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OTTOMAN MUSLIM MUSICIANS DRIFTING THROUGH THE TANZIMAT ERA: FROM BEGGARS TO FREED LABORERS

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ABSTRACT

After exploring the study of ney teachers and their sonic spirituality in Istanbul from an ethnographic approach, I have seen many of my interlocutors these days dwelling in a conundrum in which most of them see themselves as living links of previous social orders, somehow lost and regained during the present. The closure of dervish lodges during the early days of the Turkish Republic, as much as the historic restoration and reopening of some of these venues in recent decades, are often presented as outcomes of a social transformation caused by a given moral rationality embedded within the new institutions of an emergent nation. From this point of view,

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individuals are seen in a distorted way as related –or opposed– to these institutions, thus, flattening their own dimension, and the ways in which their sedimented co-constitution as individuals have emerged before 1924. Beyond the debate about the authenticity of the so-called Sufi music, or whether there are “real dervishes” in today’s Istanbul or not, this article looks back at the historical period in which tekkes and Sufi lodges were banned and closed to suggest that this closure opened an emergent form of labor that transformed the subjectivity of Turk-Ottoman instructors during the early twentieth century. Like an old watch that is repaired and rearranged to vindicate the present moment (Castrillón 2021), caretakers of Tasavvuf sonic repertoires are unavoidably embedded in larger systems of tension and movement that require constant tuning and interpretation.

Keywords: Tanzimat, sufi lodges, Istanbul, Sufism, urban reform.

TANZİMAT DÖNEMİNDE TÜRK-OSMANLI MÜZİSYENLERİNİN SÜRÜKLENMESİ: DİLENCİLERDEN SERBEST İŞÇİLERE

ÖZ

Bu çözümlene, İstanbul'daki ney öğreticilerinin ve onların sese dayalı spiritüelliklerinin etnografik bir yaklaşımla incelenmesini müteakip bu öğreticilerin bir ikilem içinde buldukları gözlemi üzerine inşa edilmiştir. Bu bireylerin çoğu, kendilerini bir süre kaybolup daha sonra günümüzde yeniden ortaya çıkan sosyal toplulukların hayatta kalmış halkaları olarak görmektedirler. Hem Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin erken döneminde tekkelerin kapatılması hem de son yıllarda bu mekanların restore edilip yeniden tanzim edilmesi, gelişmekte olan bir ulusun yeni tesis edilen kurumlarında vücut bulan bir tür moral rasyonalitenin sebep olduğu sosyal dönüşümün sonuçları olarak sunulmaktadır. Bu çarpık bakış açısı, bireyleri bu kurumlarla ilişkili veya onlara karşıymış gibi sınıflandırmakta ve böylelikle onların 1924'ten önce ortaya çıkan kendine has boyutlarını ve birlikteliklerinden teşekkül eden bireysellik süreçlerinin kalıntılarını göz ardı etmektedir. Sufi müziği olarak adlandırılan türün özgün olup olmadığı veya günümüzde İstanbul'da "gerçek dervişler" in bulunup bulunmadığı tartışmalarının ötesine geçen bu çalışmada, tekke ve zaviyelerin yasaklanıp kapatıldığı dönem ele alınmakta ve söz konusu yasağın yirminci yüzyılın başlarında Türk-Osmanlı öğreticilerinin öznelliğini dönüştüren bir tür işgücünün ortaya çıkmasına neden olduğu savı işlenmektedir. Halihazırdaki zamanı doğrulamak üzere antika bir saatin tamir edilip ayarlanması misali (Castrillón, 2021), tasavvuf musikisi repertuarlarının koruyucuları, sürekli bir

akort ve yorumlama gerektiren geniş çaplı gerilim ve hareket sistemlerinin içinde yer almaktadırlar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Tanzimat, tekkeler, İstanbul, Tasavvuf, kentsel reform.

INTRODUCTION

This article emerges as an alternative answer to the discussion about the separation of musical practices from some physical places, commonly linked to Muslim mysticism in contemporary Turkey and Pakistan. Ethnomusicologists Regula Kureshi (2013) and Banu Senay (2014) have stated that the spatial separation between musical practices associated to Islamic mysticism and its traditional locations and audiences have radically transformed *sama*, the spiritual way in which sounds are perceived and understood in relation with their religious meanings. Each of them argues that the “schizophonic” effect of the mechanic reproduction of sound (Schafer 1969: 18) and its circulation through the entertainment economy generated a massive way of consuming sounds labeled as ‘Sufi Music’ (Senay 2014: 14). This ontological and sociological disfiguration of the *sama* brought out a kind of alienated listening, dominated by the capitalist reception of sacred music, controlled, and animated by an individualistic consumption (Qureshi 2013: 594).

However, I suggest that both authors took for granted the popularization of this music, the emergence of music conservatoires as non-religious institutions, and the adoption of individual attitudes as specifically foreign, modern, and recent transformations of the social life. My contribution provides a historiographical approach to the urban transformation of Istanbul, developed five decades prior the Public Law 677 that ordered the closure of dervish orders in 1925. The article argues that the buildings associated to religious orders were not playing the determinant role of safeguarding the *sama* at the time they were closed. The first well-known idea about the music institution as an ideological product connected to specific urban and social settings is found in Walter Feldman’s work about the music of the Ottoman Court. Feldman provided a general statement about hierarchy, music institution, and urban settings by following the social organization of court musicians in the Ottoman Empire characterized by a clear cut between secular and religious orders that he found in the sources (Feldman 1996: 59).

This dichotomy was understandable because the musical institution Feldman focused on corresponded with the *vis-à-vis* comparison between the Palace’ Music School and the dervish

lodges as places for professionalization of musicians. Such connection was assured by the fact that musicians were working, living, and commuting between places and venues supported by the Ottoman Sultan, upon the idea of him being a sovereign who –according to Foucault– was able “to take life or let live” in and through his economic, territorial and biopolitical power (Foucault 1990: 140). Now, the core argument of this article is that the enormous significance that the sultan had for Ottoman Muslim musicians gradually shifted in the nineteenth century when they were no longer supported by his form of governance, and started to earn a living using their talent as a form of freed labor outside the places previously granted by him. These places, specifically Sufi lodges, were not safeguarding the spiritual way in which sounds were perceived and understood in relation to their religious meanings. Such semiotic interpretation of sounds and the lived experience of them shifted from static places to mobile individuals as people, instruments and sounds began going across new places for music training across the city, and acquiring more sedimented onto-epistemological associations.

FINDINGS

Evkaf Ministry, Religious Endowments and Militarization

During the mid-nineteenth century, Istanbul witnessed a decrease of religious endowments. Many of these endowments were controlled, closed, and assimilated by the *Evkaf* Ministry pursuing a single purpose: to turn these properties into alienable lands to funnel incomes for the new army (Lifchez 1992: 8; Barnes 1986: 127). Founded in 1826, it was a bureaucratic institution that in its first twenty years centralized most of the Imperial offices, and even the Water Ministry (Barnes 1986: 76). This interest in fully land entitlement at the provinces and the imperial capital was developed by the *Evkaf* Ministry, in a context of international pressure after the Ottoman Sultan signed up the Anglo-Ottoman Commercial Treaty (Gül 2009: 23). While the military reform required a new organization of elites and power structures inside the Empire, the commercial treaty required a solid urban structure and a kind of administration able to work in an international scale. This urban and military reforms are key to understand how new places for music teaching emerged before the Republic and its consequences for the *sama*’ way of listening.

The urban reform in 1858, divided Istanbul into 14 municipal districts demonstrating internationally the ability of the Empire to implement European models of education,

administration, and municipal affairs after the Crimean War². This form of urban administration, however, was successful only in places where collecting taxes was profitable, as it was the case of the Municipal District of Galata (Gül 2009: 45).

Most of the Ottoman minorities, also known as '*millets*', living in that District benefited from the new places for musical education. They were both educated and hired as they acquired Ottoman citizenship –one of the Tanzimat's reforms. According to data provided by Rosenthal (1980), Galata in 1870 was after Fatih the second most populous district of the city, with a population of 875.000 Ottoman citizens and 70.000 more individuals without consular protection. Most of them were Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. Muslims were only the twenty-five percent of its entire population. From all these population, 13.500 were artisans. Greeks and Jews were predominantly tailors, and Armenians were goldsmiths. The total of European artisans and musicians who came mainly from Italy and Central Europe were around 8.500 in number (Rosenthal 1980: 22).

On the other hand, it was during the same period that the link between the Sultan and the dervish lodges historically characterized by its taxes and cadastral survey's exemption was replaced by a regular taxation conducted by government officials and ordinary tax collectors (Barnes 1986: 113). This change was crucial. The protests of *şeyhs* and lodge's tenants (*zâviyedars*) against this bureaucratic action, against the insulting decrease of their income in Istanbul, against the removal of their properties in the provinces, and against the unheard supplications for cadastral survey's exemptions of their lands were massive. The historical examples reported by John Barnes (1986) included the Mevlevi Order of Konya, the *Mevlevihane* at Yenikapı at Istanbul, the Nakşibandi order at Söndeki Fakih in Edirne, the Bektaşî order in Üsküdar, among others. The actions of those demonstrators took different forms of resistance, as land squatting, tax evasion, formal and plaintive petitions, and a kind of indirect rent payments that implied the loss of their funding resources (Barnes 1986: 99-116). According to Barnes:

“[The government] took over mines, wells, and saltworks held in mortmain by declaring these resources a state monopoly. Another method of acquiring independent *evkaf* employed by the state was to take over the *vakıfs* of [custodians] that had died, that is, with the extinction of the family line, and deprive those who were living of their administration if it were determined that they were badly administering the foundation in their charge. [...] The policy of the Ottoman government towards the religious orders was to deprive them of their *evkaf* property, which was their livelihood, and to

² “Galata was designed the Sixth District because it was thought that the *sixieme arrondissement* of Paris was the most advanced in that city.” Gül, 51.

leave them, in many cases, to fend for themselves in finding some means of subsistence³. Emphasis added.

After a long period in which they had full maintenance to produce their handiwork, and the aesthetic and theosophical corpus they are well known for, the Ottoman Empire saw the dervish orders economically supported by their own members, and their musicians employed in public places, taking the music they had learned in lodges and in the Palace to new spaces (Faroqhi 1988: 57; Kreiser 1992: 51; Behar 1993: 37).

DISCUSSION

Spiritual and Spatial Distances

Another element in this urban transformation' strategy that impacted the musical institution during the 'Tanzimat era' was the investment on new buildings for high quality education provided to Ottoman citizens. According to the Education Law of 1869, "Europeans and members of minority *millets* in the Empire [were fostered] to teach within these new schools" (VanDuinkerken 1998: 55). It was within these urban educational networks where the educated Ottoman elite of the city rooted its social aspirations and forged its newest cultural institutions as the newspapers and the Imperial Theater.⁴ This social attempt to put together Muslims and Ottoman millets, was reinforced by the public works concretized on the physical dimension of the city since the second half of the nineteenth century. The moderated walk between Ottoman millets was even shortened by the demolition of the ancient Genoese ramparts, opening the old city to the emergent neighborhoods located outside of them:

"[Galata] was connected to [Istanbul] by two bridges across the Golden Horn. The first joined Galata's harbor and [the] commercial area of Karaköy to Eminönü, near the grounds to Topkapı and below the area of the Sublime Porte. The other bridge joined the area below the Little Field of the Dead on the west side of Pera to the populous Muslim section of Fatih. The distance from Pera to

³ Barnes., 101-125. One might think that this separation from the Sultan's hand could have led to a redefinition of the pact with a religious leader (*beyiat*), or at least, a redefinition of the allegorical sense of the reed flute's lament. For Muslim interpretations of the *Alquibla al-qadima* and the change of the *qibla* in the Muslim mysticism, see Corbin., 50. Emphasis added.

⁴ VanDuinkerken argued that "Ideas like equality and secularism were spread throughout the empire by Muslim students who had either gone to Europe to study or who had attended the Western educational institutions within the empire. These Muslim students would become the backbone of the reforming movement and the creators and enforcers of the two imperial edicts that outlined the aspirations of the reforming movement." Ibid., 70.

these centers of Turkish population, more spiritual than physical, could be negotiated by a moderate walk”⁵.

From a musical point of view, the ‘negotiation of spiritual distances’ also meant the emergence of the first official place where to become a professional musician, different from the Palace School and the dervish lodge. This place called “Darulelhan” (The House of Melodies), founded in 1916, was the Imperial Conservatory where the local elite of Ottoman Muslims and protected Ottoman citizens of the city were employed to produce music and musicians by promoting a dual curriculum of Court Ottoman Music and Western music. Some of these instructors were Mevlevi dervishes with long careers at Elementary and Secondary schools (Behar 1993: 151; Paçacı 2008: 76). In consequence, this building set up another kind of moderate walk between Dersaated and Pera, the two distinctive musical referents of the Empire capital. This “moderated walk,” paraphrasing Rosenthal’s words, foreseen the discussions about taste, flavor and other physiological arguments in favor of –or against– the fine arts outcomes of nation-state building process (Elias 1994: 387). These discussions characterize the type of historiographic research that focuses on the arduous path towards the formation of Turkish Classic Music in Istanbul during the mid-twentieth century (O’Connell 2000; 2013).

The musical kernel supported and promoted by the empire during the mid-nineteenth century included in its repertoire an increasingly presence of sonic features associated to Italian operatic repertoires presented at the Naum Theater since 1858 promoted by the *Italian Operarian Society*, and the European polyphonic repertoires taught in the new High Schools (Rosenthal 1980: 15; Koymen 2014: 3). By the end of the nineteenth century, Ottoman Muslims were no longer the only musicians that the Ottoman sultan enjoyed listening to in solitude, as it can be read in an American newspaper from 1903 about the performance of four Italian musicians directed by Arturo Stravolo: “The Sultan sits entirely alone as rule, and if any point of the action of either play or opera is not clear, he halts the performers until it is explained to him.”⁶ The Sultan’s ear was not raptured anymore by the plaintive and transcendental sound of Turk-Ottoman instruments and their melodies composed by musical modes ‘in the image and likeness’ of the divine cosmos.

Beside the Palace School, the Harem, the dervish lodges, the *mektep* (Elementary Schools), the *medreses*, Ottoman Muslims were also teaching and spreading their way of listening to sounds and

⁵ Rosenthal., 17. Emphasis added.

⁶ “The Sultan’s players,” *The Reading Eagle*, August 24, 1903.

its religious meanings at new Secondary Schools (Rusdiye) independently from the Ekvaf Ministry, and at coffee shops located in Eyüp, Kaşımpaşa and Kadiköy (Paçacı 2008, 88; VanDuiKerkem 1998: 10) especially “after foreigners had left the place” (Behar 1993: 30). Two decades before the sultanate was abolished, less than half of the professional Muslim musicians were hired in the palace. At that time, Muslim musicians were employed in picnic grounds, coffee shops, and other public places with live music called *gazinos*, *mesire yerleri* and *piyasa* (Behar 1993: 37).

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Throughout this article, I have explored historiographic sources highlighting the importance of study the role of Muslim musicians during the Tanzimat era beyond a framework that seeks to interrogate and value their cultural practice in terms of authenticity. The life of all so-called Ottoman ‘minorities,’ or *millet*s, changed drastically during this era, as well as the project of establishing and sustaining a multidenominational music school outside the Palace. Therefore, these musicians began to move around as freed laborers outside the Palace and outside other institutions overseen by the Ottoman Sultan, drifting through an urban and social space deeply transformed, and in a constant process of reinvention. These processes of transformation and reinvention left deep traces in musicians’ subjectivity as their sense of belonging to the Sultan, in its literal, allegorical, and ontological meaning, needed to be reoriented. The subject studied through this article, then, is a conjunction of elements around which the subjectivity of these musicians could be better understood beyond the moralizing discourse of cultural authenticity.

In sum, these findings lead me to suggest two main ideas. First, the westernization of the musical institution was not the result of the Kemalism’s civilizing ideology, the so-called “modernist paradigm” (Touraj and Brockett 2009: 2) from the beginning of the twentieth century, and rather it should be better understood as a gradual although spasmodic process that characterized Ottoman administration of social life in general (Popescu-Judetiz 1996: 11). The project of an Imperial musical institution was dismembered in 1925 by another massive abolishment of dervish orders, the closure of the “Darulelhan,” and the banning of any form of public performance of Court Ottoman music (Senay 2014: 8). The adoption and intensification of other musical features by the Muslim Ottoman elite after 1924, could be better understood within the paradigms of new urban and territorial politics within the transformation of the city itself. Second, based on these historical

accounts it can be said that that buildings were not safeguarding the spiritual way in which sounds were heard, perceived, and understood in relation to religious meanings. The semiotic propensity of the *sama*’, instead, shifted from the physicality of tekkes and dervish lodges’ aura, to the skin of certain individuals as they move along the new network of places for music teaching across the transformed city.

The nostalgia for the dervish lodge and the attachment to certain social and ideological conditions as bottom line for the symbolic efficacy of the *sama*’, as I read in Qureshi and Senay’s arguments about its disfiguration in Turkey and Pakistan, both overemphasized the role of social and political institutions over the endurance of some forms of life and existence. The emergence of freed music laborers to pursue economic benefits for their own sake unlocked the *sama*’ from been a phenomenon highly dependent of the special status of some indoor locations, such as the *tekke* or the Sultan’s Palace. It became a new layer into the embodied cosmology that characterize the onto-epistemological dimension of sound for musicians and audiences that promote the stewardship of acoustic topologies of divine revelation associated to Abrahamic traditions (Castrillón 2012: 119). Forthcoming research is called to investigate the reterritorialization practices of musicians and audiences in the quest of venues for their enduring worlds, in which old and new are indistinct elements needed for revolution and restoration.

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GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

Bu makale, günümüz Türkiye ve Pakistan'ında müzikal uygulamaların genellikle Müslüman mistisizmiyle ilişkili bazı fiziksel yerlerden uzaklaşması tartışmasına alternatif bir yanıt olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Etnomüzikologlar Regula Kureshi (2013) ve Banu Şenay (2014), İslami tasavvuf ile ilişkilendirilen müzik pratikleri ile geleneksel yerleri ve dinleyicileri arasındaki mekânsal ayrımın, seslerin dini anlamlarıyla ilişkili olarak algılandığı ve anlaşıldığı manevi anlamdaki semâyı kökten dönüştürdüğünü belirtmişlerdir. Onların her biri, sesin mekanik olarak yeniden üretilmesinin (Schafer 1969: 18) şizofonik etkisinin ve bunun eğlence ekonomisindeki dolaşımının, 'Sufi Müziği' (Senay 2014: 14) olarak etiketlenen seslerin kitlesel bir tüketim biçimini ürettiğini öne sürüyor. Semânın bu ontolojik ve sosyolojik biçimsizliği, bireyci bir tüketim tarafından kontrol edilen ve canlandırılan, kutsal müziğin kapitalist kabulünün hakim olduğu bir tür yabancılaşmış dinlemeyi ortaya çıkarmıştır (Qureshi 2013: 594).

Ancak, her iki yazarın da bu müziğin popülerleşmesini, müzik konservatuvarlarının dini olmayan kurumlar olarak ortaya çıkmasını ve toplumsal hayatın özellikle yabancı, modern ve yakın zamandaki dönüşümleri olarak bireysel tutumların benimsenmesini sorgusuz sualsiz kabul ettikleri anlaşılmaktadır. Bu makale, 1925'te tarikatların kapatılmasını emreden 677 sayılı Kamu Kanunu'ndan elli yıl önce gerçekleşen İstanbul'un kentsel dönüşümüne tarihyazımsal bir yaklaşım sunmakta; kapatıldıkları dönemde tarikatlara bağlı yapıların semâyı koruma konusunda belirleyici bir rol oynamadıklarını savunmaktadır.

Belirli kentsel ve toplumsal ortamlara bağlı ideolojik bir ürün olarak müzik kurumuyla ilgili iyi

bilinen ilk fikir, Walter Feldman'ın Osmanlı Saray müziği hakkındaki çalışmasında bulunur. Feldman, kaynaklarda bulunduğu seküler ve dini tarikatlar arasında net bir ayrımla karakterize edilen Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki saray müzisyenlerinin sosyal örgütlenmesini takip ederek hiyerarşi, müzik kurumu ve kentsel ortamlar hakkında genel bir değerlendirmede bulunmaktadır (Feldman 1996: 59). Bu ikilik anlaşılabilir, çünkü Feldman'ın odaklandığı müzik kurumu, Saray Musiki Mektebi ile tekkeler arasındaki karşılaştırmayla oldukça örtüşmektedir. Böyle bir bağlantı, Foucault'ya (1990: 140) göre ekonomik ve bölgesel gücü sayesinde "can alabilen veya yaşatabilen" kişi olmasıyla, Osmanlı padişahının bir hükümdar olarak desteklediği bölgeler ve mekânlar arasında müzisyenlerin çalışıyor, yaşıyor ve işe gidip geliyor olmasıyla sağlanıyordu. Artık padişah yönetimi tarafından desteklenmedikleri ve yeteneklerini, daha önce onlara tahsis edilen yerler dışında, bir tür serbest emek biçiminde kullanarak hayatlarını kazanmaya başladıkları XIX. yüzyılda, Osmanlı Müslüman müzisyenleri için padişahın sahip olduğu büyük önemin kademeli olarak değişmiş olması bu makalenin ana argümanını oluşturmaktadır. Bu mekânlar özellikle de Sufi tekkeleri, seslerin dini anlamlarıyla ilişkili olarak algılandığı ve anlaşıldığı manevi geleneği korumuyordu. Bu göstergebilimsel yorumlama ve yaşanmış deneyim, durağan yerlerden şehrin her tarafında müzik öğretimi için yeni yerlere giden hareketli bireylere kaydı.

Müzikal bir bakış açısından, yirminci yüzyılın başlarında Osmanlı milletleri arasındaki manevi mesafenin müzakeresi, saray okulu ve tekkeden farklı olarak, profesyonel bir müzisyen olunabilecek ilk resmi kurumun ortaya çıkması anlamına geliyordu. 1916 yılında kurulan "Darülelhan" (Melodiler Evi) adındaki bu kurum, Osmanlı Müslümanlarının yerel seçkinleri ve şehirde himaye gören diğer Osmanlı vatandaşlarının, Osmanlı saray müziği ve Batı müziği'nden oluşan ikili bir müfredatı teşvik ederek müzik üretmeleri ve müzisyen yetiştirmeleri için istihdam edildikleri İmparatorluk Konservatuarı idi. Bu hocalardan bazıları, ilkokul ve ortaokullarda uzun süre çalışmış olan olan Mevlevi dervişleriydi. Sonuç olarak, bu kurum, İmparatorluğun başkentinin iki farklı müzik referansı olan Dersaadet ve Pera arasında başka bir tür ılımlı yürüyüş kurdu. Rosenthal'ın deyimiyle bu "ılımlı yürüyüş", ulus-devlet inşa sürecinde güzel sanatlar ürünlerinin lehinde ya da aleyhinde tat, lezzet ve diğer fizyolojik argümanlar hakkındaki tartışmaları öngörmüş oldu (Elias 1994). Bu tartışmalar, XX. yüzyılın ortalarında İstanbul'da Klasik Türk Müziğinin oluşumuna giden çetin yola odaklanan tarihçilik araştırması türünü karakterize etmektedir (O'Connell 2013).

XIX. yüzyılın ortalarında imparatorluk tarafından desteklenen ve teşvik edilen müzik çekirdeği,

1858'den beri Naum Tiyatrosu'nda sunulan, İtalyan Operarian Society tarafından desteklenen İtalyan opera repertuarlarıyla ilişkili sonik özelliklerin varlığı artan repertuvar ile yeni liselerde öğretilen çoksesli Avrupa repertuarı içeriyordu. 19. yüzyılın sonuna doğru, Osmanlı padişahının yalnızken dinlemekten zevk aldığı müzisyenler artık sadece Osmanlı Müslümanları değildi. 1903 tarihli bir Amerikan gazetesi bunu çarpıcı bir şekilde tasvir etmektedir. Arturo Stravolo tarafından yönetilen dört İtalyan müzisyenin, Tanrı'nın dünya üzerindeki gölgesinin düşünceli ve derin dinleme yeteneklerinin üstesinden gelen performansını şöyle anlatıyordu: "Padişah kural olarak tamamen tek başına oturur ve oyun veya operanın herhangi bir hareketinin açık olmadığı durumlarda, kendisine açıklanmaya kadar icracıları durdururdu (The Reading Eagle 1903)". Padişahın kulağı artık sadece Türk Osmanlı çalgılarının hüznü seslerinden ve ilahi kozmosun "görüntü ve suretinde" müzik makamlarıyla bestelenmiş ezgilerinden mest olmuyordu.

Bu makalede incelenen bulgular, müzik kurumunun batılılaşmasının, Kemalizm'in 20. yüzyılın başından itibaren sözde "modernist paradigma"nın uygarlaştırıcı ideolojisinin bir sonucu olmadığını düşündürdü, ve genel olarak Osmanlı sosyal hayat idaresini karakterize eden kademeli, ancak spazmodik bir süreç olarak anlaşılması daha iyi olabilir Bu makalede incelenen bulgular, müzik kurumunun batılılaşmasının, 20. yüzyılın başlarındaki Kemalizm'in uygarlaştırıcı ideolojisi olan sözde "modernist paradigma"nın (Touraj ve Brockett 2009: 2) bir sonucu olarak değil de genel olarak Osmanlı sosyal hayat idaresini karakterize eden kademeli, ancak çalkantılı bir süreç olarak anlaşılması gerektiğini öne sürmeyi mümkün kılmaktadır (Popescu-Judetz 1996: 11). Bir İmparatorluk müzik kurumu projesi, 1925'te tarikatların bir başka kitlesel olarak kaldırılması, "Darülelhan"ın kapatılması ve Saray Osmanlı müziğinin her türlü kamusal icrasının yasaklanmasıyla parçalanmış oldu (Senay 2014: 8). 1924'ten sonra Müslüman Osmanlı seçkinleri tarafından diğer müzikal özelliklerin benimsenmesi ve yoğunlaştırılması, kentin kendi dönüşümü içindeki yeni kentsel ve bölgesel politika paradigmatları içinde daha iyi anlaşılabilir. İkincisi, bu tarihsel anlatılara dayanarak, binaların seslerin dinsel anlamlarla bağlantılı olarak işitildiği, algılandığı ve anlaşıldığı manevi geleneği korumadığı söylenebilir. Semânın göstergebilimsel eğilimi ise dervişhanelerin atmosferinden ve tekkelerin fiziksel ortamından, dönüşmüş olan kentteki yeni mekânlar ağında müzik öğretimi için dolaşan belirli bireylerin tenlerine aktarılmış oldu.

Tekkelere duyulan özlem ve semânın simgesel etkinliği için en önemli nokta olarak belirli toplumsal ve ideolojik koşullara bağlılık konusunda, Kureysi ve Şenay'ın Türkiye ve Pakistan'daki

şekil bozukluđuna ilişkin argümanlarında okuduđum kadarıyla, her ikisi de bazı yaşam ve varoluş biçimlerine dayanan sosyal ve siyasi kurumların rolünü fazlasıyla vurguluyorlar. Kendi ekonomik çıkarlarını gözeten serbest müzik emekçilerinin ortaya çıkışı, semâyı dışa kapalı bazı mekânların özel statüsüne büyük ölçüde bağımlı bir olgu olmaktan çıkardı. Semâ İbrahimî geleneklerle ilişkili ilahi vahiylerin akustik topolojilerinin korunmasını benimseyen müzisyenler ve dinleyiciler için sesin onto-epistemolojik boyutunu karakterize eden bedenleşmiş kozmolojide yeni bir katman haline geldi (Castrillón 2012: 119). Kalıcı dünyaları için yeni mekân arayışındaki müzisyenlerin ve dinleyicilerin yeniden yerleşme faaliyetleri, daha fazla araştırılmayı bekleyen bir konudur.