

From Imperialism to Nationalism: Ottoman-Swedish Musical Relations

Emperyalizmden Nasyonalizme: Osmanlı-İsveç Müzik İlişkileri

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Abstract

Ottoman-Swedish music-historical relations date back to the early 18th century when King of Sweden Karl XII took refuge in the Ottoman Empire with his army. During the Ottoman Empire's 18th and 19th-century modernization processes, these connections continued. Swedish instrument makers started supplying Ottoman military bands once the Muzıka-yı Hümâyün (The Imperial Music and Performing Arts Institution) was founded. According to three archival files identified in the Directory of State Archives in Istanbul, military band instruments were bought for Sultan Abdulhamid II in 1890 and 1907. Moreover, the first Ottoman governmental march in Western style, *Mahmudie*, was of Swedish interest, and the Swedish march *Tre Trallande Jántor* (Three Carolling Girls) was of Ottoman.

Studies on Ottoman-Swedish relations mostly focus on economic, political, or diplomatic issues. Music-historical studies on this subject are under-represented, and limited in number and content. Thus, the Swedish musical contribution to the Ottoman military and the musical connections between these two countries are still understudied subjects in the global academic world. This paper is in the fields of cultural history and cultural diplomacy. It examines the historical background of Ottoman-Swedish musical relations through the historical method, by adopting data collection and descriptive data analysis techniques to interpret the findings in line with the era's historical, social, and political developments, as well as with the ideologies of modernization and nationalism.

Keywords

Ottoman marches, Swedish marches, Swedish instruments, modernization, nationalism

Öz

Osmanlı-İsveç müzik ilişkileri, İsveç Kralı XII. Karl'ın ordusuyla Osmanlı Devleti'ne sığındığı 18. yüzyılın başlarına kadar uzanmaktadır. Bu ilişkiler, 18. ve 19. yüzyıllarda Osmanlı modernleşme süreci boyunca devam etmiştir. Muzıka-yı Hümâyün'un kurulmasından sonra İsveçli çalgı üreticileri Osmanlı askerî bandolarının tedarikçisi olmuşlardır. T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi'nde tespit edilen üç arşiv dosyasına göre, 1890 ve 1907 yıllarında Sultan II. Abdülhamid, İsveç'ten askerî bando çalgıları satın almıştır. Ayrıca Batılı tarzda ilk Osmanlı devlet marşı olan *Mahmudiye*, İsveç askerî bandolarının, İsveç marşı *Tre Trallande Jántor* (Üç Şarkı Söyleyen Kız) ise Osmanlı askerî bandosunun ilgi alanına girmiştir.

Osmanlı-İsveç ilişkileri üzerine bugüne kadar yapılan araştırmalar daha ziyade ekonomik, siyasi veya diplomatik konulara odaklanmakta, verilerini ve söylemlerini bu alanlardaki literatüre ve arşiv belgelerine dayandırmaktadır. Osmanlı-İsveç ilişkileri konusundaki müzik tarihi çalışmaları yetersiz temsil edilmekte, sayı ve içerik olarak sınırlı kalmaktadır. Bu sebeple İsveç'in Osmanlı ordusuna müzik alanında hizmet vermesi ve bu iki devlet arasındaki kompozisyon bağlamındaki ilişki uluslararası literatürde henüz çalışılmayan konular olarak değerlendirilmektedir.

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Kültürel tarih ve kültürel diplomasi alanlarındaki bu makale, Osmanlı modernleşmesi sırasında Osmanlı-İsveç müziksel ilişkilerinin arka planını tarihsel yöntem ile incelemekte, veri toplama tekniğiyle edinilen bulguları betimsel veri analizi tekniğiyle dönemin tarihî, sosyal ve siyasi gelişmeleri ile birlikte modernleşme ve milliyetçilik ideolojileri doğrultusunda yorumlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Osmanlı marşları, İsveç marşları, İsveç çalgıları, modernleşme, milliyetçilik

Genişletilmiş Özet

18. yüzyılın başlarına dayanan Osmanlı-İsveç müzik ilişkileri, Osmanlı'nın modernleşme süreci boyunca devam etmiştir. Osmanlı Devleti'nin askerî alanda güç kaybeden mekanizmalarını sorgulaması üzere başlatılan modernleşme hareketinin tohumları, Sultan III. Selim'in Nizam-ı Cedid (Yeni Düzen) döneminde atılmıştır. Askerî alanda Batılı üslupla bir yenileşme amacıyla aralarında İsveç'in de bulunduğu çeşitli Avrupa ülkelerinden subaylar getirilmiştir. Bu çabalar, Sultan II. Mahmud'un reform hareketlerine ve İsveç ile sağlam müziksel temasların kurulmasına öncülük etmiştir. İsveç'in Osmanlı modernleşmesi sürecinde müzik alanındaki etkilerine, her iki devletin kraliyet/emperyal müzik kurumlarının yapısal benzerlikleri bir gerekçe olabilir. 19. yüzyılda Osmanlı sarayında kurulan Muzika-yı Hümâyûn'un askerî bandolar, saray orkestrası ve çeşitli müzik branşlarını temsil eden çalgı topluluklarını içinde barındırması gibi, İsveç Kraliyet Saray Orkestrası, Kraliyet Müzik Akademisi ve Kraliyet Askerî Bandoları birbiriyle ilişkili ve aynı krallık/saray kurumsal çatısı altında faaliyet göstermekteydi.

Kurumsal yapılanmalarındaki benzerlik, Osmanlı-İsveç müzik ilişkilerinin çalgı tedarîği ve askerî marşlar alanını işaret etmiş, ilgili belgeler arşivlerde tespit edilmiştir. Küresel modernleşme çabalarına yol açan sanayileşme hareketinin bir parçası olarak İsveç, çalgı imalatında öne çıkmıştır. Dönemin önde gelen İsveçli askerî bando çalgıları üreticileri Jacob Valentin Wahl (1801-1884) ve Ahlberg & Ohlsson'dur. Wahl tarafından üretilen pirinç çalgılar Avrupa pazarında tipik İsveç çalgıları olarak tanınıp kabul görmüştür. 1850 yılında Ahlberg & Ohlson'ın kurulması ise sivil ve askerî bandoların popülaritesindeki artış sürecine denk gelmiştir. 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına gelindiğinde İsveç askerî bando çalgıları Osmanlı Sarayı'nda da ilgi uyandırmış; 1890 ve 1907 yıllarında İsveç'ten askerî bando çalgıları satın alınmıştır. Osmanlı Sarayı'nın İsveç'ten askerî bando çalgıları siparişleri, iki devlet arasındaki ilişkilerin çok boyutluluğu ve Sultan Abdülhamid'in stratejik yönetim ve kültürel diplomasi anlayışı çerçevesinde yorumlanabilir.

İsveç ile çalgı tedarîği bağlamında devamlılık arz eden ilişkilerin yanı sıra, Osmanlı'da Batı Müziği'nin yeni bir müzik branşı olarak çalışmalarının başlamasıyla, iki devletin birbirlerinin marşlarına ilgi duyduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Batılı tarzda ilk Osmanlı devlet marşı olan *Mahmudiye* İsveç askerî bandolarınca icra edilmiş; İsveç

marşı *Tre Trallande Jäntor* (Üç Şarkı Söyleyen Kız) ise melodisine Türkçe güfte yazılarak Osmanlı marş repertuarında yerini almıştır. Marşlardan beklenen işlevsellik emperyalizmden milliyetçiliğe uzanan sürecin dinamiklerinin stratejik yönetimiyle ve bu dinamiklerin birbirleriyle olan ilişkileriyle gerekçelendirilebilir. Milliyetçilik, emperyalizme bir yanıt olarak alternatif bir toplum yaratma ihtiyacı sonucu ortaya çıkmış, gelişmekte olan devletlerde reformların hızlandırılmasına yardımcı olmuştur. Diğer yandan, modernleşme ve sanayileşmenin her yerde eşit şekilde görülmemesi de milliyetçi hareketlere zemin yaratmıştır. Modernleşme, geleneksel toplumlardaki kültürel ilişkileri değiştirerek yeni bir kültür yaratırken, milliyetçilik hem bir ideoloji hem de bir hareket vasfıyla tamamen modern bir fenomen olarak tanımlanarak imparatorlukların/krallıkların sonunu hazırlamıştır. Osmanlı Devleti'nde müzikte modernleşmenin ilk temsilcisi olan *Mahmudiye Marşı*'nın, *Kungl Skånska Dragonregementets Marsch* (Scanian Dragoon Alayı'nın Kraliyet Marşı) adıyla yedi farklı İsveç askerî bandosu tarafından uzun yıllar çalınması, parçalanma tehdidiyle karşı karşıya olan İsveç'in emperyalist ideolojilerini korumak isteğinin müziksel bir sunusu olarak değerlendirilebilir. Zira *Mahmudiye Marşı*, yalnızca bir devletin modernleşmesinin Batı üslubundaki ilk müziksel sembolü olmakla kalmamış, aynı zamanda imparatorluk mirasını geri alma, Sultan temsilini Türk kimliğiyle sadece kendi topraklarında değil uluslararası arenada da Batılı bestecilerin ilgisini çekmede ve böylelikle sosyal istikrarı yeniden sağlarken imparatorluk imajını korumada hizmet etmiştir.

Makalede, İsveç'in Osmanlı devlet marşını benimsemesinin sebepleri çoklu perspektif sunusuyla ortaya konulmuştur. Etkenlerden biri, İsveç ile Osmanlı Devleti arasındaki askerî ilişkiler, ittifaklar ve İsveçli subayların modernleşme sürecinde Osmanlı askerî kurumlarında istihdam edilmeleri dolayısıyla bando ile çok yönlü temasları ihtimali olarak tartışılmıştır. Diğer bir sebebin ise İskandinav ülkelerinden İstanbul'a seyahat eden Hans Christian Andersen gibi önemli şahsiyetlerin vesileleri ve krallık yapısını koruma ikilemindeki İskandinav ülkelerinin milliyetçilik ideolojilerinin olabileceği öne sürülmüştür. Burada Batılı bestekârların emperyalizmi temsil eden Sultan temalı ve milliyetçiliği benimseyen Türk kimliği vurgulu marşları etkisindeki bestelerine dikkat çekilmiştir. Makalenin *Mahmudiye Marşı*'nın İsveç Kraliyet bandolarınca icrasına dair son bir hipotez ise Sultan II. Mahmud'un annesinin kimliğiyle ilgili siyasi olarak icat edilmiş bir efsanedir. Sultan'ın İsveç Kralı I. Oscar ile akraba olduğunu iddia eden bu hikâyeye *Mahmudiye Marşı*'na İsveç ilgisini meşru kılabilir.

Diğer yandan, 19. yüzyılın küresel kaosuyla mücadelesinde daha güçlü bir askeri savunma inşa etmek isteyen İsveç, eğitimde fiziksel egzersize özel önem vermeye yönelerek 1813 yılında spor alanında dünyanın en eski eğitim kurumları arasında yer alan *Gymnastiska Centralinstitutet*'i (Kraliyet Jimnastik Merkez Enstitüsü) kurmuştur. Aynı kargaşadan nasibini alan Osmanlı Devleti ise modernleşme sürecinin bir parçası olarak İkinci Meşrutiyet'in ilanının ardından Milli Olimpiyat Komitesi'ni kurmuş, 20.

yüzyılın başlarında Türk öğrenci Selim Sırrı'yı (Tarcan) (1874-1956), askerî jimnastik üzerine araştırma yapmak üzere Avrupa'ya göndermiştir. 1909'da İsveç Kraliyet Okulu *Gymnastiska Centralinstitutet*'e devam eden Selim Sırrı, mezun olduktan sonra becerilerini ve kazanımlarını Türk spor eğitimine uygulamak için Osmanlı topraklarına dönerken İsveçli besteci Felix Körling'in *Tre Trallande Jäntor* (Üç Şarkı Söyleyen Kız) adlı İsveç marşını beraberinde getirmiştir. *Mahmudiye Marşı*'nın Osmanlılık ve emperyalizm temsilinden farklı olarak, Selim Sırrı'nın İsveç'ten melodisini beğenerek getirdiği ve arkadaşı, İstanbul Lisesi öğretmeni, şair Ali Ulvi (Elöve)'ye Türkçe güfte yazdırdığı *Tre Trallande Jäntor*, *Gençlik Marşı* adıyla, 1915-1916 akademik yılından itibaren spor etkinliklerinde ve ardından Kurtuluş Savaşı'nda Türk gençlerine motivasyon kaynağı olması hedefiyle benimsenmiş, Türk milliyetçi ruhunun, Osmanlı Devleti'nden Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne geçişin bir simgesi ve ilerleyen yıllarda 19 Mayıs Gençlik ve Spor Bayramı'nın resmî müziksel temsilcisi olmuştur.

Osmanlı-İsveç müzik ilişkilerini konusundaki çalışmaların literatürde yetersiz temsil edildiği tespit edildiğinden bu çalışmada, arşiv bulgularıyla, uluslararası bağlamda alana katkı sağlamak, bugüne kadar yapılmış ekonomik, sosyal, tarihî, siyasi ve diplomatik ilişkiler araştırmalarıyla modernleşme ve milliyetçilik ideolojilerini temsil eden yaklaşımlara müzik alanındaki veriler üzerinden yapılan yeni bir okuma vesilesiyle yenilikçi bir perspektif sunmak hedeflenmektedir.

Introduction

The frequency of Ottoman-Swedish relations reached its peak in the 18th century, with the 1737 Ottoman-Swedish Trade Treaty and the 1739 Ottoman-Swedish Alliance Agreement against Russia. King Gustav III of Sweden pledged to aid the Ottoman Empire when the Ottoman-Russian War (1787–1792) broke out. Sweden's involvement in the dispute with Russia in 1788 shifted significantly the tide of battle in the Ottoman Empire's favor. Payment for this help was secured when the 1789 Ottoman-Swedish Alliance Agreement was signed with Sultan Selim III's succession.¹ On the other hand, musical relations between the Swedish and the Ottomans began in the early 18th-century² and increased in frequency during the 19th-century modernization period of the Ottoman Empire. The seeds of this movement began during the Nizâm-ı Cedid (New Order) period of Sultan Selim III, when European officers, including Swedish officers, were brought in to transform the Ottoman military into one more European in style.³

For many countries, including the Ottoman Empire, 19th-century ideals and movements of modernization, industrialization, and nationalism marked the beginning of the end. In terms of modernization and industrialization, as Europe gained technical and military power, the Ottoman Empire struggled to keep up with the developments of the time (such as with European military technologies), power shifted, and the Ottomans began to lose in the wars.⁴

The first attempt towards Ottoman modernization was initiated by Sultan Selim III when he came to the throne in 1789. He demanded each dignitary of the state draw up a declaration outlining their opinions on necessary reforms. One of the foremost statesmen who submitted a report was Mouradgea d'Ohsson, the Swedish ambassador in Istanbul.⁵ D'Ohsson recommended that a group of officers is brought from Europe to establish a European-style military school. His report listed 17 items to be completed to open the military school. These concerns have included the school's location, design, and potential for enrolment, the type of lessons to be taught, suggestions for language training, the availability of necessary tools and equipment, the provision of

- 1 Uğur Kurtaran, *Osmanlı Avusturya Diplomatik İlişkileri* (Kahramanmaraş: Ukde Yayınları, 2009), 188.
- 2 One such historical case is the Istanbul meeting of Johann Jacob Bach, who was a military band musician of King of Sweden Karl XII's army, and Pierre Gabriel Buffardin, the French Baroque flutist. Their musical meeting in the Ottoman capital, when Johann Jacob Bach took flute lessons from Pierre Gabriel Buffardin, occurred during the reign of Sultan Ahmed III (1703-1730). Due to Johann Jacob Bach's presence there, the oboe was introduced to Ottoman lands. For further reading, see Evren Kutlay, "Bach ve Buffardin'in İstanbul Buluşmasına Türk Müzik Tarihi Bağlamında Bakış", *Zeitschrift für die Welt der Türken* 2/2 (2010), 43-52.
- 3 Yüksel Çelik, "Nizâm-ı Cedid'in Niteliği ve III. Selim ile II. Mahmud Askerî Reformlarına Dair Tespitler (1789-1839)", *Nizâm-ı Kadim'den Nizâm-ı Cedid'e III. Selim ve Dönemi* (İstanbul: İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi (İSAM) Yayınları, 2010), 575.
- 4 Evren Kutlay, "A Historical Case of Anglo-Ottoman Musical Interactions: The English Autopiano of Sultan Abdulhamid II", *European History Quarterly* 49/3 (2019), 387.
- 5 Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2004), 92-96.

books, and the salaries of the teachers. D’Ohsson’s report about Nizâm-ı Cedid was highly influential especially due to his previous presence and experiences in France and Sweden.⁶

During the implementation of Nizâm-ı Cedid, the Ottoman Empire brought many engineers, officers, and technicians from France, Sweden, and England.⁷ Swedish officers played a particularly important role in the modernization of the Ottoman navy.⁸ During his stay in Istanbul, d’Ohsson also acted as a music liaison, attending various music events. In his observations of one such event, he stated of the Ottomans that “there are probably no people on earth more passionate than they about music”.⁹ He also observed military band processions during Sultan Selim III’s court ceremonies.¹⁰

The Nizâm-ı Cedid’s attempts at modernization could not have been successful because they could not have been continued due to Sultan Selim III’s dethronement. However, these efforts helped establish the reform movements under Sultan Mahmud II and built good musical ties with Sweden. The Ottoman westernization movement was started by Sultan Mahmud II and continued throughout the remainder of the empire’s life. The official abolition of the janissary corps on June 17, 1826, led to the formation of a new army called the Asâkir-i Mansûre-i Muhammediyye. The army was to be trained using contemporary European drills led by French and Swedish officers. Sultan Mahmud II himself modeled the forerunners of Swedish King Gustav Adolphus’ “soldier-king” idea, as Adolphus had established the continent’s leading army.¹¹

In terms of developments in music, because the old janissary band could not conform to the new army’s European style, their institution, the Mehterhane-yi Hümâyûn, was abolished in 1827. It was replaced by the Muzıka-yı Hümâyûn, a new imperial military band school that offered European-style musical instruction. The first instructors were trumpeter Ahmed Usta and Vaybelim Ahmed Agha, both of whom had had only limited training in Western music during the Nizâm-ı Cedid. When their place of military duty changed, Monsieur Manguel (a Frenchman already residing in Istanbul) was appointed as the new director. After a short period, however, it became clear that Manguel did not have the skills to form a new band. In 1728, therefore, Istanbul’s

6 Osman Özkul, *Gelenek ve Modernite Arasında Ulema* (İstanbul: Bir Harf Yayınevi, 2005), 230-240.

7 Alaettin Avcı, *Türkiye’de Askeri Yüksek Okullar Tarihçesi Cumhuriyet Devrine Kadar* (Ankara: Genelkurmay Basımevi, 1963), 6-7.

8 Seyfi Kenan, “III. Selim Dönemi Eğitim Anlayışında Arayışlar”, *Nizâm-ı Kadim’den Nizâm-ı Cedid’e III. Selim ve Dönemi*, (İstanbul: İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi (İSAM) Yayınları, 2010), 136.

9 Carter Vaughn Findley, *Enlightening Europe on Islam and Ottomans: Mouradgea d’Ohsson and His Masterpiece* (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 218.

10 Findley, *Enlightening Europe on Islam and Ottomans: Mouradgea d’Ohsson and His Masterpiece*, 187, 298.

11 Gültekin Yıldız, “A Sultan in Uniform: Mahmud II,” *II. Mahmud: Istanbul in the Process of Being Rebuilt*, (İstanbul: İstanbul 2010 Kültür Başkenti Yayınları, 2010), 109.

Italian embassy brought Giuseppe Donizetti to be the new director of the imperial music school. Donizetti, Napoleon Bonaparte's military band musician and brother of famous opera composer Gaetano Donizetti, directed the Muzika-yı Hümâyûn for 28 years, until his death in Istanbul in 1856.¹²

The Exchange of Marches between Sweden and the Ottoman Empire and Nationalism

1. The Ottoman *Mahmudie March* and Swedish *Kungl Skånska Dragonregementets Marsch*

The *Mahmudie March*, a ceremonial march named after Sultan Mahmud II, was created by Giuseppe Donizetti as a part of the modernization movement and the founding of the Muzika-yı Hümâyûn. This march acted as the national anthem of his period and marks the beginning of a musical/governmental tradition that required the composition of a new European-style governmental march to represent the era of the specific sultan on the throne. Interestingly, the last Ottoman sultan, Mehmed Vahidettin VI (1918-1922), also chose Sultan Mahmud II's *Mahmudie March* as the official Ottoman governmental/national march. The *Mahmudie March*, therefore, represents not only the beginning of the new Ottoman westernization or modernization era but also the end of an empire. As the Ottoman Empire was witnessing years of occupation and decadence, Vahidettin's employment of *Mahmudie* for his reign marks the national/imperial message originally intended by his grandfather.¹³

12 Mahmud Ragıp Gazimihal, *Türk Askeri Müzikaları Tarihi* (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1955), 42.

13 Suha Umur, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Resmî Marşlar," *Tarih ve Toplum* 35 (1986), 265. According to Selim Deringil, towards the end of the 19th century, the spread of the national anthem idea as an official, governmental music constitutes the importance given to symbolism by the states. Selim Deringil, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda "Geleneğin İcadı", "Muhayyel Cemaat" (Tasarımlanmış Topluluk) ve Pan-İslamizm", *Simgeden Millete: II. Abdülhamid'den Mustafa Kemal'e Devlet ve Millet* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013), 6.



F. 1: Giuseppe Donizetti's *Mahmudie March* (Giuseppe Donizetti, *Mahmudie March*) (Istanbul: Istanbul University Rare Books Library Music Notes Collection 781/229).

The *Mahmudie March* was played by seven different military bands in Sweden soon after it was composed, under the title *Kungl Skånska Dragonregementets Marsch* (The Royal March of the Scanian Dragoon Regiment).¹⁴ The march's music notation of one of these bands, the *Skånska Dragonregementets* (Scanian Dragoon Regiment), is preserved in the collection of the *Musik- och Teaterbiblioteket* of Sweden.

¹⁴ Emre Aracı, *Donizetti Paşa* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006), 71.

14 *Kornett 1 i B. Kungl Skånska dragonregimentets marsch G. Donizetti:
Kungl Skånska pansarregimentets marsch (P2) Arr: H. Rosén*

upskåll

*Da Capo
utan repris
at Fine*

F. 2: Giuseppe Donizetti's *Kungl Skånska Dragonregimentets Marsch (P2)* (Giuseppe Donizetti, *Kungl Skånska Dragonregimentets Marsch (P2)*). Arrangör: Rosén, H. Nr. K 95) (Stockholm Regionmusiken Centrala notbiblioteket)

The *Skånska Dragonregimentets* regiment, which dissolved in 1927 (around the same years when the Ottoman Empire came to an end and the Turkish Republic was founded), was assigned to the town of Ystad in Sweden's most southern province, Skåne (Scania). Donizetti's *Mahmudie March* was recorded in the early twentieth century by both Swedish and Turkish musicians. The Swedish recording can be found in the second CD of a collection of 3 CDs titled *Svenska Armens Marscher* (The Marches of the Royal Swedish Army) and released in 1998.¹⁵

To understand why Swedish royal military bands employed the *Mahmudie March*, one must first understand the nature of political and diplomatic relations between the Ottomans and Swedish during Sultan Mahmud II's era (when the march was composed), as well as the significance of historical events, the political atmosphere, and relevant movements of the 19th century. The military ties and alliances between Sweden and the Ottoman Empire may be one reason for Sweden's adoption of the march. Swedish military officers may have had things contribute to the Ottoman military band, an active component of the army, considering that they were employed by Ottoman military institutions throughout modernization. Another reason may be related to important figures who traveled from Scandinavian countries to Istanbul. One such traveler was Hans Christian Andersen, who visited Istanbul two years after the death of Sultan Mahmud II. In his memoir, Andersen describes a court event organized to

15 "The Marches of the Royal Swedish Army", accessed December 25, 2020, <https://www.prestomusic.com/classical/products/8440482--the-marches-of-the-royal-swedish-army>.

celebrate and commemorate Sultan Mahmud II's birthday. During the ceremonies, he witnessed the Ottoman court band play the "Sultan's Favorite March"¹⁶:

"Bands of music had been posted at different points, and relieved each other at intervals. Rossini's "William Tell" was usually being played when it eventually stopped, and the young Sultan's favorite march began to play. The Donizetti brother who has been named bandmaster here has composed this march".¹⁷

Andersen's description reveals his interest in music, as well as his familiarity with Italian court musician Giuseppe Donizetti. Andersen had a musical background as an opera singer at the Royal Theater in Copenhagen and had written several opera librettos.¹⁸ He frequently attended opera and concert performances while visiting several European cities, including Istanbul, and he recorded his views in his travelogues. He was also an admirer of Italian opera, of which he wrote in his diary on January 25, 1834: "I long for music like a man sick with fever longs for a drop of water".¹⁹ He even wrote a music critique titled "Music, Songs and Theatrical Arts in Italy", published in the art journal *Sontagsblatt*. In this article, he discusses the works of Rossini, Donizetti, and Bellini.²⁰ Hence, his interest in the sultan's bands, which played Donizetti's imperial march and sections from Italian operas, is not surprising.

The nationalist movement emerged as a modern movement in the 19th century and extended over the continent of Europe. It took its roots from the French Revolution ideologies "based on the premise that the individual's loyalty and devotion to the nation-state surpass other individual or group interests".²¹ According to Anderson, nationalism emerged from the need to create an alternative congregation as a response to the diminishing religion and kingdom system.²² The nation was an "imagined political community" and was not produced by the convergence of a concrete set of social facts but by thought and then invention.²³ Nationalism helped accelerate reforms in developing countries. Modernization has also helped explain theories of nationalism. Nationalist movements were made possible by the uneven modernization and industrialization of development. By altering the cultural relationships inside traditional

16 The Ottoman national anthem (governmental march) was named also Sultan's Favorite March.

17 Henry William Dulcken, "Mahomet's Birthday-A Scene in Constantinople", *The Complete Illustrated Stories of Hans Christian Andersen* (London: Chancellor Press, 1983), 835.

18 Anna Harwell Celenza, "The Poet, the Pianist, and the Patron: Hans Christian Andersen and Franz Liszt in Carl Alexander's Weimar", *19th-Century Music* 26/2 (2002), 131.

19 Anna Harwell Celenza, *Hans Christian Andersen and Music: The Nightingale Revealed* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 46.

20 Celenza, *Hans Christian Andersen and Music*, 52.

21 Hans Kohn, "Nationalism," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, accessed November 19, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/contributor/Hans-Kohn/1626>.

22 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 11-49.

23 Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), 49.

communities, modernization generated a new culture, and nationalism-both as an idea and a movement-was seen as a purely modern phenomenon.²⁴ In pre-modern societies, there was no need for nationalism, but modern societies had to have both.²⁵ Modernization played an important role in the emergence of nationalism in the Ottoman Empire, too.

Some Turkish theorists define the activities belonging to the beginnings of the nationalist movement during the 19th century Ottoman Empire as “Ottomanism” or “territorial nationalism”. According to Akçura, Ottomanism was a recognition of the same political rights and duties ascribed to both Muslim and non-Muslim Ottomans, thus creating full consent among them. Its purpose was also to allow for full freedom in terms of ideas and religion and to represent a new nationality united under a common homeland, despite religious and ethnic differences.²⁶ It aimed to maintain the monarchy and establish coherence among the multiethnic texture of the public by transforming into a territorial nation. In other words, Ottomanism was a territorial nationalist ideology. In 1826, Sultan Mahmud II expressed a similar sentiment: “I distinguish the Muslims among my subjects only in the mosque, the Christians in the church, and the Jews in the synagogue; there is no other difference among them. My love and justice are strong for all, and all are my true sons”.²⁷

The sultans of the 19th century sought to unite numerous religious and ethnic groupings under the Ottoman identity to retain the current borders of the empire as the Ottoman Empire rounded the corner of collapse through wars and uprisings. The declaration of constitutions, a project of political unification that made it possible for many cultures to be reflected within the territories, especially strengthened nationalism that was centered on Ottomanism. The main discourse was that the country was owned by its citizens, regardless of their ethnic or religious background. At the same time, Sweden was experiencing similar conditions, and the *Mahmudie March* was the first national anthem to represent this ideology. The Ottomanist nationalist point of view which favored unification under an empirical/kingdom structure explains Sweden’s adoption of the march, as it represented the ideology of preventing the disintegration of Scandinavian countries and establishing unity within the Swedish kingdom.

19th-century famous slogan “liberty, equality, fraternity” became applicable not only in European kingdoms but also in the Ottoman Empire, especially during the constitutional periods, when parliaments housing representatives of different ethnic origins of Ottoman citizens were formed. During this period, both imperial dynastic family members and Ottoman musicians composed Ottoman Western music pieces that took this slogan

24 Anthony Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 76-79.

25 Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 48.

26 Yusuf Akçura, *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* (Ankara: Lotus Yayınevi, 2005), 35-37.

27 Enver Ziya Karal, “Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayununda Batının Etkisi,” *Belleten* 28/112 (1964), 595.

as their title.²⁸ Uprisings in the empire's Balkan territories resulted in the formation of independent nations and the dissolution of the monarchy. Following World War I, the nationalist movement persisted (both in Europe and the Ottoman Empire), resulting in the transformation of monarchies into national governments.²⁹

Like developments in the Ottoman Empire, the pre-steps of nationalism had also been occurring in Scandinavian countries at the beginning of the century. In 1814, Norway was ceded to the King of Sweden by the King of Denmark. The following year, *the Riksakt* established new fundamental laws claiming that the union of the two kingdoms was indissoluble and irrevocable without prejudice to their separate governments, constitutions, and code of laws. As the king possessed legislative power in matters related to political administration, a parliament of two publicly elected chambers was formed in 1893-1894.³⁰ The unification of the kingdoms under the Scandinavian umbrella, as well as the employment of public representatives in parliament, indicated a solution to the dissolution of the kingdoms and empires. In the Scandinavian countries, this was carried out through an ideology of nationalistic liberty in a monarchical setting, a similar approach to Ottoman territorial nationalism.

Affected by the nationalist movement, Hans Christian Andersen was one of the many poets, artists, musicians, and scholars of the era who reflected the new ideology in their works. Musical compositions with lyrics, such as operas and songs, mobilized large crowds toward nationalist ideologies. "We are one people, we are called Scandinavians!"³¹ was written by Hans Christian Andersen in 1839, two years after he visits Sweden and two years before his trip to Istanbul. Andersen was aware of the power of this music. Explaining his intent in writing the poem, Andersen said, "I became fond of both the country and the people, and felt, as I say, that the boundaries of my home were extended. All at once I understood how related the Swedes, the Danes, and the Norwegians are, and with this feeling, I wrote the poem immediately after my return".³² Andersen was also highly concerned about the lack of a national anthem reflecting the Scandinavian spirit. He had a passion, therefore, to find a melody for his poem, believing that it might serve as such an anthem. Reflecting on this goal, Andersen stated:

28 Evren Kutlay, "Vive La Liberté! İkinci Meşrutiyet'in Müzikal Coşkusu," *Akademik Bakış* 10/20 (2010), 1-16.

29 M. Vedat Gürbüz, "Genesis of Turkish Nationalism," *Belleten* 67/249 (2003), 495-518; Hans Kohn, "European Nationalism", *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, accessed November 19, 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/nationalism/European-nationalism>.

30 John Scott-Keltie, *The Statesman's Year-Book: Statistical and Historical Annual of the States of the World for the Year 1894* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1894), 964-965.

31 Anne Ø. Jensen, "Jeg er en Scandinav," *H. C. Andersen og Musikken*, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, accessed January 9, 2023, <http://wayback01.kb.dk/wayback/20100504145542/http://www2.kb.dk/elib/noder/hcamusik/skandinav/index.htm>

32 Jensen, *H. C. Andersen og Musikken*.

“I sensed the beauty of the Nordic spirit, the way the three sister nations have gradually grown together, and then it occurred to me that we three have no national anthem. I wanted to provide one, and no sooner said than done. I think I shall find the right melody, like the one we have for “Kong Christian” (“King Christian”), and then it may well become Scandinavian”.³³

Andersen’s attempts at writing a national anthem led to the composition of a fitting melody by Otto Linden Blatt. But the march was only sung by student unions of Scandinavian countries for a short period. When students of the three Nordic countries met in 1845, the Swedes greeted the Norwegians in Copenhagen Harbor with Andersen’s march, but the popularity of the march declined shortly thereafter.³⁴ Still, the existence of this march, as well as Andersen’s passion for a national anthem, reflects the preservation of the era’s Nordic monarchic spirit.

The *Mahmudie March* was not only the first musical symbol of the modernization of an empire but also served the Ottoman government in reclaiming their imperial heritage and restoring social stability. The transmission of *Mahmudie* to Nordic lands and Sweden’s adoption of it may have been impacted by Andersen’s Nordic union spirit, his search for a national anthem to portray that spirit, and his interest in this Ottoman march. *Mahmudie* served as an imperial symbol against the dissolution of the Scandinavian monarchy. Progressive modernity intensified ethnic conflict and nationalist ideologies,³⁵ justifying the employment of a governmental march that served the idea of an imperial union established by a strong, centuries-old empire.

Sweden may also have adopted the *Mahmudie March* by visiting European musicians hosted by the Ottomans. The works of these musicians evidence interest in the prestige of the Ottoman court, which may be tied to the Turquerie movement that raged in Europe throughout the centuries, as well as the political and diplomatic prestige of a 600-year-old empire. The beginning of the modernization movement and the introduction of Ottoman Western music fueled the Ottoman palace’s interest in European art music, prompting famous European musicians to visit the Ottoman courts to give concerts in the presence of the sultan. During the periods of Sultan Mahmud II and his son, Abdulmejid, famous virtuosos such as Elias Parish Alvars, Leopold de Meyer, Franz Liszt, Eugene Leon Vivier, Henri Wieuxtemps, and August D’Adelburg performed concerts in Istanbul. These musicians frequently created music using Ottoman imperial culture as an inspiration. The *Sultan’s Favorite March* was one of the time’s most well-known composition themes and titles. For instance, when harpist Alvars traveled to Ottoman territory in the spring of 1832 to perform a concert for Sultan Mahmud II, he gathered several well-known Armenian, Bulgarian, Greek, and

33 Jensen, H. C. *Andersen og Musikken*.

34 Jensen, H. C. *Andersen og Musikken*

35 Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, 576.

Turkish songs. He then composed a collection titled *Travel of a Harpist in the Orient Op. 62* based on those melodies. The collection features a march titled *Sultan's Favorite March Op. 30/Sultan's Parade March*.³⁶ In 1842, pianist Leopold de Meyer also gave a concert in Istanbul, performing piano arrangements of Sultan Abdulmedjid's favorite songs, about which he had been informed by Giuseppe Donizetti. De Meyer composed pieces titled *Mahmudie: Air Guerrier des Turcs* (Mahmudie: Turkish War March) *Op. 22*, and *Air National des Turcs (Turkish National Air) Op. 23*, both honoring Sultan Mahmud II, the *Mahmudie*, and the empire's Turkish identity. In the summer of 1847, Franz Liszt also came to Istanbul (where he stayed for five weeks) to give a concert in the presence of Sultan Abdulmedjid. He performed his *Grande Paraphrase on Medjidie March*, which built on the theme of Donizetti's *Medjidie March*, the Ottoman national anthem during Sultan Abdulmedjid's reign. Before Liszt, Carl Czerny, Liszt's teacher, had already composed his *Op. 451, Impromptu Brilliant & Militaire on a March from Donizetti's 'Sultan Mahmoud'* for Sultan Mahmud II and his *Mahmudie March*.³⁷ Like Liszt, Czerny directly employs *Mahmudie March* in his work. During his visit in 1861, violin virtuoso and composer August D'Adelburg composed a large, orchestrated symphony fantasy, the *Aux Bords du Bosphore* (On the Shores of the Bosphorus). The symphony consisted of five movements, which included *Chanson Turque* (Turkish Song) and *Grande Marche du Medjidie* (Grand March of Medjidie)³⁸, with *Chanson Turque* symbolizing the 'Turkishness' as an indication of national identity, and with 'Sultan's favorite march Medjidie' the term 'Sultan' acts as a symbol of imperialism. *Mahmudie's* composer Giuseppe Donizetti's brother Gaetano Donizetti is yet another example of a musician who was influenced by Ottoman culture. Following the "Sultan's March" fashion favored in the international music arena, Gaetano Donizetti composed a march for the sultan titled *Grand Imperial March for the Sultan of Turkey*.³⁹ He was one of several world-famous musicians who used the musical theme of the Ottoman national anthem in their works. These musicians' interest in the Sultan's March was evidenced in their compositions, either through the use of the march's original musical notation or through the composer's interpretation. Often, the composition's relation to the Sultan's March is indicated in the title. As European foremost composers' interest in Ottoman national anthems lead to western musical compositions, which were brought to their home countries throughout Europe, *Mahmudie March* may have transferred through those European compositions to Sweden as a symbol of monarchy. Also, Ernst Leopold Schmidt from

36 Evren Kutlay, "Osmanlı Saraylarında Konser Veren Avrupalı Müzisyenler ve Osmanlı'da Batı Müziğinin Gelişimine Katkıları," *Atatürk Üniversitesi Güzel Sanatlar Enstitüsü Dergisi* 22 (2009), 141.

37 Carl Czerny, "Impromptu Brilliant & Militaire pour le pianoforte sur la Marche Favorite Sultan Mahmoud II", *Op. 451*, Mayence (1860?), SchottArchiv_5070, Bayerische StaatsBibliothek, Germany.

38 Prag Symphony Orchestra conducted by Emre Aracı, "Adelburg, August de. *Aux Bords du Bosphore*," *Istanbul to London* (Istanbul: Kalan Müzik, 2005).

39 Berlin Radio Symphony Orchestra conducted by Sebastian Weigle, "Gaetano Donizetti, *Grand Imperial Military March for the Sultan of Turkey*," *Marches and Wind Music* 24 (Berlin: Capriccio, 1995).

Heiligenstadt, Germany, was yet another visitor to Istanbul. On May 19, 1836, he played the Apollo Lyre instrument (his invention) in the presence of Sultan Mahmud II and his two sons (Sultan Abdulmedjid and Sultan Abdulaziz) in the Ottoman court. After his Ottoman performance, he planned to visit Sweden.⁴⁰ Although it is not clear that Schmidt held any interest in *Mahmudie*, his visit to Istanbul and then to Sweden exemplifies the music-related travelers between the Ottoman court and Swedish kingdom and reflects Sultan Mahmud II's (and that of his sons) interest in innovative western instruments, an interest which continued to develop throughout the history of the Ottoman Empire, which we will discuss below, in the case of Sultan Abdulhamid II's order of Swedish instruments.

Another factor that may explain the Swedish kingdom's adoption of the *Mahmudie March* may be the politically-invented myth concerning the identity of Sultan Mahmud II's mother. This story has ties to both the Ottoman Empire's and Swedish Kingdom's military partnership, as well as the effort to defend the state's monarchy from the nationalist movement. The legend states that Josephine, Napoleon's first wife, was a distant cousin of Sultan Mahmud II's mother, Nakshidil Sultan, who was born Aimée du Buc de Rivéry. According to legend, the French princess was taken prisoner at sea and given to the Ottoman harem. According to the story, she then became the mother of Mahmud II, at which point she used the name Nakshidil. Although Aimée was still in France in 1788-after Mahmud was born-evidence of Nakshidil's French origin was later found in a letter written by the mother-in-law of the French ambassador at the time of Nakshidil's death in 1817. Additionally, Napoleon III greeted warmly Sultan Abdulaziz (son of Mahmud II) when he visited Paris in 1867 and revealed to the media that they were connected through their grandmothers.⁴¹ At the same time, Napoleon's granddaughter, Josephine, married King Oscar I of Sweden-the son of Jean-Baptiste Jules Bernadotte- (then the French Minister of War and Sovereign Prince of Pontecorvo) and Désirée Clary, Napoleon Bonaparte's former fiancée. King Oscar I was originally named Joseph, after his godfather Joseph Bonaparte, the elder brother of Napoleon Bonaparte. According to the myth, therefore, Sultan Mahmud II and King Oscar I of Sweden appeared to be relatives.

According to Verhaaren, "the purported presence of French women with royal connections in the Ottoman imperial harem has been used for political purposes from the sixteenth to the twenty-first century".⁴² She asserts that the events in Nakshidil's tale parallel the deterioration of the alliance between the French king and the Ottoman sultan. Due to the winds of the French revolution, the Ottoman Empire had been

40 *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, December 21, 1836, vol. 51, 842-843.

41 Christine Isom Verhaaren, "Royal French Women in the Ottoman Sultans' Harem: The Political Uses of Fabricated Accounts from the Sixteenth to the Twenty-first Century," *Journal of World History* 17/2 (2006), 184-186.

42 Verhaaren, "Royal French Women in the Ottoman Sultans' Harem," 159.

struggling to protect its territories from uprisings, and Napoleon's attack on Egypt disrupted diplomatic relations between the two states. Nakshidil's story "was used by Napoleon III to enhance his prestige and by Abdulaziz to bolster his position relative to predatory European powers in the 1860s".⁴³ This myth positively served both French-Ottoman relations and Ottoman-Swedish relations, as it fortified their alliances through an invented royal kinship. Aside from England, France and Sweden were the other European countries that were dominant in the westernization movements of the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁴ Therefore Sultan Mahmud II's *Mahmudie March* might come to symbolize the blood bond between the Swedish and Ottoman royalties.

2. The Swedish *Tre Trallande Jäntor* (Three Carolling Girls) and the Turkish *Gençlik Marşı* (Youth March)

Because the chaotic 19th century required Sweden to establish a stronger military defence, they placed particular importance on physical exercise in schools. In 1813, they formed the *Gymnastiska Central Institutet* (Royal Gymnastics Central Institute), which is among the world's oldest educational establishments in the field of sport.⁴⁵ In the early twentieth century, a Turkish student, Selim Sırrı (Tarcan) (1874-1956), had been sent to Europe to conduct research on military gymnastics as part of Ottoman modernization processes. Sırrı took an active part in the Union and Progress Committee which initiated revolution activities in the Ottoman Empire; this committee's efforts eventually resulted in the declaration of the Second Constitution in 1908 and Sultan Abdulhamid II's dethronement. After the 1908 revolution, Sırrı established the National Olympics Committee and moved to Sweden, where he attended the Royal School *Gymnastiska Central Institutet* in 1909. After his graduation, he returned to the Ottoman lands to apply his skills to Turkish sports education.⁴⁶

Sırrı's memoirs of his stay in Sweden, published by the Turkish magazine *Şehbâl*⁴⁷, contain observations concerning the Swedish arts. Sırrı had attended an art exhibition sponsored by the King of Sweden and the king's brother, Prince Eugène. The memoirs claim that in addition to characteristically Swedish products, the exhibition also included counterfeits of French, German, and Italian products. Sırrı noted that Swedish artists of that time were often educated in those countries; therefore, the exhibited

43 Verhaaren, "Royal French Women in the Ottoman Sultans' Harem," 159-160.

44 Mehmet Alaaddin Yalçınkaya, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Modernleşme Sürecinde Avrupalıların İstihdam Edilmesi (1774-1807)," *Islamic-Turkish Civilization and Europe International Symposium Proceedings* (İstanbul: İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi (İSAM) Yayınları, 2006), 377, 392.

45 "Educational Institution," History of GIH, accessed February 6, 2019, <https://www.gih.se/In-English/About-GIH/History>.

46 Selim Ahmetoğlu, "An Evaluation on Selim Sırrı (Tarcan)'s "İsveç Hatıraları" (Memoirs from Sweden) in *Şehbâl Magazine*," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 21/1 (2011), 34.

47 Ahmetoğlu, "An Evaluation on Selim Sırrı (Tarcan)'s "İsveç Hatıraları" (Memoirs from Sweden) in *Şehbâl Magazine*," 38.

products did not reflect a national Swedish style. As a response, some artists were sent to recently-established Swedish schools, resulting in products that reflected a more nationalistic style.⁴⁸

The strength of the nationalist spirit can be observed in Selim Sırrı's remarks regarding the Ottoman Empire's status during those years. He claimed, for instance, that the Ottoman Empire could not prosper by merely imitating Western cultures: "The only way to modernize the Ottoman state and society was adopting a national approach to thinking and a national art perspective".⁴⁹ Upon his return to Ottoman lands in 1909, however, Sırrı brought Swedish composer Felix Körling's *Tre Trallande Jäntor* (Three Carolling Girls) march with him, which then was adopted as the Turkish *Gençlik Marşı* (Youth March) that is still sung today. Written by Swedish poet Gustaf Fröding (1860-1911), the lyrics of the march mainly concerned forest and forestry; the song was therefore sung and appreciated by Swedish forestry students. Sırrı, who very much enjoyed the melody, wanted to give it Turkish lyrics during WWI so that it might be taught to Turkish youth. To this end, he asked his friend Ali Ulvi (Elöve), a poet and Turkish teacher at Istanbul High School, to write lyrics for the melody. The march was first sung at education faculties during the academic year of 1915–1916 before spreading from across the country. It was also sung during the first physical training demonstration ceremony supervised by Sırrı in the spring of 1916.⁵⁰

48 Ahmetoğlu, "An Evaluation on Selim Sırrı (Tarcan)'s "İsveç Hatıraları" (Memoirs from Sweden) in Şehbâl Magazine," 38-39.

49 Ahmetoğlu, "An Evaluation on Selim Sırrı (Tarcan)'s "İsveç Hatıraları" (Memoirs from Sweden) in Şehbâl Magazine," 39.

50 Etem Ruhi Üngör, *Türk Marşları* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları, 1966), 11: 205.

Gençlik Marşı

Beste : Felix Korling
Güfte : Ali Ulvi Elöve

Con entusiasmo

29

1. DAĞ BA-SI NI DU-MAN AL-MIS GÜ-MÜS DE-RE DÜR-MAZ A-KAR GÜ-
2. BU GÖK DE-NİZ NE-RE DE-VAR NE-RE-DE BU DAĞ-LAR TAŞ-LAR

MES-UL FOK-TAN SIM-Dİ DO-ĞAR YÜ-RÜ-YE-LİM AR-KA-DAS-LAR
BE-ŞEĞ-LAR, GÜ-ZEL KUS-LAR YÜ-RÜ-YE-LİM AR-KA-DAS-LAR

SE-Sİ-Mİ-Zİ YER GÖK, SU DİN-LE-SİN SERT A-DİM-LAR-LA HER YER İN-LE-SİN

SE-Sİ-Mİ-Zİ YER, GÖK, SU DİN-LE-SİN SERT A-DİM-LAR-LA HER YER İN-LE-SİN, İN-LE-SİN.

F. 3: *Gençlik Marşı* (Youth March) (Üngör, *Türk Marşları*, 205)

During WWI, Mustafa Kemal Pasha left Istanbul for Samsun to initiate the Turkish National Movement and Turkish War of Independence; there, he often sang the Youth March with his staff. They sang it while they traveled to Erzurum and Sivas, promoting the nationalist movement across all of Turkey. On June 20, 1938, Law 3466 declared ‘May 19’ as a *Festival of Youth and Sports* holiday, and the *Gençlik Marşı* came to be the March of the Festival of Youth and Sports.⁵¹ The lyrics of the march reflect the Turkish nationalist spirit: “The sun is rising from the horizon now / Let’s march-walk, friends! / Grounds, sky, water, listen to our voice / Our hard steps are sougning everywhere.” They have a heavyhearted air, as well as a sense of hope, determination, and confidence⁵²-a response, perhaps to public anxiety concerning the turn for the worse during WWI.

Unlike the *Mahmudie March*, the Ottoman-Swedish *Gençlik Marşı* favored Turkish nationalism over imperial Ottomanism. The march was used to symbolize the Turkish nationalist spirit during the Turkish National Movement and the Turkish War of Independence, an era that marked the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic.

51 Üngör, *Türk Marşları*, 205.

52 Avni Altın, *Her Yönüyle Atatürk* (İstanbul: Bakış Matbaası, 1974), 633.

The Swedish Musical Instrument Suppliers of the Ottomans

Throughout the 19th century, their friendship was strengthened in a variety of ways thanks to the long-standing political and commercial ties between the Ottoman Empire and the Swedish kingdom as well as Sweden's strong military collaboration with the Ottoman army. The newly-appointed Swedish ambassador to Istanbul, Count Carl Gustaf Löwenhielm, was formerly invited to Sultan Mahmud II's court on September 6, 1824, after which he described the Swedish alliance spirit and attitude towards the Ottomans as follows:

“Most Serene Highness, All-mighty Emperor, Victorious Lord! My most gracious lord, the King, a faithful friend of Your Imperial Majesty, have ordered my principal obligation be to express his good wishes for Your Imperial Majesty's prosperity and continuous happiness and commanded me not to overlook anything that might convince Your Imperial Majesty of the sincerity of his thoughts. The King and the Swedish Nation recall with gratitude the warm relations that have always existed between the Ottoman Empire and the Crown of Sweden. Our history preserves for posterity the memory of the generous hospitality shown by Your Imperial Majesty's illustrious forefathers to one of Sweden's greatest kings. I would consider myself blessed if, in fulfilling my Court's command to renew the assurances of my King's sincere friendship for Your Imperial Majesty and in endeavoring to facilitate and extend trade relations between the two states, I also had the joy of winning Your Imperial Majesty's favor and benevolence.”⁵³

In line with diplomatic and political relations, Sweden's presence during the Ottoman musical modernization period can also be justified by similarities in the structure of both states' royal/imperial musical institutions. As in the case of the 19th-century Ottoman court, the Swedish Royal Court Orchestra, the Royal Academy of Music, and the Royal Military Bands were all interrelated and fell under the same court umbrella. The *Kungliga Hovkapellet* (Royal Court Orchestra) of Stockholm was founded in 1526 and comprised 12 players of wind and timpani equipment. The orchestra expanded throughout the years as players from Germany, France, and Italy were added (similar to the case of Ottomans during modernization). When King Gustav III founded the Royal Swedish Opera in 1773, its orchestra functioned as both a theater and ceremonial court orchestra.⁵⁴ Therefore, the 19th-century Swedish military bands which descended from the princely house orchestras may be regarded as court orchestras that symbolize imperialism due to their musicians' aristocratic positions.⁵⁵ Similarly, initiated in the palace, the earliest students of the *Muzika-yı Hümâyûn* were

53 Sture Theolin, *The Swedish Palace in Istanbul-İstanbul'da Bir İsveç Sarayı* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları), 95-97.

54 Petersén Gunilla and Rolf Thunander, “From the History of the Royal Swedish Orchestra,” *Kungliga Hofkapellet*, accessed March 17, 2021, <http://www.hovkapellet.com/om-orkestern/#english>.

55 Ann-Marie Nilsson, “Brass Instruments in Small Swedish Wind Ensembles During the Late Nineteenth Century,” *Historic Brass Society Journal* 13 (2001), 186.

selected from the children of high-class court officers. Therefore, musicians with palace connections tended to be employed in the newly formed Ottoman military bands.

The Ottoman bands' selection of instruments took on an increasingly important role as the bands' musical abilities and repertoire continued to advance throughout the end of the century. The Ottoman military bands operating under *Muzıka-yı Hümâyûn* could order music-related products and services from local traders as well as from European manufacturers. Although Ottomans began to experiment with producing their instruments, the products resulting from these trials could not mimic the technologies of the West yet. On the other hand, Sweden started putting more of an emphasis on instrument production as part of the industrialization drive that led to efforts at worldwide modernization. Jacob Valentin Wahl (1801–1844) and Ahlberg & Ohlsson were the leading producers of military band instruments in Sweden at the time. While brass instruments made by Wahl were regarded as uniquely Swedish throughout Europe, Ahlberg & Ohlsson was founded in 1850 at the same time when military and civilian bands were becoming more and more common. The latter's owners, Olof Ahlberg (1825-1854) and Lars Ohlsson (1825-1893), had both been apprentices of Wahl.⁵⁶ Ahlberg & Ohlsson manufactured brass instruments supplied to the Swedish army and navy, the Royal Academy of Music, and Stockholm's Royal Opera. Their brass instruments were exported to several European countries, as well as to the United States.

Ahlberg & Ohlsson instruments were appreciated for their ease of use and their ability to stay in tune, as well as for their solid and careful construction.⁵⁷ The company was also credited for its characteristically-shaped, rotary-valved cornett which became renowned as the "Swedish cornet".⁵⁸ The quality of Swedish military band instruments towards the end of the century was unique among other European countries. With their distinctive tone color and sound quality, "Swedish model" wind instruments began to appear in German newspapers in the 1880s and 1890s. In a comparison of those used by German bands, the news described the originality of Swedish wind instruments, using phrases like "softer tone color", "milder, soft tone", "melodious quality", "mellow and delicate sound", "wonderfully soft sound", and "never painful to the ear". Among such stories, one described the Swedish band music sound as "now like a piano being breathed into life on a grand piano by Erard"⁵⁹. Swedish military

56 Ling Jan, Eric Kjellberg and Owe Ronström, "Sweden," *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music: Volume 8 Europe*, ed. Timothy Rice, James Porter and Chris Goertzen (New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 2000), 434-450.

57 "Swedish Catalogue", *World's Columbian Exposition* (Chicago. Press of I. Hæggestrom, 1893), 54, State Library of Pennsylvania PV 3174.

58 Edward Tarr, *East Meets West: The Russian Trumpet Tradition from the Time of Peter the Great to the October Revolution* (New York: Pendragon Press, 2003), 96.

59 The Ottoman court may also have appreciated Swedish band instruments because of their resemblance in tone color to Erard pianos. Erard pianos played an important role in Ottoman music history. When Franz Liszt performed a concert in Sultan Abdulmedjid's court in 1847 -when Abdulhamid was five years old- Erard, Liszt's tour sponsor, sent his own piano to the Istanbul court. News about the Erard piano in the media stated:

band music was now being described as a harmonious ensemble with soft and mellow expression rather than by the harsh attacks which previously characterized it.⁶⁰

Ottoman interest in Swedish band instruments is evidenced in three files found in the Directory of State Archives. According to them, Sultan Abdulhamid II (1842-1918) ordered military band instruments from Sweden. Cataloged as Y.PRK.HH.22.76.2, the first file regarding the Ottomans' military band instrument order from Sweden contains two documents- one in French dated April 22, 1890, and the other in Ottoman Turkish dated May 6, 1890.⁶¹ The Royal Legation of Sweden and Norway got money for the 18 musical instruments that the Ottoman sultan demanded, according to a French document that was sent from the Swedish and Norwegian embassy in Istanbul to the Ottoman court. The check of 208,17,4 sterlings arrived from the Ottoman Ministry of Domestic Affairs. The document is signed by the translator of the Swedish legislation. When the Swedish navy visited the Ottoman Empire with the corvette *Freja* in 1889-1890, Sultan Abdulhamid II, who listened to the marine sextet on board, ordered brass instruments from Ahlberg & Ohlsson.⁶² Considering the timing, the documents in the Y.PRK.HH.22.76.2 file from the Directory of State Archives are most probably from this order.

The Sultan, who was also a talented carpenter, had a keen interest in the mechanisms, technologies, and manufacturing processes of instruments. One such instrument was an electric violin, *The Mills Automatic Violin*; invented by Swedish instrument maker Henry Konrad Sandel.⁶³ Sultan Abdulhamid II made it his goal to introduce unique musical instruments to Ottoman lands and wanted the Muzıka-yı Hümâyûn to rival its European contemporaries. Moreover, he regularly asked the Ottoman court musicians of European origin to conduct inspections of the institution. Fernando de Aranda, who had been hired in 1886 as a court musician in the Ottoman palace, carried out one such inspection. A document from the Directory of

"The Royal chef d'orchestre Donizetti has received confirmation from the famous instrument maker, Seb. Pierre Erard in Paris that as soon as Liszt arrives there, Erard will have sent a beautiful piano with seven octaves addressed to Donizetti in Constantinople" (Ömer Eğecioğlu, "The Liszt-Listmann Incident," *Studia Musicologica* 49 3/4 (2008), 288). Before and after the concert at the Ottoman palace, news about the correspondence between the Erard piano firm, the Ottoman Imperial Music Institution Muzıka-yı Hümâyûn's director Donizetti, and Franz Liszt appeared in the local newspaper, *Journal de Constantinople*. Because of Liszt's Ottoman court appearance, Erard pianos' fame spread throughout the city and was associated with high quality.

60 Nilsson, "Brass instruments," 176-178.

61 Directory of State Archives Y.PRK.HH.22.76.2.

62 Nilsson, "Brass instruments," 185.

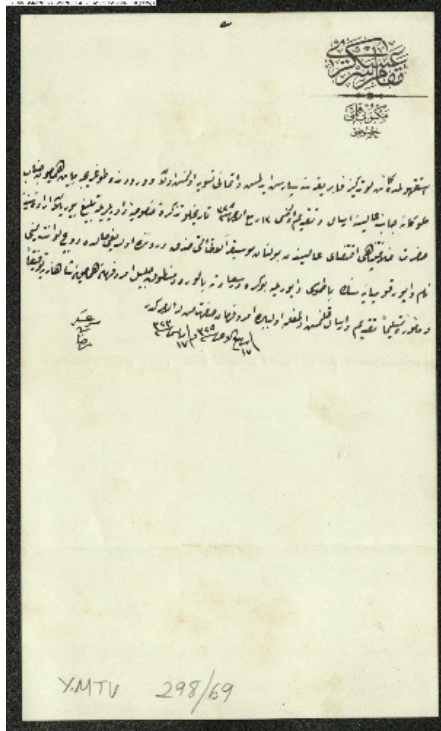
63 Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal, *Türkiye Avrupa Musiki Münasebetleri (1600-1875)* (İstanbul: Nümune Matbaası, 1939), 152-154. Gazimihal mentions that the Sultan bought The Mills Automatic Violin (invented by English engineer H. K. Sandel) for 500 English Pounds and that only five of these instruments were manufactured. But the manufacturer of the violin, Henry Konrad Sandel was a Swedish immigrant to the United States (Mills Novelty Company, accessed February 2, 2021, https://millsnovelty.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=20&Itemid=53)

State Archives dated July 13, 1893 states that Aranda suggested ordering new, more contemporary instruments from a European factory to replace the former ones.⁶⁴ So, the inspections justify the continuation of purchasing military band instruments from Sweden. The second file, cataloged as I.HUS.151.32 and dated February 26, 1907, marks this attitude. The file includes a petition and a list of the ordered instruments and a payment order for two sets of instruments and equipment ordered from Sweden. It states that the supplement to the petition includes the list of one set of the order, specifying that two such sets exist. The petition orders the total cost of 6,625 Francs to be paid to the Swedish Legation through which the order was transferred to Istanbul. The list of the ordered instruments and their pricing in Kurona and Francs are included in the supplement to the petition, as may be seen below.

Yıldız Court Head Clerk Office

1	cornett	105	kurona
2	cornetts each (110)	220	“
2	trumpets each (170)	340	“
2	alto horns each (122)	244	“
1	baritone	247	“
2	Ventilhorns each (198)	396	“
1	bassoon	297	“
1	tenor helicon	235	“
1	bas helicon	245	“
	Package	25	“
		=2454	that is 3312,5 Francs

⁶⁴ Directory of State Archives Y.PRK.AZJ.25.83 29/Z/1310 Mohammedian; July 13, 1893; Kutlay, *Osmanlı'nın Avrupalı Müzisyenleri*, 161-163.



Y.MTV.00298.00069.001

F. 5: Document concerning the Arrival of Instruments from Stockholm (Directory of State Archives Y.MTV.298.69.1.)

It was impossible to pinpoint the precise name of the “Lutdiks” factory in Stockholm, most probably because it was spelled incorrectly in the paper. It is more challenging to determine the exact spellings of foreign terms since Ottoman archival documents frequently spell foreign words according to how they are pronounced in Turkish. Still, identifying the fact that the Ottoman Court kept ordering military band instruments from Sweden is valuable to shed light on the continuing imperial musical relations. The Deutsche Levant Linie, by which the instruments arrived, was a German shipping firm founded in 1899. The Patmos ship, mentioned in the archival document, was built in 1902 and was moored in Constantinople in 1914 and was placed in the Turkish sea transport division of the Osmanlı Seyrisefain İdaresi in Istanbul.⁶⁵

Conclusion

The 19th century was a period of political, economic, and social changes during the transformation between the old and the new. This century also witnessed the spread

65 S. Swigum, “Deutsche Levant Linie,” *The Ships List*, accessed January 18, 2021, <http://www.theshipslist.com/ships/lines/deutschelev.shtml>

of Western concepts and the French Revolution's institutions of freedom, democracy, republic, and equality, which led to the dissolution of monarchies. Nationalism is an ideology that functions to create a common social identity. In this sense, marches have been used to serve this purpose. Ottoman nationalism, also known as Ottomanism or territorial nationalism, adhered to universal standards established by Western Europe's developed nations and sought to re-equip the civilization to transform the country. It supported progress (modernization) and the re-emergence of a culture that preserved its national characteristics in an imperial setting.

Throughout the century, nationalism established the basis of the legitimacy of modernization from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic. The modernization movement, which began as a military necessity, opened the doors of the Ottoman Empire to Western political ideologies. Representing Ottoman nationalism and modernization, these ideologies found their musical expression in the national anthem tradition initiated by Donizetti with the *Mahmudie March*. The modernization efforts of the Swedish military alliance and the Ottoman palace's interest in Western music and instruments led directly to the development of Ottoman-Swedish musical ties. Sweden shared the national interest in maintaining the monarchy of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the fact that the *Mahmudie March* -the first musical product of Ottoman nationalism and modernization- was played by Swedish military bands until the first years of the Turkish Republic is not a coincidence. In a similar fashion, but for a different purpose, the Ottoman Empire adopted Sweden's *Tre Trallande Jäntor* march after the 1908 revolution, employing it as a unifying Turkish nationalist anthem during WWI years and later making it the official march of modern Turkey's national May 19th holiday. Therefore, these marches can be identified as examples of nationalist ideals, including preserving a national/ imperial identity, based on centuries of military alliance, and symbolized in music through the shared interest in the products of modernization.

In addition to the mutual interest in the marches due to the shared ideologies of the two states, our discussion shows that the Ottoman military band instrument orders from Sweden -another aspect of Ottoman-Swedish musical relations- can be reasoned by three primary historical events: 1) the military alliance between the two states, 2) the Ottoman Empire's efforts to modernize and keep up with technological developments of the west and to fight against orientalist's prejudices, and 3) Sultan Abdulhamid II's attempt to strengthen ties with Sweden for political and diplomatic reasons. Assigning Swedish officers to the Ottoman military and creating a new army in accordance with the Swedish school were the first events that gained attention in Swedish military instruments. The second event prompted the Ottomans to turn to Sweden as a role model for modern national music instrument manufacturing because Sweden occupied a key position in technological innovations and set an example of how national institutions could create and implement

them. Moreover, the use of the most up-to-date European military instruments would demolish orientalist's assumptions as well as serve as an element of cultural diplomacy between the Ottoman Empire and Sweden. Last but not least, the purchase of military instruments on the eve of the 1908 revolution can also be interpreted as Sultan Abdulhamid II's strategy to strengthen his position alongside the Swedish court against domestic and foreign threats, especially that of Russia, and uprisings due to the nationalism movement.

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