifade etmek gerekir ki padişah huzurunda verilen konserlerde hümkâr elini kaldırmadan konserin bitirilmemesine dair kuralın sürdüğü, II. Abdülhamid devrinde Yıldız Sarayı'nda bir resital veren meşhur kemancı Leopold Auer'in (1845-1930) hatıratından anlaşılmaktadır. Auer konser başında zamanın Muzikâ-yı Hümayûn muallimlerinden d'Arenda *Paşa* tarafından padişah işaret vermedikçe durmaması konusunda uyarılmıştır. Konser boyu endişe ile Abdülhamid'i gözetleyen Auer, bir ara kemanını akord etmek için durduğunda, d'Arenda koşarak ona devam etmesi için yalvarır. Auer akordsuz bir kemanla nasıl çalınacağını sorunca da, d'Arenda'nın cevabı kesindir: "*Cela ne fait rien; allez toujours!*" (O hiç farketmez, siz devam ediniz!)"

Music as a field of “the execution of power” in the Hamidian Era can be seen in several examples. Sultan Abdülhamid II believed that his decisions on the election of the musicians to be appointed in the palace were perfect. Therefore, he did care any kind of advice given to him. He himself had chosen what was going to be played and by whom. He liked pieces from romantic piano repertoire; he did not like symphonies much. This resulted in the following: the orchestra in the Yıldız Palace could not be a symphony orchestra due to qualitative and quantitative lacks via the personal and even “narcissist” attitude of Sultan Abdülhamid II. A further fact proves that Sultan Abdülhamid II saw music as an arena where he could exercise his political power: the preference of Western Classical Music over the traditional one due to his own personal taste.

Sultan Abdülhamid II admired Western Classical Music, and therefore, the traditional Ottoman music in his age was not paid much attention. In the palace, it was secondary. According to the article of Ziya Şakir in his *Abdülhamid’in Son Günleri*, the sultan in his exile had claimed that: “I don’t like *alla turca* music, it is soporific. I prefer *alla franca*, especially I like opera and operetta.”⁷⁸

However, Nihat Ergin argues that Sultan Abdülhamid II was not totally disinterested in the traditional Turkish classical music. He patronized various musicians of that genre, too.⁷⁹ He had reengaged Hacı Arif Bey, Zekai Dede (1825-

⁷⁸ *Son Posta*, 1 September 1931. “...*alaturka* musikiden pek o kadar hoşlanmam, insana uyku getirir. *Alafranga* musikiyi tercih ederim. Bilhassa opera ve operetler pek hoşuma gider.”

⁷⁹ Ergin, *Ibid*, p. 6.

1897), Giriftzen Asım Bey (1852-1929), Hacı Faik Bey (1831-1891), Rahmi Bey (1865-1924), Rauf Yekta Bey (1871-1935), Lem'i Atlı (1869-1945) and Dr. Subhi Ezgi (1869-1962) were important names in the Hamidian Era in terms of traditional side of the music in the Yıldız Palace. Despite his patronage of these traditional musicians, it is clear to maintain that “Western Classical Music was more equal than the Traditional Classical Music in the light of the above quotations from Ayşe Osmanoglu and Ziya Şakir.”⁸⁰ In addition to Sultan Abdülhamid II's own words that he preferred *alla franca*, his support of various musicians to be educated in the Western manner will indicate Westernist line of him for music: he sent Vondra Bey (violinist) and Safvet Bey (flutist) to Paris to be educated in the conservatory.⁸¹

Sultan Abdülhamid II's preference of Western Classical Music can be explained by his musical education. Not only in Ayşe Osmanoglu's memoirs it is stated that Sultan Abdülhamid II had music lessons, but in several other sources, it is mentioned that Sultan Abdülhamid II received piano and Western Classical Music lessons from various teachers. Some of these teachers were brought from abroad some of his Ottoman teachers were educated by the Western musicians. Aleksan, Guatelli *Paşa*, Miralay (Colonel) Lombardi Bey, and Dussap *Paşa* were among his music teachers. Vedat Kosal tells that “he also knew how to play the violin. It is reported that he had composed works in Western style, as a prince.”⁸²

⁸⁰ Article by Ziya Şakir, in: *Son Posta*, 1 September 1931.

⁸¹ Osmanoglu, *Ibid*, pp. 66-67.

⁸² Kosal, *Ibid*, p. 42.

Sultan Abdülhamid II attended opera performances at the theater of the Yıldız Palace. We also got the information in various sources that he ordered a series of concerts to be performed there on permanent basis. “He made a point of inviting to İstanbul celebrated opera and theatre singers and virtuosos. We learn from the accounts of foreign ambassadors that the world famous artists were seated at the table next to the sultan. These ambassadors speak with praise about the ‘civilized’ life-style of the sultan, who had adopted Western habits. Almost all of his children learned how to play the piano and to make compositions”.⁸³

After talking about the musical life of Sultan Abdülhamid II, I want to move on to the other members of his family in terms of their relationship with music. Sultan Abdülhamid II paid attention to the musical education of his daughters and sons. Most of them became successful performers and composers. They sometimes organized some concerts in which they performed, in order to entertain their father Sultan Abdülhamid II. Sultan Abdülhamid II had a distinctive sympathy towards his sons Abdülkadir, Burhaneddin, Abdürrahim, and especially his beloved daughter Ayşe. If one should ask, what the common point of all these names was, the answer would be: they all were talented, successful musicians.⁸⁴

Sultan Abdülhamid II had “official”⁸⁵ 17 children: Ulviye Sultan (1868-1875), Mehmed Selim Efendi (1870-1937), Zekiye Sultan (1872-1950), Naime Sultan

⁸³ Ibid, pp. 42-43.

⁸⁴ This belief of me derives from Nihat Ergin, Ibid, p. 8 and the memoirs of Ayşe Osmanoğlu, Ibid.

⁸⁵ There exist innumerable hear-says, which claimed that the number of Sultan Abdülhamid II’s children can not be known, due to his “Don Giovanni” character.

(1876-1937), Mehmed Abdülkadir Efendi (1878-1945), Ahmed Nuri Efendi (1878-?), Naile Sultan (1884-1957), Mehmed Burhaneddin Efendi (1885-1949), Şadiye Sultan (1886-1977), Ayşe Sultan (1887-1960), Refia Sultan (1891-1938), Abdürrahim Efendi (1894-1952), Hatice Sultan (1897-1898), Ahmed Nureddin Efendi (1901-1945), Mehmed Bedrettin Efendi (1901-1903), Mehmed Abid Efendi (1905-1973), Samiye Sultan (died when she was a very small baby.) To the musicians among them will be referred below:

Mehmed Selim Efendi was educated in Western Classical Music. He was a good pianist.⁸⁶ Zekiye Sultan was a patron of traditional style musicians and a pianist.⁸⁷ Naime Sultan was a successful pianist, educated in the Western style. According to Ayşe Osmanoğlu: “Naime Sultan has a band consists of women musicians and dancers. Hilmi Bey let them perform twice a week *alla turca*.”⁸⁸ Mehmed Abdülkadir Efendi was a violinist. His violin teacher was Vondra Bey. He became an extra-ordinary successful violinist. In Budapest, he played in an orchestra as 1st violinist, and earned money with this job.⁸⁹

Mehmed Burhaneddin Efendi was the favorite son among all. He was a piano virtuoso, and he could also play the violoncello. He was a painter, too. His talent in piano was similar the “miracle children” of the Republican Era: İdil Biret, Ayşegül

⁸⁶ Quoted in: Ergin, Ibid, p. 8.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 9.

⁸⁸ Osmanoğlu, Ibid, p. 66.

“Naime Sultan’ın kızlardan müteşekkil bir saz ve oyun heyeti vardı. Hilmi Bey haftada iki gün bu gruba alaturka oyun ve musiki meşk ettirirdi.”

⁸⁹ Ergin, Ibid, p. 9.

Sarıca, Gülsin Onay, etc... He was called as a “child prodigy” and composed a polyphonic march in D major and dedicated it to Sultan Abdülhamid II (*Bahriye Marşı- Navy March*) when he was only seven.⁹⁰ He had various compositions and *Grande Marche* was one of the well-known among them. He refused the crowns of Albania and Iraq, presented him respectively in 1913 and 1919; he went to New York in 1924, and he stayed there till his death. Vedat Kosal claims that he was told by the son of Mehmed Burhaneddin that his father “had also recorded music.”⁹¹

Western Classical Music was taught to Şadiye Sultan by François Lombardi. She could play the piano, the harp and the mandolin. She could also play a bit the classical lute (*tambur*) and lute (*ud*). We can deduce from her memoirs that she is like her father towards the attitude of music: she holds Western Classical Music superior than *alla turca*. Why she had *alla turca* musical experiences, was explained by Şadiye Sultan: “to adjust herself to the customs.”⁹²

Ayşe Sultan began composing when she was only twelve. Her musical theory teacher was Edgar Manas. She received piano lessons from Heygei, a student of the famous Franz Liszt. She was taught composition by Italo Selvelli. She was not only an accomplished pianist, but she also played the violin well. Her son, Sultanzâde Ömer Nâmi Beyefendi, made a gift of Ayşe Sultan’s various pieces to Cemal Reşid Rey in 1960 with a dedication. Among them *Marche à son Majesté le Calife Abdoul-Médjid Khan II* was very famous.⁹³ In her memoirs, she talks about his father as the

⁹⁰ Kosal, Ibid, p. 56.

⁹¹ Ibid, p. 56.

⁹² Şadiye Osmanoğlu, *Hayatımın Acı ve Tatlı Günleri* (İstanbul: Bedir yayınları, 1966), pp. 14-17.

following: “He especially wanted that his children are occupied with music, he bought for us pianos and multi-farious instruments. He let us play the piano in his presence, he listened to us, was correcting our errors, paid attention to the tempo, he said ‘it is not to be played so, repeat once more’.”⁹⁴

Abdürrahim Efendi was a composer, conductor, and a virtuoso of the violoncello. He had a huge archive of scores in his residence. He helped to the young musicians, who wanted to be successful in Westernized music.⁹⁵ Ahmed Nurettin Efendi was first lieutenant in the army. He composed two waltzes for the piano.

The children of Sultan Abdülhamid II were mentioned above, than the position of the women of him in terms of their relationship appeared into the scene. All the sources in the bibliography were checked, but nothing could be found, only in the memoirs of Ayşe Osmanoglu and Şadiye Osmanoglu appear short sentences, in which they mostly illustrated during ceremonies where these women were in touch with the *alla turca* style. The musical life of Sultan Abdülhamid II and his family was related to the *Muzikâ-yı Hümayûn* and the theater of the Yıldız Palace. These two will be dealt with separately in the following pages.

Muzikâ-yı Hümayûn in the Reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II

⁹³ Kosal, Ibid, pp. 53-55.

⁹⁴ Quoted in: Ergin, Ibid, p. 10.

“Evlatlarının özellikle müzikle meşgul olmasını ister, bize piyanolar ve muhtelif musiki aletleri alırdı. Huzurunda piyano çaldırır, dinler, yanlışlarımızı düzeltir, tempolara dikkat eder, ‘böyle çalınmaz, tekrar ediniz.’ derdi.”

⁹⁵ Ergin, Ibid, p. 10.

The first steps in polyphonic music training in the Ottoman Empire were taken by Sultan Mahmud II. He abolished the Janissaries in 1826 and founded the *Muâllem Âsâkir-i Mansûre-i Muhâmmediye*. “This new army needed something more than the habitual tunes of the *Mehterân*, thus the winds band of *Muzıkâ-yı Hümayûn*”⁹⁶ (Court Musicians) was established in 1828. It served as a music college, too. The preparations for this music college took two years. It was consisting of two departments: Western music and traditional Turkish music.

Giuseppe Donizetti (1788-1856), brother of the famous Italian opera composer, became the director to the *Muzıkâ-yı Hümayûn*. Later on, he received the title as Donizetti *Paşa*, and he was very well esteemed by the court.⁹⁷ He added strings to this band in 1846, thus forming the core of an orchestra from what was essentially a military court band. He trained the musicians on the Hamparsum notation system and with his new tunes, the band’s repertoire enlarged.⁹⁸ Moreover, he ordered new instruments form Italy and invited the teachers along with them. The band did not limit its performances to the court, but went out into the streets, too. He composed four marches: the *Mahmudiye March* for Sultan Mahmud II, the *Mecidiye March* for Sultan Abdülmecid, and the *Algeria* and *Battle* marches. He was replaced by Necip *Paşa*, who was replaced in the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz by Guatelli, Italian as Donizetti, too. When Sultan Abdülaziz came to the throne Guatelli

⁹⁶ Evin İlyasoğlu, *A Short History of Polyphonic Music in Turkey*, http://www.turkishmusic.org/cgi-bin/d?polyphonic_6.html, [22 May 2010]

⁹⁷ Emre Aracı, *Ibid*, preface.

⁹⁸ Pars Tuğlacı, *Mehterhane'den Bando'ya* (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1986), p. 76.

dedicated his *Sultan's March* to Sultan Abdülaziz. He remained in his post until his death. He trained Mehmed Atabinen, Zati Arca and Zeki Üngör.⁹⁹

In the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz, military bands increased greatly in number. According to Pars Tuğlacı, the reason for that maybe his admiration that emerged in 1864 when Sultan Abdülaziz was in Egypt, where he faced the process of establishing an opera in Cairo by the Khedive İsmail Paşa.¹⁰⁰ *Marche Osmaniye* composed by Guatelli was the Ottoman anthem in this era, which illustrates “the effect of Westernization: having a national anthem,”¹⁰¹ and the musical structure of it is simply Western music.

For three years prior to the death of Guatelli *Paşa*, Dussap *Paşa*, a Catholic Armenian of French nationality, took over the command. He was supported by the sultan and he was the music teacher of Sultan Abdülhamid II, as well. When Sultan Abdülhamid II came to the throne, he composed for him a famous march, the *Hamîdiye*.¹⁰²

An important novelty took place in the Hamidian Era, concerning the *Muzıkâyı Hümayûn*. In 1877, Sultan Abdülhamid II declared that these musicians would no longer be looked on as soldiers. Band leader Necip *Paşa* had convinced the new

⁹⁹ Ibid, pp. 76-80.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 84.

¹⁰¹ Selim Deringil, “The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808 to 1908,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 35, No. 1. (January 1993), p. 9.

¹⁰² Kosal, Ibid, p. 70.

sultan by claiming that members of the band should not be permitted to become involved in politics.

A decrease in the number of the members of the Imperial Band could be seen during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II. A reason for the decline of the number of the musicians in *Muzıkâ-yı Hümayûn* may be the fact that with this new system the leader of the band used all his authority as an excuse to purge the band many of its members. He could hire and fire any musician he came across with this excuse. But, in my perspective, the cause of the decrease in the number of the musicians was connected to the mind-set of Sultan Abdülhamid II. First of all, Suavi incident pushed Sultan Abdülhamit II to send the musicians who were supporting Murat V, away. Additionally, Sultan Abdülhamid II paid more attention to the quality, than the quantity. As a result of these, the number of the members in the Imperial Band dropped to 325, from 500.¹⁰³

In the Hamidian Era, the desire to match up with the Western foreign standards, and the increasing opportunities to draw comparisons were dominant.¹⁰⁴ Consequently, a brand-new musical discipline and school of thought emerged. The refugee Italian musicians from the Garibaldi uprisings were welcomed. This new type of music produced in the Yıldız Palace was depending more on the rules brought by these refugees. For the new musical understanding, in accordance to the

¹⁰³ Tuğlacı, Ibid, p. 83.

¹⁰⁴ Deringil, Ibid, pp. 3-29.

personal music taste of Sultan Abdülhamid II, the opera-operetta section was a first among the equals in the Imperial Band.

The dominant figure in terms of music in the *Muzıkâ-yı Hümayûn* was in the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II, D'Arenda Paşa. In his era, Western Classical Music resumed its rising trend. He held his position in the Imperial Band until the proclamation of the Second Constitutional government. In the Second Constitutional period all of the foreign members were fired, the number of the personnel was limited to one hundred and twenty. Opera, operetta and theater bands were abolished in contrast to the Hamidian Era, when they were very active.¹⁰⁵

This subtitle has a tight connection with the theater in the Yıldız Palace, which will be dealt with under the following sub-title.

Musical Activities at the Theater in Yıldız Palace

Starting with the reign of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, the area where the Yıldız Palace is now located, formerly served as the hunting grounds of the Ottoman rulers. Development of this area began in 1834 with a small kiosk commissioned by Sultan Mahmud II, which served as a place from which to observe his new soldiers' exercises. Further settlements and developments of the surrounding area were carried out in the Hamidian Era. When Sultan Abdülhamid II moved to the Yıldız Palace, he tried to gather each institution that is serving to him in this new settlement. *Enderûn* (Palace school), *Harem-i Hümayûn*, many kiosks, pavilions, and other buildings,

¹⁰⁵ Ergin, Ibid, p. 20.

were built. Hence, the palace attained its present form. One of these buildings was the theater. Said to have been built on the site of an old stable and planned by the palace architect Raimondo d'Aronco, the Yıldız Palace Theatre during the Ottoman period generally hosted ministers and high government officials by special invitation.¹⁰⁶

The theater in Yıldız Palace was built by Sultan Abdülhamid II, in 1889. It has stars on its domed ceiling, a reference to the very name of the palace. Because no one was allowed to have his back to the sultan, the positioning of the sultan's balcony box meant that the first row seats were actually never used.¹⁰⁷

The most important segment of the theater was the box of the sultan: it was possible to enter this lodge without using the main entrance, as always done by Sultan Abdülhamid II. There were hidden aisles that linked the harem to the theatre. The box of Sultan Abdülhamid II was very comfortable, it seemed to a hall. In the front side, there existed red velvet curtains. The eaves were embroidered with gilded silver thread. Six chairs, covered with red velvet, and two big seats. The seats were for the sultan, the chairs were for the guests of Sultan Abdülhamid II. Among his guests were foreign diplomats, sometimes imperial monarchs, for example, German Emperor Kaiser Wilhelm II and his family. The members of the harem were excluded if the guests were foreigners and the frame-works were open. Except for the dynasty and the foreign guests of Sultan Abdülhamid II, distinguished

¹⁰⁶ Summarized from: Murat Polat, "Dolmabahçe ve Yıldız Saray Tiyatroları Üzerine Mimari Değerlendirmeler," (Unpublished MA thesis, Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi, Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, Mimarlık Anabilim Dalı, 2001).

¹⁰⁷ Quoted in: the text edited by Wolfgang Görsch, in: *Berliner Liedertafel Mitteilungsblatt*, "Damals war's vor 100 Jahren. 1908: Orientreise der Berliner Liedertafel," (Berlin: Selbstverlag des Vereins, August-September 2008), pp. 14-18.

bureaucrats were sometimes invited to the performances, which took place at the theater in the Yıldız Place.¹⁰⁸ The performances were never announced publicly, in order to hinder the emergence of a false-understanding by the subjects that “the sultan is a reveler.”¹⁰⁹

The director of the Yıldız Theater was İlyas Bey. Although he did not know dramaturgy at all, he was successful in staging and organization. Sultan Abdülhamid II picked what was going to be staged and told his decision to İlyas Bey, who was fully responsible for what ought to be done including the accommodation of the foreign troops.¹¹⁰ He had to make sure that even the foreign troops obeyed the strict rules of Sultan Abdülhamid II and his palace. Sometimes, right in the middle of the performances, Sultan Abdülhamid II stopped the play and desired that another work should be staged subsequently. As mentioned before, to work for Sultan Abdülhamid II as an artist was not very easy, because the sultan was a narcissist.

A further difficulty for the performers was the censorship. The operas *Un Ballo in Maschera* and *Don Carlos* by Giuseppe Verdi were banned due to their contents. If an implication of a dynastic person was killed, or the ruler was overthrown in the libretto is felt by İlyas Bey, this work could not be staged. The “dangerous” words: “star, Cyprus, dynamite, socialism, Macedonia, liberty, freedom,

¹⁰⁸ Ergin, Ibid, pp. 22-25.

¹⁰⁹ Süleyman Kani İrtem, *Bilinmeyen Abdülhamid: Hususi ve Siyası Hayatı*, edited by: Osman Selim Kocahanoğlu (İstanbul: Temel, 2003), p. 83.

“Yıldızda verilecek oyun ve konser ilan edilmezdi. Halkda ‘padişah eğlencesine dalmış’ fikri uyandırılmak istenilmezdi.”

¹¹⁰ For further details, see: Ergin, Ibid.

strike, anarchy, patria (homeland), fraternity, assassination, nose, revolution, Murad, Crete, etc.,” could not be used. They were strictly forbidden.¹¹¹

In the evenings of Friday, Sunday and Wednesday concerts, operas, operettas were staged and even some movies were showed. First performances in the Yıldız Palace Theater were *Aida* and *Il Travatore* by Giuseppe Verdi, *Faust* by Charles François Gounod, *Carmen* by Georges Bizet, *la Mascotte* by Edmond Audran. It is not surprising that all of the early performances were Western, and they are operas in accordance to Sultan Abdülhamid II’s taste.

Ayşe Osmanoglu and opera director of the Yıldız Palace Theater Arturo Stravolo shared the common idea that Sultan Abdülhamid II liked *Rigoletto* the most. In Ayşe Osmanoglu’s words, “my father liked *Rigoletto* a lot and he frequently let it to be played.”¹¹²

Having practiced and performed the *prima donna* role Gilda in *Rigoletto* several times, in my personal point of view, Sultan Abdülhamid II liked this work due to its libretto, at some points which seems like a detective novel. We know that besides his favorite pass-time carpentry, one of the hobbies of Sultan Abdülhamid II was to read the detective novels. Hence, it is not astonishing to hear *Rigoletto* was the favorite opera of Sultan Abdülhamid II. *Fra Diavolo (Bandits)* was also welcome

¹¹¹ Metin And, “Saraya Bağlı Tiyatrolar ve II. Abdülhamid’in Yıldız Sarayı Tiyatrosu,” *Erdem Dergisi*, Cilt 4, Sayı: 10, (Ocak 1988), pp. 10-12.

¹¹² Ayşe Osmanoglu, *Ibid*, p. 68.
“Babam *Rigoletto*’yu çok sever ve daima çaldırırdı.”

in this theatre again due to its criminal plot. “*La Traviata, Norma, Faust* and *Il Travatore* were other operas those Sultan Abdülhamid II liked much.”¹¹³

As can be detected from the names of the works that Sultan Abdülhamid II let them to be staged at the Yıldız Palace Theater, mostly the language of these works were Italian, even the French librettos were staged in Italian in this theater. The main reason for that was the director of opera in the Yıldız Palace was Arturo Stravollo, who with his father and mother who were famous opera singers in Italy, began his musical career with going on tour: he had been in Alexandria, Cairo, Port Said, Beyrut and İzmir. From İzmir, he came to İstanbul in 1893. At the theater of Concordia in İstanbul, he gained a great success in *La Mascotte, Il Boccaccio, Befana* and *La Gravia*. They were all operas and operettas. While he was performing in Petit Champs in Tepebaşı on 4 July 1893, he was invited to the Yıldız Palace Theater for a performance by İlyas Bey. The above mentioned works were performed by him in the Yıldız Palace and Sultan Abdülhamid II liked them so much that he had him appointed as the director of the opera in the Yıldız Palace. His wife was also an opera artist, who was appreciated several times and bestowed with a “medal of benignity” by the sultan.¹¹⁴

The troop managed by Stravolo in the Yıldız Palace consisted mostly of the members of *Muzıkâ-yı Hümayûn*. Le Loin, the “Couquelaine”s, Suzanne Després,

¹¹³ Ergin, Ibid, p. 26.

“*La Traviata, Norma, Faust ve Il Travatore II. Abdülhamid’in en sevdiği diğer operalardı.*”

¹¹⁴ Ibid, p. 28.

Jeanne Saulier and many other.¹¹⁵ The soloists were invited mostly from Europe: Madam Yudith, Sarah Bernhardt, Violette, and de Rernieri. The choir was conducted by d'Arenda; his era was followed by Zati Bey. The translator and the decorator was Bérthier Atillo. His decorations were not welcomed in the sources. The stage manager was Neşet Paşa, who also served as a singer. The carpentry was under the responsibility of Said Bey, Necati Efendi, Ali Hasan Sonat, Asım and Ali Eruz. The tailor was Söylemezyan. İsmail Hakkı Efendi was responsible for the stage props and accessories.¹¹⁶

As mentioned above, there were also foreign troops, i.e. Italian, German, French, Russian, and Spanish, who were invited to perform at the Yıldız Palace Theater. These troops were introduced to the Yıldız Palace by the diplomats of their own countries. The persons who knew the taste of Sultan Abdülhamid II well, first watched their performances abroad, and then offered to the sultan to invite them. Ayşe Osmanoglu talks about these foreign performers in her memoirs: “the Ambassador of France Constance brought the famous Sarah Bernard and Coquelain Cadet to the Yıldız Palace. After the performance, they were bestowed.”¹¹⁷ “The Russian Emperor sent the musical band of his own palace theater and Maximof brought them to the Yıldız Palace. They sang beautiful Russian songs. The famous Chaliapin existed among them, but he was very young, when we listened to him in

¹¹⁵ Ibid, p. 31.

¹¹⁶ Mahmut R. Gazimihal, *Türk Askerî Muzikaları Tarihi* (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1955), pp. 105-108.

¹¹⁷ Ayşe Osmanoglu, Ibid, p. 68.

“Fransız sefiri Constance, meşhur Sarah Bernard ile Coquelain Cadet’yi saraya getirmişti. Oyundan sonra bunlara nişan verilmişti.”

the palace. We all liked his voice much. Later on, he became very famous in Europe.”¹¹⁸

Hitherto the operas or operettas were mentioned, but as can be seen from the previous quotation, concerts took place in the Yıldız Palace Theatre, too. They were mostly recitals or chamber music concerts. The concert programmes were also organized according to the musical taste of the sultan. Arias were selected from his favorite operas; Chopin nocturnes, *Hungarian Rhapsodies* by Franz Liszt for the piano; some cello, flute or violin sonatas written in the Romantic Era, were mostly picked. One of these concerts was the recital given by Auer, whose funny story was told in the first section of this sub-chapter with reference to Emre Aracı.

As mentioned before, though Sultan Abdülhamid II preferred Western Classical Music, the traditional Ottoman music did not disappear totally. There was a kind of improvisatorial theater, which was a part of the *Muzıkâ-yı Hümayûn*. George Dorys mentions that there were two troops at the theater in Yıldız Palace, one being the comedy troop by the Turkish men even in the roles of women (traditional), and the other one being the Westernized.¹¹⁹ This traditional theater was, according to Şadiye Osmanoğlu, mostly appreciated by the female members of the Yıldız Palace.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Ibid, p. 68.

“Rusya İmparatoru da kendi hususi tiyatrosunun musiki heyetini göndermiş, bunları Maksimof saraya getirmişti. Güzel Rus şarkılarını söylediler. Aralarında meşhur Çalyapın de vardı. Fakat o zaman pek bir geçti. Sesinin güzelliğini çok beğenmiştik. Sonraları da Avrupa’da çok büyük şöhret kazanmıştır.”

¹¹⁹ And, Ibid, pp. 23-24.

¹²⁰ Şadiye Osmanoğlu, Ibid, pp. 14-17.

According to Servet Yanatma, “it is undeniable that European culture inspired the Ottoman sultans to order the formation of the *Muzıkâ-yı Hümâyûn*, the composition of field music in honor of the sultans and their performance at the military ceremonies. The appearance of military bands, which were just imitations from the West, at the funeral ceremonies of the sultans was the outcome of the pro-Western mentality, which had reached a state of delirium in the nineteenth century.”¹²¹ I totally agree with him. The ideology of Westernization can be detected even in the funeral ceremonies of the Ottoman sultans, if the music of the funerals would be examined.

A further example to detect the changing structure of the ceremonies through the use of Western music would be the case of the Ottoman national anthem. As stated by Selim Deringil, they (*Mahmûdiye*, *Mecidiye*, and *Azîziye*) were part of the iconography of neo-traditions.¹²² In the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II, due his obsession “we have to be equal to the others,” “it became quite common-place to compose marches as a means of seeking favor. In 1893, a Mademoiselle Laurette Rosette composed the *Chant Turc: Vive Le Sultan*. This was followed by Dicran Thohadjian’s *Grande Marche* which was dedicated to the sultan in 1895.”¹²³ Moreover as a musician, I can say by looking at the scores of these marches, it is possible to argue this music is not only influenced by poly-phony, furthermore the melodic lines are similar to the Western anthems, too, at some points.

¹²¹ Servet Yanatma, “The Deaths and Funeral Ceremonies of Ottoman Sultans” (Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, Boğaziçi University, Institute for Graduate Studies in the Social Sciences, 2007), pp. 180-181.

¹²² Deringil, Ibid, p. 9.

¹²³ Quoted in: Deringil, Ibid, p. 10.

From my point of view, the quotations below especially focusing on the ceremonies in the Hamidian Era prove my statement that the ceremonies served as more “efficient” stages to be able to see the impact of Westernization on music, though Sultan Abdülhamid II is perceived by various Western scholars as an opponent figure to Westernization.

Use of marches in the Western style even in the “Cuma Selamlığı” ceremony of Sultan Abdülhamid II would constitute a further example in which the influence of Westernization on music in the late Ottoman Empire: “Noontide, Viennoise was replaced by *Hamidiye March*, which contained national elements due to Sultan Abdülhamid II’s wish. While the sultan was appearing, the drums and the percussions in the band began to be played, “Long Live, the Sultan!” screams were echoed.”¹²⁴

We also learn from the memoirs of Ayşe Osmanoglu, in the marriages of a dynastic person and in the ceremonies took place in the *bayrâm* days, and in the “*cûlûs*” ceremonials, members of *Muzıkâ-yı Hümâyûn* were entrusted with performing the Western music, too. For instance, referring to the weddings, she was saying: “because money was thrown to the players in the band, music can not even be played...”¹²⁵ During the *bayrâm* celebrations, one could have observed the consumption of the “Westernized” music: “the band of the 2nd division came to the

¹²⁴ Paul Fesch, *Abdülhamid'in Son Günlerinde İstanbul*. translated by: Erol Üyepazarcı (İstanbul: Pera Turizm ve Ticaret A.Ş., 1999), pp. 138-140.

“Öğlen Viennoise Marşı’nın yerini padişahın isteği doğrultusunda milli unsurlar barındıran Hamidiye Marşı aldı. Sultan görüldüğünde, bandoda davullar ve trampetler çalınmaya başladı, “Padişahım, Çok Yaşa”lar yankılandı.”

¹²⁵ Ayşe Osmanoglu, *Ibid*, p. 64.

“Mızıkacılara para serpiildiğinden müzik çalınamıyor...”

grass in front of the Küçük Köşk and started with a march...”¹²⁶ One example can be given from the *cülûs* day: “on the day of *cülûs*, in the morning my father dressed up his grand uniform, and went to the kiosk of Şale.... With binoculars in our hands, we were watching to the people coming to the ceremony which began with the march of *Hamîdiye*, dedicated to my father, which let us know that the ceremony is starting.”¹²⁷

Music as a performative art and the Ottoman state’s Westernization agenda was collaborated in the ceremonies. Having answered the following questions with the answer of yes, “Can one detect the influence of Westernization on music in these ceremonies?” and “is the frequent practice of Western Classical Music, the consequence of the obsessive attitude of the Ottoman élite to present a ‘civilized’ image abroad?” questions; one can now see, how music was instrumentalized. In the following parts, another extension of the role of politics on music is going to be shown. The reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II is the first reign, when the German imperialistic influence on the Ottoman Empire became obviously observable. Ottoman music taste was heavily influenced from this German orientation of the period. The German club called the *Teutonia* became a popular place, where Ottoman élites and the German community gathered and consumed the Western Classical Music or its “hybrid forms,” performed together by German and Ottoman musicians.

¹²⁶ Ibid, p. 72.

“Küçük Köşk’ün önündeki çimenliğe İkinci Fırka’nın bandosu gelir, marşla başlar...”

¹²⁷ Ibid, p. 76.

“Cülûs günü sabahleyin babam büyük üniformasını giydi ve Şale Köşkü’ne gitti... Ellerimizdeki dürbünlerle, babamın marşıyla başlayan bu merasime gelenleri seyrediyorduk. Merasimin başladığını babamın marşının çalınmasından anlıyorduk.”

CHAPTER III

THE CASE OF THE *TEUTONIA*

The Historiography on German Imperialism in the Ottoman Empire

In the beginning of the Great War, with Wilhelm-like moustaches, Ottomans believed that German military superiority would enable them to revive the glorious ages of the empire.¹²⁸ For the Ottoman Empire, the model position of Germany came into existence gradually. When Asım Said Efendi and fourteen other diplomats were sent to the coronation of Friedrich I as King of Prussia, the first interaction between the Ottoman Empire and the Prussian Empire had taken place in 1701.¹²⁹

Following the Ottoman-Russian War, which ended with the humiliating Küçük Kaynarca Treaty for Ottomans in 1774, the 1790's marked a turning point in terms of the German-Ottoman relations, because Prussia and Ottoman Empire had together formed an equally charged defensive alliance in 1790.¹³⁰

In the reign of Sultan Selim III, first permanent Ottoman embassy in the Prussian Empire had been established, and for the modernization of the Ottoman army a Prussian officer called Colonel von Goetze had been appointed. These developments eventually gave path to the rise of Ottoman-German solidarity.

¹²⁸ Edip Öncü, "The Beginnings of Ottoman-German Partnership: Diplomatic and Military Relations between Germany and the Ottoman Empire before the First World War," (Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Ankara Bilkent University, Department of History, 2003), p. 1.

¹²⁹ Veli Yılmaz, *I. Dünya Harbi'nde Türk Alman İttifakı ve Askeri Yardımlar* (İstanbul: Cem Ofset Matbaacılık, 1993), p. 19.

¹³⁰ Ibid, p. 20.

Following the abolition of the Janissary corps in 1826, during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II; Prussian officers became crucial figures regarding the modernization of the Ottoman army. Captain Helmuth von Moltke (the Elder) of the Prussian General Staff and Lieutenant von Berg from the First Special Regiment of Prussia were the leading figures among these. In order to train the new Ottoman soldiers, Sultan Mahmud II demanded eleven more officers and four non-commissioned officers with three-year contracts in 1836. After a long process of selections, in August 1837, Vincke, Fischer and von Mühlbach started to work for the Ottoman army.¹³¹ The Ottoman defeat by Kavalalı Mehmed Ali *Paşa*'s armies at Nizip, in 1838, ended the period of the services of these Prussian soldiers, who had observer positions in the Ottoman army. Edip Öncü states that it was related with the fact that these soldiers were paid by the Prussian army.¹³²

In the following periods, the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid (1839-1861) and Sultan Abdülaziz (1861-1876) became a scene, where more and more Prussian officers had been brought to train the Ottoman soldiers. However, there was a small difference: in these periods these Prussian officers were selected among the retired officers of the Prussian Army, and thus they were never officially appointed by Prussia. Von Kuczkowski, Malinowski, Schwenzfeuer, Wendt, Grunwald, and Strecker played important roles during the Crimean War, which took place between 1853 and 1856.¹³³

¹³¹ Öncü, Ibid, p. 7.

¹³² Ibid, p. 7.

¹³³ Yılmaz, Ibid, pp. 35-37.

The Hamidian period marked a turning point in terms of the German-Ottoman relationship. Following the Berlin Treaty of 1878, and the British acquisition of Egypt in 1882, the conditions pushed the Ottoman Empire to have more intense relations with Germany. At the same time, the extension of the Russian influence in South Eastern Europe had driven Germans closer to the Ottoman Empire. Under the leadership of Kaiser Wilhelm II, Germans “sought to establish dependable and numerous connections between the Ottoman government and herself, so that they would become actual political allies and that lead in the exploitation of Ottoman resources would be granted to German finance and industry.”¹³⁴ The Bağdad Railway Project was an obvious example of these policies led by the Germans. In other words, the Hamidian Era could be considered as the period when German imperialism was dominant. In the following pages of this study, my aim is to depict how German imperialism had prevailed in the Ottoman Empire by delving into the historiography on German imperialism in the Ottoman Empire.

The nineteenth century had been perceived as the century of colonial expansion. According to Marxist historiography, the nineteenth century witnessed a continuation of previous European expansionism. Quoting Lenin, Joll states that industrial development needed new fields of investment, required more raw materials, and sought for new markets overseas.¹³⁵ The competition for the new markets was demanding the protection of economic interests, which ended up with

¹³⁴ Deren Seçil, “German ideas and expectations on expansion in the Near East (1890-1915)”, (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Middle East Technical University, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Ankara: 2004), p. 8.

¹³⁵ Quoted in: Seçil, Ibid, p. 17.

direct annexation of the territory or remote control via intensive economic penetration as it could be seen in the case of the Ottoman Empire and in the newly established Balkan states.¹³⁶ In order to situate the Ottoman Empire onto the map of European expansionism in the nineteenth century, in the following pages, the historiographical debates regarding the German imperialism in the Ottoman territories will be dealt with.

The Age of Empire by Eric Hobsbawm situates the period of 1870-1914 as the utmost important period of German Empire in terms of its expansion.¹³⁷ This period of time has been focused by various historians in different contexts: colonialism and post-colonialism, political imperialism, economic imperialism, or cultural imperialism in terms of the German Empire, which became new center of power in Europe, following the wars with Habsburg Empire and France. In *History of Germany: 1780-1918 the Long Nineteenth Century*,¹³⁸ David Blackbourn indicates that Prussia benefited from this period of turmoil and Germany could transubstantiate herself rapidly from “being favorite market of Britain” into the major rival of her in the imperialist game.¹³⁹ The unification of Germany should be considered as the fundamental step in this transformation. According to David Blackbourn, generally 1871 is perceived as the end point of German unification, however it could be taken

¹³⁶ Seçil, Ibid, pp. 18-19.

¹³⁷ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875-1914* (London: Abacus, 1997), pp. 50-51.

¹³⁸ David Blackbourn, *History of Germany 1780-1918: The Long Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 187-188.

¹³⁹ Ibid, p. 237.

as the beginning as well, because the second¹⁴⁰ and the “modern” wave of industrialization with Bayer, BASF, Hoechst, Siemens, Bosch and Zeiss began after 1871.¹⁴¹ From his point of view, if one is talking about the expansion of Germany, to the period starting from 1871 till the First World War should be referred. Now, I want to begin with the standard perception of German imperialism and colonialism between the years 1871 and 1914 as mentioned above, very briefly.

Klaus Hildebrand, in his *das Vergangene Reich: Deutsche Außenpolitik von Bismarck bis Hitler 1871-1945* describes the colonial policies of Bismarck. According to Hildebrand, this work is able to convince the readers that “colonies were a political device in the hands of Bismarck, also excluded any deeper historical account of the origins and significance of German colonial policy.”¹⁴²

Thomas Nipperdey whose area of specialization is nineteenth and early twentieth century German history compared German colonialism with its British and French equivalents. In his seminal work *Deutsche Geschichte 1866-1918. 2. Band: Machtstaat vor der Demokratie*, he mentions that colonial history of Germany was rather short-lived compared to others, which were more dynamic as well. His stress for German colonialism was on the German rule in the African colonies. According to Nipperdey, colonial past of Germany did not constitute a fundamental step in the history of German nation.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 242.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, p. 242.

¹⁴² Quoted in: Ibid, p. 242.

¹⁴³ Quoted in: Ibid, p. 8.

Having begun with Hildebrand and Nipperdey, the aim was to show that both historians exemplify the conventional understanding of German colonialism and imperialism. Regarding conventionality, one should stress on the meaning of the Ottoman Empire for the Germans; the general assumption is the following: Germany was trying to create its own India.¹⁴⁴ For instance, Fischer pointed out that Germany wanted to colonize the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴⁵ F. Bernd Schulte is a further scholar, who claimed Germany was colonizing the Ottoman Empire through the Bağdad Railway Project and the numerous German military generals, who were serving in the Ottoman army.¹⁴⁶

The problem of these works was that, they neglected the change in the imperialist method. Where British and French imperialism opted for formal and occupational, colonial imperialism through the responsibility of the colonized territories, the German method choose informal and indirect imperialism, where political annexation of the land was not necessary. By referring to the informal and indirect imperialist method, there exist a series of studies, which challenged the conventional works.

Hans Ulrich Wehler is a very important historian in the field of German colonialism with his *The German Empire, 1871-1918*,¹⁴⁷ and *Bismarck und der*

¹⁴⁴ Seçil, Ibid, p. 23.

¹⁴⁵ Quoted in: Ibid, p. 23.

¹⁴⁶ F. Bernd Schulte, *Vor dem Kriegausbruch 1914: Deutschland, die Türkei und der Balkan* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1980).

¹⁴⁷ Hans Ulrich Wehler, *The German Empire, 1871-1918*, translated by: Kim Traynor (Leamington Spa, Warwickshire, UK; Dover, N.H.: Berg Publishers, 1985).

Imperialismus.¹⁴⁸ Bruce Waller argues that Hans Ulrich Wehler “made an important contribution to the colonial historiography by acknowledging that Bismarck likely did not simply decide to embrace colonialism in 1884 as many historians contend.”¹⁴⁹ According to Wehler, Bismarck’s interest in colonialism dates back to his experiences in the Great Depression of 1873.¹⁵⁰ Another novelty for the historiography brought by Wehler’s works is that he claims that Bismarck pursued expansionist policies for the sake of the domestic political situation, where classical point of view focused on the diplomatic side of the medallion. Furthermore, he put an emphasis on the type of imperialism by Germany, and he uses the term “social imperialism,” via various examples. “Social imperialism,” in his terms, was dealing with the “colonized.” “Social imperialism is essentially the idea that colonies could contribute or even achieve German national unification, after its political unification in 1871, by becoming a distraction to the existing class-conflicts in the newly established Germany.”¹⁵¹

Having listed the contributions of Wehler to the historiography of German expansionism, it is necessary to search for the answer of the following questions: What does he say about the German presence in the late Ottoman Empire? Does he include the Ottoman Empire to the colonies of Germany? If the response is yes, we must ask, why and how?

¹⁴⁸ Hans Ulrich Wehler, *Bismarck und der Imperialismus*, (Köln und Berlin: Kiepenheuer, Witsch, 1969.)

¹⁴⁹ Quoted in Stephen Illich, “German Imperialism in the Ottoman Empire: A Comparative Study,” (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Texas A&M. University, Department of History, 2007), pp. 15-17.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, pp. 15-17.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, p. 24.

As Peter Burke states in his book *History and Social Theory*, Wehler treats the history of German colonialism in relation to modernization.¹⁵² Modernization has been put forward as the ultimate point to be reached, therefore non-European or non-Western societies found themselves in the path towards modernization. Meiji Restoration in Japan, 100 Days Reforms in China, the *Tanzîmât* Era and later on the Young Turk Revolution in the Ottoman Empire, and Russian socialist transformations are most remarkable examples. Could these non-Western countries catch up enough to avoid imperialisms or colonialisms? To what extent can we look for the traces of imperial ambitions led by European powers, and what is the role of Germany in this world game of imperialism? The answers to all of these questions have been given by Wehler. He refers to the “Young Turk Revolution in the Ottoman Empire and Meiji Restoration as responses to the threat posed by the rise of the West.”¹⁵³ Wehler claims that the process of modernization pushed European powers to colonize, and Germany was one of them. Germany, too, had to exercise her power over others which could not modernize yet. Thus, the Ottoman Empire was one of these territories, where Germany exercised her imperialist policies.

Susanne Zantop is another important name for the historiography of the German colonialism with her *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family and Nation in Pre-colonial Germany, 1770-1870*.¹⁵⁴ She is not a conventional historian in terms of her treatment of colonialism. She tried to reconsider the elements of colonialism.

¹⁵² Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 145.

¹⁵³ Ibid, p. 145.

¹⁵⁴ Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Pre-colonial Germany, 1770-1870* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).

Where a flag is the representative for many historians, referring to accounts by German colonizers, she includes the display of colonial artifacts. Zantop prefers to use the term “colonial fantasies” for the case of Germany. For Zantop, the world had already been parcellized when Germans wanted to have their own colonies; therefore, myths were in need to prepare the ground to state of having a right morally for actual German colonization.¹⁵⁵ “Colonial fantasies” especially by Humboldt, the Wesler family and the Fuggar family constituted the activators of German myth creation processes. They believed that the Germans were more “superior” than the other colonizers, thanks to the lack of brutal action. Each step in this creation was on purpose and the ultimate German goal was going to be reached in the last decades of the nineteenth century. According to Sukanya Kulkarni, through the example of Latin America, Susanne Zantop’s book “shows how gendered and familial fantasies of colonial relations had populated the German imaginary even in pre-colonial times, how these ‘colonial’ fantasies had participated in the German nation-building process, becoming a driving force for colonizing action.”¹⁵⁶

As could be easily seen, Zantop contributed a great deal to the historiography of German colonialism, because she approaches the topic in terms of legitimization and *pénétration pacifique*. Though she prefers to focus only on colonialism instead of entailing imperialism, and she does not at all talk about the Ottoman position regarding the German influence, her approach could be useful in order to trace non-violent imperial actions within the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 202.

¹⁵⁶ Sukanya Kulkarni, n.d,

The book *Kolonialdenkmäler und Geschichtsbewußtsein: Eine Untersuchung der Kolonial- deutschen Erinnerungskultur*¹⁵⁷ by Joachim Zeller contributed to the historiography of German imperialism very much, because the construction of the entire work was based on the deconstruction of the literary texts of German imperialism. The work could be considered within the framework of post-colonial studies, due to its stylistic approach. In the 1950's, the post-war decolonization and anti-colonial sentiments opened the way for South Asian area studies in the United States of America. Since colonial rule ended, people started to search for an authentic India. This task was done mostly by anthropologists. They could look at the caste system from another perspective, but they could not go beyond the nationalist project, because they looked at an identity in itself. In addition, because they only talked about essences, their argument was open to Orientalist recuperations, so made India "the other" again. Thanks to the caution of Zeller, we do not find the repetitive problem of "otherification." The way Zeller applies his deconstructionist method could be useful to interpret the position of the Ottoman Empire within the framework of world imperial game.

Suggesting that the historians who "study the representation of colonialism in nineteenth-century Germany over-simplify German motivations,"¹⁵⁸ Glenn Penny disagrees with the general attempt to explain the foundation of ethnographic museums within the context of colonialism. She argues that the "display of artifacts was an international phenomenon during the nineteenth century,"¹⁵⁹ however, Glenn

¹⁵⁷ Joachim Zeller, *Kolonialdenkmäler und Geschichtsbewusstsein. Eine Untersuchung der kolonial-deutschen Erinnerungskultur*. (Frankfurt am Main: IKO, 2000).

¹⁵⁸ Illich, Ibid, p. 31.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 22.

Penny with his *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany*¹⁶⁰ contributed to the historiography of German imperialism so much, because he considers cultural side of German imperialism.

From my point of view, the following two works are very significant, because they define cultural imperialism that was led by Germany: *Phantasiereiche: Zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus* by Birte Kundrus,¹⁶¹ and *Jöntürk Modernizmi ve Alman Ruhü* by Mustafa Gencer,¹⁶² whose works deal with the schools, social networks that were established in the “colonies” by the Germans. In this context, we can give examples from the Ottoman Empire: *Deutsche Schule İstanbul, Das deutsche Krankenhaus, der Verein: Teutonia*, which will be narrated in details in the upcoming part of this chapter. Mustafa Gencer’s account focuses on the period of the Committee of Union and Progress (1908-1918). He states that by transforming from the multi-ethnic Ottoman Empire into a nation-state, the Unionists had to be confronted by several external ‘influences.’ Germany was among these external powers, and it exercised its influence over the process of modernization and nation-building in the Ottoman Empire. Mustafa Gencer underlines the importance of the organized travels to Germany for distinguished Ottoman representatives, educational opportunities for students and Ottoman army officers. Moreover, Turkish-German and German-Turkish associations with the objective to steer and plan the flow of knowledge, technology and culture had been founded. Germany’s

¹⁶⁰ Glenn Penny, *Objects of Culture: Ethnology and Ethnographic Museums in Imperial Germany* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

¹⁶¹ Birthe Kundrus, *Phantasiereiche: Zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Kolonialismus* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2003).

¹⁶² Mustafa Gencer, *Jöntürk Modernizmi ve Alman Ruhü* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2003).

particular role was in offering substantial assistance in the education reform throughout the Ottoman Empire.

Hitherto, I have tried to depict different approaches towards the German way of colonialism and imperialism. The works to which I referred to were significant in terms of their methodology or style for this study. Now I want to move into details, because the works on which I will now talk about are the studies those directly focus on the influence of the German Empire over the Ottoman Empire, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century.

According to Niles Stephan Illich, the Ottoman Empire was the common target of both British and German colonialisms. He divides imperial activities into three: economic, political and cultural. Each type of imperial policies led by Germany constituted separate chapters in his study. In my point of view, the most successful chapter among the three is the one where Illich tells us about the economic imperialism of Germany in the Ottoman territories. Here, he considers the use of loans and the construction of the Anatolian and Bağdad Railway, and especially ports. He narrates the journey of German economic penetration into the Ottoman market by the *Deutsche Bank*, which was accelerated in the reign of Kaiser Wilhelm II.¹⁶³

In the following chapter, the author deals with the political imperialism of Germany via the German support to the modernization of the Ottoman army. According to the writer, the aim of Germany was to “bring the Ottoman military to the standards of nineteenth century European armies, both through training and

¹⁶³ Illich, Ibid, pp. 125-143.

through arms sales.”¹⁶⁴ Illich argued that, one should consider the visits of Kaiser Wilhelm II, one to the Near East, the other to İstanbul, where Kaiser Wilhelm II declared himself as “the protector of all 300,000,000 Muslims of the world,” in the context of political imperialism. I agree with him, in terms of the importance of the visits by Kaiser Wilhelm II, but I want to criticize him because of the introductory pages of this chapter. I believe that though he explains how the visits fit into the framework of political imperialism, Illich does not elaborate his concern in the first part. Therefore, I called economical imperialism chapter as the best among the three, since even every single detail has been clarified by him.

In his next chapter, Illich examines German cultural imperialism especially, through display of Ottoman artifacts. The rise of interest in “Oriental” Languages is dealt with by him in detail. Furthermore, Illich talks about the archeological excavations led by Germans in the Ottoman lands.¹⁶⁵ I think he illustrates well how Germany used methods of cultural imperialism.

Hence Niles Stephan Illich’s Ph.D. thesis *German Imperialism in the Ottoman Empire: A Comparative Study* that was submitted to Texas A&M University is an important contribution to the field.¹⁶⁶ By comparing British and German imperialisms, he comes to conclusion that the Germans, as the late-comers of the imperialist arena, were imitators of British colonizers via three types of

¹⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 21.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 204.

¹⁶⁶ Stephen Illich, “German Imperialism in the Ottoman Empire: A Comparative Study,” (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Texas A&M. University, Department of History, 2007).

imperial policies. Reading this dissertation lets the reader to be convinced that there existed a pre-planned and fully fledged imperialism led by Germany in the Ottoman Empire, even with his lingual handicap of without being able to using any Ottoman archival material.

Using Ottoman archival materials as well, the Ph.D. dissertation of Seil Deren called *German Ideas and Expectations on Expansion in the Near East* is a further contribution to the field.¹⁶⁷ In this work, her main argument is that German imperialism had prevailed in the Ottoman territories. Through the public discourses, she underlines the non-colonialist character of German imperialism. According to her, the method, which was used by the Germans, was “informal imperialism.” Therefore, for her, economic and cultural imperialisms were more important than the political imperialism.¹⁶⁸

İlber Ortaylı, in his *İkinci Abdülhamid Döneminde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Alman Nüfuzu*, claimed that Germany used the Ottoman Empire as the heartland of her own imperial ambitions.¹⁶⁹ The presence of Germans in the Ottoman army in order to “modernize,” the construction of the Bağdad Railways, the entrance of *Deutsche Bank* into the Ottoman markets, lay out how Germany invested her money to the Ottoman Empire. According to İlber Ortaylı, the reason for these enormous investments was the imperial agenda of Germany. Examining primary

¹⁶⁷ Deren Seil, “German Ideas and Expectations on Expansion in the Near East (1890-1915)”, (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Middle East Technical University, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Ankara: 2004).

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ İlber Ortaylı, *İkinci Abdülhamid Döneminde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Alman Nüfuzu* (İstanbul: Alkım Yayınevi, 2006).

materials from various archives: German, British, American and Ottoman (*BOA, Yıldız Tasnifi*) he could draw this conclusion.

The initial concern of the author was to study the political and economic imperialism by Germany towards the Ottoman Empire. Having situated Germany onto the map of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Europe regarding expansionism; before delving into debates on German generals in the Ottoman Army, the Bağdad Railway Project and the position of Germany in terms of the minority issue in the Ottoman Empire, Ortaylı narrated the rise of German trade and investment in the Ottoman Empire in his first chapter. Subsequently, he described the ideological medium in which the German influence on the Ottoman Empire grew with intermediary roles of the German experts. Having discussed all these, İlber Ortaylı dedicated only three pages to the cultural imperialism of Germany towards the Ottoman Empire.

His first sentence regarding German cultural imperialism is very striking: “Although this society is talented in imitation and German experts had been appointed, the real German culture could not be brought.”¹⁷⁰ According to Ortaylı, what Germans could bring was “a shallow propaganda,” instead of the “real” imperial German culture. Via translations from French, the German books let the Ottomans to admire the militarism and autitarianism of the extension of the German culture. However, Kant, Hegel, Feuerbach, Weber or even Marx as representatives of the German culture could not have been introduced, so the Ottomans could not internalize the “real” German culture. German archeological

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 78.

excavations throughout the Ottoman lands, and the popular public consumption of Viennese operettas in the Beyoğlu district, have been referred as extensions of German cultural imperialism in the Ottoman Empire, which constituted only “a shallow German propaganda” in the eyes of İlber Ortaylı.¹⁷¹

Having talked about the historiographical debates regarding the German imperialism in the Ottoman Empire briefly, by focusing on the case of the *Teutonia*, my aim in the following sub-chapter will be to depict whether German cultural imperialism did exist in the Ottoman Empire, or not. If the answer would be “yes,” the questions below will be tried to be answered: Can we call the activities organized at and by the *Teutonia* as part of “a shallow German propaganda”? To what extent can we consider the case of the *Teutonia* as a *corpus opus* in which the cultural practices especially music have been instrumentalized for the sake of political goals?

Case Study: The *Teutonia*

Die Teutonia

Having heard “the *Teutonia*,” one should define first the term itself: the land of the *Teutones*. Who were *Teutones*? The terms *Teuton* and *Teutonic* have sometimes been used in reference to all of the Germanic peoples. The first meaning of *Teuton* in the dictionaries is that *Teuton* is someone who speaks a Germanic language and resides in Germany, in other words, *Teuton* is a person of German nationality. For instance, *Teuton* is defined in *Chambers’ 21st Century Dictionary* as the following: “1) any

¹⁷¹ Ibid, pp. 78-79.

speaker of a Germanic language; 2) a member of an ancient German tribe from Northern Europe.”¹⁷²

In the dictionary definitions, the mythology regarding the *Teutones* is included. In German mythology, *Teuton* is a member of the ancient Germanic people, who had migrated from Jutland to Southern Gaul and were annihilated by the Romans. In the famous *Nibelungenlied* stories, *Teuton* belongs to the race of dwarfs who possessed a treasure hoard that was stolen by Siegfried. It is believed that, Siegfried is a mythical German warrior hero of the *Nibelungenlied*, who takes possession of the accursed treasure of the Nibelungs by slaying the dragon that guards it. So, Brunnhilde is awoken, who is a Valkyrie or a queen in the *Nibelungenlied* and loves Siegfried; when he deceived her, she had him killed and then she committed suicide.¹⁷³

Greek historian from the sixteenth century, Strabo mentioned *Teutones* as a Germanic tribe in his *Geographica*.¹⁷⁴ Pomponius Mela placed the *Teutones* in Codanonia. On the map, which was drawn by Ptolemy, *Teutones* lived in Jutland.¹⁷⁵ The general assumption places *Teutones* to the region of Thy, (Old Norse *Thiuthæ sysæl*) in Northern Denmark. Before 100 BC, a migration took place towards the South and West to the Danube Valley. There, the *Teutones* encountered with the

¹⁷² *Chambers 21st Century Dictionary* (Edinburgh: Chambers, 1994), p. 1459.

¹⁷³ Summarized from George Henry Needler, *The Nibelungenlied*, <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/7321> [21 July 2009].

¹⁷⁴ Quoted in: <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Strabo/home.html> [15 July 2009].

¹⁷⁵ <http://www.northvegr.org/lore/sagabook/n003.php> [18 July 2009].

Romans. In the late second century BC, the *Teutones* passed through Gaul and attacked Roman Italy. Then, they were defeated by the Romans.

‘*Teutonia*’ as a term has been used by *Burschenschaften*. German *Burschenschaften* are a special type of *Studentenverbindungen* (student fraternities). *Burschenschaften* were founded in the nineteenth century as associations of university students, inspired by liberal and nationalistic ideas. *Ehre* (Honor), *Freiheit* (Freedom), *Vaterland* (Fatherland) constitute the triple mottos of these associations, the first one of which was established in 1815 in Jena.¹⁷⁶

Although the exact date of the foundation is unknown, it is believed that the *Teutonia* in İstanbul was founded in 1847. Though the members of “*Teutonia*”s in Germany and Austria were mainly university students, the founding members of *Teutonia* İstanbul were craftsmen.¹⁷⁷ Generally, the term *Teutonia* has been known primarily as a place for the cultural events such as concerts, theater plays, and exhibitions. For the inhabitants of the Tünel district, it is the building near the center Tünel, once Germans had constructed the last one in 1897.

Teutonia was not the only German club in İstanbul. The German influence in the Ottoman Empire grew rapidly, and it led to the opening of more and more new German clubs in İstanbul. For instance: the *Alemannia*, the *German Women’s Association*, the *German Turnverein*, *Men’s Choral Society* and the *Excursionsclub*.

¹⁷⁶ Radt, Ibid, p. 15.

¹⁷⁷ Dietrich, Ibid, pp. 98-99.

They all offered an opportunity for socializing, exchange of ideas, and participation in community life.¹⁷⁸

An Overview: Teutonia from 1847 to Today

There is no consensus among scholars about the exact foundation date of the German Club *Teutonia*, because there are not yet available printed or manuscript sources indicating the date of the establishment of the association.¹⁷⁹ In some sources, it is possible to see 1 June 1847,¹⁸⁰ but if one looks for its reference, no primary source could be found. However, the literature on German history or on *Teutonia* agrees on the point that the year of its creation was 1847.

Reading Franz von Caucig, we get the following information that former chairman of the club, Dr. Saeuslein pointed out to the fact that it is impossible to write a full history of the introductory phase of the association, due to the lack of written documents. However he tried to collect all of the existing material on the institutional history of the club including the oral accounts.¹⁸¹ Leaning on these materials, Dr. Saeuslein informed us about the structure of the club during its foundation: the quantity of the members, the profiles of the founding members, and the location of the club.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁸ Ibid, pp. 50-51.

¹⁷⁹ Radt, Ibid, p. 15.

¹⁸⁰ Dietrich, Ibid, p. 98.

¹⁸¹ Radt, Ibid, p. 25.

¹⁸² Von Caucig, Ibid.

The founding members, whose names we are able to know, were Schemmer, Witmann, Bethier, Köhler, and Salaba.¹⁸³ They were led by Robert Capitain, and Tessar, who was a shoemaker.¹⁸⁴ Schulz, a tailor, is another name who worked ardently for the evolution of the club.¹⁸⁵ Wainwrights, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, bakers, people who work as artisans due to the scarcity of professionals in İstanbul,¹⁸⁶ constituted the majority of the founders who came from German-speaking territories of Bohemia. In 1846, even before the foundation of the association, these German members were meeting in a Greek *Lokanta* to chatter and sing regularly.¹⁸⁷

The primary concern of the members was to continue their Germanic national and cultural habits, but this time under the roof of a German institution. This club was going to facilitate the institutionalization of German social life in İstanbul, and was going to be influential in the sphere of cultural performances. I think, in the beginning, these ten to twelve heavy drinking joyous men did not have the agenda of enlarging their club at all, but with the newcomers from the German community, they had to institutionalize. Hence, they finally agreed to prepare the subsequent protocols. An election was held in order to determine the board of directors and the regular meetings on Saturday evenings of this executive committee have been inaugurated.

¹⁸³ Von Caucig, Ibid, p. 68.

¹⁸⁴ Deutsche Schule İstanbul, *Elternbriefe* (İstanbul: Selbstverlag der Schule, 2006).

¹⁸⁵ Radt, Ibid, p. 136.

¹⁸⁶ Quoted in: *Satzung des Deutschen Handwerkervereins von 1907* (Protocol of the German Artisans of 1907).

¹⁸⁷ Dietrich, Ibid, p. 100.

The elected members were responsible for all organizations and financial issues of the club. What is meant by all organizations? Can we list the organizations in the club or by the club? Prior to these activities, one should talk about the *Vereinshaeuser*, because their physical features determined the sorts of activities that took place in the club, or organized by the *Teutonia*.

THE BUILDINGS OF THE *TEUTONIA* (*VEREINHAEUSER*)

The first permanent place of the *Teutonia* is unfortunately no longer known,¹⁸⁸ the sole information regarding the *Vereinhaus* is that it was located in the Galata-Pera district. Following a big fire, the club house had to move. It had been just a few days when the club had started to meet regularly in this house.¹⁸⁹

The second house of the *Teutonia* was situated in the Kalyonculuk Sokak¹⁹⁰ (now behind Balıkpazarı). It was found by Schulz, who organized the first German ball in this building with Carl Seefelder.¹⁹¹ These first two *Vereinshaeuser* were both burned down. Right before the first anniversary celebration of the club, *Teutonia* had to move into its third building, whose actual location is again unknown. Around 1850, “Hotel Bycance,” right at the next street to its previous location, became the new lieu of the association.¹⁹² This building was not large enough to serve the needs

¹⁸⁸ Radt, Ibid, p. 14.

¹⁸⁹ Von Caucig, Ibid, p. 68.

¹⁹⁰ a small street which crosses *Grand Rue Pera*.

¹⁹¹ Ibid, p. 68.

¹⁹² Ibid, pp. 68-69.

of the members, furthermore having climbed to the first floor by the ladder the members could only enter into the club through the window, because of the lack of a proper entrance.¹⁹³ Hence in 1851,¹⁹⁴ it moved for the fourth time to the Aynalı Çeşme Sokak,¹⁹⁵ where the first German speaking Protestant community began to gather in 1853.¹⁹⁶ Aynalı Çeşme Sokak was also already popular among the German community, not only because of the Church and its *Gemeinde*, but also with its German restaurant and pub which was directed by Herr Weidmann.¹⁹⁷ Although this new location was liked very much, *Teutonia* had to change its *Vereinhaus* for the fifth time, and moved into a building which was located next to the wall of the British Embassy. In the light of the work by Franz von Caucig, we are able to observe that the owner of this new place of the club was one of the members of the *Teutonia Verein*. I believe the explanation of this moving lies in the financial situation: in order to avoid paying high rent, this shift must have taken place. Having enough room for putting tools used while exercising in a gym, and having renovated the garden, this building served as the *Vereinhaus* of the *Teutonia*, until 1858.¹⁹⁸ Unfortunately, in winters, this building was inconvenient to settle due to its humidity. So, the *Vorstaende* of the *Teutonia* decided to move again for the sixth location. Following long hours of negotiations, this time they had chosen a place which was

¹⁹³ Ibid, p. 69.

“das Gebauede war baufaellig. Da keine Treppe zum ersten Stockwerk führte, musste man von aussen her über eine Leiter durch ein Fenster einsteigen.”

¹⁹⁵ Radt, Ibid, p. 15. *Aynalı Çeşme Sokak* is very close to the German school in Tünel district.

¹⁹⁶ Dietrich, Ibid, p. 99.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 99.

¹⁹⁸ Von Caucig, Ibid, p. 69.

almost in the center: Asmalı Mescid Sokağı. There was a building of a pharmacist: Ottoni. Known as ‘College Filippo,’¹⁹⁹ the building was quite large to build a stage in it, so famous activities of the *Teutonia* have been initiated: theater plays and concerts. Having built them, still there were several rooms which were not used by the members of the association. So, in order to bring permanent income, they were rented out by the club. With the decrease in numbers of the members, the club faced financial problems and finally it was not able to pay the full rent of the Ottoni House. In order to solve this problem, the first *Schillerfeier* was organized. Afterwards, festivals and balls were begun to be used as financial sources, however, with the establishment of the *Deutsche Handwerkersverein Alemania* in 1861,²⁰⁰ many members opted for this new club, because it was less costly than the *Teutonia*. So, the seventh moving had to take place in 1863, because paying the rent of the Ottoni House had become a burden for *Teutonia*. The new location of the *Teutonia* was a pub which belonged to ‘Palais de Cristal.’ However, it could stay there just for a short period of time, and changed its location for the eighth time into ‘Hotel Tathfausly.’

The decrease in numbers of the members still continued in ‘Hotel Tathfausly,’ and this let the club have serious financial difficulties. Before explaining the reasons for decrease, I think, we should take a look at the financial resources of the association. In terms of the income of the *Teutonia*, we can observe only the profits of the pub and the *lokanta*. Radt states the following: “although we do not see any specific corporation or foundation as sponsors of the establishment of the club,

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 69.

²⁰⁰ Radt, Ibid, p. 29.

we should assume that the first *Vorstaende* used their close contacts.”²⁰¹ I totally agree with her, because there were many rich German merchants for whom İstanbul played a significant role in terms of their wealth. Conjointly, they had good contacts with diplomats of Germany and Habsburg Empire. Even these diplomats participated to the concerts or theater performances. Emil Gustav von Lecoq, Graf von Pourtales, Baron von Rosenberg, Grad, von der Goltz, and Freiherr Prokesch could be given as examples to these leading names.

There exist no say of the membership fees in the archives of the association, until 1865.²⁰² Throughout the time, with the rising number of the members, fees have been collected regularly. From the beginning, until 1868, the fee was 30 *kurûş*, and this amount was raised to 100 *kurûş* in 1868. The following question directly occurs to one’s mind: “why?”

The records of the *Teutonia* in the light of *Mitteilungsblatt* of 1957 show us that the number of the members decreased from 300s to 96, in 1866, as a consequence of two reasons: the first cause depended upon the conflict between the Habsburg Empire and Prussia, which arose because of the control of Schleswig and evoked the Seven Weeks’ War. In the early 1860’s, considering that the smaller states would prefer weaker state instead of the powerful, Austria believed that she would retain leadership in Germany. By mid-1864, Franz Joseph started the war, because it was inevitable if Austrian leadership was wanted to be preserved. The

²⁰¹ Ibid, p. 136.

²⁰² Ibid, p.136.

cause of the Seven Weeks' War between Austria and Prussia in 1866 was the desire of Prussia to annex the Duchy of Holstein. Austria and Prussia had together fought a brief war against Denmark in 1864, to secure the predominantly German duchies of Schleswig and Holstein for Germany. Pending final decision, Prussia took control of Schleswig, and Austria took control of Holstein.

In April 1866, however, Prussia plotted with Italy to wage a two-front war against Austria, that would enable Prussia to gain Holstein and Italy to gain Venetia. Although Austria tried to keep Italy out of the war through a last minute offer to surrender of Venetia to it, Italy joined the war with Prussia. Austria won key victories over Italy, but lost the decisive Battle of Königgrätz (Hradec Králové in the present-day Czech Republic) to Prussia, in July 1866.²⁰³ Because of this war between the Prussian and Habsburg Empires, the members of *Teutonia* from Austria-Hungary tended to not showing up in the activities of the club, and they did not pay their fees at all.

In the past 200 hundred years, seven cholera pandemics have killed millions of people all around the world. The forth one among these seven, constituted the second reason for the decrease in number of the members of the *Teutonia* İstanbul, which caused the sudden increase of fees of membership. Franz von Caucig enables us to read eye-witnesses from 1865, where we can observe the panic within the German community of İstanbul that arose due to cholera pandemic.²⁰⁴ Wanda tells us that Victor and the father of her husband remember the great plague which happened ten years before with all details. Therefore, they were scared. She mentions that some

²⁰³ <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/europe/at-kuk.htm> [08 July 2009]

²⁰⁴ Von Caucig, Ibid, p. 47.

merchants rapidly moved their offices into their houses, because these offices were situated on the sides of the bridge, where cholera was centered. Wanda wrote that there were also people who considered abandoning İstanbul, such as Karl Sechser and Teresa had finally decided to leave.²⁰⁵

Besides these problems, the club had to face a big fire in June 1870, which caused the death of Carl Seefelder,²⁰⁶ and move for the ninth time to a new house which was rented on the Pera Street, today's Galip Dede Sokağı.²⁰⁷ In the beginning, everyone waited for a better area, but it was called as "even devastating" place at first sight by Dr. Saeuslein. He was expecting a hall of mirrors, which was brilliant and richly ornamented, as promised him, however it was even not shining.²⁰⁸

Having signed a contract for five years, the building had been renovated, and busy nights with all of the theater shows, concerts and exhibitions revived in the club. This new place was consisted of two stages. In the ground floor, one was able to read books in the library, play billiards or bowling. Mostly visited part of the club

²⁰⁵ Von Caucig, Ibid, p. 47.

"Victor und mein Schwiegervater erinnern sich noch sehr gut an die grosse Epidemie vor zehn Jahren... Die Cholera war aus Mekka eingeschleppt worden, und das Zentrum lag in altem İstanbul, jenseits die Brücke, wo sich auch unsere Kontore befinden. Auch andere Kaufleute haben in aller Eile die Büros in ihre Wohnungen verlegt. ...Karl Sechser und Teresa haben sich kurz entschlossen, Constantinopel zu verlassen."

²⁰⁶ Carl Seefelder was called "the father of German Workers."

²⁰⁷ *Teutonia* is situated still on the same street, but in another building.

²⁰⁸ Radt, Ibid, p. 26.

"Der Eindruck des Lokales war für den Fremden, der etwas besseres zu sehen gewohnt war, geradezu niederschmetternd. Als ich am 6. Oktober durch Herrn Buchhaendler Christian Roth daselbst als Gast eingeführt wurde, kam ich mir vor wie der Knabe im Maerchen, dem ein glaenzender, reich verzierter Spiegelsaal versprochen wird, der sich aber plötzlich in einem Stalle befindet und nun neugierig und in banger Erwartung der versprochenen Zaubervirkung und Metamorphose umherblickt. Der Spiegelsaal erschien nicht und ich musste mit einem grossen Zimmer vorlieb nehmen, worin sich ein Billard und ein Lesetisch befanden und welches auch sonst sehr primitiv anzusehen war..."

was the pub, where people liked to get drunk. The exhibition hall and multi-purpose room with its stage was located in the first floor. However, these live nights could not last long because of a big fire on 26 October 1872. Franz von Caucig narrates the story of the fire by referring to Dr. Saeuslein, from this excerpt we are able to grasp the information that the club had recently bought a valuable piano, because in the initial moments people tried to rescue it.²⁰⁹

After this disaster, the board of the *Teutonia* decided to move for the tenth time, but this time into a stone building. Temporarily, they used the ‘Concordia’ and the beerhouse by Proksch, who was also a member of the club.²¹⁰ Meanwhile, the board was looking for a new place. First preference, the garden of a *tekke* (dancing dervishes) later proved to be problematic, because *şeyh* Ata Bey had demanded an imperial *irâde* from the German ambassador, which had to be issued by the Ottoman Sultan. Finally, the owner was finally convinced by the board, and *Teutonia* paid him 4,048 Turkish *lirâs* on 12 April 1873.²¹¹

Three famous architects of the period; Cumin, Seefelder and Goebels prepared the plans for the new building of the *Teutonia*. Among these names, the design of Goebels had been chosen, who had already drawn the plan of the German Embassy in İstanbul. Scheuermann gives us the initial date of the *Teutonia*’s construction as 14 July 1874. As mentioned by Barbara Radt, the ground-breaking

²⁰⁹ The members expected that the damages were going to be paid by the gas company, but the company resisted paying indemnities. Years after the final decision of the court made the *Teutonia* members smile, the gas company paid for the detriments.

²¹⁰ Radt, Ibid, p. 37.

²¹¹ Ibid, pp. 37-38.

ceremony was described in the *Mitteilungsblatt*, where we grasp the information that the German Ambassador and the majority of the German diplomats, who were on mission in İstanbul, had participated to the effulgent ceremony. The quotation below will help us to visualize the grandeur of this event:

The festival place was full of flags, and celebration yells. The celebration began with the performance of the choral society, conducted by Mr. G. Wülfing. They were accompanied by the harmonium. “Alleluja” from Oratorium Messiah of Haendel has been sung. The speech was made by Dr. Saeuslein. A short historical sketch about the foundation and evolution of Teutonia was done finally several feasible Turkish coins were inserted. When the hammer was blown, the signal of the Festival’s end was given. A photographic record of the ceremonial act was taken by the photographer Abdullah.²¹²

In its new building of the club, numerous events have been organized: festivals, concerts, theater performances, and balls. Besides the members of the club and super-abundant foreigners in İstanbul, many guests from the Muslim and non-Muslim élites of the Ottoman Empire attended these activities regularly. Thereby, the club gained popularity. On the other hand, these events let the association face some financial problems, because they were very expensive due to the lack of any charge from the guests. A proof for these financial difficulties of the *Teutonia* would be the fact that the club could not repay the credit to the Ottoman Bank.²¹³

²¹² Quoted in: Radt, from: *Teutonia Mitteilungsblatt*, no. 22.

“Der Festplatz war mit Fahnen, Laubgewinden und Festsprüchen reich geschmückt. Die Feier begann mit dem vom Gesangsverein unter Leitung des Dirigenten Herrn G. Wülfing mit Harmoniumbegleitung gesungenen “Alleluja” aus dem Oratorium Messiah von Haendel. Die Festrede hielt Dr. Saeuslein... ferner eine kurze geschichtliche Skizze über die Gründung und Entwicklung der Teutonia, endlich mehrere gangbare türkische Münzen eingelegt waren, wurde derselbe, luftdicht verschlossen, in den Grundgesenkt und mit der gewohnten Zeremonie der Hammerschlaege eingemauert, womit die Feier beendet war. Vom Fotografen Abdullah wurde eine photographische Aufnahme des Festaktes angefertigt.”

Furthermore, the *Teutonia* was no longer the sole German club in İstanbul anymore. *Turnverein* (athletic Club) and *Chorgesangsverein* (Choral Music Society) together with *Handwerkerverein* (The Association of Craftsmen) have begun to challenge the *Teutonia*, in terms of their huge numbers of members. Actually, *Teutonia* was serving as the father figure for *Turnverein* and *Chorgesangsverein* with its physical and psychological support under the roof of *Teutonia*. Throughout the time, their members had opted for operating separately from *Teutonia*. I agree with Scheuermann that young members could have believed that they would have the opportunity to move casually, if the fact that the majority of the members of the *Teutonia* consisted of middle-aged élite men had been taken into consideration.²¹⁴

Until 1892, despite the financial difficulties, the *Teutonia* could continue its life with all of its fundamental functions: it was the house where German community in İstanbul gathered, drank, played games, and watched or played theater, made music, sang joyfully, and entertained themselves in the parties. Reading Scheuermann, where he refers to Dr. Schwatlo, whom a *Mecidiye Nişanı* had been granted by Sultan Abdülhamid II in 1897,²¹⁵ I got the impression that revolutionary steps had to be taken in terms of the administration of *Teutonia*. If not, the club would not be able to survive.²¹⁶

²¹³ Scheuermann, Ibid, p. 51.

“Viele Veranstaltungen fanden statt, auch kamen Gäste von ausserhalb, dennoch kam es zu Schwierigkeiten als der Kredit an die Ottoman- Bank zurückgezahlt werden musste.”

²¹⁴ Ibid, p. 51.

²¹⁵ BOA. İ. TAL. 1313/ 86.

²¹⁶ Scheuermann, Ibid, p. 53.

“Reformieren liess sich gar nichts mehr, es musste vielmehr innerlich und aeusserlich neu aufgebaut werden.”

In 1892, many old members had with-drawn, even some of the board members had resigned.²¹⁷ This situation justified the interpretation by the director of *Deutsche Schule İstanbul*. A revolution was in need. Otto Kapp von Gülstein was going to lead these revolutionary movements, regarding the administration of the club: *Teutonia*.

In 1895, Otto Kapps von Gülstein became the chairman of *Teutonia İstanbul*, who had also been directing the Bağdad Railways Company in those days. Just a few months later, on 6 August 1895, during the leadership of von Gülstein, a big fire took place in Pera, which destroyed the *Teutonia* completely. Only a few books and photos remained.²¹⁸ New regulations were to be set by the new director of the *Teutonia*. It was decided that the *Teutonia* would be rebuilt in its old location. The board would be empowered in terms of critical decision makings, such as dealing with the desired insurance company, or making the contract of the new construction.²¹⁹

As mentioned by Radt, scrutinizing all the available issues of the *Le Moniteur Orientale*, we can detect throughout the lines that until the opening of the new house,

²¹⁷ Radt, Ibid, p. 38.

²¹⁸ Von Caucig, Ibid, pp. 69-70.

“Das Feuer brach am Nachmittag in den Holzhaeusern aus, die damals in der Sackgasse zwischen der jetzigen Deutschen Schule und der Teutonia standen. Diese Sackgasse hiess Ester Çıkmazi. Der Wind trieb das Feuer gegen die Rückseite der Teutonia. Am Löschen war nicht zu denken. Gerettet wurden nur etwa zwei drittel der Bücherei, einige Bilder aus dem Erdgeschoss und wenige Möbel. Das Haus selbst brannte auf die Grundmauern nieder.”

²¹⁹ Radt, Ibid, pp. 39-40.

“1. Der Vorstand wird ermächtigt, die nach der Tekkestrasse liegenden anstossenden Haesue anzukaufen. 2. Der Vorstand wird ermächtigt mit einem tüchtigen Unternehmer einen Bauvertrag abzuschliessen. 3. Der Vorstand wird ermächtigt zu diesem Zweck über die aus der Feuerversicherung und aus Sammlungen herrührenden Geider zu verfügen.”

for the general meetings, the members used the grand hall of *Handwerkerverein*. For the reading sessions, they used the library of the German School right next to the Galata Tower. For the celebrations, the members of *Teutonia* gathered in the *Bierhaus* of Janni; for the bigger ones, they met at the *Societa Operaia Italiana* or the Pera Palas Hotel.²²⁰

Having realized all plans mentioned above successfully and being exempted from fee of the license,²²¹ on 16 January 1897, the *Teutonia* restarted its life for the eleventh and last time in the neo-classic stone building, which still serves as the club house on Galip Dede Sokağı. The description of the building could be found in the travel account of Schulz-Labischin, who was a chorister of *Berliner Liedertafel*, which was hosted by the *Teutonia* İstanbul, in 1908:

The great hall in the first level (the Club House of Teutonia) is a magnificent, roomy building with restoration local rooms, living and reading rooms, a comfortable old German room, bowling alley, a garden, and a terrace situated quite high so on which a wonderful view under the brightest light shine could be enjoyed, festive decorated with garlands and flags. On the stage there are juts out of the green of laurel tree and bust of our Emperor. Behind this, the banner of the Liedertafel (Men's Choir) with the new, which sponsored by the Bucharest ladies is situated. Right and left are German and Turkish flags. Balconies (on the opposite side of the stage plays an excellent chapel in festive ways) large banners of the Germans...²²²

²²⁰ For further details, see: Alessandro Pannuti, *La communita Italianadi Istanbul nel XX secolo: Ambiente e persone* (İstanbul: İsis, 2006).

²²¹ BOA. İ. HUS. 46/1313.

²²² Schulz-Labischin, Ibid, p. 101.

“Der grosse Saal im ersten Stocke (des Vereinhaus der Teutonia) ist ein prächtiger, geräumig gebaut mit Restaurationslokalen, Sälen, Wohn und Lesezimmern, einem gemüthlichen altdeutschen Zimmer, Regalbahn, Garten und einer hochgelegenen Terasse, von der man einen herrlichen Ausblick geniesst war, im hellsten Lichterglanze strahlend, festlich geschmückt mit Guirlanden und Fahnen. Auf der Bühne ragt aus dichtem Grün von der Loebeerbaeumen die Büste unseres Kaisers hervor. Hinter ihr steht das Banner der Liedertafel mit dem neuen Schmuck, den die Bukarester Damen gestiftet. Rechts

Where the name of the association until 1897 used to be the “*Teutonia*,” it then became the “German Club: *Teutonia*,” and Radt pointed out that the *Teutonia* started to be the popular meeting point for embassy staff and bank directors, distinguished business people, and the German soldiers, who were working for the military school of the sultan, the members of the evangelical church, and the students of the German school. Additionally, the members of the Ottoman élite could be listed among the participants to the activities that were held at the *Teutonia* or by the *Teutonia*.²²³

In its new building in October of 1898, the *Teutonia* had very important guests during the trip of German Kaiser Wilhelm II. German delegation, except for the Emperor and his wife, were all present at the *Teutonia*. The *Vossische Zeitung* gave us the details of this night and brought the importance of this visit into sharp relief via the speech by the director of *Teutonia* von Kapp:

Unfortunately, the emperor did not have any opportunity to visit the ‘*Teutonia*.’ The colony had nevertheless the great joy, a big number of expensive guests. The Germans who lived abroad were not inferior with respect to the ones who lived in the homeland. Differences of roots were well disappeared, but there was another chance abroad. Belongers of all roots lived all together and affected upon each other in their unique way. Thus, the distance among the parties and conflicts of interests in the homeland disappeared, too. The life in the middle of another nation, the peaceful competition with the foreign colonies, all these circumstances led to the consequence, that the Germans abroad became true stalwarts of the Emperor and the Reich.²²⁴

und links... deutsche und türkische Fahnen. Von den Balkonen (auf der Bühne gegenüber liegenden spielt eine ausgezeichnete Kapelle festliche Weisen) grossen die Banner des Deutschen. ”

²²³ For further details, see: Radt, Ibid.

²²⁴ *Vossische Zeitung*, 21 October 1898.
“Der Kaiser habe leider die “*Teutonia*” nicht besuchen können. Die Kolonie habe aber die grosse Freude, eine grosse Zahl theurer Gaeste, die die Kaiserreise hierherführte, in ihrer Mitte zu begrüessen. Die im Auslande lebenden Deutschen staenden den in der Heimath wohnenden an vaterlaendischer Bestauung nicht nach. Wohl verschwinde im Auslandefeder Stammesunterschied, aber gerade die Auslande gegebene Möglichkeit, dass Angehörige aller Staemme des Vaterlandes nebeneinander leben und mit ihrer Eigenart auf einander einwirken, so dann die Entfernungen von

It has been discussed to sell the building of *Teutonia* and move into the large Scandinavian complex which was for sale at very attractive price in 1913. The German community of İstanbul planned to unite all the German associations in this new complex. However, due to some obscurity, the board relinquished from this opportunity. Second attempt was the discussion about selling this *Vereinhaus* in order to settle on the Pera Street, just across the Saint Antoine Church, but out-break of the Great War canceled all of these plans.²²⁵

This ultimate *Vereinhaus* of the *Teutonia* is the place where two world wars have been surpassed. In the First World War, this house with all its parties, concerts, and theaters hosted commanders, diplomats, senior bureaucrats of the German Reich and the Habsburg Empire.²²⁶ Ottoman officers also showed up frequently among the guests of the *Teutonia*. In all announcements for the activities at the *Teutonia*, the note of the director of the club was added. An example regarding a *Kriegabend* (War Evening) announcement: “the members of the *Teutonia* and the soldiers of the Allies are cordially invited.”²²⁷

den Partei und Interessenkaempfen in der Heimath, das Leben im mitten anderer Nationen ,der friedliche Wettbewerb mit den fremden Kolonien, alle diese Umstaende trüegen dazu bei, aus den Deutschen im Auslande in der Regel treue Anhaenger des Kaisers und Reiches zu machen.”

²²⁵ Radt, Ibid, p. 43.

²²⁶ Scheuermann, Ibid, p. 81

“Gleich nach Kriegausbruch verkündete der Vorstand, dass das Vereinhaus nun jedem Deutschen, wenn er auch nur vorübergehend in der Türkei weilte, zur Verfügung stehe, ebenso wurden die Angehörigen des Heeres und der Martine als Gäste gerne gesehen. Zu allen Darbietungen wurden nicht nur die deutschen sondern auch die Angehörigen der verbündeten Staaten eingeladen. Deutsche und österreichische Offiziere zählten zu den ständigen Besuchern...”

²²⁷ Osmanischer Lloyd, 7 November 1917.

“Die Mitglieder der Teutonia, sowie die Offiziere der verbündeten Heere sind dazdu freundlichst eingeladen.”

The defeat of Germany in the First World War influenced the life at *Teutonia* Istanbul, terribly. 3 December 1918 constituted the turning point for the history of this German association, because from then on the club was in the hands of the other Allies. In the armistice period, like all other German belongings in the city, the club was occupied and it was used by the Young Men's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.).²²⁸ On 12 September 1923, British forces yield control of *Teutonia* to the Swedish legation,²²⁹ which in turn invited the old *Teutonia* members in order to start the process of transfer.²³⁰

When the old members of the *Teutonia* entered into the building five years later, they got very upset, because precious inventory stock had all disappeared: "all the crockery, the silvers, all carpets, the whole inside of the theater and the stage exhibition, both concert pianos -of which one was a donation of the ambassador Marschall von Bieberstein- the most part of the kitchen, the billiard, and nearly all pictures were gone away."²³¹

On 3 March 1924, with the resumption of diplomatic relations between Germany and Turkey, a treaty of friendship was signed, which enabled the return of

²²⁸ Radt, Ibid, p. 43.

²²⁹ BOA. HR. İ. M. 88/50.

²³⁰ Radt, Ibid, p. 64.

"Der schwedische Gesandtschaftsrat Holstein versandte noch am gleichen Tage Einladungen an die ihm bekannten und erreichbaren alten Teutonia-Mitglieder, sich am 18. September zu einer ersten Besprechung im zurückerstatteten Gebaeude einzufinden."

²³¹ Quoted in: Radt from, Von Caucig, Ibid, pp. 63-64.

"Das gesamte Geschirr, das Silberzeug, alle Teppiche, das ganze Theaterinventar einschliesslich der Bühnenausstellung, beide Konzertflügel, wovon einer eine Stiftung des Botschafters Marschall von Bieberstein war, der grösste Teil der Kücheneinrichtung, das Billard und nahezu alle Bilder waren verschwunden."

Germans to Turkey. A gradual growth in the German district of İstanbul was observable. They gathered first at the *Teutonia*, which became the first German institution of the Republican Era, when it has been released on by the British forces.²³² In the Republican Era, up until the Second World War, the German Club *Teutonia* recovered itself, however, where previously all German speaking communities of İstanbul were among the active members of the *Teutonia*, this time they preferred to attend the activities of their own nationality's associations.

The focal point of Germans, living in Turkey, was the *Teutonia*, when the Germans entered under the control of their monopolistic capital. This step is also supported by *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (The National Socialist German Workers' Party). Until 1933, the *Alemannia*, and the *Deutscher Ausflugsverein* were further German associations. In 1933, they were both abolished and their members were registered to the *Teutonia*. In this period, *Deutsche Bank's* chairman of İstanbul, Weidtmann was appointed as the new director. The leader of the German community was Mewes, who was in charge of the N.S.D.A.P. (The National Socialist German Workers' Party) Foreign Organization, which organized its Nazi propaganda meetings at the *Teutonia*. When Turkish laws prohibited all activities of foreign political associations, these Nazi propaganda meetings had to be moved into the consulate in order to protect the *Teutonia*. However, *Kraft durch Freude* continued its activities at the *Teutonia*, which was ended by the abolition of the *Teutonia* in 1944. Due to the pressure from the Allies, the war-time neutral Turkish government had decided to expropriate the building of

²³² Barbara Radt, Ibid, p. 65.

the *Teutonia*. The building was transferred to the Turkish Ministry of National Education, which aimed to use the building as a ballet school.²³³ However, this plan was never realized.²³⁴

After the Second World War, the *Teutonia* was re-established with its new name: *Deutscher Club* (German Club) in its old *Vereinhaus* in 1954, and it became a model for the upcoming numerous Turco-German Friendship Associations. Until 1970, the club with its famous restaurant and bar was visited by many Turkish citizens, besides the German members. In 1975, the *Teutonia* was renamed as Turkish German Benevolence Association. Since then, the *Teutonia* has been hosting many activities of several benefit organizations such as concerts, theater performances, bazaars, and especially the Christmas Bazaar and Easter Markets. Today, multitude of events and exhibitions take place in the *Teutonia*, with the collaboration of the Goethe Institute and İstanbul Fine Arts and Culture Association.²³⁵

DEMOGRAPHY OF THE TEUTONIA'S PEOPLE

Nationality

Members of the *Teutonia* were, in principle, German language speaking people. That means German, Austrian and Swiss. Ordinary people, who were not able to speak German, could not be members. But, as *Gaestemitglieder* (guests), they were allowed

²³³ Summarized from: Johannes Glasnek, *Methoden der deutsch - faschistischen Propagandataetigkeit in der Türkei vor und waehrend des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, (Halle Wittenberg: Martin Luther Universitaet, 1966), pp. 1-46.

²³⁴ BCA, Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi. 15038/146.45.2.

²³⁵ *Deutsche Schule İstanbul*, Ibid.

to participate to the club life by the accompaniment of a German member. Nationality played no role until the Great War. During the First World War, Ottoman officers were allowed to enter to the *Teutonia* without an accompaniment by a German member.

Class

“In the year 1847, the German Support Club has been met. A room in the main street of Pera and established itself in the name of `Teutonia.` Until that time, there was no class difference yet. The merchants, the officials and the workers all lived together in a patriotic comfort.”²³⁶

The quotation above refers to the fact that there was no class distinction in the beginning years of the *Teutonia*. Co-existence of merchants, officials and workers could be detected. In terms of the class distribution of the members, same paradigm as seen by the background of the board members was valid. While the list of members in the 1850-1860's draws the picture of the club as an association of craftsmen or workers, the member lists of later periods consisted of bankers, diplomats, teachers and artists. With this shift, the tastes and habits also changed dependently. Where beer was consumed by the members in the initial years of the club, it was replaced by champagner, the high cost of the drinks rendered the participation of German workers and artisans difficult: “instead of beer, one drank now too much champagne. The aim of the `Teutonia` was to bring the German

²³⁶ *Gartenlaube: Illustriertes Familienblatt* später *Illustriertes Familienblatt*-heft 7- s. 106.

“Im Jahre 1847 miethete der Deutsche Unterstützungsverein. Einen Gesellschastsraum in der Hauptstraße von Pera und richtete sich unter dem Namen „ Teutonia“ ein. Zu dieser Zeit gab es dort noch keine Standesunterschiede. Der Kaufmann, der Beamte und der Handwerker lebten mitereinauder in patriarchalischer Gemüthlichkeit.”

workers to a better environment than the inferior pubs, but it was complicated through the high costs of the drinks.”²³⁷

The increase in the consumption of luxury items, replacement of German folk songs with Western Classical Music during the banquets, organizing tennis tournaments, and many other novelties in terms of the trends in the club life, all refer to the shift of class profile of the members. Actually, there are various elements which played prominent roles regarding this transformation. The foundation of *Deutscher Handwerkerverein* (the German Workers and Artisans Association) in 1861 can be given as the utmost important element. Many members of the *Teutonia* ended their memberships at the *Teutonia* and became members of this new working-class association. The second element is the compulsory rise of the membership fees due to the financial difficulties that the board had to cope with. The financial difficulties originated by the sharp decrease in numbers of the members in 1865-1866, because of the cholera pandemic and the war between the Prussian and Habsburg Empires, details of which were dealt with above. Accordingly, the profile of the club had to change. In the new structure, one encountered mainly with the bourgeois. As a proof, the member list of 1914 can be mentioned. It depicts that the members of the *Teutonia* were composed only of bankers, engineers, architects, journalists, merchants, teachers, artists, and musicians. No workers or craftsmen could be detected on the war-time member list of the *Teutonia*.

²³⁷ “Die Geschichte der Teutonia” in: *Teutonia. Mitteilungsblatt*, nr. 21, İstanbul 1958, s. 4.
“Anstatt Bier trinkt man jetzt zu viel Champagner, so dass der Zweck der”*Teutonia*,” naemlich den deutschen Arbeiter aus den minderen Kneipen in bessere Umgebung zu bringen, sehr erschwert und durch die hohen Kosten der Getraenke unmöglich gemacht wird.”

Gender

“The evening remained dedicated to the banquet in Club *Teutonia*. All notabilities and other members of the colony joined it. The women world was unfortunately closed because of the general opinion that the foreign women in oriental lands seriously keep themselves back than it would be in the homeland.”²³⁸

This quotation above was taken from the memoirs of Radowitz, who was the German Ambassador in İstanbul, from 1882 to 1892. His explanation why the women were not present in the birthday celebration of the German Kaiser Wilhelm II based on the “habits of the Orient,” so they should not attend. Does this quotation exemplify the general pattern at the club? According to Anne Dietrich, the response to this question should be “yes,” by referring to Johann Kaspar Hirzel, who wrote in his diary that the visit of the club by women was not to be expected initially.²³⁹

Anne Dietrich elaborates on the women’s events in *Teutonia* by referring to *Mitteilungsblatt* n. 19. She indicated that, before 1897, women were not full members of the association, but they were present in many events, even organized

²³⁸ Radowitz, Ibid, p. 227.

“Der Abend blieb dem Festbankette im deutschen Klub *Teutonia* gewidmet. Alle Honaratioren und sonstigen Mitglieder der Kolonie nahmen daran teil.-Die Damenwelt war leider ausgeschlossen nach der nun einmal üblichen Anschauung, die auch den fremden Damen im orientalischen Lande grössere gesellige Zurückhaltung auferlegt, wie es in der Heimat notwendig gewesen waere.”

²³⁹ Quoted in: Dietrich, Ibid, p. 101.

their own events within the club.²⁴⁰ Moreover, according to Dietrich, women played important roles in the refinement of the club life from the 1860's onwards.²⁴¹

The women took active part at the *Weihnachtsbasar* (Christmas Bazaar) each year, and they also performed in the theater plays. The wife and the daughter of Dr. Saeuslein, who had been the stage manager of the *Teutonia*, could be given as examples for the female players.²⁴²

The women danced and sang in the activities of the *Teutonia*. An example is available in the *Gartenlaube*, where we observe that women with their babies that were just six months old were also brought to the club. There was a bed by Frau Wirthin, where these babies were put and had been taken care of by her, while their mothers were dancing at the *Teutonia*.²⁴³

An analysis of the member lists, journal articles or biographies of former chairs would support the argument, that female members became more visible in

²⁴⁰ Dietrich, Ibid, p. 101.

"Bei Festlichkeiten ausserhalb des Vereinlokals waren die Frauen jedoch von Anfang an nicht nur dabei, sie organisierten auch einige Feste, beispielweise die sog. Frauenballe in der Faschingzeit, zu denen sie als Frauen der Mitglieder einladen."

²⁴¹ Dietrich, Ibid, p.102.

"Nun (1860s) engagierten sich vermehrt auch Frauen im Teutonia Vereinsleben und 'kultivierten' es."

²⁴² Radt, Ibid, p. 43.

"Dr. Saeuslein... widmete sich mit grossem Erfolg dem Theaterspiel... Auch seine Frau und Tochter standen auf der Bühne."

²⁴³ *Gartenlaube: Illustriertes Familienblatt später Illustriertes Familienblatt* theft 7.

"Frau X. brachte ihren halbjährigen Buben und Frau Z. ihr 6 Monate altes Maedchen mit, man legte sie, wie ein Gardrobenstück, bei der Frau Wirthin aufs Bett; diese beaufsichtigte die Kleinen, damit Mütterchen tanzen konnte. Zum letzten Male sang man noch..."

Teutonia after 1897. Anne Dietrich, in her *Deutschsein in İstanbul*, states that the *Teutonia* received a form which offered participation opportunities to the decent women particularly in its new location on the Galip Dede Sokağı.²⁴⁴ As an example, *Vossische Zeitung* could be given, where one is able to observe that women were invited to the reception at the *Teutonia* and to celebration parties, which were dedicated to Kaiser Wilhelm II, during his the second trip into the Ottoman territories: “at twelve-thirty in the noon the reception of the Ambassador with her wife will be held.”²⁴⁵

A further example for the participation of women to the *Teutonia*’s club life would come from the travel accounts by the chorister of *Berliner Liedertafel*: “the audience consisted of a large society, and among them the groups of beautiful women and girls offered a quite charming sight.”²⁴⁶ Mister Schulz-Labischin continued with the following phrases, where women participation was again visible: “the German colony was represented by its all significant members and -as I want to add- through its beautiful women and girls, whose number was legion. As a result, it is for me very improbable to give a list of all presence. The newspaper would not be enough. Here, at least the best names which I was able to note down.”²⁴⁷ In the light

²⁴⁴ Dietrich, Ibid, p. 100.

²⁴⁵ *Vossische Zeitung*, 19 October 1898.
 “Um 12 ½ Uhr mittags der Empfang der Botschafter mit ihren Damen stattfindet.”

²⁴⁶ Schulz-Labischin, Ibid, p. 144.
 “Das Publikum war das der grossen Gesellschaft, und der durch die Gruppen schöner Frauen und Maedchen gebotene Anblick war ganz entzückend.”

²⁴⁷ Ibid, p.144.
 “Die deutsche Kolonie war durch alle ihre bedeutenden Angehörigen vertreten und –wie ich hinzufügen möchte– durch ihre Schönen Frauen und Maedchen, deren Zahl Legion ist. Demzufolge ist es mir ganz unmöglich, eine Liste aller Anwesenden zu geben. Die Zeitung würde nicht ausreichen. Hier wenigstens die ersten besten Namen, die zu verzeichnen mir möglich war.”

of the records which were kept in 1914, the number of female members of the *Teutonia* was 18.²⁴⁸

During the Great War, in terms of the women's participation, one observes that women became more active in the *Teutonia*, during the war years. They organized family days, seminars, benefit concerts, celebrations, and so on. In order to illustrate this increase in active woman participation, *Osmanischer Lloyd* will help us. Scanning all available announcements, it is possible to observe that the celebrations for the accession anniversaries or birthdays of the German Emperor were all organized by women at the *Teutonia*.²⁴⁹

Auslandsbund Deutscher Frauen (International Confederation of German Women) organized many events at the *Teutonia*, as well. The audio-visual seminar titled *Eine Reise durch Anatolie*²⁵⁰ (A Journey through Anatolia), which took place on 10 March 1918, in the concert hall of the *Teutonia*, exemplifies just one type of the seminars organized by women. Scrutinizing announcements of the seminars, we observe that the majority of the seminars dealt with status of women in the light of various examples from all over the world.²⁵¹ Besides war, art and culture constitute further topics of the women's presentations. Hence it is possible to argue that

²⁴⁸ Deutsches Archeologisches Institut -Teutonia-Akten-Mitgliederverzeichnis 1914. (German Archeology Institut -Teutonia folder- Member List, 1914).

²⁴⁹ For instance: *Osmanischer Lloyd*, 23-24 December 1918.

²⁵⁰ *Osmanischer Lloyd*, 10 March 1918.

²⁵¹ "Es stehen u.a. Vortraege in Aussicht über Leben und Wirken in Neu-Guinen und über moderne Lyrik. Auf der ersten Zusammenkunft, die am Montag, den neunzehnten des Vovembers nachmittags, dreiundeinhalb Uhr, in der *Teutonia* stattfindet, wird Frau Dr. Werzel über "Hebbels Frauengestatten" sprechen. Damen der deutschen Kolonie, die Mitglieder der *Teutonia* zu werden wünschen, sind als Gäste willkommen."

Auslandsbund deutscher Frauen had a feminist agenda, but they did not solely focus on the problems of women.

As an exemplary concert organized by women, the concert of 15 March 1915 can be given. The announcement in the *Osmanischer Lloyd* indicates that this concert was organized by the Society of Jewish Young Girls.²⁵² The active role of women continued in the Republican Era, too. Women organized Christmas Bazaars, Easter Celebrations, acted as theater players, performed as musicians, worked as part of benevolence activities in the *Teutonia*.

ACTIVITIES OF THE *TEUTONIA*

Theater

From 1859 until 1912, theater had been an active sphere within the club life of the *Teutonia*. First, a work by Wilhelm Tell was staged at the *Teutonia* as part of *Schillerfeier* on 10 November 1859. Anne Dietrich claimed that since this play, the stage of the *Teutonia* had become permanently active. The theater evenings constituted the fundamental economic source of income for the club.²⁵³ The theatre evenings were very popular among the German community of İstanbul, however, in its early days, series of fires were interrupting the activities of the theater at the *Teutonia*. In the compilations of diaries by von Caucig, we can observe this situation: “theater plays were performed frequently by Germans and in some evenings they

²⁵² *Osmanischer Lloyd*, 8 March 1918.

²⁵³ Dietrich, Ibid, p. 102.
“Theaterabende wurden zur Haupteinnahmequelle des Vereins.”

sang. Unfortunately, they do not have a proper place due to the fires by which their houses were burned down often.”²⁵⁴

Each year, the number of the theater performances had been increasing. Lessing, Lebrun, Berg, Kotzbue, and Birch-Pfeiffer were popular names as play writers. In order to indicate this, the following plays can be listed: “Nathan der Weise” by Lessing, “Die Kreuzfahrer” by Kotzbeu and “Der Nachbar” by Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer.²⁵⁵

The heydays of the theater were lived in the period, when Dr. Saeuslein was serving as the stage manager of the *Teutonia*. Under his successful management, not only classical repertoire of the theater was staged, but also well-known musicals were performed, as well. This influenced the income of the *Teutonia* very positively. In order to illustrate this situation, *Sommernachtstraum* (A mid-Summer Night’s Dream) should be mentioned. This work was written by Shakespeare, the music of the play was composed by C. M. von Weber. With love, loss of individual identity, ambiguous sexuality, as its main themes, this musical show was staged for 239 times at the *Teutonia*.²⁵⁶

The *Allgemeine Zeitung* criticized the Radowitz family with being too much involved in the social life of Pera. Radowitz included this critique into his memoirs,

²⁵⁴ Von Caucig, Ibid, p. 69.

“Bei den Deutschen wird oft Theater gespielt und an manchen Abenden auch gesungen. Leider haben sie kein schönes Lokal. Wie oft ist ihnen in den letzten Jahren eines abgebrant, kaum dass es fertig ein eigenes Haus bauen.”

²⁵⁵ Dietrich, Ibid, p. 102.

²⁵⁶ Radt, Ibid, p. 43.

in order to advocate himself. In this article, it is mentioned that science reading sessions, Western Classical Music concerts organized by the German Choral Society and conducted by Paul Lange were comprising the “special” German element in Pera, which were replaced by the theater evenings,²⁵⁷ in the 1885-1886 season. This shift of policy at the *Teutonia* let Paul Lange to complain about the situation in front of the journalists after a successful concert, which took place at the *Teutonia* in February 1886.²⁵⁸

Towards 1900, although the popularity of the theater evenings continued, the theater started to face new problems. The utmost important problem of the theater at the *Teutonia* was the difficulty of finding new amateur players, especially female players. The fore-runners were getting older, and their casts should be replaced by young people who wanted to be educated in theater on the stage of the *Teutonia*. As a temporary solution, the board of the *Teutonia* decided to rent the stage to guest theater groups, until the theater group of the *Teutonia* would get ready. The observation below would illustrate this situation: scanning *The Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, *La Turquie* and the *Oriental Advertiser*, no example for theater plays staged in another language than German could have been seen before 1900. However, after 1900, it is possible to detect various cases like the following:

²⁵⁷ Radowitz, Ibid, p. 238.

“In dem sozialen Leben der Hauptstadt hat in diesem Winter das deutsche Element speziell durch die Anregung des Botschafterpaares eine hervorragende Bedeutung erlangt. Wissenschaftliche Vorlesungen, an denen sich neben den geistig hervorstechenden Elementen der Kolonie auch die deutschen Funktionäre beteiligen, Konzerte mit klassischer Musik, welche der deutsche Chorverein und das Langesche Orchester veranstalten, wechseln ab mit geselligen Vereinigungen und Theaterabenden in der *Teutonia*. ”

²⁵⁸ *The Oriental Advertiser*, 19 February 1886.

The “New Players’ Dramatic Club” under the distinguished patronage of Lady O’Conor, intend giving a representation of that amusing farcical romance, “His Excellency the Governor” at the *Teutonia* Hall, on Monday, the 2nd May, at 9:30 p.m., in the aid of the same charity for which the club had given a performance last year. They earnestly hope that the public will give them the same generous support as they did on the last occasion. Tickets may be obtained at the stores of Messrs. McGill, Hayden and at the *Teutonia* Hall.²⁵⁹

Where there had been attempts to revive the theater of the *Teutonia*, they could not be sufficient. Besides the scarcity of players, a new problem had emerged for the theater group of the *Teutonia*: the lack of a qualified stage manager. In 1907, especially, this serious problem reached its peak. They tried to continue without having a director, which brought the end of the society in 1912.²⁶⁰

Scrutinizing *Osmanischer Lloyd* for the years of the First World War, it is observed that only in the Christmas scenes from the Bible were staged at the *Teutonia* which can be categorized under theater.²⁶¹ In the Republican Era, the activities of *Teutonia* in terms of the theater started again after the re-opening. Puppet theater “Larifari” was very popular until the 1960s, when the Sofiano couple left Turkey and decided to move to Athens.

The performers of the theatre at the *Teutonia* were mostly the teachers of the German School. Despite technical problems, such as having insufficient limelight and sound system, they continued to act and the curious spectators filled the hall

²⁵⁹ *Levant Herald*, 25 April 1904.

²⁶⁰ Radt, Ibid, p. 43.
“1912 löste sich dann die Spielgruppe der *Teutonia* endgültig.”

²⁶¹ *Osmanischer Lloyd*, 25 December 1917.

most of the time. In the archives of the *Teutonia*, one is able to find some handouts that remained from the Republican Era. For instance, *Parkstrasse 13* by Axel Ivers, which is a criminal story line and was staged on 14, 15 and 16 December 1956, at the *Teutonia*. Furthermore, *Hokuspokus Krach im Hinterhaus* and *Pygmatation* by Curt Goetz could be given as further examples.²⁶² Reading the handouts of the plays, which were performed at the *Teutonia*, one is able to observe that grotesque theater was the trend between 1955 and 1965. In order to illustrate this trend, one should refer to *Die Taube in der Hand* and *Der Hund im Hirn* by Curt Goetz, which had been staged many times in the mentioned period.²⁶³

In 1975, the *Teutonia* club had to change its status by becoming Turkish-German Benevolent Association, when its theater lost its popularity, but only the performances of the German School were visible. Works by Schiller and Brecht were performed frequently, among which *Die Dreigroschenoper* out-shines with its big audience.²⁶⁴ During the 1990's, groups from conservatories used the stage of the *Teutonia* for their own performances, which were attended primarily by Turks instead of the German community of İstanbul. Since 2000, workshops and seminars for the people who are interested in theater are organized at the stage of the *Teutonia*.²⁶⁵

²⁶² Ibid, pp. 110-114.

²⁶³ Ibid, p. 112.

²⁶⁴ Ibid, pp. 110-114.

²⁶⁵ For further details, see: Radt, Ibid, pp. 134-135.

Festivals, Celebrations and Balls in the *Teutonia*:

Religious

Basic media for expressing the loyalty to the norms and values of the fatherland by the Germans of İstanbul were formed mainly by *Weihnachtsmarkts* (Christmas Markets), *Silvester Balls* (Happy New Year Balls), *Fasching* (Carnival) and *Ostern* (Easter) celebrations. Though all of these activities had religious attachments, reading the diaries of Germans in İstanbul through the compilation von Caucig,²⁶⁶ it could be stated that they meant the bridge to the fatherland. Where “traditional” feature was held as protagonist, the religious aspect of these celebrations played the secondary role. Attributing utmost importance to these traditional celebrations, accordingly all means were dedicated for the perfection of these activities by the organizers, which was the board of the *Teutonia* within the nineteenth century İstanbul context.

To begin with, *Weihnachtsmarkts* or *Weihnachtsbazars* (Christmas Markets) will be examined. Dating the past of the Christmas Markets is a difficult task. For different cities, different dates were mentioned. For instance, the date of the first Christmas Market for Frankfurt is 1393, for Dresden it is 1434. Leaving the initial date aside, it should be mentioned what these markets shared in common. In the Mediaeval Era, the original Christmas Markets were exclusively for the burghers of

²⁶⁶ See: von Caucig, Ibid, p. 69.

the city and the city's craftsmen. In these markets, they were selling their finest wares to the local people. Little wooden carts and rag dolls were among the favorites, and later on wooden hobby horses were introduced.

In the nineteenth century, the image of the Christmas Market approached gradually to the present.²⁶⁷ Many handmade items, toys, books, Christmas tree decorations, and ornaments were sold. Popular attractions at the market included the Nativity Scene (a crèche or crib) and *Zwetschgamännla* (figures made of decorated dried plums). Sweets made with almonds, marzipan, dried fruits and honey were also very popular. Many of these original sweets, along with *Lebkuchen*, *Magenbrot* (ginger-bread) and other delicacies, are featured at the Christmas Markets. *Christstollen* (Stollen), a sort of egg bread with candied fruit, *Bratwurst*, and for many visitors one of the highlights of the market: *Glühwein*, hot mulled wine (with or without a shot of brandy), or *Eierpunsch* (an egg-based warm alcoholic drink) were also very popular. Both helped stave off the cold winter air, which sometimes dips in Germany below freezing.²⁶⁸

The critical question in terms of the case of İstanbul would appear: could one detect the features mentioned above in İstanbul during the Christmas celebrations in the nineteenth century? In order to respond to this question, information from the contemporary periodicals should be utilized. *La Turquie* and the *Oriental Advertiser* indicate that during advents mainly the four weeks preceding the Christmas Day, advertisements were published for these *Weihnachtsmarkts*, which were very similar

²⁶⁷ <http://home.att.net/~gastulsa01/Christkindlmarkt.htm> [8 June 2007]

²⁶⁸ Ayşe Irene Celep, interview by Ayşe Seren Akyoldaş, tape-recording, İstanbul, Turkey, 13 July 2009.

to the definitions above. An example from 1883 shows us that confectionery, sweets, chocolates, marzipan, cookies, chocolate ice cream, nougat, special wines, champagne, liqueurs, special beers and so on were listed in the advertisement.²⁶⁹ On the celebration programme of 1881 the Christmas organized at the *Teutonia*, we see a special party for the children right next to the Christmas tree was held.²⁷⁰ This tradition still continues in İstanbul, each year in the garden of the German School these Christmas Markets have been organized, where the German community of İstanbul is always present, besides the students of the schools, which offer an extensive education in German. As stated by Anne Dietrich in her dissertation, following the Christmas on 31 December, *Silverster* balls, in other words Happy New Year balls, were organized at the *Teutonia*, which had been very joyful nights mainly for the children.²⁷¹

The second celebration was the *Fasching*, the form of which can be placed in the wider context of carnivals, which have been existent, since the antiquity and throughout the whole Mediterranean. It is associated with festivals of the Christian church right before the *Lent*. However, it is possible to claim that history of the *Fasching* goes back to the pagan times, and was a way of driving out the evil spirits of winter, and encouraging the coming of spring and good crops. Ugly masks were worn during the *Fasching*, in order to be protected from the evil eyes. The fact that Köln and Mainz, two ancient cities with Roman history, have such big carnivals

²⁶⁹ *La Turquie*, 14 December 1883.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 24 December 1881.

²⁷¹ Dietrich, *Ibid*, p. 102.

“Neben Faschingsball und Maifest waren das Christbaumfest-bei dem Kinder der “preussisch-evangelischen” und der “deutschen Nationalschule” eingeladen waren und beschenkt wurden-und der Silvesterball gesellschaftliche Höhepunkte des Community-Lebens.”

would give much credit to the paganist explanation of these festivals. Ranging from February to March depending on the lunar calendar, endless reveling, heavy drinking, costumed disguise, and general reversal of everyday norms and social conventions, a seasonal reconstruction of the world upside-down comprised these *Faschings*, just like the *Tatavlas* of the Orthodox Greeks. They offered an opportunity for entertainment, before the fasting of the *Lent*.²⁷²

In this period, sexual intercourse, weddings, dances, songs and any kind of public manifestation of joy are forbidden, in order to respect nature's great seasonal transitions in the human psyche. *Fasching* symbolizes the interchange of life and death. Anthropologists have rightly placed the *Fasching* customs in the wider context of *kathartic* or *passage rituals*. These types of rituals emerge in an atmosphere of verbal provocation, through ritualistic insults and obscenities, simultaneously referring to death and beliefs about life after death.²⁷³

Quoting from the diary of Wanda, von Caucig lets us observe that the *Fasching* was celebrated by the *Teutonia*, as early as in 1861. The important point that Wanda had, was the use of *Fasching* and *Frühlingsfest* (Spring Festival) together. I believe the fact that although *Fasching* was not a Protestant custom, under the headline of *Fasching* and Spring Festival, whole German community in İstanbul was in charge during the celebrations in the nineteenth century, explains this combined use of the two terms. The lines from this diary expose the atmosphere very well:

²⁷² <http://www.istanbul.diplo.de/Vertretung/istanbul/tr/01/WillkommeninDeutschland/FesteFeiertageTraditionen/Karneval/KarnevalFastnachtFaschingAschermittwoch.html> [12 July 2009].

²⁷³ Ibid.

All festivities have been postponed because of the big cold. The German Club “Teutonia” has organized his own ball at last in Kağıthane, because the *Fasching* and *Frühlingsfest* were celebrated. We were invited by a friend of Michael, Victor.

The Festival in Kağıthane was very funny. A ship has been rented and drove the Golden Horn up to the square, the German Association had chosen. It was bordered with a dense fence to deny access to strangers. But there were enough onlookers. Everything was organized very well: dance, singing and a good meal. We met many friends and when it was dark, the ship came to pick us up. I don’t know whether we will have fun next year? We are talking here about coming difficult times. Victor tells the state has no money. Where should we have money, if business starts to slowdown?²⁷⁴

Franz von Caucig himself has written in the part *The History of the Teutonia* that *Faschings* were among the most important events organized by the *Teutonia*, as well as the Christmas celebrations.²⁷⁵

In the secondary source by Anne Dietrich, it is observed that the *Teutonia* was organizing these *Fasching* balls.²⁷⁶ She claimed that not the ball of 1852 was attended by more than three hundred people from the German community. Furthermore, Dietrich points out that the *Teutonia* had rented rooms in order to

²⁷⁴ Quoted from Wanda’s diary, which was referring to May 1861 in: von Caucig, Ibid, pp. 43-44. “Wegen der grossen Kaelte waren alle Festlichkeiten abgesagt worden. Der deutsche Club “Teutonia” hat seinen Ball erst jetzt veranstaltet, und zwar in Kağıthane, da Fasching und Frühlingsfest gefeiert wurden. Wir waren durch einen Freud von Michael eingeladen worden... Das Fest in Kağıthane war sehr lustig. Ein Schiff war gemietet worden und fuhr das Goldene Horn hinauf zu dem Platz, den der deutsche Verein ausgesucht hatte. Er war mit einem dichten Zaun eingefasst worden, um Fremden den Zutritt zu verwehren. Aber es gab genügend Zaungaeste. Organisiert war alles gut: Tanz, Gesang und ein gutes Essen. Wir trafen zahlreiche Bekannte, und als es dunkel wurde, kam das Schiff, uns abzuholen... Ob wir das naechste Jahr auch noch so lustig sein werden? Man spricht hier von kommenden schweren Zeiten. Victor erzaehlt, dass der Stat kein Geld hat. Woher sollen wir dann Geld haben, falls die Geschaefte zu stocken beginnen?”

²⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 69. “In der Folge gab es Faschingsbaelle, Maifest, Ausflüge an die Süssen Wasser, Christbaumfeste, Sylvesterbaelle u.a.”

²⁷⁶ Dietrich, Ibid, p. 102.

organize these *Fasching* balls.²⁷⁷ An example for the rented halls would be the ball room of the Pera Palace Hotel. Through the lines of a diary transmitted by von Caucig from 1858, we are reading the elegant atmosphere of the ball, “covered” and “mysterious” nature of the *Fasching* balls. Additionally, one observes that the German élites were also present there.²⁷⁸

Easter celebrations constitute the last religious event organized at the *Teutonia*. The *Neuheidens* are celebrating Easter as *Ostara-Fest*; the name comes from old German god *Ostara*, whose symbols are rabbits and eggs. However, these symbols are seen at first in the seventeenth century among the German speaking circles. A myth narrates the reception of the world-egg, in which where one half was building the sky, the other was building the earth. Another myth regarding the egg is the belief that putting an egg into a grave would bring someone back (incarnation). As could be seen by the following saying “Like a bird crawled from the egg, broke Jesus his grave,” here the egg is the symbol for a locked grave.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁷ Ibid, p. 102.

“Die von der *Teutonia* organisierten Feste und Konzerte wurden zunaehcst an verschiedenen zentralen Orten abgehalten-etwa im Gesandtschaftshotel oder im gemieteten Saal. Den Faschingsball von 1852 besuchten 300 Personen.”

²⁷⁸ Von Caucig, Ibid, p. 17.

“Seit vielen Jahren war der Karneval nicht mehr so lebhaft gewesen wie diesmal. Die Maskenumzüge, die öffentlichen Tanzveranstaltungen hatten seit Jahren nicht mehr so viele Leute angezogen; es war allerdings auch der erste Fasching nach den schweren Kriegsjahren. Die eleganten Balle fanden wiederum in den beiden Luxushotels statt. Nicht nur die Vertreter der besten Gesellschaft, auch viele Beamte des Hofes und des diplomatischen Corps nahmen daran teil. Viele kamen in schön geschmückten Pferdewagen. Oft wurden die Damen in Saenften die lange Pera-Strasse hinaus zu den Lokalen getragen. Im Theatersaal wurde Abend für Abend getanzt. Haeufig waren es Gruppen, die diese Festlichkeiten organisierten, etwa den Ball der Schneiderinnen, den Ball der Midinettes, den Odeonü Ball und andere. Auch die Familien feierten in privatem Karneval. In Gruppen, jedermann maskiert, machte man sich gegenseitig Besuche. So kam es, dass in allen Strassen fröhliches Leben herrschte.”

²⁷⁹ Ayşe Irene Celep, interview by Ayşe Seren Akyoldaş, tape-recording, İstanbul, Turkey, 13 July 2009.

There exist many rites. One of the well-known one in Germany is: searching for the hidden eggs. In the Easter morning, kids are searching for eggs in the garden or in the house, which were supposedly hidden one night before by the Easter rabbit. The egg symbolizes the genesis. Another tradition rite is the Easter candle. A white candle has to burn on a high Easter lightener from the Easter Day to the end of Ascension Day. The white candle is symbolic: describing the life and the victory of the death, which is the resulted by the rebirth of Jesus. Later, one has to put the candle just next to the baptistery, and it has to stay there for baptizing and funerals. After all, the candle has to be inflamed in the baptistery and it is believed that, it would bring light into darkness.²⁸⁰

The community of the *Teutonia* practiced the rites mentioned above in each Easter. Children were looking for the painted eggs and candles were burning at the *Teutonia*. Although we are not able to find any written proof for this, during our interview,²⁸¹ the former music teacher of the German School, İstanbul, Ralf Auris, claimed that the present Easter rites of the German community dated back to the nineteenth century, when the *Teutonia* was serving as the meeting point for the İstanbul's German community.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Ralf Auris, interview by Ayşe Seren Akyoldaş, tape-recording, İstanbul, Turkey, 21 February 2007.

Non-Religious

The *Schulfeier* was one of the main non-religious activities that were organized at the *Teutonia*. Shows and festivals of German students were called as school festivals. The shows and festivals, which were organized by the students of the German School İstanbul, were held in the halls of the *Teutonia*. The proofs can be found in the newspapers. For instance, during the Great War, on 22 October 1917, one of these *Schulfeiers* took place in the *Teutonia*.²⁸² The *Schillerfeiers* constitute a further category in terms of the non-religious activities that were organized at and by the *Teutonia*. Being a German poet, philosopher, historian, and play-wright, Schiller was perceived among the Germans as symbol of High German culture. Therefore, in the centesimal anniversary of his death, in 1856, a festival was established in the German speaking lands. Simultaneously, the *Teutonia* of İstanbul organized an immense festival in the name of Schiller in İstanbul. All members of the German speaking élites were present during the festival: Herr Graf von der Goltz and Freiherr Prokesche von Osten can be given as examples.²⁸³ Theater performances, concerts directed by von Salaba, performed by the Choral Society and Herr Brede (tenor), who were accompanied by a German orchestra and by von Moser (piano), besides, a banquet and a bazaar comprised this festival,²⁸⁴ which was repeated in 1905 with a similar structure.²⁸⁵

²⁸² *Osmanischer Lloyd*, 22 October 1917.

²⁸³ Radt, *Ibid*, p. 28.

²⁸⁴ Quoted in: Radt, *Ibid*, p. 28.

“Derselbe H. Köhler hielt auch, nachdem von Salaba mit einem deutschen Orchester die Ouvertüre Rossinis zur Einleitung gegeben war, einen Festprolog, von welchem eine Abschrift beigegeben ist.”

A further category under the non-religious activities held at the *Teutonia* was the birthday celebrations. A ball or banquet was held at the *Teutonia* for the celebration of the birthday of the German Kaiser Wilhelm II. German Ambassador was always present in these banquets. Radowitz talked about one of these birthday celebrations of the *Teutonia* in his memoirs.²⁸⁶

In the evening there was a banquet at the *Teutonia* under the presidency of the Ambassador. The company, which numbered one hundred and twenty, included the Consul-General, members of the Embassy, the Consulate, and the post-office, the Commander and officers of the Loreley, the civil and military German officials in the service of the Imperial Government, the headmaster and teachers of the Bürgerschule, and the principal members of the colony, for Kaiser's birthday.²⁸⁷

Three years later, similar news appeared in the pages of the same periodical:

A banquet took place at the *Teutonia* on Friday night that national institution being most tastefully decorated with flags, carpets, and ever-greens. The Ambassador presided, and His Excellency was greeted on his arrival by the German National Anthem executed by an orchestra, which also performed throughout the evening. The banquet was attended by all the members of the Embassy and the Consulate-General, the Commander and officers of the Loreley, the German officers in the service of the Imperial Government and several members of the German Colony.²⁸⁸

Quoted in: Dietrich, Ibid, p. 102.

“Darauf wurden die Baenke entfernt und die Gesellschaft gruppierte sich en famille, die Musik führte viele Kunstwerke, die Liedertafel mehrere schöne Chöre aus, Herr Brede gab einige schöne Sologesaenge, von Moser am Klavier ebenso meisterhaft begleitet, und erst mit dem anderen Morgen wurde die Feyer in edler deutscher Gemüthlichkeit geschlossen...”

²⁸⁵ Radt, Ibid, p. 46.

“Nochmals bildete 1905 eine Schiller Feier- ein zweites Mal, wenn man sich an die Berichte über die erste Feier 1859 erinnert-einen Höhepunkt.”

²⁸⁶ Radowitz, Ibid, pp. 227-228.

²⁸⁷ *The Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, 3 February 1902.

²⁸⁸ Ibid, 30 January 1905.

Von Bieberstein was also attending these celebrations, which can be detected by the following quotation from the *Levant Herald and Eastern Express*:

A banquet took place at the *Teutonia* at half past seven. H. E. the Baron Marschall von Bieberstein delivered a speech, and dwelt upon the emperor's patriotic policy which had obtained for Germany the great place; she today occupies both politically and as regards international commerce. His Excellency concluded his speech by saying that all Germans should be proud of their Emperor, H. M. William II. The speech was received with repeated *hochs*-emperor's birthday party.²⁸⁹

Activities Organized at the *Teutonia* by other Associations or People:

Another category was comprised by the banquets or balls organized at the *Teutonia* by other associations or people. The aim of letting these organizations was to increase the income of the *Teutonia*. In general, tenants were mostly German, Swiss or Austrian companies. For instance, a ball was organized at the *Teutonia* in order to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of a German export firm: "the well-known important export firm of Herman Holstein celebrates the fiftieth anniversary tomorrow. On Sunday night the Carl Holstein's jubilee a dinner of 100 covers at the *Teutonia*."²⁹⁰

Barbara Radt in her *Geschichte der Teutonia* pointed out that this situation continued in the Republican Era. But, this time, they were allowed to use the rooms

²⁸⁹ Ibid, 3 February 1906.

²⁹⁰ Ibid, vol. 26. No. 49. p, 623.

of the *Teutonia* for almost free of charge.²⁹¹ Scrutinizing newspapers only in few cases, it is observed that the halls of the *Teutonia* were rented by foreigners.

One of the great social events of the season the annual ball of the Dorcas Society, came off on the rooms were fitted up in a style worthy of the occasion. To enhance the genuineness of the pleasure, no reference to the British Chamber of Commerce dispute was made. H. M's Ambassador and Lady O'Connor arrived at 10:30, and were greeted with the National Anthem. (British Colony) The decoration of the ball-room was indeed beautiful.²⁹²

Reading Sessions, Presentations and Seminars at the Teutonia

The library of the *Teutonia* was established in 1850. By 1868, 708 books were included to its catalogue.²⁹³ In each fire, the books have almost disappeared.²⁹⁴ However, following each fire, people knew that the library was going to be replaced by a new one,²⁹⁵ and miraculously, it always happened. For instance, five thousand books were dedicated to the library in 1905.²⁹⁶ In the club, there has always been reading rooms besides the library. Furthermore, in the light of the memoirs by

²⁹¹ Radt, Ibid, p. 76.

"andere deutsche Vereine, wie auch die der Österreicher, Schweizer, Ungarn fast kostenlos die Räume der Teutonia Benutzen."

²⁹² *The Levant Herald*, 20 January 1906.

²⁹³ Radt, Ibid, p. 64.

²⁹⁴ Quoted in: Radt, Ibid, p. 64.

"...fand man zertrümmert im Schutt... Das gleiche Schicksal erlitten die meisten Bücher."

²⁹⁵ Von Caucig, Ibid, p. 68.

"Mann weiss aber... dass sich eine bescheidene deutsche Bibliothek eingerichtet wurde."

²⁹⁶ Radt, Ibid, p. 46.

"Die Bücherei wurde immer mehr erweitert und erfreute sich grosser Beliebtheit. 1905 konnten 5000 Bücher ausgeliehen werden."

Radowitz, we are able to grasp the information that collective reading sessions mainly about science and literature have been organized at the *Teutonia*.²⁹⁷

Until the Great War, only on rare occasions it was possible to encounter with the news of presentations or seminars held at the *Teutonia*. However, during the First World War, as part of *Kriegabend* series of seminars and presentations, even audio-visual ones were organized in the halls of the *Teutonia*. As an example, *Eisen als Weltmachts* (Iron as World Power) by Herr Schneider could be given, which took place on 2 February 1918.²⁹⁸

The lecture by Prof. Hoffman about the expansion of the world powers on 16 December 1918 was announced in the *Osmanischer Lloyd*, with special please of the *Teutonia*'s director, who wanted full participation among the members of the German colony.²⁹⁹

Not only seminars or lectures about politics or economics were held at the *Teutonia*, but also about science, art, literature and problems of women. For instance, a special evening about chemistry was organized at the *Teutonia*.³⁰⁰ During the Second World War, presentations or meetings highly influenced by National Socialist agendas brought the end of the *Teutonia*'s life in 1944.

²⁹⁷ Radowitz, Ibid, p. 238.

“...Wissenschaftliche Vorlesungen, an denen sich neben den geistig Hervorstehenden Elementen der Kolonie auch die deutschen Funktionaere beteiligen...”

²⁹⁸ *Osmanischer Lloyd*, 31 January 1918.

²⁹⁹ *The Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, 13 February 1918.

³⁰⁰ *The Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, 12 May 1918.

Musical Activities in the Teutonia

An Overview

A survey in the light of the existing concert programmes indicates that music has been fundamental element of the *Teutonia*. Music in the life of the *Teutonia* has existed, since the foundation of the club. As a proof, the following case should be given: in the initial years, the members regularly met for the rehearsals of the *Teutonia* choir.³⁰¹ In the first years, the performers in these musical activities of the *Teutonia* were Germans who resided in İstanbul and these concerts were also attended by the members of the German community of İstanbul. However, gradually, musical activities at the *Teutonia* had begun to be inevitable occasions for the community in Galata and Pera district; and parallel to the widening of the audience, not only Germans, but also other musicians of İstanbul began to perform in the concerts at the *Teutonia*. Having faced many fires, from the 1880's onwards musical activities could be organized regularly. Before the 1880's, only occasionally, one may encounter with news regarding musical activities at the *Teutonia* in the periodicals. For instance, on 16 May 1875, grand benefit concert for the Serbian Commercial High School was arranged. The concert was dominated by the highlights from famous operas by *la Mascotte* by Giuseppe Verdi, Gaetano Donizetti and Bartelemeo Pisani.³⁰²

³⁰¹ Dietrich, Ibid, p. 99.

³⁰² *La Turquie*, 13 May 1875.

The concert season of 1881-1882 out-shines with its multi-farious repertoires. For the sake of analysis, I will focus on two concerts, one containing “sacred” works; the other with its “secular” pieces.

The first concert, I will talk about, took place in 1881 at the *Teutonia*. The soloist of the concert was Marcel Romano, who was accompanied by his son Murat Romano, by the music director of the *Teutonia*: Paul Lange, and by the famous baritone of the era: G. Gosta.³⁰³ The concert consisted of two sets. The first set started by *Souvenir d’Amerique* of Henri Vieuxtemps, famous Belgian composer and violinist of the nineteenth century. In 1844, this work was composed of variations for the violin and the piano. The full name of the work is the following: *Op. 17 - Souvenir d’Amérique - Variations burlesques sur Yankee Doodle for Violin and Piano*. The father with his violin and his son by the piano, the Romanos performed this romantic work.

The second opus of the concert was well-known lyric baritone aria from the third act of *Un Ballo in Maschera* by Giuseppe Verdi (1813-1901). G. Gosta sang *Eri tu che macchiavi quell’anima*, in which Renato realizes that Amelia should not be the one to pay for cheating on him, but rather his treacherous best friend Riccardo. He decries his torment over his lost paradise. Following this emotional aria, *Op. 40 Romance en F* for violin and piano, which was composed between 1798 and 1802 by Beethoven, was performed by Murat and Marcel Romano. The music director of the *Teutonia* joined them by *Air d’Eglise* of Stradella (1644 - 1682), an Italian composer. Where all of the pieces till this work could be classified as works of the Romantic

³⁰³ *La Turquie*, 26 December 1881; *La Turquie*, 27 December 1881.

Era, Stradella's work belongs to the middle baroque era and it is a sacred work. The final piece of the first set was Franz Liszt's famous *Hungarien Rhapsody no. 2*, which was performed by Murat Romano.³⁰⁴

The second set of the concert began with a work by Franz Schubert (1797-1828): G minor sonata for violin and piano. The second piece of the second set was performed by Gosta: Meyerbeyer's "Sei vendicata, assai" from *Dinorah*. Charles François Gounod's *Sérénade pour piano, violin et harmonium*, which is originally a song in melismatic style with a poem by Victor Hugo.³⁰⁵ Later on, Charles François Gounod arranged this song for piano, violin and harmonium. And this arrangement was performed by the trio of the concert: the Romanos and Lange. Next work belonged to Johannes Brahms (1833-1897), who was one of the leading composers of the Romantic Era. His dances number 2, 9 and 10 for violin accompanied by the piano was performed by Marcel and Murat Romano. The last scene of the concert was a duo for four hands by piano composed by Joseph Rheinberger (1839-1901).³⁰⁶

What I notice, by looking at this repertoire, is that except for Stradella, whole programme consisted of romantic, secular, and popular pieces. It was not surprising that romantic music dominated the programme, because the date of the concert is in the heartland of the Romantic Era. Although today in the Western Classical Music concerts, it is not possible to listen to contemporary repertoires, in the nineteenth century it was common throughout Europe.

³⁰⁴ *La Turquie*, 27 December 1881.

³⁰⁵ <http://www.answers.com/topic/s-r-nade-for-voice-piano-with-harmonium-or-cello-ad-lib-and-variousarrangements-chantez-riez-dormez> [10 August 2009].

³⁰⁶ *La Turquie*, 27 December 1881.

The second concert which is going to be examined took place on 26 December 1881 as part of *Weihnachtsfeier* (Christmas Celebration) on the stage of the *Teutonia*.³⁰⁷ While we solely have encountered with “concert music” in the first programme, here we observe additionally folk music within nine pieces throughout the concert. In the opening of the concert, *Maennerchor* (Male Choir) of the *Teutonia* sang famous work for a cappella choir *Weihe des Gesanges* by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. The lyrics of this a cappella piece were underlining that music unites people by purifying the souls.³⁰⁸ The second work of the concert was Franz Schubert’s *overture* from *Rosamunde* and it was performed by a couple: Monsieur³⁰⁹ and Madame Dethier.

By the third piece, we again come up with female musicians: Frauelein Ida and Bertha Leitgeb. They sang the duet *Herbstlied* (Autumn Song) by Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847). During the break, prizes were distributed to the members of the *Turnverein* (Athletic Club). Afterwards, Mister Brede sang a *Lied* (song) composed by Oskar Dethier. The song should be a romantic one, because the name of this work was *Die Thraenen* which means “the tears.” The Male Choir performed

³⁰⁷ *La Turquie*, 27 December 1881.

³⁰⁸ [http://www.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Weihe_des_Gesangs_\(Wolfgang_Amadeus_Mozart\)](http://www.cpd.org/wiki/index.php/Weihe_des_Gesangs_(Wolfgang_Amadeus_Mozart)) [1 August 2009].

1. *O Schutzgeist alles Schönen, steig hernieder in sanftem Wehn, zu weihen unsre Lieder, daß sie sich freudig aufzum Himmel schwingen, in heil'ger Kraft von Herz zu Herzen dringen. Von deinem Hauch die Brust durchbebt, hoch, hoch, hoch über Welt und Zeit uns hebt.*

2. *Vereine alle Menschen und versöhne, was sich getrennt im Wohllaut deiner Töne! Dem Edlen ist das Schönste nur beschieden, in der Gefühle rein erkling'nem Frieden. Von wilder Lust der Erde rein, rein, rein, rein muß das Herz des Sängers sein.*

3. *O Isis und Osiris, welche Wonne! Die düstre Nacht verscheucht der Glanz der Sonne. Bald fühlt der edle Jüngling neues Leben: Bald ist er unserm Dienste ganz ergeben. Sein Geist ist kühn, sein Herz ist rein, Bald wird er unser würdig sein.*

³⁰⁹ BOA. İ. TAL. 205/1317.

He was awarded by Sultan Abdülhamid II with an *Osmanlı nişanı* of third degree, for his contribution to the music education in *Tophane Musika Bölüğü*.

a folk song, *Tyrolerlied*, which was followed by *Polonaise* in E and in B from Franz Schubert. The performers of these two final pieces were Misses and Mister Dethier. Right after these concerts, as part of the *Feier* (celebration) children of the members of the *Teutonia* and *Turnverein* danced and had fun.³¹⁰

Comparing these concerts of the 1881-1882 season, it is possible to observe that these two concerts shared the romantic nature. Where did the concerts differ? And, why? From my point of view, the most important difference between these concerts is their repertoire. Where the first concert had a very “pure” classical nature, the second one contained many popular songs and folk music. The reason for this difference arose from the organization. Where the first concert at the *Teutonia* was part of “traditional” *Teutonia* classical music concerts, whose consumers were mostly the élites; the second one was part of *Weihnachtsfeier*, which addressed to every member of the German speaking community of İstanbul.

Having seen two concerts from the 1881-1882 season, I want to check whether these different types of concerts existed in the other seasons, which would allow me to safely argue that *Teutonia* with its musical activities used to be such a place which brought multitude of people primarily German speaking people instead of its “élite” populated nature from the 1870’s onwards, or not.

The concert season of 1883-1884, with its seven great concerts, would be a choice to pursue the wide range of the repertoires. What I could detect is that the concerts under the rubric of *Concerts Teutonia: Saison d’hiver 1883-84* consisted of

³¹⁰ *La Turquie*, 27 December 1881.

“serious” classical repertoire. On the other hand, the concerts at the *Teutonia* which were categorized under the headline of *Concert im Saale der Teutonia* were not included to season ticket practice, and therefore, they were more flexible in terms of their repertoires by containing i.e. ballades. For each type, I will list their programmes in order to illustrate this difference between them: the advertisement of the first concert as part of *Concerts Teutonia: Saison d’hiver 1883-84* declared the general atmosphere of the season with the following lines: “by organizing these concerts, the board of the *Teutonia* aims to develop a gusto of serious and good music in İstanbul.”³¹¹

The concert,³¹² opened with the Overture of *Zauberflöte* (The Magic Flute), the Male Choir of the *Teutonia* continued with the choir scenes from the same work by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart consecutively. Bass solo followed this performance of the choir with the accompaniment of the orchestra of the *Teutonia*. Afterwards, famous scene “O, Isis and Osiris” appeared. Mendelssohn’s *Frühlingslied* (Spring Song) for the orchestra constituted the next work of the concert. The recessional piece of the first set was well-known chorus “Krieger Chor” (Warrior Choir) from *Iphigenia*, which was composed by famous German composer called “reformer of the opera”: Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-1787).

Second set of the concert started with an overture again by Wolfgang Amadues Mozart. *Die Zauberflöte* (Magic Flute) was replaced by *Figaro’s Hochzeit*

³¹¹ *La Turquie*, 3 December 1883. “*En organisant ces concerts, le comité de la teutonia a pour but de développer à Constantinople le gout de la musique sérieuse et bonne*”

³¹² *La Turquie*, 6 December 1883.

(The Marriage of Figaro). Two art songs for the choir followed it. Subsequently, the orchestra played *Die türkische Scharwache* (The Turkish Patrol) by Michaelis, which is still famous with its brass and wind instruments. Bass solo “Sonst spielt ich mit Scepter und Krönen und Stern” from *Czar und Zimmermann* (Czar and Carpenter) by Lortzing (1801-1851), who is considered to be the main representative of the German *Spieloper*, a form similar to the French Opéra comique, which grew out of the Singspiel.³¹³ Lastly, a “Potpourri” from the romantic opera *Freischütz* by Carl Maria von Weber (1786-1826) was performed.

In comparison to the following five concerts under the headline of *Concerts Teutonia: Saison d’hiver 1883-1884*, this concert was the “lightest” in terms of its repertoire. I believe this repertoire is very similar to traditional “New Year” or “Spring Concert”s of famous orchestras today: Berlin Philharmony or London Symphony... Forming a repertoire from “classical,” “serious” composers, but choosing their high-lights is the “true” way towards success in the light of numerous experiences. The board of *Teutonia* followed the same path with this first concert of the season. Moreover, the selection of *Turkish Patrol* should have been on purpose. I think the aim was to attract some Turkish audience, as well.

In the rest of the season, we encounter with the following names: Georges Friedrich Haendel, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Joseph Haydn, Johannes Brahms, Frédéric Chopin, Charles François Gounod, Wilhelm Richard Wagner, Léo Delibes, Franz Schubert, Robert Schumann, which could be classified as “classical” composers.

³¹³ <http://www.operanews.com/operanews/templates/content.aspx?id=6951> [21 July 2009].

The second of the concert directed by Oscar Dethier took place on 6 January 1883.³¹⁴ Throughout the concert, seven pieces were performed and four of them were selected from “light” repertoire, namely two old German folk songs *In stiller Nacht* (In the Silent Night) and ballads for soloists and choir by Brede and Frauelien Reiser. I think the date of the concert played here a major role, it is right after *Weihnachtsfeier* and the board of the *Teutonia* might have thought the repertoire should address each German speaking person in İstanbul if conventional view that folk music was consumed by lower class would be taken into consideration, which was going to be challenged with the simultaneous increase in consumption of folk music and wealthiness during the First World War.

In the following season of 1885-1886, we grasp the information from the *Oriental Advertiser* that the winter of 1886 was musically poor. In this year, there were only two concerts till mid-February, and they were waiting eagerly the 40 scheduled ones. Paul Lange claimed that he has no complaint on the band, however he told the followings: “but the way that the committee of the *Teutonia* was functioning is completely unique. I have to admit that explaining over and over again why these gentlemen convinced themselves to reduce the number of the instrumental concerts, which have marvelous success attracting most elegant (high) society of Pera, would never be too much.”³¹⁵

The *critique* of the concert called this concert as a successful one like the previous. Reading the *Oriental Advertiser*, we learn that the first one was so thriving

³¹⁴ *La Turquie*, 6 January 1883.

³¹⁵ *The Oriental Advertiser*, 19 February 1886.

that M. Dethier and M. Lange were applauded twice by the crowd.³¹⁶ Following this complaint by Lange rooted in the increasing popularity of the theater evenings organized at the *Teutonia* from the end of 1884 onwards.³¹⁷ However, it did not mean that musical activities at the *Teutonia* lost their meaning. One important *Saengerfeste* (Singer's Festival) was organized in 1887, where *Bucharest Deutsche Liedertafel* (The German Choral Society of Bucharest) performed. The duration of the first festival was around five days. This society arrived in the end of May to İstanbul and they left on 4 June 1887.³¹⁸ The visit of this choral society was repeated again in 1911.³¹⁹

During the 1888-1889 season the concert hall of the *Teutonia* was rented for twenty-eight times to the singers, magicians and theater groups,³²⁰ because of the financial problems that the club was faced with. However, the members of the *Teutonia* were present in these activities held by the lodgers. The lively club life continued.

In 1891, the *Teutonia* hosted approximately two hundred singers from Vienna. The name of the choral society was *Wiener Maennergesangsverein*. (Men's

³¹⁶ *The Oriental Adversiter*, 19 February 1886.

³¹⁷ Radowitz, Ibid, p. 238.

"Hervorstehenden Elementen der Kolonie auch die deutschen Funktionaere beteiligen, Konzerte mit klassischer Musik, welche der deutsche Chorverein und das Langesche Orchester veranstalten, wechseln ab mit geselligen Vereinigungen und Theaterabenden in der Teutonia."

³¹⁸ Radt, Ibid, p. 44.

³¹⁹ BOA. DH. EUM. KADL. 6/5.

"Doğu'ya icra edecekleri seyahat dolayısıyla Dersaadet'e iki defa uğrayacak olan Bukarester Deutsche Liedertafel adlı musiki cemiyeti azalarının bir pasaportla Dersaadet'e gelmelerine müsaade olunduğu."

³²⁰ Radt, Ibid, p. 46.

Choral Society of Vienna) They gave three big concerts, one out of them took place in Taksim Garden, one in the Embassy of Austria, and the last one took place on 18 May 1891 at the *Teutonia*. The critique of these concerts in *The Levant Herald and Eastern Express* called the choral society of Vienna as very successful choir: “the choral society has shown that it fully deserves the wide-spread reputation it enjoys in Austria and Germany, where it ranks with the first choral societies in existence. The precision, spirit, and mastery with which all the items of the programme were rendered are above all praise, and the concert proved a real treat for the Pera public.”³²¹

The concerts of this choral society were appreciated so much by the audience that they were encored three times in the Taksim Garden concert, where *Hamidiye March* and their motto song *Frei und Treu* (Free and Faithful) were performed.³²² On the programme of the concert,³²³ we read the lyrics of the hymn to the Austrian King used between 1854 and 1918 written by Johann Gabriel Seidl (1804-1875). The melody of this hymn belonged to Franz Joseph Haydn (1732-1809).

After this big organization, between 1892 and 1895, perhaps because of the inner conflicts within the board, the social life at the *Teutonia* was interrupted. Musical activities were also influenced by this interruption. The big fire in 1895

³²¹ *The Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, 25 May 1891.

³²² *The Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, 25 May 1891.

³²³ Radt, Ibid, p. 44.

“Gott erhalte, Gott beschütze Unsern Kaiser, unser Land! Machtig durch des Glaubens Stütze. Führ’ er uns mit weiser Hand! Lasst uns seiner Vater Krone Schirmen wider jeden Feind, Innig bleibt mit Habsburgs Throne Österreichs Geschick vereint. Heil Dir im Siegerkranz Herrscher des Vaterlandes Heil Kaiser, Dir! Fühl’ in des Thrones Glanz. Die hohe Wonne ganz, Liebling des Volkes zu sein! Heil Kaiser, Dir!”

destroyed everything. In 1897, with the opening of the new stone building of the *Teutonia*, the musical activities revived, again. The first big activity was the celebrations of the centesimal anniversary of *Kaiser* Wilhelm II's birthday. Sultan Abdülhamid II deployed his military band for this event, which was accompanied by the musicians of the *Teutonia* as well.³²⁴

The documents in the Ottoman Archives indicate that each year at least two concerts had been organized at the *Teutonia*. For instance, in 1900, a concert at the *Teutonia* was honored by the German and Russian ambassadors.³²⁵ A journal sent to the Yıldız Palace indicated that the German Ambassador and his friends were present in the concert at the *Teutonia*, and they later went to Hereke. The date of this document is again 1900.³²⁶

In 1902 "Stein" and in 1903 "Moltke," two German school ships, visited İstanbul. In honor of these visits concerts were organized at the *Teutonia*. From 1906, the concert of Anna Grosser's chamber music can be given as an example, whose repertoire was called as "very beautiful" and "highly interesting."³²⁷ Why is the programme of the concert called as "highly interesting"? In the light of the concert critique, the programme will be mentioned: the romantic duo for piano and violin *E minor*, *Op. 61* by Schütt was the opening work of the concert. Three Tschaikowsky songs were followed by an encore of Madame Ferdmann, who had a

³²⁴ Ibid, p. 45.

³²⁵ BOA. Y. PRK. ZB. 1725/2.

³²⁶ BOA. Y. PRK. ZB. 25/66.

³²⁷ *The Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, 10 February 1906.

“beautiful, flexible mezzo-soprano voice,” Charles François Gounod’s *Ave Maria*. Weber’s *Sonata op. 39* was performed by Anna Grosser with “brilliant execution.” The final music of the night was Franz Schubert’s *Quintette de la Truite* for piano and strings.³²⁸ Listing the programme allowed me to argue that the “serious” nature of the *Teutonia* concerts continued in the nineteen hundreds, as well.³²⁹

In 1908, a big event was held: the trip of *Berliner Liedertafel*, which will be dealt with in the following pages separately, further musical activities of the 1908-1909 season will be mentioned. On Saturday evenings, song recitals were laid on the stage of the *Teutonia*. As an example, the benefit concert for poor which took place on 19 December 1908 would be given.³³⁰

In order to illustrate the continuity of Western Classical Music concerts of the *Teutonia*, the concert of 11 March 1909 should also be mentioned. The famous composers, whose works were performed in this evening, were Johann Sebastian Bach, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Ludwig van Beethoven, Johannes Brahms, Felix Mendelssohn, Franz Schubert, Franz Liszt, and Richard Wilhelm Richard.³³¹

Having a very high reputation with his support of the *Teutonia* physically and psychologically, in the honor of German Ambassador Marschall von Bieberstein, a

³²⁸ *The Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, 10 February 1906.

³²⁹ *The Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, 10 February 1906.

³³⁰ *Osmanischer Lloyd*, 17 December 1908.

³³¹ Sabine Praetor, “Brahms, Verdi oder Ein Walzertraum” in: [*Das osmanische Reich in seinen Archivalien und Chroniken : Nejat Göyünç zu Ehren*](#), Stuttgart: Steiner, 1997, p.152.

farewell celebration including a concert took place at the *Teutonia* in 1912.³³² In 1913, all German associations came together for the silver anniversary of *Kaiser* Wilhelm II's ascension. A concert among the celebrations was also organized on the stage of the *Teutonia*.³³³

With the start of the Great War in 1914, we encounter with a new event: *Kriegsabende*, by which many presentations, seminars with similar contents were held in the building of the *Teutonia*. Not only presentations or seminars comprised this event; many concerts, theater plays took place as part of the “war evenings.” The newspaper *Osmanischer Lloyd*, published in German language, gives us details about the cultural and musical activities of the *Teutonia*, regarding the war years. In each issue, one page is dedicated to social life under the headline of *Aus Stadt und Land*, where we are able to grasp information in relation to these *Kriegerabende* of the *Teutonia*. In terms of the concert programmes during the Great War, what I could detect is that the concert programmes could be classified into four categories.

The first category consists of the “standard” concert repertoires of the *Teutonia*, however with a special focus to the classical age: the works of Franz Joseph Haydn and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart constituted the most played ones with their major keys. In one of the concert critiques, the reason for this selection was explained as the following: “did the war explain us again, to understand the Olympic beauty of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's musical language? Here speaks the world to

³³² Radt, Ibid, p. 46.

³³³ Ibid, p. 46.

us, which is completely an otherworld, only cheeriness, evenness and joy, and for the musician full of charm via the master hand, which could form such.”³³⁴

Another example for this “standard” programme will be the concert at the *Teutonia* which was held on 11 November 1917, where Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart’s *String Quartet no. 2* and one *menuette*, and also one that of Beethoven were included.³³⁵

Retrieved from “efficient” scenes of the famous operas, particularly from that of Wilhelm Richard Wagner’s, constitute the second category. “Efficient” here can be replaced with “epic” as well. In order to illustrate this efficiency, the lyrics of Pilgrim’s Chorus will be used:

Once more with joy O my home I may meet
Once more ye fair, flowr’y meadows I greet
My Pilgrim’s staff henceforth may rest
Since Heaven’s sweet peace is within my.

The sinner’s `plaint on high was heard
On high was heard and answered by the Lord
The tears I laid before His shrine
Are turned to hope and joy divine.

O Lord eternal praise be Thine!

The blessed source of Thy mercy overflowing
On souls repentant seek Ye, all-knowing
Of hell and death, I have no fear
O my Lord is ever near

³³⁴ *Osmanischer Lloyd*, 19 May 1918.

“Hat uns der Krieg wieder erklart, die olympische Schönheit der Mozartschen Tonsprache zu verstehen? Hier spricht die Welt zu uns, die ganz jenseitig ist, nur Heiterkeit, Ebenmass und Freude, und für den Musiker voller Entzücken über die Meisterhand, die solches formen konnte.”

³³⁵ *Osmanischer Lloyd*, 11 November 1917.

Alleluia! Alleluia! Alleluia!
Forever more³³⁶

In the same concert at the *Teutonia* on 6 December 1917,³³⁷ a chorus, “Bridal Chorus” from another Wilhelm Richard Wagner opus was performed: *Lohengrin*, knight of the Holy Grail, and son of King Parsifal. The plot of the work based on bravery for the sake of one’s country. Therefore, this selection again exemplifies the “efficiency” within the concert. Wilhelm Richard Wagner became so popular at the *Teutonia*, because he used “national” folk contents and German folk tunes arranged according to the “high standards” of Western Classical Music.

The Choir of Women sang Robert Schumann’s chorus from *Paradies und Peri*, which was performed through a re-interpretation of the text in 1914 as “music for the celebration of our dead heroes.”³³⁸ Although we are not able to know which text was used during the concert at the *Teutonia*, keeping in mind other components of the concert, I believe that the interpretation of Robert Schumann was the “new”

³³⁶ Original text from the pamphlet of “Tannhaeuser,” issued by İstanbul Devlet Opera ve Balesi in 2007.

“Heil! Heil! Der Gnade Wunder Heil!
Erlösung ward der Welt zuteil!
Es tat in nächtlich heil'ger Stund'
der Herr sich durch ein Wunder kund.
Den dürren Stab in Priesters Hand
hat er geschmückt mit frischem Grün:
dem Sünder in der Hölle Brand
soll so Erlösung neu erblühn!
Ruft ihm es zu durch alle Land',
der durch dies Wunder Gnade fand!
Hoch über aller Welt ist Gott,
und sein Erbarmen ist kein Spott!
Halleluja! Halleluja!
Halleluja!”

³³⁷ *Osmanischer Lloyd*, 26 November 1917.

³³⁸ *Osmanischer Lloyd*, 26 November 1917.

version. Taking a look at similar examples, I came to the following final conclusion: during the Great War, the instrumentalization of the music for the sake of political needs was realized on the stage of the *Teutonia* club.

In the nineteenth century, rediscovery of the folk songs took place by the followers of “noble simplicity,” in other words, by the bourgeoisie. Dahlhaus explains the self-contradictory nature of popularity of folk music among the bourgeoisie; and he claims: “national awareness was so deep-seated that it made palpable self-contradictions like truism.”³³⁹ According to him, “the folk no longer meant the lower classes, but rather the nation, the population of a state, even though it was not the lower classes, but the bourgeoisie which sought its political identity in the idea of nationhood.”³⁴⁰ As an extension, we observe a rise in the agitative consumption of the folk music as part of the *Teutonia* concerts especially during the Great War. Though folk music has existed since the foundation of the club within the musical life of the *Teutonia*, the number of occasions where we encounter with folk music during the war years has increased sharply. Examining ten concert programmes, it is observed that only in two of them folk music was lacking. Hence, “folk tunes” had constituted the third category.

The forth and last category is comprised by marches, war songs, to put in another way, this type of concerts were composed of “military music.” Having scanned all the available concert programmes, it is detected that from 1880 onwards this category was existing. However, a rise in the frequency of use and the quantity

³³⁹ Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*. translated by: J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley and Los Angeles-California: University of California Press, 1989), p. 110.

³⁴⁰ Carl Dahlhaus, *Ibid*, p. 110.

of pieces can be seen. For instance, in 1886, in only one concert at the *Teutonia*, military music was performed. In the *Oriental Advertiser*, this music was severely criticized: “the song named *convert militaire*’s name was not adequate to the song. The song was not bad after all, but needs to be arranged again properly.”³⁴¹ In my point of view, what the reviewer meant was if one wants to call a song as military one, its arrangement should be done with caution, so that not only the lyrics but also the music and rhythm of the song would express the strength, bravery and fervor.

During the trips of choral societies from Austria in 1891 and from Germany in 1908, we can observe that in each case the *Hamidiye March*, the hymns to the kings of their Empires and additional marches were performed. In the light of *Osmanischer Lloyd*, it is detected even separate concerts for military music was held during the Great War as part of *Kriegabende* at the *Teutonia*.³⁴²

In the occupation years, the building was used by Y.M.C.A.; therefore, the musical activities at the *Teutonia* were organized by Y.M.C.A. It was no more possible to talk about German dominated musical activities in this building. This type of musical life was interrupted parallel to the life within the association. In the early Republican Era; music, especially instrumental one, revived the social life in the club. In 1926, a philharmonic orchestra was established, whose members belonged to fourteen different nations. In the first concert of Teutonia Philharmonic Orchestra under the direction of Prof. Himmelsjerna; works by Beethoven, Franz Schubert, Tchaikovsky, Grieg, Hernefeld and Himmelsjerna were played. In 1928, a group named *Verein der Musikfreunde* (The Club of Music Lovers) was founded under the

³⁴¹ *The Oriental Advertiser*, 19 February 1886

³⁴² For instance see: *Osmanischer Lloyd*, 31 January 1918.

leadership of Theo Jung, who was music teacher of the German School in İstanbul.

In 1930, the Choral Society of Bucharest came once again in order to perform on the stage of the *Teutonia*.³⁴³

Despite severe opposition, in the 1930's *Teutonia* became a political arena of the Nazis, hence musical activities were influenced by this situation. *Meck Meck Walzer*³⁴⁴ is an example from 1935, which was an obvious propaganda tool of rising extreme nationalism. During the Second World War, until 1944, when the *Teutonia* was closed down by the Turkish government, lively night life with music continued at the *Teutonia*.

Following the reopening of the *Teutonia* in 1954 up until today, the stage of the *Teutonia* hosted innumerable celebrities. Regularly, important Western Classical Music events are arranged in the concert hall of the *Teutonia*. *Siemens Opera Contest* for professional singers, *Jugend Musiziert* (Youth Makes Music) organized by *Deutscher Musikrat* are among these activities.

Nationality

Musical activities at the *Teutonia* had begun to be inevitable occasions for the community in Galata and Pera district and parallel to the widening of the audience, not only Germans living in İstanbul but several other musicians also began to

³⁴³ Radt, Ibid, p. 76.

³⁴⁴ The lyrics of the waltz are:

“Kinder, wir wollen gemütlich sein, und das Kurze Leben geniessen. Kinder, wir wollen recht friedlich sein und uns keine Sekunde vermiessen. Fort mit dem kummer, dem Aerger, dem Streit, geteilte Freude ist doppelte Freud. drum, kinder, wir wollen uns einig sein, die stimmung kommt von allein. Ist noch jemand da, der zu meckern hat? Raus! Raus! Raus. Denn wir haben das ewige Meckern satt! Raus! Raus! Raus!”

perform in the concerts at the *Teutonia*. In order to depict the widening regarding performers, first category will be the Germans, who reside out of the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire. The concert tours of *Bucharester Liedertafel* and *Berliner Liedertafel* would be good examples. *Bucharester Liedertafel*, which consisted of about 100 singers, first gave its concerts on the stage of the *Teutonia* in 1887.³⁴⁵ In 1908, *Berliner Liedertafel* with 140 singers had its concerts organized by the *Teutonia*.³⁴⁶

The second category will be comprised by the foreign musicians. For instance, we can include the concert tour of *Wiener Maennergesangsverein* (Viennese Men's Choral Society) in 1891, into this category.³⁴⁷ Non-German-speaking people also had the chance to perform on the stage of the *Teutonia*. As an example, in the lines of the *Oriental Advertiser*, we are able to detect that French school students were present in the concert as singers. "The songs of the young French School students were pleased by the people of *Teutonia*."³⁴⁸ A further example will be given from the Ottoman Archives: a choir from Russia whose 43 members were directed by Islanovski, performed in *Teutonia*, as well.³⁴⁹

Third category will be formed by the Ottoman musicians. The utmost important point in terms of Ottoman performers is that we are not able to find a

³⁴⁵ Radt, Ibid, p. 44.

³⁴⁶ Edited from: Wolfgang Görsch in *Berliner Liedertafel Mitteilungsblatt*, "Damals war's vor 100 Jahren. 1908: Orientreise der Berliner Liedertafel" (Berlin: Selbstverlag des Vereins, August-September 2008), pp. 14-18.

³⁴⁷ Von Caucig, Ibid, p. 127.

³⁴⁸ *The Oriental Advertiser*, 19 February 1886.

³⁴⁹ BOA. ZB. 391/160.

concert where all of the performers at the *Teutonia* were Ottoman musicians. However, a huge list of joint concerts could be given. The co-operation of *Wiener Maennergesangsverein* and Paul Lange's orchestra, which contained many Ottoman musicians, will be one of the best examples. Within the same organization, we know that Sultan Abdülhamid II sent his military band, which played during the intervals of the concert.³⁵⁰ The concert of *Berliner Liedertafel* accompanied by the musicians of the *Ertuğrul* Yacht upon the request of Sultan Abdülhamid II is one of the striking joint concerts.³⁵¹ One singer from this choir quoted in his travel account from *La Turquie* and told that "the part where German singers performed together with the Turkish musicians was magnificent."³⁵² Another example for these joint projects would be the concert as part of fund drive for the earthquake victims on 14 November 1883.³⁵³

Having talked about the performers in details, we should mention the meaning of music at the *Teutonia* for the audience. Music was playing a very important role within the club life, because it was addressing an international audience thanks to the nature of music, having no language.³⁵⁴ Theater performances at the *Teutonia* were watched by the members of the German community, however

³⁵⁰ *The Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, 25 May 1891.

³⁵¹ Schulz-Labischin, *Ibid*, p. 162.

³⁵² Quoted in: Schulz-Labischin, *Ibid*, p. 165.
 "Dieser Teil des Konzerts war prächtig."

³⁵³ *La Turquie*, 10 November 1883.

³⁵⁴ Schulz-Labischin, *Ibid*, p. 102.
 "Grenzen überspringenden das deutsche Wort und das deutsche Lied einigt," which means "the German 'song' and 'word' went beyond the political boundaries," in English.

we are able to observe that the concerts organized by or at the *Teutonia* were attended by Ottoman subjects and other foreign people living in İstanbul in addition to German participants. Three newspapers; *La Turquie*, *The Oriental Adviser*, and *Osmanischer Lloyd* would help me to point this situation out. Where one is not able to find any advertisement or news regarding the theater performances at the *Teutonia* in these newspapers, there exist numerous articles which illustrate the multi-nationality of the audience in these concerts:

To start from the end, during the Great War many *Kriegsabende* were held at the *Teutonia*, by which music played an important role. In the announcements of these activities, a repeating note from the director of the *Teutonia* had been added into the end: “only the members of the *Teutonia* and officers of the Alliance are allowed to attend.”³⁵⁵

For instance, the concert organized on 19 January 1886 at the *Teutonia* was criticized in the *Oriental Adviser*. This article exposes the internationality of the audience by mentioning that British and Austrian diplomats also attended to this concert.³⁵⁶ A further example can be given from the *La Turquie*: “we noticed in the room, in addition to the notables of the German colony, the wives of the ambassadors of Germany and Austria-Hungary, and a various personnel attached to embassies.”³⁵⁷ The position of the Ottoman subjects regarding their participation to the concerts of

³⁵⁵ For instance: *Osmanischer Lloyd*, 11 November 1917.
“Der Eintritt ist nur Mitgliedern der *Teutonia* und Offiziere der verbundenen Heere gestattet.”

³⁵⁶ *The Oriental Advertiser*, 19 January 1886.

³⁵⁷ *La Turquie*, 9 December 1883.
“On remarquait dans la salle, outre les notabilités de la colonie allemande, Mm. Les ambassadeurs d'Allemagne et d'autriche-Hongrie, et un nombreux personnel d'attachées d'ambassades.”

the *Teutonia* would directly trigger our minds. In order to observe the Ottoman presence in these concerts, the news about *Wiener Maennergesangsverein* in *The Levant Herald and Eastern Express* will help us: “among those present were all the members of the diplomatic body, and several Ottoman functionaries, viz. Munir Paşa, Honorary president of the Committee: Kiazim Bey, secretary of the Sultan: Madjid Bey; Munif Paşa, Minister of Public Instruction: Ibrahim Bey, Munir Bey, and Noum Bey.”³⁵⁸ The entry of Labischin into his travel account will be a further auxiliary source, where he tells us the concert of *Berliner Liedertafel* was attended by Turkish high officials.³⁵⁹

There are 47 documents in the Ottoman Archives (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Devlet Arşivi* (BOA)), where one can read the name of the *Teutonia*, 22 out of this number belong to the category of journals, or espionage correspondence, which were sent to the Yıldız Palace. The excessive number of the journals regarding the concerts which were organized at or by the *Teutonia* shows us that the Yıldız Palace was watching its activities very closely and this also constitutes a further proof for the Ottoman participation to the concerts of the *Teutonia*.³⁶⁰

Being aware of the fact that “Ottoman” as a term included Muslim and non-Muslim components, briefly I want to touch upon the non-Muslim asset in these concerts, although it is not possible to observe specific references in the sources. Scrutinizing all available sources in the Ottoman Archives, we are able to witness

³⁵⁸ *The Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, 25 May 1891.

³⁵⁹ Schulz-Labischin, *Ibid*, p. 132.

³⁶⁰ For instance: BOA. DH. MKT. 1063/12.

Armenians as performers in the concerts which were held at Beyoğlu Municipal Theatre,³⁶¹ and Greeks as performers at the Union Française.³⁶² For the *Teutonia*, to capture a similar portrait of non-Muslim Ottoman presence is not so easy. However, it does not mean that there were not any non-Muslim performers in the concerts at and by the *Teutonia*. Reading the account of Kriebel, we are able to observe the quantity of Greeks, Armenians and Jews in the German Schools in terms of the 1880's. For instance, in 1885-1886, there were sixty-six students. In his words, forty out of this number were German. Then he gives us the details. He mentions that there existed thirty-one Protestants, fourteen Armenians, six Greeks, and fifteen Jewish students.³⁶³ These children comprised the choir, which performed in the activities of the *Teutonia*. Unfortunately, Kriebel does not mention whether these Jews or Armenians were Ottoman Jews and Ottoman Armenians, or whether they belonged to the German community. According to my mind, the majority of these Jewish and Armenian choristers were German, however keeping in mind the number of twenty-six that were non-German one should think of a non-Muslim Ottoman asset at the *Teutonia* as musical performers.

Leaving the case of performers aside, what could be said about the non-Muslim participants to the concerts of the *Teutonia*? Having witnessed the problem that it is not possible to find any direct reference in the sources regarding non-

³⁶¹ For instance: BOA. DH. MKT. 1063/12.

³⁶² For further details, see: BOA. MF. MKT. 497/8.

³⁶³ From the Orient Institute Library in İstanbul: Martin Kriebel's typescript: Martin Kriebel, *Die Geschichte der deutschen evangelischen Gemeinde in Konstantinopel: İstanbul von 1843-1932*, ([1980]), p. 202.

Muslim performers at the *Teutonia*, I should mention that we face the same problem in terms of the audience. Most of the time, we encounter with general expressions. For example, Barbara Radt in her *Geschichte der Teutonia* mentions that “the whole world of Galata-Pera was present” in the activities of the *Teutonia*.³⁶⁴ Comparing the quantity of non-Muslims to the Muslim Ottomans in the Galata-Pera district,³⁶⁵ in an indirect way, she includes the non-Muslim participation in the concerts of the *Teutonia*. A similar example could be retrieved from the *Oriental Advertiser*: “Whole world in Pera”³⁶⁶ was said to be present in the concert at the *Teutonia*.

Finally, a direct reference to Mavroyeni *Paşa* appears upon the scene in one of the concert critiques within *La Turquie* on 21 December 1883. There, we witness the multi-nationality of the audience during the concert at the *Teutonia*. The German ambassador with his wife, the minister of Rumania and Missess Saloman Fernandez were all listed in this article.³⁶⁷

Class

What was told about the audience of the musical activities, which were organized by or at the *Teutonia*? Being aware of the fact that the following lines would sound familiar to the readers a brief summary of the class structure regarding the members will be necessary, because the members of the club constituted an indispensable great

³⁶⁴ Radt, Ibid, p. 33.

³⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 33.

³⁶⁶ *The Oriental Advertiser*, 13 February 1886.
“*Tout le monde a Pera.*”

³⁶⁷ *La Turquie*, 21 December 1883.
“*Quelques personnes cepedent parmi celles auxquelles nous laisons allusion étaient presentes a la Teutonia: nous citerons entr’autres M. L’ambassadeur d’Allemagne, et Mme de Radovitz, M. Le ministre de Roumanie et Mme Mavroyeni, M. et Mme Salomon Fernandez, etc.*”

proportion of the audience. In the secondary sources, we have read, for example, in Dietrich's *Deutschsein in Istanbul* that the profile of the members had changed.³⁶⁸ In the light of the primary materials, we witnessed that where the craftsmen and workers comprised the board in early phases of the *Teutonia*, in later periods we encounter with bankers, doctors, architects, engineers, and teachers.³⁶⁹ In terms of the guest listeners, we observe a dominant presence of the élite. The journals of the Hamidian Era draw this "élite" picture by listing many diplomats and high-ranking officials.³⁷⁰ Numerous parallel lists could be found by closely examining the concert news or critiques.³⁷¹ They will give us many clues in terms of the class structure of the participants to the musical activities at the *Teutonia*. There exist a great number of such critiques, among which I believe the quotations below will describe the élitist atmosphere of the concerts at the *Teutonia*: "...what distinguishes the concerts of *Teutonia*, where the courtesy reigns, the good music that you could hear and the perfect order exists. It is an intimate meeting, so to speak, transformed into a pleasant festival or you could have the pleasure of being present and meeting."³⁷²

³⁶⁸ Dietrich, Ibid, p. 101.

³⁶⁹ Radt, Ibid, p. 143.

³⁷⁰ BOA. Y. PRK. ZB. 25/66

"Kale kapısında kain Almanya Tötonya salonunda bu gece bir konser verilip mezkur konserde akşam üzeri avdet eden Almanya sefiriyle Almanya ateşe militeri ve baş tercümanı ve 100 kadar Almanyalı hazır bulundukları ma'rûzdur."

³⁷¹ For instance, see: *The Oriental Advertiser*, 5 January 1986.

³⁷² *La Turquie*, 10 December 1883.

"....qui distingue les concerts de la Teutonia, c'est l'aménité qui y régné, la bonne musique qu'on y entend et l'ordre parfait y existe.C'est une réunion intime, pour ainsi dire, transformé en une fête agréable ou l'on a plaisir de se retrouver et de se revoir."

German Ambassador Radowitz mentioned in his memoirs many times that he personally participated to the musical activities of the *Teutonia*.³⁷³ As a cross check with Ottoman archival materials would assist us by listing nine documents with the participation of the German ambassador. The names that we encounter with him as ambassadors in the concert critiques are Radowitz and von Bieberstein.³⁷⁴ German Ambassador Radowitz and his wife, Baron Thielmann, and Kamphowenere *Paşa* were some names that one reads in another concert critique in the *Oriental Advertiser*, which allow us to agree that the atmosphere of the *Teutonia* concerts contained many “élites.”³⁷⁵

The general class structure was perceived by the singer of *Berliner Liedertafel* as a wealthy dominated one, because he listed industrialists, merchants and traders as part of the audience at the *Teutonia*.³⁷⁶ Hitherto elite participation was mentioned, however, it did not mean that just elite members were present in the musical activities of the *Teutonia*. In this point, *Weihnachtsfeiers* (Christmas Celebrations) and *Osternfests* (Easter Festivals) played important roles by addressing to everyone in the German speaking community. Moreover, keeping benefit concerts in mind, one should include indigents to the participants of the activities that had been organized at and by the *Teutonia*.

³⁷³ Joseph Maria von Radowitz, *Aufzeichnungen und erinnerungen aus dem leben des botschafters Joseph Maria von Radowitz*, edited by: Hajo Holborn (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1925), p. 86.

³⁷⁴ Quoted from various newspapers in the account of Schulz-Labischin, Ibid, p. 92.

³⁷⁵ *The Oriental Advertiser*, 10 February 1886.

³⁷⁶ Schulz- Labischin, Ibid, p. 141.

Gender

Gender as a category will be dealt with in two segments: women as performers and women as audience. As a common point of these two segments, I should initially state that we witness a male dominance in the activities of the *Teutonia*. The choirs that we talk about are not mixed choirs, but they are all male choirs, even the choir of the children consisted of male singers. For instance, the programme of the concert which took place in the concert hall of the *Teutonia* on 9 December 1883 would illustrate us this male dominance: the concert consisted of two sets and each set was formed by five pieces. In the first set, we see one bass solo from the opera *Die Zauberflöte* (The Magic Flute) by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, and two choral works which were performed by the *Teutonia Maennerchor*. (Men choir of the *Teutonia*). In the second set of the concert, again, we come across with a repertoire for male choir and male soloists, accompanied by an orchestra.³⁷⁷

No list of the orchestra members is available, and newspapers give us only the names of the soloists. Therefore, we do not have sufficient data to state that there were female orchestra members or not. But, generally, what we observe on the concert programmes is the male dominance. However, it does not mean that one can not detect female performers in the musical concerts of the *Teutonia*.

In the light of the concert programmes, we are able to observe that women, too, performed in the musical activities of the *Teutonia*. The programme of the concert which took place on 19 December 1883 in the concert hall of the *Teutonia* included three women. The famous director Oscar Dethier performed *Ouvert de la*

³⁷⁷ *La Turquie*, 6 December 1883.

Belle Mélusine by Mendelssohn in the opening of the concert with his wife Madame Dethier. The third piece of the concert was performed by a female singer: Mademoiselle Leitgeb. She sang *Air de Fidelio*, which is a well-known dramatic soprano aria by Beethoven. Third female figure was Madame Hoffman, who played Chopin's *Scherzo, en si mineur* by piano.³⁷⁸ The critique of this concert in the same newspaper was published on 21 December 1883, and there we are able to read that the success of these three female performers dominated the article, where the male performers of the same concert were narrated briefly.³⁷⁹

Another example for the female performers would be the concert on 14 November 1883. There we had Madame Marinitsch, Mademoiselle Lanzoni, and Mademoiselle Marie Schneider, who all performed on 14 November 1883 before Sultan Abdülhamid II. They were accompanied by the imperial orchestra under the direction of Guatelli *Paşa* and choirs of the *Teutonia* and German Choral Society which were directed by Paul Lange and Oscar Dethier.³⁸⁰

The concert season of 1885-1886 was important in terms of the female performers. In three concerts out of six, one is able to come upon with important names: Mademoiselle Hubsch and Madame Ernest Comendigner appeared in the critiques as very talented singers. The following quotation regarding the performance of Miss Comendigner is retrieved from the *Oriental Advertiser*: “Miss Ernest Comendinger was the queen of the concert. Unfortunately, we do not often have an

³⁷⁸ *La Turquie*, 14 December 1883.

³⁷⁹ *La Turquie*, 21 December 1883.

³⁸⁰ *La Turquie*, 10 November 1883.

opportunity to hear such a singer, whose voice united all of the required qualities: strength, precision, sharpness, softness, grace, feeling, she had no mistake in the interpretation...”³⁸¹

During the Great War, we observe that a choir which consisted of women gave concerts at the *Teutonia*. The concert which took place at the *Teutonia* on 6 December 1917, we observe that the female choir performed works by Robert Schumann and Wilhelm Richard Wagner solely, and *Der Veilchenstrauss* by Kühnel and “Brautlied” from *Lohengrin* by Wilhelm Richard Wagner were sung along with the male choir.³⁸² Perhaps as men had ran to the fronts, performance by female instrument players during the war years was also common. For instance, the chamber concert at the *Teutonia*, announced on 10 October 1917 in the *Osmanischer Lloyd*, was accompanied by Anna Grosser.³⁸³

Leaving the female performers aside, what could be said about the participation of women to the musical activities at the *Teutonia*? Scrutinizing concert brochures and concert critiques, two categories come into existence. The women who worked in the organization of the concerts comprised the first one among these two and the other is the female consumers of the musical activities. The women of the first category mostly organized benefit concerts for the German Schools in İstanbul,

³⁸¹ *The Oriental Advertiser*, 10 February 1886.

“C’est Mme Ernest Comendinger qui a été la reine du concert. Nous n’avons malheureusement, pas souvent l’occasion d’entendre une cantatrice dont la voix réunise a on si haut degré toutes les qualités requises. Force, précision, netteté, douceur, gracie, sentiment, elle n’a rien omis dans l’interprétation...”

³⁸² *Osmanischer Lloyd*, 26 November 1917.

³⁸³ *Osmanischer Lloyd*, 10 October 1917.

for the Protestant church, or in aid of the poor.³⁸⁴ For instance, in 1884, they organized a concert for the benefit of the Protestant church so that they can buy an organ.³⁸⁵ The priest of this church, Kriebel points out that after this concert Kaehler *Paşa* granted 1,000 Gold piasters for a new chandelier.³⁸⁶ Another concert organized by a committee which consisted of only women was the big joint concert, mentioned before, for the benefit of the earthquake victims. The wives of the ambassadors: Habsburg Empire, British Empire, German *Reich*, France, Russia; Madame Condourioti and Madame la Contesse de Bascon organized this concert on 14 November 1883. The choir of the *Teutonia* was directed by Oskar Dethier and Paul Lange, and the male representatives of the *Teutonia* were also present in this concert.³⁸⁷

In the second category, we observe some female music consumers, many of whom were wives of the élites. How did the female consumers of the concerts at and by the *Teutonia* appear in the pages of the newspapers? In *La Turquie*, the *Oriental Advertiser* and *Osmanischer Lloyd*, we frequently encounter with the names of the wives of ambassadors, bank directors, and artists as listeners. In one concert critique,

³⁸⁴ BOA. DH. MKT. 346/69.

“*Beyoğlu Totonya Salonu'nda Sin ve Nisan Dipol Fukaraperver Cemiyeti'nin konser vermesine izin verildiği...*”

³⁸⁵ Radt, *Ibid*, p. 44.

³⁸⁶ From the Orient Insitute Library in İstanbul: Martin Kriebel's typescript. Martin Kriebel, *Die Geschichte der deutschen evangelischen Gemeinde in Konstantinopel: İstanbul von 1843-1932*, ([1980]), p. 207.

³⁸⁷ *La Turquie*, 10 November 1883.

we read the following lines: “among the ladies, you could have noticed many of them were with extremely elegant dresses.”³⁸⁸

Three documents in the Ottoman Archives refer to female audience. In one among them, we encounter with women in a benefit concert for the German School in İstanbul.³⁸⁹ German Ambassador Radowitz also told in his memoirs that his wife was always present in the concerts of the *Teutonia*.³⁹⁰ Moreover, in his memoirs, we are able to read that he invited women, especially Turkish ones, to the concerts that were organized in the concert hall of the German Embassy in İstanbul. For one of these concerts 14,000 Franks were spent. There were thousand participants, one quarter of which was performers. We grasp the information that “the whole world of Pera” was present there. This concert that he was talking about took place with the collaboration of the *Teutonia*.³⁹¹

³⁸⁸ *La Turquie*, 10 December 1883.

“Parmi les dames on en remarquait plusieurs avec des toilettes fort élégantes.”

³⁸⁹ BOA.Y. PRK. ZB. 25/40

“Kulekapısı’nda kain Almanya Tötonya salonunda Alman Mektebi menfaatine düzenlenen konsere Almanya sefir ve zevceleriyle birlikte birçok ileri gelenlerin teşrifî...”

³⁹⁰ Radowitz, *Ibid*, p. 238.

³⁹¹ *Ibid*, pp. 227-228.

“Nicht weniger wie 1000 Personen haben sich in dem Festsale und in den anstossenden Salons zusammengefunden, ungefaehr 750 als Zuhörer und 250 als Mitwirkende, da grosse Maenner und Kinderchoere auf dem Programm standen... Alles, was in Stambul und Pera sich zur “Gesellschaft” rechnete, war gekommen. Selbst türkische Damen, für die ich besonders die obere Orchesterloge des Festsaaless mit dem entsprechenden Ritter hatte ausstatten hatten. Dem guten Zwecke flossen 14000 Franken mit diesem Konzert zu, und ich hatte einen umfassenden Eindruck von der Grosartigkeit der räume erhalten, über die der deutsche Botschafter in Konstantinopel verfügt.”

For Turkish female presence in the concerts of the *Teutonia* the travel account of Labischin would be a good reference, where he mentions that “beautiful women and girls offered such a sight which was quite adorable.”³⁹²

All in all, in the light of various primary sources, a brief analysis of the gender structure of the musical activities at and by the *Teutonia* was tried to be done and it is shown that women were actually present in the musical activities of the *Teutonia* with different roles: performers, organizers and consumers.

Last Big Musical Event of the Hamidian Era by the Teutonia

Planned in 1907, the concert series of the *Berliner Liedertafel* in İstanbul took place in 1908. About this trip, there exist two documents in the Ottoman Archives, both were reports written to the Museum Office. The first document lists the touristic places that the members of the choir were going to visit.³⁹³ The second document demands help from the Ottoman officials, so that the singers will not face any difficulties during their visits.³⁹⁴ Except for these two documents, we are able to grasp detailed information about this trip from the travel account of Labischin.³⁹⁵

Taking a look at the welcoming committee, one would observe that the board of the *Teutonia* heeded this organization: Commerce Counselor Weise, the director of the *Teutonia* Prof. Eissen, General Auler *Paşa*, Dr. Giez, and many diplomats of

³⁹² Schulz-Labischin, Ibid, p. 144.

³⁹³ BOA. ZB. 47/9.

³⁹⁴ BOA. MF. MKT. 1052/20.

³⁹⁵ See: Schulz-Labischin, Ibid.

the German Embassy and the director of the German Men's Choral Society of Istanbul, Weinzedl.³⁹⁶

Right after the welcoming ceremony at the harbor of Galata, the guests had changed their clothes and then the opening reception at the *Teutonia* was held.³⁹⁷ German Ambassador Bieberstein was present, which was expressed by the author of the travel account with exalted phrases.³⁹⁸ *Die Kölnische Zeitung* (the Cologne Newspaper) illustrated this event with the following sentences as quoted by Labischin in his travel account: "Never since the existence of the *Teutonia*, the rooms had become so much crowded as in this evening."³⁹⁹

The leader of the German community on behalf of the *Teutonia* and the German community of Istanbul welcomed the guests. He claimed that these guests brought not only news from the motherland, but also a very high branch of art. According to him, this way allowed the High German culture to engender abroad.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁶ Schulz-Labischin, Ibid, p. 93.

³⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 97.

³⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 105.
"unser Botschafter, der bis dahin durch ein Diner fern gehalten worden war. Es wurde eine ganz besondere Ehre und grosse Freude, diesen hochbedeutenden Staatsmann, der seit Jahren die Interessen des deutschen Reiches am Goldenen Horn mit unübertrefflichem Geschick wahrnimmt (das bestaetigten uns alle Deutschen in Konstantinopel) und der bei uns Berlinern besonders in bestem Angedenken steht..."

³⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 102.
"Noch niemals seit dem Bestehen der Teutonia sind die Raeume so eng geworden wie an diesem abend."

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid, p. 102.
"Sie bringen uns aber nicht nur Kunde aus dem Reiche, Sie wollen uns auch einen herrlichen Zweig seiner Kunst übermitteln. Nirgends wie in Deutschland wird die Musik gepflegt. Und sie traegt ihren Segen auch hinaus in die Fremde. Auch im Auslande gründet ihr der Deutsche eine hohe, sorgsam gepflegte Staette."

Following the speeches, the Choral Society sang an enjoyable potpourri consisted of German folk songs, which were applauded *fortissimo*. Afterwards, very important sentences were uttered at the *Teutonia*. It was stated that living abroad, without losing its identity was not easy.⁴⁰¹ In order to express the threat of assimilation, in this night examples from the American continent were given. The “policies of the fatherland” played a major role according to the orator. In his perspective, the trip of the German singers from home should be considered among the policies in order not to lose their German identity. The German colony abroad including its singers was perceived as “pioneers of the German culture, and German spirit.”⁴⁰² On the other hand, phrases in terms of the perception regarding the role of the singers from Germany can be detected during the speeches. Transfer of knowledge and culture would be mediated by these singers from Germany, with their contribution to the “German spirit,” “German way of thinking,” and “German feeling” would be invigorated.⁴⁰³ The Choral Society of Berlin represented for the members of the German colony in İstanbul: “the keepers and guardians of the

⁴⁰¹ Ibid, p. 110.

“Grade die Angehörigen der deutschen Nation verlieren in der Fremde so leicht den Zusammenhang mit der Heimat, sie verschwinden in der fremden Nation, gehen in ihr auf. In Amerika sehen wir auch jetzt noch viele Beispiele dafür. Gott sei Dank! Heut ist anders geworden. Unser Vaterland steht gross und geachtet da. Es kümmert sich um ihre Söhne in der Fremde in Treuen, und daher bleiben ihm diese auch treu.”

⁴⁰² Ibid, p. 110.

“sie werden Pioniere deutscher Kultur, deutschen Geistes, deutscher Wissenschaft, die sich überall in der Welt ihren Platz errungen haben und ihn behaupten.”

⁴⁰³ Ibid, p. 113.

“Im Hinblick auf die Pflege der idealen Volksgüter hervorbringen muss, von der belebenden anregung die deutscher Geist, deutsches Denken und Empfinden aus der unmittelbaren Berührung und dem innigen Beisammensein mit Saengern aus der Heimat schöpfen muss.”

teastiest treasures of the German folklore, German song and its joy.”⁴⁰⁴ So, through the intermediary role of *Berliner Liedertafel*, Germans in İstanbul would not become “lost,” they would not be assimilated.

Subsequent to the speeches, three compositions by their conductor Franz Wagner with folk melodies were performed by the Choral Society of Berlin, including the soloists Herr Kalweit and Herr Teichmann they were applauded by the choristers of İstanbul much so that they could not leave the stage. With each participant in the concert hall of the *Teutonia*, national anthem *Das deutsche Lied* (The German Song) was sung. The translation of its lyrics from German into English are as it follows:

Germany, Germany above all *
Above everything in the world *
When, always, for protection and defense
Brothers stand together.
From the Maas to the Memel
From the Etsch to the Belt,
Germany, Germany above all
Above all in the world.

German women, German fidelity,
German wine and German song,
Shall retain, throughout the world,
Their old respected fame,
To inspire us to noble deeds
For the length of our lives.
German women, German fidelity,
German wine and German song.

Unity and right and freedom
For the German Fatherland;

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid, p.110.

“Wir begrüßen Sie als Träger des deutschen Volksgedankens, als Wahrer und Hüter eines der köstlichsten Kleinode unseres Volkstumes, des deutschen Gesanges, der deutschen Liederfreude”

Let us all strive to this goal
Brotherly, with heart and hand.
Unity and rights and freedom
Are the pledge of fortune grand.
Prosper in this fortune's glory,
Prosper German fatherland.⁴⁰⁵

In the lyrics, a detailed “to do list” for the real Germans, is given. Reading between the lines, one can say that all German citizens should forget their regional differences and unite for the common good, and one should do nothing which would shame the name of one's self, thereby the name of the country. The German citizen should

⁴⁰⁵ <http://ingeb.org/Lieder/deutschl.html> [14 August 2009].

*“Deutschland, Deutschland über alles,
Über alles in der Welt,
Wenn es stets zu Schutz und Trutze
Brüderlich zusammenhält,
Von der Maas bis an die Memel,
Von der Etsch bis an den Belt -
|: Deutschland, Deutschland über alles,
Über alles in der Welt. :|*

*2. Deutsche Frauen, deutsche Treue,
Deutscher Wein und deutscher Sang
Sollen in der Welt behalten
Ihren alten schönen Klang,
Uns zu edler Tat begeistern
Unser ganzes Leben lang.
|: Deutsche Frauen, deutsche Treue,
Deutscher Wein und deutscher Sang. :|*

*3. Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit
Für das deutsche Vaterland!
Danach laßt uns alle streben
Brüderlich mit Herz und Hand!
Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit
Sind des Glückes Unterpfand.
|: Blüh' im Glanze dieses Glückes,
Blühe, deutsches Vaterland. :|*

*(4. Deutschland, Deutschland über alles,
Und im Unglück nun erst recht.
Nur im Unglück kann die Liebe
Zeigen, ob sie stark und echt.
Und so soll es weiterklingen
Von Geschlechte zu Geschlecht:
|: Deutschland, Deutschland über alles,
Und im Unglück nun erst recht. :|)”*

work with pride in order to be admired by everyone through his or her loyalty to his or her country.⁴⁰⁶

Reading the account by Labischin, we can also learn that late in the night the soloist Herr Kalweit sang *an der Weser* composed by Gustav Pressel, who was invited by Franz Liszt to Weimar in 1845. Kalweit was accompanied by Auler *Paşa*,⁴⁰⁷ which constituted the end of the official ceremony. Further songs were sung together with the members of the Fidelitas in the *Teutonia* for many hours.

On the upcoming day, the members of *Berliner Liedertafel* met at the *Teutonia*. They had the sight seeing tour in İstanbul. Labischen wrote his impressions about this tour in a very detailed way, where Orientalist perspective of him bursts on the scene. Having bought a *fes*, tasted the *nargile* actually constituted the first glimpses of his Orientalist tendency. As an extension of the same perception, his impressions about the Grand Bazaar as “exotic,” “orient,” and “part of *Thousand and One Night*” should also be mentioned.⁴⁰⁸ Moreover, where he was expecting to see the “oriental” way of life in the Yıldız Palace, he could not find it; and he called this situation as “surprising,” for he claimed he was shocked there, because everything was so “European” and “modern.” As examples, he had given the precious paintings of German, English and French painters on the walls of the Yıldız Palace.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁶ <http://ingeb.org/Lieder/deutschl.html> [14 August 2009].

⁴⁰⁷ Schulz-Labischin, *Ibid*, p. 118.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p. 131.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid*, p. 153.

“Aber kaum etwas darin, was an den Orient erinnert, es seien denn die türkischen Diener, die

Before the visit of Sultan Abdülhamid II, *Berliner Liedertafel* had given another concert which was held at the German Embassy. Many positive critiques were published in the newspapers. Labischin was very glad to read them, so he directly quoted from *La Turquie*, the *Oriental Advertiser*, *Stamboul* and *The Levant Herald and Eastern Express*.⁴¹⁰ The common point of all critiques was that all of them called the concert as “perfect,” in each article the conductor, the soloists and the repertoire had been dealt with in details. The gist of the critiques can be given via the following quotations from the newspapers: “only those who have visited Berlin previously, had an opportunity to hear such an ‘amazing’ and wonderful concert until yesterday, when in the large hall of the German Embassy a brilliant and distinguished audience which consisted of all diplomatic and social celebrities united.”⁴¹¹

The concert given on Tuesday at the German Embassy by the *Berliner Liedertafel* in aid of the German Benevolent Institutions in İstanbul provided a huge success and was very largely attended.⁴¹² The audience included the diplomatic body in its entirety. The performers were enthusiastically applauded and we understand that the financial results of the entertainment were most satisfactory.⁴¹³

festbehaupteten Hausherren vertreten. Alles ist europaeisch-modern An den Waenden haengen zumeist auch wertvolle Gemaelde deutscher, englischer und fransözücher Meister.”

⁴¹⁰ Schulz-Labischin, Ibid, pp. 139-141.

⁴¹¹ *The Oriental Advertiser*, 6 May 1908.

⁴¹² Schulz-Labischin, Ibid, pp. 140-142.

⁴¹³ *The Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, 9 May 1908.

In the following day, the polyphonic choral arrangement of the *Hamidiye March*, which was prepared and taught by Lange himself, was learned by the Choral Society of Berlin. Having visited the Prince Islands, the next step was going to be Sultan Abdülhamid II. In the entrance of the Yıldız Palace, the choristers had seen the military band of Sultan Abdülhamid II, which was playing the national anthem of the Germans.⁴¹⁴ The performance of *Berliner Liedertafel* started with the polyphonic arrangement of the *Hamidiye March*, which was applauded only by Sultan Abdülhamid II. Moreover, he was noticed looking to the choir with admiring eyes, right in the beginning. Wilhelm Richard Wagner's *Pilgrim's Chorus*, many folk songs, such as "Kommt ein Vögel geflogen," "Guten Abend, gute Nacht," "Mein Heimal," "Loreley," were all performed and the soloist Herr Kalweit was appreciated by the Ottoman Sultan very much.⁴¹⁵

The German Ambassador Marschall von Bieberstein and some members of the Embassy were also present in the Yıldız Theater. After the concert, Sultan Abdülhamid II expressed his satisfaction with the performance in front of the audience and the members of *Berliner Liedertafel*. The kind words of the sultan were translated by von Bieberstein.⁴¹⁶

Labischen lets us know that the performance of the Choral Society of Berlin was the first live choir concert in the life of the Ottoman Sultan. The members of the Choral Society were awarded with *Sanayi* medallion for their contribution to the art,

⁴¹⁴ Schulz- Labischin, Ibid, pp. 152-153.

⁴¹⁵ Ibid, p. 153.

⁴¹⁶ *The Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, 9 May 1908.

by an adjutant on behalf of Sultan Abdülhamid II. Following that two conductors of the choir, the directors of the society were awarded with *Üçüncü Derece Mecidiye Nişanı*; two soloists and rest of the board with *Dördüncü Derece Osmani Nişanı*, “surprisingly” by Sultan Abdülhamid II, himself.⁴¹⁷

That day two silver churns were dedicated to the *Teutonia*, which are in 2010 still available in the club. The gifts of Sultan Abdülhamid II and his praiseful words extended with the following: “H. I. M the Sultan was pleased to authorize the band of the Imperial Yacht Ertougroul to perform at the concert which was given by the “*Berliner Liedertafel*” on Thursday at the petit Champs Amphitheatre. The band was conducted by Professor Lange Bey.”⁴¹⁸

The members of the *Berliner Liedertafel* left the Yıldız Palace with most satisfaction and unforgettable memories such as the moment right after the first song, when a court official said whispering to the conductors, that he should change his stance by conducting because the sultan should not see his back.⁴¹⁹ And, in the rest of the performance, perhaps for the first time in their lives, the members of the *Berliner Liedertafel* could not see their conductor in his traditional position! After the concert,

⁴¹⁷ Schulz-Labischin, Ibid, pp. 155-156.

⁴¹⁸ *The Levant Herald and Eastern Express*, 9 May 1908.

⁴¹⁹ Edited from Wolfgang Görsch, in: *Berliner Liedertafel Mitteilungsblatt*, “Damals war’s vor 100 Jahren. 1908: Orientreise der Berliner Liedertafel, (Berlin: Selbstverlag des Vereins, August-September 2008), pp. 14-18.

the choristers went to the *Teutonia*, “where their friends were waiting for them,” and had a party. In the words of Labischen, “this time, the drinks tasted much better!”⁴²⁰

Following the “very successful” performance of the *Berliner Liedertafel* at the Petit Champs, another party took place at the *Teutonia*. The members of the *Berliner Liedertafel* were very glad to meet so “generous” and “warm-hearted” hosts, who were the members of various German associations in İstanbul, adchiefly that of the *Teutonia*. For the Choral Society of Berlin, these Germans who resided in İstanbul are under the protection of “the German eagle, which spreads its wings over the distant sons of the kingdom, that the German flag blowing in all the coasts. Pride, it also blows here!”⁴²¹ The hosts were also very happy to be with their guests from the fatherland, because the transfer of the High German culture and knowledge from its origin was very substantial due to their mission affirming “highness” of the “German culture, German soul, German science,” which had found its place in the world.⁴²²

⁴²⁰ Schulz-Labischin, Ibid, p. 156.

“In der *Teutonia*, wo unsre Freunde auf uns warteten, schmeckte diesmal der Nachttrunk ganz besonders gut und immer ‘noch mehr’.”

⁴²¹ Ibid, pp. 109-110.

“der deutsche Aar seine Schwingen breitet auch über die entferntesten Söhne des Reiches, dass die deutsche Flagge weht an allen Küsten. Stolz weht sie auch hier.”

⁴²² Ibid, pp. 109-110.

“Nicht mehr sind sie für die Heimat verlorene Kinder, sie werden Pioniere deutscher Kultur, deutschen Geistes, deutscher Wissenschaft, die sich überall in der Welt ihren Platz errungen haben und ihn behaupten.”

CONCLUSION

Music has a special ability to transport us back to certain moments in time and those moments play back in our minds like images on a movie screen. From childhood till death, special moments such as graduation, wedding or funeral ceremonies, a common point exists there: music! Furthermore, music has been an integral part of human society for thousands and hundreds of years. Music could be defined as the rhythm of a “nation,” lyrical diary of a “civilization.”

Throughout history, music and ideologies have co-existed. But it is not so easy to understand whether an aesthetic of the producer or of the consumer makes music a field of cooperation with these ideologies. If the first possibility is valid, the general perception of music was that it was a field of an ideological practice, is on the scene. “Music itself as ideology,” then music should be referred as a semantic code as done by Saussure or some other vulgar Marxist musicologists. On the other hand, the post-modernists, who contributed to the new perception of the second possibility that the aesthetic of the consumer has a major role in terms of the relationship between the product of art and the ideology, had in mind the following question: “Could we think of music then as outside of ideology to the extent that it is non-verbal?” This tradition especially Frankfurt School and “Western Marxism” - with the exception of Gramsci- maintain “some form or other of the art and ideology distinction, with a characteristic ethical-epistemological privileging of the aesthetic

over the ideological.”⁴²³ While I was reading these statements, I felt that I could not decide in which part of the balance I am supposed to stay. But through this study, I have become convinced for the first option, because music has always been instrumentalized from the late Ottoman Empire onwards, up until today.

The concept of national identity in Turkey has many connotations, among which common culture plays an important leading role. One might argue that there is a direct relationship between culture and national identity in the formation of the Turkish nation and the Turkish nation-state. Making use of culture to make historical references, and exploiting these values in the search for a national identity, are indispensable vehicles of the Republican practices.

The “Turkish Nation-State” (*Ulus Devlet*) model, the foundations of which were laid in the early 1900s, clearly stated in 1923 that the identity of the young Turkish Republic would be formed by making references to Asian and Anatolian history. Within this new order, taking form with the statement that “the foundation of the Turkish Republic is culture,” music definitely had a valuable and meaningful place. Wanting to build its new identity on “its own culture,” the Republican ideology was of course obliged to define those cultural elements that were “its own.” Music was assigned an important duty in the formation of the new Turkish identity. When he was asked the famous question: “which music would reflect our national identity?” the founder of Turkish nationalism Ziya Gökalp had replied: “folk music!”

Though various types of nationalisms occurred in the Ottoman scene in the late nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth century, Kemalist

⁴²³ <http://www3.iath.virginia.edu/pmc/text-only/issue.990/beverley.990> [21 December 2008].

nationalism consolidated its “success” among the other types, especially following the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. Music has been very much instrumentalized in the nation-building process by the Kemalist Republicans. The re-understanding of the original nature of Turkish folk culture became the point of origin for the nationalist vision. Polyphonic music achieved a new perspective in the course of this transition period. In the Early Republican Period, the idealism of achieving Western norms appeared primarily with reforms that aim at scientific development. Accordingly, many social reforms in the fields of history, linguistics, etc. were guided with the nationalistic view.

One year after the declaration of Turkish Republic, in 1924, *Tevhîd-i Tedrîsât Kanûnu* (Law on the Unification of Education) had been introduced, which brought major changes to education. Law on the Academy of Music and Performance (*Mûsiki ve Temsîl Akademisi*) which was also issued at the very same year and it signaled a reform in the field of music education. To this end, Turkish composers and musicians were expected to learn the Western Classical Music techniques very well and to combine these techniques with the folkloric resources of their country, where the role of *Musiki Muâllim Mektebi* (Music Teachers’ School) founded in 1924 should not be omitted. Moreover, in 1925, governmental scholarship examinations were introduced for the talented music students to provide them an education on composition and musical interpretation and so some of them had been sent to main European music centers such as Budapest, Prague, Paris, Berlin, and etc. to learn the “Western” polyphonic music system.

In 1928, the same scholarship examination was re-introduced. Among those who have got state grants were Ulvi Cemal Erkin, A. Adnan Saygun, Necil Kazım

Akses, and Hasan Ferit Alnar. These composers who were later called the Turkish Five with the inclusion of Cemal Reşit Rey had private music education in the late period of the Ottoman Empire, in cosmopolitan Ottoman cities such as İstanbul and İzmir. These musicians, who were sent to Europe, were later appointed as professors in Music Teachers' School in Ankara, following their return to Turkey.

Above in last three paragraphs, the instrumentalization of music hand in hand with folklore in the nation-building process was tried to be described. There is a vast literature on the importance of folklore and folk music in the initial years of the Turkish Republic. What is emphasized in this literature? The “success” of the Republican regime and how it helped to the “modernization” of Turkey! What was lacking in these books, for me, is that although one should admit that in the first phase of the Republican period what is tried to be done was revolutionary, however, they never dealt with the previous periods in terms of their cultural policies. The Republic in this kind of literature brought all novelties, but neglected the Ottoman heritage on purpose. Moreover the possibility of “constructivist nature” of the Turkish nation and they neglected other types of nationalisms, they never talked about the Committee of Union and Progress era (1908-1918) in terms of its propagandas and their use or misuse of music.

According to the official Republican Turkish historiography, the period covering 1923-1929 was the “reconstruction period” of the state institutions and the economy of Turkey, in line with the Turkish Republic. In those years, the state always intervened in the economical, political, religious and social aspects of the society directly or indirectly. In the Early Republican Period, the target was to go beyond the Western civilization. This historiography perceives the movements

within the education system, based on the Western model, as well as in the military and the political arena during the Ottoman period as “some restoration movements.” Especially the period of the *Tanzîmât* and the following years have been mentioned, however, the stress is always on the powerful effect of the Turkish Republic regarding music as part of “modernization.” Western polyphonic music education and its institutionalization were not though systemized according to this view. The works in this line start narrating the story of Westernization of music with the Republican era and disregard the long process of Westernization which had previously started to take place in the late eighteenth century, followed by the *Tanzîmât* Era, and continued even in the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II. Works by Emre Aracı, Vedat Kosal and Pars Tuğlacı challenge in this sense the Republican stance, because their works focus solely on the Westernization of music in the Ottoman Empire. However, the common problem of these works is that, all of these authors focus only on the production side of music and none of these names narrate us what happened in terms of the musical consumption and what happened in terms of music, outside the boundaries of the palace.

The books and articles written by Emre Aracı, Nihat Ergin, Vedat Kosal and Pars Tuğlacı regarding the late Ottoman Empire or the works by Şenol Durgun, Fethiye Erbay, Filiz Ali regarding the Republican Era are very important contributions to the field. However, none of the works by these authors focus on music, in terms of its political instrumentalization, for the political ambitions of the rulers.

This thesis intended to examine music as a political tool in the late Ottoman politics, stating that from the period of Sultan Selim III, music acquired a political

significance. Music had been used as a ‘political instrument’ through its performance and its consumption in the Ottoman imperial celebrations. This newly ‘Westernized’ music with its new artistic genres became a powerful instrument by disseminating the ideologies of the Ottoman intelligentsia. The evolution of Western Classical Music had an important acceleration in the Hamidian Era. Considering the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II, it should be stated that music was influenced by the Westernizing agenda very much due to the obsession of Sultan Abdülhamid II: “we are equal to the Europeans” as mentioned by Deringil. In his reign, mass performances of Western Classical Music had taken place, including the musical activities, which were organized at the *Teutonia* or by the *Teutonia*. This study intended to fulfill the gap in the historiography by dealing with music through its political instrumentalization. Through the case study of the *Teutonia*, this thesis unintentionally would contribute to the historiography on German cultural imperialism in the Ottoman Empire, as well.

Etymologically, imperialism comes from the Latin term *imperium* which means to command; thence the term imperialism implies a hierarchical structure and a symbiotic relationship between the two states, one exercising power and exploitation over the other. Therefore, imperialism could be defined as the belief in the desirability of the acquisition of colonies and dependencies, or the extension of a country’s influence through trade, diplomacy, culture and further media. Commonly associated with the policy of direct extension of sovereignty and dominion over non-contiguous and often distant overseas territories, it also denotes indirect political or economic control of powerful states over weaker peoples. Regarded also as a doctrine based on the use of deliberate force, imperialism has been subject to moral

censure by its critiques, and thus the term is frequently used in international propaganda as a pejorative for expansionist and aggressive foreign policy.

On the other hand, the term “colony” derives from *colonus* meaning farmer. Thus, it draws attention to the practice of colonialism where the new colonizers lived as permanent settlers in the newly colonized territories. However in this way, the colonizers maintained political allegiance to their country of origin. Colonialism normally refers to a period of history from the fifteenth to the twentieth century when people from Europe built colonies on other continents, and exported the ideals, ideologies, belief system, cultures, life-styles of their motherland -in the German case, fatherland- to these colonized peoples. The reasons for a belief in colonialism at this time include: the profits to be made, to expand the power of the home nation, to escape persecution in the home nation, to convert the indigenous population to the colonists’ religion, etc.

Taking the descriptions of colonization above into consideration, one should argue that a colonial policy precedes imperialism. This traditional understanding perceives protective policy for the colonies. In this conventional interpretation, colonialism must lead to imperialism. However, Edward Said with his seminal work *Orientalism* reversed the order between imperialism and colonialism. In his terms, “the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory,” gives path to colonialism meaning “the implanting of settlements on distant territory.” Moreover, Edward Said asserts that while “direct colonialism has largely ended [meaning in contemporary society]; imperialism... lingers where it

has always been, in a kind of general cultural sphere as well as in specific political, ideological, economic, and social practices.”⁴²⁴

In the late nineteenth century huge amount of capital had been invested to the peripheral areas by the industrialized West. The expansion of European powers started centuries before: since the Crusades and the age of “discoveries,” the legitimacy of colonialism has been a *problematique* in the field of political philosophy. Nineteenth century can be called as the peak of irony in terms of the legitimization of European sovereignty over non-Western populations, because there were many political philosophers who called themselves as men of “Universalism and Equality.” These men simultaneously spoke in defense of the legitimacy of colonialism and imperialism, thanks to *mission civilisatrice* or “white men’s burden” concepts both claiming that Western powers would bring their civilization to the non-Western peoples. They believed that temporarily political dependence or tutelage is necessary for the “uncivilized” societies to reach the level of sustaining liberal institutions and self-government. Thousands of works had been produced by Westerners that were criticized later on by post-colonial critiques.

As stated before, the nineteenth century was a turning point for the destiny of the Ottoman Empire. Diplomatic and economic relations with the European Great Powers dominated the nineteenth century. Taking Edward Said’s description of imperialism into account, one is able to argue that the Ottoman Empire had to face imperialist attempts from the West. French, British, and in the end German

⁴²⁴ [Quoted in: Illich, Ibid, p.24.](#)

imperialism tried to be influential in the Ottoman territories. The “Westernization” process in the Ottoman Empire, in some ways, prepared the necessary ground for this. Ottoman élites started to be educated in the European style, and their life-styles started to become “Westernized,” in this process. In the beginning, in the eyes of the members of this élite, present Western culture used to be synonymous to French culture. Especially after the Enlightenment and the consequent French Revolution, and since the *Tanzîmât* Era, for all of the Ottoman reform attempts, French culture had been taken as the model for Ottoman modernization and reform movements. Numerous books from French had been translated, the children of the Ottoman élite attended to the French schools, where the basic language of education was French.

Since the 1870’s, German culture started to compete in the Ottoman lands to the French culture, although the translations of German books into the Ottoman language had already started earlier. The reason for that was explained by Selçuk Akşin Somel, who stated that the majority of the German translated publications were related to military training or war tactics. Another focus was on German language teaching and dictionaries. According to him, comparatively speaking, topics such as politics, history, education, medicine and health, had only a little percentage.⁴²⁵ In the 1870’s, there existed some publications in Ottoman language on Germany. However, they were giving only encyclopedic information,⁴²⁶ but starting from the 1900’s onwards, Ottomans knew many things about Germany through the dissemination of German culture via various channels. German speaking population, which started to migrate to the Ottoman territories from the 1840’s onwards, played a

⁴²⁵ https://research.sabanciuniv.edu/11819/1/Somel_Almanlar_Istanbulda.pdf (20 August 2010)

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

crucial role in this process of transition. The place called the *Teutonia*, where these German speaking people gathered, had a significant meaning in terms of the introduction of the German culture, mainly music, to the Ottoman people.

Music was playing a very important vital role within the club life of the *Teutonia*, by gathering innumerable people from different backgrounds. The musical activities that were organized at or by the *Teutonia* were very popular. They had an international audience thanks to the international nature of music, having no language.⁴²⁷ While only the German speaking people could watch the theater performances at the *Teutonia*, in the light of the press of the period, it is observed that the concerts organized by or at the *Teutonia* were participated by Ottoman citizens and other foreign people in İstanbul in addition to the German audience. Therefore, music had been chosen as the primary tool of the German imperialist agenda. As tried to be illustrated, the choice of repertoires in the concerts were not arbitrary. For instance, the rise of nationalism could be detected by looking at the concert programmes. The preferences of heroic songs, compositions by “nationalist” figures such as Wilhelm Richard Wagner, even the performances of propaganda songs in the Republican Era had proved that music has been politically instrumentalized under the roof of the *Teutonia*. The fact that the activities of the *Teutonia* had to stop in the Armistice period, because the club had been occupied by Y.M.C.A. would be a very legitimate proof that the activities of the *Teutonia* were perceived as rival and “imperialist” by the Allies. Moreover, after the re-opening of the club in the early Republican Era, the music again appeared on the stage of the

⁴²⁷ Schulz-Labischin, Ibid, p. 102.

“*Grenzen überspringenden das deutsche Wort und das deutsche Lied einigt*,” which means “the German ‘song’ and ‘word’ went beyond the political boundaries,” in English.

Teutonia as a vital tool for the politization. Right before the ban of the club during the Second World War, agitative propaganda songs of the Nazis had been applauded *fortissimo*. In my perspective, all these underline the use of music as a political tool in the activities of the *Teutonia*.

All in all, the Ottomans were one of the populations, which were influenced by various forms of Western imperialisms. Having mentioned the historiographical debates on the German imperialism in the Ottoman Empire in the beginning of the second chapter, throughout the study, Edward Said's definition of imperialism has been kept in mind; and through the case study of the *Teutonia*, it was shown that German informal, or in other words indirect, cultural imperialism existed in the Ottoman Empire. The main hypothesis of this study is that music has been instrumentalized for the political goals of not only Germany, but also Ottoman Empire, as well.

First, the evolution of Western Classical Music in the Ottoman Empire had been narrated. Through this story, it is shown that the consumption of Western Classical Music from the reign of Sultan Selim III onwards, and its undeterred rise was very much related to the "catching up with the West" ideals of the Ottomans. Then, through the case of the *Teutonia*, this hypothesis of this study tried to be proved. The highest peak of the rise of the activities, which were organized by the *Teutonia*, had been reached in the Hamidian Era. Obviously, it was no coincidence. The German and Ottoman policies of the period let this situation to become real. In the section where musical activities of the *Teutonia* had been dealt with in details, one should have observed that music has been perceived as a tool of the German cultural imperialism. This statement could be proved by the account of Schulz-

Labischin: “the German eagle, which spreads its wings over the distant sons of the kingdom, that the German flag blowing in all the coasts. Pride, it also blows here!”⁴²⁸

The concerts series of the *Berliner Liedertafel* organized by the *Teutonia* referred to “the transfer of the ‘high’ German culture and knowledge from its origin.” These concerts were very important, because they affirmed all the listening Ottomans - including Sultan Abdülhamid II, himself- of the “highness” of the “German culture, German soul, German science,” which had found its place in the world.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁸ Ibid, pp. 109-110.

“*der deutsche Aar seine Schwingen breitet auch über die entferntesten Söhne des Reiches, dass die deutsche Flagge weht an allen Küsten. Stolz weht sie auch hier.*”

⁴²⁹ Ibid, pp. 109-110.

“*Nicht mehr sind sie für die Heimat verlorene Kinder, sie werden Pioniere deutscher Kultur, deutschen Geistes, deutscher Wissenschaft, die sich überall in der Welt ihren Platz errungen haben und ihn behaupten.*”

APPENDIX A

The Levant Herald and Express

15.05.1891

25.05.1891

20.01.1906

27.01.1906

08.12.1906

03.02.1902

THE "WIENER MÄNNERGESANG VEREIN."

THE SPECIAL train bringing one hundred and seventy-one members of the celebrated Vienna Choral Society arrived on Monday evening at the Sirkedji railway station, being received there by several members of the Austro-Hungarian Embassy. In some sixty carriages the whole party came up to Pera where apartments had been bespoken in the different hotels.

A Sofia telegram, dated Monday, gives the following particulars of the arrival of the members of the "Wiener Männergesang Verein," in that town and the reception extended to it:—

The special train conveying the members of the "Wiener Männergesangverein" arrived here about 10 o'clock. The excursionists were received at the station by the Austro-Hungarian colony. There were also present at the station: the President of the Council, the Grand Marshal of the Court; several officers, and several members of the diplomatic body. In and around the station there was a large crowd who enthusiastically greeted the tourists as the train steamed into the station. The President of the colony addressed a few words of welcome to the company. The President of the Society, Chevalier d'Olschauer, replied, his speech being loudly applauded. The Verein then sang its motto-song *Frei und Treu* and two other *lieder* which were highly appreciated. At a quarter past ten the train left for Constantinople.

The concert given on Tuesday night at the Austro-Hungarian embassy by the Vienna choral society, was, as generally expected, a great success, both in point of attendance and as regards the rendering of the several pieces included in the programme. The organising committee deserves much praise for the perfection of all the arrangements taken in view of this artistic event, and for the intelligence with which they were carried out. The choral society has shown that it fully deserves the wide-spread reputation it enjoys in Austria and Germany, where it ranks with the first choral societies in existence. The precision, spirit, and mastery with which all the items of the programme were rendered are above all praise, and the concert proved a real treat for the Pera public. During the intervals a military band, graciously sent by the Sultan, played in the gardens.

Among those present were all the members of the diplomatic body, and several Ottoman functionaries, viz., Munir Pasha, Honorary President of the Committee; Kinsim Bey, secretary of the Sultan; Madjid Bey; Munif Pasha, Minister of Public Instruction; Ibrahim Bey, Munir Bey, and Naoum Bey.

At the end of the first part of the programme the Baroness de Calice, led by the Baron de Call, ascended the stage and attached a richly embroidered ribbon on the banner of the choral society, as a token of the gratitude of the Austrian Benevolent Society, the concert being given for the benefit of this society and that of the Asylum for the Poor. The Ambassadress also presented a laurel wreath to M. Kremsor, director of the choir of the Vienna choral society. This scene elicited much applause from the audience.

Favoured by magnificent weather, the excursion made on Thursday by the members of the Vienna Choral Society on a visit to Constantinople proved a success in every respect. The members of the Society and their numerous guests, including several ladies, and a few journalists, took passage on board the Mahsousseh steamer No 14, placed at the disposal of the Choral Society. Shortly before eleven the steamer left the bridge, while the *Hamidieh March* was being played by an orchestra under the direction of M. Filippo Savastri followed by the Austria National anthem, all present standing. Both anthems were enthusiastically applauded. The vessel steamed up the Bosphorus. At Mezirbournou it veered round, arriving at Kadikouï at two o'clock p. m. During the trip several songs were given by the Choral Society, and there being a number of ladies on board some dancing was indulged in to the strains of the orchestra, the spacious platform of the No 14 lending itself beautifully to the purpose. A well-provided buffet supplied all sorts of refreshments. The members of the Choral Society and their guests landed at Kadikouï and formed a group on the landing stage which was photographed. Hereupon, the Society sang its motto-*lied*, to the great delight of the numerous persons attracted to the spot; the excursionists then reembarked on board the steamer which left for the Prince's Islands. The inhabitants

of Prinkipo were favoured in the same fashion as those of Kadikei. Here, too, the choir landed and sang their motto-song before an appreciative crowd. From Prinkipo the vessel returned to the Golden Horn, arriving at the Karakei, bridge about 5 p. m.

Fine weather favoured, too, the concert given by the Vienna Choral Society in co-operation with M. P. Lange's orchestra, for the joint benefit of the Austro-Hungarian Benevolent Society and the Constantinople Asylum for the Poor, which took place on Thursday night in the Taksim gardens. The grounds over their whole extent were hung with lanterns. At the end of a large square laid off by a wooden railing, a temporary stage and screen had been thrown up to protect the singers from the wind. After M. Lange's orchestra had performed the *Hamidich March* and several other selections, the choir sang their motto-song *Frei und Treu* and then through the programme, each rendering eliciting loud applause. This was specially the case with a tenor solo and a quartette. This latter was encored three times.

At the end of the first part of the programme, M. Lange, after a speech in which he thanked the Society for their presence, in behalf of the Constantinople Choral Society, attached the colours of that association to the banner of the Wiener Gesang Verein, where among others were hanging the colours presented on Tuesday evening by the Baroness de Calice. This interesting ceremony was greeted by the choir with loud "hochea." Speeches followed from Choir Master, M. Ed. Kremsor, and from the President of the Association.

At the conclusion of the last chorus, which ended about half-past twelve, the singers leaving the stage were greeted by loud cheers by the large number of people assembled in the gardens, who thus showed their thorough appreciation of the evening's performances.

THE DORCAS BALL.

One of the great social events of the season, the annual ball of the Dorcas Society, came off on Wednesday night at the "Teutonia," of which the rooms were fitted up in a style worthy of the occasion. The Dorcas balls have acquired legitimate fame in consequence of their high standard of elegance, which, however, never degenerates into stiff and "dignified" stolidity. Last night's ball was certainly no exception to the rule. A large and fashionable crowd thronged the beautifully decorated halls, dancing to the rhythms of an excellent band, chatting, promenading, or flirting—a most harmonious and lively-coloured picture of pleasant sociability. To enhance the genuineness of the pleasure, no reference to the British Chamber of Commerce dispute was made. H.M.'s Ambassador and Lady O'Connor arrived at 10.30, and were greeted with the National Anthem. The British Colony turned out in full force and expressed its gratification at the very satisfactory arrangements by unstinted praise, which the Committee, in fact, fully deserves.

Lady O'Connor, who was wearing a pink gown veiled with tulle, and gold sequins, was presented by Mrs. Lamb with a bouquet of white lilac and roses.

The decoration of the ball-room was indeed beautiful. The walls were covered with festoons of evergreens, and ropes of ivy were suspended from the chandeliers. The stage was most tastefully adorned with lovely crimson carpets, and made a charming sitting room.

The supper-room also presented a pretty *coup d'oeil*, all the tables being draped with smilax and adorned with pots of maiden-hair and primulas.

A smoking-room and card-room were provided for non-dancers.

Each lady was presented with a pretty souvenir in the form of an artistic hand-painted programme.

At midnight there was an interval for supper, and then the dancing was continued and kept up with great entrain till a late hour.

The Committee is much to be congratulated on the success of the ball, and particular thanks are due to Mr. Robert Pardo who kindly provided all the carpets required for the decoration of the Teutonia, amongst which we noticed some of remarkable beauty. Mr. Pardo, whose excellent taste is so well-known, personally superintended the decoration of all the rooms, which was most effective and indeed the prettiest seen in Pera for a long time.

As we anticipated, the Dorcas ball was a thorough success both from a social and financial point of view.

THE GERMAN EMPEROR'S BIRTHDAY

A special service was performed this morning in the German Chapel at Ainali Tchessmé in observance of the birthday of the Emperor William. The congregation included H.E. the German Ambassador, the German Consul-General, and the members of the Embassy and Consulate-General, the commander and officers of the Loreley, and a large number of German residents.

The service was followed by a reception of the Colony at the Embassy.

The Loreley and all the foreign stationaires, as well as the Ottoman guardship at Salibazar, have dressed ship to-day in honour of the Emperor's birthday.

A banquet of 130 covers will take place to-night at the Teutonia and will be attended by H.E. the Baron Marschall von Bieberstein and all the members of the Embassy and Consulate-General.

There will further be a ball at the Handwerker-Verein which will be honoured by the presence of the Ambassador.

The birthday of the Emperor William was fittingly celebrated yesterday at the German School. At nine o'clock in the morning all the pupils assembled in the large hall and Professor Kuss gave an address in which he spoke lengthily of the Imperial Family. Later in the morning Professor Eissen, delivered a lecture on the relations between Persian, Arabic and Turkish literatures and Occidental literatures, dwelling on the relations existing between German and Tur-

kish literatures and the influence exercised by the one on the other of recent years particularly since the visit of the Emperor William to Constantinople. Amongst those present were H.E. the German Ambassador, M. Weise, a number of officers of the Loreley, the parents of the pupils and many others.

THE FIRM OF HERMANN HOLSTEIN.

The well-known import and export firm of Hermann Holstein celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation to-morrow. This firm was established in Constantinople on Dec. 9 1856 by M. Hermann Holstein, who devoted his whole life to the development of German trade in Turkey and who, in recognition of his valuable services, had received from his Government the title of Commercial Adviser. Since M. Hermann Holstein's death, in 1903, the business has been ably managed by M. Carl Holstein, the deceased eldest son. On the occasion of the jubilee, M. Carl Holstein has compiled a handsome illustrated album concerning the firm, and has distributed copies to his very numerous clients and friends. On Sunday night he is giving a dinner of upwards of 100 covers at the Teutonia.

BIRTHDAY OF THE GERMAN EMPEROR.

THE EMPEROR William on Monday telegraphed to the Sultan thanking his Majesty for the congratulatory message he had sent him on the occasion of his birthday.

His Imperial Highness Prince Birkhard-Effendi, accompanied by Ibrahim Bey, Grand Master of Ceremonies, and by Vice-Admiral Hikmet Pasha, A.D.C. of his Majesty, on Monday afternoon called on the Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, German Ambassador, and presented to his Excellency the compliments of his august father, Halilpasha Bey, of the Grand Vizierate, and Saadeddin Bey, of the Foreign Office, also went to the Embassy and congratulated the Ambassador on behalf of their respective chiefs.

At noon the Ambassador, surrounded by the members of the Embassy and Consulate, and the Commander and officers of the despatch-vessel Loreley, held a reception of the colony. His Excellency delivered a short address, and afterwards invited his guests to take refreshments at a buffet where toasts were proposed to the health of the Emperor, the Empress, and the members of the Imperial family.

At luncheon, the Baron Marschall entertained the members of the Embassy, M. Steinhilber, Consul-General, the staff of the Consulate, and some of the German officers in the service of the Ottoman Government.

In the evening there was a banquet at the Teutonia under the presidency of the Ambassador. The company, which numbered one hundred and twenty, included the Consul-General, the members of the Embassy, the Consulate, and the post-office, the Commander and officers of the Loreley, the civil and military German officials in the service of the Ottoman Government, the headmaster and teachers of the Burgerschule, and the principal members of the colony. At dessert the Baron Marschall von Bieberstein made an eloquent speech in which he alluded to all that had been achieved by Germans in the Ottoman Empire. He spoke of the Burgerschule, of the Germans in the Turkish service, and concluded with some interesting remarks on German industry in Turkey. The Ambassador's speech was loudly applauded, and his Excellency afterwards read to the company the text of a telegram which was sent to the Emperor in the name of the colony, and which was unanimously approved. On leaving the Teutonia, the Baron, with some members of the Embassy and of the colony, went to the Deutscher Handwerker Verein where a party had been organized to celebrate the event of the day, and where he delivered a second speech which was followed by toasts to the health of the German Emperor and of the Sultan.

The Empress Augusta Victoria's birthday present to the Emperor this year is a medal, in Carrara marble, of her Majesty's hand with the wedding ring on it. The hand, which is of natural size, was modelled and sculptured by Reinhold Begas, and it rests on a velvet cushion attached to a marble slab.

The birthday honours this year conferred by the Emperor William include the appointment of General von der Goltz, Inspector-General of Fortresses and of the Engineer and Pioneer Corps, to the command of the Eleventh Army Corps,

stationed at Königsberg, in Prussia. His Imperial Majesty has further bestowed upon the General the Grand Cross of the Red Eagle.

APPENDIX B

Osmanischer Lloyd

24.08.1917

10.11.1883

30.12.1883

16.11.1917

14.11.1917

01.05.1918

19.03.1918

19.05.1918

23.06.1918



Osmanischer Lloyd

ANZEIGEN

Die Millimeterzelle: 16

Generalvertreter für Deutschland

ROBERT ROSENTHAL, BERLIN W. 35

POTSDAMERSTRASSE 39

Schiffahrt und Geschäftsstelle
PERALZUMBOSTR. NO. 29
HOLSTEIN-HAN.

Telegramm-Adressa: OSMANLOYD

GEN
:ILE
RA
3 Mo.
-27
-40
-8
9.75
-10.50
3/204

Schwere Kämpfe in Flandern

iff auf die englische Küste—Fortdauer der Isonzoschlacht

is „Osmarischen Lloyd“
che Seiten.

der englischen
ster.

st immer den Anspruch
Kampf gegen die Mittel-
für die sittliche Welt-
sie stellt hierfür das

Osmanischer Kriegsbericht

A. M. — Das Kaiserlich Osmanische Hauptquartier meldet unter dem 23. August:

1. **Dialafrent:** Feindliche Hauptkzzen streuten unsere Stellungen auf dem Djabel Hamrin ab. Rückwärtige Bewegungen des Gegners sind erkannt.

2. In Persien: verloren die Russen in dem Gefecht am 19. August nördlich Bisan 200 Tote und 6000 Mann.

Antilcher Kriegsspiegel.

4. Sinfiront: Unsere Artillerie nahm mit
ihrem Erfolg feindliche Transportkolonnen und
Feuer.

Verbesserung. Infolge uns zugegenen und menschlichen Manuskriptes haben sich im türkischen Heeresarchiv verschiedene Druckfehler eingeschlichen. So muß es in demjenigen vom 22. August in dem 3. Absatz 3. Zeile heißen: „Kurzzeit

ausgerichtet. Welche Stellen haben wir dann eigentlich, daß die dann verwirklichte Mann, die Wahrheit sagen, ich möchte nicht weiter gehen und noch andere mögliche Beispiele anführen. Jeder kann sich selbst eine Liste machen. Ich würde nur die allgemeine Erkenntnis zu fordern, daß wir uns die Leitung unserer Staatsorgane Männern überantworten, auf die wir irgendeine Art von Anwendung finden Männer, die in partizipativem Sinne wie in Bezug auf ihre Gehälter besetzte Leute sind, die auf dem Standpunkt des „Business as usual“ stehen und dazu beitragen sind, die in der Kunst partizipativ

THÉÂTRE DU JARDIN MUNICIPAL DES PETITS CHAMPS



Aujourd'hui, samedi 10 Novembre 1883.
à 9 h. précises du soir.

GRANDE REPRÉSENTATION EXTRAORDINAIRE A L'OCCASION DU GRACIEUX CONCOURS DE :

M^{me} PHILIPPINE D'EDELSBERG.

La Compagnie d'opéra italien dirigée par
M. CASTAGNA donnera :

LUCREZIA BORGIA

grand opéra melodramatique en trois actes
Musique de Ronizetti.

Le rôle de Lucrezia sera rempli par M^{me}
PHILIPPINE D'EDELSBERG.

Personnages de la pièce :

Don Alphonse . . .	M ^r COSTELLO.
Lucrezia Borgia . . .	M ^{me} D'EDELSBERG.
Gennaro	M ^r E. CASTAGNA.
Maffio Orsini . . .	M ^{me} F. VILLARI.
Cobello	M ^r P. MOSCA.

L'orchestre sera dirigé par le M. RAPHAEL BICCI.

Prix des places.

Loges hautes . . .	Lit. Tarq. 1	} y compris 4 entr.
Bel étage . . .		
les 5 loges de 1 ^{re} . . .	1	
les autres loges . . .	Fl. 25	

Parterres : P. 25. — Stalles : P. 15. — Entrées : P. 10.

CONCERTS TEUTONIA

—0—

Dimanche, 30 décembre 1883 à 4 h^{rs}. p. m.

—0—

Deuxième concert vocal et instrumental
exécute

PAR LE TEUTONIA-MANNERCHOR

ET UN ORCHESTRE

SOUS LA DIRECTION DE M. P. LANGE.

=====

PREMIERE PARTIE.

1. Beethoven..... *Ouverture, EGMONT*, Orchestre.
2. Mich Praetorius. *Es ist ein' Ros' entsprungen*,
(1571-1621) Teutonia-Mannerchor et
chœur d'enfants.
3. Chopin..... *Marche funèbre*, Orchestre.
4. J. Haydn..... *Symphonie en Sol majeur*,
(1732-1809) Orchestre.

DEUXIEME PARTIE.

5. O. Nicolai..... *Ouverture l'opéra, DIE*
(1810-849) *LESTIGEN WEIBER*
WINDSON, Orchestre.
6. Schaffer..... *Le Postillon*, Teutonia-Man-
nerchor et Solo de corne
à piston.
7. Vogt..... *Fantaisie sur le chant popu-*
laire, IN EINEM KULEN
GRUNDE, Orchestre.
8. Mohring..... *Gute Nacht*, Teutonia-Man-
nerchor et Solon Solo.
9. Sodermann..... *Marche nuptiale Suédoise*,
Orchestre.

Les portes de la salle seront fermées pendant
l'exécution des pièces.

124

Deutscher Männer-Gesang-Verein.

Konstantinopel.

Liederabend zu wohltätigen Zwecken am Donnerstag, 6. Dez. 17, abends 9 Uhr in den *Sälen der Teutonia*, unter freundlicher Mitwirkung des Damenchores und des Herrn Kapellmeisters Harania (Geige)

Vortragsordnung:

1. **Männerchor:** a) K. Kreutzer, Schäfers Sonntagslied; b) T. Koschat, D'Hoamkehr; c) R. Wagner, Pilgerchor aus Tannhäuser.
2. **Frauenchor:** R. Schumann, Chor der Huris aus „Paradies und Peri“.
3. **Violinvorträge:** a) Ch. de Bériot, Scène de Ballet; b) A. Harania, Romance bohémienne für Violine allein; c) J. Raff, Kavaline.
4. **Männerchor:** J. Brahms, Drei Volkslieder, a) Erlaube mir, feins Mädchen; b) Da unten im Tale; c) Dort in den Weiden.
5. **Gemischter Chor:** a) R. Kühnel, Der Veilchenstrauss; b) R. Wagner, Brautlied aus „Lohengrin“.
6. **Frauenchor:** R. Wagner, Lied der Spinnerinnen aus dem „Fliegenden Holländer“.
7. **Männerchor:** a) J. von Leyden, Ich bin ein Kind vom Rhein; b) E. Kremser, Volkslied aus Oberösterreich; c) R. Strauss, Wein, Weib und Gesang.

Dirigent: Chormelster Herr Karl Wagner.

Am Klavier: Herr Emil Stoerch.

Eintrittskarten in der Buchhandlung Otto Keil und an der Abendkasse zu 50 und 30 Plaster. Die Galerie nur für Heersangehörige zu 5 Pstr.

Kriegsabend der „Tentonia“. Herr Reichsgerichtsrat Heintze, Beirat im türkischen Justizministerium, hielt am Sonnabend einen gedankenreichen Vortrag über den Aufbau des deutschen Staates. Er wies nach, wie unhaltbar die Angriffe der Feinde, besonders der Westmächte auf den deutschen Staat seien, wie maßlos übertrieben die Behauptung von der Alleinherrschaft des Kaisers und der politischen Unfreiheit der Bürger sei. Der romanische und der germanische Staat sind in ihrem Wesen grundverschieden. Jener ist der atomistische, mechanistische, bei dem der Staat schroff als eine Hohe Macht dem Einzelnen gegenübersteht. Der Einzelne hat seine einzige politische Stimme, mit der er im wesentlichen keinen weiteren Einfluß ausübt als den auf die Wahl seines Abgeordneten. Der germanische Staat zumal der deutsche, ist ein lebender Organismus, beruhend auf der Einheit der Familie, sich aufbauend in immer weiteren Kreisen bis zu dem alles umfassenden Staate. Es gibt kaum einen Stand, kaum eine Gemeinschaft, die nicht organisiert wäre. Und innerhalb dieser Organisationen, die schließlich den ganzen Staat tragen, hat jeder Einzelne Freiheit und Gelegenheit sich selber zur Geltung zu bringen und zu wirken. Während auf römisch-romanischem Rechtsboden die Starrheit und Ausnahmslosigkeit der Rechtsätze noch heute vorherrscht, ist es von jeher eigentümlich deutsch gewesen, nach den Bedürfnissen des einzelnen Volkes die Grundsätze zu durchbrechen, um Leben und freie Bahn zu schaffen. Niemand hat diese Eigenart mehr und glücklicher Rechnung getragen als Bismarck in seiner überlegenen Staatskunst bei der Schaffung des deutschen Reiches. Unter eine romanisch starre Staatsform wären die Bundesstaaten nie zu bringen gewesen. So schuf er die Reichseinheit nur auf den Gebieten, die für die Macht und die Wirtschaftsentwicklung des Reiches unerlässlich waren (Heer, Flotte, Post, Münzwesen u. a.) und ließ im übrigen jedem einzelnen freie Hand. Und dann ist es wieder unglaublich reizvoll zu beobachten, wie sofort auch dieser Grundsatz zugunsten bundesstaatlicher Freiheit in hunderten von Fällen durchbrochen wird. So entsteht ein Staatswesen von mannigfaltigsten Formen. Es nicht auseinanderfallen zu lassen, dazu schuf sich Deutschland nach brandenburgisch-preussischem Vorbilde seine musterhafte Beamtenschaft und sein unübertreffliches Heer und dazu dient der deutsche Begriff der Freiheit, der nicht möglichst viel Rechte für den Einzelnen verlangt — das ist westländische Auffassung —, sondern der seine feine, aber sichere Grenze findet an dem Verantwortlichkeitsbewußtsein und Pflichtgefühl jedes Deutschen.

Das Streichquartett Seki Bej wird am 2., 9. und 16. Mai drei Musikabende im Saal der Teutonia veranstalten. Eintrittskarten sind im Musikgeschäft von Karl Kopp sowie am Konzerttag selbst in der Teutonia zu haben. Die Musikabende beginnen um 9 einhalb Uhr. Das Programm für den ersten Abend umfasst Haydns Kaiserquartett, Tschairowskys Andante cantabile und Dvoraks Quartett f-dur Op. 96.

Homburg. Der letzte Kriegsabend in der Tentoria verlief auf das Schönste. Der Vorstand war offenbar einem sehr allgemeinen Wunsche entgegengekommen, wenn er ein Konzert der Vortrupp-Kapelle veranstaltete. Unter der Leitung des Herrn Radau leistete die Kapelle ganz Vorzügliches. Allmählich ging die ernste Musik zu leichteren Weisen über und Fledermaus-Märsche kündeten endlich den Beginn des langersehnten Tanzens an, dem man sich mit herzlichster Lust hingab. Die Säle waren wirklich angenehm geheizt.

Teutonia. Das auf heute Abend festgesetzte Konzert der Marburger Jägerkapelle kann leider wegen dienstlicher Behinderung nicht stattfinden.

Seki-Quartett. Der zweite Quartettabend der Vereinigung unter Seki Bej brachte je ein Quartett von Mozart und Brahms. Hat uns der Krieg erst wieder gelehrt, die olympische Schönheit der Mozart'schen Tonsprache zu verstehen? Hier spricht eine Welt zu uns, die ganz jenseitig ist, nur Heiterkeit, Ebenmass und Freude, und für den Musiker voller Entzücken über die Meisterhand, die solches formen konnte. Welch Gegensatz zu dem 100 Jahre jüngeren Werk. Schwer und ganz irdisch ist diese Musik des norddeutschen Meisters. Man vergleiche die Schlussätze: dort ein kunstreiches Spiel zum frohen Abschluss, hier ein energisches Aufraffen nach den betrachtensamen Stimmungen der ersten Sätze. Aber uns Kindern des 19. Jahrhunderts steht doch Brahms näher mit seiner Problematik des modernen Lebens.

Das Seki-Quartett hatte viel Fleiss auf die Einstudierung verwandt. Das Mozart'sche Quartett klappte gut. Weniger gelang der Brahms. Zwar hat sich die Auffassung der Künstler gegen das Vorjahr wesentlich vertieft. Vor allem ist der dritte Satz langsamer gewesen als früher und damit die nachdenkliche Stimmung besser herausgehoben. Noch grössere Deutlichkeit des motivischen Gewebes wäre aber erwünscht. Das Menuett kann noch langsamer gehen. Um so mehr hebt sich dann der Dur-Tell ab. Dagegen war leider von der eckigen Wucht des Finales fast nichts zu verspüren. Der Klang alles so zahm und harmlos, wie es sicher vom Autor nicht gemeint war. Den Schluss bildeten Walzer von Dvorak.

Das Publikum spendete den Künstlern wohlverdienten Beifall. Allen Freunden guter Musik sei der dritte Abend am nächsten Donnerstag warm empfohlen.

Deutscher Volksliederabend im deutschen Soldatenheim, Pera, wieder ein Donnerstag und wie eine Fortsetzung der heimatischen Feiertage am Einweihungstag des Heimgartens, acht Tage zuvor, mutete der genussreiche Liederabend an, den Herr Professor Lange (am Klavier) mit seinen beiden Töchtern, Fräulein L. und J. Lange, den Besuchern des Heimes in uneigennütziger Weise schenkte.

Welch Harmonie lag da in Lied und Spiel. Hier knüpfen nicht nur innige Familienabende, auch die rechte Kameradschaft gleicher, reiner Kunst bindet.

Nicht wahr:

Wo man singt, da lasse dich ruhig nieder,

Böse Menschen haben keine Lieder!

Das Verständnis für diese alten Verszeilen bewies am besten der bis auf den letzten Platz gefüllte Garten. Den reichen Eindruck des Gehörten, kann man gut mit Teilen der feinsinnigen Vortragsfolge zusammenfassen:

„Zwei Nachtigallen“ haben „frisch gesungen“ von „Morgenrot“ und „Liebesqual“, viel zu früh kam „Sandmännchen“ und rief den lauschenden Hörern „Guten Abend, gute Nacht“ zu. Auch das reizende „Duett“ sei nicht vergessen: „Ach Jungfer, ich will ihr“ — was zu raten geben, — wisst ihr was? — Bitte kommt bald wieder!

Br.

Deutsches Soldatenheim, Pera. Montag, den 24. Juni, abends 8 Uhr, Vortrag: „Das naturwissenschaftliche Studium im Islam und sein Einfluss auf die Kultur des Abendlandes.“ Herr Professor Wärschmidt. — Dienstag, den 25. Juni, abends 8 Uhr, Wilhelm Busch-Lichtbilderabend, begleitende Rezitationen der Wilhelm Busch-Verse; Unteroffizier Becker. — Mittwoch, den 26. Juni, abends 8 Uhr, Vortrag: Konstantinopels Blütezeit und Verfall. Pater Hieronymus. — Freitag, den 28. Juni, abends 8 Uhr, Vortrag: Die Bilder in der Sprache. Herr Dr. Schütz. — Sonnabend, den 29. Juni, abends 8 Uhr, Kino-Kriegsfilm.

Eine Johannisfeier findet am Montag, den 24. Juni, abends 9 Uhr, in der Tentonia statt, bei der alle Mitglieder deutscher Logen herzlich willkommen sind.

APPENDIX C

The Oriental Advertiser

05.01.1886

22.02.1886

22.02.1886

13.02.1886

16.06.1886

02.01.1886

04.01.1886

09.01.1886

20.02.1886

10.02.1886

19.01.1886

19.01.1886

CONCERTS TEUTONIA

Saison 1885-1886

DEUXIÈME CONCERT

Dimanche, le 10 Janvier 1886 à 8 h. de l'après-midi

Exécuté par

un Grand Orchestre et avec le concours

de

Monsieur OHLHAUS.

(Violoncelle) Sous la Direction

de

Monsieur PAUL LANGE.

Directeur du Conservatoire de la Ville de Paris

PROGRAMME

PREMIÈRE PARTIE.

1. Schubert; Ouverture « Alphonse et Estelle » Orchestre.

2. F. Schubert; Minuet-Caprice, for Violoncelle avec accompagnement des instruments. H. Guckler.

3. F. Haydn; Symphonie No. 11. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

À PROPOS DE CHOPIN.

RÉPONSE À Z...

Je vous remercie de votre réponse, avec lequel j'acquiesce.

Monsieur le lecteur, — Les réflexions que je vous ai communiquées sur le concert Lange n'ont pas été du goût de M. Z... Dans une lettre que vous m'avez envoyée, et qui signe, celle fois-ci, H... — il prétend que ma critique est fourmillante d'inevitables et de bécasses, et que j'ai dit non seule de bécasses, mais aussi d'inevitables bécasses. — Mais, si vous demandez comment j'ai reconnu M. Z... dans H..., à l'exception de son langage et à son entonnoir, qu'il signe Z..., qu'il signe H..., ce sont toujours les mêmes expressions dédaigneuses ou blessantes : *il faut être excessivement ignorant...* *il faut avoir une lecture d'écriture musicale, etc.* Ce M. Z. H... est donc un savant homme ! Est-ce là pourtant le ton sur lequel parlent les savants, d'habitude ?

J'ai écrit M. Z..., de son expiration dans le langage. Je me souviens bien M. H... d'avoir écrit de plume dans la critique. Lui qui murmure, et qui Z..., dans l'air de la cantate à nos dilettantes, il les appelle très exactement, mais en vain, qu'il est H..., charmante surprise. La leçon a porté fruit. Il aurait pu m'en remercier, il n'aurait pas.

Les lecteurs de ce journal ont dû se souvenir que M. Z. H... n'a pas eu grande estime M. F... de la *Tu-que*. Mon compte rendu, par son impopularité, n'était pas favorable à M. Lange. M. Z. H... s'en est inspiré et s'est par M. F..., ce qui lui a fait dire :

« On n'a dépensé tant d'éloges que pour dire ensuite qu'on a commis une faute irréparable de ne les avoir pas écrits l'opinion du concert. Ceci dit, on s'est chargé de tout exécuter soi-même. »

Or, je ne suis pas M. F... M. Z. H... doit le voir. De plus, je ne connais ni M. F... ni M. Lange, et je ne suis pas connu d'eux. La *Montagne* ne le sait et ne peut.

Eh ! bien, M. Z. H..., vous qui prétendez à l'art le français, cela s'appelle-t-il non bavard ? Comment la qualification vous celle-là ?

À propos de Mlle Hubach j'ai écrit :

« Mlle Hubach est une grande fatiguée. Elle a beaucoup d'esprit, son toucher est débonnaire, simple. Elle ne m'en a jamais pu dire plus, mais qu'elle s'en va, non plus, se reproche, la chose de l'art sans le fait était peut-être pas fait pour montrer les qualités que la nature lui a données, le style, l'expression, l'intelligence de l'interprétation. Quelle nous a-t-elle entendue, nos prochains, certains, ou pas, en de Mendelssohn ou du Chopin ? »

« Mlle de Hall par Mlle Hubach est un morceau de subtilité. M. Z. H... qui connaît comme pas un cet auteur, le fait mieux que moi. Il demande chez l'exécution, surtout de la vélocité. Par conséquent, ce n'est pas avec un morceau de ce genre que la pianiste pourra, je le répète, montrer du style, du sentiment, de l'intelligence d'interprétation, qualités qui se peuvent autrement mieux mettre en lumière avec du Chopin ou du Mendelssohn. »

Parler ainsi est-ce dénigrer les compositions de Hall ?

Et pourtant vous ne m'avez pas M. Z. H. :

« Il connaît une Mlle de Hubach est une grande fatiguée, mais il n'en a rien dit. Il se reproche lui-même. Il s'est fait une lecture d'écriture musicale pour savoir que ce Hall, qui n'est pas tout, est composé par les mêmes compositions qui sont écrits par le piano. »

M. Z. H. confesse, de bonne grâce, que c'est là une fatiguée caractéristique. Et puis est-ce avec un petit je lui donne le coup d'en jurer. Il est composé tout en la manière ! Le journaux, le lec-

ETABLISSEMENT DE MUSIQUE
DE M. F. ADAM.

M. F. Adam, dont l'établissement est renommé pour ses pianos de qualité supérieure, appartenant aux meilleures fabriques d'Europe, vient d'enrichir sa collection déjà nombreuse, de pianos de la fabrique *Julius Blüthner*, conseiller de commerce du royaume de Saxe. Cette fabrique, fondée en 1853, a été plusieurs fois brevetée; ses produits ont obtenu plus de quinze médailles à différentes expositions.

M. F. Adam, qui s'est acquis les sympathies du public musical de notre ville, et la satisfaction de sa nombreuse clientèle, offre l'honnêteté publique qu'il tient à sa disposition une grande et remarquable collection de pianos français, de la fabrique *Bonnet et Fils* à Marseille, et de pianos allemands, qu'il vend et loue à des prix raisonnables.

Cet établissement possède aussi un atelier de réparation.

On se charge de réparer et de remettre à neuf tous les pianos, quel que soit leur degré d'usage. M. Adam est un spécialiste très compétent; il a passé plus de vingt ans dans les différentes fabriques d'Allemagne, où il a étudié dans tous ses détails la fabrication des pianos.

Sont représentant de la fabrique *J. Blüthner*.

F. ADAM.

Passage Narbonne, 25 et 26.

TEUTONIA.

Sonntag den 3. Januar 1880 Nachmittags 3
Uhr findet eine festliche Vereinigung zur Feier
des 25. Jahrlagen Regierungsjubiläum S. M.
des Deutschen Kaisers, Königs von Preussen,
statt, wozu wir unsere Mitglieder freundlichst
einladen. Alle Deutschen, Schützengenossen und
Freunde des Deutschen Reiches sind uns
willkommen.

Der Vorstand der Teutonia.

THE EMPEROR WILLIAM.

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of
the accession to the throne of Prussia of Wil-
liam I. Emperor of Germany, a thanksgiving
service was celebrated at the German chapel,
Aineli Tebasak, yesterday morning at 10
o'clock. M. de Radowitz with all the personnel
of the Embassy and Consulate, the officers of
the despatch-box, and the German functiona-
ries in the service of the Ottoman Government,
all in uniform, were present on the occasion.

On the conclusion of the service there was
a reception at the Embassy. His Excellency
Maurit Pascha, grand master of ceremonies at
the Imperial Court, transmitted the compliments
usual on such occasions to the Ambassador.

In the evening a ball took place at the Teu-
tonia which was of a very brilliant character,
dancing being kept up till this morning.

The *Halket* reports that M. de Radowitz,
the German Ambassador, had the honour of
being received in audience a day or two since
by his Majesty the Sultan, to whom he remit-
ted an autograph letter from the Emperor
William. In this letter the Emperor speaks
highly of his Excellency Said Pascha, Minister
of Foreign Affairs.

ETRENNES 1886

BAZAR ALLEMAND

388 — GRAND RUE DE PERA. — 388.

(Propriétaire WIL. PALUKA).

Riches assortiment de jouets d'enfants, petits meubles, articles en bois sculpté, bronzes, pendules, cages à oiseaux et à odeurs, articles en métal blanc, argent plaqué et niqué, corbeilles, cafetières, samovars, chandeliers, coupes, couverts, etc. Porcelaines, cristaux, jardinières avec fontaine à machine, marionnettes, nécessaires, articles de bureau, papeterie, parfumerie, éventails, boîtes à gants, étagères, lustres et candélabres, bijouterie, articles pour fumée, lampes, parapluies, cannes, cravates, tables de toilette, tables à ouvrage, articles de ménage et de voyage, vannerie, fleurs artificielles, thé, chocolat, biscuits, bonbons, pain d'épices, bonbonnières, voitures pour enfants, et une foule d'autres articles, le tout de premier choix et à des prix très-modérés.

A PROPOS DE CONCERTS

DES COUPS DE PIED DANS LA CRITIQUE

Sous diverses lettres anonymes :

Monsieur le Rédacteur. — *Habemus* *compositum* reum. Le concert se est-
il dit le concert Lange a disparu et le
reste de tout qui se trouve encore une be-
laine. Le concert, c'est Hare F... vous
avez compris la ruse.

Ce belin dont les notes sont tou-
jours redoublées, à public, hier, ap-
parent article dans lequel il y avait des
grands noms les autres pour lequel
il a été mis à l'air. En effet, de la criti-
que musicale.

« C'est en vain, pour ce concert, con-
sacrer de personnes et des respectables
« excuses de pour l'un que ma lettre
« du 31 janvier était le signal d'une
« querelle entre MM. Dittmer et Lange,
« et même M. F... l'auteur de la critique
« venue et bruyante de la qui a paru
« dans le *Journal* français. On semble
« regarder la question un peu sous ce
« jour là. Mais il s'agit d'autre chose.
« Il s'agit, la querelle, — et quant à elle,
« il n'est pas entre les deux musiciens
« seulement, mais entre M. Dittmer et son
« large école, qui se désigne à plus
« tard par ses actes, et qui peuvent la
« toujours par un nom. »

Et voilà pourquoi Hare F... a lancé
ses deux compositions de côté et d'autre
pour donner à l'opinion en faveur de la
bonne M. Paul Lange. Voilà ce qui
suffit à la critique et à l'opinion
sans impartialité.

Hare F... ne décide pas fort
sûrement. Il est vrai qu'il est, dit-on,
peu de chose.

Il semble cependant M. Dittmer en-
tendre un peu d'harmonie. Quant à
M. Lange, c'est un peu de la même ma-
nière, mais avec une autre harmonie.
Les attaques de Hare F... sont opposées
à une harmonie et, par conséquent, à la
harmonie.

Hare F... a la volonté d'écouter quel-
ques notes plus bas, et n'est pas donc
par conséquent que je lui ai remar-
qué.

Et il revient à ses intentions, c'est à
dire à la querelle d'harmonie. On a
vu.

« Depuis le commencement de l'été,
« on a vu dans les journaux et en-
« core à l'étranger, l'opinion et en-
« semble comme M. Dittmer et son
« école. L'opinion pour les autres,
« l'opinion pour lui. »

MUSIQUE.

CONCERTS-RECUEILS.

Le deuxième concert de la Société Choroale a été donné, samedi passé, en présence d'un auditoire aussi nombreux que choisi, dans lequel nous avons remarqué M. et Mme de Launay, M. le baron de Tinselman, Kasprowerz pacha, le Rer, pasteur Suhle, etc. C'était une soirée de musique exclusivement vocale. Le programme ne comprenait que des morceaux pour chœur d'hommes et de dames, des soli, etc. Nous n'en voulons certainement pas à M. Deller l'avoir supprimé les parties de trio dont il nous régala les années précédentes, mais un peu de musique instrumentale, piano, violon ou violoncelle, n'eût pas été déplacée dans le concert du samedi, que pas mal de personnes, assurément fort difficiles et pas assez familières avec la musique vocale, ont trouvée monotone et trop longue.

De tous les morceaux, la grande cantate *Kreuzfahrer*, nous a le plus intéressée. Cette œuvre, une des moins importantes de Gade, est très propre à faire ressortir les défauts et les qualités du compositeur danois. Abondance de mélodies pleines de fraîcheur et de mélancolie, profonde grandiosité des effets dramatiques, telles sont ses qualités ; absence d'inspiration, abaissement dissimulé par beaucoup d'empressement, style laidet, monotone, souvent larval, trop fréquentes reminiscences de Mendelssohn, voilà ses défauts.

Les passages du *Kreuzfahrer* qui nous ont le plus impressionnés sont les morceaux d'ensemble, dont l'exécution a été excellente, sans cependant le *Verus-fon* *non* *non* *Ziet* etc., qui s'est assez ressenti de la fatigue des chanteurs. Quant aux parties de soli, nous sommes fâchés de n'en pouvoir dire autant.

Ce n'est pas que Mmes Gaddo, MM. Brode et Holck, soient la moins du monde responsables des défaillances que nous devons signaler. Ils se sont, au contraire, surpassés ; mais leurs voix manquant de cette ampleur et de cette puissance nécessaires à l'interprétation d'une œuvre de longue haleine, l'accompagnement au piano a également laissé quelque peu à désirer. Il est vraiment inconcevable que M. O. Behner, qui avait à sa disposition un pianiste tel que M. Max Jentsch, l'ait chargé de jouer les pages de la musique, et ait confié à un simple dilettant le rôle d'accompagnateur, qui revenait incontestablement au premier.

C'est Mme Ernest Comendinger qui a été la reine du concert. Nous n'avons malheureusement pu avoir l'occasion d'entendre une cantatrice dont la voix réussisse à un si haut degré toutes les qualités requises. Force, précision, netteté, douceur, grâce, sentiment, elle n'a rien, aussi dans l'interprétation du charmant *Allesacht* de Schubert. Nous en voulons presque à M. Deller de ne lui avoir pas confié le rôle d'Armida dans le *Kreuzfahrer* ; elle l'eût rempli d'une manière très satisfaisante.

Le concert fut, au splendide sonnerie a été servi ; la bière a coulé à flots, après quoi les danses ont commencé et se sont joyeusement prolongées jusqu'à 5 heures du matin.

MUSIQUE.

LE DEUXIÈME CONCERT DE LA TEUTONIA.

En comparant les occasions d'entendre de la bonne musique que nous avons cette année à celles qui nous ont été offertes les années précédentes, les amateurs constataient avec chagrin que, si les choses continuaient à aller de ce train, il y a longtemps que nous n'aurons en un hiver musical aussi pures et aussi nombreuses que celles de 1906. Le fait est que les choses n'allaient pas du tout s'améliorer plus mal. Il y a deux ans, avant d'être arrivé au 20 janvier, feu la Société philharmonique avait déjà donné sa première série de 5 concerts qui devait être suivie de 5 autres. M. Lange s'était fait applaudir deux fois, M. Bédier autant, sans compter quatre ou cinq concerts de bienfaisance exécutés aux ambassades d'Allemagne, d'Autriche, d'Angleterre etc., ce qui faisait environ vingt-cinq à trente matinées musicales ou soirées dans l'intervalle de quelques mois. Et cette année ? deux ont été déjà données et il nous en reste quatre en perspective ! Franchement, la différence est un peu forte. Ce n'est pas la dégringolade de la Société philharmonique qui nous étonne : rien n'était plus aisé à prévoir ; c'est la manière d'agir du comité de la Teutonia qui nous paraît singulière, et il faut avouer qu'on ne peut pas le piler liquer pourquoi ces messieurs ont cru devoir réduire le nombre de ces concerts instrumentaux qui depuis 3 ans ne cessent d'obtenir du succès et d'attirer la société la plus élégante de Péra. Heureusement beaucoup d'abonnés, partageant cette manière de voir et étant très disposés à contribuer au rétablissement des six concerts réglementaires, nous ne doutons pas que le comité ne s'empresse de consentir à un petit sacrifice en faveur du plus beau des arts.

Cela dit, occupons-nous un peu du concert de dimanche : le succès qu'il a obtenu a été tel, tant et si bon, qu'il a été entièrement vu et goûté par les gens qui ont été au concert, et l'habile direction sous laquelle ces différents morceaux ont été étudiés et exécutés.

La manière brillante dont l'orchestre a exécuté la célèbre ouverture de Schubert, *Symphonie et Concerto*, nous a fait bien augurer de l'exécution de la *Symphonie de Haydn*, qui a été la première partie du programme : ce chef-d'œuvre d'imagination et de grâce a été interprété avec toute la perfection que l'on peut exiger d'instrumentistes tels que nous en possédons, il est si difficile de jouer avec plus d'entrain le *Violoncelle* et le *Basse*.

Le Concerto *Sinfonia*, composé et joué par M. Gekhaus entre l'ouverture et la *Symphonie*, nous paraît fort mal nommé ; c'est en vain qu'on y chercherait quelque chose de militaire ; tout au plus pourrait-on le prendre pour une marche funèbre lugubre. En tout cas pour faire entendre que ce morceau manque de caractère, ce qui n'implique pas du tout qu'il manque de mérite. M. Gekhaus se révèle comme un compositeur hardi et qui ne recule pas devant une entreprise de longue haleine : l'accompagnement qu'il a écrit pour l'orchestre, du reste, qu'il a une connaissance peu ordinaire de l'instrumentation. Quant à la manière dont il a rendu son propre ouvrage et les *Paraphrases harmoniques*, elle a rempli d'enthousiasme tout l'auditoire, qui l'a rappelé et dirigé à jouer un quatrième morceau.

Nous avons déjà entendu l'année passée la première partie de la *Suite des Bayadères* de Rubinstein, M. Lange y a ajouté cette fois la quatrième, qui renferme un adagio pour instruments à corde de la plus grande beauté. Impossible de dire que le public a accueilli ce morceau par des témoignages d'approbation.

Les œuvres remarquables de la jeune école française sont très appréciées à la Tensonia, comme on a pu le constater l'année dernière, quand M. Lange a donné le *Très Vieux*, les *Adieux à l'Espagne* et *Carmen*. L'introduction et le chœur de ce dernier opéra, qui est un de nos morceaux favoris, ont donc été très goûtés et très applaudis. Ainsi engageons-nous M. Lange à nous faire entendre la prochaine fois les *Adieux à l'Espagne* de Saint-Saëns, chef-d'œuvre d'instrumentation et de bon goût qu'il a déjà dirigé dans un des concerts de la Société philharmonique la grande Pantomime de Schreiner, exécutée avec fécondité par l'orchestre, au milieu des hoquets poétiques du grand des coulisses, et des coups de variations du *Violoncelle* de la Tensonia par les matelots du *Corvet*, a achevé de mettre en belle humeur les auditeurs qui se sont retirés vers 6 1/2 heures, après avoir vivement applaudi l'inestimable chef d'orchestre et en emportant avec eux le souvenir d'un excellent concert.

BAZAR ALLEMAND

Propriétaire WILH. PALUKA

NOUVEAUX MAGASINS

GRAND'RUE DE PERA, 388, EN FACE LA LÉGATION DE HOLLANDE

OUVERTURE SAMEDI, 19 NOVEMBRE

M^r W. Paluka a l'honneur de prévenir sa nombreuse clientèle qu'il vient de transférer son magasin dans le local sus-indiqué qu'il a fait spécialement construire pour lui.

ARTICLES

Parfumerie, Brosserie, Articles de toilette, Articles de ménage et de cuisine, Bois sculptés, Pendules, Lampes, Candelabres, Bronzes, Articles de bureau, Mercerie, Couvertures en laine et en coton, Chaussures, Conserves, confiserie, Liqueurs, Bières en bouteille de Bavière, Champagnes, Cacao, Parapluies, Chaussettes, Vannerie, Porcelaine, Cristaux, Bains et Douches, Articles de luxe et fantaisie, Spécialité de jouets d'Enfant, Bougies, Articles de voyage, Cuir de Russie et mille autres articles.

Élégance, Solidité et bon marché.

APPENDIX D

La Turquie

18.11.1881

26.12.1883

21.12.1883

27.01.1883

25-26-28-29.12.1883

13-17.12.1883

19.12.1883

31.10.1883

06.12.1883

14.12.1883

14.12.1883

02-03.12.1883

04.01.1883

10.11.1883

09-10.12.1883

17^e ANNÉE N° 281

25-50740

MARDI, 25 & MERCREDI, 26 DECEMBRE, 1893

ABONNEMENTS

ANNUEL 10 F.

SEMESTRIEL 5 F.

TRIMESTRIEL 3 F.

UN AN 10 F.

UN AN 10 F.

UN AN 10 F.

LA TURQUIE

JOURNAL POLITIQUE, COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIEL & FINANCIER.

ABONNEMENTS

ANNUEL 10 F.

SEMESTRIEL 5 F.

TRIMESTRIEL 3 F.

UN AN 10 F.

UN AN 10 F.

UN AN 10 F.

ABONNEMENTS

ANNUEL 10 F.

SEMESTRIEL 5 F.

TRIMESTRIEL 3 F.

UN AN 10 F.

UN AN 10 F.

UN AN 10 F.

CHRONIQUE THEATRALE

LE CONCERT

DE LA SOCIÉTÉ CHORALE ALLEMANDE

Pour éviter une coïncidence avec le Bazar organisé par Mesdames les ambassadrices, la Société chorale allemande avait avancé la date de son concert en faveur des incendiés de Hissou. Mais, la Compagnie du Théâtre Français avait retardé sa première du *Loupe en Chêne* qui a été donnée mercredi au lieu de mardi. Pour éviter une coïncidence on est tombé dans une autre et le monde des premières — car Paris a son monde des premières comme Paris — le monde des premières, disons-nous, a fait défaut au concert. Quelques personnes cependant parmi celles auxquelles nous faisons allusion étaient présentes à la Foulouze : nous citerons entre autres M. l'ambassadeur d'Allemagne et M. de Radovitz, M. le ministre d'Espagne et Miles de Bazcon, M. le ministre du Roumain et M. Mavrayan, M. et M^{me} Sotomay Fernandez, etc., etc.

Le programme était des plus travaillés pour les amateurs de tousigne de salon. Les honneurs du programme étaient pour Mendelssohn qui en occupait la plus grande partie. Au milieu de tous les noms allemands que ce programme contenait il n'y avait qu'une exception en faveur de Chopin dont les œuvres ont une place marquée dans tous les concerts. Mme Hollmann a surmonté toutes les difficultés du *scherzo* en si mineur de cet auteur avec ce talent incontestable qu'on lui connaît. M. Hollmann accorde sa femme avec autant d'habileté qu'on ne sait vraiment si l'on doit la féliciter davantage de leur exécution ou de la bonne grâce avec laquelle ils prêtent si aimablement leur concours.

Mlle Lengob est une jeune débutante qui se fait déjà grandement apprécier. Elle se prépare une place remarquable parmi les chanteuses de notre faubourg. Et en la félicitant on ne peut qu'attribuer à Mme Livadar la juste part qui lui revient dans ces éloges.

Assurément la présence sur la rampe d'une jeune et charmante personne comme Mlle Lengob cause plus de plaisir que la vue d'un Monsieur crevé de blanc quelque belle que soit sa voix. M. Bolek n'en a pas moins été applaudi tout dans l'air du *Freischütz* que dans ses duos avec M. Brede dont la voix sympathique se mariait très bien avec la sienne.

Les chœurs de voix seules, sans accompagnement étaient une des parties les plus intéressantes du programme. L'ensemble dans le rythme et la justesse de l'intonation, si difficiles à obtenir sans le soutien d'un instrument, ne laissent rien à désirer. Cela fait le plus grand honneur à M. Dethier qui dirigeait ces chœurs en véritable maître qui est sûr de ce qu'il a sous la main.

M. Dethier est d'ailleurs un artiste de mérite et sa femme va de pair avec lui, ainsi que nous l'avons constaté dans le quartet maigre de l'ouverture de la *Helie* allemande.

LE 30/11 FEVRIER

AUDITION MUSICALE CLASSIQUE

A GRAND ORCHESTRE.

La presse avait annoncé, la semaine dernière, que grâce aux soins d'un comité spécial, il serait donné, dimanche, le 16/23 janvier, un grand concert par les artistes de l'orchestre de la *Société Philharmonique*, dirigé par le maestro A. Pasquali. Par suite de circonstances imprévues, et en regard aux convenances du public, ce concert est remis à quinzains, et aura lieu le dimanche, 30 janvier/1^{er} février, à 2 heures de l'après-midi, dans le local du Jardin municipal des Petits Champs.

L'éloge des concerts de la Société philharmonique n'est plus à faire. Leur succès, un succès du meilleur aloi, est complet.

C'est au point que les gourmets délicats des deux sexes, pour savourer les délices de ces auditions, consacrent souvent leurs loisirs à assister même aux répétitions.

Commentés et attendus, ces concerts, l'attraction du jour, sont le rendez-vous obligé du goût et de l'élégance.

Nous engageons donc vivement tous ceux qui sentent battre l'élan à aller entendre la festival musical qui aura lieu le 30 janvier/1^{er} février, au Jardin municipal.

En l'absence du drama et de l'opéra, il n'est pas de meilleure et de plus agréable compensation.

C'est bien là, d'ailleurs, le caractère qui ont naturellement acquis les concerts philharmoniques. Seulement ces concerts n'ont été jusqu'ici que le partage d'un nombre relativement restreint d'amateurs.

Les demandes des amis, auditeurs d'occasion, ont toujours été très nombreuses, et MM. les membres-fondateurs, même en renouvelant partiellement la population flottante, n'ont jamais pu satisfaire à toutes les demandes.

Dimanche, le 30 janvier/1^{er} février les portes seront ouvertes à tout Pera, et on peut prévoir que l'auditoire sera aussi nombreux que choisi.

D'ailleurs, et aucun connaisseur ne le contestera, les heureux choix du programme contribueront sur tout au succès. Ce programme, le voici :

PREMIERE PARTIE.

1. *Ouver-ture..... Verdi.*
 Opéra: Macbeth.
2. *Menuet, scherzo..... Beethoven.*
 pour quatre instruments à cordes.
3. *Symphonie..... Les Delibes.*
 Opéra: Dances des charmeresses.
 Opéra: Les Deux Femmes.
 Opéra: Les Deux Femmes.

DEUXIEME PARTIE.

4. *Ouverture..... Wagner.*
 Opéra: Tristan et Isolde.
5. *Valse..... Mozart.*
 Non petit caprice.
6. *Dances hongroises..... Brahms.*
 II^e série.
7. *Grande Marche..... Gounod.*
 Opéra: Les Deux Femmes.

Les partitions musicales sont gracieusement prêtées par la Société Philharmonique; elle donne ainsi au public, qui lui en saura gré, une preuve de son désir de contribuer au développement de l'œuvre.

Le comité organisateur, à son tour, s'est efforcé de mettre toutes les commodités possibles à la disposition du public.

C'est ainsi que le prix de toutes les loges indistinctement a été fixé à 1 Liv. Turque; avec droit à 4 entrées. Dans le parterre: Les fauteuils coûtent 26 piastres; les places numérotées 12 piastres, les places non numérotées 10 piastres.

Les billets seront en vente: chez MM. Comedidinger, Balatti, au Bon Marché, à la Brasserie Jani, à la Librairie Baudin, en face du tunnel, au Café du Luxembourg et aux guichets du Jardin municipal.

CONCERTS TEUTONIA

—0—

Dimanche, 30 décembre 1883 à 4 hrs. p. m.

—0—

Deuxième concert vocal et instrumental
exécuté

PAR LE TEUTONIA-MANNERCHOR

ET UN ORCHESTRE

SOUS LA DIRECTION DE M. P. LANGE.

— — — — —

PREMIÈRE PARTIE.

1. Beethoven..... *Ouverture, Egmont. Orchestre.*
2. Mich Praetorius. *Es ist ein' Ros' entsprungen,*
(1571-1621) Teutonia-Mannerchor et
chœur d'enfants.
3. Chopin..... *Marche funèbre, Orchestre.*
4. J. Haydn..... *Symphonie en Sol majeur,*
(1732-1809) Orchestre.

DEUXIÈME PARTIE.

5. O. Nicolai..... *Ouverture l'opéra, DIE*
(1810-849) *LESTIGEN WEIBER*
Windsor. Orchestre.
6. Schaffer..... *Le Postillon, Teutonia-Man-*
nerchor et Solo de corne
à piston.
7. Vogt..... *Fantaisie sur le chant popu-*
laire, *IN EINEM KUHLEN*
GRUNDE. Orchestre.
8. Mohring..... *Gute Nacht, Teutonia-Man-*
nerchor et guitar Solo.
9. Sodermann..... *Marche nuptiale Suédoise.*
Orchestre.

— — — — —
Les portes de la salle seront fermées pendant
l'exécution des pièces.

LE CONCERT

DE LA SOCIÉTÉ CHORALE ALLEMANDE

et profit

DES INCENDIÉS DE HASSKEUY.

Afin d'éviter une coïncidence avec la fête de bienfaisance organisée par Mesdames les ambassadrices de la Société Chorale Allemande a décidé d'avancer la date de son prochain concert, lequel aura lieu

Mardi, le 19 décembre

à 8 heures, dans la salle de la Tentative.

LE PROGRAMME COMPREND :

PREMIÈRE PARTIE

1. Mendelssohn. Orchestre de la Belle Helénie, V. et Mme. Hoffmann.
2. Wagner. Air de Parsifal, M. Rodde.
3. Beethoven. Air de Fidelio, Mlle Ledgeh.
4. a) Mendelssohn. Adagio. Chœurs.
- b) Schubert. Wanderlied.

DEUXIÈME PARTIE

5. Chopin. Nocturne en si mineur, Mme Hoffmann.
6. Schubert. Simile pour piano et violon, M. et Mme Hoffmann.
7. a) Mendelssohn. O salutar, deux chœurs, Mme Hoffmann.
- b) Kuchen. Barcarole, et piano.
8. a) Mendelssohn. Frühlingslied, Chœurs.
- b) Auf dem See, Chœurs.

Le numéro 3 n'est pas encore définitivement fixé, mais on nous assure que nous aurons, en tous cas, le plaisir d'entendre la belle voix de Mlle Ledgeh. Les noms de Mendelssohn, de Beethoven, et de Schubert, ainsi que ceux de bien connue de M. et Mme Hoffmann, nous assurent un divertissement choisi et varié, et le chœur de la Société a une réputation suffisamment fondée pour nous faire espérer qu'il soutiendra vaillamment sa réputation. Le duo d'hommes est une nouveauté qui promet. Somme toute, nous recommandons à nos lecteurs, aussi bien le concert lui-même que son but de bienfaisance.

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LE CONCERT
DE LA SOCIÉTÉ CHORALE ALLEMANDE
AU PROFIT
DES INCENDIÉS DE HASSKEUY.

Afin d'éviter une coïncidence avec la fête de bienfaisance organisée par Mesdames les ambassadrices, la Société Chorale Allemande a décidé d'avancer la date de son prochain concert, lequel aura lieu

Mercredi, le 19 décembre
à 9 h. du soir, dans la salle de la Teutonia.

LE CONCERT AU PROFIT DES VICTIMES DU TREMBLEMENT DE TERRE

Les préparatifs de cette fête musicale sont sur le point de terminer. Nous empruntons à l'*Eastern Express* les détails qui suivent :

S. M. le Sultan, sous le haut patronage duquel la fête est donnée, a bien voulu mettre sa musique militaire à la disposition du comité.

Le comité composé des ambassadrices et des femmes de chefs de mission, s'est assuré la coopération de la Société chorale allemande, dirigée par M. Déthier, et celles du Männer Chor et du chœur d'enfants dirigés par M. Lange.

En réponse à l'invitation faite par les ambassadrices, plusieurs parmi les *dilettanti* les plus distingués de Pétri, messieurs et dames, se sont empressés de prêter leur gracieux concours.

Le maestro Pisani a bien voulu consentir à tenir le piano.

Le prix du billet d'entrée a été fixé à une livre sterling. Ces billets, ainsi que leur désignation le démontre, ne sont que des carreaux d'admission. Les loges, fauteuils et autres places réservées seront tous payés en sus du billet d'entrée à des prix à fixer prochainement, et ces prix, ainsi que nous le disions, ne comprennent pas celui du billet d'entrée. Ceux qui désirent retenir des loges ou des places réservées doivent se procurer d'abord le nombre voulu de billets d'entrée.

Le concert aura lieu le soir.

Il est bon d'ajouter, que vu de l'espace restreint qu'offre la salle, il n'y aura pas d'entrées de faveur. Le concert ayant un but purement charitable, toute place disponible doit contribuer à ce but.

CONCERTS TEUTONIA

SAISON D'HIVER 1883-84.

—0—

Premier Concert

Le dimanche, 9 décembre 1883 à 4 h^{rs}. a. m.

—0—

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PREMIERE PARTIE.

1. W. A. Mozart.. *Ouverture sur l'Opéra, Die Zauberflöte*.... Orchestre.
2. " " " *Chor aus der Oper, Die Zauberflöte*.... Teutonia Männerchor et Orchestre.
3. " " " *O Schützgeist Altes Schloss*.... O Isis und Osiris.
4. Mendelschn..... *Frühlingslied*.. Orchestre.
5. Gluck..... *Krieger Chor aus Iphigenie*, Teutonia Männerchor et Orchestre.

DEUXIEME PARTIE.

6. W. A. Mozart.... *Ouverture sur l'Opéra, Figaro's Hochzeit*.. Orchestre.
7. — 2 Lieder für Männerchor:
A. H. Pfeil *Stillacht der See* Teutonia
B. H. Jungst *Spinn, Spinn*)Männerchor.
8. Michaelis..... *Die türkische Scharwa-*
che..... Orchestre.
9. Lortzing..... *Sowas spielt ich mit Scepter und Kronen und Stern*, *Arie aus der Oper, Czar und Zimmermann* Bass solo.
10. C. M. v. Weber. *Potpourri aus Freischütz*. Orchestre.

Le prix d'un billet pour un seul concert est d'une demi Livre Turque.

On peut souscrire d'avance pour les six concerts, au prix de 1 L. T. 1/2 par personne.

Les souscriptions seront reçues à la Teutonia et chez le Trésorier honoraire de la Société, M. A. Stupe, aux bureaux du Metropolitan Railway, Rue Ensiz Park.

Les portes de la salle resteront fermées pendant l'exécution de chaque pièce.

LE CONCERT

DE LA SOCIÉTÉ CHORALE ALLEMANDE

AU PROFIT

DES INCENDIÉS DE HASSKEUY.

Afin d'éviter une coïncidence avec la fête de bienfaisance organisée par Mesdames les ambassadrices, la Société Chorale Allemande a décidé d'avancer la date de son prochain concert, lequel aura lieu

Mercredi, le 19 décembre

à 9 h. du soir, dans la salle de la Tentonia.

LE PROGRAMME COMPREND :

PREMIERE PARTIE.

1. Mendelssohn... *Ouvert. de la Belle Mélusine.*
M. et Mme Dethier.
2. Weber..... *Air du Freyschutz,* M. Bodek.
3. Beethoven *Air de Fidelio,* Mlle Leitgeb.
4. a) Mendelssohn. *Andenken,*)
b) Zollner..... *Wanderlied,*) Chœurs.

DEUXIEME PARTIE.

5. Chopin..... *Scherzo, en si mineur,* Mme Hoffmann.
6. Schubert..... *Sonate pour piano et violon,*
M. et Mme Hoffmann.
7. a) Mendelssohn. * *O sah ich,* } Deux chantés
b) Küchen..... * *Barcarola,* } par Mrs Bodek
et Brede.
8. a) Mendelssohn. * *Frühlinglied,* }
b) * *Auf dem See,* } Chœurs.

Le numéro 3 n'est pas encore définitivement fixé, mais on nous assure que nous aurons, en tous cas, le plaisir d'entendre la belle voix de Mlle Leitgeb. Les noms de Mendelssohn, de Beethoven, et de Schubert, ainsi que l'exécution bien connue de M. et Mme Hoffmann, nous assurent un divertissement choisi et varié, et le chœur de la Société a une réputation suffisamment fondée pour nous faire espérer qu'il soutiendra vaillamment sa renommée. Le duo d'hommes est une innovation qui promet. Somme toute, nous recommandons à nos lecteurs, aussi bien le concert lui-même que son but de bienfaisance.

75-

1884

BAZAR ALLEMAND

388 — GRAND'RUE DE PÉRA — 388

En face du Palais de Hollande

Propriétaire-Directeur: W. PALUKA

LE MOIS

DES

ETRENNES

A PARTIR DE CE JOUR

Exposition

ET

Grande mise en vente de

JOUETS

objets de fantaisie et emplettes

DU JOUR DE L'AN

Pendant tout le mois des étrennes les magasins du **Bazar Allemand** seront transformés en *musée des étrennes* qui dépassera en variété et splendeur tout ce qu'on a vu jusqu'à ce jour.

Jouets d'enfants, albums, jeux de tous genres, mille bibelots nouveaux, faïences anciennes et modernes, porcelaines de Saxe, de Gien, de Sèvres, de Hesse, de Chine, du Japon, majoliques, petits-meubles, argenterie, cuivres, bronzes, cristaux, maroquinerie, vannerie, poufs, suspensions, lampes, lanternes, bougeoirs, coussins, boîtes à musique, orgues, paniers, paniers à ouvrage, bonbonnières, etc., etc.

Confiserie, bonbons, pralines, massapains, biscuits, chocolat glacé, marrons glacés, nougats, etc.

Vins fins, champagne, liqueurs, fine champagne, etc., etc.

GRAND SUCCÈS DE 1884

LA BOMBE A CHOCOLAT

Spécialité du Bazar Allemand

C'est un bloc de chocolat en forme d'obus. On met le feu à une mèche, la bombe éclate et tous les morceaux de chocolat retombent sur l'assiette même où la bombe est placée. — Il ne reste plus qu'à le manger.

Inoffensif, GREAT ATTRACTION

Immense succès.

CONCERTS TEUTONIA

SAISON D'HIVER 1883-84.

A partir de dimanche 9 décembre aura lieu toutes les trois semaines à 8 h. 1/2 p. m.

DANS LA GRANDE SALLE DE LA TEUTONIA

UN CONCERT VOCAL ET INSTRUMENTAL

ORGANISE

PAR LE COMITÉ DE LA SOCIÉTÉ ALLEMANDE

"TEUTONIA,"

et exécuté

PAR LA SOCIÉTÉ CHORALE "TEUTONIA MANNERCHOR,"

ET PAR

un orchestre composé de 30 musiciens

ET DE PLUSIEURS SOLISTES

sous la direction

DE M. PAUL LANGE.

Les Concerts seront au nombre de six, les programmes en seront variés, choisis et intéressants.

Les Chœurs, dirigés par le Mannerchor, seront choisis avec soin, aussi bien dans les meilleures compositions anciennes, que dans les compositions récentes les plus appréciées et faisant partie du répertoire des grandes sociétés chorales.

Les programmes de la partie instrumentale comprendront des ouvertures et des compositions symphoniques des auteurs classiques, HAYDN, MOZART, BEETHOVEN, etc. et surtout les compositions récentes de MENDELSSOHN, de SCHUBERT, de RAFF, de BRAHMS, de HOFFMANN, de RICH. WAGNER, etc. etc.

En organisant ces Concerts, le Comité de la Teutonia a pour but de développer à Constantinople le goût de la musique sérieuse et bonne, tout en offrant aux souscripteurs une distraction agréable; aussi espère-t-il que le succès couronnera ses efforts.

Le jour et le programme de chaque concert seront publiés par les journaux.

Le prix d'un billet pour un seul concert est d'une demi Livre Turque.

On peut souscrire d'avance pour les six concerts, au prix de 1 L. T. 1/2 par personne.

Les souscriptions seront reçues à la Teutonia et chez le Trésorier honoraire de la Société M. A. Stupe, aux bureaux du Metropolitan Railway, rue Fusiz Péra.

755

DEUTSCHER CHORGESANG-VEREIN.

CONCERT

im Saale der Teutonia

SAMSTAG, DEN 6. JANUAR 1883

Abends 9 Uhr

UNTER LEITUNG

des Herrn OSCAR DETHIER

PROGRAMM:

1. E. M. v. Weber *Ouverture zu Oberon*, 4
händig Fr. Dr. HOFFMANN Herr DETHIER.
2. Hofmann... *Prolog zur «Schönen Melusi-
ne»*, Chor.
3. * * * * * *«Der Schiffer»*, Lied für Tenor,
Herr BODEK.
4. Wagner List. *Tannhauser Marsh*, Fr.
Dr. HOFFMANN.
5. Hofmann... *Zagerchor a. d. «Schönen
Melusine»*, Chor.

PAUSE.

6. { a.) Brahms. *«In stiller Nacht»*, } Dop-
Altdeutsches Volkslied. } pel-
b.) Jensen. *«Im Wald im hellen* } quar-
Sonnenschein», } tett.
7. Gade..... ERLKONIGS TOCHTERLEIN
I. THEIL.

Ballade für Soli und Chor.

Oluf... .. Herr BARDE.
Die Mutter..... Fr. REISER.

GRAND CONCERT

VOCAL ET INSTRUMENTAL

SOUS L'AUGUSTE PATRONAGE DE

S. M. I. LE SULTAN

AU PROFIT DES

VICTIMES DU TREMBLEMENT DE TERRE

en Anatolie

Organisé par un Comité composé de

L'ambassadrice d'Autriche-Hongrie;

L'ambassadrice d'Angleterre;

L'ambassadrice de France;

L'ambassadrice d'Allemagne;

L'ambassadrice de Russie;

Madame Countourioti;

Madame la Comtesse de Rascoff.

Le Concert sera donné dans la Salle du
Théâtre Municipal des Petits-Champs.

le Mercredi, 14 novembre, à 9 h. du soir.

avec le gracieux concours de

Mme Marinitsch, Mlle Ballader, Mlle
Marie Schneider, MM. Lauzoni, Madrilfi, Ma-
tzi, E. Pisani.

du Maître PISANI du chœur de la SOCIÉTÉ
CHORALE ALLEMANDE, dirigé par M. OSCAR
DETHIER; des chœurs de la TEUTONIA et des
enfants de l'école allemande, dirigés par M.
PAUL LANGE; et du Maître GENTILI pacha,
chef de la musique impériale.

—#03—

*On peut se procurer des billets en s'adressant
aux dames du comité.*

Prix du Billet : P. 110 ar.

Pour loges s'adresser au palais d'Autriche-
Hongrie.

Pour places réservées s'adresser au palais
d'Angleterre.

LE CONCERT D'HIER.

Hier, charmante matinée musicale dans le local de la *Teutonia* où l'on inaugurerait la série des concerts d'hiver organisés par le comité de la société allemande *Teutonia* et dirigés par M. Paul Lange. La société chorale « *Männerchor* » et un orchestre de 30 musiciens se sont fait entendre dans plusieurs morceaux dont quelques-uns ont été vivement applaudis.

On remarquait dans la salle, outre les notabilités de la colonie allemande, MM. les ambassadeurs d'Allemagne et d'Autriche-Hongrie, et un nombreux personnel d'attachés d'ambassades. Parmi les dames on en remarquait plusieurs avec des toilettes fort élégantes. Mais ce qui distingue les concerts de la *Teutonia*, c'est l'aimabilité qui y règne, la bonne musique qu'on y entend et l'ordre parfait qui y existe. C'est une réunion intime, pour ainsi dire, transformée en une fête agréable où l'on a plaisir de se retrouver et de se revoir. Aussi le concert d'hier, par la nombreuse société qu'il avait attirée et l'exécution parfaite des morceaux de choix que l'on a interprétés, a-t-il été un succès qui se continuera nous n'en doutons pas jusqu'au dernier.

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