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The life and works of Ahmed Adnan Saygun

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PhD

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1999
Ahmed Adnan Saygun (1907-1991) was one of Turkey's most prominent composers, described in The Times obituary as "the grand old man of Turkish music, who was to his country what Sibelius is to Finland, what de Falla is to Spain and what Bartók is to Hungary" (15 January 1991). Yet so far Saygun's life and works have never been the subject of a critical study in or outside Turkey. This thesis aims to create a comprehensible picture of his life and music for the first time. Divided into three parts, Part I of the thesis presents an annotated biography, preceded by a short introductory survey on the state of European music within the Ottoman Empire, which was significant in Saygun's upbringing. Taking as source material scattered newspaper articles, interviews and hitherto unpublished letters and a diary belonging to the composer, Part I focuses on Saygun's musical upbringing in Izmir and his subsequent education in Paris under Vincent d'Indy at the Schola Cantorum between 1928 and 1931. Also amongst the issues that are addressed here is the important role Saygun played in the musical life of the country on his return to Turkey from Paris, which was being rapidly transformed under Kemal Atatürk's reform movement; his enthusiasm for Turkish folk-music which led to a collaboration with Béla Bartók that finally culminated in the latter's celebrated field-trip to Anatolia in 1936 and his friendship with Michael Tippett, drawn from Tippett's original unpublished letters. The thesis shows that Saygun was not only responsible for training future musicians of Turkey in Western compositional techniques, but also himself wrote works in line with the country's modern music policy which took the principles of European polyphonic music as a model.

As a prolific composer Saygun's output comprised five operas, five symphonies, three string quartets, five concertos and a wide range of chamber and choral music. Taking selective works, Part II looks at his developing style, beginning with the influence of the Schola Cantorum education and the effects of the music policy of the early republican years on his output and establishes him as the national composer of Turkey. Works discussed include the oratorio Yûnus Emrê (1942), his most celebrated work, which immediately became a symbol of the music reforms and was subsequently conducted by Leopold Stokowski in New York in 1958, the first two string quartets, the first two symphonies and the two piano concertos. Part III is a catalogue raisonné which has been compiled through evaluating existing lists of works and going through all the autograph manuscript scores of the composer that are housed at the Bilkent University Adnan Saygun Archives in Ankara. Since Saygun's works have never been systematically catalogued before, the information given here includes dates of composition, instrumentation, duration, dedication, location of manuscripts, publication and recording details, as well as translations of hitherto unpublished analytical notes on certain works written by the composer.
I hereby declare that this is my own work.
To my grandmother, mother and father
and to Lucy

Knowledge should mean a full grasp of knowledge:
Knowledge means to know yourself, heart and soul.
If you have failed to understand yourself,
Then all of your reading has missed its call.

Yunus Emre

(Translated by Talat Halman: Yunus Emre and his mystical poetry, p. 144)
My initial interest in Adnan Saygun's life and works was aroused when I visited his late widow Nilüfer Saygun at her modest flat in Istanbul, situated on a street named after the composer. Like many of his contemporaries Saygun felt neglected during his lifetime and Mrs. Saygun, fearing a similar fate for his memory, showed me into the composer's study, where all the manuscript scores, letters and diaries had been left intact since her husband's death. As she was getting old herself, Mrs. Saygun was concerned for the future safety of this important archival material, and wanted someone to make a start in studying her husband's life and works. Although it would have been an impossible task to prepare a catalogue for the entire collection and write a definitive biography during the course of a PhD research, I nevertheless agreed to prepare the initial reference source with the hope that it might prove useful for any future research on Saygun and his music. Part of my research was conducted at her flat before the material was eventually moved to a special archive at Bilkent University in Ankara, where I continued my work. I am only too sorry that Nilüfer Saygun died on 3 July 1998, before I could show her the finished version of this thesis.
A lot of people have shown kindness and support to me throughout my research, to all of whom I am grateful, and in particular to the late Mrs Saygun. I should however like to thank particularly my family, my mother and father, Bilge and Fikret Araci, and my grandmother Behice Soran, who supported me from the start of my research and my brother Dr Selim Araci for his help throughout my work and also Lady Lucinda Mackay and the Inchcape Foundation for their generous funding of the degree. I should also like to thank my supervisors Dr Noel O'Regan and Professor David Kimbell for their advice and time. Thanks must also go to Mme Elaine Hubard and Mme. Henriette Guilloux, who sent me the photocopies of Adnan Saygun's letters that were sent to her and her husband over the years. I am also grateful to the following people and organisations for their help: Ganime Altun, Meirion Bowen, Michel Denis, Professor İhsan Doğramacı, Yelda Duyguluer, Ayhan Erman, Reinhard Flender, Professor Gönül Gökdoğan, Ruşen Güneş, Dr Nevin Kargı, Lord Menuhin, Professor Ersin Onay, Gülsin Onay, Gül Özaltay, Alev Plevne, Gülper Refiğ, Halit Refiğ, Professor Faruk Sijaric, Sirma Soran, Professor Muammer Sun, Sadun Tanju, the late Sir Michael Tippett, Dr Michael Turnbull, Fatma Türe, Hasan Uçarsu, Erol Uras, Emre Yalçın, Faruk Yener, Ahmet Yürür, the Reid Music Library, Bilkent University Library, Istanbul State Library and Istanbul Atatürk Library. Music examples have been reproduced with kind permission of Peer Musikverlag and the autographs with the permission of the late Mrs. Saygun.

Emre Araci

Cambridge, 25 June 1999
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Turkish pronunciation

c as in jam
ç as in church
ğ sometimes lengthens the preceding vowel
or like y in yet
ı something like the u in radium
j as in French jour
ö as in French eu in deux
ş as in sh in shall
ü as in French u in tu

(taken from Geoffrey Lewis, *Teach yourself Turkish*, 1953, p. 11)
INTRODUCTION

Ahmed Adnan Saygun (1907-1991) was one of Turkey’s most important contemporary composers, described in *The Times* obituary as “the grand old man of Turkish music, who was to his country what Sibelius is to Finland, what de Falla is to Spain and what Bartók is to Hungary.”1 Born into the Ottoman Empire, and subsequently educated in Paris under Vincent d’Indy at the Schola Cantorum between 1928 and 1931, on his return to Turkey, Saygun became a devoted follower of Kemal Atatürk’s reform movement and his secular pro-Western policies. In the field of music reforms, Westernisation was interpreted as the application of European compositional techniques to authentic Turkish sources, which immediately became a motto for Saygun and his generation throughout their careers. During his entire life, Saygun was also active as an ethnomusicologist, who not only published his findings in international journals, but also freely put them into application in his works, like his Hungarian counterpart Béla Bartók, with whom he subsequently embarked on a field-trip in Anatolia in 1936. Saygun’s first success as a composer however, was not until 1946, following the premiere of his oratorio *Yunus Emre* in Ankara. Eventually becoming his most celebrated work, the oratorio also introduced him to Western musical centres such as Paris in 1947 and New York in 1958, when Leopold Stokowski conducted it at the General Assembly Hall of the United Nations. As well as receiving commissions from Atatürk and prestigious international organisations such as the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation and the Sergei Koussevitsky Foundation, Saygun composed five operas, five symphonies, five concertos, three string quartets and a wide range of chamber and choral music.

So far Saygun’s life and works have never been the subject of critical work either in Turkey or abroad. This thesis therefore attempts to create an accurate picture of the man and his oeuvre for the first time. Divided into three parts, Part I of the thesis in four chapters concentrates on Saygun’s life and personality. Since Saygun did not publish an autobiographical work or leave behind any memoirs, all the information in this section comes from original letters, some unpublished notes by the composer, certain interviews that were found in scattered newspaper articles and my own interviews conducted with his late wife Nilüfer Saygun and some of his pupils and friends that were mentioned earlier in the Preface. The thesis starts with a brief survey on the state of European music in the

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1 *The Times*, 15 January 1991
Ottoman Empire, which shows that a tradition of Western music did exist in Ottoman society in the nineteenth century. Chapter I concentrates on Saygun’s upbringing in the city of Izmir and the musical education he received before becoming a pupil of Vincent d’Indy. The impact of the Schola Cantorum education and the significance of the years spent in Paris are also addressed in this chapter. Chapter II looks at Saygun’s role as a national composer in line with Turkish music reforms and the two operas Özsoy and Taşbebek commissioned by Kemal Atatürk. Also discussed here are the visits of Hindemith and Bartók to Turkey, which were significant for Saygun, who believed the former to be responsible for his unjust exile from Ankara. Chapter III concentrates on his growing international career following the success of Yunus Emre, his trip to Britain in 1946 and his friendship with Michael Tippett. On the subject of his friendship and collaboration with Tippett, a significant amount of information has been drawn from Tippett’s unpublished original letters which I discovered amongst Saygun’s papers at his home during the course of this PhD research. Chapter IV portrays a Saygun who, failing to establish an international career, is pushed to extreme isolation and bouts of depression, feeling particularly rejected by his colleagues and by France, a country he once described as his second intellectual fatherland.

Part II of the thesis concentrates on Saygun’s works. As it would have been impossible and superficial to discuss all of the composer’s output in the limited context of a PhD dissertation, only a selection of works, which I believe are important representatives of certain aspects of his style, has been taken as central here. These include the oratorio Yunus Emre, the first two string quartets, the first two symphonies and the two piano concertos. The influence of the Schola Cantorum education and the demands of the Turkish music reforms were central to Saygun’s style as a composer, so much so that on his return to Turkey, he was nick-named a ‘plan-maker’ after his mentor Vincent d’Indy. Chapter V sets out to support these claims through musical evidence found in Saygun’s

2 Writing in The Musical Times in 1959, Franklin Zimmerman introduced him to his readers in the following words: “Mr Saygun […] has appeared in London on several occasions, both as a composer and an authority on Eastern folk-music. A close friend of Michael Tippett, he is best known in English music circles by reason of having been awarded the Harriet Cohen Medal by the Arnold Bax Foundation last year”. (Franklin Zimmerman: ‘New York: Turkish Music at the U.N.’, The Musical Times, February 1959, p. 99)


4 Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul 7 May 1990

5 See Chapter V, p. 104, ff. 5
works, and also shows that Saygun was expected to write music in line with the music reforms, with which he duly complied. Composed in 1942, the oratorio Yunus Emre, as said earlier, was Saygun’s most important work. Chapter VI is entirely devoted to this work, which is taken as central in showing that Saygun was greatly influenced by Sufi mysticism which also shaped the musical language of many other of his works, such as the first string quartet and the second piano concerto. Also addressed in this part is the composer’s use of the “cyclic principle” which the thesis shows as a hallmark of the Schola Cantorum education. Part III is a catalogue raisonné which has been compiled through evaluating existing lists of works and going through all the autograph manuscript scores of the composer that are housed at the Bilkent University Adnan Saygun Archives in Ankara (hereafter BUSA). Since Saygun’s works have never been systematically catalogued before, the information given here includes dates of composition, instrumentation, duration, dedication, location of manuscripts, publication and recording details, as well as translations of hitherto unpublished analytical notes on certain works written by the composer.

**European Music in the Ottoman Empire:**

Although Turkish influence on European military music and composers of the Classical period such as Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven is well-known in the West, European influence on Turkish music on the other hand has not been properly researched and as a result is not known. In fact, writing in 1965, Donald Hoffman said: “Although Turkey exerted an influence on European music of the 18th and 19th centuries through its Mehter, or Janissary Band, it is doubtful that Turkish music absorbed any Western musical influence until the beginning of the 20th century”. Although Hoffman’s statement is correct in the sense that a proper conservatoire after European models was not founded in Turkey until the late 1930’s when a serious school of composition also began to take

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6 Farmer wrote: “Two factors which brought a forceful crescendo to the military band were the so-called Janissary Music and the inordinate military and social zeal aroused by the French Revolution. The Oriental influence was nothing new in the field of Mars. We have seen the Saracen influence in the Middle Ages. At the Renaissance, the French, envious of the kettledrums of the Hungarians, already borrowed them from the Turks, introduced them into the West as tinballes [...] Oboe bands, as we know, were also an Eastern plagiarism, and in the early eighteenth century further borrowed plumes from the Turks found favour in our eyes”. (Henry George Farmer: *Military Music*, p. 35) (For further information see: Henry George Farmer: *Turkish influence in military music*, *Handel’s Kettledrums*, pp. 41–46 and Karl Signell: *Mozart and the Mehter*, *Consort*, no: 24, 1967, pp. 310-323)

shape, there nevertheless existed a not insignificant tradition of European music within the
Ottoman court and the élite in the 19th century.

According to Rauf Yekta\(^8\) the earliest recorded evidence of European influence on
Turkish music comes from the sixteenth century when, during the reign of Süleyman the
Magnificent (1520-66), a group of musicians was sent to the Sultan by François I as a
goodwill gesture, after the Ottoman ruler saved the French King from the invasion of the
Habsburg Empire.\(^9\) The Sultan received the musicians at his court and heard them perform,
but later ordered them to leave the country, fearing that the kind of intoxicating music they
were performing might in the future have a weakening effect on the discipline of his
armies.\(^10\) Yekta also adds at this point that the Sultan, who was an amateur
musician, observed that the French ensemble was playing in a particular kind of rhythm in 3/4 time
\((\text{Jd})\) and later gave instructions to his own court musicians to play in the same metre, which
they named \textit{Frenk-çin} after the French.\(^11\) It was mainly European travellers to the Orient
who recorded these concerts in their diaries; although not published in any Turkish source
so far, an account given by the traveller George Sandys in 1610 also describes a concert of
a European ensemble taking place at the Turkish court: "On a time, the Grand Signior was
persuaded to heare some choise Italian Musicke: but the foolish Musicians (whose wit lay
only in the ends of their fingers) spent so much time in unreasonable tuning, that he
commanded them to avoid, belike esteeming the rest to be answerable".\(^12\)

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Ottomans continued their musical
contacts with the West also in the form of gifts received from their European counterparts,
who were trying to secure trading privileges in the East. One particular item sent to Sultan
Mehmed III in 1599 by Queen Elizabeth I, was an organ which was specially built by the
English organ builder Thomas Dallam, who installed the instrument at the Sultan’s palace

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\(^8\)Rauf Yekta (1871-1935) was the first Turkish musicologist who wrote an article entitled \textit{Musique Turque}
(1913) which was published in the \textit{Encyclopédie de la Musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire} edited by
Albert Lavignac in Paris in 1922. (For the Turkish translation see: Rauf Yekta: \textit{Türk Musikisi})

\(^9\)Rauf Yekta: \textit{Türk Musikisi}, p. 116 (Rauf Yekta quotes from Olivier Aubert’s \textit{Histoire de la Musique
Ancienne et Moderne} (Paris, 1827), p. 23, (The French musicians’ visit to the Ottoman court is also quoted
by other European historians; for further details see: Bülent Aksoy: \textit{Avrupali Gezginlerin Gözüyle
Osmanlılarda Musikı}, pp. 27-28))

\(^10\)Ibid.

\(^11\)Ibid.

\(^12\)Samuel Purchas, \textit{Hakuytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrims, containing a history of the world in sea
voyages and lande travells by Englishmen and others}, Vol. VIII, Ch. 8
in Constantinople in the presence of the Ottoman ruler.\textsuperscript{13} The fact that the instrument was destroyed two years after its installation however, shows that these initial contacts were significant, but of a temporary nature.\textsuperscript{14} It was not until the nineteenth century that European music became fashionable in the Ottoman Empire, during an extensive programme of reforms which started in the military. Ironically at a time when European military bands were adopting Turkish instruments and mannerisms,\textsuperscript{15} the reformist Sultan Mahmud II (1784-1839) ordered the formation of Western style bands within his newly created army, following the abolition of the traditional corps of janissaries in 1826. When the Ottoman court consulted the Sardinian Ambassador in order to find a suitable musician who would accept the responsibility of forming and training the new European style band, Signor Giuseppe Donizetti (1788-1856), the brother of the Italian opera composer Gaetano Donizetti was suggested.\textsuperscript{16} Accepting the Sultan’s invitation, Giuseppe Donizetti, who had once served under Napoleon, arrived in Constantinople on 17 September 1828 to become \textit{ISTRUTTORE GENERALE DELLE MUSICHE IMPERIALI OTTOMANE} at the recently opened \textit{MUZIKA-YI HUMAYUN}, the Imperial Military Music School.\textsuperscript{17}

Donizetti not only organised the curriculum at the music school and taught his recruits the European system of notation, but also ordered instruments and scores from Italy for the school.\textsuperscript{18} It appears that within less than a year, his band was able to perform in the streets of Constantinople, as witnessed by the British Naval Officer, Sir Adolphus Slade, who visited the city in 1829:

\textsuperscript{13}Dallam describes the occasion in the following words: “Firste the clocke strouke 22; then The chime of 16 bels went of, and played a songe of 4 partes. That beinge done, tow personagis which stood upon to corners of the seconde storie, houldinge tow silver trumpetes in there handes, did lift them to there heads, and sounded a tantarra. Than the muzicke went of, and the organ played a song of 5 partes twyse over” (Fanny Davis: \textit{The Palace of Topkapı}, pp. 163-164) (For further details, see: Stanley Mayes: \textit{An organ for the Sultan})

\textsuperscript{14}Tülây Reyhanlı: \textit{Ingiliz Gezginlerine göre XVI. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Hayat}, p. 52

\textsuperscript{15}“The credit of having inaugurated the ‘Turkish Music’ novelty belongs to Poland, whose ruler, Augustus II, had received a full Turkish military band from the Sultan. Russia, not to be outdone in this respect, then sought a similar favour [...] Austria adopted the innovation and in 1741 Ritter von der Trenck marched into Vienna preceded by a Turkish band. By 1770 almost every European army had introduced the Turkish percussion and concussion instruments into their regimental bands, the most outstanding being the bass drum, kettledrum, cymbals, triangle and the ‘Jingling Johnnie’, or Turkish crescent”. (Henry George Farmer: ‘Turkish influence in military music’, \textit{Handel's Kettledrums}, p. 44)

\textsuperscript{16}According to Weinstock: “The grand vizier Hosrav Pasha turned to the Marchese Groppallo, minister of Sardinia and Piedmont to the Sublime Porte, who thereupon forwarded the request to the Sardinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Turin. A ministerial secretary named Grosson reccommended Giuseppe Donizetti for the position” (Herbert Weinstock: \textit{Donizetti}, p. 309) (For full details on Giuseppe Donizetti’s life see: A Bacolla: \textit{La Musique en Turquie et Quelques traits biographiques, sur Giuseppe Donizetti Pacha})

\textsuperscript{17}Herbert Weinstock: \textit{Donizetti}, p. 309

\textsuperscript{18}See Bülent Aksoy: \textit{Avrupah Gezginlerin Gözüyle Osmanlılarda Müsik}, pp. 213-214
"The strains of a military band, and, unexpected treat to me on the banks of the Bosphorus, we heard Rossini's music, executed in a manner very creditable to Professor Signor Donizetti. We rose and went down to the palace quay, on which the band was playing. I was surprised at the youth of the performers [...] and still more surprised on finding that they were the royal pages, thus instructed for the Sultan's amusement. Their aptitude in learning, which Donizetti informed me would have been remarkable even in Italy, showed that the Turks are naturally musical".19

Although the above quotation from Sir Adolphus Slade was first cited by Gazimihal20 and paraphrased by subsequent Turkish music historians, another important entry from the same source was left out, where Slade described a band in the service of Capitain Pasha in the following sentences:

"His band consisting of as many drums and cymbals as could be collected, with two clarionets and one fife, usually made a noise for our benefit. It played the hunter's chorus in Freischutz, Zitti Zitti and Malbrook, over and over till I fairly wished it at the bottom of the sea. I not only could not stop my ears, but was obliged to applaud liberally. Thinking, one evening, that its style was more adapted to Turkish music, at the same time intending a compliment, I asked the pasha whether it could perform any Turkish airs. 'The Turkish airs' he repeated with astonishment; 'Mashallah! have you not been listening to them these two hours?' I bowed and took refuge in ignorance".21

The evidence given by Slade, in his second account, shows that for a while, even after the introduction of European style military bands, pashas, the high-ranking officers of the Sultan, who had also previously had their own independent janissary bands, continued to use instruments from the older tradition, even though the repertory was compiled from the works of European composers. Since an Italian like Donizetti was responsible for creating a school of music in Turkey, it was naturally Italian music of the time that became popular in the Ottoman court. In fact in a letter to a Signor Dolci in 1846 Donizetti wrote the following: "Maybe my son has told you that my Turkish pupils can all sing Italian songs. The Sultan also wanted to see some operettas performed. I hope the works I have mentioned will be suitable".22 Apart from starting an annual Italian opera season in Constantinople, where his brother Gaetano's works were performed,23 Donizetti also taught the members of the Sultan's family, composed and dedicated marches to his royal

19Sir Adolphus Slade: Records of Travels in in Turkey, Greece etc, and of a cruise in the Black Sea with Capitain Pasha in the years 1829, 1830 and 1831, p. 135
20Mahmud Ragn Kösemihal (Gazimihal): Turk Askeri Muzikalari Tarihi, pp. 44-45
21Sir Adolphus Slade: op. cit., pp. 193-194
22The works Donizetti mentioned in his letter were: La prova dell'accademia finale, Il piccolo Compositore di Musica, I piccoli virtuosi ambulanti, Il Giovedi-grasso, Un buon cuore scusa molti diffetti (Bülent Aksoy: Avrupali Gezginlerin Gözüyle Osmanlılarda Musiki, p. 214)
23Herbert Weinstock: Donizetti, pp. 309-310
patrons. The first of these marches was *Mahmudiye March* for Sultan Mahmud II, which was followed by *Mecidiye March* for Mahmud's successor Abdül Mecid (1839-1863). Giuseppe Donizetti was so popular in the Turkish court that he was later created a Pasha in recognition for his services in the Ottoman army.²⁴

The fact that a celebrated virtuoso musician like Franz Liszt was invited to Constantinople to give a series of concerts at the Ottoman court in 1847 also shows the popularity of European music in the Ottoman household.²⁵ In fact Liszt's letter to Countess Marie d’Agoult, dated 17 July 1847, is very revealing: "His Majesty [Abdül Mecid] was extremely gracious to me, and after having recompensed me both in money [...] and with a gift (a delightful enamel box with brilliants), he conferred on me the Order of Nichan-Iftikar in diamonds. I admit I was greatly surprised to find him so well informed about my bit of celebrity".²⁶ It was Giuseppe Donizetti who had masterminded Liszt’s visit to Turkey and organised the shipment of an Erard piano from Paris specially for these concerts.²⁷ During his stay, Liszt also composed a piano fantasy based on the themes of Donizetti’s *Mecidiye March*, which was published the following year in Leipzig under the title of *Grande Marche Paraphrase*.

As said earlier Italian opera was very popular at the Ottoman court, so much so that Dolmabahçe, the new palace of Sultan Abdül Mecid on the banks of the Bosphorous which was inaugurated in 1856 after the end of the Crimean War, had a purpose-built opera house. It was here that visiting Italian opera companies often gave performances during their stay in Constantinople. Although the palace opera house was burnt down in 1863, four years after its opening in 1859, performances continued at the Naum Thaetre in Péra, which was owned by a Christian Ottoman subject of the Sultan, Mikhail Naum, who had been bringing opera companies to the city since the 1830’s. According to Metin And, all

²⁴"How highly Giuseppe was regarded in court circles at Constantinople was indicated in October 1844, when a destructive fire broke out near his house there. Realizing that Donizetti’s home was in peril the Pasha Achmed-Fethy, a brother-in-law to the Sultan ordered the surrounding buildings razed to save it". (Ibid., p. 310)

²⁵A letter sent from Constantinople to The Musical Gazette in 1856 reads: “The European taste for music has, of late, made immense progress here. The Sultan has at present for his harem an excellent orchestra composed of women alone. One in particular, is remarkable for her performance on the violin; her style of execution resembling exceedingly that of Teresa Milanollo. Very few harems are now without a pianoforte, and many of the Turkish ladies are excellent performers. The Sultan has signified his intention of building a theatre at Tophane” (The Musical Gazette, 30 August 1856, p. 379)

²⁶Adrian Williams: *The Portrait of Liszt*, p. 236

²⁷For a full account on Liszt’s visit to Constantinople in 1847 see: Emre Araci: ‘Franz Liszt’in İstanbul Macerası’, Toplumsal Tarih, June 1997, pp. 33-35
the popular Italian operas of the time by composers such as Rossini, Bellini, Verdi and Donizetti were performed in Constantinople. The Italian composer and conductor Luigi Arditi, who later became the musical director of Her Majesty's Theatre in London, also briefly worked for Mikhail Naum in 1856. A letter written by his American wife, Virginia, cited by Arditi in his autobiographical work entitled My Reminiscences, gives us interesting clues about the state of opera in the Ottoman capital:

"At last we reached the opera house, and were ushered into the presence of the brothers Naum, the Impressari [...] the opera company is very good on the whole, and the prime donne, among whom are Donatelli and Munro Celli, are all public favourites. The latter was chosen to sing before the Sultan. The performances are always well attended. Smoking contrary to our custom in America, is allowed during the performance, and it greatly amuses me to watch the ladies of the harem peeping timidly out of their loges grillées. The Sultan Abdul Medjid never comes to the opera now, since one night he and his suite was alarmed by the news that a murder had been committed within the precincts of the building. His majesty, entertaining a horror of bloodshed, has since preferred to command the presence of artists in his palace for the purpose of giving selections of operatic music. The other day the Sultan sent for Luigi and his orchestra [...] Luigi looked splendid in his fez, and was requested to play several violin solos, which were encored by the imperial party, and gave so much pleasure to the Sultan [...] a few days after the entertainment at the palace Luigi was presented with the diploma and order of the Medjedid in recognition of the gratification he had afforded to the Sultan. Luigi has just completed a cantata which he has written expressly for and dedicated to the Sultan. The words are in the Turkish language, and the vocalists who have been engaged to sing it before the Sultan next week seem to have some difficulty in mastering them".

The brothers Naum were anxious to re-engage Arditi for another year of opera in the Turkish capital; but his wife, "who had borne all our petty worries and discomfitures with excellent temper, patience and fortitude felt as well as I that we had endured enough hardships during our sojourn amid Oriental life and surroundings, and we accordingly decided to return to Italy". Although we cannot be certain about the standard of these opera performances - Henri Vieuxtemps wrote of his disappointment on seeing La Sonnambula at the palace theatre - the important issue here is that a major European musical tradition like opera had entered into Ottoman society and was patronised by the Sultan and his family. It must also be stressed that the patronage was extended to Europe as well when Sultan Abdül Aziz became a subscriber to Wagner's opera house at

28 Metin And: Türkiye 'de İtalyan sahnesi ve İtalyan sahnesinde Türkiye, p. 7
29 This cantata also known as Inno Turco was sung in the original Turkish language by a British chorus of 1600 at a concert in Crystal Palace on 16 July 1867 when Sultan Abdül Aziz paid a state visit to Britain. (See Emre Araci: ‘Londra Crystal Palace'ta Abdülaziz şerefine verilen konser’, Toplumsal Tarih, January 1998, pp. 29-35)
30 Luigi Arditi: My Reminiscences, pp. 37-38
31 Ibid., p. 38
32 Metin And: Türkiye 'de İtalyan sahnesi ve İtalyan sahnesinde Türkiye, p. 28
Bayreuth\textsuperscript{33} and the autonomous Khedive of Egypt, the ruler of the Ottoman province, commissioned Verdi to compose \emph{Aida} for the state opening of the Suez Canal. In the second half of the nineteenth century the sultans and their immediate family members, who by this stage had received adequate tuition in Western music theory, also started composing works in European popular music genres of the time such as marches and light-hearted dance items including waltzes and polka-mazurkas. In fact piano pieces composed by Sultan Abdüll Aziz were published in Milan by F. Lucca, with titles like \textit{Invitation à la Valse}, \textit{La Gondole Barcarolle} and \textit{La Harpe Caprice},\textsuperscript{34} and his more productive nephew Sultan Murad V composed almost six-hundred pages of piano music, while in captivity after his deposition in the Palace of Çırağan.\textsuperscript{35}

Despite the fact that there were regular opera performances and composer sultans in the 19th century Ottoman Empire, it is interesting to note that a national school of composition never actually took shape in Turkey until after the proclamation of the republic in 1923, unlike, for example, Russia, a country which also underwent similar reforms under Peter the Great a century earlier. The reasons for this might be related to the fact that there did not exist a proper middle class in Ottoman society, with the exception of the Christian minorities, who as a matter of fact did indeed produce certain composers who attempted writing operas based on Ottoman themes.\textsuperscript{36} The average Turk in the street could neither read nor write let alone indulge in any musical activity apart from their own regional folk-music tradition. For the upper-classes it was a form of entertainment and, even if some of their members composed, they remained as amateurs. It seems that the situation only began to change after the opening of modern schools like \textit{Sanayi Mektebi} in the late 1880's where a European-style education including music was offered to the general public.\textsuperscript{37}

The other interesting aspect of European musical life in Ottoman Turkey is that it was dominated by Italian opera and military band music for a very long time. The

\textsuperscript{33}According to Newman: "From his countrymen in general [Wagner] told Puselli, he does not expect much support for an idea so elevated as that of Bayreuth: their minds are too limited, too local 'but it will come about some day, if perhaps only through Russian, American and other subsidies'. He had overlooked Turkey, the Sultan of which set an example to some of the German crowned heads [...] [who according to Liszt] benevolently subscribed for Patronatscheine to the extent of 3000 thalers". (Ernest Newman: \textit{The life of Richard Wagner}, Volume IV, p. 351)

\textsuperscript{34}Suha Umur: ‘Abdül Aziz, Beyoğlu ve Naum Tiyatrosu’, \textit{Milli Saraylar}, 1993, p. 74

\textsuperscript{35}The MS of Sultan Murad’s music is owned by Istanbul University Library (uncatalogued).

\textsuperscript{36}See Metin And: \textit{Türkiye'de İtalyan sahnesi ve İtalyan sahesinde Türkiye}, pp. 59-68

\textsuperscript{37}See Chapter I, p. 16
popularity of Italian opera seems to have been due to the large number of Italians living in the Ottoman Empire and the influence of Italian court musicians employed by the sultans. In fact it was not until 1918 that symphonic concerts, which included the works of German symphonists for the first time, began to take place in Constantinople with an orchestra founded at the Imperial Military Music School. It must be pointed out however, that this change was also politically related since the Ottoman Empire and Germany were allies at the time. In fact it was during the First World War that a German orchestra first visited the Ottoman capital, which was reciprocated by the visit of the Ottoman court orchestra to Berlin and Dresden in 1918. At these concerts the Kaiserlich Osmanischen Palastkapelle, as it was advertised, played a distinctly German programme; their concert on 13 January 1918 included Wagner’s *Meistersingers Overture* and Beethoven’s *Eroica Symphony*.\(^{38}\) It was only after the proclamation of the republic and the ensuing music reform policies based on European principles under Kemal Atatürk’s rule, that Western music became more accessible to wider audiences in Turkey and culminated in the creation of a distinct Turkish school of composition.

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\(^{38}\)Mahmud Ragıp Kösemihal (Gazimihal): *Türk Askeri Muzikaları Tarihi*, p. 136
PART I
CHAPTER I

1907-1931

1.1 A musical childhood in Izmir

Ahmed Adnan [Saygun] was born on 7 September 1907 in Izmir, in Ottoman Turkey ruled by Sultan Abdül Hamid II (1876-1909), who was in the final days of his reign. Adnan’s father, Mehmed Celaleddin [Saygün] (1872-1954), was a teacher of mathematics, who originally came from a large family based in Nevşehir, a town in central Anatolia. His ancestors had been known as Fişekçizade (‘cartridge-makers’), because of their business, which supplied ammunition to the Ottoman army. The family ancestors were also well-known for previously holding distinguished posts, teaching
Islamic theology at various medreses in the Ottoman Empire. In keeping with this tradition, Celaleddin was also educated at a medrese, on the orders of his father, Hoca Ahmed Efendi, who himself had been a medrese teacher. According to Saygun, his father was “an open-minded man, who had interests in positive sciences and whose behaviour aroused in others a kind of respect towards him”. Besides these qualities, Celaleddin also seems to have been a strong-willed and outspoken revolutionary, which is reflected in his rebellious attitude towards the education system at these religious establishments, often resulting in conflicts between him and his teachers. He even went to the extreme of giving up the traditional costume and headgear associated with the staff and graduates of these schools, and joined the local branch of the reformist İttihat ve Terakki Partisi, the Union and Progress Party. Initially an underground political organisation, the party finally brought down the oppressive regime of Abdül Hamid II in 1908, in order to reinstate the Ottoman parliament, which had been dissolved by the deposed Sultan. Celaleddin, known as Celal Hoca to his pupils, had also a great interest in books and literature, with an ambition of founding a library in Izmir. The project, which later developed into the National Library of Izmir, was his greatest achievement, and he subsequently became its director.

In 1903 Celaleddin married Zeynep Seniha (1887-1925), a member of a family resident in Izmir, who had originally come from the village of Doğanbey in Konya.

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4 Medreses were educational establishments, like the colleges of a university, which were attached to mosques, where education was given in a number of subjects including the sciences, by Islamic clerics, known as hoca. As part of a move to secularise the state, according to a law introduced in 1924 all the medreses were officially closed.


6 According to Özgüç, he even once entered into an heated argument with a teacher who unjustly accused him of making the sign of the cross in an Islamic establishment while trying to solve a mathematical equation. (Fehamettin Özgüç: op. cit.)

7 Sadun Tanju: op. cit.

8 According to Saygun: “My father [...] was instrumental in founding the Izmir Branch of the Union and Progress Party” (Sadun Tanju: op. cit.)

9 Celaleddin was also the author of two books; one in his own subject of mathematics, and the other, notably, on the reforms of Atatürk in relation to Islam, where he openly welcomed and supported the need for change. These were entitled Riyaziyattta sıfırın kıymeti ve ehemmiyeti (the importance of the number zero in mathematics) and Diyanet açısından Atatürk İnkılapları (the reforms of Atatürk from a religious perspective). (See the bibliography for full details)

10 For details of the foundation of the National Library, see Ferruh Senan: op. cit.
province. In the second year of the marriage, their baby daughter Nebile\textsuperscript{11} was born, followed by a son, two years later, who was, according to the family tradition, named Ahmed Adnan, after his paternal grandfather. The family lived in two small rooms in a single story building in the Karantina district of Izmir at number 22 on the Cerrah Mehmed Efendi Sokak.\textsuperscript{12} It seems that Celaleddin’s intellectual interests, in reading and teaching, also had a significant impact on the education of his own children, which is quite clear from a description given by Saygun: “I am not exaggerating, I could both read and write the old script [Arabic] at the age of four. We used to have a blackboard in our house. It was my father who taught me and my sister”\textsuperscript{13}. Celaleddin was also careful in securing a secular education for his son, by not sending him to the traditional local religious school, an experience he himself regretted as a child, but instead enrolling him at \textit{Ittihad ve Terakki Nümune Sultanisi}, one of the new modern secular schools founded by the Union and Progress Party.\textsuperscript{14}

The fact that Adnan was born in a city like Izmir undoubtedly shaped his future life and career immensely. Had he spent his childhood days and early adolescence in a different city, or in a remote village of the empire, his life expectations could have been much more different. Izmir at the time was the second largest city of the Ottoman Empire, and as an important port of call on the Aegean, it was even more cosmopolitan, or more a foreigner’s city than Constantinople. It boasted a high ratio of Greek populace, especially before the outbreak of the First World War, which was followed by the war of Turkish independence. A sizeable Christian community meant trade with the West and, as a result, an influx of European culture. Apart from the latest fashions from Paris, a lot of Western talent was imported into the city, particularly for entertainment. Izmir was always an important destination for visiting troupes on their tour of the Orient. When the French musicologist Louis Albert Bourgault-Ducodray (1840-1910) visited the city in 1874, he made an amusing entry into his diary: “When I was in France, I had never imagined that one day I would be forced to give tips to hurdy-gurdy players and run

\textsuperscript{11}Later Nebile Yar (1905-1968)

\textsuperscript{12}This was a small flat of forty-two square-metres, which was later re-numbered as 2/197th street. The street was named after Saygun in 1987 (Fehamettin Özgüç, \textit{op. cit.}) (It was decided to turn the small house into a museum, but before this project could be realised the building was knocked down by property developers in 1989)

\textsuperscript{13}[Hüç mübalağa etmiyorum, dört yaşamdayken eski yazıyı yazar ve okurdum. Evde bir karatahtamız vardı. Babam bana ve ablama hocalık ederdi]. Sadun Tanju: \textit{op. cit.}

\textsuperscript{14}Sadun Tanju: \textit{op. cit.}
after these instruments [on the streets of Izmir], which I had so despised and from which I used to run away like the black death. Hurdy-gurdies are found in most eastern cities, and particularly in Izmir where one sees lots of them. In fact Izmir is really a city rich in music and its people enjoy good entertainment”. European influence on Izmir was more significant than just the hurdy-gurdies. According to Saygun, there were rows of cafés by the sea front with names like Café de Paris and Concordia, where after a certain time in the evening, serious chamber music was performed by small ensembles.

There was also a tradition of orchestral concerts in Izmir: in 1895 a French railway engineer founded an orchestra which started giving regular concerts at the Sporting Club, with programmes including symphonies by Beethoven, Mozart and Haydn. The theatre of the Sporting Club, which was ornately decorated and had a capacity for 600 people, had opened in 1894 and some of the scenery was specially ordered from Naples. Italian Opera was also popular in Izmir as it was in Constantinople, with the famous Theatre de Smyrne, also known as the Izmir Tiyatrosu, being many times host to visiting opera companies from abroad. Saygun remembers it as having floors of boxes with a large pit and a stage, and as he said: “it was this building that shaped my world outlook”.

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16 Saygun describes this in the following words: “What I noticed at these cafés, when I was taken on a couple of occasions by my father, was that during dinner they provided light entertainment like waltzes and pot-pourris from a selection of operatic works etc... and after a certain hour (I think 10 pm) serious works like Beethoven trios, Mozart violin and piano sonatas, etc... were performed. Every piece had a number, and during the performance the number was displayed by the side of the piano, and by looking at a catalogue on their tables, the clients could find out the name of the work which was being performed. In fact I saw a similar arrangement while I was a student in Paris in 1929 at the Café Dreher at Chatelet as well”. [Küçük yaşlarında babamın yanında gittiğim bu kazinolarda dikkatimi çekmiş olan birsey de yemek saati ve valser, opera pot-pouri’leri iki... gibi hafif eserler çalar bu topluluklar belli bir saatten itibaren (zannedersem gece 10.00) Beethoven triolan, Mozart keman ve piyano sonatları, iki... gibi ciddi eserler çalarlar, her eserin bir numerosu olup bu numero piyanonun yanında görülce bir yere konur ve her masada mevcud katalogdan herkes eserlerin ne olduğunu öğrenir. Ben bunu 1929 yılında Paris’te bulunduğu sıradaki Chatelet’deki Café Dreher’de de gördüm]. (An unpublished letter by Saygun addressed simply “Dear Sir”, dated 11 December 1987 (BUSA))

17 Önder Kütahyalt: op. cit.

18 Metin And: Türkiye’de İtalyan Sahnesi, p. 57

19 [Benim dünyaya görüşümdü bu tiyatroyla oluşan büyük]; Yaşar Aksoy: ‘Hemşehrımız Saygun’u sevgiyle anacağız’, Ege’de Zaman, 13 January 1991
1945), in his memoirs entitled *Kırk Yıl*, talks about the presence of either an Italian opera company, or a French operetta troupe in Izmir continually, and that he often went to see them perform. According to Saygun, even *Madame Butterfly* was performed in Izmir the year following its premiere in Milan in 1904. All of this shows that there was clearly an established European musical tradition in Izmir.

Adnan did not come from a musically gifted family; neither his mother, nor his father played any musical instruments. This does not mean to say, however, that they did not like music. In fact there is evidence which shows that Celaleddin was quite enthusiastic about traditional Turkish music, and particularly the *Sufi* repertoire, associated with the whirling dervishes, which was to influence Saygun significantly in his mature works. Celaleddin himself was also a member of the religious brotherhood of the *Mevlevi* dervishes, for whom this kind of music played an important part in their services. In fact he must have liked their music so much that he asked one of the *sheikhs* of the brotherhood to give *ud* lessons to his daughter Nebile. He was also regularly inviting players of traditional Turkish music to the National Library at weekends for rehearsals. Following on from his sister, Adnan also started learning the *ud*, which is described by him in the following words: “I often used to tamper with her [Nebile’s] *ud* secretly, causing it to go out of tune and was told off many times as a...

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20 Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil: *Kırk Yıl*, p. 238
21 Unpublished letter dated 11 December 1987 (BUSA)
22 See Chapter VI, p. 145 and Chapter VII, p. 177
23 Saygun describes this in the following words: “My father [...] was interested in fine arts. He was a member of a *tarikat* [a religious brotherhood of dervishes]. In those days everyone belonged to a religious brotherhood. And because my father was a *Mevlevi* *tarikat*, he was greatly interested in music”. [Babam [...] güzel sanatlarla duşkün bir şahsîyeti. Zaten mensup bulunduğum tarikat ki o zamanlar herkes bir tarikata bağlı idi, Mevlevi olduğum için bilhassa musiki ile ilgilenirdi]. (Haluk C. Tanju: ‘Ahmet Adnan Saygun ve Batı Musikisi’, Bakış, January 1987, p. 25)
24 Feldman observes that “the importance of music in the spiritual discipline of the Mevlevis can be traced back to the founder, Mevlana Celâlu’ddin Rûmî, who used both vocal and instrumental music in his sacred dance and audition seances (sema)”. (Walter Feldman: *Music of the Ottoman Court*, p. 85)
25 *Ud* is a plucked string instrument similar to the lute. The word lute is in fact a derivative of the term *la ud*, which is thought to have come to Europe from the Arabs.
26 Haluk C. Tanju: *op. cit.*
27 According to Saygun: “My father used to try and bring together all the well-known performers of traditional Turkish music resident in Izmir. He used to invite them to the National Library at weekends, when the building was closed to outsiders and encouraged accurate performances of Turkish works”. [Babam Milli Kütüphane binasında Izmir’in tanınmış müsikiçilerini kitüphanenin tatil günlerinde bir araya getirir ve eski Türk eserlerinin iyi bir surette icrasını sağlamaya çalışır]. (Unpublished letter dated 11 December 1987 (BUSA))
result. My father and sister realised that this could not go any further, and that Adnan needed a teacher. Sheikh Cemal who used to live near us and taught Nebile also started to teach me [...]. Later Sheikh Nurettin Efendi gave me a few lessons. I had mastered the instrument quite well. When I was fifteen Udi Ziya Bey started giving me serious lessons. At the same time I started receiving music theory lessons from Meldan Zade Niyazi Bey and as a result learned all the Turkish *makams* (modes) and rhythms thoroughly. It is quite clear from this evidence that before taking an interest in European music, Adnan was at first introduced to traditional Turkish music. In fact, in later years when certain traditional Turkish musicians attacked him for his allegedly wrongful use of Turkish *makams* in his works, it seems that they were clearly underestimating his knowledge in this area and the fact that he did actually receive tuition in Turkish music from a very early age.

Adnan’s earliest encounter with European music, on the other hand, seems to have been through attending the open-air performances of the wind band of *Izmir Sanayi Mektebi*, a special school for teaching arts and crafts, which was situated near his house. As mentioned in the introduction of this dissertation, European military music was very popular in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. At these regular concerts, Adnan would most likely have heard heroic marches by Ottoman court musicians, as well as popular music of the time, including dance items like polka-mazurkas, waltzes and most likely arrangements from famous operatic interludes. The

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29 See chapter VI, p. 151

30 According to Gazimihal, the wind bands at these schools (of which there were four others in cities like Selañik, Üsküdar, Bursa and Konya) were originally founded by graduates of the Imperial Music School at Constantinople, with the aim of training young recruits for the military bands of the empire. The band of the *Izmir Sanayi Mektebi* was founded in 1888. (For further information see Mahmud Ragip Gazimihal: *Türk Askeri Muzikalari Tarihi*, pp. 230 - 235)

31 As Saygun later said: ‘Because our house was so close, we used to go and hear the band perform at every lunch-time, at the park in front of the school’; [Sanayi Mektebi’nin önündeki parkta her ikindi konser veren bandoya, evimiz yakını olduğu için dinlemeye giderdik]. (Sadun Tanju: op. cit.)

32 In fact Saygun later described the repertoire in the following words: ‘With this band Ismail Zühdü [the conductor of the band who later became Adnan’s music teacher] used to conduct marches and songs that he himself composed’; [İsmail Zühdü kendi bestelediği marçolar, şarkları da bu bandoya çaldırdı]. (Adnan Saygun: ‘Kompozitör İsmail Zühdü’, Ulus, 8 August 1943)
most important influence on him, however, was undoubtedly the European style of musical education he received at the modern secondary school, *İttihad ve Terakki Numune Sultanisi*, which in the words of Mahmud Ragıp [Gazimihal] “was almost like a small conservatory”. Adnan attended this school from the age of five, until thirteen, which covered both primary and secondary levels. The school also provided for its pupils instruments and instrumental tuition free of charge. Music teaching, with particular emphasis on singing, was conducted on three levels: beginners, intermediate and advanced, with pupils being admitted to these levels according to their musical talent, rather than their age or seniority. The school also had a choir and an orchestra which gave concerts in and around İzmir. In fact when Saygun visited the St. Paul’s Girl School in the City of London in 1946, he found similarities with his own musical upbringing, as he later wrote in his diary: “About 70 girls sight-read the ‘Halleluia chorus’ from Handel’s *Messiah* and sang other works. Not bad at all. Afterwards we looked around the music classrooms. Apparently this is a school which takes pride in its music education. It reminded me of *İttihad and Terakki*. Thirty years ago we had made a good start as well. But there was nobody encouraging us in those days”.

During his years at the school, Adnan primarily received tuition from İsmail Zühdü (1877 - 1924), who in fact been appointed a music teacher at the establishment with the help of Adnan’s father Celaleddin. It appears that Zühdü was

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33 Mahmud Ragıp [Gazimihal]: ‘İzmir’in Musiki İstikbali - II’, *Musiki Dergisi*, No. 5, 15 September 1931, p. 12
34 Mahmud Ragıp [Gazimihal]: *op. cit.*, p. 13
35 In fact according to Saygun, “the school owned six pianos, ‘cellos [strings], percussion and woodwind instruments [...] making up an orchestra”. (Haluk C. Tanju: *op. cit.*)
36 Gazimihal describes these levels as: “in the first level the students used to learn the notes and the principles of sight-singing, in the second level they could sing moderately difficult works, in the third level students could sight-read three- or four-part works quite confidently”. (Birinci kurda yalız nota ögreniliyordu; ikincide biraz okumağa başlayanlar bulunuyordu; üçüncü kurda ise 3 ve 4 ses ile ilk başka nota okumak mevzuhabistti). (Mahmud Ragıp [Gazimihal]: *op. cit.*, p. 12)
37 Mahmud Ragıp [Gazimihal]: *op. cit.*
39 According to Özgüç, during a visit by İsmail Zühdü to Celaleddin’s house, the young Adnan was asked to sing before him, which was so successfully accomplished by the boy that thereafter Zühdü agreed to take him on as a pupil. The next day he was sent a gift by the new teacher, a series of wood carvings of musical notations in different rhythmic values. (Fehamettin Özgüç: *op. cit.*, p. 19)
one of the most influential teachers Saygun had as a child, which is seen in the way he paid his respects to him in ensuing articles and interviews. Saygun in fact once described him as “the first ever conscious teacher of the new [European style] Turkish music”. 40 As well as conducting the school choir, of which Adnan was a member, Zühdü was also a composer, his works including two symphonies (both in piano score, the second one unfinished), Tezer (for solo piano and orchestra) and heroic marches entitled Edirne, Selamik and Istiklal. 41 It was also in this school, at the age of twelve, that Adnan started to learn the piano with Ismail Zühdü at first, 42 followed by another pianist called a M. Rosati, who also played at the Café de Paris in the city. 43 Three years later, his father also bought for Adnan a piano at an auction for seventy liras, which was placed in one of the small rooms in their house. 44 We understand from Saygun’s recollections that he must have reached a good standard in a short time as he was able to play duets with his sister who by this stage had started playing the violin: “It was my late father who bought the piano in 1922 and we managed to fit it in our small house. It was my most treasured possession. In the early days I used to play it non-stop and my sister was playing the violin. A neighbour must have had enough as one day a stone was thrown at our window. Despite all, my father and my mother used to get great pleasure out of listening to their children. For years I gave many concerts and recitals in this small house with my sister”. 45

Adnan did not have a comfortable childhood; on the contrary his early memories were marred by on-going wars and invasions. First was the outbreak of the Balkan war (1912-13), when refugees from the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire sought

40 Adnan Saygün: op. cit.
41 For further biographical information on Ismail Zühdü, see Gültekin Oransay: Batı Tekniğiyle Yayan 60 Türk Bağdaş, p. 17 and Ferit Hilmi Artek: ‘İsmail Zühtü Kuşcuoğlu’, Ankara Filarmoni Dergisi, Jan-Nov 1971, issues: 54-64 (in ten episodes).
42 Haluk C. Tanju: op. cit.
43 Unpublished letter dated 11 December 1987 (BUS A)
44 Fehamettin Özgüç: op. cit.
45 [1922 yılında rahmetli babam almış, bu küçük eve piyano sözverdik. En kıyameti hazinemdir. İlk zamanlarda evde sürekli piyano çalıyorum, ablam keman çalıyor, galiba bir komşu bezmüş bir gün evimiği taşlandı. Ama her şeye rağmen babam ile annem iki evlatlarımı diniyerek büyük hay duyarlardı. Yillarca ablamla birlikte bu küçük evin içinde ne konserler resitaler verdik]. Yaşar Aksoy: ‘Hemşehrimiz Saygün’u sevgiyle anacağız’, Ege’de Zaman, 13 January 1991 (This is also verified by the composer in an account, where he explains that “my piano playing had become good enough so that I could play to a certain extent, enjoy and appreciate pre-Classical, Classical and Romantic music”. (From an unpublished note (in English) by the composer (BUS A))
shelter in Izmir. This was followed by a more serious conflict, the First World War in 1914, which finally lead to the Greek occupation of Izmir for three years in 1920. During this period his father was also briefly imprisoned for not complying with Greek regulations; he had refused to drop the word “National” from the Library’s name. As well as mentally, Adnan was also suffering physically from the effects of war as he once explained: “There was a bakery behind our house. We used to queue up at three o’clock in the morning and wait for hours in order to be able to buy fresh bread. Because I was so small, they always used to push me to the back of the queue. One day I did manage to come to the front of the queue, but was accidentally hit by a rolling-pin. I became unconscious. When I came to myself there was blood all over my face.”

Despite the fact that his musical education was badly affected during the occupation years, after the liberation of the city in 1923, Adnan started receiving piano and music theory lessons from Macar Tevfik Bey (1846?-1941) who had also taught Ismail Zühdü in the past. Macar Tevfik was descended from an Hungarian aristocratic family through his mother the Countess Allegri; his father was Izzet Bey, an officer in the Ottoman army. Originally he was called Alessandro Voltan and spent his childhood in Venice and Vienna where musical soirées were held at his home, attended by, on occasion, Wagner and Liszt. Alessandro Voltan was appointed music teacher to the Romanian princess, later queen, Carmen Sylva (a post held by Enescu in later years). After the outbreak of the Turco-Russian War in 1876 he arrived in Turkey and became a piano teacher at the court of Sultan Abdülm Hamid II, later settling in Izmir. In the process he converted to Islam and changed his name to Tevfik with the title Macar meaning Hungarian in Turkish. Adnan went for lessons regularly at Macar Tevfik’s house on Friday afternoons, and apart from receiving piano instruction, they also played together two-piano arrangements of Beethoven overtures and symphonies. It also seems that

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46Ferruh Senan: op. cit., p.42
48Mahmud Ragıp [Gazimihal]: op. cit., p.12
49These biographical details are based on the accounts given by Mahmud Ragıp [Gazimihal]: ‘İzmir’in Musiki İstikbali’-I’, Musiki Dergisi, No.4, June 1931, p. 20; for further details see Gültakin Oransay: ‘Baş Teknigiyle Yazar 60 Türk Boğdar’, p. 11 and Fikri Çiçekoğlu: ’Tevfik Bey’e ait bir hâra’, Akşam, September 1941 (BUSA)
50Fikri Çiçekoğlu: op. cit.
Adnan took other musician friends to perform in front of him; a violinist friend Fikri [Çiçekəğli] remembers attending one of these Friday afternoon sessions when he and Adnan performed violin sonatas by Mozart.\(^{51}\)

Apart from lessons with Ismail Zühdü, Rosati and Macar Tevfik, Adnan also briefly received tuition in harmony from Hüseyin Saadettin [Arel], but after three months left him feeling dissatisfied with his teaching.\(^{52}\) In fact, it appears that most of the theoretical knowledge he had in music at this stage in his life was self-taught, through reading and translating books from French into Turkish.\(^{53}\) With access to his father’s library, the books he translated between 1925-26 were *The Life and Works of Richard Wagner* by Albert Keim, Ernst Friedrich Richter’s *Lehrbuch des einfachen und doppelten Kontrapunkts* (1872) and Salomon Jadassohn’s *Lehrbuch der Harmonie* (1883) and *Lehrbuch der Kontrapunkts* (1884) as well as the musical terms in *La Grande Encyclopédie*.\(^{54}\) In fact the true reason behind Adnan’s translation of these books as a teenager was due to his growing interest in the field of composition, as clearly explained by him in the following account: “Already at the beginning of my contact with music I was unconsciously attracted by the charm of musical composition [...] The instinctive push toward the musical creation having become more and more conscious in me I made all efforts in order to discover a professor able to guide me. All my efforts were in vain for the simple reason that, at the time, there was not in that city any musician able to teach even harmony. Having realised that there was no alternative but to work alone, I began to study harmony and then counterpoint through some books I had procured [as mentioned above]. At the same time, and in order to widen my musical culture I translated from French all the musical expressions [terms] that the enormous *La Grande Encyclopédie* contains and many other books on music and musicians”.\(^{55}\)

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\(^{51}\)Ibid.

\(^{52}\)Mahmud Ragıp [Gazimihal]: ‘İzmir’in Musiki İstikbali - II’, *Musiki Dergisi*, No.5, 15 September 1931, p. 12

\(^{53}\)According to Canal, having been taught French at school and also received private lessons from a Mlle. Bonnal, Adnan could read and write in the language quite confidently. (Denis-Armand Canal: *op. cit.* , p. 28)

\(^{54}\)It was the French translations of these books that Adnan translated into Turkish. (Adnan Atalay: ‘Saygun’un Eserleri’, *ASSB*, p. 38)

\(^{55}\)From an unpublished note (in English) by the composer (BUSA)
The earliest written evidence, showing Adnan’s description of himself as a composer, is found on an early autograph manuscript dating back to 1922, on which the title reads: “Marche des oiseaux pour piano par A. Adnan, Op. 4, 30 Sept 1922”. The same work also advertises, in the composer’s own handwriting, that “Les autres morceaux du meme auteur [sont] Bruit! qu’est-ce qu’il veut dire? (Op.1), Danse d’ai’din (Op. 2), Serenade plaisante (Op. 3)”. In the light of these recent discoveries we can clearly see that Adnan’s earliest musical creations were in the genre of songs, which were most likely similar to those pieces he sang in Zühdü’s choir. The influence of the march repertoire, which he heard as a child played by the wind-bands and which made a strong impression on him, is also clearly visible in the title of his Op. 4. These are obviously childish works, but nevertheless display his early basic knowledge in European harmonic progressions. The fact that he gives opus numbers to these works while only 14 years of age also shows his serious desire to become a composer. In fact these works were not Adnan’s only compositions in this early period in his life. A few years later, he began to experiment with writing works in more serious genres of Western art music, including a symphony in D major (1927/8) and a string quartet, as is clearly explained in the composer’s own words: “I had not any idea of the music of the twentieth century. In the meantime, I didn’t neglect musical composition, which according to the kind of music I was writing as symphonies, sonatas, string quartets, etc. .. seemed to have more serious pretensions in comparison with the earlier times”. In fact Gazimihal thought that Adnan’s interest in symphonic music was sparked off by playing piano duet arrangements of classical symphonies with his teacher Macar Tevfik.

After completing his studies at school, with growing pressure from his father, Adnan started looking for a suitable job. The thought of someone earning a living as a musician in Izmir at the time was a major concern even for an open-minded man like Celaleddin. He did not want his son to become a professional musician, and even as

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56 These works are at BUSA (uncatalogued)  
57 See Chapter VIII, p. 199  
58 See Chapter VII, p. 168  
59 From an unpublished note (in English) by the composer (BUSA)  
60 Mahmud Ragip [Gazimihal]: ‘İzmir’ in Musiki İstikbalı - II’, Musiki Dergisi, No.5, 15 September 1931, p.13  
61 Fikri Çiçekoglu: ‘İsmail Zühdü’ye dair’ Aksam, 29 May 1948
late as 1946, when his son had an established career, he still regretted it.62 After unsuccessful attempts working at the water company and the post office as a clerk, Adnan finally opened a book shop of his own, with financial help from his father, which was only to last for a year.63 After the closure of the shop, for a while he helped his father at the National Library of Izmir. In order to raise funds for the library, silent films were being shown at the Elhamra Cinema in Izmir. These films were often accompanied by small ensembles or just by a pianist, which often increased the size of the audience. When the usual pianist was off-duty, it was occasionally Adnan who accompanied these silent films.64

Adnan’s other musical activities of the time included his membership of the Musiki Yurdu, a kind of an amateur chamber music club in Izmir, founded by one of his former teachers at the Ittihat ve Terakki School, Tevfik [Türk].65 Here, instrumentalists from different backgrounds met regularly once or twice a week to make music, finally culminating in a small ensemble which gave a number of concerts in 1924 and 1925, during which Adnan played the piano/harmonium.66 He did not, however, maintain a good relationship with the musical director of the ensemble, Guido Partel, whom he believed was not suitable for the job, a view shared also by other members of the society.67 During a rehearsal of Beethoven’s Egmont Overture one evening, the small orchestra found the work too difficult and gradually the tempo began slowing down. “We have turned Egmont into a funeral march” was Adnan’s reaction and continued: “and finally tonight we have managed to bury the society with it”.68

62Ibid.
63Adnan convinced his father to move his piano to the shop and spent most of his time playing, rather than serving any customers. (Nihat Yeğinobalı: ‘Adnan Saygun’, Yirminci Asır, No. 36, p. 4)
64Sadun Tanju: op. cit., p. 77
65Tevfik [Türk], who for a while had lived in Vienna, wanted to form a kind of a Philharmonical Society in Izmir. Musiki Yurdu was created as a result of these aspirations in 1922. (For further details see Mahmud Ragıp [Gazimihal]: ‘İzmir’in Musiki İstikbali - II’, Musiki Dergisi, No.5, 15 September 1931, p.12)
66Saygun gives the names of the members of this society and their instruments. He indicates that he plays the piano and the harmonium for the society. (Unpublished letter dated 11 December 1987 (BUSA))
68[Egmont‘u Marche Funèbre ‘e benzettik [...] Musiki Yurdu’nun bu akşam Egmont ile gömdük], Ibid.
Adnan's first serious move towards a professional musical career, however, began with his appointment as music teacher in two primary schools in his native city of İzmir in 1924, which were initially informal arrangements, since he had no qualifications to teach.69 By that stage the First World War was over and the Ottoman Empire had disintegrated into a new republic under the presidency of Kemal Atatürk.70 In line with the music policy of the new government,71 a specialised music school called *Musiki Muallim Mektebi* (Music Teachers’ Training College - hereafter MTTC) was established in Ankara.72 The college immediately became the main centre for training prospective music teachers who would come from different parts of the country and then be sent to remote areas to carry on the spirit of the reforms. They also offered external examinations towards a teaching qualification. Adnan immediately took this opportunity to enter the external examination in 1925. He in fact described this event in the following words: “There was clearly a shortage of [music] teachers at the time [...] Anyone who had knowledge in European music could receive a teaching qualification after passing a rigorous exam at this establishment [MTTC]. So I went [to Ankara] and sat the examination”.73 During the examination Adnan played a sonata in A minor by Schubert which was followed by a composition of his own.74 He was also given a harmony paper which he “in no time completed and placed in front of them”.75 The board of examiners headed by Zeki [Üngör]76 were so impressed with his musical abilities that they immediately offered him a job at the College. Adnan, however, expressed his interest in going back to İzmir, where he was later appointed music teacher at the *İzmir Lisesi*, a post he held until his departure for Paris.77

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69 According to Özugç these schools were *İzmir İstiklal İlkokulu* and *Şehit Fethi Bey İlkokulu*. (Fehamettin Özugç, *op. cit.*, p. 19)
70 The republic was proclaimed on 29 October 1923.
71 See Chapter II, pp. 33-36
72 See Chapter II, pp. 36-37
73 [Bu devirlerde öğretmenlik vardı [...] Batı müziğinde bilgili olanlara oldukça sık bir imtiyazla öğretmen ehliyetnamesi veriliyordu], Haluk Tanju: *op. cit.*
74 Fehamettin Özugç, *op. cit.*
75 Sadun Tanju: *op. cit.*, p. 77
76 Zeki Üngör (1880-1958) was the director of the MTTC and the conductor of the *Müzika-ya Humayun* (the Ottoman Imperial Music School), which under the new republic had become *Riyaset-i Cumhur Filarmonik Orkestrası* (the Presidential Philharmonic Orchestra).
77 “They insisted that I should stay in Ankara [and teach at their college], but I succeeded in convincing them to appoint me teacher at İzmir Lisesi [İzmir High School]: [Ille de Ankara'da bizimle kal diye israr ettiler ama ben kendimi İzmir Lisesi’nde musiki hocası olarak tayin ettirmeye muvaffak oldum]. (Haluk Tanju: *op. cit.* )
In 1925, as part of the music reforms, the Turkish government decided to send talented young musicians on state scholarships to foreign conservatories for study with leading musicians of the time. As part of this arrangement, the candidates on their return to Turkey, were expected to teach in state schools and be responsible for the creation of a new school of music. In order to select these prospective candidates a round of examinations was held, of which the first took place in 1925. Adnan wanted to enter the examination, but because of the unexpected death of his mother in the same year, he was not able to do so. Three years later, however, when a similar examination was held in Ankara, he entered and successfully passed, as a result of which the state agreed to fund him for three years at a foreign music school of his own choice. Adnan decided to go to Paris.

1.2 A mature student in Paris

By the time the twenty-one-year-old Ahmed Adnan arrived in Paris in November 1928, France had already lost some of her greatest composers in the preceding ten years. Debussy, Saint-Saëns, Satie and Fauré had all died one after another. Parisian society was badly shaken, but musical creation was no way at an end. Ravel’s Bolero was given its first performance at a sensational concert in that very year. The days of the Ballets Russes were coming to an end after so many riotous performances, but Stravinsky was still very much in his prime, having just delivered Oedipus Rex, his last commission for Diaghilev. 1928 also saw the premiere of his Apollon Musagète commissioned by Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge. Incidentally it was the Coolidge Foundation that was to commission Saygun to write his second quartet exactly thirty years later. The Bohemian lifestyle of cosmopolitan Paris, with its art galleries exhibiting the latest works of Picasso as well as the great French masters, its concert series and lively

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78 Sadun Tanju: op. cit., p. 78
79 “After the examination I returned to Izmir. We found out about my success in an article in Cumhuriyet. My father later cut the article from the newspaper and placed it behind the pendulum of a clock in our house [which is now at BUSA]”; [İmihandan sonra İzmir’e döndüm. Kazandığımı Cumhuriyet gazetesindeki bir ilandı öğrendim. Babam gazeteden keştiği kupürü duvardaki konsolun üzerindeki saatin içine koymuş]. (Sadun Tanju: op. cit., p. 78)
80 See Chapter VII, p. 187
intellectual discussions in its cafés, must have been quite an eye-opening experience for young Adnan.

There appears to be two reasons for Adnan to have chosen Paris as a place of study: firstly he spoke very good French, which would have eliminated any possible language barriers, secondly France had strong cultural relations with Turkey going back to Ottoman times, while the emerging modern Turkish Republic quite appropriately recognised its capital as a leading centre in art and culture. Although France was a popular choice, it must be said that it wasn’t the only one; Berlin, Vienna and Prague were amongst other European capitals where Turkish students went on government scholarships. Halil Bedi [Yönetken],81 after passing the qualifying exam, decided to go to the State Conservatory in Prague and Nurullah Şevket [Taşkiran]82 went to Berlin. Adnan was not the only Turkish music student in Paris either. Ulvi Cemal [Erkin]83 was already studying with Nadia Boulanger, Ekrem Zeki [Ün]84 was a pupil of Jacques Thibaud and Cemal Reşid [Rey]85 had come here independently to take lessons in composition from Gabriel Fauré. In fact there were not only musicians, but painters, writers and many other aspiring young people amongst the Turkish group. Obviously it was not only Turks, but people from all over the world, who came to Paris to seek their fortune. Some were already quite accomplished, some were at the beginning of their careers. In the very year of 1928, Gershwin arrived in Paris asking for lessons from Stravinsky and Ravel, both of whom turned him down. Copland had studied with Nadia Boulanger in the 1920’s and de Falla was once a pupil of Debussy.

There was also another, personal, reason for Adnan to choose Paris. He knew Eugène Borrel (1876-1962), a French violinist who taught at the Schola Cantorum.86 More important than that, however, Borrel had spent his childhood in Turkey, in

81 Halil Bedi Yönetken (1899 - ?) arrived in Prague in 1928, studied with Alois Haba.
82 Nurullah Şevket Taşkiran (1900 - 1952) arrived in Berlin in 1928 and studied voice at the Stern Conservatory. He later sung in Saygun’s opera Özsoy.
83 Ulvi Cemal Erkin (1906 -1972) arrived in Paris in 1925, studied with Jean Gallon and Isidor Phillip at the Conservatoire, transferred to Ecole Normale de Musique in 1929, returning to Turkey in 1930.
84 Ekrem Zeki Ün (1910-1987) arrived in Paris in 1924, studied at the Ecole Normale de Musique for six years with Line Talluel, Marcel Chailley, George Dandelot as well as Jacques Thibaud.
85 Cemal Resid Rey (1904-1985) arrived in Paris in 1913 when his father, once an Ottoman minister, had to leave Turkey. He attended Marguerite Long’s piano classes, later moving to Switzerland during the outbreak of the World War I and returned to Paris in 1920 to resume classes with Fauré and Defosse.
86 Denis-Armand Canal: op.cit., p. 29
Adnan's native city Izmir, where his father was the postmaster of the French Postal Services. Eugène Borrel was already back in Paris at least twenty years before Adnan was born, but he nevertheless knew his family. He also spoke very good Turkish and had already published articles on Turkish music in the *Revue de Musicologie*. The presence of the Borrels in Paris at a time when Adnan arrived as an inexperienced student must have been quite a support to him. In fact it was Eugène Borrel who suggested that he should write to Vincent d'Indy for composition lessons. The Turkish government after all was to pay for his education and living, but it was up to Adnan to make arrangements for lessons. Taking up Borrel's advice Adnan wrote a letter to d'Indy. He explains this in a letter he himself wrote to his friends the Guilloux in 1964: "In 1928 after the suggestion of Maitre Borrel, I directly wrote to Maitre d'Indy to explain to him that I had very short time given to me (maximum three years) by the Turkish government to complete my studies in Paris. He told me that it would be impossible for me to follow his composition course regularly like his other students whose time of study was not limited, and I prayed that the Maitre would allow me to follow his course. Then the Maitre, after I submitted a harmony examination, allowed me to take part in his composition course as a student (not as an observer) with the condition that at the same time I follow the counterpoint course. It was him who designated me to the class of Paul Le Flem. Thus I became the official student of the Maitre". Since the courses at the Schola Cantorum usually lasted from seven to ten years, for Adnan to be included in these classes on a three year basis by d'Indy was not only a great privilege, but a credit to his ability. Incidentally, according to Özgüç, Adnan first enrolled at the class of Nadia Boulanger at the Ecole Normale de Musique, however there are no references to this either by the composer or Boulanger.

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87Ibid.
88Eugène Borrel: 'La musique turque' *Revue de Musicologie* iii (1922), 149-61, iv (1923), 26-32, 60-70
89Letter to Henri Guilloux, Ankara, 1 May 1964
90[En 1928, suivant la suggestion du Maître Borrel, je me suis adressé directement au Maître d'Indy pour lui expliquer qu'étant donné le temps extrêmement court (maximum trois ans) qui m'a été accordé de la part du gouvernement Turc pour compléter mes études à Paris, il me serait impossible de suivre ses cours de compositions régulièrement et suivant les exigences des règlements comme furent d'autres élèves dont le temps d'études n'est pas limité; et j'ai prié le Maître de vouloir bien m'autoriser de suivre ses cours. Alors le Maître, après m'avoir soumis à un examen d'harmonie, a bien voulu me permettre ses cours de composition comme élève (pas comme auditeur), à condition de suivre en même temps les cours de contrepoint et c'est lui-même qui m'a désigné la classe du Maître Paul le Flem. Ainsi je suis devenu élève officiel du Maître], Ibid.
91Fehamettin Özgüç: *op. cit.*, p. 19
Life was not easy for a foreign student in Paris: Adnan first checked into a hotel on Rue de Seine, later moving to another one on Boulevard Brune. When Saygun paid tribute to Mahmut Ragip Gazimihal, his friend who was also studying at the Schola Cantorum, he made references to their early lives in Paris in the following words: "He was a student, so was I. We used to stay at a hotel. When we were not at our classes [at the Schola Cantorum] we used to write and read in my room. We had very little money, only eating out once a month, something like that. We used to have our tea, bread and cheese. When we were tired of working we would start having discussions on various topics, some very trivial, until hearing a knock on the wall from next door. By then we would realise that it was 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning. Months passed like this". Adnan eventually was to move into lodgings at Mlle Alquie’s house on Rue Vergniaud.

Schola Cantorum, in line with the views of César Franck and Vincent d’Indy, was a place where the art of music was learnt from the polyphony of Palestrina, the fugues of J S Bach and the formal structures of Beethoven. It was a serious musical establishment where music was taught thoroughly within well defined boundaries of tradition. According to d’Indy, since Art was not a craft, the Schola Cantorum was not a place for turning out professionals as opposed to the Conservatoire. There was of course strong rivalry between the Paris Conservatoire and the Schola Cantorum. The Paris Conservatoire, after the long and sound administration of Cherubini, where d’Indy himself was a pupil at one time, had by this stage become in the words of Rollo Myers "a training college for executants, with the accent heavily on singers - and operatic singers - rather than a school where pupils could receive an all-round musical education embracing the history and theory of music as a well as learning to play an instrument or sing slowly arias from operas, often without knowing anything about their context or

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92Denis-Armand Canal: op.cit., p. 28 (Adnan’s addresses are listed in the enrolment book of the Schola Cantorum, which reads: 59 Rue de Seine, 127 Boulevard Brune, 26 Rue Vergniaud (Professeurs et Élèves 1928-29))
94For a detailed account of the music education at the Schola Cantorum. see Chapter V, pp. 104-115
95Norman Demuth: Vincent d’Indy, p. 15
dramatic significance. Chamber music was neglected, so was the art of lieder singing. The teaching in fact, tended to be directed towards the single goal of obtaining as many prizes as possible.”

The teaching methods at the Schola Cantorum were not suitable for all of the students. Edgar Varèse who was a pupil in the 1910s had to leave the establishment after finding d'Indy’s approach too intimidating. Saint-Saëns also bitterly attacked d'Indy for his highly religious approach. The idealism which d'Indy nurtured at the Schola Cantorum, however, appears to have become very much a driving force for Adnan no matter how intimidating it might have become for others. In fact according to Adnan “d'Indy made me understand all the great works thoroughly”.

Vincent d'Indy was an out-and-out traditionalist, disciplined and sometimes aloof, yet an unpretentious aristocrat. As discussed in chapter 4, since Adnan was not a modernist rebel, but instead a conformist by character, the traditional teaching methods in d'Indy's establishment suited him perfectly. Beyond teaching it seems that it was the pompous style in which d'Indy composed, lectured and travelled the world giving talks, that became a role model for Saygun, which in future life he himself found many opportunities to reflect. In fact on his return to Turkey Mahmud Ragıp [Gazimihal] observed how Adnan had become a disciple of d'Indy and the Schola Cantorum in his well-planned and detailed teaching methods.

Apart from d'Indy himself, Adnan received tuition from various other tutors at the Schola Cantorum, which included Paul Le Flem who taught him counterpoint, Amedée Gastué (1873-1943) who was responsible for a specialised course in Gregorian Chant and Edouard Souberbielle who instructed him in organ playing. At the same time, he was also receiving private tuition from Madame Eugène Borrel in piano.

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97 According to Louise Varèse, “Varèse used to say, ‘d’Indy wanted all of us to become little d’Indy’s and I though one was enough’. So, after a year Varèse left the Schola Cantorum, which Romain Rolland compared to ‘a window looking out, not on the open, but on a courtyard’ and which Debussy called ‘a kind of musical high school’”. (Louise Varèse: *Varèse A Looking-glass diary*, p. 32)
98 See Chapter V, p. 105, ff. 6
99 Denis-Armand Canal: *op.cit.*, p. 28
100 Mahmud Ragıp [Gazimihal]: ‘Bestekarlamızın düşünceleri’, *Müzik ve Sanat Hareketleri*, September 1934, p. 11
101 His teachers' names also appear next to his in the 1928-29 enrolment book of the Schola Cantorum.
technique and teaching methods. In a very short time Adnan’s rapid progress and clear perceptivity was also observed by his tutors. According to Le Flem “he had not only been a brilliant student of my course, but also proved himself as a composer with style and talent”.102 Similarly, in one of his letters to Mahmud Ragıp, Borrel described Saygun’s activities in the following words: “Adnan [...] listened to endless amounts of music here. He writes quite good fugues now. In the field of composition he studied all major essential symphonic works to their minutest detail. He improved his sight-reading technique on the piano, including orchestral scores and realisations of the figured bass. He also received tuition on the organ at the Schola. My wife introduced him to various techniques and teaching methods in piano playing. And finally, he recently finished an orchestral piece based on Anatolian themes, which is an excellently crafted and orchestrated work, containing clever ideas. If he continues working hard like this, it is highly likely that he will create some more interesting works which will draw public attention in the future”.103

During his Paris years Adnan also participated in a number of public concerts as a continuo player. One such performance took place during a concert organised in memory of André Grétry at the Société de Musicologie in Paris, which was later reviewed in the Journal Debat.104 In the meantime, he must have been able to improve his organ playing to a reasonable standard as we understand from an amusing experience he had when he visited his landlady’s family in the country.105 He was staying with Miss Alquie’s brother-in-law near Chateaudun when the local priest asked him if he could play the organ at a funeral service in the village church. Adnan expressed his interest so long as the priest did not mind that he was not a Christian but a Muslim. After a positive response from the priest Adnan played at the service. The result of an examination

102[Il ne fut pas seulement un élève très brillant de mon cours, mais se montra aussi un compositeur ayant goût et talent]. A reference produced by Paul Le Flem in 1964, (BUSA)
104Fethnettin Özbüç: op.cit., p. 19
105Denis-Armand Canal: op.cit., p. 29
which Adnan passed on the organ is also advertised in the *Tablettes de la Schola*, the official bulletin of the Schola Cantorum.\textsuperscript{106} His grade is given as *Assez-bien* and the level is indicated as *Cours du premier degré*. Michel Denis, the present director of the Schola Cantorum, describes this result from the 1930's perspective as not very advanced.\textsuperscript{107}

Besides performing, Adnan also attended numerous concerts and some important premieres during his stay in Paris. One of these occasions was the Paris premiere of Stravinsky's *Symphony of Psalms*, which had already been premiered in Brussels and Boston.\textsuperscript{108} The Paris performance was a special one, however, since the Columbia Gramophone Company had arranged to record it during rehearsals at the Théâtre de Champs-Elysées while Stravinsky himself was conducting. Adnan also attended the Paris premiere of Varèse's *Integrales* on 23 April 1929 with his teacher Eugène Borrel and his friend Albert Roussel, during which Borrel introduced him to both composers.\textsuperscript{109}

Amongst other important performers and composers resident in Paris at the time, Adnan met and became friends with Widor and Marchall, often going to hear the latter play at the Saint-Germain des Près.\textsuperscript{110} In fact as he himself observed: "It is in [Paris] that I could see for the first time an orchestra, and listen to it, not anymore through the few primitive gramophone records I could get in my native city, but having before my eyes both musicians and their conductor, as they play".\textsuperscript{111}

Adnan's time at the Schola Cantorum was taken up by his coursework, which consisted mainly of counterpoint exercises in sixteenth century polyphonic settings. Towards the end of his years in Paris, he also completed an orchestral work originally entitled *Divertissement Oriental*.\textsuperscript{112} Eugène Borrel was so impressed that he advised Adnan to submit it for a competition, also asking him to rename the work as 'Divertissement' only.\textsuperscript{113} Adnan, however, later changed the title to *Divertimento* and

\textsuperscript{106} *Les Tablettes de la Schola* Bulletin Mensuel, June - July 1930
\textsuperscript{107} An interview with Michel Denis, the Director of the Schola Cantorum, Paris, 9 May 1998
\textsuperscript{108} Denis-Armand Canal: *op.cit.*, p. 29
\textsuperscript{109} ibid.
\textsuperscript{110} ibid.
\textsuperscript{111} From an unpublished note (in English) by the composer, BUSA
\textsuperscript{112} *Divertissement Oriental* appears on the autograph title page in Saygun's own handwriting, later crossed out and replaced by *Divertimento*, BUSA (See Chapter V, pp. 112-116)
\textsuperscript{113} Sadun Tanju: *op. cit.*, p. 78
officially called it his "Opus 1". Subsequently the *Divertimento* was submitted for an international competition, which was organised to coincide with the Grand Colonial Exhibition of 1931. Out of 182 works which were submitted, 12 were to be chosen, without any order of preference, and performed by the Colonne Orchestra under the direction of Gabriel Pierné. Before the results of the competition were disclosed, Adnan had already returned to Turkey, as his three year scholarship had come to an end. It was later in Ankara that he was informed of the success of the *Divertimento*, and that the conductor Gabriel Pierné and Henri Defosse, the director of the competition, were inviting him for an interview, with the intention of seeing more of his works. Adnan unsuccessfully tried to raise the sum of 250 liras to cover his costs for a return journey to France, and was able to attend neither a meeting with the organisers nor the premiere of the *Divertimento* which took place in Paris in the summer of 1931. A chance to make further contacts was unfortunately lost at a crucial stage of his career.

It is important to observe a possible connection between an oriental work like the *Divertimento* and the exotic character of the Colonial Exhibition. According to the reporter of *La Revue Musicale*, this was an occasion to witness what the overseas countries [colonies of France] have brought into French music: a light and a source of inspiration which was not negligible. To mark the occasion all the important orchestras in Paris such as Colonne, Lamoureux and Pasdeloup gave concerts with eclectic programmes including *Chansons Madécasses* of Ravel and *Pagodes* of Debussy.\(^{114}\) Although we are not informed about the competition, it is clear why a work like the *Divertimento* might have attracted the jury’s attention. The other theme of the exhibition was to show France as bringer of civilisation to her colonies, contributing to a new "higher" level of culture.\(^{115}\) Turkey was never colonised in its history, but the French colonies of the time, Algiers and Tunisia, were once part of the Ottoman Empire. A student from Turkey receiving French education in Paris and forging a synthesis of the above mentioned nature might have also had a special appeal to the jury.

It is quite clear from the evidence given in this chapter that Adnan [Saygun] was greatly influenced by the fact that he was born into a family which valued intellectual

\(^{115}\)Ibid.
pursuits in an Ottoman society where more than ninety-five per cent were illiterate. As we have seen, their tolerance with their son’s musical aspirations and their support in enabling him to have a proper musical education from a young age at a modern secular school - even to the extent of buying him a piano - also clearly contributed to Adnan’s future as a composer. Izmir, being rich in musical culture compared to the other cities of the empire, also played an important part in his formation. It was nevertheless in Paris that Adnan received a proper musical education, which gave him his definitive musical style in future life. The cultural aspirations of the new Turkish republic, in creating a modern school of music, were also to influence his output significantly throughout his life, starting from the week of his return to the country in 1931.
2.1 The music policy of the new Turkish Republic:

After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the end of the Sultanate and the proclamation of the republic on 29 October 1923, Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk] embarked on a series of reforms which shook the infrastructure of Turkish society, whereby Western principles were introduced into every facet of daily life. As Geoffrey Lewis has observed: “Mustafa Kemal’s purpose was to make Turkey into a modern state fit to take its place among the civilised countries of the Western world”.1 The reforms, which affected almost everyone in the country, were aimed towards serving exactly that purpose; drastic changes, as a result, were gradually introduced in certain areas including religion, dress code, law, and language.2 To an extent a number of similar reforms had been introduced during the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, but had never been as far-reaching as in the early years of the republic. More significantly, the reforms of the republican era also tried to forge a new cultural identity based on Western concepts. Members of the society were expected to identify themselves with this so-called ‘civilised’ culture from the West, which was also clearly emphasised by Kemal [Atatürk] himself as in the following words: “...the people of Turkish Republic, who claim to be civilised, must show and prove that they are civilised, by their ideas and their mentality, by their family and their way of living”.3

In the process of this cultural upheaval, the musical traditions of the country also came under close scrutiny. In fact Kemal [Atatürk] took a personal interest, by indicating policies for the future of Turkish music, since he believed that music played a

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1Geoffrey Lewis: Modern Turkey, p. 92
2As part of the reform movement, the Caliphate, the seat of the spiritual leader of Islam, which was originally created after the end of the Sultanate, was abolished, and the Caliph was deposed in 1924. In the same year all religious brotherhoods (tarikat) and schools (medrese) were closed. The dress-code of 1925 introduced European attire and banned the wearing of the fez. A new civil code adapted from the Swiss was introduced on 17 February 1926, with the emancipation of women’s rights, and the new Turkish alphabet replaced the ill-suited Arabic with the Latin script on 3 November 1928. (For further details see Geoffrey Lewis: op. cit.)
3Bernard Lewis: The Emergence of Modern Turkey, pp. 268-269
significant part in the transformation of a culture. In this respect, the most important message was given at a speech delivered in 1934, during the state opening of the Turkish parliament, where he referred to the old Ottoman music in the following words: “The speed with which a nation can transform itself, is related to how well it can adapt to new styles in music. The kind of music we are hearing today is far from doing any good for the future of our young nation. It is essential to create a new musical style rooted in our national heritage. Only after this, can the national music of Turkey be elevated to a universal musical level”.4 Implementing his reforms, Mustafa Kemal was greatly influenced by the philosophies of Ziya Gökalp (1875?-1924).5 It appears that in the field of music, he was also following the theories of Gökalp, who believed that the Byzantine-influenced traditional Turkish music of the Ottoman court was morbid and irrational, and instead the purest form of Turkish music - which should be taken as a source material in the creation of a new national school of music - existed in the folk music of Anatolia.6 In fact this is clearly explained in his book entitled The principles of Turkism, where he wrote: “We shall not copy the compositions of European composers, but learn the methods and the techniques of modern music by which we shall harmonise the melodies sung by our people. The aim, therefore, is to arrange our national melodies on the basis of the techniques of modern music and produce our own modern national works of music”.7

The new Turkish republic was founded on the ruins of the old Ottoman Empire, which to the republicans was an institution that had been under the spell of strong Arab culture. In trying to embrace the West, the new state attempted to dissociate itself from its Ottoman past; the newly founded Türk Dil Kurumu, the Turkish Linguistic Society,

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5Gökalp was one of the most influential Turkish philosophers. In fact as Berkes observes: “The recurrent theme in Gökalp’s writings was the question of how the Turks should adopt Western civilisation, and how this effort should be harmonised with the Turks’ two historic traditions, i.e. their Turkish and Islamic backgrounds”. (Niyazi Berkes: Turkish nationalism and Western civilization, Selected essays of Ziya Gökalp p. 13)
6According to Stokes: “In Gökalp’s view, the split between culture and civilization could be illustrated by the existence of two quite distinct kinds of music, one pertaining to the Ottoman elite and the other rural halk, the folk. The former was the product of Arabo-Persian civilization, of the Byzantines. The latter was the true culture of the Turks”. (Martin Stokes: The Arabesk Debate, p. 33)
7Niyazi Berkes: op. cit., p. 268
for example, was responsible for the cleansing from the language of Arabo-Persian words and finding substitutes from the old Turkish language or in some cases from European languages. Similarities could also be drawn between this and the music reforms: the monophonic Ottoman court music associated with the Arabo-Persian tradition was suppressed to make way for new music based on the harmonisations of folk-songs from Anatolia, where it was believed a true source for Turkish identity existed. The reforms dictated that the Ottoman court music had passed its zenith and the time for the creation of new Turkish music in Western forms had come. In fact for the early part of the reform years the term ‘national music’ applied only to works that were composed using Western compositional techniques.

As a result, the most serious musical debate in the early years of the republic was centred on finding a suitable system in order to adapt the traditionally monophonic Turkish music into a polyphonic medium. For some reformists, polyphonic music was interpreted as a ‘civilised’, advanced musical medium as opposed to what they called ‘primitive monophonic Turkish music’. As in the planning of other reform strategies, [Atatürk] ordered the leading experts, in this case the musicians of the country, to discuss the future of Turkish music and advise sensibly for a future music policy. However, as the composer Cemal Reşit [Rey] observed, some of the discussions were clearly losing touch with reality: “On the orders of [Atatürk] eight musicians, including myself, were invited by the Minister of Education, Abidin Özmen, to attend a council

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8 As Bernard Lewis observes: “It is significant that the hue and cry after alien words affected only Arabic and Persian - the Islamic, Oriental languages. Words of European origin, equally alien, were exempt, and a number of new ones were even imported, to fill the gaps left by the departed”. (Bernard Lewis: The Emergence of Modern Turkey, p. 434)

9 According to Kemal [Atatürk]: ‘Our true music can be heard from the people of Anatolia’. [Bizim hakiki musikimiz Anadolu halkında işitilebilir], (Adnan Saygun: Atatürk ve Musiki, p. 30)

10 On one occasion Kemal [Atatürk] invited Adnan to the presidential lodge in Çankaya and asked him to compose a song on the spot, based on a well-known traditional song of the Ottoman period. The words of the song were translated into new Turkish. Adnan’s duty was to provide new music for this song which he called ‘lieder’. After he finished composing, Atatürk took the song to his guests and said: “Gentlemen! The old words [of the song] were in Ottoman and its music was also Ottoman. These words are Turkish and this new music is Turkish music. New society, new art”. [Orada, sanat ve musiki meseleriyle uğraşanlar da, uğraşmayanlar da bir kere daha, tek sesli, iptidai ~musikisinin yeni musikimize nasıl yenildiğini gördüler], (Selahattin Batu: ‘Bir Sanat Başarıs’, Ankara, 26 May 1946)

11 After the premiere of Saygun’s oratorio Yunus Emre, Batu wrote: “Those in the field of arts and music, and those who are not have all once witnessed the defeat of the monophonic, primitive eastern music by our new [polyphonic] music”; [Orada, sanat ve musiki meseleriyle uğraşanlar da, uğraşmayanlar da bir kere daha, tek sesli, iptidai ~şark musikisinin yeni musikimize nasıl yenildiğini gördüler], (Selahattin Batu: ‘Bir Sanat Başarıs’, Ankara, 26 May 1946)
meeting to discuss the music reforms [...] the Minister of Education abruptly said: 'We are supposed to do a reform. How are we going to do it?', which confused all the delegates [...] somebody suggested that monophonic music should completely be banned in the country. I think, to this I said: 'if a shepherd wants to sing a song [...] is he supposed to find another shepherd [...] and ask him to sing in correct counterpoint?''.

This clearly reflects the extent of disillusionment even amongst the so-called experts who were being given the responsibility of creating a new school of music. This can also be seen in the fact that despite objections, traditional Turkish art music was indeed banned from the radio stations for two years.13

The first establishment founded as part of the music reforms was the Musiki Muallim Mektebi, the Music Teachers’ Training College (MTTC), where Adnan had received his music teaching qualification prior to his departure for Paris.14 The college was founded on 1 November 1924 in the Cebeci district of Ankara, initially with the aim of training suitable music teachers for state schools. It was in fact a continuation of the Muzika-yi Humayun, the old Ottoman Imperial Military Music School, which was renamed and transferred to Ankara, when the city replaced Istanbul as capital in 1923. At the same time, the former Ottoman court orchestra, also attached to the Muzika-yi Humayun, was transferred to Ankara and renamed Riyaset-i Cumhur Orkestrasi, the Presidential Orchestra. The college and the orchestra were in fact based under the same roof, with its conductor Zeki [Ungör] becoming the first Principal and some of its players taking charge of the teaching load.15 We are not exactly certain about the curriculum of the school, but it appears that most of the teaching in the early years was done unmethodically on the teachers’ own initiative, where the candidates were taught


13Some alleged in later years that the Arabesk musical tradition in Turkey was a result of this ban, when people tuned their radio sets into Egyptian radio: “The effects of Egyptian film and radio began to be felt in Turkey in the 1930s. Kocabas and Günşor have argued that this was directly attributable to the ban imposed upon the radio broadcasting of Turkish art music between 1934 and 1936”. (Martin Stokes: The Arabesk Debate, p. 33)

14See Chapter I, p. 23

15For further details see Ankara Devlet Konservatuari Otuzuncu Yil Kitabı (ed. Gültekin Oransay)
sight-singing and given a basic knowledge in European music theory and history. In fact according to Mahmud Ragtp [Gazimihal], who was a teacher at the college: “We cannot compare the curriculum of the Music Teachers’ Training College, with that of a European conservatory. Our college [...] was founded with the aim of training suitable music teachers for primary and secondary schools [...] our graduates [...] can easily teach school songs, translate foreign songs into Turkish, if necessary transpose them, or compose their own songs suitable for two or three-part singing”. 

Training was also given under difficult conditions, in old, small and inadequate buildings, often without enough teaching materials or sources. What is so striking however, is that while there was so much emphasis on a European style of music at the college, traditional Turkish music on the other hand was totally excluded from the curriculum.

Five years after the foundation of the MTTC, the first batch of Turkish graduates from European conservatories started arriving in Ankara, and they were immediately appointed teachers at the college. These included Ulvi Cemal [Erkin], Mahmud Ragtp [Gazirnihal], Zeki [Üngör]’s son Ekrem Zeki [Ūn] from Paris, Cevad Memduh [Altar] from Berlin and Necil Kazım [Akses] from Vienna. On his return to Turkey in 1931, in compliance with the terms of his scholarship, Adnan was also appointed a teacher at the college. His duties included teaching counterpoint, taking the choir rehearsals and aural

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17Cevad Memduh [Altar] who taught music history at the college described the conditions in the following words: “The Music Teacher’s Training College was an artistic establishment which had a world of its own. In the evenings it was an adventurous journey taking the boys to their dormitories. It was an old disused dervish convent. The only means of transport available to us were the four horses, a donkey and a cart [...] During the journey we had to cross a muddy stream, and the boys were carried in tens in the cart. The donkey tried very hard not to drop the teacher who followed them with a lantern in his hand”; [Musiki Muallim Mektebi, o tarihlerde kendi dünyasında yaşayan bir sanat yuvası [...] Geceleri okulun erkekler yatakhanesine gidebilmek bir macera idi [...] eski bir tekke yatakhanesine olarak kullanılıyordu; okulu dış dünyaya bağlayan [...] dört at, bir merkep [...] bir de yük arabasıardi. Çamur yüzünden öğrenciler yük arsısı ile onar onar taşımış [...] Merkep eli fenerli öğretmeni düşürmeden taşınmayı son derece gayret ederdi], (Cevad Memduh Altar: ‘Onuzdokuz Yıl Önce’, Ankara Devlet Konservatuarı Otuzuncu Yıl Kitabı, p. 22)

training sessions. There was however a serious problem: as emphasised earlier in the words of [Gazimihal], the college was not a conservatoire, and since all these graduates were trained at European conservatoires, it seems that their initial expectations of the pupils were exceptionally high. This is quite clear from an account given by one of Adnan’s pupils: “When Adnan [Saygun] started to teach at the Music Teachers’ Training College in 1931 he was a young man of twenty-four [...] Adnan Hoca used to set us excerpts from difficult works for musical dictation, and at the end would write a four-part choral piece on the board for sight-singing. It made him so happy if we could sight-read the piece without a mistake at the first trial. In 1934 I was in Adnan [Saygun]’s counterpoint class [...] [Saygun] was terribly strict, and as a result quite a number of people failed the class, which was difficult in any case”.

There were further complications: since these graduates were all educated at different European music schools, they naturally belonged to different camps, which it seems was often the cause behind strong rivalries, not only amongst themselves, but also with the older generation headed by the principal Zeki [Ün]. Adnan’s strict implementation of the Schola Cantorum techniques in his counterpoint classes was found too advanced and unnecessary by the principal, who later removed it from the curriculum. Part of the problem at the college seems to have been due to the lack of existence of a proper conservatoire in the country, where more advanced teaching could have been given in general musicianship, rather than just training music teachers. In fact,

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21 There is evidence which shows that the rivalry between the Schola Cantorum and the Paris Conservatoire was also imported into Turkey. According to Gazimihal “the opposition against the Schola Cantorum was badly defeated twenty years ago after long debates in Paris [...] this hatred towards the Schola Cantorum has somehow also managed to enter Turkey”. (Mahmud Ragıp [Gazimihal]: ‘Bestekarlarınımız düştürceleri’, *Müzik ve Sanat Hareketleri*, No: 2, October 1934, p. 11)

22 Adnan found himself "isolated as if left on my own in a deserted street. Even my [counterpoint] class was taken out of the curriculum, because it was found unnecessary by the principal” [Adeta sokakta yapayalnız kalmiş gibiydim [...] hatta dersim lüzumsuzluğuna binaen kaldırlıvermişti]. (Adnan Saygun: ‘Özsoy’, *Kültür ve Sanat*, No:2, 2 October 1973, p. 97)
in order to solve these problems, a meeting was held in 1933, which unanimously agreed to rename the school as *Milli Musiki ve Temsil Akademisi*, the National Academy of Music and Performance, and adopted the clauses, that are listed below, in its charter.23 These were in fact the early stages of what later developed into a state conservatory under the supervision of Paul Hindemith.

(a) The school will scientifically research national music and distribute its findings across the country
(b) Train candidates in every branch of performing arts
(c) Train music teachers

Even though there was strong rivalry amongst the young composers of the republic, it appears that they were all united under one aim, which was to serve the country through their music. This meant that they all tried to write works, which reflected the principles of the music reforms, rooted in the folk-music traditions of the country as directed by Kemal [Atatürk]. Adnan Saygun was also greatly influenced by the principles of Kemal [Atatürk] and the spirit of the music reforms, to the extent of publishing a book at the age of seventy-four entitled *Atatürk ve Musiki* (Atatürk and music), where he ardently defended what he described as “Atatürk’s long-forgotten and betrayed” music policy.24 Adnan was fifteen years old when Kemal [Atatürk] liberated Izmir and like every other Turkish youth he saw him as an idol.25 Once the republic was proclaimed and the reforms started affecting the country, he also became a devoted supporter. In fact his entire approach in teaching the students at the MTTC was based on Atatürk’s music policy - of adapting European composition techniques to traditional Turkish works - as clearly explained by him in the following account: “After I returned from Paris to Turkey, I was appointed a teacher at the Music Teachers' Training College in Ankara. I was now in the same city as the Gazi [Mustafa Kemal]. This gave me so much enthusiasm, momentum and energy in my work and compositions [...]”

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23 Refik A. Sevengil: ‘Devlet Konservatuvarının Kısa Tarihi’, *Ankara Devlet Konservatuari Otuzuncu Yıllık Kitabı*, p. 8
24 Adnan Saygun: *Atatürk ve Musiki*, p. 3
25 "I used carry a small photograph of Mustafa Kemal attached to the lapel of my jacket [...] and us, the youth [of Turkey] were following his principles, without question, as if in a feeling of religious devotion"; [ceketimin sol yakasına altına ilastığımı küçük bir düğme büyüklüğündeki resim, Mustafa Kemal’in resmini [...] ve bizler biz gençler, biliçlece tam bir yargılanmaya gitmeden, tpki iman gibi bir duyuyla onun her şeyini benimsiyorduk], (Adnan Saygun: ‘Özsoy’, p. 94)
this kind of spirit that we were trying to educate the future music teachers of the country at the Music Teachers’ Training College”.26

2.2 Özsoy and Taşbebek: “the early national operas of the republic”27

Kemal [Atatürk] took pride in the achievements of his reforms and particularly tried to impress visiting heads of state by inviting them to witness the results of the recent changes in the country. This was achieved by various methods, such as opening a new factory, a state banquet in a former Ottoman palace, or displaying the talents of the new generation of Turkish youth who were being brought up in line with the reforms. By 1934 the time had come for the creation of the first Turkish opera, which Kemal [Atatürk] appears to have seen as the highest and most sophisticated of all Western art forms. As a representative of this new emerging youth, the commission of the work went to the twenty-six-year-old Adnan, who “saw it as a miracle that gave a new direction and meaning to my life”.28 The new opera was going to be premiered in the presence of Shah Pehlevi of Persia during a state visit to the capital Ankara, in other words at a highly diplomatic and a politically important occasion. The fact that the commission was given to such a young composer, with the possible potential of a total fiasco, not only shows the confidence of Kemal [Atatürk] in the youth of Turkey, but also reflects his clever strategy of encouraging them to take part in the music reforms.

Kemal [Atatürk] was a man who implemented reforms at a phenomenal speed: it took three months for the old Arabic to be dropped in favour of the Latin script, when the experts told him it would take at least thirty years. Similarly he expected the opera to be written in a very short time, in less than one month.29 The limited time factor, the forces that were available to Adnan and also the abilities of the performers had a

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27Both of these operas Özsoy Op. 9 and Taşbebek Op. 11 were originally composed in 1934. Saygun later re-wrote Özsoy and revised Taşbebek in 1981, after making alterations in the libretto of the latter. Only the autograph scores of the 1981 version of both works exist, which are at BUSA. His personal memoirs about the works in his own hand-writing are also attached to the scores. The memoir on Özsoy was published in full in Emre Yalçın: 'Özsoy Operası' Toplumsal Tarih, December 1995, pp. 46-47
28Adnan Saygun: 'Özsoy', p. 97
29Adnan Saygun: from a memoir recorded on the back of the autograph score of Özsoy, BUSA.
significant influence on the way the opera was conceived. Originally called Feridun, the libretto of Özsoy was written by Münir Hayri [Egeli] in collaboration with Kemal [Atatürk], who himself dictated the main plot of the work. Based on an old Turco-Persian legend in Firdevsi’s Şehname, the opera depicts the lives of Tur and Irac, the twin sons of Feridun, who turn against each other under the spell of Ahriman. Keen to embark on good relations with Iran, Atatürk in fact constructed the libretto in an allegoric style: Tur is the representative of the Turkish nation, while Irac is of the Iranians, and the plot is woven around the fact that these two nations have fought each other for centuries not knowing that they were actually brothers. The second and third acts depart from the mythology and centre on modern Turkey and the War of Independence, reaching a final scene where Feridun asks the whereabouts of Tur and Irac. To this the minstrel on the stage points at Kemal [Atatürk] and the Shah in the president’s box saying: “Here is Tur and here is Irac”. Adnan was told that after the performance the Shah, who could understand a little Turkish, was so moved by the opera that he embraced Mustafa Kemal and tears started coming down from his eyes.30

Özsoy was premiered in Ankara on 19 June 1934,31 and was broadcast live on radio in Ankara and Istanbul. The premiere which was conducted by Adnan himself was also followed by two other performances. Having to work under difficult and stressful conditions to complete the opera in time for the premiere had turned this prestigious commission into a painful experience for the composer. In less than four weeks Adnan had to write the music for three acts, work on orchestration, finish the orchestral parts and rehearse with the orchestra, the choir and the soloists.32 Friends were there to help him, but he was ultimately responsible for the overall project. There was also the added difficulty of his uncertain future at the MTTC, which meant that he could not rely on its forces for the performances. The conditions were later summarised by him in the following sentences: “The fact that I needed three soloists for Act I, but we only had two people (Nimet Valide and the late Nurullah Taşkıran who incidentally had to appear in two separate roles as Hakan and Ahriman), the chorus consisted of people who could not even read music properly, and on top of all this some soloists wanted me to write easy and singable lines affected my work. Even the copying of the parts was a difficulty. At

30Ibid.
31For a complete list of the cast see Cevad Memduh Altar: Opera Tarihi, vol. IV, pp. 310-311
32Saygun’s memoir on Özsoy
night, after everybody left, I used to stay behind in the library of the Halkevi until the following morning, preparing the rest of the chorus and orchestral parts and handing them, page by page, to five copyists who were officer friends from the Presidential Band". In fact the chorus had so many difficulties with some of the passages that Adnan had to replace a prayer chorus with one of his earlier compositions, a movement from Ağtular, Op.3. There was also difficulty in finding a suitable orchestra to accompany the soloists and the chorus. Although Zeki [Üngör] had initially allowed the Presidential orchestra to be employed for this purpose, he later restricted the rehearsal time to half an hour per day, as it was putting a strain on the orchestra’s regular concert schedule. Eventually the string orchestra of the Istanbul Municipal Conservatory came to Ankara for the premiere.

Although Özsöy came to be known as the first Turkish opera, it had far too many spoken dialogues for a proper work in this genre. The reason for this seems quite natural when the conditions in which the work was conceived are taken into account. In fact Saygun himself later described it as an “ouvrage scenique” and referred to it as “an amateur trial [...] not very well written”. For some of Adnan’s rivals, like Cevat [Dursunoğlu], who later played an important part in his forced removal from Ankara, “[Özsöy] was an opera sketch prepared by a certain dilettante, which turned into a painful experience”. Kemal [Atatürk] who was pleased with the result, on the other hand, said: “Özsöy was good [...] good but, [...] it is relevant to today’s events, it can

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34Ibid.
36Emre Yalçın: op. cit., p. 41
38Saygun’s memoir on Özsöy
39See p. 47
40[Halkevi’nde bir takım ‘dillitante’lerin oynattıkları opera taslağı [Özsöy] bizim için acı bir ders olmuştu], Cevat Dursunoğlu: op. cit.
never be performed again”. Despite Atatürk’s prophecy however, Özsoy was performed again almost fifty years later by the Ankara State Opera on 3 February 1982. Even then, its revival was due to its historic significance and took place as part of the commemorations during the centenary of Atatürk’s birth. In fact for this occasion Saygun re-wrote the entire opera, compressing it to a single act from the original three-act version, possibly in order to minimise the spoken-dialogue sections.

Despite its shortcomings, Özsoy is an important work, which clearly reflects the music policy of the early republican years, with its subject matter derived from Turkish sources and its form from Western origins. It would be impossible to discuss the musical language of the original Özsoy without a score, since the present version was mostly constructed from memory in 1981. Gazimihal, however, in his book entitled 55 Operas gives important clues about the musical language of the first Özsoy, pointing to its richness in traditional Anatolian thematic materials, by saying: “The prayer chorus in Act I [...] is based on Anatolian motives. The same could also be said for the majority of places in Act II. The orchestral preludes, on the other hand, are in a more individualistic style. For the rest of the work, the musical language is constructed in a tonal idiom (because of lack of time and in order to make it easy for the singers to learn).”

Four months after the premiere of Özsoy, Adnan was informed that he was to compose another opera for Kemal [Atatürk]. This time two other composers of his generation were also commissioned to write one-act operas to mark the anniversary of the day of Kemal [Atatürk]’s first arrival in Ankara. As it had been with Özsoy, this new opera was also expected to be prepared in less than four weeks, and the libretto to be written by Münir Hayri [Egeli] based on stories depicting the reform movements, instructed by Kemal [Atatürk] himself. The other two composers who were commissioned were Harun Doğan and Medet Aygül, both of whom were already well known in the field of opera. Harun Doğan’s contribution was titled ‘Turk, Türk, Türk’, while Medet Aygül’s was ‘Arap, Arap, Arap’. Although these works were not performed until much later, they were commissioned as a part of the centenary commemorations.

41 [Özsoy güzel [...] Güzel ama [...] onun bütün kaymeti bugün içindi. Bir daha oynamaz], Emre Yalçın: op. cit.
42 The autograph score of the 1981 version is at BUSA. “When the Ankara State Opera requested the score from me, I realised that some sections of the original score were missing. Therefore I re-wrote the entire work constructing those missing sections from memory”. (Saygun’s memoir on Özsoy)
43 Saygun’s memoir on Özsoy
45 Adnan Saygun: from a memoir recorded on the back of the autograph score of Taşbek, BUSA
commissioned were Ulvi Cemal [Erkin], who was to write Ülkü Yolu, and Necil Kazım [Akses] who started work on Bayonder. Adnan was asked to set the Taşbebek libretto to music. The opera tells the story of a doll maker who forgets to place a heart in one of the dolls he manufactures. Later the doll comes to life, but instead of being obedient to the maker, it runs away with his apprentice. Allegorically the story signals the importance of carefully planned reforms at the time, which were centred on the creation of an ideal generation of Turkish youth, who were expected to be obedient to Kemal [Atatürk]'s new modern republic. Like its predecessor, Taşbebek was also conceived under difficult circumstances, as described by Saygun in the following words: "The real problem was the soloists. I was told that a baritone was going to come from Istanbul. Similarly I was told that a coloratura soprano, that I was thinking of for the part of Taşbebek, could be found in Istanbul as well, and I started work with these in mind. However, the arrival of a tenor instead of a baritone and a Kamma sanguenin instead of a coloratura surprised me. I immediately realised that my writing was going to cause immense trouble for these soloists. Therefore I had to turn the part that I had started as a baritone into a higher baritone with an easier singable line. Similarly I had to be careful with the part of Taşbebek, since I was not at all satisfied with the libretto".

Adnan also encountered difficulties in finding trained ballet dancers to perform in some of the orchestral interludes in the opera; a dance movement, Sihir Rakısı, which was later premiered and published separately as Op. 13, had to be abandoned for these reasons. Amongst the commissions, Taşbebek was the only opera which was completed on time for the premiere, which took place in the presence of Kemal [Atatürk] in Ankara on 27 December 1934. Necil Kazım [Akses] had only finished parts of his Bayonder, which was also performed in the same evening, and Ulvi Cemal [Erkin], who refused to work under a limited time scale, had not composed Ülkü Yolu at
all.49 Despite “some of the difficulties in staging and rehearsing, and an abrupt ending”, Taşbebek was well-received amongst the critics, who praised its individualistic musical style.50 After the first and only performance of the opera, Adnan spoke to Münir Hayri [Egeli], about the possibility of changing some parts of the libretto. Münir Hayri agreed to this, but was never able to provide a new version and finally died in Germany. Saygun had met him in Frankfurt just before his death and agreed with him that if he did not provide a new version for the part of Taşbebek, he himself was going to write it and not allow “my opera that I had worked on so hard to remain incomplete”.51 As a result Saygun revised the opera in 1981, at the time of re-writing Özsoy. He re-wrote parts of the libretto, which also meant that he had to change some of the musical lines.52

Özsoy must have impressed Kemal [Atatürk], since immediately after its premiere, Adnan was appointed the new conductor of the Presidential Orchestra,53 taking over from Zeki [Üngör].54 At the same time he was also allowed to resume his classes at the MTTC. His talent was now beginning to be recognised by Kemal and his circle: he was invited to the president’s summer residence in Yalova near Istanbul, where he presented his report on Pentatonism in Turkish Folk Music,55 and on a few occasions was invited to the president’s residence in Çankaya, where Kemal told him that he was taking part in a very important music reform movement.56 In Ankara, however, there was a growing resentment to his appointment amongst the members of the orchestra, despite an article which introduced him as the “long-awaited, young and

49 Saygun’s memoir on Taşbebek
51 Saygun’s memoir on Taşbebek
52 Ibid.
53 Adnan’s first concert with the orchestra took place on 23 November 1934, with a programme which included Gluck’s overture to Alceste, Haydn’s Military Symphony, Grieg’s Peer Gynt Suite No.1 and Liszt’s Preludes. (Abdillhalik Cemil: ‘Yeni Bir Şef’, Mûzik ve Sanat Hareketleri, No.4 1934, p. 2)
54 After the performance of Özsoy in June 1934 Atatürk suggested me to the authorities as a musical director of the Presidential Orchestra. I found out about this from the late Abidin Özmên, the Minister of Education at the time. In July I started work in Ankara. At the beginning of the academic year I also resumed my classes at the Music Teachers’ Training College”; [Özsoy’un temsilinden sonra Atatürk benim Cumhur Başkanlığı Orkestrasının başına geçmemi iliçillerle telkin etmiş, bunu zamanın Maarif Vekili merhum Abidin Özmên’den öğrendim. Temmuz içinde Ankara’da göreve başladım. Yeni ders yılı başlayınca da Musiki Muallim Mektebi’nde derslere başladı.] (Saygun’s memoir on Taşbebek)
55 Ahmed Adnan [Saygun]: Türk Halk Musikisinde Pentatonizm, Nûmune Matbaası, İstanbul, 1936
56 Sadun Tanju: op. cit., p. 80
energetic conductor”. Saygun believed the reason behind this to be related to “winning the high esteem of Great Atatürk with the works that I had produced at my young age, which became too provocative for some of my contemporary rivals […] in their view I had usurped the position of a valuable musician [Zeki Üngör] and at all costs had to be punished”. In fact after working under stressful conditions for six months, Saygun began to suffer from health problems; he was admitted to hospital in Istanbul with a severe ear-infection, where over the next five months he underwent major surgery. During his absence from Ankara he was “missed by his colleagues in the orchestra, who looked forward to his rapid recovery”. However the truth was that his opponents had enough time to lobby against him and succeeded in arranging his sacking from the conductorship of the orchestra, followed by his removal from the MTTC. As will become clear in the following section, Saygun believed that his rivals persuaded Hindemith to write a damning report for his removal; by this stage the latter had arrived in Ankara to oversee the foundation of a new conservatoire.

2.3 Hindemith and Bartók

On the directives of Kemal Atatürk, as part of the second phase of the music reforms, plans were being drawn up to establish a conservatory in Ankara after European models. As in Ottoman times, when Giuseppe Donizetti was invited to form a European school of music, in the early years of the republic it was also decided to invite authorities from abroad to prepare a report and oversee the transformation of the MTTC into a conservatory. When Cevat [Dursunoğlu], the Turkish education attaché in

57 Abdülhalik Cemil: op. cit.
58 Although Adnan initially used the surname Saygin, he later changed this to Saygun. Hereafter he will be referred to as Adnan Saygun. (See Chapter I, p. 11, ff. 2)
59 [Genç yaşında ortaya koymuş olduğum eserler ile Büyük Atatürk’ün […] teveccühlerini kazanmış olmam meslek rekabetlerini aşın derecede tabrik etmiş […] Ben onların nazarnında, haksız olarak değerli bir insanın yerini gaspetmiş, ne olursa olsun hizaya getirilmesi gereken bir insandım], From an unpublished report, typed by the composer, entitled ‘Bakanlıkh emrine niçin ve nasıl alındım’, where he describes the incidents that lead to his exile from Ankara, p.4 and p. 2, BUSA.
60 “When I was conducting the orchestra [at the premiere of Taşbebek] I had a temperature […] After the performance I was ill in bed, with an ear-infection [followed by] two operations. A period of pain which lasted five months”, ‘Orkestra’yı idare ettiği zaman 39 derece ateşle yanmakta idim […] Temsilden sonra ben hasta yattım, orta kulak iltihabi, iki ağır mastoidite ameliyati. Hulûsa beş ay süren acılı bir devir’, (Saygun’s memoir on Taşbebek)
61 Ahmed Adnan’, Müzik ve Sanat Hareketleri, May 1935, No. 9
Germany, was contacted to find a suitable person who would be willing to undertake such a proposal, he asked William Furtwängler. Furtwängler put Hindemith’s name forward, and he subsequently accepted the Turkish government’s offer saying to Willy Strecker: “I shall probably go there soon to take a look around [...] wouldn’t want to settle there permanently, but for a few months, why not?”. Hindemith arrived in Ankara in April 1935, as he described it, to “put Turkish music on its feet”, and to prepare reports for the future of music development in Turkey. The visit started by inspecting the existing musical establishments including the Presidential Orchestra whom Hindemith found “playing too loud and out of tune, but [he] was determined to show what one can do with what there is when one goes about it properly”. After conducting one of the orchestra’s concerts, he left for Germany in order to engage teachers and to place orders for orchestral material and instruments. On his return he was joined by other eminent German instrumentalists who were to take charge of teaching at the new music school and also join the Presidential Orchestra; these included Ernst Praetorius (who became the director of the conservatoire as well as assuming the conductorship of the Presidential Orchestra), Eduard Zuckmayer and his old friend Licco Amar. The Ankara State Conservatory was officially opened on 6 May 1936.

Adnan Saygun was left outside of these developments, and sent to Istanbul to assist in teaching at the municipal music school there, believing Hindemith to be responsible for his unexpected placement. In fact in a typed, hitherto unpublished report, Saygun later explained the situation in the following words: “I found out later and also read it with my own eyes that Hindemith, who arrived in our country during my illness, in order to set up the State Conservatory, wrote a report to our Ministry of Education about myself, Adnan Saygun, whom he had not known, and said: ‘during these critical days when we are trying to set up a State Conservatory this man who has no merits either as a composer or a teacher should be sent away not only from the school, but from Ankara’”.

A letter from Gertrud, Hindemith’s wife, written at the same time also

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62 Çevat Dursunoğlu: *op. cit.*, pp. 19-21
63 Geoffrey Skelton, *Paul Hindemith*, p. 126
64 *Ibid.*, p. 128
66 [Sonradan öğrendim ve kendi gözlerimle de okudum: Devlet Konservatuarını kurmak üzere Türkiye’ye davet edilmiş olan Hindemith, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına, hiç tanımadığı Adnan Saygun hakkında bir rapor vermİŞ ve ‘Devlet konservatuvarının kurulmasına çalıştığı bu günlerde, bestekar olarak da, öğretmen olarak da hiç bir değeri olmayan bu adamın yalnız okuldan değil, Ankara’dan da uzaklaştırılması şarttır’]
shows that Hindemith did experience some resistance and had to ask for a person’s removal from office: “The first days were difficult enough, with resistance and revolt in the orchestra. I typed one bloodthirsty edict after another. Luckily the ministry, headed by the minister himself, backed Paul’s orders and even summarily dismissed one of the main trouble makers. Now he has been re-engaged and all is in peace”. 67 Although no specific name is given, it is most likely that the person concerned was Saygun. The fact that one of Hindemith’s friends, Ernst Praetorius, was appointed conductor of the Presidential Orchestra, a post previously held by Adnan Saygun, also supports this theory. 68

On his final visit to Turkey in January 1937 Hindemith was pleased to see his reforms taking root; Zuckmayer had been working magnificently, so this time he was spared all the petty detail and could spend more time at the ministry. The orchestra was already presentable - “Praetorius had done an unbelievable training job in these eight months”. 69 Hindemith was not the only composer who visited Turkey during these early stages of the formation of a national school of music. Russia, as a gesture of goodwill, had also sent a group of her musicians in 1936 to advise, which included Dmitri Shostakovich, accompanied by David Oistrach and Lev Oborin. “Turkey’s musical life was in an embryonic stage” Shostakovich observed in his Testimony and he continued: “when the delegation needed some sheet music to perform - I think it was Beethoven - it couldn’t be found in all of Ankara”. 70 This also proves the difficult conditions under which Adnan [Saygun] and his colleagues had been working since 1931. The lack of material was finally solved by Hindemith’s plan to acquire fundamental scores for the library at the new school.

[Unpublished report, typed by the composer, entitled ‘Bakanlık emrine niçin ve nasıl aldındım’, pp. 5-6, BUSA (According to Tanju, it was one of Adnan’s friends, Sabahattin Ali, who pointed this out to him, when he actually translated Hindemith’s report (Sadun Tanju: op. cit., p. 82))]

67Geoffrey Skelton, op. cit., p. 132
68“When I returned to Ankara in October 1935, they had appointed a German as the conductor of the [Presidential] orchestra. I was also warned again firmly not to go anywhere near the orchestra” [1935 yılı Ekim ayında Ankara’ya döndüğüm zaman orkestraya bir alman şef tayin edilmiş bulunuyordu. Orkestraya uğramanaklılığım hususu da bana yeniden ve siki siki tenbih edildi], (Adnan Saygun: ‘Bakanlık emrine niçin ve nasıl aldındım’, p. 4)
69Geoffrey Skelton: op. cit., p. 135
70Dmitri Shostakovich: Testimony, p. 113

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In the early days of the republic there was single party rule: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, the Republican People’s Party, established by Kemal [Atatürk], was in power implementing his reforms. At a party congress in 1931 it was decided to establish centres, where the principles of the revolution could reach every level of the social strata, which resulted in the creation of the Halkevi and the Halkodasi, the People’s Houses and the People’s Rooms. Republicanism, nationalism and laicisim were taught in these centres through lectures, exhibitions, classes and also concerts including the works of modern composers. According to its charter each Halkevi was divided into nine branches: literature, fine arts (including music), drama, sports, social services, schools and courses, library and publications, village, history and museum. Each of these branches was responsible for conveying the views of the republic in its own field; for example the history branch taught the new interpretation of the Turkish history which had been recently drafted by the Türk Tarih Kurumu, the Turkish Historical Society, while the literature branch promoted the works of young Turkish writers; the education branch was responsible for teaching mainly the illiterate peasant population the new Turkish alphabet, and similarly the music branch was promoting the works of the new generation of composers. Within 10 years 200 branches of Halkevi were founded all across Turkey in major cities, as well as 400 Halkodasi in villages, some 10 million people taking part in their activities; altogether 23,750 conferences, 12,350 drama performances and 9,050 concerts were given where mainly amateurs took part. The Halkevi could be seen as a propaganda department of a kind of fascist government, especially viewed in the context of developments in Europe at the time, however, in Turkey they served not as a notorious state agency, but as a lifeline for the majority of the Turkish populace, who had been denied proper education for centuries under Ottoman rule.

Saygun had been appointed honorary musical advisor to the central branch of the Ankara Halkevi on its opening in 1932; the fact that both his early operas Özsoy and Taşbebek were performed there shows the central importance of the Halkevi in his life and in the music reforms of the country. After losing his job at the MTTC and the Presidential Orchestra, Adnan was also asked to leave the Ankara Halkevi, when the

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71 For further details see Bernard Lewis: The Emergence of Modern Turkey, pp. 382-83
72 Koral Çalgan: Ulvi Cemal Erkin'e Armağan, p. 16
Ministry of Education temporarily took charge of its administration.\(^{73}\) The anniversaries of the foundation of the *Halkevi* were each year marked by special events, the highlight being a prestigious concert in Ankara attended by Atatürk at the centre’s headquarters. In 1936 Mahmud Ragıp Gazimihal wrote a critical article complaining about the exclusion of Adnan’s works in that year’s concert; the actions taken against him were also reflected in the removal of his works from concert programmes in Ankara, during the years when Hindemith was visiting Turkey.\(^{74}\) One of the reasons for Saygun to be ostracized and his music to be treated in this way could also be related to his personality. As well as being very hard to please, he also seems to have been a highly critical person openly expressing his criticisms, which might have won him enemies. In fact there are countless diary entries made after concerts he attended, which show him as a hairsplitting critic.\(^{75}\) According to his friend Suut Kemal Yetkin he was even labelled as “the most difficult and quarrelsome man on earth” by his opponents.\(^{76}\) This can also be seen in Gültekin Oransay’s entry in his book on contemporary Turkish composers entitled *Çağdaş Seslendiricilerimiz ve Küç Yazarlarımız* where Saygun is portrayed as a quarrelsome man: “Because he did not have enough technique in orchestral conducting and became easily irritated and was at times abrupt, he was not a successful conductor for the Presidential Symphony Orchestra when he was appointed in Zeki Üngör’s place, and therefore soon had to leave after a few months. Even after 1947 when he started working with the orchestra again, conducting his own works, he was not successful”.\(^{77}\) It must be pointed out, however, that since this statement is the only entry about Saygun in the entire book, it comes across as being far too biased to be found in any academic work and might be due to a personal grudge. It nevertheless shows us how Saygun was perceived by some of his contemporaries, and even though some of it might be exaggerated, it still must contain some truth about his personality and seems to be one of the main reasons for Saygun being not so welcome in musical circles in Ankara, as well as his success in the eyes of Atatürk, which was too much to bear for his generation.

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\(^{73}\)Adnan Saygun: ‘Bakanlık emrine niçin ve nasıl alındı’, p. 6  
\(^{74}\)Mahmud Ragıp Gazimihal: ‘Halkevleri Töreninde Musikii’, *Varlık*, No 65, 15 March 1936, p. 266  
\(^{75}\)See p. 59-60  
\(^{76}\)Suut Kemal Yetkin, ‘Adnan’a oynanan oyunun ilk perdesi’, *Meydan*, Mart 1980, s. 37  
\(^{77}\)Gültekin Oransay, *Çağdaş Seslendiricilerimiz ve Küç Yazarlarımız*, s. 149-150
In 1935 Saygun and his friend Mahmud Rağıp Gazimihal received a publication from the Hungarian musicologist Bence Szabolci where, on a map, Anatolia was shown under the same ethnology as Arabia and Persia. In order to correct this error, Saygun and Gazimihal published a pamphlet showing the relation of Anatolia to Hungary and other European countries, as separate from Persia and Arabia. Hungary had after all been under Turkish occupation for more than 400 years, and as a result cultural similarities which also showed themselves in music were inevitable. The pamphlet caught the attention of Bartók who was intrigued by its contents and decided to visit Turkey with the hope of discovering more about the pentatonic nature of Turkish melodies on which Saygun and Gazimihal were basing their findings. Professor László Rásonyi, who had some time earlier been appointed to the chair of Hungarian language at the recently founded Ankara University, knew Bartók from the Hungarian Academy of Science and was instrumental in arranging the trip. Rásonyi asked Saygun whether the Halkevi might be willing to sponsor Bartók’s trip, to which the director general Ferit Celal Güven agreed. Bartók, however, was cautious not to be seen as interfering with Hindemith’s programme of reform when he wrote to Professor Rásonyi: “I do know that Hindemith was recently invited to Ankara by the Turkish government to organise a High School for music. I am on very friendly terms with him and hold him in high esteem; therefore we must at all costs avoid even the slightest suggestion that I might want to interfere with his work. But there is no need for this to happen; he gives advice on the organisation of music schools, and I should only give advice in relation to the collecting of folk-songs - something not in his line”.

Bartók arrived in Istanbul on 2 November 1936 with a second-class train ticket that was sent to him by the Halkevi; it was Adnan Saygun who met him at the station. On the day of his arrival Bartók was taken to the archives of the conservatory in Istanbul where he discovered sixty-five perfect double-sided records made by His Master’s Voice and Columbia by order of the city, which contained mostly peasant

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79 Ibid.
80 Halsey Stevens: The Life and Music of Béla Bartók, pp. 79-80
81 Béla Bartók: ‘Folk Song Collecting in Turkey’, Béla Bartók Essays, p. 137
performances.\textsuperscript{83} The collection of 130 tunes which had started under the new music reforms impressed Bartók when "compared to our very modest Hungarian collection of only four double-sided records".\textsuperscript{84} One problem with the collection was that the material had not been properly sorted, and Bartók was shocked by the absence of text notation. The recordings had also been produced under unfavourable circumstances such as bringing the peasants into the studio rather than recording them in their natural environs. According to Saygun, however, it was from these archives that Bartók became "acquainted with the current use in Turkish folk music of the Black Sea of the rhythm in seven\textsuperscript{85} which he later on had made known in the western world under the name of \textit{Bulgarian rhythm}".\textsuperscript{86} Two days later Bartók and Saygun left for the capital Ankara, where Bartók gave three lectures, took part in an orchestral concert and gave a recital at the residence of the Hungarian Ambassador. The lectures, which centred around the relationships between Hungarian and Turkish folk music, were later published by the \textit{Halkevi} in Turkish and in an English translation by Benjamin Suchoff.\textsuperscript{87}

The first field-trip to the town of Çorum had to be cancelled due to Bartók's illness. On the evening of November 18\textsuperscript{th}, however, the party, which also included two musicians from the conservatory, Necil Kazım Akses and Ulvi Cemal Erkin, who by this stage were also interested in taking part in the expedition, left for Adana in Southeast Turkey.\textsuperscript{88} The most interesting section of the expedition was a visit to a village called Osmaniye whose inhabitants came from a nomadic tribe who had been forced to settle there seventy years before. Bartók was pleased that at last he could begin to do some work in a real peasant's cottage and the seventy year old Bekir sang them a song with his \textit{kemençe} in which Bartók could hear a resemblance to a popular Hungarian folk-song: "I could hardly believe my ears, for it sounded just like a variant of an old Hungarian tune. In great joy I recorded Bekir's song on two complete cylinders".\textsuperscript{89} In fact out of ninety songs they collected, twenty per cent of them bore a similarity to old Hungarian music which made Bartók conclude: "if we take into account the fact that

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{83}Béla Bartók: \textit{op. cit.}
\item \textsuperscript{84}Béla Bartók: \textit{op. cit.}, p. 138
\item \textsuperscript{85}What Saygun is referring here is the \textit{aksak} rhythm, see Chapter VII, p. 182, ff. 27
\item \textsuperscript{86}Adnan Saygun: \textit{Béla Bartók's Folk Music research in Turkey}, p. 411
\item \textsuperscript{87}Béla Bartók: 'Why and how do we collect folk music?', \textit{Béla Bartók Essays}, p. 9
\item \textsuperscript{88}Adnan Saygun: \textit{Béla Bartók's Folk Music research in Turkey}, p. 412
\item \textsuperscript{89}Béla Bartók: 'Folk Song Collecting in Turkey', pp. 139-140
\end{itemize}
such tunes could be found only among the Transylvanian and the Moldavian Rumanians, and the Cheremiss (A Finno-Ugric people living in the Volga region) and Northern Turkish peoples, then it seems likely that this music is the remains of an antique, thousand-year-old Turkish musical style.”

Saygun was assigned by the Halkevi to help Bartók with the interpreting and organisation of the field-trips, but his services went further than just interpretation; he helped Bartók by writing the phonetic transcription of the text while Bartók himself wrote down the melody. If he happened to finish the phonetic transcription before Bartók, he then continued also to transcribe the melody for a comparison at the end. It was also Saygun who wrote down the necessary general details about the singer and the place where the song was collected, indicating the tempi by using a metronome and establishing the range of the voice with the help of a pitch-pipe. The variants both in the melody and the text were also taken down, followed by a recording of it on an old Edison phonograph machine, which Bartók had not used since 1917. The experience of going on a trip with Bartók proved extremely useful for Saygun for his later expeditions which he himself carried out in the Black Sea region of Turkey. The results of the findings of these later expeditions were published in two books: Rize, Artvin ve Kars Havalisi Türki, Saz ve Halk Oyunları Hakkında Bazı Malumat, where Saygun analysed the folk-dances of the regions of Rize, Artvin and Kars, and Halk Türküleri: Yedi Türkü ve bir Horon, which included methodical analysis of the folksongs of the same region.

After his return to Hungary, Bartók continued to correspond with Saygun, and produced a report entitled Music Education for the Turkish People, which was also seen by Hindemith, who rejected it on the basis of its being too impractical to suit the present situation of the country. Ironically both composers had taken folk music as the prime area of importance for the creation of a national music school: Hindemith suggested that “the composers [...] should be sent to the provinces to listen to the music of their own people, living among them for a period of months [...] and only when they are familiar

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90Ibid., p. 147
91The process is fully explained in Adnan Saygun: ‘Bartók in Turkey’, p. 6
92See the bibliography for complete citations.
93Geoffrey Skelton, op. cit., p. 137

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with these will they be able to apply their talents in the right direction"\textsuperscript{94}, while Bartók emphasised the fact that "the musicians willing to devote part of their time to this type of strenuous work, preferably composers, should spend two months of the year on the road in order to make recordings and should, inasmuch as possible, go to remote places which had not come under urban influences and had remained pure"\textsuperscript{95}. The rejection of Bartók’s ideas seems to have been more for political than practical reasons; Bartók was not an official guest of the Ministry of Education, and his arrival in Turkey was instead arranged by Saygun who was the "unwanted person in Ankara"\textsuperscript{96} at the time. In fact when towards the outbreak of the second World War, Bartók wrote to Saygun asking if a permanent position could be found for him in Turkey,\textsuperscript{97} Saygun replied by pledging his support and informed him that the political situation was now beginning to turn to his favour.\textsuperscript{98} "The new minister is no stranger to me" he wrote and continued, "the new director-general who replaced Cevad whom you met, is a friend. He asked me while I was in Ankara, only a few days ago to help him in his work concerning musical organisation"\textsuperscript{99}.

Béla Bartók’s field-trip seems to have had a significant influence on Adnan Saygun. It is after this visit that we find Saygun becoming more enthusiastic about collecting folk-songs and organising his own independent field-trips to various parts of the country as an inspector of the Halkevi. When the two met in 1936 Saygun was a twenty-nine-year-old aspiring composer and Bartók was fifty-five having already produced his major works. Saygun clearly held the Hungarian composer in high esteem, always referring to him as Master during their trip. It was however in Saygun’s

\textsuperscript{94}Ibid., p. 136
\textsuperscript{95}Béla Bartók: ‘On music education for the Turkish people’, \textit{Béla Bartók Essays}, p. 511
\textsuperscript{96}Adnan Saygun: ‘Bakanlık emrine niçin ve nasıl alındı?’, p. 4
\textsuperscript{97}‘In 1937 [Bartók] was expecting me in Budapest. But, alas - the political situation was daily becoming more grave. I had my anxieties, he had his. One day I received a typewritten letter from him - which surprised me, since he had always been accustomed to write by hand. It was after the Anschluss. Bartók told me in his letter that since Vienna was being occupied by the Nazis he could no longer maintain contact with his publisher. On the other hand, he saw clearly that he could no longer live in Hungary. He asked me if I could find a position for him in Turkey that would permit him to establish permanent residence there. We could then work together advantageously on the study of folk music of Turkey which, he said, was of lively interest to him. He would be content with a very small salary. Alas, again! I was not able to obtain anything for him. Some foreign musician who had been given the job of organizing musical education in Turkey stood in the way.” (Adnan Saygun: ‘Bartók in Turkey’, p. 9)
\textsuperscript{98}Adnan Saygun: \textit{Béla Bartók’s Folk Music Research in Turkey}, p. 417
\textsuperscript{99}Ibid.
Bartókian treatment of folk material in his future compositions that the Turkish composer could be said to have paid his greatest respect to his Hungarian counterpart. In fact in the compositions of this period, such as the folk-song harmonisations of Çoban Armağanı, op.7 and Dağlardan ovalardan, op.18, we find the spirit of early Bartók very strongly, developing into maturity in his string quartets and the two piano concertos.

The appointment of a new director-general sympathetic towards Saygun also meant that, after a gap of four years, his works were again beginning to be included in concert programmes in Ankara. In 1939 during the eighth anniversary celebrations of the Halkevi, a festival of contemporary Turkish music known as Modern Türk Musiki Festivali was organised, which for the first time brought together all five young composers of Saygun’s generation. Apart from Saygun, these included Cemal Reşid Rey, Ulvi Cemal Erkin, Necil Kazım Akses and Ferit Alnar, who presented their works at a joint concert given on 19 February 1939. It was after this event that these composers came to be known as the ‘Turkish Five’, after the “Russian Five” or “Les Six” in France. At the concert Saygun conducted his Ayin Rakşı Op. 13, which had been left out at the premiere of Taşbebek, because of technical problems. Following the festival Saygun was asked to remain in Ankara and offered the job of music inspector to the Halkevi, which he accepted with enthusiasm, since the job involved travelling across Turkey, visiting the branches of various Halkevi and Halkodasi in different cities and towns, with an opportunity of collecting folk-songs.100 Nafi Atuf Kansu, the director of the Halkevi, also commissioned him to write a report, which was to serve as the basis for guidelines on the musical activities of the centres. Saygun’s report, which was later published under the title of Halkevlerinde Musiki, included his views on the formation of choirs, orchestras and bands, as well as methods for general music education which could be implemented at these centres.101

After Saygun’s reconciliation with the authorities in 1939, the Divertimento Op. 1, which had won the composer a prize at the Colonial Exhibition in Paris in 1931, was finally given its Turkish premiere by the Presidential Orchestra. Irene Savaks, his future wife, who was from Hungary and had been educated at the Hungarian Academy of

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100 Sadun Tanju: op. cit., p. 84
101 Adnan Saygun: Halkevlerinde Musiki, 1940
Music, was present at the concert. Savaks was a member of a visiting Hungarian troupe which was on a tour of Turkey giving concerts in Ankara and Istanbul. At a later interview she remembered her first encounter with Saygun and his music: “We wanted to hear some classical music, and were told that an orchestra was giving regular concerts in Ankara. So, my friends and I decided to go to one of their concerts, but when we saw the name of a Turkish composer on the programme, we were a little apprehensive at first; we wanted to hear classical Western music and not traditional Turkish music. However we were surprised to discover that the work actually sounded quite different; it was somehow a mixture of two cultures. I was much moved by it”. Adnan Saygun and Irene Savaks got married later that year, Saygun not telling his father of the marriage until after it had taken place. On the request of Saygun, after the wedding, Irene also agreed to change her name to the Turkish substitute Nilüfer.

In addition to his music inspectorship at the Halkevi, Saygun also founded a choir with some of his former pupils at the MTTC, which he named Türk Müzik Birliği Korosu, the Turkish Music Union Chorus. The debut concert of the newly formed choir of about forty, conducted by the composer, took place in Ankara on 8 April 1940. As well as works by Renaissance composers like Lassus and Victoria, the programme included Saygun’s own a cappella choral harmonisations of folk-songs like Sille, Bebek and Karadeniz from his set entitled Çoban Armağan Op.7. Other compositions of this period also reflect Saygun’s occupation with writing music in line with the principles of the music reforms. Apart from the folk-song harmonisations and the two operas already mentioned, this is also seen in the Cantata in the Olden Style Op. 19, 103

102 This was Saygun’s second marriage; the first one took place in 1932 to a pianist called Mediha [Adnan], but was later annulled. Bilgen refers to her in the following words: “I met Saygun for the first time in 1932 at a concert following the opening of the Opera Society in Istanbul. We were going to take part at this opening concert with his first wife, pianist Mediha Hanum, to whom he was about to get married at the time and cellist... Şeref (Yenen) [and myself] by playing a Beethoven trio, when Mediha Hanum introduced me to her twenty-five-year-old fiancée Ahmed Adnan who had just returned from Paris”; [Saygun’la benim ilk tanıştımda 1932 yılında İstanbul’daki [...] Opera Cemiyeti’nin açılışını izleyen konserde olmuştur. Bu konsere o srada [...] kendisiley evlenmek üzere olduğu ilk eş piyanist Mediha Hanum [...] çevist Şeref Yenen ile birlikte bir Beethoven triosu çalarak katılmağa hazırlanmakta idi ki Mediha Hanum kısa süre önce Paris’ten dönüşüm olan 25 yaşındaki Ahmed Adnan Beyle bizi tanıştırdı. (Ahmet Samim Bilgen: ‘Büyük Saygun’un Ardından’, A. Adnan Saygun’a Armağan, pp. 36-37) (From the cast list of Özsoy (see footnote 33) it appears that Mediha Adnan was also responsible for training the choir during the production of the opera)

103 From an interview with Mrs Saygun, September 1996
104 Ibid.
105 N F Kisakürek, ‘Ahmed Adnan’, BUSA
which was based on a poem by his friend Behçet Kemal Çağlar entitled *Karanlıktan Işığa* (From darkness to enlightenment). The subject matter of the poem depicts the transformation of Turkey from its dark Ottoman past into a bright future under the modern republic, while Saygun’s cantata was modelled after the cantatas of J. S. Bach in its formal plan, containing arias, harpsichord-accompanied recitatives and choruses. In other words this was an exact representation of the music reforms which, as emphasised earlier in the views of Atatürk and Gökalp, had to combine European musical techniques with original Turkish sources. It is also important to note that the cantata was premiered in Ankara on 23 February 1941 during the anniversary festivities of the foundation of the *Halkevis*. At the same concert Saygun’s *Sivas Halayı*, based on a traditional folk-dance which he arranged for the symphonic medium, was danced by traditional dancers from Anatolia while the composer conducted the orchestra. Later, Çağlar in an article depicted the occasion as the “triumph of the people’s art”.106

Composed in 1942, the most important composition of this period, however, was the oratorio *Yunus Emre*, a work which eventually not only gave Saygun an unchallengeable position as a national composer, but furthermore helped to spread his name internationally. Based on the poems of the thirteenth century Turkish mystic poet Yunus Emre, the oratorio came to be respected as the essence of the Turkish music reforms in the way it brought together the Western compositional techniques and Anatolian Turkish folk music. An entire chapter is devoted to this oratorio in the present dissertation and therefore its musical language will not be discussed here. However it is important to note that after its composition in the summer and autumn of 1942, which lasted over four months, Saygun was not able to have the work performed for four years until 1946, when his friend Behçet Kemal Çağlar, who was an MP at the time brought this matter to the attention of President İsmet İnönü107 during one of his speeches in the parliament.108 Saygun felt that this delay was related to the same resistance towards him and his music, which existed since the events that took place in 1935, at the time of the arrival of Hindemith in Ankara. In fact on one occasion his friend, Halil Bedii Yönetken, tried to convince the then Minister of Education, Hasan Ali Yücel, to schedule a

106 Behçet Kemal Çağlar: ‘Halk sanatının zaferi’, *Yücel*, March 1941
107 On the death of Atatürk on 10 November 1938, İsmet İnönü became the new president of the republic.
108 Sadun Tanju: *op. cit.*, p. 85
performance by arranging for him to hear two sections from the oratorio sung by a small choir; the minister however, was not interested.\textsuperscript{109}

It was as a result of orders given by President İnönü, that the oratorio was finally performed in Ankara on 25 May 1946 at the Dil, Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi (Faculty of Language, History and Geography) of the University of Ankara. The premiere, conducted by Saygun himself, was a great triumph and at public request there were further performances.\textsuperscript{110} One specific incident after the premiere seems to have moved Saygun most, which he described in the following words: “A fortnight after the concerts the door bell of my house was rung. When I opened the door there was a group of peasants outside. I took them in. They were looking at me with great respect [...] the eldest of the group said: ‘You gave Yunus Emre twice on the radio. We have a radio in our village hall. There the entire village listened to it. We were much moved. God bless you’”.\textsuperscript{111} This incident in itself is a proof of the impact the oratorio had on the country including the rural areas. For Saygun “the concept of the çile [the earthly pain of a mystic] which I first heard in the hymns of a dervish in my childhood thus found an expression in the form of an oratorio, ending with the lines Aşk gelicek cümle eksikler biter [with love all is fulfilled]”.\textsuperscript{112}

\textsuperscript{109}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{110}Not everyone was impressed by the oratorio: Cemal Reşid Rey after the premiere described it as “Quelle Horreur! All the family have been sick after hearing it”. (Haluk Tarcan: ‘Cemal Bey Hocamız’, Orkestra, October 1996, p. 25)


\textsuperscript{112}Saygun’s unpublished notes given to me by Sadun Tanju.
CHAPTER III
(1946-1958)

3.1 Contacts in Britain:

After the successful premiere of *Yunus Emre* in 1946, Saygun began to attract the attention of foreign diplomats in Ankara, as well as that of the authorities who had neglected him for more than ten years. As a result, he was not only appointed professor of composition at the Ankara State Conservatory, an institution from which he was excluded during its formative years, but also invitations from foreign countries started to arrive, the first being from the British Council. The purpose of the trip was to introduce Saygun to contemporary British music, as well as musical establishments and authorities in Britain, in order to improve cultural links between the two countries. The most important sources of information for this trip are in the form of an unpublished diary kept by Saygun and also unpublished letters written to his wife Nilüfer while he was in Britain. 1 Saygun arrived in London on 19 October 1946, to a city still bearing the scars of the devastation caused by the Second World War, with quite a number of amenities still being rationed. “I had not brought any paper with me, and I am only given this small sheet from the hotel. I will try to find some paper tomorrow”, he wrote to his wife. 2 The British Council had organised a balanced programme of events for him to attend during the month he spent in Britain, which included concerts, meeting contemporary British composers, attending seminars on folk music, visiting music schools in London and in other cities such as Manchester and Edinburgh, and a lecture to be delivered by himself on the past and present of Turkish music.

The very first concert Saygun attended in London was at Covent Garden. The programme which included Brahms’s First Symphony, Elgar’s *Enigma Variations* and *En Saga* by Sibelius was conducted by the Italian conductor Victor de Sabata. 3 Saygun did not enjoy the concert, finding Sabata too Italian and flamboyant: “I have never liked

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1 These are kept at BUSA, but were uncatalogued at the time of research.
2 [Yanımda kağıt getirmemistiım. Oteden ancak bir tek bu kağıdı verdiler. Yarın biraz kağıt bulmaya çalışacağım], Letter to Nilüfer, the Mount Royal Hotel, London, 20 October 1946
3 Saygun does not give the name of the orchestra.
conductors who are actors” he later wrote in his diary, and for the orchestra he remarked: “it is annoying to hear the trumpets and trombones cracking at forte passages. The oboe was playing very strangely”. On the second day of his visit, during a lunch at Grosvenor Square, Saygun was introduced to representatives from the BBC, the Arts Council, and Cecil Sharp House and composers including Michael Tippett and Arthur Bliss. He found Bliss a reserved and a kind man, who was obviously interested in his music by the kind of questions he was asking. Saygun later gave him a copy of Inci’s Book and the Magic Dance for a possible performance in Britain. Tippett, on the other hand, was friendly and lively, but “did not seem to care much about protocol”. He invited Saygun to hear his choir during a rehearsal at Morley College that very evening. Saygun afterwards made the following entry into his diary: “At about 6.30 pm the choir of about a hundred started rehearsing [...] Tippett gave me the bass parts as well and we started to rehearse. These were the pieces: Purcell’s Ode to St Cecilia and Britten’s Rejoice the Lamb. All of these people were amateurs. Apparently quite a number of professional singers also join in for concerts. However the choir was very good even like this, though I think I would have been a little bit more careful with them myself”.

During his stay in London Saygun also had an opportunity to attend a concert as part of the Delius Festival at the Royal Albert Hall which was conducted by Sir Thomas Beecham. “It is impossible for me to like Delius; big forces, but little utterances. It is a little bit like talking too much and saying very little. I detest this fake sensitivity that has struggled its way to the end of the nineteenth century since F. David” he wrote in the diary. Amongst the musical establishments, Saygun visited the Royal College of

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4[Aktor şefler hiç bir zaman hoşuma gitmedi [...] Trompette ve trombonların fortelerde sesi çatlamaları sinirleri bozuyor. Obuunun garip bir çalış var. İhtizaz Yapmak hastalığına tutulmuş], Adnan Saygun, unpublished diary, 20 October 1946
5The diary, 21 October 1946
6Fikri Çiçeköglu: ‘Ahmet Adnan Saygun’un Avrupa’daki muvaffakiyeti’; Aksam, 27 March 1947
7The diary, 21 October 1946
9Saygun does not mention which Delius work was performed at the concert, although he refers to a choir of hundred and fifty.
10[Delius’u sevmeck benim için mümkün olmuyor; kocaman vasıtası ile kucücük tesirler elde etmek; çok konuşmak ve az şey söylemek. F David’den sonra on dokuzuncu asırın sonuna kadar sürüklendir gelmiş olan sahte duyuslardan ise nefret ediyorum], The diary, 26 October 1946
Music and met its principal Sir George Dyson, and also paid a visit to Holst’s famous St Paul’s Girls School in the City.\textsuperscript{11} There was also a visit to Westminster Abbey, where he was extremely moved to see the grave of Purcell.\textsuperscript{12} In Manchester Saygun attended a rehearsal of the Hallé Orchestra, conducted by John Barbirolli, whom he found lively and energetic and the orchestra powerful, but also thought that Barbirolli hated the \textit{piano} dynamic.\textsuperscript{13} The work that was being rehearsed was the Anglo-Irish composer E J Moeran’s cello concerto, which was performed by the composer’s cellist wife Peers Coetmore; Saygun met them both and liked the concerto so much that he made a diary entry: “I must find out more about this composer’s works”.\textsuperscript{14} After Manchester, Saygun went to the town of Llangollen via Chester where he met a Welsh music enthusiast Gwynn Williams, and had a chance to hear Welsh folk music. The final stage of Saygun’s trip in Britain was in Edinburgh, where he visited the Faculty of Music at the University of Edinburgh, and met Professor Sidney Newman; he was particularly delighted to discover the \textit{cura}, a three-stringed traditional Turkish folk instrument, amongst the Collection of Historic Musical Instruments.\textsuperscript{15} Before leaving Britain Saygun gave a lecture at the British Council premises in London on 15 November entitled “Turkish Music: Past and present”.\textsuperscript{16} The lecture was followed by a concert of chamber music which included his own works: the \textit{Violin Sonata} (Op.20) and the \textit{Cello Sonata} (Op.12).\textsuperscript{17} Whilst in London, Saygun also gave two radio broadcasts on the BBC regarding Turkish music and his own works.\textsuperscript{18}

Apart from giving information about his musical contacts in Britain, it is important to note that Saygun’s London diary also reveals significant aspects of the

\textsuperscript{11}The diary, 28 October 1946.
\textsuperscript{12}We paid a visit to the Westminster Abbey. It gave me great excitement to see the grave of Purcell. To see the name of Purcell engraved on the floor of the abbey and [...] to think that this great man lies under our feet”; [Westminster Abbey’i ziyaret etik. Orada Purcell’in mezarını görmek bana büyük heyecan verdi. Purcell adını yerde kilisenin doşemesinde görmek ve [...] ayağımızın altında yatan büyük adama ait olduğunu düşünmek], (The diary, 25 October 1946)
\textsuperscript{13}The diary, 30 October 1946
\textsuperscript{14}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{15}The diary, 2 November 1946
\textsuperscript{16}There are no records of this lecture; the only evidence is a printed invitation by the British Council, where Saygun is introduced as the Head of the music Department of the Bureau of People’s Houses [\textit{Halkevi}] in Turkey (BUSA)
\textsuperscript{17}Performed by Gerald Gover (piano), David Martin (violin), Bernard Richards (violoncello) (From the invitation of the British Council, BUSA)
\textsuperscript{18}Fikri Çiçekoğlu: ‘Ahmet Adnan Saygun’un Avrupa’daki muvaffakiyeti’, \textit{Aksam}, 27 March 1947
composer’s personality. From various entries we understand that Saygun had a particular interest in painting and his enthusiasm for certain painters is quite revealing about his character as in the following account: “I don’t know why I like Rembrandt. [...] R. C. [Trevor Russell-Cobb] prefers Rubens because of his liveliness. However, I much prefer calmness and quiet in everything. R. C. is joking with me by saying sobriété. I must have used this word quite a lot for him to notice”. Another entry shows the deep philosophical questions in his mind: “Before coming here I thought that the world needed a new atmosphere; an atmosphere that would channel people to peace and brotherhood. Only music could have achieved this. But I now see that people is either prisoners of their habits - they do not think - or they just want enjoyment. What is certain is that our imaginative ideas are always going to stay as utopias. We do not seem to have any beliefs; beliefs in the good, the beautiful, friendship and the need for the purification of our souls... Le sentiment intime profondément humain...”.

3.2 The premiere of Yunus Emre in Paris:

After leaving London, Saygun arrived in Paris in order to arrange a performance of Yunus Emre, for he was now desperately in need of wider foreign recognition. Here he was also joined by his wife Nilüfer who had arrived from Turkey. Paris was an obvious city for Saygun to start promoting his works; after all he had spent three years as a student there and had already established contacts. The French Consul-General in Istanbul Lazare Lévy had advised Saygun to take the score of his oratorio to Radio France. On the advice given by Levy, Saygun first approached the head of music, a Henry Barraud, at Radio France, who kept him waiting for over three weeks and did not seem to be interested in the oratorio initially. Saygun was keen to arrange a performance, even if this meant only performing excerpts from the work. After a

19[Rembrand’i neden sevdigimi kendi kendime de izah edemiyorum [...] R. C. hayatiyeti dolayısıyla Rubens’i tercih ediyor. Halbuki ben her şeyde biraz daha sakini anyorum. R. C. ‘sobriété’ diye bana tâskâhîyord. Bu kelimeyi dikkat çekiçe kadar kullanmış olmasa], The diary, 23 October 1946
22Fikri Çiçekoğlu: op. cit.
subsequent meeting with Barraud, however, it was finally decided to broadcast the whole oratorio on air during a performance to be given by the Radio orchestra and choir. 23 Tippett in the meantime had been invited by Paul Collaer, the Head of Belgian Radio, to conduct *A Child of Our Time* in Brussels. 24 This was going to be the first foreign performance of his oratorio as well, and Saygun met him in Brussels to attend some of the rehearsals. 25 Tippett also introduced Saygun to Collaer with the hope that *Yunus Emre* might be given a performance in Brussels at the Belgian Radio. Saygun wrote to Niliifer in Paris the following day: "I talked with the Head of Radio, Collaer, yesterday and today. He glanced at the score of the oratorio. He afterwards told me that he was willing to have the work performed in Brussels, however, this is not going to be until the following year as this year’s programme has already been prepared and printed. They can only include *Inci’s Book* in their programme for this year. It will be performed on the 14th of April [...] I hope to be included regularly in the broadcasts of the Belgian radio from next year onwards". 26

On his return to Paris, Saygun was faced with the difficult task of having the oratorio translated into French. The problem, however, was solved when his former teacher Eugène Borrel agreed to do it; after all he spoke good Turkish because of his family connections with Turkey in the past. 27 There was also the problem of rearranging the vocal scores, which meant employing professional copyists at high costs. Since Saygun was not in a position to cover the expenses himself, he asked the Turkish Ambassador, Numan Menemencioğlu, for financial support. Unfortunately “the ambassador did not show any concern” and as a result Saygun decided to cancel the premiere and return to Turkey in desperation. 28 The Turkish Consul-General in Paris,

24Michael Tippett, *Those Twentieth Century Blues*, p.192
25"I went to the radio and found Tippett. The conductor also invited me to lunch. Afterwards I attended Tippett’s rehearsal"; [...] radyoya gittim, Tippett’i buldum. Buradaki orkestra şefi beni de yemeğe davet etti. Öğleden sonra Tippett’in çalışmalarında bulundum], (Letter to Niliifer, Brussels 20 January 1947)
27*Letter to Henri Guilloux, Ankara 12 June 1955*
28*I had to struggle against the lack of concern shown by the Turkish Ambassador and the disdainful attitude of Mr. Barraud, etc. I had no resources to live in Paris. The only influential Turk who helped me with my efforts was our Consul-General [Halil Ali Ramazanoğlu] who has recently died in Ankara. It was
Halil Ali Ramazanoğlu, however, was determined to help Saygun with the proposed performance of the oratorio and pledged him financial support from government funds. The Consul-General disclosed the situation to the Turkish press, which immediately caused a public outcry in Turkey, and as a result the Ministry of Education finally agreed to meet the necessary expenses.

The first performance of the oratorio conducted by Saygun himself was at Radio France on 29 March 1947 which was broadcast live. Unfortunately it was not possible to receive it in Turkey, although the public were informed about the time and the frequency of the transmission. Tippett was also trying to listen to the broadcast in Cornwall without much success due to the weak reception. The actual public performance however, was on 1 April at a special gala concert held at the Salle Pleyel under the patronage of the Turkish Ambassador Numan Menemencioğlu. The radio and public performances were given by two different orchestras and choirs; as Easter was approaching, the radio orchestra and choir were not willing to take part in another concert, and instead L’Orchestre de l’Association des Concerts Lamoureux was engaged with Les Chanteurs de Saint-Eustache and soloists from the Opera. The public concert was also conducted by Saygun who was now beginning to get the attention he needed: the weekly Guide du Concert published a photograph of him on its front cover, as well as an interview regarding his life and works, while the critics in French papers were praising the oratorio. Before leaving Paris for London for the second time, Saygun also

\[\text{he who had the initiative to secure the necessary funding and organise the public concert} \text{.} \]

\[\text{[J'avais à lutter contre l'indifférence complète de l'ambassadeur de Turquie, l'accueil dédaigneux de Mr. Barraud, etc.. Je n'avais pas de ressources pour vivre à Paris. Un seul homme parmi les fonctionnaires turcs m'avait soutenu dans mes efforts: notre Consul Général qui vient de mourir à Ankara. En effet, c'était bien lui qui avait pris l'initiative pour trouver le fonds nécessaire en vue d'organiser un concert public]} \text{, (Letter to Henri Guilloux, Ankara 12 June 1955)} \]

30 Fikri Çiçekoğlu: op. cit.

31 In an earlier letter Tippet wrote: “I will try to listen to the broadcast on the 29th of March. But I shall be in Cornwall for a week, where I was born. I hope to find a sufficient apparatus [radio]”; [Je tâcherais d'entendre l'émission du 29 Mars. Mais je serai en Cornwall par une semaine - mon pays natal. j'espère trouver un appareil suffisant (Letter from Michael Tippett, 27 February 1947) He later informed Saygun: “I could not listen to it, the machine was too weak”; [Je n'ai pas pu l'entendre - la machine était trop faible]. (Letter from Michael Tippett, 7 April 1947)

32 Fikri Çiçekoğlu: op. cit. (Saygun also seems to have experienced some discipline problems with the orchestras in Paris as according to Meirion Bowen: “Saygun told Sir Michael [Tippett] about the undisciplined behaviour of Paris orchestras - whose players read the newspapers during rehearsals - and warned him not to have anything to do with them!” (Letter from Sir Michael Tippett, from the desk of Meirion Bowen to Emre Aracı, 7 July 1995)
gave a conference on the diverse aspects of Turkish music at the Salle Debussy on 3 April 1947.33

On the invitation of Tippett, before returning to Turkey from Paris, Saygun briefly paid a second visit to Britain, with his wife Nilüfer.34 Tippett had agreed to organise a London premiere of Yunus Emre, and in reciprocation Saygun pledged to arrange a performance of A Child of Our Time in Turkey.35 Saygun was also keen to find a foreign publisher; there were no proper music printing facilities in Turkey at the time, and in order to enter the international scene, he was looking for a foreign publishing house who would be willing to publish some of his works. Tippett tried to help Saygun by talking to Schott about a possible publication of Inci's Book and Yunus Emre. "I have spoken with Mr. Hugo Strecker of Schott, London about your music and he is very interested" he wrote to Saygun, and added "if Schott Publishing House decides to publish the oratorio what can the Ministry of Education in Turkey do, like you have told me? [...] It is possible that the thought of a possible buyer in Turkey will reduce the risk [...] Let me know quickly the exact date of performance of this great work".36 In reality, Schotts, however, were too busy looking after the needs of European composers and could not accept Saygun's works.37 Apart from trying to find a

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33This was later published under the title of Les divers aspects de la musique Turque, by the Turkish Ministry of Education in 1948. 
34Letter from Michael Tippett, 27 February 1947
35Tippett wrote: "At the moment I am thinking whether I could conduct your oratorio in one of my concerts next year in March or May 1948. As you remember we had spoken about expenses. Do you think you could form a contact between us and the Turks in London? Turks living here might help to get you invited here. Thus you can come to London for a few days before you go to Turkey and talk to Schott and myself. You can stay at my place"; [Je pense maintenant à longue temps si je porrais exécuter votre oratorio dans ma série de concerts publics, la saison prochaine et ce serait a peu près en mars a mai 1948. Mais nous en souvenez que nous avons parlé sur le question de dépense. Est ce que vous pouvez nous aidé un peu? Et voulez-vous plus tard mettre en rapport avec les officiels Turcs ici à Londres, après qu'en nous puisse aider en invitant les Turcs résident en Angleterre etc? Enfin croyez-vous que ce serait possible que vous venniez à Londres un ou deux jours avant que vous retourniez en Turquie - parler avec Schott [...] je pourrais vous donner l'abris ici chez moi] (Letter from Michael Tippett, 27 February 1947)
36[Je parlas déjà avec M. Hugo Strecker de Schott, Londres, de votre musique, et il s'est bien intéressé [...] Si [...] la maison Schott décide à éditer l'oratorio [...] que pourrait faire le Ministre de l'Education en Turquie, pour en acheter des exemplaires, comme vous me l'avez dit? [...] il est possible qu'une idée de l'achat chez vous, en Turquie, diminuerait le risque [...] Laissez-moi tout de suite savoir la date précise de l'exécution de la grande oeuvre], Letter from Michael Tippett, 9 February 1947
37"Sorry about my late reply about Inci's Book. The young director of Schott was abroad - in Switzerland and came back yesterday. He said he can't do anything right now. They are busy with the needs of European composers". [Je dois me demander pardon du délai à vous répondre du [...] 'Livre d'Inci'. Le jeune chef de Schott était à l'étranger - en Suisse. Il fut de retour hier. Il m'a dit que pour le moment il ne
publishing house for Saygun, Tippett had also spoken to the BBC’s Third Programme about some of his works. Similarly Saygun, in Paris, was also trying to help Tippett to form contacts there; “thank you very much for looking after my music in Paris” Tippett wrote to him.

On his return to Turkey on 8 May 1947 Saygun was given a hero’s welcome. He and his wife were mobbed by crowds on their arrival at the port of Istanbul, mostly by students from the universities who had come to pay their respect. Saygun had achieved what Atatürk’s republic and the authorities had expected from him; to prove to the West that Turkey was now a modern republic, with her youth being able to contribute to Western art forms quite as confidently as their European counterparts. This is clearly visible in Saygun’s first interview with journalists given as soon as he got off the boat, when he described what he wanted to show the Europeans in the following words: “My entire aim was to get across the kind of synthesis one can create by using motives based on our national folk-songs in Western compositional techniques”. The fact that an oratorio written by a Turkish composer was given a hearing on European soil, at an important centre for music, with a prestigious European orchestra was seen as a triumph in Turkey. This is best reflected in articles such as the one written by the well-known Turkish journalist Şevket Rado who said: “The success of Adnan Saygun in Paris is more than just the success of a Turkish musician but instead it is the success of our whole nation in the field of the arts [...] For a nation, especially one like ours that is determined to find its rightly deserved place amongst other nations of Europe, the best way to represent ourselves is through our artists”.

Because of the way it captured the essence of the music reforms so well, Yumus Emre immediately became the focus for those politicians and diplomats who wanted to
emphasise the European image of Turkey in their relations with the West. It was not only the Turks who were interested in promoting the oratorio in the Western world: foreign diplomats and scholars in Ankara, who wanted to see Turkey amongst Western states, also helped by trying to secure foreign premieres for the work. The American Ambassador Edwin C. Wilson, for example, offered to make arrangements for the publication of the oratorio in the United States and talked to the then Turkish prime minister Hasan Saka about this matter.42 Similarly Caroll Pratt, lecturer in the psychology department of the University of Ankara at the time, who had also been present during the premiere of the oratorio, contacted Harry Coley, the President of the Worcester County Musical Association, about a possible performance in the United States.43 Coley wrote in his letter that he had already received a microfilm of the score, but desperately needed to know whether an English translation existed, as well as the choral parts. He made it quite clear that they were considering the oratorio for a possible performance in the Festival of 1948 with the Philadelphia Orchestra conducted by Eugene Ormandy.44 “For some reason not wholly clear” to Pratt, this project was never to be realised.45 One reason he nevertheless suspected was that Saygun had written out the parts for chorus one part at a time, rather than a whole vocal score including the other lines, which amateur singers preferred and were used to following.46 Efforts were still being made to arrange a performance in the United States; Saygun heard from his former teacher, Eugène Borrel, that Edgar Varèse was interested in giving a performance in New York, with an organ accompaniment, instead of the full orchestra.47 Although Saygun agreed with the organ accompaniment in principle, the project was never finalised.

In 1947 plans were underway for launching a joint music festival between Turkey and Britain, involving an exchange of musicians during a series of concerts.

42Sadun Tanju: 'Adnan Saygun Anlatıyor', Gösteri, March 1991, p.87
43"I have been greatly concerned to know how to arrange a performance of Yunus Emre in this country [USA]. At one time I thought that Wallace Woodworth of the Harvard Glee Club was about to persuade Koussevitsky to undertake a performance, but Woodworth finally wrote that circumstances were for some reason unfavorable. The Worcester Festival Chorus was at one time greatly interested in Yunus Emre, but again for some reason not wholly clear to me the project was abandoned”. (Extract from a letter from Caroll Pratt to Mortimer Grave, 27 January 1949, BUSA)
44Letter from Harry Coley, 18 July 1947, BUSA
45Ibid.
46Extract from a letter from Caroll Pratt to Mortimer Grave, 27 January 1949, BUSA
47Letter to Henri Guilloux, 20 July 1947
covering the works of composers from the two countries. This was another initiative to strengthen the cultural links between Turkey and other European countries and let the West know how much the Turkish school of music had developed. George Weldon who conducted during the first so-called Anglo-Turkish music festival in Ankara in 1948 observed: “perhaps because of her distance from England, it is frequently not realised to what extent Turkey has advanced musically during the relatively brief space of time that she has been developing on Western musical lines”. Saygun recommended Tippett and also Malcolm Sargent to the authorities for an invitation for the first festival to take place in April 1948. “Hope the British Council in London do not make any difficulties on my account. As I told you before - I am not an ‘official’ person yet” replied Tippett to Saygun. As anticipated by the composer, his name was not included amongst the names short-listed for the trip to Ankara by the British Council; instead, a personal invitation was made by the Turkish government to work with a choir on old English music in Ankara, which also did not materialise.

In the autumn of 1947 Saygun made another trip to London, this time to take part in the inaugural conference of the International Folk Music Council (IFMC) as a representative of the Republic of Turkey. The organisation had been founded with the aims of furthering study on folk music and dance and elected Saygun as a member of its executive committee, with Vaughan Williams as president. It also commissioned him to write a report on the collection and the notation of folk melodies, which was later presented by Saygun at the following year’s conference and published in the society's

48 George Weldon: ‘Music in Turkey’, *Tempo*, Summer 1951, p. 29
49 “It gives me great pleasure that you have kindly proposed to the directors of the British Council to invite me, as well as Sir Malcolm Sargent and Mr [Arthur] Bliss, for a visit to Ankara next spring”. [Il me donne aussi grand plaisir de savoir que vous avez bien proposé aux dirigeants du Br. Council de m’inviter aussi que Sir Malcolm Sargent et Mr. Bliss, à Ankara au printemps prochain], (Letter from Michael Tippett, 9 July 1947)
50 [Espérons que le Br. Council ici à Londres ne fait pas de difficultés à mon égard. Comme je vous a dit auparavant - je ne suis pas encore un homme ‘officiel’], Ibid.
51 “The Turkish government have made an invitation for me to go there next April to work with a choir on old English music. Being of service to my hosts will give me great pleasure”; [Le Gouvernement turcs paraît fit passer une invitation envers-moi, de venir jusqu’en Turquie en avril prochain et de travailler un peu avec un choeur de chanteurs de la musique vocale ancienne d’Angleterre. Cela me donnerait grand plaisir à le faire - de me faire travailler un peu dans l’espoir d’être utile à mes hôtes d’ailleurs si gentils!], (Letter from Michael Tippett, 2 August 1947)
52 Letter to Nilüfer, London, 26 September 1947
It was during this visit that Saygun met Tippett for the third time to discuss the further possibilities of having *Yunus Emre* performed in London. Tippett later informed him that there was still “a possibility of performing [your oratorio here] with the help of my choir”.54 The proposed London premiere, however, was never to take place. After this, Tippett and Saygun did not personally meet again until May 1958 when the latter was in London to receive the Sibelius medal that was awarded to him. After this the two composers were never to meet again.

### 3.3 Kerem: a full-length national opera based on a folk legend:

With the Parisian premiere of *Yunus Emre* Saygun had not only achieved his first international success, but also firmly established himself as a composer with a growing support in Turkey for his music. Executive appointments to international music organisations such as the IFMC were also significant. It seems that it was this form of personal advancement which finally gave Saygun a kind of inner-security to create works in the most traditional genres of the repertoire; the mediums of the concerto, the string quartet and the symphony, which he had tended to avoid until that time. In fact in the summer of 1947, soon after returning from his first visit in Europe, he started writing a string quartet, which was finished by September of the same year.55 This was followed by an ambitious project of writing a full-length opera *Kerem*, a piano concerto and two symphonies. It was the opera *Kerem* which dominated Saygun’s thoughts for most of the years 1948 to 1953, with other works such as the piano concerto started in 1950 left untouched.56 Unlike *Ozsoy* and *Tasbebek*, which were not proper operas in that they contained too many spoken dialogues, *Kerem*, through-composed and lasting over three hours, came to be regarded as the first Turkish national opera.

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54[...les possibilités de faire une exécution avec l’aide de mon choeur], Letter from Michael Tippett, 11 December 1947
55This was the Op. 27 string quartet dedicated to the American Ambassador Edwin Wilson. For further details see Chapter VI and the entry in the catalogue raisonné in Part III
56Saygun in fact started planning *Kerem* in 1944, two years after the composition of *Yunus Emre*, but not feeling confident enough at the time had to leave it aside until 1948. (Mahmud Ragıp Gazimihan: *55 Opera*, p. 381)
The reason for the opera to be labelled 'national' was mainly due to its libretto, written by Selahaddin Batu in collaboration with Saygun, which was based on an original folk legend known as *Kerem ve Aslı*. Popular in Anatolia, the original legend told the story of an ill-fated, forbidden love affair between the son of a Muslim villager and the daughter of a Christian priest. Saygun's treatment of the story however, was different: concentrating on the theme of divine, rather than earthly love, he portrayed Kerem as in search of absolute truth, through purification of the soul and self-discovery. In this way the opera centred on Kerem only, and that is why the heroine Aslı's name was omitted from its title. In fact, together with Batu, Saygun almost rewrote the whole legend. With all its mystical overtones, depicting a young man on the quest of discovery, it appears that the genesis of *Kerem* was significantly shaped by the Sufi philosophy that was central in *Yunus Emre*. Even Saygun himself described it as the “staged version of the oratorio”, while Gazimihal observed: “In this mystical drama stage action has been reduced to a minimum. That is why the work sometimes shows the characteristics of an oratorio”. The other factors which earned *Kerem* the title of ‘national opera' were due to the work's musical language being rooted in Turkish

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57Ibid.
58In Saygun’s opera, Act I brings earthly love into the foreground: Kerem is the son of the Khan and Aslı is the daughter of the Vizier and, unlike the legend, are of the same religion. When they fall in love with each other, this time it is Kerem’s father who does not allow the marriage to take place, because the Vizier has betrayed his country and is ordered to be arrested, upon which he flees with his daughter. In Act II, Kerem in search of Aslı is in a lot of pain, when he gradually begins to question himself about divine love and the search for absolute truth. At this point in the opera Saygun turns to the mystical plane by drawing an analogy between Kerem’s suffering and çile, the pain experienced by a mystic on the quest of discovery. The plot unfolds during a graveyard scene, when an old man approaches Kerem and offers him a deadly potion to drink. Kerem refuses it and on breaking the cup has a vision of Aslı, who, in flames, tells him that his suffering will soon end. When Kerem returns to his homeland, he decides to take part in a minstrel competition: the Khan has set a riddle and promised to grant the wishes of the person who could solve it. Kerem successfully gives the correct answer and is allowed to marry his beloved. In the meantime the old man from the graveyard scene reappears and hands the potion to Kerem calling it the potion of love. On drinking it Kerem gradually rises up the ladder into eternal love, where he unites with Aslı. At this point in the opera Saygun allegorically refers to the end of the mystic quest where the person unites with his creator. (For further details see Mahmud Ragıp Gazimihal: 55 *Opera*, p. 382)
59The libretto seems to have posed continuous problems; “poor Batu suffered a great deal from me” Saygun once said in an interview, referring to the difficulties they had in turning the legend into an opera. (Nihal Yeğinebali: 'Kerem ve Adnan Saygun', *Yirminci Asır*, March 1953, Issue 35)
60See Chapter VI, p. 140
61From Saygun’s unpublished notes given to me by Sadun Tanju, p. 173

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folk-songs, its being set in a traditional Anatolian village in national costume, and its lively dance-scenes recreating folk-dances from different regions of the country.

Act I of the opera was finished within one year and produced separately during the opening season of the new Ankara Opera House in April 1948. The remaining two acts were not finished until four years later, when a complete premiere in Ankara on 22 March 1953 took place. Following its premiere, Kerem, like Yunus Emre, also received wide press coverage, but not all was as sympathetic as it had been towards the oratorio. The opera drew a particularly hostile attack from the traditionalists, who did not approve of the mystical treatment of a popular folk legend. Saygun defended himself by saying: “a composer is not a literary historian, nor an expert in folklore and tradition, and in my view cannot be expected to work in this manner. The composer has the right to create whatever he likes, and his works of art can only be judged under these terms”. Even those who admitted the work’s significance as being the first full-length opera composed by a Turkish composer and praised its expressive choruses, felt it was “slow in developing, far too long, dark and heavy-going”. It seems that Saygun’s desire to take the story into a more mystically spiritual plane was the main reason that alienated those who knew the legend well and wanted to see their expectations fulfilled. Saygun himself was aware of this problem but believed that “those who will not be able to understand the mystical values in the work will be able to follow and enjoy it just as a story, but those who will go beyond that and start feeling the deep mysticism and decipher the messages will certainly get much more out of it”. In fact when the opera was staged forty years later by the Istanbul State Opera company, the mystical associations in the work were ironed out to a minimum in a different interpretation by the producer Aydınl Gün, who brought forward the theme of earthly love. In comparison to the original programme notes written by Gazimihal for the first production, the second production did not even contain a single reference to mysticism.

64 [...] kompozitör bir edebiyat tarihçisi veya bir folklor mütehasısını değildir ve öylesine çalışamaz. Kompozitör istediği gibi, duyduğu gibi yaratmak hakkında hâizdir; eserleri de anıca sanat ölçüleriyle mütala edilebilir, Suat Nazif Baydur: ‘Kerem’, Radyo, March 1948, Issue: 75
65 Lütfi Ay: ‘Kerem Operası’, Ulus, 24 April 1953
66 Nihal Yeğinobalı: op. cit.
In the meantime Saygun’s works continued to be given hearings abroad: the cello sonata Op. 12 composed in 1936 was performed at a concert at the École Normale de Musique on 4 February 1948 by Pierre Codee and Jacqueline Brisson, while the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra gave the British premiere of the orchestral version of *Inci’s Book* under George Weldon’s baton on 16 December 1948, which Saygun had orchestrated in 1944.67 Carol Pratt was also still trying to organise a performance of *Yunus Emre* in the United States after missing an opportunity with the Worcester County Musical Association earlier in 1948.68 He asked his friend Mortimer Grave to “tell Adnan Saygun that we are still working on his behalf, and that every effort will be made to find a combination of chorus and orchestra that can do a good job for him”.69 Saygun’s works were also included in concerts in Turkey, particularly during the Anglo-Turkish Music Festival concerts in Ankara. In the spring of 1949 Clarence Raybould conducted *Bir Orman Masalı* at a concert given by the Presidential Philharmonic Orchestra on the 29th of April,70 and George Weldon gave the premiere of the *Suite for Orchestra* Op.14 at the final festival in 1951. Incidentally Weldon found the work difficult to conduct and afterwards said: “It was particularly in Saygun’s Suite for Orchestra that I could detect the use of authentic Turkish national rhythms, which I must confess I found difficult to feel at first […] The last movement of the Suite is a dance called *Horon* which I found extremely difficult to beat at the required speed, despite the composer’s suggestion that one should not try to conduct it but just feel it!”.71 It seems that Saygun was also annoyed with Weldon. It was possibly George Weldon that he was referring to in the following words, when he wrote to his wife after experiencing similar problems with a conductor who was rehearsing his violin concerto in Germany in 1971:

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67 The art correspondent of *The Birmingham Mail* wrote: “The appearance in the programme of last night’s C.B.S.O. concert in the Town Hall of a short suite called *Inci’s Book* which was being given its first performance in England roused expectations of ten minutes of Turkish delight […] the work can only be regarded as a happy act of reciprocity, presumably a sequel to Mr Weldon’s Turkish visit”. (17 December 1948).

68 Letter from Caroll C Pratt to Mortimer Grave, 27 January 1949

69 Ibd.

70 İlhan Mimaroğlu: ‘Türk-İngiliz Müzik Festivali’, *Akşam*, 30 April 1949

71 George Weldon: ‘Music in Turkey’, *Tempo*, Summer 1951, p. 29 (Gültük Oransay who reviewed the concert thought: “because neither the orchestra nor the conductor overcame the enormous difficulties the work presents, the performance was unclear and mediocre”. (Gültük Oransay: ‘American Music Series Presented in Turkish Capital’ *Musical America*, July 1951, p. 16))
"He made me remember the British conductor [in Ankara], from whom I had taken the score away during a rehearsal twenty years ago".72

3.4 First trip to the United States of America:

In the summer of 1950, on the invitation of the American government, Saygun accompanied by his wife Nilüfer, left for the United States in order to meet the music authorities in Washington, Boston, New York and Chicago and to attend the annual congress of the IFMC, which was going to take place at the University of Indiana in Bloomington.73 In fact this was the first of a series of visits to the United States by Saygun, who even at one stage during these trips thought of emigrating there.74 The Saygans arrived in New York on the 27th of June and went directly to Washington DC, where Adnan met the director of the Library of Congress and the directors of the music section, Mr Emmrich and Mr Lichtenwanger.75 Saygun was impressed by the collection of folk-song recordings, but found the transcriptions made by volunteers inadequate and recommended that professional transcripts be made.76 Before arriving in Bloomington, he also attended the music school at Tanglewood and met Aaron Copland.77 The conference at Indiana University was attended by prestigious American ethnomusicologists including Charles Seeger and George Herzog, and Saygun delivered a paper entitled Authenticity in Folk Music.78 He also had a chance to play some excerpts from a collection of 120 folk-melodies he had compiled in the villages of Alacahöyük near Çorum in Turkey.79 During his stay in the United States Saygun also met Leopold Stokowski, who had already heard about Yunus Emre and expressed his interest in conducting an American premiere of the work.80 The conductor of the

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72[İklima yirmi kürşur yıl önce önüne notayı aldığım İngiliz şef geldi], Letter to Nilüfer, Augsburg, 2 March 1971
73An unpublished report submitted by Saygun to the Ministry of Education, 29 November 1951, BUSA
74See p. 79
75Letter to the American Embassy in Ankara, 17 February 1951, BUSA, p.1
76Ibid.
77Ibid., p.2 (Copland later conducted Saygun’s Dictum Op. 49 at a concert in Ankara in October 1973).
79An unpublished report submitted by Saygun to the Ministry of Education, 29 November 1951, BUSA
80Stokowski said to me: ‘I would like to conduct your oratorio here [in the United States]. What do you say? I said that would be a great honour for me [...] I was really surprised. How could a maestro like Stokowski have heard about my oratorio? Had he read the French papers? Had he heard a recording of it? I was delighted’; [Stokowski ‘oratoryonuzu burada çaldırmak istiyorum, ne dersiniz’ diye sordu. Benim
Westminster Choir in New Jersey, Mr Williamson, and the conductor of the Schola Cantorum in New York, Hugh Ross, had also expressed their interest in giving a performance of the oratorio. 81 In fact Ross suggested performing fragments from the oratorio during an anniversary concert of the United Nations to take place at the Metropolitan Opera in New York. 82 Saygun was not too keen in having excerpts from the oratorio performed, instead he suggested two scenes from Kerem. 83 This proposal, however, was later dropped, when the London Symphony Orchestra under Sir Thomas Beecham's baton was asked to take part in the anniversary concert. 84 During his stay in New York Saygun was interviewed by the Voice of America, and also formed a close friendship with Moritz Jagendorf, the president of the New York Folklore Society, who was to be instrumental in organising the US premiere of the oratorio in 1958. 85 As well as having an article published in the Metropolitan Opera Guild's Opera News magazine on the state of opera in Turkey, 86 Saygun also signed a contract with Southern Music, who agreed to publish his works regularly, which was to bring him a permanent exposure in the West. 87

By this stage the reform movement in Turkey was beginning to lose steam; after the Second World War, İsmet İnönü, the long running President and the successor of Atatürk after his death in 1938, felt it was time to start multi-party elections in Turkey. In 1946 the Democratic Party was founded as an opposition to the long established CHP. Growing support in the polls in favour of the newly established Democratic Party, which displayed a return to traditional values as opposed to following Atatürk's reforms, was to be the first major blow to the CHP. A possible success by the Democrats also threatened the future of the Halkevi, which were seen by the opposition as the political branches of the CHP. In fact in 1950 the Democrats won the elections by a landslide;

81 Letter to the American Embassy in Ankara, p. 4
82 Ibid., p. 3
83 Ibid.
84 Ibid.
85 Ibid.
87 Letter to the American Embassy in Ankara, p. 4
this was followed by the new government implementing its own views that departed from the vision of Atatürk: the traditional call to prayer which had been recited in Turkish on Atatürk's orders was put back to Arabic, the Halkevi were closed and traditional Turkish art music in the process was restored to favour backed by the new government. A direct outcome of the political change was a new charter drawn up for music education at the Istanbul Conservatory, which was to house a separate department for Turkish art music. Saygun and his contemporaries strongly argued against this dual education system, which in their view was to hamper the future of music reforms in the country. Ironically, the new Minister of Education, Tevfik İleri, offered the directorship of the Ankara State Conservatory to Saygun, who refused it on the grounds that the job would not allow him enough time to compose.

Except for a brief visit to Geneva in October 1951, where Saygun delivered a lecture on Turkish music, attended by eminent musicians such as Pittardo, Ansermet and Baud-Bovy, he spent the rest of that year in Turkey working on his opera Kerem. It was only after the completion and the premiere of the opera in 1953 that he was able to concentrate on other works, such as the symphony commissioned by Franz Litschauer, the conductor of the Wiener Tonkünstlerverein Orchestra, which was eventually premiered in Vienna on 2 May 1954. At the same time he was beginning to suffer from a kind of mental fatigue due to his efforts in producing Kerem and, on top of this, his father died on 21 March 1954. His exhaustion is quite clear in a letter written to Henri Guilloux: “You know the state of my health during my stay in Paris. I have been continually suffering since last night. They think it is an ulcer in the stomach. It has brought on a kind of mental fatigue and it is all very understandable of course, considering the amount of struggling I had to do during the production of my opera last year”.

88 “The CHP was defeated in the 1950 elections, and of course the activities of the Halkevi also came to a stop with it. I was very upset.”; [1950 seçimlerini Halk Partisi kaybetti ve tabii Halkevi çalı́smaları da durdu. Ezgündüm], (Sadun Tanju: ‘Adnan Saygun Anlatiyor’, Gösteri, p.89)
89 See Adnan Saygun: Atatürk ve Müzik, pp. 78-80
90 Sadun Tanju: op. cit., p.89
91 Letter to Nilüfer, Geneva, 21 October 1951
92 See Chapter VIII, pp. 201-202
93 Letter to Henri Guilloux, Ankara, 7 May 1954
94 [Vous vous rappelez de l'état de ma santé, lors de mon séjour à Paris. Je suis presque continuellement souffrant, depuis ce soir-là. L'on a supposé de l'ulcère dans l'estomac. Il parait plutôt que mes souffrances
not do what the doctors wanted from me: to sit idly in an armchair. Instead, I have composed a symphony which I think will be performed in Vienna in February next year. The other projects swarming in my head: to finish the piano concerto which I had started 3 years ago, write an orchestral work and compose a trio”. 95 There were some positive developments for his international career in the same year as well: in May he was told that his string quartet Op. 27, which had been submitted to the festival committee of the Centre de Documentation de Musique International (CDMI) in Paris, had passed the first round of selections, and was included amongst the ten works selected out of the hundred and twenty-eight submitted. 96 Selected works were going to be performed at a festival organised by the CDMI to take place in Paris in the following autumn. There was still a second round of selections to be made and Saygun was not hopeful, writing to his friend Henri Guilloux: “Although this work (the quartet) has been put into the festival programme and announced in different reviews, I do not believe that it has been kept by the Jury Sonore, which will establish the final programme. It is not électronique, concrète or dodecaphonique”. 97 The quartet, having passed the second round of selections, was premiered in Paris in the concert hall of the École Normale de Musique on 23 October 1954, at the third concert of the CDMI Festival.

In the spring of 1955, Saygun was approached by the German Consulate in Istanbul to compose a piece for solo 'cello to mark the 150th anniversary of the death of Friedrich Schiller. The work, which became his Op. 31, Partita for solo 'cello, was premiered during a remembrance ceremony at the consulate in Istanbul on 15th of April. Max Meinecke, the director of the Istanbul City Theatres suggested a title for the work like: “Requiem/Cello Suite”. 98 He also informed the composer that the work was going
to be recorded and played during a play that was to open in Istanbul based on Schiller. Saygun decided to call this new composition, *Partita* "in memory of Friedrich Schiller", and dedicated it to Martin Bochmann, who was a professor of 'cello at the Ankara State Conservatory at the time and premiered the work. The reason for the dedication was the tragic death of Bochmann on his return from a concert trip to the United States of America. Saygun based the *Partita* on "Schiller's *Ode to Joy* theme". In fact the collaboration with the Germans led to a request from Max Kaufmann to perform the oratorio in Germany. Although Max Meinecke prepared a German translation of the text, the premiere never took place. After composing the *Partita*, Saygun started work on a second symphony, which became his Op. 30, but was not finished until 1957. The work was scored for a much larger orchestra than his first symphony, and also employed a much larger group of percussion instruments. He dedicated the symphony to his late father Mehmed Celaleddin Saygun. In the same year he also composed *Demet*, a collection of Turkish folk-dances in four movements for violin and piano Op. 33, and also started composing an album of five Lieder Op. 32, based on American folk-songs, which was later completed in January 1956.

3.5 The American premiere of *Yunus Emre*:

Particularly during the Second World War and immediately after it, the United States was a popular place of refuge for many European artists who enjoyed the financial securities and the comfort of an American life. Auden, Britten and later Michael Tippett all benefited from the privileges of this 'new-found land of the spirit', which Tippett described as "an extension of Shakespeare's culture into the modern times". Although Nilüfer Saygun stated that "Adnan never wanted to live and work in a foreign country", it appears that in the mid-fifties Saygun clearly considered emigrating to the United States, where he thought he might apply for a professorship at

99Ibid.
100Letter to Max Kaufmann, Istanbul, 17 August 1955
101Ibid.
102Letter to Henri Guilloux, Ankara 12 June 1955
103Ibid.
104Meirion Bowen: *Michael Tippett*, p. 34
105An interview with Nilüfer Saygun, Istanbul, December 1994
an American University. “Do you think it will be possible [for] you to find a job for me in America?” he asked his friend Moritz Jagendorf. At the same time he was also determined to secure an American premiere for Yunus Emre, perhaps believing that this might hold the key to his future in the United States. As mentioned earlier there were many other proposals for Yunus Emre to be given in other foreign countries such as Britain and Germany, but it was the American premiere that Saygun mostly spent his time trying to organise. Even nine years after Ambassador Wilson and Caroll Pratt initially took an interest in the project Saygun was still desperately struggling to arrange a performance in America. Stokowski had shown an interest in conducting the oratorio since Saygun’s first trip to the United States in 1950, but five years later this was still not realised due to problems with funding. In 1955 Saygun wrote to Jagendorf: “I guess, there are two possibilities: The oratorio will be performed in February or it will not be performed at all”. One of the other problems which delayed the premiere of the oratorio was the unpredictable behaviour of Stokowski: originally he had agreed to conduct the work without any honorarium, but he later asked for “a very high fee”, which totally mystified Saygun. There was also a possibility of including an arrangement of folk dances for orchestra by another Turkish composer at the same concert. Saygun was not happy about the inclusion of this work with “his mystical oratorio”.

106 Letter to Moritz Jagendorf, Ankara, 27 December 1955, (in English) (By this stage Saygun had taught himself English, and was able to correspond comfortably)

107 In 1955 I received a letter from the United States. They wanted to perform Yunus Emre at Carnegie Hall and me to conduct it. I said I would much rather prefer if Stokowski conducted it. He agreed. The concert date was fixed as 25 February 1955. Then I received a letter saying that the premiere had to be put off due to unforeseen circumstances, they were sorry. I was very upset”; [1955’de Amerika’dan bir mektup aldım. Yunus Emre’yi Carnegie Hall’da icra ister, orkestra da ben icra edeceğim. Stokowski kabul ederse onun yönetmesini tercih ederim dedim. Kabul etmiş. Hazırlıklar yapılındı, konser tarihi olarak 25 Şubat 1955 günü teşbit edildi. Derken o günlerde bir mektup aldım, bazı sebeplerden dolayı konseri tehir etmek mecburiyetinde kaldık diyollar, özür diliyorlar. Çok canım sıkıldı], (Saygun’s unpublished notes given to me by Sadun Tanju, p. 102)


109 Mr Stokowski […] had considered the project with enthusiasm and deliberately proposed to conduct my work without asking any honorarium. I was informed that renouncing suddenly and mysteriously to his offer he asked a very high fee”. (Letter to Moritz Jagendorf, Ankara, 27 December 1955)

110 I learned that an arrangement of folk dances for orchestra made by a Turkish composer is to be given together with my mystical oratorio. Is such an intricate enigma understandable?“ (Letter to Moritz Jagendorf, Ankara, 27 December 1955)
Saygun was in the end never to emigrate to the United States, which seems to have been due to the dilemma he found himself in as a result of continual propositions that were made to him in Turkey, which in reality were never fulfilled. The following excerpt from a letter written to Jagendorf clearly highlights this situation. Not one of the single projects described below was ever realised; the proposed Parisian tour of the Ankara State Opera did not take place, the Italian exchange with Malipiero was dropped, he was not elected as a cultural attaché, and the premiere of the oratorio was postponed indefinitely. On top of all that, not a single work by him was performed during the years 1956 and 1957, either in Turkey or abroad.

"I understand that it is not possible to get a good job in New York. I am afraid the job you tell me will not permit me to live quietly and will not allow me to make efforts in order to make my works known. I understand, on the other hand, that it is more probable to get a professorship either in Bloomington or Louisville. This may enable me to live peacefully over there. But, in this case shall I not be quite in a distance from New York; from the musical centre of America? The State Opera of Ankara [is] being invited to go to Paris for performances of Turkish operas, the general director proposed to me to open the 1956-57 opera season with Kerem, to perform this work as much as possible during next fall and winter and to perform it in Paris, in April 1957. [The] performances will take place at the Theatre de Champs Elysées with a Parisian orchestra. On the other hand, Italians are working on a project to make an exchange, during next winter, between the famous Italian composer Malipero and me. I shall conduct one or more concerts in Italy, and the programmes will include only my own works. Besides they are interested in my opera and oratorio [...] I am now asked to go to Firenze for the first contacts. I wonder if I must drop all these things, and some others I did not mention, and go to Indiana or Louisville? Of course all may or may not be realised. If I go for one or two years to US, I must at the first place, renounce to all these projects. In this case, will my situation in America counter-balance that? There is one more thing: the Ministry of Education is, now, planning to create ten new posts of 'cultural attaché' in addition to seven which already exist. I had the foolish idea to [apply for] one of them, and discussed that with the head of inspector board at the ministry; he is an old friend of mine. He is ready to propose me to the minister. The minister, whom I know personally is, as he says, 'an admirer of my works'. I will make all efforts in order to obtain a job like that. But......l’homme propose, Dieu dispose".111

Despite all the ups and downs, for Saygun the year 1958 was to prove one of the most successful years ever for his international career as a composer. It was in that year that he was awarded the Jan Sibelius medal by the Harriet Cohen Foundation, his piano concerto was premiered in Brussels during the Exposition, the Julliard Quartet gave a premiere of his second string quartet in Washington which had earlier been commissioned by the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation, and Stokowski finally conducted the long-awaited American premiere of Yunus Emre in New York. When Saygun arrived in London in May 1958 to collect his medal, which was presented to him at a ceremony on 14th May, he had already been introduced to the British public by The

111Letter to Moritz Jagendorf. Ankara, 13 February 1956 (in English)
Times correspondent as a "Turkish composer whose music challenges comparison with the best of the modern European School". Sibelius had in fact personally agreed for the medal to be given to Saygun just before his death. The Turkish Ambassador in London marked the occasion by giving a lunch in honour of him at his residency, inviting music critics, composers and publishers. During this visit Saygun also met his old friend Michael Tippett for the last time. Since 1947 they had not exchanged any letters until 1955 when Saygun wrote the first letter to congratulate his old friend whose opera The Midsummer Marriage opened at Covent Garden on 27 January 1955. He also informed him of the success of his own opera Kerem in Ankara. "Your letter of 9 June and the gifts have finally arrived. To hear that your opera has been performed two years ago made me very happy. I hope to meet you again if I come to Turkey" replied Tippett. In London the two composers again discussed a possible visit for Tippett to Ankara in order to conduct some of his works. Tippett later wrote to Saygun: "If I am invited to conduct in Ankara the British Council are going to pay my expenses as far as there. I leave this up to you. Do not insist if this idea does not go well with the political situation in your country. Wait for a better timing. We can wait". Saygun also later tried to help Tippett by proposing A Child of Our Time to the chorus of the State University of New York at Potsdam, who gave the American premiere of Yunus Emre. "I am grateful for your kindness for talking to important people about me in Potsdam. My editor has written the necessary letter and sent the scores. Let's hope that they will accept to play the oratorio. It will be good for me in the States", Tippett wrote to Saygun. This was in fact Tippett's last correspondence with Saygun. The two composers never met again, despite the fact that Sir Michael came to Turkey twice in the 1980's for holidays and sightseeing, which were private visits.
With a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, on 10 September 1958 Adnan and Nilüfer sailed from Southampton to New York to attend the American premiere of his second string quartet at the Library of Congress in Washington D.C. At the time there were no plans for a performance of *Yunus Emre* in the United States. It was only after Saygun’s arrival in New York that Turkey’s delegate at the United Nations Seyfullah Esin suggested organising a performance of the work there. All the preparations therefore had to be made in a very short time, such as finding an orchestra and choir and contacting Stokowski, who agreed to conduct the oratorio. The concert took place on 25 November 1958 in the General Assembly Hall of the United Nations, with Leopold Stokowski conducting the Symphony of the Air Orchestra and the Crane Chorus of the State University of New York at Potsdam. For Saygun the premiere was a long-awaited occasion that took years of planning and negotiations. Although he had insisted that the oratorio be given on its own, Saygun could not stop the inclusion of a short orchestral work, the American-based Lebanese composer Anis Fuleihan’s *Invocation* being performed at the same concert. The premiere also had a political edge to it: the Cyprus issue was being discussed at the Security Council during the same time, and the concert was a kind of public relations act on behalf of the Turkish government, being organised in honour of the United Nations. In this way it was similar to the Paris premiere, which also tried to prove to the West the pro-European policies of the Turkish state. Nevertheless, the concert was a personal achievement for Saygun and a great opportunity for exposing his music to the American music world. In fact the American critic Franklin Zimmerman, who attended the premiere, found *Yunus Emre* a work where “there is neither the intense musical nationalism, nor the forging of a new idiom through synthesis of the old [...] rather there is a more universal style - a style which is to be associated with that of post-romantic music”. Zimmerman’s observations also give us an idea about the performance which he described in the following words: “Dr. Stokowski’s sure grasp of the shape and scope of the work, his masterful engineering of the climaxes, and the surprising amount of polish he brought to the performance with but a few short rehearsals were sources for wonderment. The soloists and the chorus also rose to the occasion, surmounting both musical and technical difficulties of the work in a

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119 Saygun’s unpublished notes given to me by Sadun Tanju, p. 103
more than satisfactory manner. It is unfortunate that similar praise cannot be accorded to
all the members of the ‘Symphony of the Air’. If their performance on this occasion is at
all typical, it can only be said that the standards of this group have slipped sadly since
Toscanini’s day”. After the performance in New York, Yunus Emre was also repeated
at the Potsdam Campus of the State University of New York on 14 December, this time
conducted by Saygun himself.

It would not be wrong to describe the twelve years between 1946 and 1958 as the
years of the oratorio Yunus Emre. As clearly seen the work which not only opened for
Saygun the doors of the Ankara State Conservatory and later introduced him to the
French and American musical circles constantly occupied his thoughts in these years.
For Saygun, the New York premiere conducted by such a revered musical personality as
Leopold Stokowski was undoubtedly the climax of his international career. In fact for
the rest of his life, although he tried to sustain his contacts with the West, he was never
to achieve the same international prestige as he achieved in those twelve years, the next
phase of his career was to develop into a kind of depression that did not stop him from
composing, but pushed him into isolation and a feeling of rejection.

121 Ibid.
CHAPTER IV
1958-1991

4.1 The beginning of the years of isolation:

After his return from the United States and the successful premiere of his oratorio, Saygun received a note from Leopold Stokowski in December 1959, which read: “I hope all is going well with you, and as soon as possible I hope I shall have the great musical experience of conducting your Yunus Emre in Istanbul”. Stokowski had hoped to conduct a performance of the oratorio in the famous Byzantine Cathedral of St. Sophia in Istanbul, which had been turned into a mosque by the Ottomans after the fall of the city in 1453, and a secular museum under the republican rule of Atatürk. Although it is not mentioned in any of his official biographies, Yunus Emre seems to have had a special appeal for Stokowski. In fact he asked Saygun to dedicate the work to him, which the composer later described in the following words: “I was really grateful to Stokowski. One day we met at his house in New York. I said to him: ‘Would you accept a dedication of one of my works’ To this he replied: ‘If you want to dedicate me a work then I would like that to be Yunus Emre. I was born a Catholic [...] I have found the poetry of Yunus Emre and your music most peaceful.’ I was very excited and wrote on the score which he later kept: ‘I dedicate this work which I composed in memory of my mother Zeyneb Seniha to Leopold Stokowski’.”

1A note from Stokowski, 22 December 1959, BUSA
2The idea of staging a performance of the oratorio in the impressive surroundings of St. Sophia must have been proposed to Stokowski by Saygun in the first place, and not the other way round as the composer claimed in later years. According to Çiçekoğlu, writing in 1950: “Vedat Fıratlı, the director of the Fine Arts commission suggested a performance for the oratorio to be given at St. Sophia museum. When Saygun came to Istanbul he took a group of friends with him to the museum. That day I was also with the composer. We had a sound check in the museum. It was very reverberant”.
3[Stokowski’ye karşı gerçekten şüran hisleriyle doluydu [...] Bir gün New York’taki evinde buluşmamıştık. Dedi ki: ‘...acaba bir eserimi ithaf etsem kabul eder misiniz?’ Onun cevabı şöyleydi: ‘Bana bir eserini ithaf etmek istersem bunu eser Yunus Emre olsun [...] ben katolik olarak dünyaya gelmişim [...] Aradığım ruhi huzuru Yunus Emre’nin sözlerinde ve sizin musikinizde buldum], Saygun’s unpublished notes given to me by Sadun Tanju, p. 105
was never able to arrange for Stokowski to conduct the oratorio, either in St. Sophia or anywhere else in Turkey.4 The director of the Fine Arts commission who was in charge of the state orchestras and the choruses sent Saygun a letter stating that neither a chorus nor an orchestra would be free to undertake any commitments for the dates suggested by Stokowski.5 Another reason for the project to have fallen through seems to have been the unstable political climate in the country at the time, which resulted in a military coup in 1960, and the execution of the prime minister Adnan Menderes. This was a great blow to the democratic movement in Turkey, and undoubtedly created a negative public image abroad, which to a certain extent affected the position of Turkish artists, who were seeking success in the Western world.

After the military coup, and during the interim government, Saygun was appointed a member of the recently founded Talim Terbiye Kurulu, the Council of Education, which was created to oversee the state of education in schools. He stayed as member until 1965, when the council was dissolved by the minister in charge, due to a disagreement between him and the councillors lead by Saygun.6 His membership, however, was to have a positive outcome, which showed itself in the form of a book entitled Töresel Solfej, a collection of modal vocal exercises, and four volumes of music theory books prepared by the composer, as teaching material for music classes at the state schools.7 In fact it should not be forgotten that as well as being a composer, Saygun was also an active pedagogue; between 1958 and 1970 he wrote Musiki Nazariyatz, his four-volume study on music theory and collaborated with his friend Halil Bedii Yönetken on Lise Müzik Kitabi, a music theory book for state schools. Apart from his books Saygun also wrote a series of articles in Ülkü entitled Muszki Davamzz [Our musical cause], where he tackled problems relating to the music education of the youth in Turkey. These articles show that for Saygun only a generation who knew and appreciated its own traditional music, as well as the music of the great masters of European music, would be regarded as having received a sound music education. However, particularly in his late years he was greatly disillusioned with the education system in the country: “Our children neither had an opportunity to discover Itri [a

4 In fact in 1965 Stokowski wrote to Saygun once more: “I am always hoping that I can go to Istanbul and conduct again your beautiful music”. (A note from Stokowski, 12 January 1965, BUSA)
6 Sadun Tanju: op.cit., p.89
7 See the bibliography for complete citations
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composer of traditional Turkish music], nor Beethoven, nor the pure sounds of Anatolia”.

At the same time Saygun continued his research in the field of ethnomusicology by publishing two more articles on the origins of the melody and the relationships between Turkish and Hungarian folk-music, and represented Turkey at international folk-music conferences like the ones held in Iran in April 1961 and September 1967. In these years his enthusiasm for folk-music also took him to former Ottoman provinces like Tunisia in December 1965; like Bartók thirty years earlier, who looked for similarities between Turkish and Hungarian music, Saygun tried to establish relationships between traditional Turkish music and Tunisian folk-music. A visit to a tekke, a dervish convent, during this trip is an important proof of his enthusiasm for Sufi music, which greatly shaped his musical idiom, as seen in the following account: “I went to a tekke this morning to attend a ritual of the dervishes. I had not seen a scene like this for many years. After a lengthy recitation of a text by the dervishes, all the doors and windows were closed, creating a very dimly lit atmosphere inside. Then the zikr (ceremony) started. The dervishes formed two rows closely facing each other. I joined them as well and the zikr lasted for about half an hour. It was extremely interesting; I took many notes afterwards. So far this has been the best day of my stay in Tunisia”.

On 29 February 1960, the Calgary Philharmonic Orchestra included the orchestral version of Inci's Book in one of their concerts. In terms of North American
performances and recognition of his works however, Saygun was never again able to reach the climactic level of 1958. In fact there were no further commissions from the United States, apart from a symphony requested by the Sergei Koussevitzky Foundation at the Library of Congress, which was completed on 26 February 1961. Even the premiere of this work, which became his third symphony, was not given in the United States, but instead in the Soviet Union in February 1963. It appears that this was a result of the Turkish military coup in 1960, which helped to make cultural ties between Turkey and the Soviet Union become even stronger. In 1963 Saygun and a fellow composer Ulvi Cemal Erkin were invited to take part in concerts in Russia and Azerbaijan. They gave three concerts altogether, in Baku, Moscow and Leningrad, conducting their own works respectively. Saygun conducted the premiere of his third symphony as well as a performance of the first piano concerto. The first movement of the symphony and the concerto were recorded and later released on record. Three years later the third symphony was also played at the Belgian Radio in April 1966. Saygun was pleased with the result: “The execution of my third symphony wasn’t too bad. This is true, since at one time I had the idea of suppressing the third movement for the concert, which presented difficulties due to [complex] rhythms, and the other time I had decided not to go to the performance.”

The 1960's saw the beginning of a decline in Saygun's efforts to establish himself as an international composer; nearly reaching the age of sixty, he was feeling cut off from the Western world including France. He confided in his friends the Guilloux in a letter in the following words: “It is sad that I have no relations with France anymore. France always prefers the musical styles of Boulez and Stockhausen or Nono!”

13 ‘Adnan Saygun ve Erkin Rusya’da’, Akşam, 6 March 1963
14 ‘Erkin ve Saygun takdir topladı’, Ulus, 16 March 1963
15 Letter to Henri Guilloux, Ankara, 1 May 1964
16 During his stay in Brussels Saygun also attended a reunion organised by the Institute of Sociology at the University [of Brussels], where he talked about the sociological situation in Turkey’s musical development. He later went to Bayreuth to attend another musical reunion organised by the Institute of Musicology of Cologne. (Letter to Henri Guilloux, Ankara, 10 February 1965)
17 [L’exécution de ma troisième Symphonie n’était pas très mauvaise. Il est vrai que, une fois, j’ai eu l’idée de supprimer, pour ce concert, le troisième mouvement, qui au point de vue rythmique, offre des difficultés, et, une autre fois, je me décidai presque ne pas aller au concert], Letter to Henri Guilloux, Ankara, 6 March 1966
18 [Il est malheureux que je n’ai aucune relations avec la France! La France préfère sûrement des œuvres de musique du genre de celles de Boulez et de Stockhausen ou Nono!], Letter to Henri Guilloux, Ankara, 30 March 1964
was the start of a long depressive mood that continued throughout the rest of his life, which was made worse by a feeling of not being appreciated by his fellow Turkish composers or by the Turkish state. "At the moment there is another thing: at my age [57], after all the things I have done so far, I have to prove that I studied music: it's the limit!" he wrote to Henri Guilloux and continued: "as all my documents (certificates from Mr and Mme Borrel and Vincent d'Indy) had been destroyed during a fire at the Ministry of Education in Ankara, I have nothing in hand". We are not certain why the documents were requested, but Saygun asked Guilloux to obtain a replacement certificate, to prove that he had passed a counterpoint examination at the Schola Cantorum, also asking to get a reference from any of his surviving professors, which was duly provided by Paul Le Flem. Saygun also often found it difficult to arrange performances of his own works in Turkey; his first string quartet, written twenty years earlier, had not been premiered in his native country, and even when an important musical personality of the time, like Leopold Stokowski, had offered to come to Turkey, he was prevented from organising a concert for him. During an interview with Sadun Tanju he later revealed more of his frustrations: "Until 1967, I was never invited to any concerts given by the Presidential Symphony Orchestra (PSO), an orchestra that I had briefly conducted previously as well. Even when they were performing my works, I had to join a queue and buy my own ticket. In 1967 a former pupil of mine, Hikmet Şimşek, tried to perform one of my works, but was faced with great difficulties and finally had to order the parts from my editor abroad. I was also invited to this concert. In the foyer Professor Lessing (the conductor) came to me in excitement. I met him for the first time. He said to me: 'I am hearing your work for the first time, if you allow me I would like to conduct your works as well'. Although Lessing had been employed for a few years, he had not heard about me. Afterwords he conducted quite a lot of my works".

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19[Et maintenant, autre chose: à mon âge, après tant de chose, que j'ai faites jusqu'ici, pensez que j'ai besoin de prouver que j'avais faites des études de musique: c'est le comble! [...] Comme tous mes documents (certificats de Mr et Mme. Borrel, de Vincent d'Indy etc.) ont été brulés pendant l'incendie du Ministre de l'Instruction Publique à Ankara, je n'ai rien en main], ibid.

20[Ibid., (the certificate is at the BUSA dated 17 April 1964, with the stamp of the Schola Cantorum)

At the time of meeting Lessing, Saygun was working on a violin concerto, his Op. 44, which he completed on 12 July 1967 in Ankara. Lessing agreed to give the premiere of the work, with the young violinist Suna Kan, which took place on 27 December 1968. It is interesting to note that Saygun was also corresponding with Yehudi Menuhin during the time he was composing the violin concerto, on matters relating to folk-music. Although there is no specific reference to the concerto in Menuhin’s letter, Saygun knew that they were going to be meeting at the next conference on folk-music in Tehran in September 1967, and perhaps might have drawn his attention to his new concerto. Menuhin “found Saygun a delightful man, but never pursued a musical collaboration”. The concerto was also performed outside Turkey in March 1971, in Augsburg in Germany, again played by Suna Kan. The rehearsal was a total fiasco as described by Saygun: “He [the unidentified conductor] made me remember the British conductor, from whom I had taken the score away during a rehearsal twenty years ago. I was so angry the whole day. When I met Suna in the afternoon, it was obvious she was annoyed too. However, the concert was not as bad as we had anticipated”. On 14 February 1968, Saygun’s second quartet was given its first Turkish hearing, ten years after its premiere in the United States, at a concert in his native city of Izmir, by the Yücelen Quartet. Lessing was also keen to give the premières of Saygun’s other large orchestral works. As a result the second symphony was premiered in Ankara on 24 April 1970, thirteen years after its composition and Dictum, a work for double string orchestra composed in 1970, was premiered on 21 April 1971. Lessing’s contribution towards Saygun’s creativity went beyond just premiering his works: he also commissioned him to write a symphony. The result was the fourth symphony, Op. 53. Sadly Lessing died of cancer before being able to premiere the work, which Saygun dedicated to his memory. It was premiered in Ankara by the Presidential Symphony Orchestra conducted by Gürer Aykal on 10 December 1976.

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22 “Please forgive my delay in answering your most interesting letter […] I think [the folk-music conference in Tehran] will offer us ample opportunity not only to complain - which is essential, as we must know what our faults and weaknesses are - but also to be constructive, and above all to try to learn from each other”. (Letter from Yehudi Menuhin, London, 23 May 1967)
23 Letter to Nilüfer, Tehran, 7 September 1967
24 Letter from Lord Menuhin to Emre Araci, London, 31 October 1996
4.2 An opera dedicated to the memory of Atatürk: *Köroğlu*:

Following *Kerem*, in 1962 Saygun started work on another opera, *Gilgamesh*, for which he himself also wrote the libretto. *Gilgamesh*, however, was left incomplete and in 1972 he started making plans for another opera, on receiving a commission from the Turkish bank *Yapi ve Kredi Bankası*, for a new work in 1971. The new opera was named after *Köroğlu*, the hero of a popular sixteenth century Turkish folk-legend on which Saygun based the work. It was again Selahaddin Batu, the librettist of *Kerem*, who provided the libretto for *Köroğlu*, although he died just before the premiere. The legend was also known outside Turkey, in neighbouring countries like Iran, the former Turkic Republics of the Soviet Union and, most importantly, in Azerbaijan. In fact the Azerbaijani composer, Uzeir Hajibeyov (1885-1948), had already composed an opera based on this legend in 1936 also entitled *Kyor-ogli*. Hajibeyov’s opera had become so successful that in 1941 it won him a state prize of the USSR. The *Köroğlu* legend was also introduced into Europe by Alexandre Chodzko in his book entitled *Specimens of the Popular Poetry of Persia as found in the Adventures and Improvisations of Kurroglu, the Bandit-Minstrel* published in the early nineteenth century, when George Sand took a particular interest in it and wrote the foreword to a French illustrated edition published in 1853. The legend tells the story of an attempted kidnapping of a girl, Günayım, from her village by Beyoğlu, the cruel son of the local bey [the ruler], and her eventual rescue by the hero Köroğlu.

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26 At the time of the composition of *Köroğlu* Saygun was also busy with other commissions: “For more than a year I have been working on an opera [Köroğlu]. At the moment I am writing the third act. In the meantime I had to compose other pieces like 3 preludes for two harps, commissioned by an American harpist who is on tour with his harp quartet, pieces for piano, etc...”; [Depuis plus d’un an je travaille sur un opéra. Je suis en train d’écrire le troisième acte. Entre-temps j’ai été obligé de composer d’autres pièces, telles que trois préludes pour deux harpes demandés par un harpist américain qui fait des tournées avec son quartet de harpes, pièces pour piano, etc...], (Letter to Henri Guilloux, Ankara, 18 December 1972)


28 François Georgeon: ‘Une Passion Méconnue De George Sand: Köroğlu’, *Turcico*, p. 259

29 The girl’s lover, the son of the village’s groom, prevents Beyoğlu from achieving this cruel deed. The Bey, who gets angry with the incident summons the groom to his quarters, who is reputedly known to own a horse with magical powers, named Kuar. The Bey wants to hear all about this magical horse, but in the end accuses the groom of lying and holding back the truth, and as a punishment has the groom’s eyes put out. The blinded groom dies, asking his son to take revenge on the Bey, whose son in the meantime has been succesful in kidnapping Günayım. The groom’s son, Köroğlu, as he is now called, leaves for
of independence and the efforts of Kemal Atatürk, whom he believed shared the qualities of a saviour with the hero Köroğlu. This was the main reason why the opera was dedicated to his memory. Being based on a national legend, Köroğlu also shows similarities with Saygun’s other operas. Its musical language too is rooted in Anatolian folk-songs and particularly the aşk or minstrel tradition, because the legend had a strong connection with that tradition which still survives in Turkey today. Like the troubadours in France and the master singers in Germany the aşk were travelling minstrels who were often involved in a kind of song/poetry duel. The legend was often recited by minstrels to a particular melody based on the Hüseyni mode, so much so that the aşk today refer to this mode as the Köroğlu mode. The premiere of Köroğlu took place on 25 June 1973 during the first International Istanbul Festival, when the Azerbeijani conductor Niyazi Takhizade conducted the Istanbul State Opera Company.

In 1977 the Istanbul Opera House (also known as Atatürk Kültür Merkezi - an arts complex named after Atatürk), which had been damaged by a fire six years earlier, was to re-open after extensive rebuilding work with a performance of Saygun’s Köroğlu. By this stage in his life, Saygun had decided not to take part in any production work or conducting, and refused to be involved with the staging of the opera. After hearing the singers sing in a style with which he did not agree, and due to other incidents (which he does not mention), he had no choice but to accept the offer to become involved remarking: “We are making vain efforts to realise what is unrealisable”. Unfortunately for Saygun the result turned out to be even worse; to produce the opera, his Azerbeijani friend Takhizade had been invited to Istanbul, and together they had spent four months rehearsing. All the scenery and the costumes were produced, but the exact date of the

Çamlıbel with the magical Kirat, a white horse. He leads the local villagers in a siege of the Bey’s quarters, asking for an end to oppression and the release of Günayım. The Bey on the contrary announces that he will have Günayım executed and as a result the frightened villagers retreat. Köroğlu, however, does not give up hope and later appears announcing the death of the Bey and his soldiers. When asked of the whereabouts of Günayım, he tells them that she is living in a world of dreams and himself departs in response to a call from his horse Kirat, which the rest of the villagers cannot hear. (From the programme notes of Köroğlu, Istanbul State Opera)

30“For me the theme of Köroğlu symbolised rebellion against oppression [...],like Atatürk” (Saygun’s unpublished notes given to me by Sadun Tanju, pp. 174-175)
31Yıldız Erdener: The song contests of Turkish minstrels, p. 79
32Ibid.
33Sadun Tanju: op. cit., p.90
34Letter to Henri Guilloux, Istanbul, 31 December 1977
35[Nous l’employons pour la tâche vaine pour réaliser l’irréalisable], Ibid.
their performance had still not been decided. Their worst fears were realised when the Directorate of the State Operas decided to postpone the opening of the opera house and call off the performance indefinitely. To Saygun this came as a major blow and undoubtedly contributed to his increasing depression.

4.3 The State Artist:

Although he was still keen to continue teaching, Saygun had to retire from his job as professor of composition at the Ankara State Conservatory when he turned sixty-five. At the same time a new act was passed through the Turkish Parliament setting up the state honour of “State Artist”, to be awarded to distinguished artists who served the Turkish nation through their artistic contributions. The title of “State Artist” also permitted the bearers to continue working at state establishments even after their retirement. Saygun was the first to be awarded the honour in 1972. Originally the honour was awarded to artists practising in Western art forms only, such as painters, actors and musicians, but was later extended to include performers of traditional Turkish music. He recalled the day he was awarded the title in the following words: “I was also invited to sit on the panel to decide the receivers of the award of the State Artist. I left the room when they were considering me for it. I submitted all my compositions, articles, and foreign critics about my works, and was surprised when they made me a State Artist twenty minutes later. This short time was obviously enough to study them all”.

After his retirement from the Ankara State Conservatory in 1972, Saygun wanted to concentrate more on composing and declined all invitations to travel. The same year he moved to Istanbul, where he started part-time composition teaching at the State Conservatory, a post he held until his death in 1991. In the meantime foreign premieres of his works, in particular of Yunus Emre, continued to take place: in May 1972 it was performed in Budapest in Hungarian, and there was also a possibility of a performance.

36 Saygun’s unpublished notes given to me by Sadun Tanju, 13/2, p. 2
37 [Devlet sanatçılarını tesbit edecek jürüye beni de dahil etmişlerdi. Hakkında karar alacakları sıradada dışarı çıktım [...] Ben jürüye, eserlerimi, kitaplarını makalelerimi, dışarı aldığım kritikleri sunmuştum ve 20 dakika sonra beni devlet sanatçısı yaptıkları zaman şaşırdu. Demek bu kadar kısa bir zaman hepsini teşkile kaldı gelmişti,] Sadun Tanju: op. cit, p.90
38 Letter to Henri Guilloux, Ankara, 18 December 1972
in Prague in Czech. Saygun however was still bitter against the French authorities for not considering any of his works for performance; he wrote to Guilloux: “Life goes on without a great change; my works are performed in Australia and South Africa, but not in France!” He was beginning to feel tired of endless struggles to have his works performed and of lobbying for recognition. In fact during an international composers competition in Trieste another juror, a Mr Tony Aubain, invited Saygun to Paris saying: “your music needs to be known in Paris”, to which he replied: “I wonder if it is not too late for me to make these efforts to make myself known?”.41

It seems that despite being awarded the honour of State Artist, Saygun continued to feel depressed about the fact that his music was not appreciated in his native country either by fellow musicians or the authorities. In fact when a series of concerts was organised in Izmir in 1977 to mark his seventieth birthday, he found it amusing and ironic that the idea for this did not come from musicians or musical establishments, but instead from others who had nothing to do with music. At his eightieth birthday, which was marked by a similar series of concerts, but more significantly with a symposium on his life and works, his attack on the state was direct and even stronger: “I have composed five operas. The first one [Özsoy] was only revived 50 years after its premiere in 1934. The second one [Taşbebek] has not been touched ever since its premiere, which was also in 1934. My third opera Kerem was staged in 1953 with great difficulties and since, for 33 years, has never been touched. Koroğlu, my fourth opera was twice performed under unsatisfactory conditions. My fifth [Gilgameş] has not been performed at all. Maybe the same is also true for other composers’ works. Imagine a minister for culture who says that he does not understand art and has no time for it. He has

39Ibid.
40[La vie continue son course sans grand changement. Mes compositions se jouent un peu par-ci, par-la, y compris l’Australia et l’Afrique du Sud, évidemment à l’exception de France!]. Ibid. (Even towards the end of his life Saygun’s final wish was to be able to go back to Paris, which never materialised: “I was hoping to come to Paris. Unfortunately the ups and downs of life do not allow me to realise this beautiful dream [...] Paris, France, which I consider my second intellectual fatherland has completely forgotten me”; Je gardais l’espoir de revenir à Paris. Les vicissitudes de la vie ne m’ont pas permis, hélas, la réalisation de ce beau rêve [...]. Paris, la France que je considérais comme ma seconde patrie intellectuelle m’a complètement oublié], Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 7 May 1990)
41[Je me demande s’il n’est pas trop tard pour moi de faire des efforts pour me faire connaître?], Letter to Henri Guilloux, Istanbul, 12 December 1975
42Letter to Henri Guilloux, Istanbul, 31 December 1977

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personally told me this in the company of many people. What can one expect?". These views were also echoed in a letter written to Henriette Guilloux soon after the symposium: "It is true that my music is played rarely, also in my own country. Unfortunate, but true. My only consolation is that I have been able to create something that touches the people of my country".44

It seems that this feeling of alienation was at the same time partly due to a form of self-doubt which is detectable in the following sentences written to Henri Guilloux: “On New Year’s day, people are happy and joyful. I feel extremely sad thinking that the days I could have used better will never come back”.45 Saygun knew well that his music was unfashionable in a musical world to which he believed the current contemporary trends brought degeneration: “Regarding the musical life, the state which it is in does not interest me at all. I have had enough of the pompous nonsense which the cheats dress up in names; in laughable epithets such as ‘prepared music’ or ‘computer music’, etc. Maybe I am too old to appreciate these miracles. Maybe the people of this genre create music which is well suited to the atomic bomb, for the horror of humanity, killing tens of thousands of innocent people and respond well to the unreasonableness of the astronomic age!”.46 Although Saygun does not name any composers, we can assume from earlier evidence that he is referring to those like Boulez and Stockhausen and

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43[Benim yazıdığım beş opera var. Birincisi 1934 senesinde yazılmıştır - 50. yıldönümü münasebetiyle çalındı [...] ikincisi 1934 senesinden beri temsil edilmemiştir. Kerem opera"

44[Qui, Henriette, bien que ma musique se joue rarement, même dans mon pays, je constate que, malgré tout, j’ai pu faire quelque chose qui a pu toucher les gens de mon pays, C’est là ma seule consolation], Letter to Henriette Guillox, Istanbul, 5 April 1987

45[Àujour’hui les gens se sentent, gais et joyeux. Quant à moi, rien ne me divertit. Je me sens plutôt triste, en pensant que j’aurais pu mieux employer les jours qui ne sont plus à revenir], Letter to Henri Guillox, Istanbul, 14 December 1976

46[C]ar la vie musicale, surtout à l’État où elle est [...] actuellement, ne m’intéresse guère. J’ai assez de ces galimatias qui nous sont fourris par les fourbes dans des noms, des épithètes par même drolatiques [...] que musique préparée, ‘computer’ music etc... Peut-être je suis trop vieux pour pouvoir apprécier ces miracles. Peut-être ces gens-là font, créent la musique qui convient bien à la bombe atomique qui, pour l’horreur de l’humanité peut tuer d’un seul bond des dizaines de milliers de gens innocents, ou qui répondent bien aux exigences de l’époque astronaughtique!], Ibid.
In fact at a concert he attended in Munich, given by the BBC Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Pierre Boulez, Saygun made the following observation: “He is not bad as a conductor, but his work is not worth anything. It is scored for mandolin, guitar, vibraphone, harp, clarinet and strings, and loses interest after two minutes, which keeps repeating itself monotonously for the rest of the half hour. We managed to survive”. Further evidence showing Saygun’s feelings of being out of step with the rest of the musical world is found in a letter to Henriette Guilloux: “Elsewhere the new generation of composers presents electronic or computer music. It is this kind of music which is in fashion at the moment. What I do, according to them, is already out of date, dead”.

Saygun’s isolation from contemporary musical trends could be compared with the later life of Sibelius who, as mentioned earlier, had authorised the award of a medal bearing his name to be given to the Turkish composer. The difference however lies in the fact that, unlike Sibelius, Saygun seems to have preferred this kind of alienation and continued to compose, by saying: “I do not stop! I do not stop working, [because] it is my only consolation”, and “I realise very much that the solitary life suits me [...] after the fourth symphony, I wrote a trio for oboe, clarinet and piano [Op. 55], the second book of Ağtılark for tenor solo and male chorus [Op. 54], and a Ritual Dance for orchestra [Op. 57]. I continue my studies on traditional Turkish music, which will form the third volume of my Modal Music: that book would have really interested our late Master [Eugène Borrel]”. Another product of the same period was the viola concerto,

47 “It is sad that I have no relations with France anymore. France always prefers the musical styles of Boulez and Stockhausen or Nono!”. Letter to Henri Guilloux, Ankara, 30 March 1964
48 [Şef olarak fena değil, fakat eseri beş para etmez. Mandolin, gitar, vibrafon, arp, klarinet, yayhıncı, ilh. içi yazılanın ikinci dakikadan itibaren bütün sürprizini kaybeden ve yarım saat kendini tekrarlayan monoton mu monoton bir eser. Neyse dayandık], Letter to Nülifer, Marquartstein, 5 March 1971 (Saygun does not specify the name of Boulez’s composition)
49 [la nouvelle génération de compositeurs ne present qu’à faire de la musique aléatoire, électronique [...] ou bien ils se servent de computers etc. Et c’est le genre de musique qui est à la mode à présent. Ça que je fais, c’est, d’après eux, déjà périmé, mort-né], Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 23 April 1984
50 [je ne m’arrete point, je ne cesse pas de travailler, ma seule consolation], Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 4 June 1980
51 […je réalise beaucoup mieux que la vie solitaire me convient. Je ne fais que travailler: après une quatrième symphonie, j’ai écrit un trio pour hautbois, clarinette et piano, le 2ème cahier des ‘Lamentations’ pour ténor solo et chœurs d’hommes, une Danse Rituelle pour orchestre, etc... Et je continue mes études sur la musique traditionelle Turque qui formera le troisième volume de ma ‘Musique Modale’. Ce livre aurait beaucoup intéressé notre regrette Maître], Letter to Henri Guilloux, Istanbul 12 December 1975
which was completed on 10 February 1977, and premiered in Ankara on 28 April 1978 by Ruşen Güneş, and the PSO.

4.4 Epic on Atatürk and Anatolia:

Despite a second military coup in September 1980, Turkey prepared herself for the grand celebrations being organised to mark the centenary of Atatürk’s birth in the following year. The state, under military rule, took this opportunity to commission works of art from eminent Turkish artists to commemorate this important occasion in the country’s history. Awards were given to those successful musicians, painters and writers who had contributed significantly to the country’s cultural life since the proclamation of the republic, and who had produced outstanding works inspired by Atatürk and his reforms. Saygun was amongst this group which was invited to Ankara in January 1981 to receive the Atatürk award from the head of the state General Kenan Evren personally. Being a great supporter of Atatürk’s reforms, and a defender of his republic, he was also determined to contribute personally to the centenary celebrations, which resulted in the publication of a book on Atatürk and his music policy entitled Atatürk ve Músiki, and also a large scale work for chorus and orchestra in praise of the reforms and Atatürk’s republic which he called Atatürk ve Anadolu’ya Destan (Epic on Atatürk and Anatolia).

It had always been Saygun’s desire to compose a work which told the story of the Turkish war of liberation. He said: “After becoming a composer I have always wanted to express musically those sad days which eventually came to an end with the liberation of the country. My father used to want me to do this as well. This could not have been achieved with a purely orchestral work such as a symphony or a symphonic poem. I needed a text that was going to reflect the bitter experiences of the Turks and depict their journey in the path of enlightenment”. At first Saygun thought of setting a

52 Although Saygun particularly emphasised that the work was not commissioned either by the government or the Turkish State Radio and Television but was written on his own will (Saygun’s unpublished notes given to me by Sadun Tanju, 13/6, 7 and 8, p. 4), in a letter he referred to the work as a commission he had accepted to compose on the occasion of Atatürk’s centenary. (Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 18 April 1982)


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poem by Nazım Hikmet, entitled *Kurtuluş Savaşı Destanı*, the “Epic of the War of Independence”. He had met Hikmet in the 1930’s and later in Moscow in 1963 just before the poet’s death and had always admired his poetry, in particular the Epic. After considering the poem and concluding that it was not suitable for setting to music, Saygun decided to write his own text, just as he had done for his opera *Gilgamesh*. Saygun started work on the “epic drama”, as he called it, in 1980 and by June of that year he informed Guilloux that he was nearly coming to the end of the final scene, although he did not specify whether this was the text or the music. Lasting nearly two hours and divided into fifteen movements, the epic was even longer than *Yunus Emre*, but like the mystic oratorio it had arias, recitatives and impressive choruses. It was composed under strenuous conditions; at the time the composer was suffering from a cataract and his sister-in-law, being paralysed, was taken into hospital. “I compose at the hospital amongst all the suffering [...] For months I have been working until late at night: composing, preparing the piano reduction, indispensable for rehearsals, correcting the orchestral and choral parts and rehearsing with the soloists. All this has exhausted me”, he wrote to Henriette Guilloux. It was Saygun’s greatest desire that his epic should become the musical reflection of a revival of Atatürkism in Turkey at the time under the military rule. “I did not expect any financial profit from this work, it is going to be my personal gift to the Turkish nation” he once said.

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54 Nazım Hikmet was a famous Turkish poet who was imprisoned for his sympathetic views towards communism, later finding refuge in communist Russia.

55 Saygun’s unpublished notes given to me by Sadun Tanju, 13/6,7 and 8, p. 3

56 “Finally without laying any claims to being a poet, as I had done form my other works, I decided to write my own text, in which I avoided naming any specific person or place, with the exception of the regions of Marmara and the Mediterranean”; [Nihayet, şaırlık iddiam asla olmaksızın daha önce de bazı eserlerim için yaptığım gibi, yazacağım müziğin sözlerini kendim yazmaya karar verdim. Yazımda bir defa Akdeniz, bir defa da Marmara’dan başka hiç bir yöre ve şahıs adı kullanmadım], (Saygun’s unpublished notes given to me by Sadun Tanju, 13/6,7 and 8, p. 4)

57 Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 4 June 1980

58 [Je composais à l’hôpital, centre diverses souffrance [...] Pensez que je continue encore à composer. Ça fait que depuis des mois je ne dors qu’après minuit, tard dans la nuit: je compose, je fais la réduction pour piano, indispensable pour les répétitions, je corrige les parties d’orchestre et de choeurs, je travaille avec les solistes. Tout ceci m’a épuisé], Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 18 April 1982

59 [Maddi hiçbir isteğim yoktu. Bu yazım Türk vatannı benim, güclüm yeğtigince, bir armağanım idi], The notes given by Saygun to Sadun Tanju, 13/6,7 and 8, p. 5
Although Saygun tried to finish the epic in 1981, in time for the Atatürk centenary, he was not able to do so until the following year.\(^6^0\) In trying to schedule a premiere for the work, he was also faced with the usual difficulties: there was not a single state choir or orchestra interested in giving the first hearing. Frustrated with the situation, Saygun wrote a letter of complaint to the Head of State General Kenan Evren and also sent him a copy of the text of the epic. Convinced, Evren gave orders for the necessary preparations for the premiere of the work.\(^6^1\) The premiere of the *Epic on Atatürk and Anatolia* finally took place in Ankara on the 27th of December 1982, to coincide with the sixty-third anniversary of Atatürk’s arrival in that city, just as *Taşbebek* had been performed forty-eight years earlier. Saygun was pleased with the concert: the work had a great impact on people as he had anticipated; “people were deeply moved and there were even some crying with excitement” he later remembered.\(^6^2\) On finding that General Evren had not attended the premiere, however, he was deeply hurt: The general, instead of attending the premiere or the repeat concert which took place two days later, went to hear a traditional Turkish music concert instead.\(^6^3\) In fact after making his bitter feelings known to the authorities Saygun was invited to a private meeting with the general, when he told him his views on traditional Turkish music in the following words: “He asked me questions about certain topics. One of them was about monophonic Ottoman music. I told him exactly that this kind of music had reached its peak before the arrival of the twentieth century, but that now was time for a new style of Turkish music based on polyphony and rooted in Turkish folk-music and Ottoman art music [...] I wonder if our Head of State saw me as an enemy of our traditional music. I never wanted to believe this”\(^6^4\). This account shows that the seventy-four-year-old Saygun was still ardently defending the music policies of the early reform years.

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\(^{60}\) [The Epic] was for last year, but I could not finish it. At the moment it has been decided to perform it in June [which was also further delayed by six months]. (Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 18 April 1982)

\(^{61}\) Saygun’s unpublished notes given to me by Sadun Tanju, 13/6,7 and 8, p. 6

\(^{62}\) Ibid., pp. 6-7

\(^{63}\) Ibid., p. 7

4.5 The grand old man of Turkish music:

Before beginning work on the epic, Saygun had started a new symphony in the spring of 1980, which he had very much hoped to finish by the end of the year. The symphony, which became his fifth, was not to be finished until 1984 however, because of time spent on the epic, his failing eye sight and his sister-in-law’s illness. For four years, the symphony “rested on my desk without my being able to write a single note”. It was eventually completed on 20 September 1984 and premiered on 17 January 1986 in Ankara. The fifth symphony was followed by the second piano concerto, requested by one of his former pupils Gülsin Onay to be played by her at a concert at Radio Frankfurt. With the prospect of a premiere ahead, Saygun completed the concerto on 27 December 1985 in less than six months and dedicated it to Onay. The concerto’s scheduled premiere in Germany however, never took place and instead Saygun had to wait for four years before it was played in his native city, by the Izmir State Symphony Orchestra on 15 December 1989, with the dedicatee at the piano. In the meantime however, Saygun did achieve an important German success, when Yunus Emre was premiered in Bremen with the Frankfurt Symphony Orchestra and a choir from Hamburg, sung in German. In 1986, his first symphony was also performed in Britain for the first time, though not initiated by the composer. A bassoon player in the Northern Sinfonia, Ronald Thordycraft, who had discovered the symphony fifteen years earlier and tried to schedule it then without much success, finally persuaded his orchestra to programme it. The first symphony was included in a series titled the ‘Contact
Concerts’, this particular one entitled “Greek and Turk”, along with works by Skalkottas and Spohr’s Notturno Op. 34 for wind band and Turkish percussion instruments. In November 1986 Saygun was also approached about the possibility of producing a recording of Yunus Emre. Until that time there were no proper recording facilities in Turkey to allow for recordings of the works of contemporary composers to be produced. The oratorio had been recorded during its American premiere in 1958 with Stokowski conducting, but was never released under a label. In fact the 1986 recording did not take place in Turkey either, it was the Hungarians who agreed to produce and release it under the Hungaraton label. The Budapest Symphony Orchestra accompanied the Hungarian Radio TV Chorus, who sang the oratorio in German, in what became Saygun’s first commercially-available recording.

By this stage Saygun was beginning to get much wider publicity in Soviet block countries: his first piano concerto was performed during a contemporary music festival in Warsaw between 20 and 28 September 1985 and was well received, and with the help of a Russian conductor friend, Veronica Dudarova, who conducted the Turkish state orchestras regularly, a concert was arranged in Moscow dedicated entirely to his works. The performance, which included Dictum Op. 49, the violin concerto and the fourth symphony, took place at the Tchaikovsky Hall on the evening of the 6th of February 1986, in the presence of the composer, under Dudarova’s baton. Following the concert Saygun was taken to the Union of Soviet Composers where he spoke about tendencies and problems in modern music. The Soviet authorities also offered to publish some of his works, starting with the violin concerto. In the late eighties there were further musical exchanges with the Russians and other Soviet republics, so much so that Saygun felt the need to explain to Henriette Guilloux that he was not a communist. In Moscow he attended a musicology conference, where the Kalinin quartet gave an

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years before Saygun’s symphony was accepted again!” (Letter from Ronald Thomdycraft to Halit Refiğ, 26 September 1986, BUSA)

71See entry in the catalogue raisonné in Part III

72“[The first piano concerto] was received well. I am astonished [since it is an avant-garde festival [...] a Polish composer [...] told me that for some time public interest was diminishing towards [avant-garde] works [...] my concerto has none of these avant-gardiste conceptions. Maybe that is why it was received well”. (Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 30 October 1985)

73The concert programme survives at the BUSA, Saygun also refers to the concert in a letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 23 April 1986

74Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 23 April 1986

75Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 29 October 1987
admirable performance of his third string quartet, before going to Baku to conduct the
third symphony.76 During his stay in the Soviet Union Saygun also visited Samarkand,
Tashkent and Pendjikent and received a telegram from the director of the Leningrad
Festival inviting him to attend a concert the following May, where the third symphony
was to be included in the programme.77 He accepted the offer, quickly making plans to
go via Hamburg in order to visit the new German publishing house, Peer Musikverlag,
who had taken over the publication rights of his works from Southern Music.78 He also
hoped to visit Paris, though he had no great hopes, knowing that ‘the gates of France
have been hermetically sealed against my music. I would die to try and find a publisher
[there]’.79 On 23 May 1988 Saygun’s third symphony was performed at the Leningrad
International Festival of contemporary music. Of all the festivals Saygun had attended,
this was undoubtedly the most prestigious, with composers from forty-three countries
around the world, including figures like Cage, Nono and Berio participating personally.
Although Saygun would not have associated himself with such avant-garde composers,
he nevertheless valued the recognition and he was pleased with the concert: “The
Leningrad Orchestra played [the third symphony] very well, because it is a very difficult
work: the second movement is difficult in terms of achieving good musical
interpretation and the third movement in terms of technical precision and accuracy”.80

In the spring of 1986 Saygun started work on a set of variations for orchestra,
which was completed on 17 May and dedicated to İhsan Doğramacı, who as president of
the Higher Education Council (YÖK) was showing great interest in him and his works.
“In our artistically and musically barren country a new source of hope has been
delivered in your hands” Saygun wrote to him.81 It was in fact Doğramacı who later
invited Saygun to become professor of composition at Bilkent University in 1990 and
following the composer’s death in 1991 initiated the foundation of an archive and
research centre on his life and works (BUWA). After the variations for orchestra, Saygun
composed a Poem for three pianos, which was a commission from Germany by

76Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 27 December 1987
77Ibid.
78Ibid.
79Ibid.
80Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 23 February 1988
81[Memleketimizin gittikçe çöralaşan sanat ve musiki toprağında sizin ellerinizle yeni bir ümid kaynağı
fişkırım oldu], Letter to İhsan Doğramacı, İstanbul, 25 December 1989, BUWA
Bernhard Ebert. The only work he had written for similar forces was a Ballade for two pianos Op. 56, composed ten years earlier. Saygun was not certain whether to write the Poem for three or four pianos, with or without orchestral accompaniment.\textsuperscript{82} Finished on 16 December, as a one movement work for three pianos only, the Ballade was premiered in Hanover the following month at a concert which also included works by Hindemith and other German composers.\textsuperscript{83}

Sadly, at a time when he was receiving more commissions than ever before and his works were being performed at more prestigious festivals, Saygun's health began to fail. Nearly eighty-one years old, following the tiring journey to Leningrad and the excitement there he was exhausted and as a result became ill: “On the way back from Leningrad to Moscow, I realised there was something wrong with my body. As soon as I arrived in Istanbul I saw my doctor. I had tests. Fortunately there is nothing serious” \textsuperscript{84} In reality this was the beginning of two years of continual pain which finally led to his death in 1991. All the letters written to Henriette Guilloux after this period refer to health problems, physical pain and suffering. Amongst this trauma Saygun still continued to compose, and started work on a large scale ballet in three acts entitled \textit{Kumru Efsanesi} (the turtledove’s legend), which took him two years to finish. The ballet was based on a folk-legend which told the story of a tailor who made a robe for the sultan, who did not like the garment and turned the maker into a turtle-dove. For musical imagery Saygun made a meticulous study of the sounds made by the turtle-doves. “Turtle-doves are funny birds that change [their singing] from one place to the other”, he wrote to Henriette Guilloux, also providing her with notations.\textsuperscript{85} Half way through its composition Saygun’s health deteriorated even more, but he was still thinking of the legend and fearing he might never be able to complete it: “I don’t think I will be able to finish the ballet [the turtle-dove legend]. Poor bird, poor Adnan, who makes captivating

\textsuperscript{82}Letter to Bernhard Ebert, Istanbul, 4 April 1986, BUSA
\textsuperscript{83}Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 5 April 1987
\textsuperscript{84}[C’est que, de retour de Leningrade à Moscou j’ai senti qu’il y a quelque chose avec ma santé. Sitôt arrivé à Istanbul je suis allé voir mon médecin: analyses de toutes espèces [...] Heureusement que ce n’était pas grave], Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 17 July 1988
\textsuperscript{85}[Ils sont drôles ces oiseaux dont le roucoulement change d’un endroit à l’autre]. Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 6 October 1988
projects without success. I am sad, sad”. 86 The ballet, however, was finally completed on 8 March 1990. Amongst all his physical suffering Saygun also succeeded in composing a sonata for piano, a ‘cello concerto and made a start on a string quartet: “Also in my lamentable situation I have been able to write a sonata for the piano. Perhaps it doesn’t have any musical value, but those quarter hours that I spent over it relieved me a little” 87

Towards the end of 1990 Saygun’s health deteriorated even further. On his death bed he was still trying to compose from time to time, but unfortunately the fourth quartet was left incomplete. Just an hour before his death in Istanbul on 6th January 1991, the pianist Gulsin Onay was with him; they worked together, proof-reading the score of the piano sonata which was about to be published in Germany. 88 It is ironic that even in his final letter to Henriette Guilloux Saygun was still thinking of Stokowski and Yunus Emre: “They like Stokowski’s interpretation of Yunus Emre and are thinking of producing a [re-mastered] copy of it on disc […] Isn’t that funny that they have not forgotten a concert which took place thirty-two years ago?!” 89 In fact, quite extraordinarily, a desire Saygun wished to fulfil during his entire lifetime: the performance of Yunus Emre in St Sophia in Istanbul, was finally fulfilled in his absence only nine days after his death. It created an uproar amongst the Islamic fundamentalist groups, but the concert nevertheless took place under the patronage of the then President Turgut Ozal on 15 January 1991. Saygun’s life-long philosophy based on creating a synthesis between the East and the West could not have been emphasised at a better occasion. Following a state funeral, the closing verse from Yunus Emre was also appropriately inscribed on his grave-stone: “My hour has come the time is ripe, brimming o’er is the cup of life, which all must drink in Thy good time, To Thee Oh

86 [je ne penser qu’à compléter le ballet. Pauvre oiseau […] et [...] pauvre Adnan qui fais des projets captivants sans réussir à les réaliser à vrai dire, je suis triste, triste], Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 27 March 1989
87 [de mon état lamentable je me fis à écrire une sonate pour le piano. Elle n’aura peut-être aucune valeur musicale, mais les quelques quarts-d’heures que je passe là-dessus me soulagent un peu], Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 7 May 1990
88 An interview with Gulsin Onay, Istanbul, April 1997
89 [Il préfère l’interprétations de Stokowski et suggère l’idée de refaire de la bande originale une bonne copie à l’intention d’un disque […] N’est-ce pas que’t’il est drôle qu’il n’a pas oublié le concert qui a eu lieu il y a 32 ans?!”], Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 15 July 1990

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Lord I stretch my hands”.90 Perhaps Saygun was correct when he said to Henriette Guilloux that his only consolation was that he had been able to create something that touched the people of his country.91

90 [Ecel geldi vade erdi, bu ömrüm kadehi doldu, Kimdir ki içmedin kaldı? Allah sana sundum elim], (Translated by Willert Beale)
91 See footnote 44
PART II
CHAPTER V
Formative years

5.1 The influence of the Schola Cantorum:

When he arrived at the Schola Cantorum as a pupil in Vincent d’Indy’s class, Saygun was by no means a complete beginner; he had successfully passed an entrance examination, and had already accumulated adequate knowledge in harmony, counterpoint and form through the textbooks he translated.1 As a student composer, he had already attempted to compose works in most traditional genres, including a classical symphony2 and a string quartet, which was left unfinished.3 It was the Schola Cantorum, however, which offered Saygun the necessary training and skill - based in the tradition of German composers - that shaped so much of his early style and later developed into a more personal inner voice in maturer works.4 As will become evident in this chapter, Saygun not only became a disciple of the Schola Cantorum in its musical training, but also reflected the philosophy of Vincent d’Indy in his own style on his return to Turkey.5

D’Indy was a traditionalist at heart and his Schola Cantorum teaching methods were centred on this aura of respect and reverence for tradition. Even Saint-Saëns, who

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1See Chapter I, p. 20
2The symphony is in D major and has only three movements. It is scored for an orchestra of double woodwind, brass and strings. The first movement in sonata form opens with a slow introduction leading to an Allegro. The lyrical slow movement is followed by an Allegro con brio finale. (BUSA)
3The string quartet has a French title - Quatuor: I, and starts in B minor. It is incomplete and sketchy in places. (BUSA)
4D’Indy’s enthusiasm for German music was also reflected in his teaching methods at the Schola Cantorum. Orledge observes that: “Through Franck and Duparc [d’Indy] was introduced to German music, including Wagner, and that summer [of 1873] he toured the Germanic countries, meeting Liszt at Weimar, seeing Wagner at Bayreuth, and gaining valuable insights into contrapuntal music and teaching methods”. (Robert Orledge on Vincent d’Indy in The New Grove, vol. 9, p. 221)
5In 1935 Mahmut Ragıp described Adnan [Saygun] in the following words: “Poor Ahmed Adnan is nicknamed a ‘plan-maker’ because he is from the Schola Cantorum”. [Ahmet Adnan’a gelince, o bicareye ‘plançı’ diye ad takılması sebebi Schola Cantorum’lu olmasıdır], Mahmud Ragıp [Gazimihal], ‘Bestekarlanmazn düşünçeleri’, Müzik ve Sanat Hareketleri, September 1934, p.11
attacked d'Indy on different grounds, such as his devout religious approach,\(^6\) agreed with him on this issue when he said: “art is the home of freedom, but freedom is not the anarchy that is now fashionable both in literature and in the arts”\(^7\) and continued “[M d’Indy] is right in advocating respect for tradition without which art is like a tree that has no roots, and he does well in blaming the search after originality at all costs”.\(^8\) It seems that it was particularly d’Indy’s approach towards tradition which attracted Saygun to his classes in the first place, while these values were even more strongly shaped in his mind during those three years. In the field of arts Saygun was always an ardent defender of traditional values himself. In fact this is proven in a letter, written when he was seventy-three years old, which almost reflects Saint-Saëns’s philosophy, where Saygun says: “The progress man has made in the field of technology is fantastic […] obviously in art there is no question of talking about progress”.\(^9\)

A brief look into d’Indy’s monumental work in four volumes, the *Cours de Composition musicale*, will be a good starting point to investigate the kind of musical training Saygun might have had himself exposed to in his classes. According to d’Indy, it was important for a composer to have knowledge in all earlier musical styles before embarking on writing his own work. This is evident from the Preface to the *Cours*, where he says: “The intention of the present work is to give the student who wishes to earn the title of creative artist, a logical knowledge of his art by means of a theoretical study of musical forms, and the application of this theory to the principal works of the master musicians, examined in their chronological order”.\(^10\) The course covered a very wide repertory going back to the monodic period from the third to the thirteenth centuries followed by the polyphonic period, the Baroque, Classical and the Romantic eras. In d’Indy’s *Cours*, these topics were introduced under such headings as the

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\(^6\)Saint-Saëns described this as “[M d’Indy] ascends higher and ever higher until we suffer from vertigo as we follow him, and find that he places art on a level with religious faith, demanding from the artist the three theological virtues - faith, hope and charity - and not only faith in art, but faith in God! We may remark that Perugini and Berlioz, who were lacking in this faith, were none the less admirable artists, even in the religious style”. Camille Saint-Saëns: ‘The Ideas of M. Vincent d’Indy’, *Outspoken Essays on Music*, p. 2

\(^7\)Camille Saint-Saëns: *op. cit.*, p. 6

\(^8\)Ibid., p. 20

\(^9\)[Il est vraiment fantastique ce progrès que l’homme a su réaliser dans le domaine de la technologie […] Evidemment, en l’art, il ne serait pas question de parler du progrès], Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 4 June 1980

\(^10\)Norman Demuth: *Vincent d’Indy Champion of Classicism*, p. 23
Renaissance Motet, the Baroque Fugue or the Classical Sonata, followed by their analysis and method of composition, showing the development of thought inside a composer's mind. The course drew wide-ranging examples from the Masses of Palestrina, the Art of Fugue and the Forty-Eight Preludes and Fugues of J S Bach as well as the sonatas and string quartets of Beethoven, where tonal centres were carefully mapped out against a strict formal analysis with charts and diagrams.¹¹

Since the Schola Cantorum training lasted from seven to ten years, and Adnan [Saygun] was able to stay there for three years only,¹² he was not able to follow the course completely. However the training he received in those three years seems to have exerted an influence on his style in four distinct areas, which can be summarised under the following headings:

1. Religious music: Renaissance polyphonic style and Baroque counterpoint.

2. Modal music derived from Gregorian chant.

3. The cyclic principle of joining movements with inter-connected motives based on the views of César Franck.

4. Folk-music.

As described by Saint-Saëns, the Schola Cantorum was an establishment where d'Indy expected his pupils to have "faith, hope and charity".¹³ Since the school originated as a centre for research in church music,¹⁴ there were strong Catholic

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¹¹Demuth observes that in terms of the sonata principle "the entire question of tonal relationship and formal balance is discussed and d'Indy, using the Hammerklavier sonata as his example, shows the growth of the initial idea to its fullest expansion [...] He takes the student through each type of movement separately, pointing out exactly how the themes are balanced and opposed to each other". (Norman Demuth: op. cit., p. 32).

¹²See Chapter I, p. 26

¹³Camille Saint-Saëns: op. cit., p. 2

¹⁴At a meeting held on 6 June 1894 at Saint-Gervais, it had been decided to name the establishment as La Société de Propagande pour la Divulgation de Chefs-d'Oeuvres Religieux. Funds were raised "as if it were a campaign for one of the religious orders", and its premises on Rue Saint-Jacques had once been occupied by a group of English Benedictine nuns. (Laurence Davies: César Franck and His Circle, p. 285-6)
tendencies surrounding the twenty-one-year-old Adnan. At the Schola Cantorum, as well as studying the masses of Palestrina in detail, the pupils were also given a chance to hear a large amount of church music particularly from the Renaissance period. As Andrew Thomson observes: “The sheer scale and scope of these concerts was remarkable for this period [1900’s], and provided an illustration of the Schola’s published aims: namely, the return to the Gregorian tradition, the upholding of the style of Palestrina, the creation of modern religious music inspired by the Gregorian and Palestinian traditions”.

At the Schola Cantorum, Adnan became a counterpoint pupil of Paul Le Flem (1881-?), who had succeeded Albert Roussel in the same post. By looking at the surviving Paris manuscripts which are kept at BUSA, it is clear that the majority of Adnan’s coursework at the Schola Cantorum comprised settings of sixteenth century polyphonic motets in the style of Palestrina. These are corrected and signed by Le Flem and show a thorough grasp and understanding of the subject on Adnan’s part. The exercises contain very few mistakes and show a comfortable flow of thought in the student’s mind. Le Flem in fact was later to describe Adnan as “a brilliant pupil of my course”. The other area in which Saygun received tuition was Baroque contrapuntal techniques, soon learning to write fugues, inventions and canons. There is also evidence amongst the coursework which proves that Adnan thoroughly studied fugal writing in great detail. In fact it should be mentioned that all of his surviving coursework, which is meticulously prepared, shows a very disciplined student at work. When the polyphonic choral writing in Yunus Emre and in Saygun’s operas, or the predominantly contrapuntal texture in his quartets and symphonic works are taken into account, it would be correct to assume that these stylistic qualities are definitely the hallmarks of a Schola Cantorum education.

As will be explained in the following chapters a general characteristic of Saygun’s works is that they are based on a particular modal idiom, which is derived from the traditional Turkish modes known as makams, and substituted by the corresponding medieval church modes. By taking certain scales from these makams Saygun builds up motivic cells, which then form the basis of his melodic and harmonic
language. It appears that Saygun was channelled into this way of thinking as early as his Schola Cantorum years. The Schola Cantorum after all gave great emphasis to the study of old church modes, as Demuth describes: "d'Indy [in his Cours] gives the full analysis of Gregorian melodies and shows how they are constructed, at the same time suggesting to the imaginative reader their connection with variation". More importantly, during his years at the Schola Cantorum Saygun received tuition (as a main course, as opposed to just supplementary classes) exploring the modal qualities of Gregorian chant from Amedée Gastue (1873-1943), who had produced valuable research into the origins of Gregorian and older chant repertories. Gastue himself was a prolific composer, particularly of sacred music, where he himself experimented with the modal idiom. Saygun was deeply interested in modal music, most likely as a result of his tutor at the Schola Cantorum; modality was not only restricted to the musical language of his works, but he himself published articles in later years on related topics and was successful in organising a conference on modal music in Turkey in 1974.

Saygun strongly believed in creating a musical inner coherence in his works through joining movements with recurring motivic ideas. While in earlier works these motives tended to appear identically in different parts of the work, in later works they changed shape as the movements enfolded. It is most likely at the Schola Cantorum that Saygun was introduced for the first time to this principle, what he himself later referred to as "the Franckian cyclic principle". With d'Indy’s enthusiasm for César Franck and the German school of composition, the pupils at the Schola Cantorum were shown methods by which to base their compositions on the cyclic idea. Demuth in surveying this tradition observes that "Franck, noticing that certain Beethoven works were

19See Chapter VI, p. 151
20Norman Demuth: op. cit., p. 24
21According to Hiley “Gastue’s work on chant was early recognized to be of major importance, and in 1905 Pope Pius X appointed him consultant to the commission under Pothier for the new Vatican edition of liturgical books […] He was one of the first musicologists to stress the oriental rather than Hellenistic origins of Gregorian chant”. (David Hiley on Amédée Gastue in The New Grove, vol. 7, p. 182)
22Ibid.
24The conference which was chaired by Saygun took place in Istanbul from 22 to 27 June. The papers from the meetings were later published by Ankara University Press in 1975.
25Saygun uses this terminology in describing his first piano concerto, where he says: “In the concerto I have departed from the Franckian cyclic principal”. (From the composer’s own unpublished analytical notes, see entry in the catalogue raisonné for further details)
connected up by means of permutations or fragments of themes, came to the conclusion that this process was a most logical one, and was capable of giving a multi-movement work entire cohesion" and continues by saying that “d’Indy did not impose this process upon his pupils any more than did Franck [...] he split his musicians into two factions - cyclique and anti-cyclique - a situation which if it did not lead to violence of action, certainly lead to violence of argument and to enthusiastic partisanship”.

As well as introducing him to the traditional forms and idioms of European art music, ironically the Schola Cantorum environment seems to have triggered in Adnan an interest towards his own musical culture. Possibly being as far away as France and longing for his homeland, it appears that Adnan began to develop a kind of nostalgic enthusiasm towards exploring Turkish music. The most significant proof of this can be found in the title and the musical language of a work, composed whilst at the Schola Cantorum, which he named *Divertissement Oriental* and listed as his Opus 1. A comparison between the *Divertissement Oriental* and other known childhood works, written prior to the composer’s arrival in France, immediately shows that the earlier works like the symphony and the string quartet not only lacked any local colour or idiom, but in addition were so imitative of a European style that the songs of the childhood phase even had titles in French.

What is important to observe here, however, is that the Schola Cantorum education in its traditional approach did not discourage Adnan’s enthusiasm in this area, but instead encouraged him and showed ways to develop these ideas further. For a start, almost all his teachers at the Schola Cantorum were themselves inspired by folk-music traditions: d’Indy, despite his enthusiasm for German music, was a patriotic Frenchman after all and freely used traditional French songs in his works, most famously in his

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26 Norman Demuth: *op. cit.*, p. 32
27 Ibid., pp. 34-35
28 This work later became to be known as *Divertimento*. However the autograph score shows that Saygun originally named it as *Divertissement Oriental*, which was later crossed out and replaced by *Divertimento*. (BUSA)
29 In a letter to MahmutRGazimihal, Borrel describes the *Divertissement Oriental* as having Anatolian themes. (MahmutRGazimihal: ‘Ahmed Adnan’, *Müzik ve Sanat Hareketleri*, June 1935, p. 6)
30 See Chapter I, p. 21
Similarly, Le Flem set to music many traditional Breton folk-songs from his own homeland, and the Borrels, who had become mentors for Adnan, believed that the future of Turkish music lied in the roots of folk-music tradition and were not hesitant to encourage him in that direction. In fact, having lived in Turkey, Eugène Borrel had done valuable research into the origins of traditional Turkish music, later publishing some of his findings. It is clear that some of Adnan’s views on the origins of traditional Turkish music took shape in France, even before he started travelling around Turkey collecting folk-songs in the 1930’s. The principal view he held for all his life, that the origins of Turkish modes came from the ancient Greeks, in many ways echoes the beliefs of his teacher Eugène Borrel. Borrel in his article entitled *La musique turque* shows in great detail the relationships between the ancient Greek modes and the Turkish *makams*. In Paris Adnan was also amongst other Turkish musicians, most importantly the musicologist Mahmud Raghp, who was already publishing about Turkish music in French journals and was later to become one of Turkey’s most important ethnomusicologists.

His oriental background, having being brought up in a Turkish family in an Islamic country, did not cause Adnan any problems in a Catholic establishment like the Schola Cantorum. Rather than resenting the missionary atmosphere around him, he looked for ways of creating a synthesis. An undated sketch of a polyphonic motet discovered amongst the Paris materials at BUSA is an important proof which shows the young composer in search of originality. The composition not only reflects the religious

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31 As Thomson describes, one of the cyclic themes in the symphony was based on an “actual mountain song heard by d’Indy in the Cévennes”. (Andrew Thomson: *op. cit.*, p. 66)
32 According to Anne Giradot “[Le Flem’s] early works have a gracious melancholy that reflects the landscape of his native Brittany; this quality continued to form an important constituent of his music, as in the choral fable *Aucassin et Nicolette* (1908) and the dramatic piece *Le rossignol de St Malo* (1938)”. (Anne Giradot on Paul Le Flem in *The New Grove*, vol. 10, p. 608)
33 After the premiere of *Yunus Emre* in Paris in 1947, Borrel was the first to praise the work for its successful use of Turkish folk-melodies in a Western idiom. (Eugène Borrel: ‘Premieres Audition’, *La Revue Musicale de France*, May 1947)
34 See Eugène Borrel: ‘La musique turque’, *Revue de Musicologie* iii (1922), 149-61, iv (1923), 26-32, 60-70
35 See Chapter VI, p. 152, ff. 55
36 See Eugène Borrel: ‘La musique turque’, *Revue de Musicologie*, vol. 3, 1922, pp. 149-61
37 His research on the history of the organ in Turkey was published in the *Revue de Musicologie* while Saygun was in Paris; see: Raghib (Mahmoud): ‘Descriptions d’orgues données par quelques anciens auteurs turcs’ *Revue de Musicologie*; vol. 10, 1929, pp. 94-104 and vol. 11, 1930, pp. 260-264
impact of the Schola Cantorum on him, but also clearly demonstrates how early the ideas of mixing different cultures began to take shape in his mind, which was later to find full fruition in his oratorio *Yunus Emre*. The motet is extraordinary since its texture is modelled after sixteenth-century polyphony, and yet its verses do not come from the Christian liturgy, but instead from the Koran. Here Adnan sets the verses of the *Fatiha Suresi*, the most sacred sura of Islamic worship.\(^{38}\) Incidentally, although the motet is undated and there are no indications by the composer as to where it was composed, there is evidence which shows that it was written while he was a student in Paris. For a start it was discovered amongst the composer's other coursework and sketches from the Schola Cantorum years, with matching paper and hand-writing. Its phonetic transcription from the Arabic script to the Latin also shows that Adnan is thinking in the French language.\(^{39}\) The word "magdoubou" in bars 57 and 58 for example is definitely based on French sounds in its elongated "ou"s, since in the Turkish language the same word would have been spelt as "madvubu" (see ex. 5.1).

Coming back to the motet itself, the thought of using such highly religious Koranic verses in a Christian musical mould would have been seen as blasphemous and would have deeply upset the orthodox Muslims back in Turkey. In the footsteps of his father, however, Adnan had grown to adopt liberal views towards all religions of the world.\(^{40}\) Although on paper the style in which the motet is written looks like sixteenth century polyphony in its rhythm, stepwise moving vocal lines, tonic-dominant opening entries and traditional clefs, the harmonic language of the work is more individualistic

\(^{38}\)Translated by N. J. Dawood: *The Koran*, p. 9 as:

Praise be to God, Lord of the Universe,
The Compassionate, the Merciful,
Sovereign of the Day of Judgement!
You alone we worship, and to you alone
we turn for help.

Guide us to the straight path,
The path of those whom You have favoured,
Not of those who have incurred Your wrath,
Nor of those who have gone astray.

\(^{39}\)During the language reforms in Turkey in 1928 the Arabic script was replaced with the Latin script. Adnan [Saygun] had already left for Paris by that stage; See Chapter II, p. 34

\(^{40}\)Incidentally it was his father Mehmed Celeliddin who had for so long campaigned for the translation of Koran from Arabic to Turkish, so that it could be understood by all, and also supported Atatürk, who gave orders for the translation of the religious texts and the call to prayer to be in Turkish language, which was a unique reform movement in Islam since the prophet's times. (From a letter by Celeliddin to the *Anadolu* newspaper published on 8 February 1933)
with strong chromaticism and Turkish modal inflections (see ex. 5.1). In bar 10, for example, he places a seventh chord on the beat, while the tenor line in bar 42 is clearly reflective of an eastern mode with its augmented second interval between the notes E and Db. Similarly, the harmonic progression in bar 60 is more post-Romantic in its chromatic sequence, whereas the final cadence in its 4-3-2-3 resolution is typically Baroque. The motet, in miniature form, illustrates Saygun's entire philosophy which forms the basis of his future compositions: the format comes from Western art music and the spirit is derived from Turkish origins. It is thus another proof that these ideas were embedded in his mind from as early as the Schola Cantorum years.

The motet is an unpublished work and was most likely never performed in public. However, the more substantial *Divertissement Oriental*, which was composed and premiered in Paris, also shows the juxtaposition of the East and West in Adnan's emerging style. In the composer's own words "the work is in sonata form, with variations on a theme which is first heard in the saxophone at the opening" (see ex. 5.2). Although Saygun does not give any information on the characteristics of his theme, his teacher Borrel describes it as "Anatolian". In fact when we look at it closely there are two striking qualities about the theme: it is almost like plain-chant in its step-wise metrical movement, and it is modal - definitely a clear reflection of his Schola Cantorum training. As the work unfolds, the theme becomes more complex by becoming more chromatic, yet never losing its step-wise quality. It is at such moments that the florid nature of an Anatolian *uzun hava* is detected. However, this does not seem to be intentional, but treated rather more like a colouring, unlike Yunus Emre, where one finds a more systematic use of the *uzun hava* melodic style. This is natural since the *Divertissement Oriental* is an early work, yet it is striking that certain characteristics of Saygun's style, such as his enthusiasm for modal writing, the hymnodic character of his

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41See Chapter I, p. 31
42The proof of this comes from an unpublished note by the composer written in English (which seems to be at an elementary stage possibly written at the early days of learning the language), where he says: "Even at the earliest days of my musical career I had though vaguely, the feeling that the traditional art music, as well as the folk music of my country are lying on the basis of my musical sensitivity. My Op. 1 was there as a proof of this feeling of mine which became more and more conscious in me", BUSA
43From the composer's own unpublished analytical notes, see entry in the *catalogue raisonné* in Part III.
44Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal: 'Ahmed Adnan', p. 6
45See Chapter VI, p. 164
46Ibid.
melodic lines and the development of thematically related material - hence the variation form - is clearly visible as early as this. Although it is the work of a student composer, Saygun must have been pleased with the result himself, since it was not repudiated like his other student works, but instead is the first item to which he has given an opus number.

Ex. 5.2

5.2 Early compositional techniques: influence of the Republican era:

On his return to Turkey in 1931 Adnan [Saygun] was appointed teacher of counterpoint at the Music Teacher’s Training College in Ankara, where the prospective music teachers of the new Turkish republic were educated to spread the music reforms all across the country. A detailed account of these music reforms, the teaching methods and the conditions at this college were given earlier, in Part I, of this dissertation. It is quite clear that Adnan’s output in these early years (1932-1940) was shaped both by his teaching commitments at the college and the demands that were made from him according to the new republic’s music policy. As well as being asked to compose two operas, Özsoy and Taşbebek, which were strongly related to the regime in their subject matter, Adnan was also responsible for writing music for pedagogic purposes. These were mainly works for a cappella choir, based on harmonisations of traditional folk-songs, which had to reflect the views of the state and serve as teaching materials at schools.

47See chapter II, pp. 40-46
48Adnan’s articles of this period also show his absorption in the folk-song harmonisation process. His first article, published on his return from Paris in 1931, starts with the lines: “It is natural for the artist to use folk-songs in his compositions in order to broaden his horizons”; [Sanatların kültürünü artırmak ve görüşünü genişetmek maksadıyla türkülerden istifade etmesi tabiتنفيذ], (Ahmed Adnan: “Kompozitörün çalışmasına dair”, Musiki Muallim Mektebi Mecmuası, April 1934, p. 3)
49The clearest evidence of this can be found in a letter which was sent to him by the Minister of Education in 1934, where the minister says: “I regret to say that during my inspections at the state schools I have
Harmonisation of folk-songs had been a regular feature particularly in the works of the Russian and Hungarian school, mainly with composers like Bartók and Kodály. In fact Kodály described the reasons for arranging folk-songs as “to enable the general public to get to know and enjoy folk-song” and explained the process in the following words: “In transferring them from the countryside to the town, some such ‘dressing-up’ so to speak, was necessary. But since simply to put them into town clothes would make them awkward and ill at ease, we have tried to design a costume which would enable them to breathe freely”. In the Turkey of the 1930’s, this approach also formed the basis of the music education preached by its most important nationalist philosopher Ziya Gökalp, endorsed by Atatürk.

There was a logical reason behind producing harmonisations of folk-songs for the choirs, since singing was the most obvious medium to convey the new music policy across the population, as the majority of the people did not play any instruments. There was not however, a tradition of collective singing in the villages, and the first aim of the republic was to encourage the formation of choirs through its networks of Halkevi. The material for teaching these choirs had to be easy-

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50 László Eősze: Zoltan Kodaly His Life and Work, p. 132
51 Gökalp suggested that “we shall [...] learn the methods and the techniques of modern music by which we shall harmonise the melodies sung by our people” (Niyazi Berkes: Turkish nationalism and Western civilization: selected essays of Ziya Gökalp, p. 268), which was echoed by Atatürk who said: “We need new musical styles, and this new music will be polyphonic [as opposed to monophonic] and derived from our folk-music”; [Bize yeni bir musiki lazımdır ve bu musiki özünü halk musikisinden alan çok sesli bir musiki olacak]. (Adnan Saygun: Atatürk ve Musiki, p.48)
52 Adnan [Saygun] explains this in his book on music education at Halkevi in great detail, where he says: “Halkevi should encourage people to sing together. It is important to observe that the Turks do not enjoy singing together as a group. In fact both amongst villagers in Anatolia and students at city-schools, solo-singing is more dominant than group-singing. One of them sings a Türkü [a folk-song] and the others listen. Even occasionally when others join in they often sing out of tune [...] This does not mean to say that the Turk does not have an ear for music, it simply shows that they have not been trained to sing as a
to-sing and familiar to the singers. In this respect, the traditional Anatolian folk-songs, which the peasants were already familiar with, were extremely suitable.53

5.3 Folk-song harmonisations:

Therefore it is not surprising to find amongst Adnan’s works of this period such a large amount of compositions for a cappella choir, some of which are based on harmonisations of Anatolian folk-songs. Collections like Çoban Armağanı Op.7, Dağlardan Ovalardan Op.18 and Bir Tutam Kekik Op. 22, amounting to twenty-five songs in all, are all clear examples of this kind of treatment. Other choral works of the same period such as Beş yakarş, a set of five pieces for a cappella choir, “written in a style to enable the public to sing easily”,54 also show the composer’s occupation with writing instructive works of this nature.55 In these harmonisations Adnan seems to follow the logic of Bartók and Kodály. In fact, according to the Hungarian musicologist László Éöszé, Kodály worked to “provide authentic versions of folk-songs with conventional accompaniments. While careful to avoid anything alien to the spirit of folk-song, he was attempting to make this valuable material attractive to a wide public”.56 These views are clearly adopted by Adnan too, who in his article on the future of Turkish music says: “It would be impossible to apply the polyphonic texture of western art music directly to our folk-songs [...] our folk-songs will retain their identity only through a kind of harmony that is derived from within them”.57
These points are also clearly reflected in the folk-song harmonisations themselves. For a start, Adnan never tries to harmonise the melodies in a diatonic idiom. If we take the song Siîle (No.1 from the set Çoban Armağanı Op. 7) as an example, we can see the way in which he creates a harmonic mould to suit the song. Scored for soprano, alto, divisi tenor and divisi bass the melody is set against a continuous drone, which is based on three notes, Bb - F - C, in other words two intervals of a perfect fifth on either side of the common note F (see ex. 5.3). This method of creating drones on bare intervals was of course a very typical and in some ways a traditional way of supplying an accompaniment to folk-songs. Adnan also uses parallel chromatic fourths and fifths, which all add to this kind of traditional colour (see ex. 5.4). The folk-song itself is distributed between the voices, but its treatment is not organic as in Saygun’s later works, but more predictable, always appearing in the original shape (see ex. 5.3). He is also consistent with his application of these methods to different numbers in the set. Long pedal notes also appear in Bebek (No.3 from the set Çoban Armağanı Op. 7), where the basses sing the note G all throughout the work and similarly in Kevenk Yolu (No.5 from the set Çoban Armağanı Op. 7), where the basses and the second tenors create a drone on the notes B, F# and C# (see ex. 5.5). Some of these songs were transcribed by Adnan during his military service,58 and possibly some came from the folk-song collections of the Istanbul Municipal Conservatory.59 Some others, like his Manastır Türküşi Op. 5 for chorus and orchestra, were Atatürk’s favourite folk-songs; this was possibly the principal reason for their harmonisations.60

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58 According to Mahmut Ragıp, the Zilè (Siîle) song in Çoban Armağanı, was transcribed when Adnan was doing his military service. (Mahmut Ragıp [Gazimihal]: ‘Ahmed Adnan’, p. 7)

59 Bartók visited the collection in 1936 (See chapter II, pp. 51-52); Adnan’s analysis of some of these songs like Derebeyi Türküşi were already appearing in journals at the time. (Ahmed Adnan: ‘Derebeyi Türküşi’, Müzik ve Sanat Hareketleri, May 1935, p. 5)

60 The evidence for this is found in Saygun’s book on Atatürk and music, where he says: “We can easily say that the folk-songs or songs of this nature that Atatürk had heard in his childhood or early adolescence formed his valuable music treasury in his sub-conscious. He used to sing some of these with great excitement: these were songs like Bilal Oğlan, which I noted from him, when he used to sing it at countless times or the Manastır Türküşi, which I noted from my pupils when I was not with him, and later from himself too”; [Atatürk ‘ün çocukluğunda ve ilk gençlik çalıçalarında duyun öğrenmiş olduğu türküler veya türküsmü kısa parçaların onun bilinc altına yerleşmiş en değerli musiki hazineleri olduğunu rahatlıkla söyleyebiliriz. Bunların bazıını büyük coşkunlukla söylerdi: ‘Bilal oğlan’ veya kendisinin yakınında değil iken öğrencilerinden, sonra da bizzat kendisinden yazdığım ‘Manastır türküşi’ gibi], (Adnan Saygun: Atatürk ve Musiki, p. 11)
Ex. 5.3

Su Sil-le nin u-fa-k da te-fe-k taş-la-ri gel-i n ge-

ma

lis-i gel-i n gel-i n a man

Solo

Hey

of
tutti

ma

a

man

120
Ex. 5.5

Ke-venk yo-lu bu mu dur ke-venk yo-lu

bu mu dur, Testi do-lu Su mudur Testi do-lu su mu dur,
The influence of folk-song on instrumental works:

Adnan's interests in the field of folk-music naturally infiltrated the musical language of his instrumental works of the same period as well. There are numerous examples of this where one finds the composer setting a traditional dance or a folk-song in a bare idiom in an instrumental piece. The last movement of his Piano Sonatina Op. 15, for example, is based on a traditional dance called Horon from the Black Sea region. The set called Anadolu'dan (from Anatolia) Op. 25 for solo piano contains two traditional dances: Zeybek and Halay, from different regions of Turkey. Similarly one finds other chamber and orchestral works of the period embedded with folk-song-based themes. Both his 'cello and violin sonatas Op. 12 and Op. 20 have movements which clearly reflect the Anatolian folk-dance idiom. His orchestral dance-movement Halay Op. 24 was composed and performed in order to introduce the villagers to the symphonic medium, who in fact danced to it at a performance which took place in the Halkevi in Ankara in 1945.61 His Suite Op. 14 also comprised orchestral arrangements of folk-dances, which was conducted by the British conductor George Weldon in Ankara in 1951.62

The early years were nevertheless a struggle for Saygun to find a comfortable medium through which to express his musical ideas. In no work more than in his Piano Sonatina Op. 15 can the struggle between a European education and an enthusiasm for traditional Turkish music be seen to be exposed in such extreme bare contrasts. If Yunus Emre was a work which pleased Saygun for overcoming that very problem, the sonatina was a composition where he believed that he had failed. The clearest evidence of this appears in an inscription he wrote when he presented a score of the work to Michael Tippett in 1958, where he said: "Be assured that I do not any more write such miserable music".63 The sonatina was also met with harsh criticisms in North American musical

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61 Saygun clearly explains this in the following words: "The halay was a successful trial in trying to discover ways of introducing the peasants to the symphonic medium". (From the composer's own unpublished analytical notes, BUSA).
62 Weldon observed the traditional Turkish aspects of the Suite in the following words: "The first movement of the Suite is in 9/8 divided into an uneven four beats (2+2+2+3), a perfectly simple tune but embellished with a rhythm on a curious Turkish drum played with the hands, the name of which I do not know! [darbuka]". (George Weldon: 'Music in Turkey', Tempo, Summer 1951, p. 29) Weldon also had a difficulty conducting the work; see Chapter III, p. 73
63 [Soyez sûr que je ne fais plus d’aussi miserable musique], An interview with Sir Michael Tippett at Nocketts, March 1996
circles after its publication in 1957. A reviewer in the Canadian Musical Journal saw it as “Near Eastern talent struggling awkwardly with a European idiom not its own”. By the time Saygun started composing the sonatina in 1937, he had written only two works in the pianoforte medium since his return from Paris, which were the Suite Op. 2 and Inci's Book Op. 10, both being collections of short independent movements. In other words Saygun had not attempted to compose in a larger, more substantial form like the sonata. The sonatina in this respect seems to follow the tendencies of the earlier works: it still has a feeling of a collection of short movements, rather than a unit as a sonata or a sonatina. This is seen in the work’s stylistic and structural inconsistencies, such as having a first movement which clearly belongs to a Debussian impressionistic idiom, in contrast to its finale, which is a bare traditional Turkish dance from the Black Sea region, called Horon. This stylistic mixture definitely becomes Saygun’s hallmark in later works, but in a much smoother and assimilated common ground. The sonatina on the other hand is obviously a transitionary work, with a mixture of ideas, which still seem out of place with each other. The first movement opens with a very simple triadic motive which is based around the notes of a pentatonic scale (see ex. 5.6). It is heard as a single line, alluding to the monophonic and pentatonic nature of Turkish folk-songs. What follows is a series of episodes where the style drifts between an almost two-part Bachian invention and a Debussian idiom of thick chordal accompaniments in parallel fifths. It is moments like this, where clarity and subtlety are suddenly taken over by the drowning effects of the chords of sevenths and ninths, that give the sonatina its restlessness, somehow making the work unstable. It is also the way in which these episodes follow each other, more in fragments rather than an organic growth, which gives the sonatina a sense of lack of unity.

Ex. 5.6

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64·New Music', Canadian Musical Journal, 1958, p. 61
65R.K: 'Piano Sonatina by Saygun’, Musical America, 1958, p. 28
The finale of the sonatina, however, is the first instrumental work where Saygun so explicitly recreates a traditional folk-dance, which is also clear from its title-page, marked *Horon*. The dance is linked with the composer's field-trip to the Black Sea region in 1937, which took place a year before the composition of the work. The findings from this trip were later published by the composer in the form of a book entitled *Rize Artvin ve Kars Havalisi Türkü, Saz ve Halk Oyunları*, which on subsequent occasions served him as source material for his compositions.66 It is in fact in this book that Saygun gives an example of the *Horon*67 (see ex. 5.7) and describes it as a very lively and powerful dance, finding “its rhythm very slippery, due to the speed of the dance and the lack of any percussion instruments”.68 Saygun’s *Horon* in the sonatina shows remarkable similarities with the example that is given in the collection. They are both in 7/16 time with unequal divisions of beat in the units and combinations of $2/16 + 2/16 + 3/16$, $2/6 + 3/16 + 2/16$ or $3/16 + 2/16 + 2/16$ (see ex. 5.8). The chromatic appoggiaturas captured by Saygun in the original dance are also clearly part of the melodic as well as the harmonic language of the movement. The drone effects shown in the musical example are also recreated in the sonatina through extended pedals in bare-fifths. An unidentified critic who found the first movement “like the English of an assiduous Turk” referred to the finale as “[the composer’s] national self”.69 Although a little harsh, this is perhaps a fair judgement, since the movement is certainly powerful and shows the true Anatolian energy and passion in a very sincere way, unlike the false-pretence of the first movement.

Composed in the spring of 1935 and subsequently dedicated to his Parisian piano teacher Madame Eugene Borrel, *Inci's Book* on the other hand was a more successful work. A set of seven short pieces, Saygun named the composition after a little girl called Inci, the daughter of a friend, Veli Saltık, who was taking piano lessons from him at the time.70 Similar to Debussy’s *Children’s Corner*, each movement describes a moment in

66This is also true for the recitatives in Yunus Emre. (See Chapter VI, p. 164)
67The horon from the Maçka region, was notated by Saygun not during the field-trip, but instead from a recording at the Istanbul Conservatory. He did not have a tape-recorder with him on this occasion and felt that the example at the conservatory archives was a good representative of what he heard in Maçka. (Adnan Saygın: *Rize Artvin ve Kars Havalisi Türkü, Saz ve Halk Oyunları*, p. 13)
68[Ritm vurgulayış bir alet mevcud olamadığı, ve raks gayet çabuk ritmlerle icra edildiği cihetle gayet seyyâldir], *Ibid.*, p. 11
69‘New Music’, *Canadian Musical Journal*, 1958, p. 61
70Letter to Mrs Allbritton, 30 December 1953,
a child's life from different perspectives, with the following sub-titles: "Inci [the heroine], the Playful Kitten, a Tale, the Giant Puppet, a Joke, Lullaby and a Dream". The set was designed as teaching material for young

Ex. 5.7

Ex. 5.8

Prestissimo

\( \text{P} \quad \text{cresc.} \quad \text{cresc. molto} \)

\( \frac{\text{f}}{63} \)
players,\textsuperscript{71} and in this respect, though much smaller in scale and less methodical, it has similarities with Bartók's series entitled \textit{For Children} and \textit{Mikrokosmos}. Like Bartók's pedagogical works, \textit{Inci's Book} was also written with public performances in mind. In fact the success and popularity of the work later inspired Saygun to make an orchestral arrangement in 1944, which was premiered in Britain by the City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra on 16 December 1948.\textsuperscript{72} It was also staged as a ballet in February 1945 in Istanbul. Even though it was not published in the USA until 1952 by \textit{Southern Music}, almost twenty years after its composition, \textit{Inci's Book} immediately became popular amongst some piano teachers.\textsuperscript{73} In the following year it was included amongst "the best teaching pieces and collections for young pianists", by the \textit{Piano Quarterly Newsletter}.\textsuperscript{74} The \textit{Notes} magazine reviewed it as "refreshing to find piano music suitable for children which can legitimately be called music."\textsuperscript{75}

In terms of pentatonism, modal writing and Baroque counterpoint, the set clearly displays the characteristics of Saygun's early style, where the bare folk-tradition has not yet made its presence so explicit. It is in these areas that Saygun's style has a strong resemblance with that of Bartók's, whose short instructive piano pieces were also rooted in a strong modal idiom as Halsey Stevens observes: "While the larger number of both Hungarian and Slovakian folk-tunes in this collection [the \textit{Mikrokosmos}] are in the major mode, there are many Aeolian, Dorian, and Mixolydian melodies, two pentatonic tunes, one Phrygian, one Lydian, and numerous mixed or indeterminate modal melodies".\textsuperscript{76} The first number in \textit{Inci's Book} for example is clearly in the Aeolian mode, where the tonic A is held as a pedal in the accompanying quaver figurations in the left hand, against a simple stepwise melody in the right (see ex. 5.9). The energetic second movement is based on a pentatonic scale, on the notes C-D-E-G-A. The third movement echoes the Anatolian \textit{uzun hava} tradition in its florid ornamentations based around the

\textsuperscript{71}\textit{The Piano Teachers' Newsletter}, Eastern New Mexico University, who reviewed the work suggested the following categories: (1) Early Advanced, (2) Intermediate, (3) Late intermediate, (4) Intermediate, (5) Intermediate, (6) Easy, (7) Early intermediate. (The Piano Teachers' Newsletter, Eastern New Mexico University, December 1956, Vol III, No 4, p. 2-3)

\textsuperscript{72}\textit{See Chapter III, p. 72}

\textsuperscript{73}\textit{Even a Mrs Allbritton, an American piano teacher was inspired to write to the composer to find out who Inci really was.} (BUFA) \textit{The arrangement for two guitars by Siegfried Behrend, which was published by Southern Music as late as 1977, shows the work's continuing success in the United States of America.}

\textsuperscript{74}\textit{Piano Quarterly Newsletter, Spring 1953}

\textsuperscript{75}\textit{Violet. E. Lowens: Notes, September 1952, p. 659}

\textsuperscript{76}\textit{Halsey Stevens: The Life and Music of Béla Bartók, p. 115}
note B, alternating between its adjacent neighbouring notes C and A (see ex. 5.10). Although there is no exact quotation of a folk-song, the florid outbursts and the drone-like cluster-based chordal accompaniments clearly allude to this kind of tradition.

Ex. 5.9

Ex. 5.10
Throughout the set Baroque devices such as diminution of the melodic line, imitation and inversion are frequently used. In fact the opening of No. 2 is a clear example of voices being imitatively set against each other in rhythmic diminution, which is then swapped between them (see ex. 5.11). Other Baroque elements include the ground bass in the Lullaby (No. 6), which is constructed over a repetition of four notes (see ex. 5.12). The pedagogic nature of Inci’s Book does clearly also have a definitive role in the conception and layout of some of the ideas: for example the composer deliberately keeps the texture light, reduced to two lines generally in most of the movements with certain exceptions. The left hand appears in the treble clef in three of the movements. Through continuous repetition he aims to make each number more accessible and easier to learn for the young beginner. For similar reasons the movements are short, varying from just under half a minute to two and a half minutes, and also have attractive and imaginative titles.

Ex. 5.11
5.5 Pentatonism:

It is important to observe that Saygun's use of pentatonism in his early works had strong political motives. He came to discover the pentatonic nature of Turkish music through his work on folk-songs. At the time the Turkish Linguistic Society had established a theory, which was later to be discarded, called the Sun-Language theory (Güneş-Dil Teorisi). According to this theory all civilisation came from the Turks and all languages from Turkish. It seems that Adnan was also greatly influenced by this theory and looked for ways of basing a similar theory in music. His report which was later published under the title of *Türk Halk Musikisinde Pentatonism* (Pentatonism in Turkish folk-music) clearly draws parallels between the Sun-Language theory and pentatonism, where he says: "Pentatonism is the hallmark of the Turks in music.

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77 See Bernard Lewis: *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, p. 435
78 Adnan [Saygün] read this report to Atatürk in 1935 at the presidential lodge in Yalova. (Adnan Saygün: Atatürk ve Musiki, p. 47)
Wherever pentatonism is found: (a) Those who live there are Turks. (b) [if not] Turks must have formed a civilisation there in the ancient times and thus influenced the natives. 79 Adnan based these views on his analysis of Turkish folk-melodies, which were also given in the report. However, these beliefs were later to cause great embarrassment to Saygun and in ensuing articles were withdrawn.80

The obsession with pentatonism, which also fitted the current political climate, not only stayed on paper in the form of theories, but clearly affected the musical language of the works of the first period. Sezişler Op. 4, for two clarinets, seems to be the earliest work where Adnan used the pentatonic scale. 81 However its use does not appear to be as intentional or indeed methodical as one finds in the Sonatina Op. 15 or the ‘Cello Sonata Op. 12. Composed between 1931 and 1932, soon after the young composer’s return from Paris, Sezişler appears to be an experimental work in its musical inconsistencies. In five miniature movements the work is constructed on a mixture of whole-tone, pentatonic and chromatic scales. None of these ideas has time to establish itself, but they follow each other in an improvisatory manner. Similarly there are no established tonal areas or tempi, unlike his later works. While one movement starts with a tritone (no. 2) and there is no memorable theme, another (no. 5) opens with a joyful folk-song-like melody (see ex. 5.13). Yet it shows Adnan in search of a suitable musical language in an economical way, like an artist working in small miniature paintings. Its title Sezişler, which literally means ‘intuitions’ in English can also give us clues that in this work the composer is trying to use his senses to the fullest in order to try and discover a personal idiom. 82

79[Pentatonism Türk’ün musikideki damgasıdır. Pentatonism nerede varsa: (a) Orada oturanlar Türk türler. (b) Türkler eski çağlarda o yerlerde bir medeniyet kurarak yerlileri tesirleri altında bırakmışlardır]. Ahmed Adnan: Türk Halk Musikisinde Pentatonism, p. 6

80Saygun explains this in the following words: “In those years I used to think that pentatonality […] spread from Central Asia. I had even prepared a map for this. Now my views have significantly changed […] As it is clear, this report was prepared with sincere thoughts at a time when the author did not have much confidence in the subject”. [O tarihlerde pentatonizm’in […] asıl kaynağı Orta Asya olduğunu ve oradan dünyaya yayıldığı düşünüyordum. Hahta bu düşüncelerle bir de harita hazırlamışım. Bugünkü düşüncem böyle değildir […] Görüldüğü gibi bu risale iyi niyetle hazırlanmış, fakat yazının konuya tam egemen olmadığını çağlarda kaleme alınmıştır]. (Adnan Saygun: ‘Türk halk musikisinde pentatonizm broşürü üzerine’, Orkestra. December 1986, p. 3)

81It was in fact his friend Mahmut Ragn who pointed out this to him, when he heard Sezişler for two clarinets for the first time.

82The work was originally called Two monodies. See entry in the catalogue raisonné in Appendix III
Once the ‘pentatonic idea’ was clearly shaped in his mind as the ‘hallmark of the Turks’, there is no doubt that Adnan’s treatment of this scale in his works was also affected. In this way a political view which was developed by experts at the Linguistic Society was finding its way into the musical language of the works of the period. The evidence for this is quite clear when we compare Sezişler with a work like the piano sonatina. The pentatonic scales appeared as passing colour effects in the former work, whereas in the latter the main subject itself is based on the pentatonic scale (see ex. 5.6), which is then developed in fragments. In other words its presence is much stronger as the basic musical language of the first movement. The same could be said for the first subject material in the ‘cello sonata (see ex. 5.14). The pentatonic idiom also played an important role in the opera Taşbebek and in this way was not restricted only to instrumental works (see ex. 5.15).

Ex. 5.13

Calmo (d = ca. 56) Rubato

Andantino (d = ca. 54)
As clearly seen in the examples given above, Saygun's first compositional period was significantly shaped by the discovery of his country's folk-music tradition, which at first showed itself in instructive choral works, then in instrumental compositions in a bare idiom, and later naturally extended to the following phases in modified forms and shapes. His Schola Cantorum education was crucial in giving him the confidence to work in traditional forms of Western art music rooted in the modal idiom, which came across in later, maturer works - particularly in *Yunus Emre*, the symphonies, the string quartets and the concertos. Towards the end of the 1930's, through his absorption in folk-music, Saygun was beginning to look for ways of creating a synthesis between Western art and Eastern folk-music traditions which, as will be discussed in the following chapter, resulted in the composition of his oratorio *Yunus Emre* in 1942. It is interesting that in this way he was almost once again following in the footsteps of Béla Bartók, who in the summer of 1939, at an interview in Paris, declared that he wanted to make a synthesis of Eastern European folk music and Western European art music, where the latter, in turn, would combine J. S. Bach's counterpoint, Beethoven's progressive form and Debussy's harmony.83

83 Benjamin Suchoff: 'Synthesis of East and West: Mikrokosmos', *The Bartók Companion*, p. 189
CHAPTER VI

Yunus Emre: a fusion of traditions

6.1 Compositional Background

In no work did Saygun come so close to forging a synthesis which embodied both Eastern and Western musical traditions and had an impact on audiences from rural, as well as modern sections of Turkish society, as in his oratorio Yunus Emre.  
1 Selahattin Batu, who wrote the librettos for Saygun’s two major operas Kerem and Köroğlu, described this work as the greatest artistic achievement in the twenty-five-year history of the Turkish revolution.  
2 Similarly, Annemarie Schimmel, one of the most important scholars on Yunus Emre, who attended the premiere in Ankara pointed out that “nobody […] can forget the almost magic qualities of this composition, which is skilfully woven together from modern music and traditional melodies as sung by the dervishes in their tekkes (congregation places)”  
3 Immediately after its premiere in Ankara on 25 May 1946 the oratorio put Saygun on the map as a composer of national calibre, receiving the widest press coverage ever for a work composed in a Western-art-music idiom.  
4 As the first Turkish oratorio, it also introduced him to the international scene with foreign premieres in ten countries; to this day Yunus Emre is still the most frequently performed choral work by a Turkish composer both in Turkey and abroad.

Although Saygun started composing Yunus Emre in the late summer of 1942  
5 and finished it in less than six months,  
6 there is evidence that the idea of using the verses

1 After the premiere of the oratorio and the radio broadcasts which followed, Saygun received many letters and gifts including some from remote villages in the country (See Chapter II, p. 58)
3 Schimmel was a professor of Indo-Muslim Culture at Harvard University and at the University of Bonn. (Annemarie Schimmel: ‘Yunus Emre’, Yunus Emre and His Mystical poetry, Indiana University Press, p. 59)
4 See Chapter II, pp. 57-58
5 Unfortunately a lot of the Turkish sources give misleading information on the composition date of the oratorio as 1946, mistaking it for the premiere. Faruk Yener’s article on Saygun in the New Grove (ed. S. Sadie), Vol. 16 is also incorrect.
6 In a newspaper article Saygun’s close friend Fikri Çiçekoğlu, quotes from a letter which the composer had sent to him, dated 29 January 1943. In his letter Saygun explains that he started the oratorio in August
of the thirteenth century Turkish mystic poet in a grand dramatic work had been occupying his thoughts for a considerable amount of time, going back to his student years in Paris. A contemporary Turkish literary friend Burhan Toprak, who was a student at the Sorbonne at that time, later gave Saygun a copy of his own edition of Yunus Emre’s poetry as a gift, inscribed: “I hope one day you will be able to recreate these verses musically”. It is therefore most likely that the two first discussed the possibilities of setting Yunus Emre’s verses to music at their regular meetings with other Turkish young intellectuals in Paris. In fact Burhan Toprak was one of the first to be shown the early drafts of the work in 1942. Saygun describes this in a letter to his wife Nilüfer: “I met Burhan [Toprak] once; he has taken a great interest in Yunus Emre. Afterwards we went to a friend’s house and played the work”. We also understand from another letter which was sent a few days earlier that the oratorio at this stage is unfinished: “I am continuing to work on Yunus Emre. I am also travelling from one Halkevi to another”.

It was not Burhan Toprak, however, who introduced Saygun to the verses of Yunus Emre; the composer often made it clear in interviews that he had always held the Turkish poet in high esteem since his childhood. The first time he heard his verses sung by beggars on the streets of Izmir was indeed during his childhood. In the form of nursery rhymes the verses of Yunus Emre were also very popular amongst children during the Ottoman Empire. Although Saygun would not have been able to grasp the deep philosophy of the poems at such a young age, experiences of this nature would nevertheless have enabled him to have some familiarity with the poet and his style from an early period in his life. As a result he grew into the habit of always carrying with him an edition of the collected poems of Yunus Emre during his travels.

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1942 and continues by saying: “The work took me about four and a half months since August. In between I went to Istanbul and Bursa for a few days”. (Fikri Çiçekoğlu: ‘Büyük bir Sanat Hadisesi’, Aksam, 12. 6 1946)

7Ergican Saydam: ‘Adnan Saygun’la konuşma’ Ankara Filarmoni Dergisi, September 1973, p. 2

8The volume is at BUSA

9[Ben Yunus Emre’ye devam ediyorum. Bir Halkevi’nden ötekisine geziyorum], Letter to Nilüfer Saygun, Bursa, 9 November 1942

10[Ben Yunus Emre’ye devam ediyorum. Bir Halkevi’nden ötekisine geziyorum], Letter to Nilüfer Saygun, Istanbul, 6 November 1942

11Ergican Saydam: op. cit.

12Ibid.
Before 1942 Saygun also made some early abortive attempts to set Yunus Emre’s verses to music. At first he tried writing short songs like “Lieder”, as he described them, of which no examples survive. He was not satisfied with these early efforts however, which nearly made him despair, feeling shorter pieces were not sufficient to capture the philosophy of a great poet like Yunus Emre. In fact he described the composition history of the oratorio in an interview with the following words: “It was in 1933 when I first tried to set some verses of Yunus Emre to music. But I was not pleased with the result. In 1939 I tried once more, but again was not pleased with it. Finally in June 1942 I was travelling around the country for CHP. While I was reading Yunus Emre’s poems on a train journey, suddenly an idea of writing an oratorio occurred to me. I immediately drew up some sketches after selecting appropriate verses. Towards the end of August, when I returned to Ankara, I orchestrated some of these. However I did not like them and tore them up. I could not somehow get into the magical mood of Yunus Emre. But I was not discouraged. I started work from fresh in September of the same year. After working on it for four and a half months I finished it in January 1943”. This fresh start did not, however, prevent Saygun from incorporating material from earlier attempts, when he finally started work on the oratorio in September 1942. The evidence for this comes from a 1935 three-part a cappella work for women’s voices, which was later adapted as a chorale in the second part of the oratorio.

Despite the fact that Saygun came to the decision to write an oratorio on a train journey in Anatolia, the concept of a choral work was still fresh in his mind: only a year

13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
15 The Republican People’s Party - Saygun was their music inspector at this time. For more information see Chapter II, pp. 49-50
17 Saygun originally numbered this set of a capella choral pieces as opus 8, later renumbered it as 9 and finally as 42. It is entitled Duyuşt lar. See entry in the catalogue raisonné in Part III for more details. (The date 1935 is the composer’s own marking on the autograph score).
earlier he had composed a secular work entitled the *Cantata in the Olden Style*. In this cantata Saygun set verses from a poem known as *Karanlıktan Işığa* (From darkness to enlightenment) by a contemporary Turkish poet friend Behçet Kemal Çağlar. Also a product of the revolution and its ardent defender, Çağlar in his poem describes the transformation of Turkey from its dark Ottoman past into an enlightened modern state, with references to the Turkish war of Independence. The *Cantata in the Olden Style* is in a conventionally Baroque form with choruses, arias, chorales, harpsichord-accompanied recitatives and traditional harmonic progressions in a diatonic framework. Although it is an impersonal work, it nevertheless served its purpose for Saygun by giving him a much clearer picture before setting to work on his more individual oratorio a year later.

Looking from a 1940’s perspective, Saygun was able to evaluate the verses of Yunus Emre in a different frame of mind compared to any of his previous perceptions of the poet. The world was at war, and even though Turkey had managed to stay out of the conflict, by the time Saygun started work on his oratorio, there was no guarantee that the hostilities would not spread further east. Besides, the impact of war in the neighbouring countries could be felt in Turkey as well, with food shortages, rationing and blackouts. At this time Saygun clearly identified himself with the humanistic philosophy of Yunus Emre, who had preached freedom, love and tolerance during his own life time in central Anatolia, which was also in turmoil with “Crusades, Byzantine-Seldjouk wars and the Mongol invasions”. The new large-scale choral work was going to enable Saygun to reflect his own concerns for the future of world safety; in other words it was going to be a personal manifesto emphasising the importance of tolerance and harmony, in a world which was rapidly losing these values. There was also a practical reason for the timing of the work: since 1939 he had been travelling in Anatolia as music inspector for the CHP and through this experience had been able to collect folk songs and get to know the country well. By 1942, as a result of these trips, he had considerably more material in his hands about Yunus Emre’s poems and songs than ever before.

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18 Saygun allowed the cantata to be performed in 1941 and consented to its publication as late as 1955. (See entry in the catalogue raisonné in Part III for more details)
19 Behçet Kemal Çağlar, also an MP, was instrumental in securing a premiere for *Yunus Emre* after a speech he made at the Turkish parliament. (For further details in performance and reception history of *Yunus Emre* see Chapter II, pp. 56-57)
20 Letter to Nilüfer Saygun, Istanbul, 6 November 1942
21 Talat S. Halman: ‘Yunus Emre’s Humanism’, *Yunus Emre and his mystical poetry*, p. 2

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There was also another reason for Yunus Emre's popularity, and hence the success of the oratorio, in the early republican era: as was emphasised in the opening chapters of this dissertation, the new Turkish republic at first tried to dissociate itself from its Ottoman past. Most Ottoman court poets, who had used Persian as their language, were not viewed sympathetically at this time, when a new Turkish identity was being forged from earlier periods of Turkish history, before Turks came under the influence of Arabs and Persians. During Yunus Emre's most creative period Turks had already converted to Islam, but the poet still continued using the Turkish language in his poems at a time when most of his contemporaries favoured the Persian language as the highest form of expression. For Yunus Emre, communication with people was as important as the expressiveness of his poetry; his verses had to be understood by ordinary people. This is probably why, even in later Ottoman times, during Saygun's childhood, his poetry was popular with children. As a result, Yunus Emre, viewed as a true Turkish philosopher, became an ideal figure for the revolutionaries, who had turned to Anatolian and Turkish folk legends in order to rediscover ancient but forgotten national heroes. Even though Yunus Emre's poetry was in the pure Turkish language, it conveyed universal messages, which could be interpreted in many ways. That is why in today's Turkey, Islamic fundamentalists, as much as atheist communists, revere him in equal measure. In fact Saygun was not the only composer of his generation to take Yunus Emre's poetry and philosophy as subject matter: Ekrem Zeki Ün also composed an instrumental work entitled *Yunus’un Mezarında* (At Yunus's Grave) for flute and piano inspired by the poet.

For Saygun, *Yunus Emre* represented the ultimate challenge and for the defenders of the new style of music under the modern republic it became a symbol. Some, like Selahattin Batu, went to the extreme of describing the premiere in the following words: "Those in the field of arts and music, and those who are not have all once again witnessed the defeat of the monophonic, primitive eastern music by our new music. In this work [*Yunus Emre*] our true spirit, feelings and national identity have all been reflected through an advanced technique [of musical writing]." 22

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22 Selahattin Batu: *op. cit.* (For the original text see Chapter II, p. 35, ff. 11)
Saygun’s dissatisfaction with his own interpretation of Yunus Emre’s poetry also delayed the composition of the work. He somehow was not able to find a fundamental trend, a core, in Yunus Emre’s verses on which to base the plan of his oratorio. As a result Saygun decided to take the humanistic journey of Yunus Emre in his quest for self-discovery as central in his oratorio, and re-read the entire collection of his poetry, marking those poems which he believed were best going to convey the argument. The edition he owned contained the poems in alphabetical order, rather than any logical train of thought. Therefore, like Brahms with his text in the *German Requiem*, Saygun changed the order of poems and in some cases took individual stanzas to suit his own needs in conveying a fuller picture. He also admitted that in some places he changed the order of lines in a specific poem. By taking Yunus Emre’s life as an example Saygun was actually drawing a much wider picture of Sufi philosophy, which was the long and painful journey undertaken by a mystic in his search for purification of the soul. Yunus Emre’s poetry centred on teaching the morals of Sufism, by preaching “struggle against man’s ‘internal enemies’, which were selfishness, vanity, ambition and faithlessness”.

Saygun in the three parts of his oratorio reflects the three stages of the mystic quest, which enfolded itself in “Purification, Enlightenment and Union”. The Sufi awareness began with the contemplation of death and the acceptance that earthly life was transitory. Throughout Yunus Emre’s poetry there are numerous examples where one finds him describing death, graveyard scenes, tombs and coffins, all of which depict

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23Ergican Saydam: *op. cit.*
24Ibid.
25Ibid. (Although Saygun does not specify a name for the edition he used, this was most likely Mehmed Fuad Köpüllü’s 1924 edition. However there was no authentic text for Yunus Emre’s poetry until Abdülbaki Gölpinarlı published his 1943 edition, which is acclaimed to be the closest to the original).
26Musgrave observes that “The spread of the sources shows that Brahms did not seek to take his subject from any one part of the Bible or topic within it [...]. Rather he relates his sources to themes of his own and creates a uniquely personal, non-dogmatic sequence of thoughts”, (Michael Musgrave: *Brahms - A German Requiem*, p. 19)
27Ergican Saydam: *op. cit.*
28Talat S. Halman: *op. cit.*, p. 2
29Ibid., p. 8

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the grim reality of life. For Part I of his oratorio Saygun made selections from the pessimistic poems of this nature, like the very opening: “When dim, grey dawn was breaking cold, the tomb stones desolate I saw. Beneath them in the cold dark earth the tender forlorn dead I saw”30 (Part I, No. 1), followed by “Others sleep beneath rows of cypress trees coldly” (Part I, No. 2) and “So ask not where the lov’d once laid, nor how life’s roses droop and fade” (Part I, No. 3).

At a certain stage in their spiritual development, some Sufis severely criticised God; they believed that it was God’s duty to forgive them even if they were rebellious. Annemarie Schimmel in her essay on Yunus Emre observes that “in later times one finds mystics who claimed to have reached a rank in which every trace of reverence or decent behaviour can disappear [...] where their independence makes them feel free to address God [in] absolutely uninhibited form”.31 Yunus Emre, through his spiritual development, also attains this stage, and for Saygun this serves as the opening material for the second part of his oratorio: “How have I wronged thee Mighty Lord? Is’t not enough vengeance taking, killing me, stilling me, and in death, with earth filling me?” (Part II, No. 6). The result is a confused state of mind, a dilemma - searching for God and also challenging Him - which Saygun exploits to its full dramatic potential. Thus after setting the mood through selections of pessimistic and rebellious poems, Saygun turns to Yunus Emre’s more optimistic poetry, which serves to construct a transformation into the enlightenment stage. Verses like “Come my heart, together let us go seek the friend; So fear not; with one accord let us go seek the friend” (Part II, No. 8) and “My soul longs for Thee Lord: to me Thy love impart” (Part II, No. 10) are clearly chosen by Saygun to reflect this changing mood.

For the closing part of his oratorio Saygun totally restricts himself to Yunus Emre’s mystical love poems, with lines such as “Love when it comes leaves nothing to be desired” and “Thy love from me myself has ta’en, ‘tis only thee my heart desires, Each night and day with love I burn, ‘tis only thee my heart desires” (Part III, No. 12), which form the central love theme in the oratorio. What is meant here is obviously the divine, rather than earthly love; in fact through this Yunus Emre finally unites with his creator in an eternal plane: “Mercy and grace are in Thy face, to Thee, Oh Lord, I stretch

30 The English translation which was approved by Saygun is by Willert Beale.
31 Annemarie Schimmel, op. cit, pp. 69-70
my hands”. (Part III, No. 13). The overall emotional flow of the oratorio can be described as a gradual lift from the depths of solitude and depression into bright optimism. In this respect there are similarities between Yunus Emre and its predecessor the Cantata in the Olden Style which, as its original Turkish title suggests, is a journey from darkness to light. Although the former work takes a more political subject matter in its reference to the Turkish War of Independence and the latter is concerned with the spiritual journey of the mystic, both works have in common the pervading optimism that at the time seems to have occupied most of Saygun’s thoughts.

The only difficulty which Saygun came across, as a result of having restricted himself solely to the poems of Yunus Emre, was when he began planning the recitatives in the oratorio. Poetry was obviously not suitable for this and he did not want to write his own substitute prose sections. 32 The solution was found in writing the recitatives in a particular kind of Anatolian singing tradition called uzun hava, which suited Yunus Emre’s verses and meant that Saygun could still use the poet philosopher’s poetry. 33 The musical implications of this tradition will be discussed in the following section. The success of the oratorio after its Turkish premiere brought justifiable anticipations that foreign performances might soon be imminent. Saygun’s immediate concern was to provide translations in three of the main European languages; English, German and French. 34 This is again a sign that the work is meant to be a synthesis of Turkish and European cultures. The English translation was supplied by Willert Beale, who worked for the British Council in Ankara at the time of the premiere of the oratorio. 35 Talat Halman finds his version “awkward and archaic, with far too many inversions”. 36 Beale’s translation, however, lends itself comfortably to Saygun’s phrase structure, as do the French translation, which was produced by Saygun’s own teacher Eugene Borrel, and the German translation by the theatre director Max Meinecke, who was employed by the Turkish State Theatres.

32Ergican Saydam: op. cit.
33See footnote 63
34It was also translated into Hungarian, (Letter to Henri Guilloux, 18 December 1972)
35Beale describes his collaboration with Saygun in the following words: “it was [Saygun’ s] desire to have a version in English, which could be sung, that inspired me to attempt this translation, or rendering: - it is not perhaps, a very literal translation, but I have tried to reproduce as closely as possible the rhyme-scheme and rhythm of the original, and I hope that I have caught the spirit of it too”. (From a script in English, first broadcast on Radio Ankara - 26 May 1949, BUSA)
36Talat S. Halman: ‘On Yunus Emre Translations’, Yunus Emre and his mystical poetry, p. 131
6.3 Form

It is significant that Saygun chose the genre of the oratorio to portray the life of a Turkish Islamic mystic, such as Yunus Emre. He had already composed two operas and the poet’s life could easily have been made the subject matter of a new opera. However, by choosing one of the most obvious forms of the Christian musical tradition in order to reflect the philosophy of an Islamic mystic, Saygun was not only being provocative, but also challenging the fundamentalists and the anti-revolutionaries in his country. His interest in cross-cultural links between East and West in all aspects of life was a characteristic he had inherited from his father who, as a trained Islamic cleric, had written a book about reforming and modernising Islam. At the greatest peak of Atatürk’s reforms, Islam had also come under thorough revision. One outcome was the translation of the Koran into the Turkish language from Arabic and the recitation of the five times daily call to prayer by the muezzin in Turkish. This was a pioneering and a revolutionary move in the history of Islam, comparable to that of Luther’s Protestant reform three centuries earlier. Although it was to last only until the 1950’s, the government’s open policy of encouraging a modern interpretation of Islam in the early republican years no doubt encouraged Saygun’s generation to experiment openly in cross-religious disciplines. Saygun’s Schola Cantorum background is also relevant in this context: after all it was at this missionary establishment that he first attempted setting verses from the Koran in a sixteenth century polyphonic style.

We do not know whether Saygun took a specific oratorio in the history of music as a model for his Yunus Emre. What is clear, though, is that a combination of certain styles in this genre had a collective impact on the genesis of the work. Winton Dean describes the oratorio as “the most slippery of the larger musical forms” and goes on to say that “the historian surveying the whole field engages in a kind of aesthetic blind man’s buff. He finds the oratorio taking for its province anything from the opera to the liturgy, combining the dramatic, narrative, reflective, didactic, and recreational in every conceivable proportion and drawing nourishment impartially from the ascetic and the

37 See Chapter I, p. 12, ff. 9
38 See Chapter V, pp. 110-114
erotic, the humorous and the devotional". In *Yunus Emre* we find prominent didactic, ascetic and devotional aspects, since the work depicts a kind of journey which takes place at a highly spiritual and transcendental level. In terms of form and musical language *Yunus Emre* has kinship to the contrasted styles of both Bach and Handel. In his layout, for example, Saygun seems to follow Handel’s tri-partite oratorio structure, the first part setting the mood, the second part dealing with the morals and the final part showing acceptance and submission, which are reflected as the three stages of mystic quest. However, in terms of his musical language, which will shortly be discussed, Saygun is closer to Bach’s “systematic, introspective and visionary” qualities, than the “instinctive, extroverted and earthy” Handel. Saygun has no hesitation either, when dealing with the Baroque form, in twisting it to suit his own needs. If we look at the formal plan of the oratorio (Fig. 1), for example, we see that Parts I and II are balanced in having five numbers each. Part III, however, is different in that it has only two numbers, of which no. 12 is almost in symphonic proportions, comprising a short orchestral prelude and ensuing interludes, ensembles, solos and large choral sections. The reason for this seems to be Saygun’s need for a larger mould to reflect the intensity, which at this stage in the oratorio is where the mystic journey is concluded, the seeker finally uniting with his Creator.

39 Winton Dean: *Handel’s Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, p. 3
40 On describing the *Messiah* Kemp says: “its tripartite shape embodied three basic formal and dramatic functions. the first part is prophetic and preparatory, the second narrative and epic, the third meditative and metaphysical”. (Ian Kemp: *Tippett the composer and his music*, p. 157)
41 Winton Dean: *op. cit.*, p. 49
42 Ibid.
Fig. 1 Formal plan of *Yunus Emre* and tonal centres

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part I</th>
<th>Tonal centres</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Chorus and orchestra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Recitative: Tenor solo, timpani and strings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Aria: Alto solo, oboe, English horn and organ or strings</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Aria: Bass solo, chorus and orchestra</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Chorale: Chorus and orchestra</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Part II</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
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<td>10</td>
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**INTERMEZZO**

| 11 | Recitative: Bass solo and strings | G# |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Part III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
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<td>13</td>
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Although, when confronted by critics, Saygun stated that the oratorio form was not necessarily a religious medium and pointed out that there had also been secular oratorios in recent years in the history of music, his *Yunus Emre* is nevertheless closer to a sacred, than a secular medium, with numerous references to God in its text. Even his teacher Borrel said of Saygun's text that "St. John would have approved of it". In any case, it was a known fact that Yunus Emre's verses had religious connotations for centuries, being chanted during Islamic services in Turkey in the form of hymns, known

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43 Ergican Saydam: *op. cit.*

44 The fact that Saygun later tried to organise a performance of the oratorio in the Byzantine Church of St. Sophia is also a proof of this. (See Chapter IV, p. 83)

45 Eugène Borrel: 'Premieres Audition', *La Revue Musicale de France*, May 1947
as *ilahi*. The Islamic *Sufis* were the first to incorporate music into their rituals as John Walsh describes: "it is from such circles in Asia Minor in the 13th and 14th centuries that we have our first - perhaps our unique - examples of the Islamic hymn" and continues: "these poems [of Yunus Emre] were written to be used in the services at the tekkes, that is to say, for liturgical purposes, and they were accompanied by the singing and dancing of the congregation".

Saygun constructed *Yunus Emre* in set numbers with arias, choruses and recitatives (See Fig. 1). His treatment of these numbers also shows that he was well aware of their traditional functions; in other words they are not just separate numbers with traditional titles, even though after its Paris premiere the music critic of the Daily Mail called it "a loosely-joined sequence of songs for solo voices and choir". If, as an example, we take the chorales which end Parts I and II in the oratorio (Nos. 5 and 10), we see that Saygun here seems to follow the Lutheran chorale tradition, which was based on simple singable lines to enable the congregation to follow or join in easily. In Saygun’s case there is no congregation, but the closing chorale of Part I is clearly based on a traditional hymn (*ilahi*) associated with Yunus Emre, which would have immediately been recognised by the audience. Its homophonic texture, moving in block chords, with pauses at the end of each phrase also reflects Saygun’s conventional Baroque thinking (see ex. 6.1). The choice of this specific poem for the chorale is not a coincidence either: it tells us the story of a “groaning water wheel”, which obviously is metaphoric and refers to earthly pain and suffering. It was a particular characteristic of Yunus Emre to choose his metaphors from items that would be familiar to the ordinary villager; hence the numerous references to soil, water and other agricultural phenomena in his poems. By using a poem of this nature in his chorale Saygun places a strong emphasis on his sincere intentions of communication. Similarly, looking at the closing chorale of Part II, we see that Saygun this time introduces spoken sections into the bass line: “My soul longs for Thee Lord, to me Thy love Impart” (Part II, No. 10), which the audience would clearly have picked out (see ex. 6.2).

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46John R. Walsh: ‘Yunus Emre: ‘A 14th century Turkish Hymnodist’, *Yunus Emre and His Mystical poetry*, Indiana University Press, p. 113
47Ibid., p. 118
6.4 The Music

When Nadia Boulanger attended the Paris premiere of *Yunus Emre*, she observed that Saygun made the European audiences aware of the problems facing a musician with an Eastern tradition and a Western education, and concluded that he nevertheless knew what he was looking for and that there was reason to believe that he was not far from
finding it. In fact Saygun’s first difficult task in the oratorio was to find a balance between his use of original Turkish melodies and their treatment in a Western idiom, without turning it into a kind of superficial collage. The way in which he achieved this was by avoiding any exact reproductions of folk material, but instead creating his own melodic lines based around their idiosyncrasies. As was previously mentioned, quite a number of these mystical hymns known as *ilahi*, based on Yunus Emre’s verses, were already popular amongst the society, which Saygun had collected during extensive field-trips he undertook in Anatolia. Resorting to the folk music tradition of Anatolia and particularly employing original Yunus Emre *ilahis* thus enabled him to place the musical language of his oratorio on an equilibrium with its text, which also came from the same region.

6.4.1 Melodic writing

There are three distinct styles of melodic writing in the oratorio:

1. that based on original folk-songs or mystical hymns (*ilahis*), where the themes are not exact reproductions, but can still be traced back to their originals.
2. that inspired by the peculiarities of folk-songs or mystical hymns, where the themes are completely original, by the composer, yet reminiscent of the traditional style.
3. that where folk influence is no longer detectable.

Original folk-songs and *ilahis* are used in three numbers in the oratorio: in the closing chorale of Part I (No. 5), the arioso in Part II (No. 8) and in Part III (No. 12). The closing chorale of Part I is based on an *ilahi* which is well known throughout Anatolia as *Benim adım derli dolap* (I am the lamenting water wheel). Saygun is not only faithful in his melodic reproduction of this *ilahi*, but he also keeps its original words. This is in fact the only place in the entire oratorio where a genuine hymn appears with its original words. The other famous *ilahi* in the work is the one in Part III, which is known as *İol Cennetin İrmakları* (the rivers of paradise) (see ex. 6.3). It is the most popular hymn associated with Yunus Emre, which was traditionally sung in the Ottoman Empire by

49 Nadia Boulanger: ‘Les Grands Concerts’, *Spectateur*, 15 April 1947

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children who were starting school for the first time. Saygun, however, changes the original words of this hymn to *Aşkın aldı benden beni bana seni gerek seni* “Thy love from me myself has ta’en, ‘tis only thee my heart desires”. This hymn is pivotal in Part III and its music will hereafter be referred to as the mystical love theme (see ex. 6.4). The third and last recognisable *ilahi*, a version which also exists as a folk-song in Anatolia, is in the arioso No. 8 in Part II; this has also been given substitute words by the composer (see ex. 6.5). In this way Saygun distributes the *ilahis* to all three parts of the oratorio.

Ex. 6.3

Ex. 6.4

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50Ergican Saydam: op. cit.
Most of these mystical hymns attributed to Yunus Emre had evolved into many variants over the centuries. We are not exactly sure which variant Saygun took for the hymn in Part III, known as İol Cennetin İrmaklarz, but if we take the version given in the edition published later by the Turkish Ministry of Culture as his primary source, we can see the way in which the composer makes his adaptations. Compared to the original, Saygun’s version is plainer, much smoother in its stepwise movement, with leaps only at the end of the second phrase (see exs. 6.3 and 6.4). In this respect it is clearly much more refined and lends itself comfortably to the ensuing imitative treatment. When the two versions are placed side by side, however, the resemblance of Saygun’s version to the original is quite clear. Saygun places this simplified version of the hymn after a section of long and powerful orchestral and choral introduction in Part III. The result is a sudden release of tension, where the true mystical love theme is conveyed to the listener. Zimmerman compares this with Beethoven’s Ode to joy theme in the ninth symphony; its introduction for the first time in cellos and basses is also similar to the Ninth symphony (see ex. 6.6).51

Ex. 6.6

51Franklin B. Zimmerman: [Review of the Yunus Emre], The Musical Quarterly, January 1959, p. 94
The use of Makams (modes), tonal centres and thematic connections:

"For the curiosity seeker bent on having his eardrum tickled with exotic orientalisms Yunus Emre may prove to be a disappointment" said the critic Edmund Pendleton of the New York Herald Tribune. It was Saygun’s careful use of the modal idiom and his traditional material that won him compliments of this nature from music critics of the time. He based the melodic and harmonic language of his oratorio on the modal qualities inherited from the makams (Turkish modes) that made up the ilahis. It would be true to say that makams in Yunus Emre are not just temporary moments of oriental flavour, but instead a more fundamental component in the fabric of the work. That is why numbers which are not directly based on any traditional songs still come across as being strongly related. Saygun knew that it would have been impossible to recreate these makams exactly in an equal temperament framework, and, in fact, it was precisely that which he tried to avoid.

His answer to Sadettin Arel, the traditional Turkish musicologist who criticised him for not being able to use the makams successfully, is also a clear proof of this, where he says: "I thought to myself for a moment, that for this man it was more important to use the segah makam properly than to communicate with people of different backgrounds such as a city person and a peasant, a literate and an illiterate, or even with a Muslim and a non-Muslim in one work. This is a moment when someone confuses their aims with their tools".

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53 At an interview with Faruk Güvenç Saygun says: "For me makam is only a colour; of course I am not intending to use these modes in their original seventeenth or eighteenth century style. Had I wanted that, I could have done it, but then because of quarter tones, I would have lost all the Western instruments. Since makam serves me as a means of colouring, then I feel I can use it freely in the equal-tempered Western system. Thus all the instruments of the orchestra, including the piano will still be available to me. If I study our traditional folk music and analyse our ancient music then, by using this technique, I could still be practising our country’s music and at the same time place it on an international level". [Benim için makam denilen şey bir renktir sadece, elbeti ben makamların on yedinci on sekizinci yüzyıllardaki gibi kullanacağım değilim. İsteşem öyle de kullanabildirim ama o zaman çeyrek sesler yüzünden batının bütün çalılgılar elimin altında kaçverirdi. Madem ki makam benim için sadece bir renk, bir araç öyleyse ben onu batının tampere oniki ton sistemi içinde serbestçe kullanırım. Böylelikle bütün çalılgılar, piyano orkestra elimin altına gelir. Eğer halk müziğimiz üzerinde çalışışam eski musikimizi tahli edip içime sindirirse, bu teknikle hem memleketimizin müziğini yapmış olurum, hem bu müziği evrensel bir potanın içine oturtabiliriz], (Sayram Aksil: ‘Besteci Ahmed Adnan Saygun’, Ahmed Adnan Saygun Semineri Bildirileri, p. 27)
54 [Demek ki dedim, onun için meseleyi köylülerden kentlere, cahille aydın, müslümandan Müslüman olanımıyana kadar insan a, insan gönülü seslemek bir şey ifade etmiyor. İlla segah perdesi.. İşte araç ve amaç şaşkınlığı], Adnan Saygun: Atatürk ve Müsiki, pp. 74-75 (Saygun does not give the musicologist’s name in his book, however he later refers to him as Sadettin Arel in his notes given to me by Sadun Tanju, pp. 96-97).
In order to use the *makam* system effectively, Saygun first of all had to make adaptations to suit his own needs. For this he turned to using medieval church modes as substitutes, which also tied in with his view that the Turkish modes were historically related to Byzantine church modes. Therefore Saygun believed that he was not mixing totally alien musical cultures, but instead returning to the roots, where a synthesis naturally existed. The way in which this is achieved in the oratorio is quite clear: the mystical love hymn in Part III, for example, is based on *segah makam* in its original version. The scale for this *makam* is as follows: B - C - D - E - F# - G (which is a scale of semi-tone, tone, tone, tone, semi-tone). Saygun finds the Phrygian mode closest to this *makam*, having the same semi-tone, tone, tone, tone, semi-tone structure (see ex. 6.7) Taking F# as the tonal centre, with a key signature of two sharps, his theme is clearly in the Phrygian mode transposed to F# (see ex. 6.4) Similarly the well known hymn of the closing chorale in Part I is also in *segah makam*; and Saygun's substitute is again in the Phrygian mode (see ex. 6.1). It was this kind of free modal writing that enabled Saygun to form a logical connection between each number in the oratorio, as there are some numbers which are not based directly on any original folk material, but are still composed in the modal idiom. The fourth number, which is an aria for the bass, is a perfect example of this kind of treatment, where Saygun's eight-bar opening phrase is not based on an original hymn, but is strongly reminiscent of this tradition. It is modal and based on *Bestenigar makam*, which is a combination of two tetrachords, with two strong cadential notes falling a tritone apart, on F# and C (see, ex. 6.8). (Incidentally Saygun's melody almost echoes the example given by Rauf Yekta for this *makam* in his treatise (see ex. 6.9)).

Modal writing also forms the basis of the harmonic language throughout the oratorio: the chorale at the end of Part I reflects this procedure, where Saygun creates harmonies by superimposing the intervals of the theme, over extended pedals (see ex. 6.1).

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55 In his article on authenticity in folk music, Saygun clearly points to the connections between the current Anatolian musical traditions and that of the ancient Greeks where he says: "If the horizontal study of melodies puts us in contact with the music of Tchérémis and the Hungarians, the study of these same melodies, carried out this time in the direction of depth, enables us to understand better the music of the ancient Greeks, [...] and to establish in some degree the bonds which link the music of Anatolia to that of the Phrygians, Lydians and the Dorians". (Adnan Saygun: 'Authenticity in Folk Music', *International Folk Music Journal*, Vol III, 1951, p. 8)

56 Rauf Yekta: *Türk Musikisi*, p. 80
works in general we see that he seems to favour two inter-related motives based on Turkish makams, which appear continually in his symphonies, concertos and string quartets. These are traditionally known as the Karaciğer pentachord which has the notes A-B-C-D-E flat and the Hüzzam tetrachord with the notes B-C-D-E flat (see ex. 6.12). They are related, because without the note A, Karaciğer pentachord in fact becomes the Hüzzam tetrachord. Saygun in the oratorio transposes this tetrachord and the pentachord to different pitches, yet retains their intervallic patterns and takes them as his principle motives in Nos 1, 2, 11 and 12, which help to establish a motivic unity in the work (see ex. 6.13.1). The opening bar in no. 1 is clearly based on the Karaciğer pentachord, which then appears throughout the number (see ex. 6.13.2-3). The same is also true for numbers 2 and 12. No. 11 on the other hand is based on the related Hüzzam tetrachord (See ex. 6.13.4).

Ex. 6.11

Ex. 6.12

Hüzzam tetrachord

Karaciğer pentachord

Ex. 6.13.1

Largo ( Divide. 60)

Due to Saygun's obsessive use of the descending hüzzam tetrachord in his string quartets and symphonies I have labelled this motive as the Saygun motive, which is explained in Chapter VII, p. 163

Sayram Akdil: op. cit., p. 27
5.4.3 Orchestration and choral writing

Although Saygun's formal plan has its roots in the Baroque oratorio, his orchestra clearly belongs to a much later period in the history of music. In its traditional string, double woodwind and brass scoring, including three trombones and a tuba, it almost has late-Classical or early-Romantic qualities. In addition to this, Saygun calls for tam-tam, cymbals, tom-tom, celeste, harp, organ and optionally two traditional
Turkish instruments associated with the Sufist musical practices: the *ney* and *kudüm*. Incidentally Saygun never liked the idea of mixing traditional folk instruments with western instruments, and it is interesting that he calls for these authentic instruments in *Yunus Emre*. However, the fact that they are only scored in one number, the aria No. 4, and were not even used at the premiere or any subsequent performances, being substituted by the flute and tam-tam, show that their significance to Saygun could not have been that great. Saygun’s use of these forces in the oratorio varies from one number to another. Generally he seems to prefer thinner orchestration in the recitatives and the arias. For example the arioso No. 8, in which the solo voice is accompanied by the intertwined cor anglais and oboe solos, almost reflects on the warm colouring the oboe gives in a similar aria in a Bach cantata. However this is strikingly different when compared with the thick scoring in the extended movement in Part III (No. 12), where the instrumental writing reaches almost Romantic climaxes in its lush string scoring and powerful brass writing.

Saygun’s tri-partite plan, with a specially selected verse order in conveying the three stages of the mystic journey, is also reflected in the musical language of the oratorio. The composer carefully plans his music to support the text; as well as his choice of modes, this is also achieved by word-painting. If we look at the very opening of the oratorio, we can see the way in which Saygun achieves this: there is no orchestral introduction or a separate overture in *Yunus Emre*; the work opens with chorus and orchestra together. In the very first bar the bass text, “When dim grey dawn was breaking cold”, is echoed in the music where Saygun employs the low registers of the violas, cellos and the double basses. He later brings in other instruments, and over the span of eight bars the texture becomes rather thick and the dynamic level increases. The result is like a gradual sunrise from the deep end of the orchestra to the celestial heights, also supported by thickening texture and increasing dynamic level. Saygun also resorts

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59 According to Feldman: “...the Mevlevi dervishes [...] laid particular emphasis on the reed-flute (*ney*) and *kudüm* (kettledrum) [...] which were used to accompany songs, and accompany the ritual (*ayin*) of the Alevi sect”. (Walter Feldman: *Music of the Ottoman Court*, p. 185)

60 The evidence comes from a letter written to his wife from Tehran, where he clearly shows his astonishment and disapproval of this kind of arrangement: “I cannot tell you how ‘oriental’ this place is. They think it is a novelty to mix *uds* and *santurs* with European instruments, and from what I gather their government seems to approve of this as well”, [Burası öylesine bir ‘lark’ ki anlaşılmaz. Musikide yenilik diye uto, santurları Avrupa sazları ile birleştiriyorlars ve, anladığuna göre, Hükümetleri de böyle şeyler tutuyor]. (Letter to Nilüfer, Tehran, 8 April 1961)
to other traditional methods, such as using a specific interval to define a particular mood. In this case, in Part I, this is the tritone, which not only is the first interval that opens the oratorio, but three movements out of five in Part I start with the same leap (see ex. 6.14.a,b,c). Saygun uses this unstable and sinister interval as a musical reflection of the depressive mood that is conveyed in the first section of the oratorio. Similarly two numbers in Part I come to a close with bare intervals such as fifths and octaves (see ex. 6.15), which also gives the listener a feeling of unrest and unfulfilment; the exact feelings that are depicted in the text. It is noticeable, however, that in Part III, where Yunus Emre has discovered the truth and found an answer to his question, Saygun ends both numbers on major triads, thus reflecting the optimistic mood of the text in his music (see ex. 6.16.1-2).

Ex. 6.14

(a)

(b)

(c)

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Saygun's choral writing is also planned in such a way as to convey the emotional flow of the oratorio: a clear example of this is the contrast between Parts I and III which open with chorus, and Part II, where Yunus Emre is feeling lonely and desolate, which opens with the solo bass voice only (No. 6). In fact representing Yunus Emre, the male voices, particularly the tenor, are given a prominent role in the oratorio, another sign of traditional Baroque thinking. There is only one number each featuring the soprano (No. 8) and the alto (No. 3), in contrast to the three numbers for solo tenor and the two for solo bass. In full choral sections the male voices play a leading role as well. The hymn which conveys the pivotal mystical love theme, for example, is first introduced in the male voices, and similarly the entire work starts with the male voices. The reasons could be two-fold: as well as representing Yunus Emre the poet philosopher, Saygun here seems to be reflecting on the singing style in the Sufi musical tradition, which would have been restricted to men's voices.

The choral writing in *Yunus Emre* shows that Saygun in this aspect also turns to Baroque sources for inspiration. He uses both polyphonic and chordal textures side by side and intertwined with each other, just as in a Handelian oratorio.61 There are certain vocal entries which look like fugal expositions, that are then developed into free contrapuntal lines. This is particularly clear in No. 7, where at fig. 40 we hear the solo alto introducing a fugue subject starting on the note D, followed by the tenor on the dominant A, the bass on the tonic D and finally the soprano on A again (see ex. 6.17). Incidentally this fugal exposition in the context of Saygun's modal language is a striking example of the underlying traditional thinking behind the conception of the work, where there is clearly a tonic-dominant relationship. As this fugal episode develops into free

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61 Bukofzer observes that "the drastic dramatic impact of [Handel's] choruses is due to the unique flexibility of his choral style, achieved primarily by the interpenetration of polyphonic and chordal textures". (cited in Winton Dean: *op. cit.*, p. 65)
contrapuntal lines in the soloists, Saygun places against this the articulate chorus in short block chords, emphasising the words “Oh what? oh my heart, what hast Thou done?” (see ex. 6.18). There is also a similar treatment to this in the large movement in Part III: after introducing the mystical love hymn in the ‘cellos and basses, and imitatively in the chorus, at fig. 87, Saygun sets the intertwining contrapuntal lines in the chorus against block chords in the solo lines (see ex. 6.19).

Ex. 6.17
Ex. 6.18

\[ \text{SOPRANO} \]

\[ \text{ALLEM} \]

\[ \text{Die Welt ward zum Un-ge-heu} \]

\[ \text{Tu was der ein-te du} \]

\[ \text{what?} \]

\[ \text{In dis taste from his} \]

\[ \text{Tu was der ein-te du} \]

\[ \text{what?} \]

\[ \text{In dis taste from his} \]

\[ \text{Tu was der ein-te du} \]

\[ \text{what?} \]

\[ \text{In dis taste from his} \]

\[ \text{Tu was der ein-te du} \]

\[ \text{what?} \]

\[ \text{In dis taste from his} \]

\[ \text{Tu was der ein-te du} \]

\[ \text{what?} \]

\[ \text{In dis taste from his} \]

\[ \text{Tu was der ein-te du} \]

\[ \text{what?} \]

\[ \text{In dis taste from his} \]

\[ \text{Tu was der ein-te du} \]

\[ \text{what?} \]

\[ \text{In dis taste from his} \]

\[ \text{Tu was der ein-te du} \]

\[ \text{what?} \]

\[ \text{In dis taste from his} \]

\[ \text{Tu was der ein-te du} \]

\[ \text{what?} \]

\[ \text{In dis taste from his} \]

\[ \text{Tu was der ein-te du} \]

\[ \text{what?} \]

\[ \text{In dis taste from his} \]

\[ \text{Tu was der ein-te du} \]

\[ \text{what?} \]

\[ \text{In dis taste from his} \]

\[ \text{Tu was der ein-te du} \]

\[ \text{what?} \]

\[ \text{In dis taste from his} \]

\[ \text{Tu was der ein-te du} \]

\[ \text{what?} \]

\[ \text{In dis taste from his} \]

\[ \text{Tu was der ein-te du} \]

\[ \text{what?} \]

\[ \text{In dis taste from his} \]

\[ \text{Tu was der ein-te du} \]

\[ \text{what?} \]

\[ \text{In dis taste from his} \]

\[ \text{Tu was der ein-te du} \]

\[ \text{what?} \]

\[ \text{In dis taste from his} \]

\[ \text{Tu was der ein-te du} \]

\[ \text{what?} \]
Ex. 6.19

Aş-kin şara bin-dan i-şem, Mec-
Like Medj-noun on the moun-tain peak, to
tIn Berg-ge klüft bin ich Medsch-nun, ich

Aş-kin şara bin-dan i-şem, Mec-
Like Medj-noun on the moun-tain peak, to
tIn Berg-ge klüft bin ich Medsch-nun, ich

Aş-kin şara bin-dan i-şem, Mec-
Like Medj-noun on the moun-tain peak, to
tIn Berg-ge klüft bin ich Medsch-nun, ich

Aş-kin şara bin-dan i-şem, Mec-
Like Medj-noun on the moun-tain peak, to
tIn Berg-ge klüft bin ich Medsch-nun, ich

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6.4.4 Recitatives

It was mentioned earlier that Saygun based the recitatives in the oratorio on a particular style of Anatolian singing tradition called *uzun hava*. Following a field-trip to the north-eastern provinces of Turkey, the composer published his findings in the form of a book entitled *Folk songs and dances from the Rize, Artvin and Kars regions*, where he gave numerous examples of this style of long and florid singing. When constructing the recitatives in *Yunus Emre*, it was examples from this source that Saygun turned to as a model; this is further evidence showing the composer using traditional material from his own collection. According to the composer’s findings, the *uzun hava* in the Kars region is traditionally sung to the accompaniment of the *zurna* (a shawm-like woodwind instrument) and *davul* (a drum). Here, the melody is first introduced in the *zurna*, which is followed by the voice. As soon as the singer starts singing, the *zurna* ceases to play, and once the singer stops, the *zurna* again takes over, bringing the work to a close. Throughout the song the *davul* plays constantly, however, and in places accompanies the voice or the *zurna* in rolls, which is achieved by the drummer hitting the instrument with two hands. Saygun illustrates his findings in two examples entitled Çukurova and Garip, which have strong resemblances and direct thematic connections with the recitatives in the oratorio (see exs. 6.20 and 6.21).

Ex. 6.20

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62 Suchhoff describes *Uzun hava* as “long [drawn] air” and suggests that it is a variant of the Rumanian *Cântec lung* and the Ukrainian *Dumy*. (Benjamin Suchhoff: Turkish Folk music from Asia Minor, p. 45)

63 Adnan Saygun: Rize Artvin ve Kars Havalisi Türk ve Halk Oyunları, pp. 61-63
Ex. 6.21
If we look at the recitative (No. 2) for tenor solo, timpani and strings in Part I, we can see the way Saygun follows this tradition. In terms of his instrumentation, the timpani represents the davul and the strings, interestingly, take over as the zurna. The opening four-bar phrase resembles the role of the zurna, never appearing with the voice at the same time, except for the very opening, the middle and the very end (see ex. 6.22). It is, however, particularly in terms of rhythmic accompaniment that the recitative is linked to the traditional song Çukurova: the quaver + two semi-quaver pattern of the opening four-bar phrase echoes the hammer and switch rhythms of the davul, which is followed by the constant tremolo that accompanies the voice. Similarly the vocal line stays on one single note or fluctuates between neighbouring notes in stammering rhythmic values, as seen in the traditional song (see ex. 6.21). The recitative (No. 9) in Part II for tenor solo and orchestra has both rhythmic and thematic connections with the traditional song Garip on which it is modelled. Saygun again starts the recitative with a four-bar phrase, which is repeated twice in the middle and once at the end. In this way he follows the original pattern in the first recitative, but there the opening phrase was Saygun’s own musical idea, whereas in the second recitative he takes it directly from the Garip song (see exs. 6.21 bottom line and 6.23). The original melody contains an augmented second, which in Saygun’s version is reduced to a major second. Compared with the first recitative the accompaniment is more colourful, with the florid demi-semiquaver patterns also infiltrating the orchestral writing.

Ex. 6.22

Tenor Solo

Poco meno

Tenor Solo

Ya. lan ci dün ya ya
The ones who left a world,
Ceux qui parti rent
Die diese schnö de Welt
ko nup gö çen ler
de ce nful, lie ng
de ce mon de trum peur
für immer ver lies sen

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Yunus Emre is a timeless, universal work: there are no specific incidents that restrict the oratorio to a definite period in history. Its messages are as fresh today as when the work was first performed 50 years ago, or when Yunus Emre wrote his poetry over 600 years ago. The oratorio not only represents Saygun’s own philosophy about life, but also summarises the achievements of twenty years spent in the quest for a new identity for Turkish culture. In the words of the critic Franklin Zimmerman who heard the New York premiere of the oratorio in 1958: “The poesis of the work and its integral unity of dramatic purpose surmount any seeming inconsistencies of style to leave with the listener an overall impression of nobility and greatness of soul”.

64 Franklin B. Zimmerman: op. cit., p. 94
CHAPTER VII

Modern tendencies in the first two String Quartets

7.1 Introduction:

Adnan Saygun had a great enthusiasm for the medium of the string quartet; significantly one of his earliest childhood works and his last composition in old age were both unfinished string quartets.¹ Altogether he composed three complete works in this genre, all written at ten-year intervals, between 1947 and 1966. It is important to observe that these works also marked crucial stages in the composer’s life: the first quartet ended a five-year compositional crisis-period,² the second quartet being a commission from the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation contributed to his international recognition, and the third quartet, being so personal, was dedicated to his wife Nilüfer. It was, it seems, in the string quartet medium that Saygun felt he could confidently project more of his personal inner voice, while experimenting with new ideas before putting them into context in larger works, like the symphonies and the concertos. These ideas could be described as bolder tonal definitions leading to atonality in places, a more organic growth of shorter motivic themes and a clear implementation and development of the cyclic idea inherited from César Franck, which was mentioned in chapter V of this dissertation.

Amongst Turkish composers of his generation, the string quartets of Saygun can be singled out as being the most organic as a whole when they are viewed in order of their composition. In fact after hearing a recording of the second quartet, the Turkish

¹The MSS of both string quartets are at BUSA. On the title-page of the childhood work “Quatuor: I” appears in the composer’s handwriting. It is in B minor and there are altogether 17 pages, 146 bars. The last quartet was also left unfinished, with only two movements: I. Lento - Allegro, II. Animato. We know that Saygun was working on this quartet a short time before his death, from his last letter to Henriette Guilloux, where he says: “I am still suffering from pain since I was operated on [...] What is so terrible though, is that it hinders my work. I am writing a string quartet, my fourth”; [Je souffre encore de l’endroit où j’ai été opéré [...] Mais ce qui est terrible, c’est d’être empêché de travailler à mon aise [...] J’écris un quatuor à cordes, mon quatrième]. (Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 15 July 1990)

²This can be seen in the way that the two works, Yunus Emre Op. 26 and the first string quartet Op. 27, have consecutive opus numbers despite a five-year gap. In fact, except making an orchestral version of Enci’s Book and folk-song arrangements such as Dört Türkü Op. 23, which had originally been conceived before 1942, Saygun did not compose during this five year period.
music-critic Bedii Sevin, who until then openly expressed his dislike towards Saygun’s music, had to agree how much the composer had changed his style, by saying: “Since I think Adnan Saygun’s music is worthless and I do not like listening to it, I did not take much notice of the praises for his new quartet either. However, last week I had an opportunity to listen to a concert recording of the work. Then I realised how genuinely true were all the remarks about it. It seems to me that Adnan Saygun has produced his first work, which can confidently take its place not only in the string quartet repertory, but in music history in general”.

7.2 String Quartet No.1, Op. 27:

Saygun composed what officially became his first string quartet (as opposed to the unfinished childhood work) between August and September 1947, in Ankara, in just over a month. It appears that the inspiration for this work came from a seven-month stay in Europe, during which he had opportunities to attend a number of chamber music concerts and workshops including string quartet premieres. Amongst the composers he had met, Michael Tippett presented him with a dedicated copy of his own first string quartet. It is also interesting to observe that the quartet was finished in a very short time, between two European journeys, almost timed to enable the composer to take the score with him to London on the return visit of September 1947. In fact, Saygun was clearly determined to have the work premiered in Europe, as is evident in a letter written to his friend Henri Guilloux, soon after the composition of the quartet, where he says: “I am thinking of organising a chamber music concert at the Chopin Hall or Gaveau Hall.

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5] Saygun was in Europe between November 1946 and May 1947, visiting Britain, France and Belgium. (See Chapter III for further details)

6] The inscribed copy of this quartet is at BUSA, FS477
[] 1. the violin sonata, 2. clarinet pieces (or songs or solo piano pieces), 3. the 'cello sonata and 4. the quartet [Op. 27]).7

With a first movement in sonata form preceded by a slow introduction, and a lyrical second movement in ternary form, followed by a minuet and trio, and a rondo finale, the first quartet is unmistakably "classical" in terms of its formal plan. In fact this structural plan appears to be consistent throughout all of Saygun's string quartets. All four of his quartets open with slow introductions followed by an Allegro section. The finales in the first three quartets are all energetic derivatives based around the rondo principle. There is always a lyrical slow movement and a movement where traditional Turkish dance-patterns are recreated. However, the significance of the Op. 27 string quartet is that it is in this work that we find the composer following such a clear "classical" structure for the first time, which is then taken as a basis in the symphonies.8 Saygun's desire to follow a career as a composer in such established classical forms seems to be related to his confidence, gained as a result of the recent successes of Yunus Emre in Turkey and in Paris. In this way, the first quartet not only establishes a turning point in his musical style but also marks the beginning of what could be labelled as the second compositional period.

The importance of the Gregorian church modes in Saygun's musical language has been stressed in various sections of this dissertation, particularly in relation to the musical idiom in Yunus Emre and its significance in his Schola Cantorum upbringing. Constructed in a modal framework, the Op. 27 quartet is also a clear example of Saygun's growing enthusiasm for modality. In fact the quartet seems to be the only work where each of the four movements is systematically based on a certain mode as openly declared in the composer's own words as Dorian, Mixolydian, Hypodorian and Dorian respectively.9 However, an important issue needs to be clarified here: what Saygun

7[... je pense à organiser un concert de musique de chambre à la Salle Chopin ou bien chez Gaveau. [...] 1) La sonate pour violon, 2) Les pièces de clarinettes (ou bien quelques chants ou encore les pièces pour piano), 3) La sonate de violoncelle et 4.)le Quatuor]. Letter to Henri Guilloux, Ankara, 29 November 1947
8The first symphony composed six years later in 1953 also follows the classical symphonic structure with a sonata-based first movement, a ternary slow movement, a minuet and trio and a rondo finale. (See chapter VIII, p. 202)
9An unpublished analytical note by the composer in French entitled Quator à cordes Op. 27. (BUSA) This description also appears in the programme notes at the premiere of the work in France during the CDMI festival on 23 October 1954, USA.
consistently refers to as the Dorian mode, is in fact our Phrygian mode. The evidence for this comes from the quartet itself; the outer movements in question are clearly not in the Dorian mode as suggested by the composer, but in Phrygian instead, which is transposed to G. This is also evident from the key-signature of three flats and the opening motive, which is clearly based on the Phrygian tetra-chord (see ex. 7.1). Saygun’s own music theory book also sheds some light on this confusion, where he gives a Phrygian scale for what he calls Dor töresi (the Dorian tradition) and a Dorian scale for Frik Töresi (the Phrygian tradition).  

**Ex. 7.1**

![Ex. 7.1 Notation](image)

Although conventional key signatures are used throughout the quartet, which reflect the composer’s traditional thinking, these actually serve to transpose the modes to different tonal centres, rather than establishing any keys. In other words even though the first movement has a key-signature of three flats, it is not in E flat major or C minor, but, as said in the paragraph above, in the Phrygian mode centred on the note G. This also shows that the composer is still clearly thinking of certain tonal areas, forming a kind of gravitational pull over the others. The note G in this case has a strong dominance over the entire quartet. Not only do the outer movements start and end on this note, but the whole quartet comes to a close on a G major triad. It is the only place in the entire work where a diatonic chord appears, which can be interpreted as a link with Saygun’s conventional thinking.

In chapter IV of this dissertation it was pointed out that Saygun created a musical inner-coherence in his works through joining movements with recurring motivic ideas,

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which appeared to be an influence of the Schola Cantorum education. It was also mentioned that Saygun himself referred to this process as "the Franckian cyclic principle". In *Yunus Emre* this was seen in the form of certain intervals, like the tritone, or a specific hymn appearing in identical form in different parts of the work. It is, however, in the Op. 27 quartet that we find the composer methodically applying the Franckian cyclic idea for the first time. Writing about his first piano concerto, which was started four years after the first quartet, Saygun described its thematic contents as being rooted in the cyclic principle, different to the so-called view of César Franck. At that point what Saygun seems to be meaning is that his own interpretation of the cyclic principle, rather than totally opposing the Franckian view - where the motive kept recurring identically in different movements in a specific work - expanded it whereby the motive became organic and changed shape as the piece progressed. In the Op. 27 quartet however, unlike the first piano concerto, we detect the early signs of Saygun's use of a cyclic plan closer to the Franckian manner, where a certain motive does appear unaltered in its original form in different movements, even though it gives birth to new ideas. In fact evidence for this can be found in the composer's own words, where he says: "The interval of a minor second which is played in unison by all four instruments at the opening is the *idée génératrice* of the whole work. In effect it is this [interval] which gives birth to all the themes. On the other hand, the thematic working of the piece never loses this *idée génératrice*".

What Saygun describes as his *idée génératrice* is clearly the first two notes - G and Ab - of the Phrygian mode starting on G (see ex. 7.1). Following on from the composer's description we can clearly see that this cyclic motive is brought back exactly in different movements of the quartet, thus giving the work a sense of overall unity. For example it comes back at the recapitulation (Fig. 12) (see ex. 7.2) and at the very end of the first movement. The second movement also starts with a chromatic slide and contains the cyclic motive before the final section is reached (three bars before Fig. 23) (see ex. 7.3). Similarly Saygun introduces it at the same pitch in the second half of his minuet (see ex. 7.4). The finale also opens with an exact statement of the cyclic motive

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11 See Chapter V, p. 108
12 Unpublished analytical notes by the composer; see entry in the *catalogue raisonné*.
13 ["La seconde mineure initiale jouée à l'unisson par les quatre instruments, sert d'idée génératrice à toute l'œuvre. En effet, travail thematique de l'œuvre ne perd jamais de vue cette idée génératrice"]. See footnote 9
(see ex. 7.5), later being developed into a traditional dance rhythm on uneven divisions of the beat \((2+3+2+3)\) (see ex. 7.6). The composer also refers to the fact that this motive gives birth to other thematic materials in the quartet. An interval of a minor second is too small a unit, which might as a result be found in the roots of many thematic ideas. However, what Saygun might be implying here is that the highly chromatic writing in the quartet does actually stem from the chromatic nature of its *idée génératrice*.

Ex. 7.2

Ex. 7.3

Ex. 7.4
As mentioned earlier the first movement of the quartet is in sonata form. There are clearly two subject groups, which the composer himself describes as l'idée A and l'idée B. Following the slow introduction, the subject group A starts the exposition at Fig. 1, in the second violin (see ex. 7.7). This comprises an energetic semi-quaver group which rotates around the leaps of large intervals gradually diminishing, i.e. major 7th - minor third - major sixth - minor sixth - minor second - minor third etc. A bridge section containing the fragments of the A idea with the cyclic motive connects it to the second

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14 Ibid.
subject group, which is first heard in the ‘cello, described by the composer as calm and directly leading into the development section. In contrast to the A idea, the B idea is much more lyrical and has a descending step-wise character (see ex. 7.8). Recapitulation starts at Fig 12 and the movement comes to a close after a coda starting at Fig 14. As seen through his own descriptions of the quartet, the whole movement displays Saygun’s awareness of and careful approach in applying the sonata principle. The genesis of the work clearly lies in a very traditional form.

Chronologically, the string quartet was written in between two large-scale dramatic works, the oratorio Yunus Emre Op. 26 and the opera Kerem Op. 28, which both explored the mystic journey of a Sufi’s quest of self-discovery, in their subject matter and musical language. Therefore it is not surprising to find the quartet, even though not a dramatic composition, being significantly influenced by the mystical overtones of these works. This is particularly felt in the second movement, where Saygun clearly alludes to the ritualistic services, called zikr, of the mystic dervishes, who throughout their ceremonies played intoxicating music in order to attain a full meditative state. In chapter V of this dissertation, the musical tradition of the Sufis was explained with examples from the hymnodic music of the poet Yunus Emre. In the oratorio Saygun used the verses of the poet supported by original hymns to create the mystic atmosphere, and also called for authentic instruments (optionally) like the ney (reed-flute) and the kudüm (timpani), associated with their musical traditions. In the quartet, restricted to stringed instruments only, Saygun clearly recreates this tradition through both his melodic writing and instrumental scoring.

15 Ibid.
16 According to Feldman: “The Mevlevi ayin was conceived of both as a ritual which would benefit the participants and as a spiritual concert like the medieval Sufi sema, a ‘spiritual audition’, which would spread spiritual benefit (feyz) among the audience as well” (Walter Feldman: Music of the Ottoman Court, p. 190)
Before looking in detail at the application of this process, it would be worthwhile to follow Feldman’s description of an actual zikr ceremony: “The music of most of the Sunni dervish orders was focused around the zikr (dhikr) ceremony as well as Islamic holidays such as the Birthday of the Prophet (Mevlid-i ıerif). The Turkish zikr represented a fusion of several disparate musical principles, in which the unaccompanied chanting of religious poetry (in Turkish) by the müezzin was only one. This mosque chanting was integrated into a metrical context in which sound was divided into three
timbral areas: The müezzin’s high pitch solo was the uppermost. The middle level was occupied by the singing of the metrical hymns (ilahi) by a small group of dervishes (zakirs). The lowest level was represented by the chanting and breathing of the Divine Names by the mass of dervishes. The metrical basis of this chant was reinforced by percussion, usually large-frame drums (daire, bendir), but also kettle-drums (kudüm) and cymbals (halile). In the zikr, metricity coexisted with antiphonal singing and a tendency towards polyphony”.

In terms of its improvisatory, timeless character, moving in a florid step-wise fashion, Saygun’s opening theme in the second movement in Mixolydian mode is clearly chant-like (see ex. 7.9). In fact the composer himself describes this theme as a mélodie, a monotonous chant, clear evidence of his thinking in terms of the hymnodic tradition when constructing the melodic lines. The three-tiered polyphonic texture in the violins and viola also clearly matches Feldman’s description of the zikr, which was divided into three timbral areas. The antiphonal effect is also achieved through imitative entries of the instruments, occasionally turning into canonic episodes. The way Saygun reinforces the beat in each bar, without access to a percussion instrument, is also highly original: almost echoing the beats of a kudüm, the pizzicati in the ‘cello recreate this effect. In fact scored with occasional octave leaps the pizzicati also follow the traditionally low and high-pitched beatings (usul) of the kudüm (see ex. 7.9). The dervishes in a zikr ceremony followed the low and high beats of the drums, which reinforced the sense of time. In the second movement of the quartet the ‘cello is clearly keeping the time beneath a tightly inter-woven contrapuntal texture, where dotted bar-lines indicate some division, but obviously for rehearsal purposes rather than musical ones. Saygun’s upper string players must also listen carefully to the ‘cello line in order to keep the ensemble together.

17Walter Feldman: Music of the Ottoman Court, p. 108
18See footnote 9
19The composer himself describes this as “the pizzicati of the ‘cello serve a kind of percussion to this mixed counterpoint”. (An unpublished analytical note by the composer entitled Quatour à cordes Op. 27)
20Reinhard explains that “an usul is a rhythmic pattern which is usually performed on kudüm or nakkare (two small kettledrums). Lower-pitched main beats are sounded on the right and higher-pitched auxiliary beats on the left” (Kurt Reinhard on Turkish music in the New Grove (ed. S. Sadie), Vol. 19, p. 275)
The second movement in ternary form (ABA) has a contrasted middle section, which is bridged through an improvisatory solo ‘cello line starting at Fig. 19 (see ex. 7.10). This not only comes as a resolution to the preceding pizzicati, and forms a transition into the middle section, but also contains the descending notes of the Hüzzam tetra-chord (semi-tone, tone, semi-tone) transposed to Bb-A-G-F#, which Saygun used in previous and successive works as the principal motive (see ex. 6.12, p. 143). In Yunus Emre, Nos. 2, 11 and 12 were clearly based around this motive,21 and similarly the principal motive in the first piano concerto is built on the notes of the Hüzzam tetra-chord.22 In this way the quartet is also thematically inter-connected with Saygun’s other works. In fact the composer uses this motive so frequently in his works that hereafter this motive will be labelled as the Saygun motive. Incidentally, it is also strikingly similar to Shostakovich’s DSCH monogram which, based on the same four notes placed in a different order, would sound A-Bb-G-F# at this pitch.

Although the outer sections of the slow movement show similarities with the middle section in their contrapuntal layout, they are still contrasted in terms of tonal

21See Chapter VI, p. 155
22See Chapter VIII, p. 213
areas, differing string sonorities and tempo. The tonal area for the outer sections is around the note F (the movement starts and ends on this note), and rotates around the flat side of the scale, with six flats in the key-signature. Saygun, however, starts the transition in to the middle section on a B natural (Fig 19). In other words, he chooses the furthest possible note from F, and in contrast constructs the middle section rotating around the sharper end of the scale. The *Adagio* tempo marking at the middle section also gives way to a *Poco Vivo*. All four instruments move in places in demi-semi­quavers and travel within a range of three octaves in a bar at that tempo, giving an overall effect which sounds like harmonics (see ex. 7.11). Due to its highly chromatic construction, there is no sense of a tonal area either; it almost borders on atonality.

**Ex. 7.10**

![Ex. 7.10](image)

**Ex. 7.11**

![Ex. 7.11](image)
The middle section of the second movement also clearly shows Saygun's methodical application of certain Baroque devices such as imitation and canon, also using inversions and retrogrades of melodic lines. The 'cello and the viola at Fig. 20 for example are in an inverted canon at the octave, while the other two instruments play the same phrase in direct and inverted canons (see ex. 7.11).\(^{23}\) At Fig. 21, the same process continues: however this time the second violin and the 'cello are both in an inverted canon at the fifth against the first violin and the viola, which are also in canon (see ex. 7.12). In fact canonic episodes also appear in the outer sections of the movement, such as between the first violin and the viola at the very opening. There is also a fugue in the finale, with clear tonic-dominant entries, which will shortly be discussed. All this meticulously planned use of Baroque devices seems to share similarities with Beethoven's and Bartók's stylistic qualities in the string quartet medium. In fact Kerman observes that "As is well known, Haydn's development of classic contrapuntal style came after an extraordinary series of strictly fugal finales in his Op. 20 Quartets of 1772. They were instantly copied by the child Mozart. After these impressive studies in archaic counterpoint, Haydn gradually lightened and sophisticated a polyphonic idiom poised perfectly to the aesthetic of high comedy that Tovey pointed out as the essence of the high classic style. It is characteristic that Beethoven seems to have felt a need to live through in reverse, as it were, Haydn's own evolution. And so it happens strikingly that, starting with the six quartets Op. 18, Beethoven experiments again and again with the old counterpoint in its most scholastic forms: canons, stiff double-counterpoint inversions, fugati, even fugues. These exercises jostle smoother counterpoint in the facile classic style, which was something he could manage perfectly easily. Too easily perhaps. The search for character, which is to say the search for power, sent him back to a more abstract contrapuntal ideal".\(^{24}\) Saygun's first quartet appears to contain characteristics from Beethoven's earlier as well as his late period, side by side. In other words, in one place we find him following a strict canon or a fugal exposition, as described in the paragraph above, while in other places, such as Fig. 1 in the first movement, he breaks into a freer, more abstract contrapuntal flow.

\(^{23}\)See footnote 9

\(^{24}\)Joseph Kerman: *The Beethoven Quartets*, pp. 13-14
The minuet and trio marks the beginning of the introduction of folk-song elements into the quartet in contrast to the hymnodic mystical themes of the preceding two movements. It is also the most predictable and backward looking movement compared to the rest of the quartet. The musical language of the trio, particularly in its pentatonic scales, is clearly reminiscent of an earlier phase of the composer's work. The bare fifth drone effects in the viola and the 'cello similarly also belong more to this earlier phase (see ex. 7.13). In fact Saygun himself devotes only one sentence to the movement in his analytical notes. The movement clearly fits in with the overall classical structure of the quartet, in its balanced four-bar phrases and imitation in paired instruments (see ex. 7.14). The feeling of bi-modality in the first half of the minuet, in arpeggiated F# - C# - G# against the violins which contain F - C - G is also a characteristic of an earlier phase especially in its repetitive non-organic drone quality. In fact creating a drone on two fifths (F# - C# - G#) was a clear characteristic found in early folk-song harmonisations (see exs. 5.3 and 5.4, pp. 109-110) and traditional dance settings for the piano. In this way the movement shares a similarity with the minuet in the first symphony, which also stands amongst the rest of the movements as being the most backward looking.

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25 See footnote 9
26 See chapter VIII, p. 207
As was mentioned earlier, the finale opens with a slow introduction similar to the first movement. This is undoubtedly the clearest representation of the cyclic idea so far: not only does the cyclic motive appear identically in the first bar in minim values, but it also leads to a recapitulation of other motives from the first movement such as that from 8 bars before Fig. 5 appearing in transposition at Fig 31 (see ex. 7.15). The experience is almost like hearing the introduction of the first movement again, though in miniature form. The main *Allegro assai* section of the finale, however, continues to develop on folk-based lines, following on from the change of mood that began to exert itself in the preceding Minuet and Trio. This time Saygun emphasises the traditional Turkish rhythm of *aksak*, which later became the rhythmic basis of subject materials in the finales of the majority of his symphonies and concertos. This is a particular kind of rhythmic division of beats into uneven combinations of binary and ternary units, which the composer discovered during field-trips on the Black Sea Coast in 1937.\(^{27}\) In fact Saygun bases the

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\(^{27}\)Saygun describes this rhythm in the following words: "The term *aksak*, borrowed from the Turkish musical terminology was adopted mainly since 1949, the year of the International Conference of Folk
unequal division of beats of $10/8$ ($2/8 + 3/8 + 2/8 + 3/8$) on the cyclic motive of the G-Ab slide (see ex. 7.6). The influence of the Anatolian folk tradition also shows itself in other ways than the unequal rhythmic patterns: long pedal points, for example around Figs. 34-36, are strongly reminiscent of the drone effects of this tradition, seen in the form of clusters around minor seconds and ninths (see ex. 7.16).

There is also the imitation of percussion instruments, as had been the case in the slow movement. Here the composer does not imitate the sound of the sufi instrument *kudum*, but instead recreates the beats of a traditional village drum, with its heavy stick and lighter switch sounds. This is achieved by constantly repeated falling arpeggios of two semiquavers for the switch beats followed by a quaver for the beat of the stick (see ex. 7.16). The finale also introduces a boisterous traditional dance on *aksak* rhythms, which momentarily becomes a fugue subject (see ex. 7.17). It is these kinds of sudden bare traditional outbursts that make the quartet a transitionary work, where one can still feel the hallmarks of an earlier phase. Yet at the same time the work also introduces new stylistic tendencies, such as the motivic cell principle, which was to be developed further in the second quartet, where any sense of bare tradition is completely ironed out.

**Ex. 7.15**

Music Specialists in Geneva, Switzerland to designate a special category of rhythms, a few specimens of which were made known by Béla Bartók under the incorrect denomination of *Bulgarian rhythm*. *Aksak* rhythms are produced by the combination of time units belonging to binary and ternary divisions, under the condition that the tempo of the basic material units that enter into the structure of both binary and ternary units remain unaltered*.

(From Saygun's Foreword to *Ten Etudes on Aksak Rhythms* for piano/forte Op. 38)
Ex. 7.17
The first string quartet was dedicated to the American Ambassador Edwin C. Wilson, who was resident in Ankara at the time of its composition. It was not however premiered for seven years, until the famous French *Quator Parrenin* gave a performance of it during the Centre de Documentation de Musique International Festival in Paris at the concert hall of the École Normale de Musique on 23 October 1954. Saygun was also in Paris at the time, and having attended the two rehearsals of the quartet he wrote to his wife: “At the first rehearsal I was very upset. They obviously had not touched the work after playing it through once or twice. They also told me that they were too busy travelling, so didn’t have time. I have just returned from a second and final rehearsal with them. They must have worked hard. It is not going bad. Obviously it was necessary to make a few corrections. I do hope they play well”. 28 Quite extraordinarily the quartet was not performed in Turkey until 13 October 1990.

**7.3 String Quartet No. 2, Op. 35**

If the first quartet marked the beginning of Saygun’s second phase, then it was the second quartet which brought it to a climax, looking forward to the start of a new era. While the former was more a work of an evolutionary nature, the latter had clearly strong revolutionary tendencies and prepared the ground for the composer’s third compositional phase. Day Thorpe, the music critic of the Washington based *Evening Star*, described the quartet after its American premiere as “a wonderfully strong, compelling and original composition”, and went on to say: “It has the blood of Bartók in it, and the finale, a fugue with the most electrifying counter subject you have heard for years is reminiscent, in its angular and ceaseless energy, of the ‘Grosse Fugue’ of Beethoven”. 29 Similarly in Turkey music critics like Bedii Sevin greeted it with enthusiasm finding it an extraordinary work where “introvert, mystic and sleepy Saygun had departed”. 30 Saygun himself seems to have been pleased with the result as we

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28 Letter to Nilfifer, Paris, 22 October 1954 (BUS A) (The other works performed at the same concert were Ned Rorem’s *Poèmes pour la Paix* for baritone, with the composer at the piano, the Belgian composer Marcel quiNet’s *Sonatine* for violin and piano and the Czech composer Karel Husa’s *string quartet*. (from the concert programme at BUSA))


30 Bedii Sevin: ‘Saygun ‘daki Değişiklik’, *Ulus*, 26 February 1959 (In his article Sevin apologises for calling Saygun sleepy, but explains that he is referring to the slow hymnodic nature of his melodic lines)
understand from a letter written to his friend Henri Guilloux, where he says: "I hope the Master [Eugene Borrel] will not be disappointed with his pupil".\textsuperscript{31}

According to the published score, dated by the composer, the second quartet was finished in Ankara on 10th of March 1958.\textsuperscript{32} It was a commission from the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation at the Library of Congress in Washington DC, for which Saygun was paid $750.\textsuperscript{33} The Coolidge Foundation, which had commissioned composers like Bartók and Stravinsky, was commissioning a composer from the Eastern borders of Europe for the first time.\textsuperscript{34} Although the exact date of the commission is not known, according to a newspaper article, Saygun was approached about writing the quartet the year before its actual composition, in 1957.\textsuperscript{35} The Coolidge Foundation also agreed to organise a premiere for the work at the Coolidge auditorium in the Library of Congress in Washington DC. It is most likely that the commission of this prestigious nature was secured by Saygun's influential American friends. Professor Carol Pratt, who was a lecturer at Ankara University at the time of the premiere of \textit{Yunus Emre}, seems to have been involved with the project. In fact Pratt, who was present at the Washington premiere of the quartet in 1958, also sent newspaper cuttings of the reviews of the concert to Turkish newspapers in Ankara.\textsuperscript{36}

The second quartet shows striking differences from any of Saygun's previous works in terms of form, musical language and character. By the time he started work on his second quartet, ten years had elapsed since the composition of the Op. 27 quartet, which in the meantime saw the creation of major works like the first two symphonies, the first piano concerto and the completion of his opera \textit{Kerem}. While the first quartet and other works of the second period still contained identifiable traditional elements, such as \textit{aksak} Turkish rhythms and melodic lines based on art music \textit{makams} inspired by the singing traditions of mystical dervishes and the folk-dances of Anatolia, it is in the

\textsuperscript{31}Letter to Henri Guilloux, Ankara, 1 May 1966 (A copy of the second quartet was also dispatched with the letter)
\textsuperscript{32}The second string quartet was published by Southern Music in 1961. The autograph is at the Library of Congress in Washington. (for further details see entry in the \textit{catalogue raisonné} in Part III)
\textsuperscript{33}Letter from the trustees of the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation (BUSA)
\textsuperscript{34}Milton Berliner: 'New Quartet Performed', \textit{Washington Daily News}, 29 November 1958 (In fact Bartók wrote his fourth string quartet and Stravinsky composed \textit{Apollo Musagetes} for the Coolidge Foundation)
\textsuperscript{35}Fikri Çiçekoğlu: 'Julliard Yaylı Sazlar Kuartetii', \textit{Vatan}, 24 September 1958
\textsuperscript{36}Kim, 6 February 1959
second quartet that we begin to feel a total sense of disintegration in all these areas. This does not mean to say that the Op. 35 quartet is totally free from these traditional elements; instead their presence is much harder to detect under the composer’s more abstract treatment.

The first ten bars of the quartet in fact clearly reflect this change of style. So far even though Saygun’s music had strong modal inflections and chromaticism, there always existed a clear tonal centre. Movements started and ended around these tonal centres, even occasionally drawing to a close on a diatonic chord (as was the case in the first string quartet and Yunus Emre). However, as seen in the ten-bar viola introduction to the second quartet, the music clearly unfolds by passing through all the twelve semitones (see ex. 7.18). In other words in his second quartet we find Saygun arriving at the borders of atonality through his own pursuit of a combination of various Turkish makams and his increasing obsession with chromaticism. This is also clear from the fact that Saygun totally abandons the concept of the key-signature in all the movements in the quartet. This viola introduction could have easily been the beginning of a string quartet constructed in the twelve-tone system. In fact here Saygun not only tries to block a feeling for any tonal or modal definition, he also destroys any sense of firm rhythm and dynamics. With three different time signatures and syncopation across bar lines, marked rubato and accelerando poco, it becomes absolutely impossible to establish any sense of time. The variety of dynamics marked piano with constant crescendo and diminuendo swings also add to the feeling of instability.

Although the quartet opens with an atonal statement, which is also clearly visible in the introductions of the following three movements (see ex. 7.19.1-3), it is not a serial work. What Saygun appears to be doing here is using serial writing as a dramatic effect, rather than applying it methodically throughout his quartet. In fact, even though he briefly experimented with serialism, he never used it systematically as a basis for his musical language, and at the same time openly criticised its principle. This is also

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37 He had used various key signatures in the previous quartet and the first symphony, and despite the fact that they did not serve to establish any specific keys, this nevertheless reflected the traditional thinking behind the composer’s mind.

38 According to Saygun “This system [twelve-tone] is not a system which is rooted in tradition. This is a system which has been devised on paper [...] Of course people are free to look for ways of expression. We are not going to restrict them. I personally tried it myself. I tried using the twelve-tone system, but I felt that this did not appeal to me. This does not belong to us, it is alien to our culture and has no roots”; [Bu
proved by the fact that the concept of the tonal centre is not abandoned in the second quartet either, as might at first be felt. However, its hegemony is clearly undermined and its detection is made more difficult, compared with the Op. 27 quartet, which had a clear modal outline in all four movements. It is the note F# which has clear importance in the outer movements of the quartet: the ‘cello has a long pedal on this note at the very opening, and then we hear firm repeated semi-quaver beats on the same note at around Fig. 1, before the first subject group. The recapitulation starts in the same tonal area and the movement ends on it. In fact the fugue subject in the finale also starts on the note of F#, bringing the entire quartet to a close on this note. In this way the second quartet has similarities with the first, which also had a symmetrical tonal-centre scheme, with the entire work starting and ending on the note G.

Ex. 7.18

The first quartet showed Saygun’s enthusiasm in using a small cell (G-Ab semitone slide) as a cyclic idea, which was developed to an extent, but always kept recurring

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at the original pitch in different movements of the work. In the first piano concerto Saygun reached a further stage with his use of the cyclic material: the cell was modified in each movement, but was still kept intact in its modified shape within that particular movement.\textsuperscript{39} In the second quartet on the other hand, Saygun's motivic cells constantly grow and change shape during the course of a single movement, as well as from one movement to another. In fact certain motivic ideas, which are clearly extracted from the opening solo viola line, are then subjected to a constant process of development. The movement constantly grows from one cell giving birth to another one, almost like a chain reaction. In this way they are all part of the same family and reflect Saygun's maturer approach in creating an inner unity. As a result, the quartet clearly lacks any memorable themes, but displays a constant development of motivic cells, and in this way shows similarities to Bartók's late quartets.\textsuperscript{40}

\textbf{Ex. 7.19.1}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{ex7.19.1.png}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{39}See Chapter VIII, p. 201

\textsuperscript{40}Halsey Stevens describes Bartók's fourth quartet as "a quartet almost without themes, with only motives and their development. This is particularly true of the first and fifth movements, both of which employ the same motivic patterns; the second and fourth also share materials". (Halsey Stevens: \textit{The Life and music of Béla Bartók}, p. 186)
The most important motivic idea which is heard in the solo viola is the ascending tone slide followed by the descending semi-tone, repeated and transposed in succession (Ab-Bb-A, D-E-Eb) (see ex. 7.18). This not only forms the basis of the first subject group in the first movement, but the fugue subject in the finale also contains a rearrangement of this main germinal idea (see ex. 7.20). Similarly the opening of the second movement is constructed around these intervals as a cluster in the order of A-G#-G (see ex. 7.19.1), and the third movement also starts with a different re-arrangement of the intervals in the notes D-E-F (see ex. 7.19.2). The other important motivic material that is extracted from the opening viola line is the four notes of the Hüzzam tetra-chord, in other words, the Saygun motive, which appears consistently in different shapes throughout the quartet (see ex. 6.12, p. 143). Saygun generally uses the Hüzzam tetra-chord (semi-tone, tone, semi-tone) in descending order, but in the introduction we see it in the following order: Bb-A-Db-C. In this way the Saygun motive is also successfully concealed in the opening ten-bar statement as is any sense of tonal centre, tempo or dynamics.

Ex. 7.20
In terms of form the second quartet still reflects some aspects of traditional classical planning, although in a much more closely-knit structure. This is partly due to the constant development of the same motivic idea, heard at the very beginning, which turns the inner movements of the quartet into an almost extended development section of a sonata. Even though the work has this single-unit feeling, at the same time each movement is also itself clearly divided into sections. The first movement for example follows the sonata form principle; the second movement which is an expanded ternary (ABCBA) is followed by another ternary movement and a finale. In the first movement, following the ten-bar viola introduction, starting on F# we hear the first subject group at Fig. 1 (see ex. 7.21), which contains the ascending tone and descending semi-tone motive extracted from the viola line. The second subject is introduced at Fig. 5 in the first violin on the note C (see ex. 7.22). In contrast with the first subject, which constantly evolves, the second subject sits on the note C almost reflecting the uzun hava of the Anatolian singing tradition. While the note C is sustained in the first violin, there is extraordinary rhythmic variety, with great emphasis on syncopation, and it finally resolves by falling a minor third. This idea is immediately taken on by the ‘cello, this time a semi-tone lower on Cb, followed by the development section. Like the first quartet Saygun also introduces the descending notes of the Huzzam tetra-chord, his signature motive, in the development section (see ex. 7.23.1) (three bars after Fig. 9), which is then heard in retrograde in the ‘cello line (see ex. 7.23.2). The recapitulation starts five bars before Fig. 18, again around the note F#. The cellular motivic development however still continues; four bars before Fig. 19 is in fact a typical Saygunian usage, where the main motive (ascending tone - descending semi-tone) appearing exactly in the viola line (with its modified versions in the rest of the instruments) is constantly repeated. Each time the cell is repeated a new interval is added and thus the unit gradually grows. The movement comes to a close with the Saygun motive leading into a monophonic makam-based statement.

Ex. 7.21
Apart from continual transformation of motivic cells, the quartet is also sealed together through certain recurring rhythmic patterns. One of these patterns (A) is in the shape of two off-beat articulate $ff$ semiquavers followed by a quaver, which is heard for the first time in the exposition of the first movement (see ex. 7.21). The other pattern (B) is an extended trill followed by a (chromatic) descent of semiquaver sextuplets (see ex. 7.24). Pattern (A) for example is clearly heard at Fig 7 in the second movement and immediately elaborated in the shapes of two demi-semiquavers followed by a quaver and three semi-quavers grouped as a triplet followed by a dotted minim. Furthermore, in the third movement, we find that the main rhythmic idea of a group of seven semiquavers is also related to pattern A. This is also true for the ensuing pizzicato section, where Saygun places the same rhythmic pattern, in short arco outbursts. Pattern (A) is also modified in the middle section of the movement at Fig. 4, when this time it is on the beat, but syncopated. The finale also introduces pattern A both in its on-the-beat syncopated version and off-the-beat semiquaver triplet version. Pattern B is heard towards the end of the exposition in the first movement (starting six bars before Fig 15), which is then heard in the reverse order in the second movement (three bars before Fig. 3) and at three bars after Fig. 10. Saygun also introduces it in the finale, three bars before Fig. 11.

In the first quartet Saygun’s imitative polyphonic lines were organised with some traditional thinking, such as an answering phrase entering either on the dominant or at the octave, especially as clearly seen at the fugal episode in the finale. In the first movement of the second quartet, however, Saygun deliberately avoids any entries of this
nature. In fact the instance where the *uzun hava* in the first violin is answered by the cello, is a clear example of this: while the first violin repeats the note C, the cello enters with the same idea on Cb (see ex. 7.25). Similarly the fugue in the finale introduces the subject on the notes F# (second violin), C (first violin), Ab (viola) and Db (cello) (see ex. 7.20). Although the tritone played an important role in Saygun’s dark musical colouring, particularly in *Yunus Emre*, imitation at the tritone as seen in this context would have been unthinkable for Saygun ten years earlier. Similarly the second quartet contains harsh and unstable clusters, such as adjacent chromatic notes being pressed against each other. Although the earlier quartet also contained dissonant clusters, these were momentary and eventually resolved. In the second quartet, however, one dissonant cluster is followed by another group, which is best seen in the opening of the second movement. The first cluster (F#, G, G#, B, C#) at the opening for example gives way to the second one (C, C#, D) at seven bars after Fig. 1 and leads on to the third (Eb, F, G, F#) at Fig. 2 (see ex. 7.19.1).

Ex. 7.25

It was earlier mentioned that in the second quartet Saygun avoided any bare folk idiom. The clearest evidence of this can also be found in his treatment of the Turkish *aksak* rhythm. The third movement, like the finale of the earlier quartet, is constructed on uneven combinations of the *aksak* rhythm, in this case in 7/8 time. In the first quartet once the uneven pattern was established as 2/8+3/8+2/8+3/8 this kept recurring in the same shape, just as in a traditional dance. In fact through this kind of repetitiveness Saygun was able to recreate the dance. In the second quartet however he openly exploits different combinations of the unequal division of beats. As a result no traditional dance is detectable, but its unstable nature becomes the basis for Saygun’s rhythmic interplay. He achieves this by constantly fluctuating time signatures, such as 7/8, 9/8 and 10/8, one
after another in an unpredictable order. Syncopation and erratic distribution of accents are also part of this frame of total juxtaposition of rhythms. At the same time there is a strong detectable feeling of Bartókian peasant vigour, especially around four bars before Fig. 8 (see ex. 7.26).

Ex. 7.26

The second quartet displays an energetic and optimistic Saygun. His music which was for so long influenced by the hymnodic nature of mystical dervish tradition is transformed here, with just a few relics of the past appearing, such as the final three bars of the first movement (see ex. 7.27). Perhaps Saygun's bolder and revolutionary approach in his quartet was partly shaped by the fact that the work was a commission from the Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation. Saygun knew that his output was never in line with the modern trends of his time, such as serialism and electronic music.41 Though he resented any "avant-gardiste conceptions", as he referred to it,42 at

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41 When the jury of the CDMI was considering the first quartet Saygun wrote to Henri Guilloux saying: "Although this work [the quartet] has been put into the festival programme and announced in different reviews, I do not believe that it has been kept by the Jury Sonore, which will establish the final programme. It is not élétronique, concrete or dodécaphonique"; (Letter to Henri Guilloux, Ankara, 7 May 1954)

42 After the success of his first piano concerto at an avant-garde festival in Warsaw Saygun was surprised, when he said: "My first piano concerto was received well. I am astonished. It is an avant-garde festival
the same time he might have felt the need to produce a work containing those elements for a Washington premiere, which he knew was going to attract wide publicity. In fact, the premiere given by the Julliard Quartet on 28th of November was broadcast on WGMS of Washington DC.\(^{43}\) The quartet was also repeated at a concert given by the Edinburgh Quartet during the Edinburgh International Festival on 7 September 1959. Like the first quartet, surprisingly, the second quartet was not premiered in Turkey for ten years until the Yücelen Quartet performed it in Izmir on 14 February 1968. A recording of the American premiere however was played at the American Library record concerts in Ankara in the spring of 1959.

**Ex. 7.27**

[Music notation]

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\(^{43}\) The programme also included Mozart’s Quartet in A, KV 464, and Dvorak’s Quartet in C, Op. 61 (from the concert programme at BUSA)
CHAPTER VIII

The First Two Symphonies
and the Piano concertos

8.1 Introduction:

Apart from a symphony written during his early twenties, which was later repudiated, Saygun did not make any serious attempts to compose in the genre until 1953. The early symphony, however, one of his first serious compositions, displays his interest in the genre from a very young age. As emphasised in earlier chapters, Saygun’s familiarity with the symphonic form prior to his Schola Cantorum training could be traced back to his regular sessions of playing piano-duet arrangements of classical symphonies of Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven with his teacher Macar Tevfik in Izmir. His self-taught knowledge, acquired through translating music-theory books, which would undoubtedly have enlightened him about the principles of the symphonic form, played an important role at this early stage in his life as well. Apart from playing piano-duet arrangements, the only symphony which he is believed to have heard at the time was a gramophone recording of Schubert’s Eighth. Therefore it is not surprising to find the twenty-year-old Adnan following a strictly late classical style in his youthful symphony, in terms of form, harmonic language and orchestration. In fact the first movement of the symphony is an Allegro in sonata form, which is preceded by a slow Adagio introduction. The second movement, labelled Adagio molto espressivo, has a slow lyrical character and is in ternary shape. This is followed by a faster Allegro con brio, which is clearly a rondo. The symphony has no minuet and trio movement, which

1The MS of the early symphony is at BUSA. It is entitled Birinci Senfoni (First symphony), the title-page written in Ottoman Turkish, using Arabic letters, which reads: “D major, 16 October 1927 - 26 April 1928, Ahmed Adnan Fıcıkçì”. (For further details see entry in the catalogue raisonné in Part III).
2This is recorded by his friend Fikri Çičekoğlu, who also attended these duet sessions. (Fikri Çičekoğlu: ‘Tevfik Bey’e ait bir hattura’, Aksam, September 1941 (See Chapter I, p. 20))
3See Chapter I, p. 20
5According to Özgüç, Adnan was also given the score of a Schubert symphony by the conductor of the Naval Band, Sabri Bey in 1927 and it was as a result of this that he was inspired to write a symphony, following the same format closely. (Fehamettin Özgüç: ‘Ahmed Adnan Saygun’, Ahmed Adnan Saygun Semineri Bildirileri, p. 19)
might have been lost or never composed. It is in D major and constructed in a totally
diatonic idiom, with classical tonic-dominant harmonic progressions. The orchestration
of the symphony also shows late classical qualities in its scoring for strings, double
woodwind and brass (including three trombones). The score of this early attempt clearly
reveals a young composer who has already developed a significant understanding of the
classical symphonic genre and the principal stylistic rules of Western art music.

It is important to observe that Saygun did not compose another symphony until
he was forty-six years old, which was later to be followed by four further large scale
symphonies, constituting an important share of his output. In fact, mental plans were
also made for a sixth symphony with choir, incorporating the verses of the poet
philosopher Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi, but sadly this was never to materialise due to the
composer’s death. Why, in that case, did it take Saygun almost thirty years to return to
a genre that was to inspire him so strongly in the first place during his youth and make
up a substantial amount of his output in later years? In fact, most of the large scale
compositions up until this time, since the composer’s return from Paris, had a
programmatic nature, such as the Cantata in the olden style, Yunus Emre, Özsoy,
Taşbebek and Kerem. Two of these operas were commissions from Atatürk, who himself
gave the subject matter for the libretti to be based on. The cantata was a setting of a
poem depicting the transformation of the country into a modern republic and Kerem and
Yumus Emre reflected the composer’s personal interest in Sufism. The early years of the
republic were times for making important cultural statements: in architecture this meant
large-scale buildings, in painting heroic subject matter and in music, according to
Saygun, this could only be achieved in a medium where words were also incorporated
into the composition. Atatürk must have believed in the same principle too, otherwise
he would also have commissioned composers to write symphonies or other purely
orchestral works, which he did not. Therefore it was partly Saygun’s preoccupation with
works of this nature that prevented him from embarking on writing a symphony. The
delay was also partly due to the composition of Kerem, which took about seven years to
complete. In fact after Yumus Emre, which was composed in 1942, Saygun did not

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6 Interview with Halit Reşîf, Istanbul, March 1995 (Saygun also mentioned a plan for a sixth symphony in
a letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 29 October 1987)
7 This was a view he always held, even when he was preparing to compose the Epic on Atatürk and
Anatolia after the 1980 military coup. (From the composer’s own notes given to me by Sadun Tanju)
compose a major work, with the exception of the first string quartet (1947), for ten years until *Kerem* was finally finished and premiered. Similarly the first piano concerto which he had started composing in 1951 was also put aside for six years.

### 8.2 Symphony No. 1 Op. 29:

The reason for Saygun becoming interested in the symphonic medium in 1953 was due to a commission he received from Franz Litschauer, the conductor of the Vienna Chamber Orchestra (Wiener Tonkünstlerverein), who was preparing to take the players on a tour of the near East at the time, which was also to include Turkey. Although the tour never took place, the commission, which appears to have come in anticipation of it, was not dropped. In fact Saygun himself personally met Litschauer in Vienna in June 1953 to discuss the details of the commission. What officially became his first symphony, *Op. 29*, was as a result completed in Ankara on 17 October 1953, in less than four months. In fact the actual writing process of the work seems to have taken less than a few weeks, while Saygun spent most of the time making mental plans. Incidentally, this was a general working method for Saygun, who at first planned the work in his mind for a considerable amount of time, only later writing the finished version on paper from memory. This can also be seen in the fact that there are very few sketches of his works, which is another field where he shows a similarity to Béla Bartók.

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8 'Musiki', *Akis*, 4 December 1954

9 Although there appears to be no evidence of any fee Saygun most likely accepted the commission because Litschauer promised a premiere in Vienna, which would have been extremely prestigious for the Turkish composer.

10 The date appears on the back of the MS at BUSA.

11 According to anecdote told by Akdil, one day in 1953, Gazimihal asked Saygun if he was working on any compositions. To this Saygun replied that he was planning a new symphony. For the next two to three months, on many occasions following this incident Saygun always replied to Gazimihal by saying that he was planning the symphony, until a week following a similar answer, he unexpectedly told his colleague that he had finished the symphony. (Sayram Akdil: ‘Besteci Ahmed Adnan Saygun’, *Ahmed Adnan Saygun Semineri Bildirileri*, p. 26)

12 In fact important evidence for this comes from a newspaper article, where Saygun explains his working methods by saying: “I think about the subject and construct it in my mind for a long time. In the meantime I make hardly any sketches. Finally I write the all of the finished version in ink from memory”. (‘Adnan Saygun neler anlatıyor’, 22 May 1947 (BUSA))

13 László Somfai quotes from Antal Molnár by saying: “Bartók produced his compositions in a similar fashion to Mozart: he worked them out to a finished state in his head and then noted them down with passionate speed”. (László Somfai: ‘In his Compositional Workshop’, *The Bartók Companion*, p. 30)
The genesis of the first symphony was significantly shaped by the nature of the commission itself. Litschauer’s orchestra was a chamber group which was made up of double woodwind (with only one flute), two horns and strings, without timpani. In fact, this is exactly the combination of forces which Saygun calls for in his symphony. The small size of the orchestra, similar to the forces available to Haydn and Mozart, also seems to have dictated the classical proportions of the work. In this way, lasting about twenty-five minutes, the Op. 29 symphony shares similarities with the earlier youthful effort, although the latter is undoubtedly a more individualistic work. Only in terms of their forces, length and reverence for classical form can the two symphonies be said to be alike. In fact according to the composer’s own analytical notes, the Op. 29 symphony follows a classical symphonic plan, which is described in the following words: “the first movement is in sonata form.... [the second is in ABACA], the third is a minuet and the finale is a rondo in ABACA shape”.

The symphony was conceived at a time when Saygun was suffering from bad health. Working on the commission, however, seems to have kept his morale high, as well as giving him a kind of mental relaxation. In fact this is clearly reflected in the bright and optimistic language of the symphony, most prominently seen in the fortissimo opening statement in the solo horns (see ex. 8.1). Almost sounding like a fanfare in its arpeggiated shape, the firm four-bar introduction clearly sets the triumphant character in the first movement, which finally culminates in a joyful traditional dance based on aksak rhythms in the finale. In this way the first symphony signals an obvious change of mood in the composer’s style. Shifting from the deep philosophical mysticism clearly embedded in works like Yunus Emre, Kerem and the first quartet, it moves to a much warmer, pastoral plane particularly found in its playful woodwind solos. The second subject in the first movement for example, introduced in the solo oboe, followed by the

14 These hitherto-unpublished analytical notes, in the composer’s own hand-writing, entitled Orkestra, cover the first three symphonies, the first piano concerto and other orchestral works (BUSA) (See relevant entries in the catalogue raisonné in Part III)

15 This is explained in a letter to Henri Guilloux: “You will remember the state of my health when I was in Paris last summer. I have been suffering since then, which has brought on a kind of a mental fatigue. All this is understandable of course, considering the amount of effort I had spent during the production of my opera last year. Despite this I didn’t do what the doctors wanted from me: to sit lazily in an armchair. Instead, I have composed a symphony which will be performed in Vienna in February next year....I think working has a calming effect on me. I have never learnt the art of resting”. (Letter to Henri Guilloux, Ankara, 22 December 1953) (For the original text see Chapter III, p. 76, ff. 95)
clarinet, clearly reflects this pastoral mood in its improvisatory flow, incorporating lively dotted quaver, semi-quaver rhythms (see ex. 8.2). Similarly the middle section of the second movement also introduces a playful theme heard in the flute and answered by the strings, which has a pastoral quality (see ex. 8.3). In this respect the symphony also appears to be reflecting a typical Viennese tradition of outdoor music as found particularly in the serenades and the divertimenti of the 18th century.

Ex. 8.1

Ex. 8.2
This sudden change in Saygun's style could be linked with the poor reception of his opera *Kerem*, which had opened in Ankara in March 1953, just a few months before the composition of the symphony. *Kerem* was almost like a staged-version of *Yunus Emre*, also heavily immersed in Sufi mystical values. Even those who admitted the work's significance as being the first full-length opera by a Turkish composer and praised its expressive choruses, severely criticised it, finding the music "slow in developing, far too long, dark and heavy-going". The first symphony in its shift towards a boisterous pastoral language - almost reminiscent of an earlier phase based on pentatonicism - could be interpreted as a response on the composer's part towards his critics. In fact this can also be seen in the strong pentatonic writing in the musical fabric of the symphony. The opening horn solo is clearly based on four notes of the pentatonic scale, which are F, G, A and D (see ex. 8.1). Furthermore, when Saygun introduces the same fanfare-like theme at Fig. 1 for the second time, we see that on this occasion the complete pentatonic scale is heard including the note C (see ex. 8.4).

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16See Chapter III, p. 70
17Lütfi Ay: ‘Kerem Opera’ *Ulus*, 24 April 1953
In the opening movement in sonata form, the first subject group comprises the four-bar horn introduction, followed by chromatic triplet figurations in the first and second violins. The second subject, in the solo oboe, starts at Fig. 3, where Saygun appears to be alluding to the call of a shepherd on the traditional Anatolian instrument of the zurna, in an improvisatory manner (see ex. 8.2). The second subject is clearly more lyrical compared to the articulate and staccato character of the first subject. The development starts at Fig 5, with a rhythmic ostinato in the woodwinds, which eventually reaches the recapitulation at around Fig. 17. Particularly during the course of the development section Saygun uses strong imitation, which in layers gradually builds into a thick contrapuntal texture. Polyphonic writing, which was so strong in the first quartet and Yunus Emre, is also fundamental not only in the first movement of the symphony but in other movements of the work as well. These contrapuntal lines also interlock occasionally forming thick homophonic chords such as between Figs. 11 to 14, and later come out of synchronisation, giving the movement a feeling of chaos in
In the first symphony, Saygun also follows the concept of having one note serving as a centre of gravitational pull, which had clearly existed in Yunus Emre and the first quartet. In the symphony this is D, which is established through the long pedal point at the opening and the D major chord at the end of the movement. Similarly the opening of the finale is also centred on the note D and, more significantly, the entire work comes to a close on this note, this time, however, suggesting a minor mode.

The second movement, in the composer’s own words, opens with an ostinato figuration in the ‘cellos and basses, which accompanies a florid solo oboe theme, taken up by the second oboe and the clarinets, imitatively (see ex. 8.5). In this respect, the second movement also clearly displays the significance of the woodwind solos that are central in the symphony. In fact the outer sections of the movement are constructed through a chain of intertwined woodwind solos against a rhythmic ostinato in the strings. These solos are clearly reminiscent of the Anatolian uzun hava singing tradition, which was also strongly present in Yunus Emre (see ex. 6.12, p. 143). Although Saygun describes the layout of the second movement as ABACA, the B section in fact seems to be part of the A Section in containing the same rhythmic ostinato. Section C at Fig. 4 on the other hand sees the introduction of a new dance-like staccato theme in the oboe (see ex. 8.3), which is followed by a return of the thematic material from section A at Fig. 10 and finally by the ostinato. In this way the movement has a ternary shape rather than what might at first look like a rondo according to the composer’s notes. The following minuet, on the other hand, seems to contain characteristics which are reminiscent of the minuet in the first quartet. The actual openings of the two minuets are strikingly similar in the way that the two upper strings are coupled against pizzicati in the lower strings (see exs. 8.6 and 7.14, p. 166). The similarity is so strong that bar 3 in the first violin part in the symphony is in fact identical with bar 1 in the quartet. The way Saygun had created a poly-tonal effect in the quartet by juxtaposing the notes D, G, F against D#,

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18Ronald Thordyrcraft from the Northern Sinfonia, who gave the British premiere on 31 May 1986, described the symphony in the following words: “...at first the symphony seemed confused and chaotic.....but then during careful work on the second movement everything suddenly ‘came into focus’. Order replaced chaos and I had the curious impression of the music soaring free from the sound that created it”. (From a letter by Ronald Thordyrcraft to Halit Refig, 26 September 1986, (BUSA))

19See footnote 14

20See Chapter VI, p. 164
G#, F# appears to be recreated in the symphony as well, through having Cb and Gb in the pizzicati against C and G in the melodic line.

Ex. 8.5

Ex. 8.6

The rondo finale is the most traditionally folkloric movement in the symphony, and in this respect it is also similar to the first string quartet. Like the quartet Saygun here explores the uneven combination of aksak rhythms, but in contrast to the former
work, he uses different combinations. For example, the movement opens in 7/8 divided into 3/8+2/8+2/8, followed by 10/8 divided into 2/8+3/8+2/8+3/8 and 9/8 into 2/8+2/8+3/8+2/8 (see ex. 8.7). The movement also displays Saygun’s cyclic idiom, which was discussed in earlier chapters. In the first string quartet, composed six years earlier, the cyclic motive was a semitone slide (G-Ab), which kept recurring at the original pitch in different sections of the work, thus giving a feeling of inner-cohesion. In the first symphony Saygun appears to be using a different kind of cyclic method; instead of taking any specific intervals, he uses rhythmic ostinati as a basis for giving the work an inner-logic. The ostinato in the cellos and basses at the opening of the slow movement (see ex. 8.5), for example, comes back slightly modified at a faster speed at Fig. 5 in the finale (see ex. 8.8). Similarly, the triplet ostinato at the very beginning in the first movement (see ex. 8.1) comes back in the slow movement (5 bars before fig. 10). Variations of this ostinato also come back in the third movement in the trio section following the minuet. More significantly Saygun also relates the outer movements of his symphony with statements of thematically-related material from the first appearing in the last. The beginning of the development section in the first movement at Fig. 5, for example, is briefly referred to at Fig. 7 in the Finale. The same could be said of the distinctive horn solos, which come back at Fig. 9 in the Finale.

Ex. 8.7

![Example notation image]
Litschauer was very pleased with Saygun’s symphony and, as promised, conducted the premiere in Vienna with his orchestra on 2 May 1954.\(^{21}\) The concert was also broadcast on the Austrian radio twice, on 27 May and 8 June, but despite all efforts Saygun was not able to hear it on long-wave radio in Ankara.\(^{22}\) It is interesting to note that Saygun’s Turkish identity was not revealed in the concert programme and, according to a Turkish newspaper, this was a sad but perhaps wise move to avoid any kind of biased criticism due to the composer’s nationality.\(^{23}\) In fact the concert was reviewed by Viennese papers, of which translations appeared in the Turkish press. According to the music critic of the *Weltpresse*, the symphony was such an original and universal work that there was no need to look for the nationality of its composer.\(^{24}\) Litschauer also conducted the Turkish premiere of the symphony in Ankara on 27 November 1954, and Saygun decided to dedicate the work to him.

8.3 Symphony No. 2, Op. 30:

Although both the published score and the autograph manuscript of the second symphony are identically dated as Ankara - 30 April 1957, there is evidence which shows that Saygun had in fact been working on his second symphony as early as June

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\(^{21}\) Saygun who could not attend the premiere later met Litschauer in Vienna in October 1954, and informed his wife that “[Litschauer] likes the symphony very much. He says that it is a completely original work. As far as I can understand he wants to conduct the work in Ankara”; [...senfoniyi pek sevmiş. Tamamiyle orijinal bir eser diyor. Bu eseri Ankara’da da herhalde çalırmak istiyor], (Letter to Nilüfer, Vienna, 13 October 1954)

\(^{22}\) Fikri Çiçekoğlu: ‘Senfoni ve Oratóryo’, *Vatan*, 27 September 1954

\(^{23}\) ‘Musiki’, *Akis*, 4 December 1954

\(^{24}\) Ibid.
It is interesting that the composer started writing another symphony so soon after finishing work on his first, especially having neglected the genre for thirty years. Indeed the two symphonies also appear consecutively as opp. 29 and 30 on the composer's own official list of works. The reason for Saygun's urge to write another symphony so soon might be related to the fact that his first symphony was a commission, which restricted him in certain aspects with a fixed deadline and mainly in his use of orchestral forces. In fact when the symphonies are compared, it is in the use of the orchestra that they are strikingly different to each other. Compared with the smaller forces used in the first symphony, the second has a much larger body of instruments, especially in terms of percussion. As well as calling for double woodwind, four horns - as opposed to only two in the previous symphony - three trumpets and three trombones, Saygun also scores for ten percussion instruments including two snare drums, bass-drum, cymbals, tam-tam, tom-tom, triangle, tambourine, wood block and jingles, not to mention the xylophone and the celeste. In fact, colourful effects from the percussion section were a hallmark of the composer's style particularly in the middle and late periods, beginning with the second symphony and remaining consistent throughout other orchestral works.

Although the two symphonies are different in their use of the orchestra, they are nevertheless related in terms of form and thematic material. Like the previous symphony, the first movement of the second symphony is in sonata form and, in the composer's own words, "as in the first symphony the development section here is also constructed on a rhythmic ostinato. That is to say I have used the same method in this symphony as well". The second movement similarly follows the ternary shape of the previous symphony, and the third is the traditional dance number; but instead of a Minuet and Trio, Saygun here writes a Sicilienne followed by a Trio. The finale also follows the Classical symphony plan, as it is a rondo, but with a constantly developing A

25 The second symphony is mentioned for the first time in a letter to Henri Guilloux, where Saygun informs his friend that "I have composed a second symphony" and goes on to describe the forces in the work as "2-2-2-2; 4-3-3; percussion and strings". (Letter to Henri Guilloux, 12 June 1955)
26 In his own analytical notes for the second symphony, Saygun says that "I have started composing [the second] symphony soon after the Op. 29 [symphony], but because of certain distractions I could not finish it until [30 April 1957]". (Analytical notes by the composer (BUSA))
27 See entry in the catalogue raisonné for their orchestration.
28 See footnote 14
29 Ibid.
section. In terms of their duration too, the two symphonies are alike, both lasting around twenty-five minutes. Moreover there is a certain thematic connection between the two symphonies. The thematic material based on the *aksak* rhythm from the finale of the earlier work is taken as the basis for the first subject material which appears in the exposition of the latter (see ex. 8.9). Although it has clearly lost its dance-like associations in this context, it nevertheless retains its *aksak* nature, which later develops into a long ostinato. The other thematic link is the horn solo from the opening of the first symphony; a related theme appears in the trombones at the beginning of the second subject group of the first movement of the second symphony (see exs. 8.10 and 8.1). Similarly, in both symphonies the climax points are reached through constantly repeated motor rhythms in contrapuntal lines going up and down chromatically with the addition of a new layer each time.

Ex. 8.9

![Ex. 8.9](image)

Ex. 8.10

![Ex. 8.10](image)
In terms of mood, in contrast with the first symphony, the slow movement of the second symphony reflects more of the sombre and mystical language found in Yurms Emre and the first string quartet. This might be related to the death of the composer’s father Mehmed Celal, which occurred at the time of the composition of the symphony.30 In fact the work was later dedicated to his father’s memory.31 Like the first string quartet, the sad mystical mood in the slow movement is reflected through the hymn-like, monophonic phrases in the unison strings and the solo horn (see ex. 8.11). The opening is in fact a dialogue between the solo horn and the unison strings, which the composer describes as two contrasted ideas.32 They are contrasted because the solo horn, throughout the A section, consistently stays quiet in contrast to the unison strings which constantly fluctuate between loud and soft. In terms of their chromatic step-wise movement, however, they clearly show similarities. According to the composer’s information, section B starts at Fig. 4, where the opening horn solo is expanded further.33 What Saygun appears to mean here is that the initial cell, the span of three notes (C-B-A), is further extended down the scale with the addition of the notes G# and F#. This is a typical Saygunian development, which is also to be found in the slow movement of the second quartet where, through repetition, the composer expands the motives by adding a new note each time. In this way the second symphony shows the early signs of Saygun’s growing enthusiasm for motivic cell development, which reached its peak with the second quartet. In fact the C section, which starts at Fig. 8 and the D section, starting at Fig. 10, both introduce the same initial idea in an extended shape. The movement finally comes to a close with the return of the original theme in the horns.

30Saygun informed his friends the Guilloux of the death of his father: “My father whom I respected so much died on 21 March [1954]”. (Letter to Henri Guilloux, Ankara 7 May 1954)
31The dedication appears on both the autograph score and the printed copy.
32See footnote 14
33Ibid.
The opening motive in the slow movement is also significant, because it contains three notes (C-B-A) of the Hüzzam tetrachord which, as explained in the previous chapters, was used by the composer in other works as his signature motive (the Saygun motive). In its complete shape, C-B-A-G#, the motive is introduced at Fig. 4 in the first violins (see ex. 8.12). The composer generally treats this motive in two ways: either as a passing colour, such as in the first string quartet\textsuperscript{34} and Yumus Emre, or as the basic motivic cell, as in the slow movement of the second symphony and the first piano concerto.

\textsuperscript{34}See chapter VII, p. 178
Following on from the organically developing second movement, the third movement of the second symphony comes across as the weakest and most static compared to the rest of the work. In this respect it is similar to the other dance-movements found in the first symphony and the first string quartet. This composer called it a Sicilienne or rather a Forlane. Tovey might have described it as “successful bad music”. Its four-bar repetitive phrases make the movement extremely predictable and monotonous (see ex. 8.13). In fact quite extraordinarily, for the third time, Saygun follows the same formulae that he had used in his first string quartet and first symphony. The melody is placed in the higher registers (in this case the oboe) against arpeggiated pizzicati in the lower strings (see ex. 8.13), giving a polytonal effect (in this case Eb major in the melody against E major in the accompaniment). On its own, as a separate dance movement, the Sicilienne might have been more effective, but in the context of this symphony, which clearly has forward-looking ideas in terms of its motivic cell development and use of the orchestra, it feels out of place.

35See footnote 14
The finale of the symphony, on the other hand, reflects the characteristics of a much later phase in its highly sophisticated motivic-cell-development principle that was to flourish in a work like the second string quartet, composed five years after the symphony. The entire movement is developed from the cell that is first heard in bar 1 in the *divisi* violas (see ex. 8.14), which contains five chromatic notes, undulating within the interval of a major 3rd. Like the second string quartet, during the expansion of this motive - in the second viola line - it passes through all the semi-tones, giving the movement a feeling of atonality. What follows is a characteristically Saygunian textural expansion of each lateral line entering in imitation to form a thickening texture. In fact a modified version of the motive is also taken as subject material in a fugal episode in the following section at five bars after Fig. 11 (see ex. 8.15). Like the second string quartet,

36 Saygun himself gives these five notes as the motivic cell (See p. 257)
traditional Turkish folk-music elements are not entirely excluded in the finale, but their appearance is disguised. In fact the most prominent reference in this way is the recreation of the singing style known as *uzun hava* in the celeste line, which comes soon after the opening of the movement. Saygun describes this as "a new idea which seems like a contrast to the opening motive in the divisi strings".37 Its contrast lies in its long repetitive notes, which are clearly modelled after the *uzun hava* singing practice (see ex. 8.16). Traditionally this kind of melodic line was associated either with singers or the *zurna*, but here Saygun camouflages it by giving this line to the celeste.

Ex. 8.14

![Ex. 8.14](image)

Ex. 8.15

![Ex. 8.15](image)

Ex. 8.16

![Ex. 8.16](image)

The second symphony is clearly a transitional work. In terms of its Classical form, it follows the first symphony and the first string quartet. Despite moments of atonality (particularly in the finale), it is constructed in a modal idiom and has a clear tonal centre of gravity, which is F. As in previous works, the symphony in both the outer

37See footnote 14
movements starts and comes to a close on this note. Even the finale which passes through atonal moments ends on a diatonic chord of F minor. In terms of its orchestral forces, and the organically-developing motivic-cell principle, the second symphony contains new ideas, which were to reach full fruition in works like the second quartet. The second symphony had to wait thirteen years before the Presidential Symphony Orchestra conducted by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing premiered the work in Ankara on 24 April 1970.

7.4 The first piano concerto Op. 34:

As with the genre of the symphony, Saygun did not start working in the concerto medium until he was in his late forties. In fact from that age until his death in 1991, he composed altogether five concertos - two for the piano, and the rest for the violin, viola and ‘cello - constituting a significant part of his orchestral output. Eckhardt van der Hoogen interprets this delay in producing such works as follows: “it had only now become possible - now that he had mastered the principles of his native culture as well - to achieve a true synthesis of Western genres and the rich traditions of the East”. There appears to have been another reason: although Saygun played the piano and other keyboard instruments such as the organ and the harpsichord to a reasonable standard, he was not a virtuoso instrumentalist himself, and it seems composing a concerto was not an urgency for him, as it might have been for virtuoso composers like Rachmaninov or Bartók. The choice of the solo instrument was often made, either because Saygun knew an instrumentalist who might be interested in performing a concerto or, as in the case of the second piano concerto and the viola concerto, because they were his former pupils.

Although Oransay, in his catalogue, gives the composition dates for the first piano concerto as 1952 - 58, according to recent evidence Saygun started composing the work up to two years earlier than that, in 1950. Like the second symphony it had to be

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38Eckhardt van der Hoogen on Saygun’s piano concertos in the booklet accompanying Koch-Schwann, CD (3-1350-2 H1).
39The viola concerto was composed for his pupil Rusen Günsel and the second piano concerto was requested by GÜlsin Onay who had also been a former pupil.
40Gültakin Oransay: Bati Tekniği ile yazan 60 Bağdat, p. 43
41In a letter to Henri Guilloux Saygun says: “The other things in my mind are: to finish the piano concerto which I had started 3 years ago...” (Letter to Henri Guilloux, Ankara, 22 December 1953)
put aside for over half a decade at least due to increasing work on the completion and production of his opera Kerem. The concerto was finally finished in Ankara on 25 September 1957.\(^{42}\) It is most likely that the work was conceived with the young Turkish pianist Idil Biret in mind. Biret was such an exceptionally talented pianist that she was sent to Paris at a very young age where she studied with Nadia Boulanger. Saygun on subsequent occasions visited her with her family in Paris and wrote reports on her progress for the Turkish Ministry of Education.\(^{43}\) In fact Saygun dedicated the concerto to Idil Biret, who was to give it its first performance.

The Op. 34 piano concerto is the first work where Saygun unites all the movements with a single motivic idea. In the first quartet the semi-tone interval had served this purpose, but each movement also distinctly introduced new thematic materials. Similarly the first symphony and Yunus Emre also contained thematic inter-relationships between certain movements. In the first piano concerto, on the other hand, the thematic material in all three movements is derived from a single motive that is heard at the opening bar of the work, which is clearly based on the composer’s signature motive (see ex. 8.17). In this respect, it is an expanded treatment, covering all the three movements, of the motivic-cell-development principle, which had served as the basis of the finale of the second symphony. This is also similar to the second string quartet, with one major exception: in the piano concerto once the new form of the motive is established in a specific movement, with certain modifications it stays as the main subject in that shape throughout, whereas in the second quartet organic regeneration consistently occurs within each movement as well. Saygun himself described the three forms of the concerto motive as seen in ex. 8.18, a-b-c.\(^{44}\) Motive (a) is clearly the descending four notes of the Hüzzam tetra-chord, in semi-tone, tone, semi-tone sequence. The other two motives, b and c, are related to the Saygun motive in the following respects: they both contain four notes of quaver value and are scalar in nature, with the exception of b which has a leap in the middle. The motive c, in the finale, is in a way an inversion of the Saygun motive, lacking the final semi-tone shift.

\(^{42}\)According to the autograph score and the composer’s own programme notes.

\(^{43}\)On hearing her play Saygun informed his wife that "...we listened to Idil. It seems that this child has made a remarkable progress". (Letter to Nilüfer, Vienna 27 June 1953)

\(^{44}\)See footnote 14
The first movement, the longest in the concerto lasting about fifteen minutes, is “not exactly in sonata form”\(^{45}\) and there is only one subject in the exposition section; this is based on the Saygun motive, being constantly repeated over an *aksak* rhythmic sequence. In fact the repetition is so intense that the motivic statement gradually speeds up through rhythmic diminution, giving the music a sense of urgency and impatience (see ex. 8.19). This is a device often used by Saygun before a careful transformation of a theme begins: it is also the case in the exposition of the viola concerto, also based on the Saygun motive. The slow movement, which is described as a “Lied (ABA)” by the

\(^{45}\)Ibid.
composer, has a much more lyrical character in contrast to the more articulated and percussive first movement. Motive "b" is first heard in the intertwined solo bassoons and the flutes at the very opening. The Finale is a rondo, which is joined to the second movement with an attaca. This all shows that in terms of form, like the first two symphonies and the string quartet, the piano concerto also shows Saygun working in a carefully planned Classical structure.

Ex. 8.19

The concerto is clearly constructed in a modal idiom; the Saygun motive, the work's principal motivic cell, is based on a tetra-chord from the traditional Turkish mode of Hüzzam. Again typical of the works of this period, the modal writing in the music is also guided by the existence of a strong feeling of a tonal gravitational centre, which in this case is the note A. As with the second symphony the precedence of this note is established through pedal points at the exposition and recapitulation (Fig. 28). The first movement ends and the last movement starts on this note, and the entire concerto comes to a close on a diatonic chord of A major. Describing Saygun's two piano concertos Hoogen justifiably observes that "they abound in elements which were never meant to be avant-garde: comprehensible structures in spite of all formal liberties; the transparency of motivic and thematic contours even in the most closely interwoven textures". In fact clear modal thinking, with mapped out tonal centres and a recognisable formal plan, in the piano concerto - like the rest of his output discussed so far - reflects the "non-avant-gardiste conceptions" of the work.

46 Ibid.
47 See footnote 38
The Belgian music critic Jacques Stehman, who praised the concerto as “an engaging work in its energy, character, dramatic accents and musical expression”, criticised it in terms of the handling of the solo instrument, which he felt was overpowered by the orchestra.\(^{48}\) This is partly due to Saygun’s dense orchestral texture, in particular his combination of the brass section and percussion instruments,\(^{49}\) which in places clearly reach symphonic climaxes. Apart from the cadenza, the piano also has long solo passages, which are designed like a dialogue between the instrument and the orchestra. Despite Stehman’s observation, however, Saygun does use the piano percussively, particularly in the recapitulation of the first movement, coupled with percussion instruments, which is similar to that of Bartók’s use of the instrument in his piano concertos.\(^{50}\)

Like the first symphony, the Op. 34 piano concerto was premiered outside Turkey, in Brussels on 7 August 1958, by the Orchestra of Colonne, during the World Exposition. Saygun himself conducted the performance, with the young Turkish pianist İdil Biret as soloist. Saygun later informed his friends the Guilloux family that it had made a good impression on the audience and received good reviews.\(^{51}\) The first Turkish hearing on the other hand took place in Ankara on 27 November 1963. On that occasion Mithat Fenmen was the pianist and the Azerbeijani conductor Niyazi Takhizade conducted the Presidential Symphony Orchestra.

8.5 The second piano concerto Op. 71:

Although Saygun composed a violin concerto in 1967 and a viola concerto in 1977, he did not write another piano concerto until 1985. The second piano concerto was

\(^{48}\) Jacques Stehman: ‘Le second concert de musique turque’, La Lanterne, 11 August 1958 (A Turkish translation of the concert review was given by Fikri Çiçekoğlu: ‘Briükselde Türk Müziği’, Vatan, 2 September 1958)

\(^{49}\) In the first piano concerto apart from the timpani, Saygun employs xylophone, tamburro, tam-tam, cymbals, bass drum and triangle. (See entry in the catalogue raisonné for further details)

\(^{50}\) János Kárpáti observes: “In his First Piano Concerto Bartók also uses actual percussion instruments frequently, and not in the background as part of the general orchestration as much as in prominent positions, often as if in a chamber-music setting with the piano. The first part of the second movement, for instance, is nothing but a dialogue between piano and percussion” and goes on “the ‘hammering’ rhythm and the use of the piano as a percussion instrument are probably the most characteristic features of the First Piano Concerto”. (János Kárpáti: ‘The First Two Piano Concertos’, The Bartók Companion, p. 503)

\(^{51}\) Letter to Henri Guilloux, New York, 30 October 1958
requested by one of his former pupils, the pianist Gülşin Onay, to whom Saygun dedicated the work.52 According to recent evidence, Saygun had been working on his new concerto as early as March 198553 and it was eventually finished in Istanbul on 17 December of the same year.54 As the date of its composition shows, the work clearly belongs to a much later phase, and reflects more of the inner-self of the composer, as we understand from a letter he wrote to Bernhard Ebert, where he said: “I know that my second piano concerto is not like the first and reflects rather my introspective feelings and ideas. When I composed this piece, I realised that it contained too much of my own and I should not write it. But your appreciation has relieved my anxiety”.55

Despite the fact that the composer described his second piano concerto as different to the first, and despite a twenty-seven-year gap, in terms of orchestration, the percussive treatment of the piano and thematic connections, the two concertos, Op. 34 and Op. 71, show remarkable similarities. As explained above, Saygun in his first piano concerto had used a large orchestra and particularly a large group of percussion instruments. In the second piano concerto he uses an even larger orchestra (triple-woodwind as opposed to double-woodwind), and eleven different percussion instruments.56 As in the earlier concerto, the piano engages in energetic ensembles with these percussion instruments, such as at Fig. 11 in the first movement and around Fig. 4 in the second movement (see ex. 8.20). The piano itself is also used percussively in certain places in the concerto as seen at Fig. 7 in the first movement and at Fig. 6 in the Finale (see ex. 8.21). More significantly, apart from these stylistic similarities, the two works are also closely related through thematic inter-relationships. The second concerto opens with the notes B-Eb-D, which are clearly the first, fourth and third notes of the Hîizzam tetra-chord (see ex. 8.22), on which the Saygun motive, the principal motivic cell in the first piano concerto, was based. Although the Saygun motive is not heard in the second concerto in its original shape (in four descending notes), it is nevertheless clearly related to the main motivic cell in the Op. 71 concerto. In fact in the Finale of the

52 An interview with Gülşin Onay, Istanbul, March 1997
53 Saygun informed his friend Henriette Guilloux: “I must continue to write: it is called a second concerto for piano, which will be premiered at Radio Frankfurt” (Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 26 March 1985)
54 The date appears on the autograph score at BUSA.
55 Letter to Bernhard Ebert, Istanbul, 4 April 1986, BSA
56 See entry in the catalogue raisonné for further details
concerto Saygun also introduces all the four notes of the Hüzzam tetra-chord, this time in the ascending shape (see ex. 8.23).

Ex. 8.20
Saygun's statement, calling his concerto an "introspective work", does require further clarification. As continually repeated in various sections of this dissertation, Saygun had a great fascination with Sufi mysticism. For him this was an exceptionally personal area, which had served as stimulus behind his most important works like Yunus Emre and Kerem. Although he departed from this mood in the middle-period works like the first symphony and the first piano concerto, Saygun in his old age appears to be embracing the same mystical values. The Sufi quest, as explained earlier, was about forgiveness, compassion and the discovery of the true self.\(^\text{57}\) Mixed with feelings of isolation, Saygun seems to be greatly drawn to these philosophical issues during the last period of his life, when the second piano concerto was written.\(^\text{58}\) In this work, these mystical ideas are clearly reflected through a return to the monophonic and hymnodic nature of the mystical songs that were taken as a basis in the oratorio Yunus Emre. The opening unison strings in the first movement of the concerto strongly resemble a similar opening in the mystical first string quartet, which was written almost forty years earlier. The appearance of the hymnodic opening is not momentary either; on the contrary it comes back in all three movements. The second movement introduces it in the horns at the beginning, and even the Allegro Finale at Fig. 13 slows down for the recapitulation of the same hymnodic theme, this time at the same pitch in the solo piano (see ex. 8.24).

\(^{57}\)See Chapter VI, p. 140

\(^{58}\)In a letter written at the same time to Henriette Guilloux he says: "Do not draw back before any obstacles. Never stagger. Avoid all the traps held out around us whose objective, conscious or unconscious, is the sinking of our feelings, personality, our soul and our life. Reach for calmness in that suffering. It is nice to dream of that calmness. I think of all that. I am far, very far, from that noble and pure atmosphere. I've tried all my life and still try to stretch my hands [to that]. Hope always comes to my help... I need to accumulate my forces to continue, continue to live and reflect on the change of life"; [Ne reculer devant aucun obstacle, ne jamais chanceler, éviter tous les pièges tendus autour de nous et dont le but, conscient ou inconscient, est l'effondrement de nos sentiments, de notre personnalité, de notre âme et même de notre vie. Atteindre à la sérénité. Oui, je pense à tout cela... Bien que je sache que je suis loin, bien loin de cette atmosphère noble et pure, j'ai tâché, de toute ma vie, et tâche encore d'y tendre mes mains. L'espérance vient toujours à mon aide... J'ai besoin d'accumuler mes forces pour continuer, continuer à vivre et réfléchir sur les vicissitudes de la vie], (Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 12 January 1984)
Although the concerto is divided into three separate movements labelled *Moderato*, *Lento* and *Allegro*, they are still closely linked together as one unit, through the appearance of the original thematic material in each. In comparison with the earlier concerto, however, there is no clear formal structure. For example the first movement is not in sonata form, unlike Saygun's works from the middle period. Similarly the second movement is not in ternary shape and the Finale is not a Rondo, as was consistently the case with the earlier works. Instead Saygun appears to be doing what Bartók had done in his third string quartet. The entire work seems to reflect the sonata principle and acts as a single unit with all three movements combined as a single movement. The restatement of the hymnodic theme of the opening, at the same tonal area, at Fig. 11 in the Finale seems to function as a recapitulation of the entire work, and the continual motivic regeneration in between serves as the development section. Saygun's enthusiasm for continuous motivic-cell development in his works, which initially showed itself in the variation structure of his Op. 1 Divertimento and continued to evolve in the works of the middle-period, with clear divisions between movements, had finally reached full maturity with the second string quartet. In his later works, as seen here in the piano concerto, Saygun seems to have come to a point where, through his organic growth of motives, his works seem to have a single-unit character. This is also true of the Variations for orchestra Op. 72, which was composed immediately after the second piano concerto.

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59 Elliott Antokoletz observes that "The intense expressionistic mood of the Third String Quartet is partly due to the condensation of the traditional four-movement sonata plan into a single sonata-allegro movement". (Elliott Antokoletz: 'Middle-period string quartets', *The Bartók Companion*, p. 259)

60 Saygun described the Op. 72 Variations as: "not simple variations on a theme. It is more a continuous development of certain cells"; [Mais ce ne sont pas des simples variations sur un thème. C'est plutôt un développement continu de quelques cellules], (Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 23 April 1986)
In the light of information given in this thesis it is quite clear that Adnan Saygun was in many ways a conservative composer. Having distanced himself from the developments that surrounded him in twentieth century musical trends, he continued to write music regardless in his own individual style. Deploring electronic, computer or any kind of prepared music and openly criticising serial composers, he wrote works which always followed a particular modal plan in a well-defined formal structure, with motivic coherence and using a conventional orchestral texture. The thesis also shows that for Saygun the concept of the composer was not merely someone writing music for their own personal satisfaction or pleasure, but one who had a responsibility towards society in serving for its betterment. This can be seen in the way that almost all of his programmatic works are based on serious subject matters such as the Turkish War of Independence, or the mystic journey to self-discovery, and contain some kind of deep philosophical messages and morals. From the evidence given in the thesis, it is quite clear that the reason behind this was partly due to the political situation in Turkey in the 1930’s which, going through a rapid transformation under Atatürk’s pro-Western policies, expected the artist to serve the nation. It was also due to the strict musical training he received at the Schola Cantorum under Vincent d’Indy who defined the role of the musician as an idealist serving a noble cause. Rather than rebelling against these d’Indyecque principles or the demands of the new republic, Saygun, a conformist by character, became a champion of Atatürk and his reform movement to the extent of publishing a book on him and his music reforms almost fifty years after the death of the founder of modern Turkey. It is also important to remember that Saygun was an active composer in an Islamic country, mixing Christian musical traditions with those of Islam in a style such as can be seen in Yunus Emre. As we have seen he even attempted setting Islamic liturgy in sixteenth century polyphonic style reminiscent of Palestrina. In this respect his work, particularly in Turkey, seems to be unique, even though amongst religious fundamentalists of his country he was seen as a traitor. In fact after the 1991 performance of Yunus Emre in the former Byzantine cathedral of St. Sophia, the fundamentalist press was in a fury, some even describing him as a composer of Turkish origin, as if he had lost his Turkish identity. Yet they appear to have missed Saygun’s

61 Nezih Uzel in his article in Zaman describes Saygun as "composer of Western music of Turkish origin [Türk asıllı Batı müziği sanatçısı]", (14 January 1991).
lifelong philosophy of trying to transcend boundaries in creating a synthesis between Eastern and Western cultures as well as religions.

Saygun was a member of a generation of composers, including Ulvi Cemal Erkin, Cemal Reşit Rey, Necil Kazım Akses and Hasan Ferit Alnar, who were all contemporaries and wrote music in line with the principals of the music policies of Atatürk reforms. As mentioned before they were even collectively named as the ‘Turkish Five’.62 Yet their musical styles have been very diverse indeed. In fact according to Saygun “we were all born between the years 1904 – 1908. We started writing music more or less at the same time, some just before or some later and thus formed the first generation in contemporary music. If we perceive the label of the ‘Turkish Five’ from this angle, then it is correct; that is to say in terms of our dates of birth and the beginnings of our careers. Yet we all started from different points, even though, at the very beginning there were some similarities between us (particularly between myself, Ulvi [Cemal Erkin] and maybe to an extent Cemal [Reşit Rey]), in time we have all ended in different places”.63 As Saygun himself rightly points out, the members of his generation all started composing more or less at the same time. Just as Saygun was, some of them, like Akses and Erkin, were also commissioned by Atatürk to write operas. They all produced a capella choral works for choirs, based on Anatolian folk-songs. Yet Saygun always stands out as being the most serious of composers in his generation. This is particularly so if we compare him to Cemal Reşit’s occasionally light hearted and operetta-like jovial style. Rey’s variation for piano and orchestra on an old İstanbul song, Üsküdar’a gidelim, for example, includes a very jazzy treatment of the main theme and in the final variation Mozart’s Rondo a la Turca is heard as a joke. This would be unthinkable for Saygun who also composed a set of variations for a capella chorus based on the same song, which is much more solemn and serious.

62 See Chapter II, p. 55
There was more critical commentary on Saygun's music in the Turkish press in the early years of the republic, particularly in the 1930's, 40's and 50's than there was towards the end of his life and certainly there is now. The number of articles, more than at least fifty, which appeared immediately after the premiere of Yunus Emre in 1946 is remarkable. It could also be said that in terms of analysis and information, these articles on the whole do tend to be more in depth and precise, compared to the latter years. Mahmud Ragıp Gazimihal was one of the main critics of the time, giving a wide coverage of the first performances of many of Saygun's works. Fikri Çiçekoğlu's coverage in the Aksam newspaper of Yunus Emre's Paris premiere is also remarkable, including almost all the Turkish translations of the French critics which appeared soon after the concert. It is interesting that both of these people, Gazimihal and Çiçekoğlu were close friends of Saygun and therefore had a natural inclination to publicise their friend's work. Faruk Güvenç's articles in the Ulus newspaper do also contain important information, particularly about middle-period works.

Although it was mentioned that Saygun went through different phases throughout his career, it appears that his musical life was also like the cyclic principle found in his works, in that each phase is related to each other. It is remarkable that the opening bars of his Op. 1 Divertimento have so close a resemblance to the closing bars of his second piano concerto composed sixty years later, with both having the same hymnodic feeling. Unlike his one-time-friend Michael Tippett, who changed his style quite notably even in his late eighties Saygun was consistent in his approach and continued to write works in conventional genres. Although it has not been possible to analyse his remaining concertos, and three symphonies in the limited scope of PhD research, by looking at the catalogue raisonné one can still see that the composer remained consistent in the use of his orchestra and in his formal layout. Another area in which he stayed consistent was the way he was inspired by the people, folk-legends and the traditions of his country. Even his last work for the stage, the unperformed ballet, Kumru Efsanesi, is based on a Turkish folk-legend, a common characteristic found in all of his operas.

The thesis also proves that, for Saygun, a successful musical composition had to have a true substance, a logical plan which would give it a clear definition and a meaning. Hating over-emotional or large musical gestures without true substance, as he
labelled the works of composers like Delius and Martinu, for Saygun it was the cleverly-planned motivic cell development that gave a work its logical inner-coherence. He felt much more content with the works of composers like Beethoven and Bartók, who provided him with perfect models in the area of motivic continuity. In a letter to Henriette Guilloux written in 1981 Saygun described the French composer Dutilleux as a sincere and a serious musician, but went on to complain that his music was rarely performed because these were exactly the qualities that the current critics and musicians hated.64 It would not be wrong, therefore, to assume that Saygun was in a way identifying himself with Dutilleux and drawing an analogy to his own situation of being isolated and rejected.

Serious, sincere and humanist would be an appropriate description of Saygun’s music and of the man who once said that if he had not been a good composer, he could have had a chance of becoming a good politician and an advocate of peace.65 His philosophical view on music and the role of the musician in society is even clearer in his last letter to his pupil Gülsin Onay where he said: “For me the artist should not be concerned with financial worries, nor should he let himself fall into the vanity ditch by constantly seeking praise from people around him, but instead should always try to reach for the good, the beautiful and the truth as much as he could, and through that should dedicate his life to feeling and making others feel the virtue of humanity. All my life I have worked for this cause. I shall be very happy if I have been able to succeed in writing few works in the light of this ideal”.66

64 Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul 23 February 1988
65 [Si je ne suis pas devenu un bon compositeur j’ai tout-de-même la chance de devenir un homme politique et faire l’apôtre de la paix], Letter to Henriette Guilloux, Istanbul, 16 December 1986
PART III
CATALOGUE

The present catalogue raisonné has been compiled by going through all of the autograph manuscript collection of Saygun's works that are kept at BUSA. Unfortunately at the time of my research in the archives, the collection was not catalogued, therefore I am unable to give any reference numbers at present. In preparing this catalogue I have also consulted Saygun's existing lists of works, of which the first appeared in 1935 in [Gazimihal]'s article entitled 'Ahmed Adnan', where fourteen of his works were cited with the dates of composition and details of first performances. The next important source that I consulted, which also contained a significant entry on Saygun, was Gültekin Oransay's book entitled Bati Tekniğiyle yazan 60 Türk Bağdar (60 Turkish composers writing in Western compositional techniques) published in 1965. As well as including Gazimihal's original list, Oransay in addition cites 34 works, again only giving dates of composition and premieres. Although limited it is nevertheless methodically and chronologically presented. It was also Oransay who prepared the brief catalogue of works for the article on Saygun in the 1954 edition of The Grove Dictionary of Music and musicians by Eric Blom (Incidentally, in comparison with the 1980 edition written by Faruk Yener, the 1954 edition is more accurate and contains more information on Saygun's works). I have also consulted a number of lists prepared by Saygun himself where he gives opus numbers, titles and dates of composition and premieres, a list by Gülper Refiğ in her book entitled Adnan Saygun ve Gelmişten geleceğe Türk musikisi and one compiled by Adnan Atalay. The largest amount of information, however, undoubtedly came from the autograph manuscripts, where Saygun meticulously indicated the instrumentation, tempos and the durations.

Abbreviations:
AS: Saygun's unpublished analytical notes at BUSA.
BUSA: Bilkent University Saygun Archives in Ankara.
CAT: Peer Musikverlag Catalogue 1993/94.
EA: Emre Aracı (applies to durations that I have timed myself).
ISSO: İstanbul State Symphony Orchestra.
The catalogue is arranged in chronological order, under the following categories:

1. My own catalogue number and the title of the work, with an English translation (if published abroad under that title), followed by a brief description.

2. The opus number where specified by Saygun.

3. The date of composition. (Saygun was consistent in dating his scores: unless specified in square brackets the dates are his own).

4. The person or the organisation responsible for the commission, if applicable.

5. The instrumentation as it appears in the autograph manuscript, unless the source is specified in square-brackets.

6. Dedication, if applicable.

7. Duration, where available as suggested by Saygun, otherwise from sources indicated in square-brackets.

8. First performances: all known dates, venues and artists have been listed.

9. Location of manuscript: all MSS. are autograph unless otherwise indicated.

10. Publication details, including dates and publishers and, where available, SACEM registration numbers. The date marked with an asterix indicates the date of contract according to Saygun’s list at BUSA.
11. Notes: Saygun left unpublished analytical notes for his first three symphonies, the first piano concerto and the violin concerto all of which are translated here.

1  Symphony in D

For chamber orchestra in three movements.

**Date of composition:** 1928

Unpublished.

1. Adagio - Allegro
2. Adagio molto espressivo
3. Moderato - Allegro con brio

**Instrumentation:** 2Fl, 2Ob, 2Cl, 2Bsn, 2Hrn, 2Tr, 3 Trb, Timp, Str.

**Location of manuscript:** BUSA.

**Notes:** The manuscript is dated ‘16 October 1927 - 26 April 1928’. ‘Ahmed Adnan Fişekçi - Birinci Senfoni [first symphony]’ is written in Arabic script on the title page.

2  Divertimento

A single-movement work for full orchestra.

**Date of composition:** 11 December 1930 [MRG]

**Instrumentation:** 2Fl, 2Ob, 1CorAng, 2Cl, 1BCl, 1Tenor Sax, 2Bsn, 1CBsn, 4Hrn, 2Tr, 3Trb, Tba, Timp, Tambour, Darbouka, Cymbals, Bass Drum, Tam-Tam, Str.

**Duration:** c. 10 min [EA]

**First Performance:** 1931, Paris, at the Grande Colonial Exposition, Colonne Concert Orchestra conducted by Henri Defosse.
First Turkish performance: 1939, Ankara, PSO conducted by Ernst Praetorius.

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

Publication: Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, hire only, 7 December 1950*;
SACEM, 19 May 1964, 808,563.

Notes: It was conceived whilst the composer was a student at the Schola Cantorum in Paris. ‘Divertissement Oriental’ on the title-page of the autograph manuscript is scored out and replaced by ‘Divertimento’. “It was one of the 12 works selected from 182 submissions at the international competition held during the Grand Colonial Exposition ... it is variations on a theme in sonata form” [AS]

3 Orkestra için üç yazı Opus --

Three works for orchestra.


Unpublished.

Location of manuscript: Unable to trace the first two; the third is at BUSA.

Notes: The work does not appear in Saygun’s list. It is only mentioned in the lists of Gazimihal and Oransay.

4 Ölüler Opus --

Incidental music for choir and full orchestra in three movements for a play by Ismail Hakki.

Date of composition: 1932 [MRG]

Unpublished.

Location of manuscript: Unable to trace.

Notes: The work does not appear in Saygun’s list. It is only mentioned in the lists of Gazimihal and Oransay.
5 Suite

Five pieces for piano based on Baroque forms.

**Date of composition:** 1931-32.

1. Preludio - Con anima (♩=96-100)
2. Canzone - Moderato (♩=80)
3. Ostinato - Grave (♩=48)
4. Canone - Vivo (♩=120-126)
5. Tema con variazioni - Maestoso (♩=54)

**Duration:** 2'08", 3'45", 2'45", 1'30", 5'15", Total: 16'30"

**Location of manuscript:** BUSA.

**Publication:** No. 5, *Tema con variazioni* was published separately by Ankara Devlet Konservatuarı Yayınları, © 1960. Complete publication as a set: Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, 27 July 1971*; SACEM, 10 February 1971 - 1644751.

**Notes:** According to Saygun’s notes only certain numbers were performed, with no dates given.

6 **Ağıtlar - I (Laments)**

For tenor solo and *a cappella* men’s voices (TTBB).

**Date of composition:** 1932

- Grave (♩=cca.46)
- Con emozione (♩=cca.92)
- Lento (♩=cca 56)

**Dedication:** To my father [Mehmed Celaleddin Saygin]

**Duration:** 2’40", 1’40", 3’30”
First performance: 1 April 1932, at the Istanbul Opera Society, directed by the composer [MRG].

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

Publication: The “Grave” was published separately by the Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi Musiki Neşriyatı / Papajorou as Op 3 No 1; Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, hire only, 16 November 1976*

Notes: According to Saygun, one of the set (unspecified) was orchestrated and sung during the premiere of Özsoy (see entry).

7 Sezisler (Intuitions) Opus 4

Five short pieces for two clarinets.

Date of composition: 1932-33

1. Moderato ($ \dot{=}$60)
2. ($ \dot{=}$63)
3. ($ \dot{=}$76)
4. Lento ($ \dot{=}$48)
5. Andantino ($ \dot{=}$54)

Dedication: To my sister [Nebile Yar].

Duration: 1'00", 1'10", 0'40", 1'20", 1'20" [EA]

Location of manuscript: Unable to trace.


Notes: According to Gazimihal it was originally called Iki monodi.

8 Manastır Türküsü Opus 5

A traditional folk-song arrangement for solo soprano, choir and large orchestra.
Date of composition: 1933

Unpublished.

Instrumentation: 2Fl, 2Ob, 1CorAng, 2Cl, 1BCl, 2Bsn, 1CBsn, 4Hrn, 1Tr, 3Trb, Tuba, Timp, Tambourro, Cymbals, Bass Drum, Tam-Tam, Darbouka, Bells, Str.

Duration: c. 4'08" [EA]

Location of manuscript: Unable to trace.

9 Kızılırmak Türküsü  Opus 6

A traditional folk-song arrangement for solo soprano and orchestra.

Date of composition: 1933

Unpublished.

Location of manuscript: Unable to trace.

Notes: Mentioned in Saygun, Gazimihal and Oransay’s lists, but there are no further records.

10 Çoban Armağanı  Opus 7

A collection of five traditional folk-song harmonisations for a cappella choir (SATB).

Date of composition: 1933

1. Sille (a piacere)
2. Ak Koyun (J=60)
3. Bebek - Dolente (J=50)
4. Kara Deniz (r=54)
5. Kevenk yolu (J=126)

Duration: 3'05", 1'45", 2'45", 2'30", 1'25", [1'00"]

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

Notes: In the autograph manuscript the first song was originally called Zile Türküsü. In the second edition of 1961, the fourth song is renamed Yavuz Geliyor, the fifth is renamed Eğin Türküsü and in addition there is a sixth song entitled Altun Yüzük.

11 Quatuor

Quartet for Clarinet, Tenor Saxophone, Timpani and Piano.

Date of composition: 1933

Unpublished.

Location of manuscript: BUSA. It is sketchy and incomplete.

12 Burlesque

A single-movement work for piano and orchestra.

Date of composition: 1933

Unpublished.

Location of manuscript: Unable to trace.

Notes: The work does not appear in Saygun’s list. It is only mentioned in the lists of Gazimihal and Oransay.

13 Two motets

For a cappella choir in 16th century polyphonic style.

Date of composition: 1933

Unpublished.

Location of manuscript: Unable to trace.
Notes: The work does not appear in Saygun's list. It is only mentioned in the lists of Gazimihal and Oransay.

14 Beş Yakarış  
For choir.

Date of composition: 1933

Unpublished.

Location of manuscript: Unable to trace.

Notes: The work does not appear in Saygun's list. It is only mentioned in the lists of Gazimihal and Oransay.

15 Kurtuluş Şarkısı 9 Eylül  
A song arrangement for orchestra.

Date of composition: 27 December 1934, Ankara

Unpublished.

Instrumentation: 1Fl, 2Ob, 2Cl, 2Bsn, 3Hrn, 2Tr, 3Trb, Tuba, Timp, Tambourro, Darbouka, Trgl, Cymb, Bass Drum, Tam-Tam, Str.

Duration: c. 3'20" [EA]

Location of manuscript: BUSA, incomplete.

16 Özsoy  
An opera originally in three acts, with libretto by Münir Hayri Egeli. It was later revised and re-written as a single act.

Date of composition: May-June 1934 (revised 1981).

Unpublished.
Commissioned by: Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk].

First performance: 19 June 1934, Ankara, conducted by the composer in the presence of the Shah of Persia and Kemal [Atatürk] at the Halkevi; the revised version was premiered by the Ankara State Opera on 3 February 1982.

Location of manuscript: The original autograph manuscript is missing, but the autograph manuscript of the revised version is at BUSA.

Recordings: A live recording made during the 1982 production was released by Boyut Publishing in 1997 as a CD to accompany a book by Gülper Refiğ.

Notes: There is a memoire written by Saygun about the opera and the 1934 production which is also attached to the autograph score. The opera was also known as Feridun [GO].

17 İnci'nin Kitabı (Inci's Book) Opus 10

Seven short pieces for solo piano named after the daughter of a friend called Veli Saltuk. There is an orchestral version by the composer (see below) and a version for two guitars by Siegfried Behrend.

Date of composition: 1934, Istanbul.

1. İnci- Calme (♩=106)
2. Afacak Kedi (Playful Kitten) - Giocoso (♩=112)
3. Masal (Tale) - Misterioso (♩=40)
4. Kocaman Bebek (Giant Doll) - Animato (♩=116)
5. Oyun (Joke) - Animato (♩=69)
6. Ninni (Lullaby) - Tranquillo (♩=69)
7. Rüya (Dream) - Calme (♩=40)

Dedication: To my beloved teacher Madame Eugène Borrel, Istanbul, 6 March 1938.

Duration: 10'00" [CAT]

Location of manuscript: BUSA.
Publications: Ses ve Tel Birliği Musiki Neşriyatı / Papajorjjiu; Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, © 1952; Two guitar version: Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, © 1977.

Orchestral version

By the composer

Date of arrangement: 1944

Instrumentation:
1. 2Fl, Ob, Cl, Celest, Str (div.)
2. Picc, Fl, Ob, Cl, 2Bsn, 2Tr, Trb, Timp, Str
3. 2Fl, Ob, Cl, 2Bsn, 2Hr, 2Tr, Trb, Triangle, Str (div)
4. Cl, Bsn, Hrn, Tr, Trb, Timp, Str (div)
5. Fl, Bsn, VI I and VI II
6. Ob, Cl, Hrn, Str (div)
7. Fl, Ob, Cl, 2Bsn, Hrn, Str

First performance: 20 February 1944, at the Ankara Halkevi, conducted by Ernst Praetorius.

First foreign performance: 16 December 1948, City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra conducted by George Weldon

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

Publication: Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, 7 December 1950*, hire only; SACEM, 10 October 1951 - 662,757.

Notes: At the premiere it was staged as a ballet choreographed by K. Arzaman and repeated in Istanbul at the Eminönü Halkevi between 17 and 21 May 1944, conducted by Saygun.

18 Taşbebek

A single-act opera, with libretto by Münir Hayri Egeli based on a Turkish legend.

Date of composition: November 1934 (revised 1981).

Unpublished.

Commissioned by: Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk].
First performance: 27 December 1934, Ankara, conducted by the composer in the presence of Kemal [Atatürk] at the Halki.

Location of manuscript: The original autograph manuscript is missing, but the autograph manuscript of the revised version is at BUSA.

Notes: There is a memoire written by Saygun about the opera and the 1934 production which is attached to the autograph score.

19  **Duyuşlar**  

A set of three *a cappella* pieces without words for women's voices.

**Date of composition:** 1935.

Unpublished.

**Dedication:** To İsmet İnönü, which is later crossed out.

**Duration:** 1'45", 1'10", 2'10"; total: 4'58" [EA]

**Location of manuscript:** BUSA

Notes: On the autograph manuscript Op. 8 is crossed out and replaced by Op 9. Saygun later numbered it as Op. 42. The third piece has the same theme as Chorale No. 10 in Yunus Emre (see entry).

20  **Sonata for ‘cello and piano**  

**Date of composition:** 1935-36

1. Animato (♩=116)
2. Largo (♩=44)
3. Allegro assai (8/8=56 or 3/8=140)

**Dedication:** To the memory of David Zirkin.

**Duration:** 20’00” [CAT]
First performance: 13 December 1941, Ankara; David Zirkin (‘cello), W. Schlössinger (piano).


Location of manuscript: Unable to trace. There is a manuscript copy at BUSA.

Publication: Published by Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, © 1961; SACEM, 7 October 1953-681,905

21 Sihir Raksi (Magic Dance) Opus 13

An orchestral dance movement originally conceived for Taşbebek and later revised (See entry Op. 11).

Date of composition: 1936, Istanbul.

Lento (♩=56)

Instrumentation: 2Fl, 2Ob, 2Cl, 2Bsn, 1Sax (alto), 2Hrn, 3Tr, 3Trb, Timp, Tambour de Basque, Darbouka, Cymbals, BassDrum, Tam-Tam, Piano, Castanettes, Triangle, Str.

Duration: 6’30” [EA]

First performance: 19 February 1939, Ankara, PSO conducted by the composer at the Turkish Modern Music Festival organised by the Halkevi.

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

Publication: Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, 7 December 1950*, Hire only; SACEM, 23 January 1953 - 675,541


Notes: The original version had to be dropped from the premiere of Taşbebek, because professional dancers could not be engaged [AS]
22  **Suite**

Three traditional folk-dances arranged for full orchestra.

**Date of composition:** 1937; Horon in 1950.

1. Meseli (Çorum Halayı)
2. Improvisation (Zeybek)
3. Horon

**Instrumentation:**
1. 2Fl, 3Ob, 2Cl, 2Bsn, 4Hrn, 3Tr, 3Trb, Timp, Perc, Harp, Str.
2. 2Ob, 2Cl, 2Bsn, 2Hrn, Timp, Perc, Harp, Str.
3. 2Fl, 2Ob, 2Cl, 2Bsn, 4Hrn, 3Tr, 3Trb, Timp, Perc, Harp, Str.

**Duration:** 8'00" [CAT]

**First performance:** 1951, Ankara; at the 4th Anglo-Turkish music festival, PSO conducted by George Weldon.

**Location of manuscript:** BUSA.

**Publication:** Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, hire only; 7 December 1950*

23  **Sonatina**

For piano.

**Date of composition:** 1937

1. Allegro (♩=132)
2. Adagio con moto
3. Horon - Prestissimo

**Dedication:** Ömer Refik Yaltkaya

**Duration:** 3'03", 3'50", 2'33" [EA]

**First performance:** 1938, Istanbul by Ömer Refik Yaltkaya.

**Location of manuscript:** The autograph manuscript is missing, but there are sketches at BUSA.

**Publication:** Southern Music Peer Musikverlag, © 1957.
Recording: Günsin Onay (piano) / Preciosa Aulos PRE 66027 AUL.

Notes: On an inscribed copy he gave to Tippett in 1958 Saygun wrote: “Be assured that I do not write such miserable music anymore”.

24  Masal

A song for baritone and orchestra; a setting of a poem by Ahmet Muhip Dranas.

Date of composition: October, 1939, Ankara.

Largo (J=42)

Instrumentation: 2Fl, 2Ob, 2Cl, 2Bsn, 4Hrn, 2Tr, 3Trb, Cymb, Tam-Tam, Harp, Str.

Dedication: İren’ime ithaf, 22 December 1939 [Nilüfer Saygun].

Location of manuscript: BUSA.


25  Bir Orman Masalı (A forest tale)

A ballet in six scenes.

Date of composition: 1939-40, completed June 1943, Ankara

1. Précambule - Vivo (J=152)
2. Fright - Lento (J=80)
3. Water - Allegro moderato (J=96)
4. Night - Lento (J=44)
5. Nocturno - Procession of the Forest spirits - Allegro (J=144)
6. Calm forest and moon - Calmo (J=76)
Instrumentation: Fl, Ob, Cl, Bsn, Hrn, Tr, Trb, Timp, Cymb, Tam-Tam, Triangle, Tambour de Basque, Jeu de timbres, Str.

Duration: 27'00" [CAT]

First performance: Nos. 1 and 2 in 1940, Ankara; complete performance: 20 February 1944, at the Ankara Halkevi, conducted by Ernst Praetorius.

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

Publication: Southern Music / Peer Verlag, 7 December 1950*, hire only; SACEM, 20 December 1950 - 654,643

Notes: The ballet was choreographed by K. Arzaman and repeated in Istanbul at the Eminönü Halkevi between 17 and 21 May 1944, conducted by Saygun.

26 Eski Üslüpta Kantat (Cantata in the Olden Style) Opus 19

Cantata for soloists (STB) chorus (SATB) and orchestra; a setting of a poem by Behçet Kemal Çağlar entitled Karanlıkta Aydınlığa.

Date of composition: 1941

1. Chorus - Moderato (\( \frac{\text{1}}{\text{4}} \))=60
2. Recitativo
3. Aria - Sostenuto (\( \frac{\text{1}}{\text{4}} \))=46
4. Chorale
5. Aria - Energico (\( \frac{\text{1}}{\text{4}} \))=108
6. Recitativo
7. Chorus - Allegro (\( \frac{\text{1}}{\text{4}} \))=120
8. Chorale

Duration: 3'25", 0'40", 5'30", 1'25", 2'30", 0'32", 2'08", 1'20"; Total: 17'30" [EA]

Instrumentation: 2Fl, 2Ob, 2Cl, 2BSn, 1Tr, Timp, Str.

First performance: 23 February 1941, Ankara Halkevi, conducted by Saygun.

Location of manuscript: A photocopy of the autograph manuscript is at BUSA.

Publication: Vocal score prepared by the composer was published by Ankara Devlet Konservatuarı Yayınları, © 1955; Southern Music / Peer Verlag, 31 May 1960*, hire only.
27  **Sonata for violin and piano**  

*Date of composition:* 20 September 1941.

1. Andante ($J=69$
2. Molto vivo ($7/16=66$)
3. Largo ($J=42$
4. Allegro ($J=132$

**Dedication:** To Eugène Borrel.

**Duration:** $4'15''$, $5'24''$, $4'38''$, $[4'00'']$ Total: $28'07''$

**First performance:** 15 November 1946, at the British Council Theatre, London; David Martin (violin), Gerald Gover (piano).

**First Turkish performance:** 7 May 1950, Ankara, at the Ankara State Conservatory; Licco Amar (violin), Mithat Fenmen (piano)

**Location of manuscript:** The autograph manuscript of the first three movements is at BUSA. Unable to locate the fourth movement.

**Publication:** Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, © 1965.

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28  **Geçen Dakikalarım**  

*A song for baritone and piano; setting of a poem by Necip Fazıl Kısakürek.*

*Date of composition:* 1941

Moderato ($J=60$

**Location of manuscript:** Unable to trace.

**Publication:** Ankara Devlet Konservatuari Yayınları, 1955 as Opus 21 No. 1

*Accompaniment scored for orchestra by the composer*

**Date of arrangement:** May 1941
Instrumentation: 2Fl, 2Ob, 2Cl, 2Bsn, 4Hrn, 2Tr, 3Trb, Timp, Cymb, Tam-Tam, Str

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

Publication: Southern Music / Peer Verlag, hire only, 31 May 1960*.

29 Yunus Emre

Opus 26

An oratorio in three parts for soloists (SATB), chorus and large orchestra based on the poems of the 13th century Turkish mystic poet and philosopher Yunus Emre.

Date of composition: 1942

1. Chorus - Largo (♩=cca 60)
2. Recitative - Energico (♩=84)
3. Aria - Dolente (♩=69)
4. Aria - Angoscioso (♩=54)
5. Chorale (♩=88)
6. Aria - Sostenuto(♩=cca 72)
7. Agitato (♩=152)
8. Arioso - Tranquillo (♩=76)
9. Recitative - Agitato (♩=84)
10. Chorale (♩=60)
11. Recitative - Con dolore (♩=54)
12. Vivo (♩=192)
13. Chorale (♩=42)

Dedication: Composed in memory of my mother and dedicated to Leopold Stokowski.

Instrumentation: 2 Fl, 2Ob, 2Cl, 2Bsn, 4Hrn, 3Tr, 3Trb, Timp, Perc, Celest, Harp, Organ, Str.

Duration: 5'56", 2'13", 4'00", 5'26", 3'30", 5'33", 6'10", 3'06", 3'31", 2'55", 2'58", 16'30", 2'30"; total: 64'57"

First performance: 25 May 1946, Ankara, PSO conducted by Saygun.

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

Publication: Vocal score published by Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, © 1969; Full score Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, hire only, 7 December 1950*; Nos. 5, 10 and 13 are also published separately by Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, © 1969

Recordings: Ibolya Verebics (soprano), Éva Pánczél (alto), György Korondy (tenor), Sándor Blazsó (bass), Hungarian Radio and Television Chorus, Budapest Symphony Orchestra / Hikmet Şimşek (sung in German), Hungaraton, HCD 31077; Müfide Özgüç (soprano), Cemaliye Kıyıcı (alto), Pekin Kırgız (tenor), Bülent Ateşoğlu (bass) Ankara State Opera Chorus, Orchestra of the Ankara State Opera and Ballet / Hikmet Şimşek (sung in Turkish), A - 91 - 0001; recording of the New York premiere sung in English, conducted by Stokowski, RW 3967 at USA.

30 Dağlardan Ovalardan Opus 18

A set of ten traditional folk-song harmonisations for a cappella choir (SATB)

Date of composition: 1943

1. Asker oldum piyade
2. Ayşem nerden geliyor
3. Kozanoğlu
4. Ay doğar Girsan’dan
5. Çaktım çaktım olmadı
6. Ağıt Hem okudum hemi yazdım
7. Konya oyun havası
8. Evlerinin Önü
9. Havuz başının gülli
10. İzmir Zeybeği

Duration: 1’10”, 1’00”, 1’20”, 2’00”, 2’00”, 2’00”, 1’00”, 1’00”, 2’00” Total: 14’30”

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

31 Bir tutam kekik

A set of ten traditional folk-song harmonisations for *a cappella* choir (SATB) [GO].

**Date of composition:** 1943

1. Çanakkale Türküsü

...  

10. Variations on Katibim

**Duration:** 1. 2'.00", 10. 6'.30" [EA]

**Location of manuscript:** The autograph manuscript of the first song is at USA; unable to locate the rest.

**Publication:** No. 10, *Variations on Katibim* published by Ankara Devlet Konservatuarı Yayınları 1954, as Op 22, No. 10.

**Recording:** No.10, Chorus of the [Turkish] Ministry of Culture / Hikmet Şimşek, HCD 31523.

**Notes:** There are no records of the songs 2 to 9.

32 Halay

A traditional folk-dance arrangement for orchestra.

**Date of composition:** 1943 [GO].

**Instrumentation:** 2Fl, 2Ob, 2Cl, BCl, 2Bsn, 2Hrn, 2Tr, 3Trb, Timp, Perc, Str.

**Duration:** 5'.00" [CAT]

**First performance:** 20 February 1944, at the Ankara Halkevi, conducted by Ernst Preatorius.

**Location of manuscript:** Photocopy of the autograph manuscript is at USA.

**Publication:** Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, hire only, 7 December 1950*.

**Notes:** "Some villagers who were hearing a symphony orchestra for the first time in their lives danced to it during the performance" [AS]. Also known as Sivas Düz Halayı.
A set of four [see notes below] traditional folk-songs for baritone and piano.

Date of composition: 1945

1. Estergon Kalesi
2. Köröglu
3. Harmandali

Location of manuscript: Photocopy of the autograph manuscript is at BUSA.


Notes: Although in Saygun’s notes this set appears as Dört Türkü, (four folk-songs), there are only three.

A set of three folk-dances for piano.

Date of composition: 1945

1. Meseli - Allegramante (♩=126)
2. Zeybek - Sostenuto e pesante (♩=63)
3. Halay - Con moto (♩=84)

Dedication: To Mr. Laurence Shaw Moore.

Duration: 2'10", 3'00", 5'00"; total: 10'10" [EA]

Location of manuscript: Incomplete autograph sketches are at BUSA.

Publication: Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag © 1957.

Notes: A sketch with Op 14 written on it contains a “Halay” which is identical to Op 25.
35  **String Quartet No: 1**  

**Opus 27**

**Date of composition:** September 1947.

1. Largo - Allegretto moderato (\( \text{\( \text{\( \frac{\text{j}}{\text{j}} \text{=92} \))} \))

2. Adagio (\( \text{\( \text{\( \frac{\text{j}}{\text{j}} \text{=84} \))} \))

3. Allegretto (\( \text{\( \text{\( \frac{\text{j}}{\text{j}} \text{=112} \))} \))

4. Grave - Allegro (\( \text{\( \text{\( \frac{\text{j}}{\text{j}} \text{=138} \))} \))

**Dedication:** To [American] Ambassador Edwin C. Wilson.

**Duration:** 7'40", 7'50", 3'05", 6'40"; total: 25'05"

**First performance:** 23 October 1954, Paris, at the Centre de Documentation de Musique Festival at École Normale de Musique by Quatour Parrenin.

**First Turkish performance:** 13 October 1990, Istanbul

**Location of manuscript:** BUSA.

**Publication:** Score and parts published by Southern Music, © 1961; SACEM, 20 December 1950, 654,643

**Recording:** The Anatolian Quartet, Hungaraton, HCD 31521.

36  **Kerem**  

**Opus 28**

An opera in three acts (8 scenes) based on the Turkish legend of Kerem and Ash to the libretto of Selahattin Batu.

**Date of composition:** 1937-52.

**First performance:** Act I only - 2 April 1948, Ankara, at the opening ceremony of the Ankara Opera House; complete performance on 22 March 1953, Ankara, conducted by Saygun.

**Location of manuscript:** BUSA.

**Publication:** Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, hire only, 31 May 1960*.  

252
Symphony No: 1
For chamber orchestra in four movements.

Date of composition: 17 October 1953, Ankara

Commissioned by: Franz Litschauer

1. Allegro (J=120)
2. Adagio (J=56)
3. Allegretto (J=92)
4. Allegro assai (J=112)

Dedication: To Franz Litschauer.

Duration: 7'33", 7'18", 3'10", 6'05"; total: 24'06"

Instrumentation: 1Fl, 2Ob, 2Cl, 2Bsn, 2Hrn, Str

First performance: 2 May 1954, Vienna Radio, Tonkünstlerverein Orchestra conducted by Franz Litschauer.

First Turkish performance: 27 November 1954, Ankara, PSO conducted by Franz Litschauer.

Location of manuscript: BUSA.


Notes: “The first movement is in sonata form. The second movement starts with an ostinato in the basses; this is theme A, which is then followed by the introduction of theme B in the clarinet. The oboe brings back theme A, and a new idea starts to emerge first in the flute, then in the oboe and finally in the horn where section C starts. The tempo gets faster (molto vivo). This section has a feeling of a dance built on canonic imitations. Finally the Adagio section comes back where theme A is heard in the second violins against the semiquaver figurations of the first violins. The movement comes to a close with the ostinato figurations reappearing in unison in the cellos and the double basses. The third movement is a minuet. The fourth movement is like a Rondo in A B A C A form. Section A in the middle is different to the outer sections which is developed and finds a natural transition into section C.” [AS]. [For the original Turkish text, see p. 251]
38 Partita for solo ‘cello

Opus 31

Five short pieces.

Date of composition: 5 April 1955, Ankara

Commissioned by: Max Meinecke on behalf of the German Consulate General in Istanbul.

1. Lento (J=40)
2. Vivo
3. Adagio (J=44)
4. Allegretto (J=69)
5. Allegro moderato (J=108)

Dedication: In memory of Friedrich Schiller.

Duration: 3’35”, 1’35”, 5’15”, 2’00”, 3’30”, Total: 15’55”

First performance: 19 April 1955, by Martin Bochmann at a concert at the German Consulate to mark the 150th anniversary of Schiller’s death.

Location of manuscript: A manuscript copy (not autograph) signed by the composer at BUSA.


Recording: Melodia Gost 5289-80 Eldar Iskenderov.

39 Three Ballads

Opus 32

A set of three songs for baritone and piano based on American folk-songs.

Date of composition: 14 January 1956, Ankara

1. şeytanın Rüyası
2. Altın Söğüt
3. Zenci Şarkısı

Location of manuscript: Photocopy of a manuscript copied by Ali Cemil is at BUSA.

Publication: Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, 26 January 1959*; SACEM, 5 August 1955, 700,135.

40 Demet (Suite)  Opus 33

For solo violin and piano in four movements.

Date of composition: 1956

1. Prelude
2. Horon
3. Zeybek
4. Kastamonian Dance

Dedication: To Mr and Mrs Guillox.

Duration: 2.30", 3.40, 3'20", 2'30"; total: 12'00" [EA]

Location of manuscript: Unable to trace.


41 Symphony No: 2  Opus 30

For full orchestra in four movements.

Date of composition: 30 April 1957, Ankara

1. Allegro vivo (♩=144)
2. Calmo (♩=36)
3. Moderato (♩=56)
4. Allegro (♩=112)

Dedication: To the memory of my father Mehmed Celaleddin Saygın.

Instrumentation: 2Fl, 2Ob, 2Cl, 2Bsn, 4Hrn, 2Tr, 3Trb, Timp, 2Snare Drums Cymbals, Bass Drum, Triangle, Str.
Duration: 7'25", 7'15", 6'20", 5'25", total: 26'25"


Location of manuscript: BUSA.


Notes: “The first movement is in sonata form. Like the first symphony, the development section of this symphony is also based on a rhythmic ostinato ... the second movement opens with two contrasted ideas (a calm, stable horn solo against crescendo unison strings) which form the A section. The B section starts at Angoscioso. Here the same horn motive appears in a slightly modified and expanded shape. The entry of the second violins is followed by other instruments piling up in layers. This idea is further expanded at Un poco piu vivo and with the entry of the bassoons the C section starts. Section D starts at Poco piu mosso (ff). At Poco meno, the ff horns bring back the opening motive in a canon, and this is in a way a return to section A. Here the horn enters calmly bringing the movement to a close against the nervous beats of the timpani. The third movement is like a Sicilienne, or rather a Forlane [sic.] ... The fourth movement is a constant development of the [see ex.1] (a) motive. Another motive heard in the xylophone forms a contrast to the opening motive (a) first introduced in the divisi violas. The music constantly evolves. This evolution process introduces a new form of the (a) motive. The regenerated motive is first heard in the xylophone and then taken up by the percussion section: [see ex.2]. This is where section B starts. There is a continual regeneration process in this section as well. the theme which is heard in the second violins: [see ex.3] is in fact nothing but a modified version of (a). The movement comes to a close following a fugato section based on (a)” [AS]. [For the original Turkish text, see p. 251]

ex.1 ex.2 ex.3

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ex.1} \\
\text{ex.2} \\
\text{ex.3}
\end{array}
\]
Concerto for piano and orchestra No: 1

Date of composition: 1951-1957; 25 October 1957, Ankara

1. Deciso ($\text{♩}=112$)
2. Andante con moto ($\text{♩}=80$)
3. Allegro assai ($\text{♩}=\text{cca.} 156$)

Instrumentation: 2Fl, 2Ob, 2Cl, 2Bsn, 4Hrn, 3Tr, 3Trb, Timp, Xylophone, Tamburro, Tam-Tam, Cymbals, Bass Drum, Triangle, Str.

Duration: 14'25", 6'58", 4'25"; total: 25'48"


First Turkish performance: 27 November 1963, Ankara, PSO, Mithat Fenmen (piano) conducted by Niyazi Takizade.

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

Publication: Southern Music, Peer Musikverlag, Hire only, 31 May 1960*.

Recording: Gülsin Onay (piano), Rundfunkorchester Hannover / Gürer Aykal, Koch Schwann 3-1350-2 H1.

Notes: “The entire work is based on the motive that is first heard in the strings: [see ex. 4] In the second movement the motive takes this shape: [see ex. 5] and in the third: [see ex. 6]. In other words this motive dominates the entire composition. However, my work is also different to César Franck’s application of the cyclic principle. The first movement is not exactly in sonata form. The (a) motive is developed and joined with the (b) motive, to which it is related. The development section ends with a coda where the solo piano enters and the (a) motive comes back. Let’s call this the re-exposition. The movement comes to a close without a restatement of the (b) motive [see ex. 7]. The movement, from beginning to end, is a development of a single idea. The second movement is a dialogue between the orchestra and the piano and is like a lied form ABA. The third movement is a Rondo, A-B-A (developed) - Coda”. [AS]. [For the original Turkish text, see p. 251]
43  **String Quartet No: 2**  

*Opus 35*

**Date of composition:** 10 March 1958, Ankara

**Commissioned by:** The Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation.

1. Cupo  
2. Moderato  
3. Animato  
4. Grave - Animato

**Duration:** 6'00", 6'00", 3'00", 4'30"; total: 19'30" [EA]

**First performance:** 28 November 1958, Washington D. C., at the Library of Congress by the Juilliard Quartet.

**First Turkish performance:** 14 February 1968, Izmir, Yücelen Quartet.

**Location of Manuscript:** The autograph manuscript is at the Library of Congress in Washington D. C.

**Publication:** Score and parts published by Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, © 1961.

44  **Symphony No: 3**  

*Opus 39*

For full orchestra in four movements.

**Date of composition:** 1960 [GO]

**Commissioned by:** The Sergei Koussevitsky Music Foundation

1. Lento (\(\frac{4}{4} = 52\))  
2. Sostenuto (\(\frac{4}{4} = 46\))  
3. Scherzo-Vivo (\(\frac{4}{4} = 132\))  
4. Con moto (\(\alpha = 80\))

**Dedication:** To the memory of Serge and Natalie Koussevitsky.
Instrumentation: 3Fl, 2Ob, 1CorAng, 2Cl, 1BCl, 2Bsn, 1CBsn, 4Hrm, 3Tr, 3Trb, Tuba, Timp, Tambourine, Cymbals, BassDrum, Tam-Tam, Harp, Xylophone, Celeste, Darbouka, Str.

Duration: 14'00", 12'00", 10'00", 5'00"; total: 41'00"

First performance: 26 February 1961, Ankara

First foreign performance: 1963, Baku, conducted by the composer.

Location of manuscript: The autograph manuscript is at the Library of Congress in Washington D.C.

Publication: Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, hire only, 5 October 1961*; SACEM 19.March.1965, 834347

Notes: “The basic motive is heard in unison in the violins and violas: [see ex. 8] This forms a long introduction which encapsulates all the different ideas in the entire work. The introduction finally joins into an Allegro section following a big crescendo. Through constant development we arrive at (b) where the same idea [the basic motive] is secretly incorporated into the music. The main motive which is heard in a different shape also has a clear rhythmic feel to it, which brings the end of the exposition. At this point the development section begins; it is here that the rhythmic patterns become very dominant. The idea of persistence [ostinato] which I tried to develop in the first movements of my first and second symphonies is also visible here. The development section somehow reflects upon the very introduction without losing its sense of development. (a) and (b) come back in different shapes followed by the [ostinato] rhythm and the movement comes to an end. The second movement opens with a four-bar introduction before the main theme appears. It also reappears throughout the movement like a ritornello. At Lento, the A section begins and following a canonic episode we arrive at the ritornello (at sostenuto). At this point there is an intermezzo which takes us to a fugato at Poco vivo. This is section B. We then reach a recapitulation of the Sostenuto followed by a Coda ... In summary the formal plan is: Ritornello - A - Ritornello - B - Ritornello - Coda. The third movement is a Scherzo A-B-A-C-A-B-A. The fourth movement is like a theme and variations” [AS]. [For the original Turkish text, see p. 252]
Partita for solo violin

Four pieces for solo violin.

Date of composition: 12 December 1961, Ankara

1. Preludio - Sostenuto (♩=50)
2. Scherzo - Vivo (♩=138)
3. Tema con variazioni - Lento (♩=50)
4. Finale - Allegro (♩=120)

Duration: 6'10", 3'20", 10'30", 3'25"; total: 23'25"


Location of manuscript: BUSA.

Publication: Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, © 1964.

Ten studies on aksak rhythms

The first set of short piano pieces based on the traditional Turkish rhythm of aksak, formed by the uneven divisions of a beat.

Date of composition: 1964 [GO]

1. Vivo (♩=56)
2. —— (♩=46)
3. Moderato (♩=48)
4. Sostenuto (♩=40)
5. Animato (♩=80)
6. Con anima (♩=63)
7. Moderato (♩=cca.116)
8. Allegro (♩=120)
9. —— (♩=46)
10. Allegro assai (♩=42; ♩=42)
Duration: 3'16", 1'55", 1'18", 3'56", 1'33", 3'45", 4'20", 3'10", 3'12", 3'15"; total: 29'40"

First performance: 2 May 1968, Ankara, Kamuran Gündemir (piano) at the Ankara State Conservatory.

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

Publication: Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, © 1969.

47 String Quartet No: 3 Opus 43

Date of composition: 26 December 1966, Ankara

1. Grave (J=52) - Vivo (J=104)
2. Agitato (J=140)
3. Lento (J=48)
4. Agitato (J=144)

Dedication: To my wife [Nilufer Saygun].

Duration: 6'30", 7'50", 5'40", 5'25"; total: 25'25"

Location of manuscript: BUSA.


48 Concerto for violin and orchestra Opus 44

Date of composition: 12 July 1967, Ankara

1. Moderato (J=76)
2. Adagio (J=72)
3. Allegro (J=88)

Instrumentation: 2Fl, 2Ob, 2Cl, 2Bsn, 4Hrn, 3Tr, 3Trb, Timp, Xylophone, Tamburro, Tam-Tam, Cymbals, BassDrum, Triangle, Darbouka, Harp, Str.
Duration: 14'25", 10'58", 5'53"; total: 31'16"

First performance: 27 December 1968, Ankara PSO, Suna Kan (violin), conducted by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing.

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

Publication: Score published by Southern Music / Peer Verlag; orchestral material hire only, 19 March 1969*

Notes: "There is a continual organic growth in this piece. Following a two-bar introduction, the solo violin introduces the germinal seeds of the perfect fourth and the diminished fifth, which then take different shapes in the entire composition [see ex. 9] ... the second movement is like a dialogue between the orchestra and the improvisatory solo violin ... the third movement is in A-B-C-B-A form" [AS]. [For the original Turkish text, see p. 252]

ex. 9

49 Twelve preludes on aksak rhythms Opus 45

The second set of short piano pieces based on the traditional Turkish rhythm of aksak, formed by the uneven divisions of a beat.

Date of composition: 1967 [GR], [AA]

1. (♩=40)
2. Vivo (♩=150) (♩=32)
3. (♩=48) (=168)
4. (♩=36)
5. Pesante (♩=32)
6. Molto vivo (♩=80)
7. Moderato (♩=28) (♩=74)
8. (♩=cca.22)
9. Presto (♩=68)
10. (♩=28) 1'40"
11. Allegro ($\frac{\dot{\downarrow}}{\downarrow}$=152) ($\frac{\dot{\downarrow}}{\downarrow}$=33)
12. Vivo ($\frac{\cdot\downarrow}{\cdot\downarrow}$=60)

Dedication: To Miss. İdil Biret.

Duration: 1'38", 1'20", 1'28", 1'20", 1'55", 1'06", 2'30", 1'45", 2'15", 1'00", 1'39";
total: 19'36"

Location of manuscript: There is a manuscript copy at BUSA, but it is not certain whether it is the composer's autograph.

Publication: Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, © 1969.

Recording: Gülsin Onay (piano) / Preciosa Aulos PRE 66 027 AUL.

50 On Türkü Opus 41

A collection of ten traditional folk-songs arranged for bass and piano.

Date of composition: 1968 [GR], [AA]

1. San Boyvoda
2. Nazlı Osman
3. Arap Türküsü
4. Güvercin
5. Yine de Şahlanıyor
6. Bozlak
7. Eğlen Güzell
8. Mavilim
9. Bir inceceik yolum gider
10. Hayvanat destanı

Location of manuscript: Unable to trace.


Accompaniment scored for orchestra by the composer

Date of arrangement: 6 October 1968, (of Nos. 1,3,4,7 and 8)

Instrumentation: 2Fl, 2Ob, 2Cl, 2Bsn, 4Hrn, 3Tr, 3Trb, Timp, Perc, Harp, Str.
Location of manuscript: BUSA.

Publication: Unpublished (Hire material Peer Verlag, Germany [as seven songs])

Recording: Nos. 4, 5 (titled Köröghü), 6, 8 and 10, Ayhan Baran (bass), Budapest Philharmonic Orchestra / Hikmet Şimşek, Hungaraton, HCD 31455.

51 Wind Quintet Opus 46

For flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon and horn.

Date of composition: 1968

Commissioned by: The Ankara Wind Quintet

1. Moderato (L=66)
2. Lento (L=46)
3. Deciso (L=108)

Duration: 7'30", 6"20", 5'08"; total: 18'58"

First performance: 23 October 1968, Ankara by the Ankara Wind Quintet

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

Publication: Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, hire only, 19 June 1969*

52 Deyiş (Dictum) Opus 49

A single-movement work for divisi string orchestra.

Date of composition: 1970

Lento (L=44)

Duration: 16'26"

First performance: 21 April 1971, Ankara, PSO conducted by Lessing

Location of manuscript: BUSA.
53 Fifteen pieces on aksak rhythms  

Opus 47

The third set of short piano pieces based on the traditional Turkish rhythm of aksak.

Date of composition: 1971, Ankara

1. Moderato (\( \frac{4}{4} = 106, \frac{2}{4} = 42 \))
2. Calmo (\( \frac{4}{4} = 76 \))
3. Commodo (\( \frac{3}{4} = 60 \))
4. Con anima (\( \frac{3}{4} = 63 \))
5. Commodo (\( \frac{2}{4} = 52 \))
6. Tranquillo (\( \frac{2}{4} = 84 \))
7. Animato (\( \frac{2}{4} = 58 \))
8. Deciso (\( \frac{3}{4} = 54 \))
9. Vivo (\( \frac{2}{4} = 54 \))
10. Con dolore (\( \frac{2}{4} = 46 \))
11. Calmo (\( \frac{2}{4} = 48, \frac{3}{4} = 72 \))
12. Molto vivo (\( \frac{2}{4} = 55 \))
13. Con anima (\( \frac{2}{4} = 126 \))
14. -- (\( \frac{2}{4} = 60 \))
15. Maestoso (\( \frac{3}{4} = 36, \frac{3}{4} = 72 \))

Duration: 1'25", 1'35", 1'00", 0'56", 0'58", 1'42", 1'40", 1'37", 1'30", 2'20", 3'00", 1'00", 2'00", 0'54", 2'00"; total: 23'37"

Location of manuscript: The autograph manuscript is at BUSA.

Publication: Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag
Three preludes for two harps

Opus 50

Dates of composition: 3 April 1972 (no. 1), 24 April 1972 (no. 2), 27 August 1973 (no. 3)


1. Moderato (♩=66)
2. Calmo (♩=60)
3. Con anima (♩=88)

Duration: 5'15'', 1'35'', 3'32''; total: 10'22''

First performance: The first two preludes were performed in October 1972, Ankara by the New York Harp Ensemble.


Location of manuscript: BUSA.

Publication: Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, hire only, 1 September 1976*.

Recording: The New York Harp Ensemble, Golden Crest MHS 3890 (the first two preludes only).

Köroğlu

Opus 52

An opera in three acts based on a Turkish legend, with libretto by Selahattin Batu.

Date of composition: 1972-1973

Dedication: In memory of Kemal Atatürk.


Location of manuscript: BUSA.

Publication: Score unpublished, hire material only, Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, 15 May 1973*
56 Symphony No: 4

For full orchestra, in four movements.

**Date of composition:** 1974

**Commissioned by:** Gotthold Ephraim Lessing

1. Deciso ($\dot{\mathfrak{z}}=88$)
2. Animate
3. Poco largo
4. Con anima e molto deciso

**Instrumentation:** 3Fl, 2Ob, 1CorAng, 2Cl, 1BCl, 2Bsn, 1CBSn, 4Hrn, 3Tr, 3Trb, Tuba, Timp, Tambouro, Tom-Tom, Cymbals, Bass Drum, Tam-Tam, Harp, Str.

**Dedication:** In memory of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing.

**Duration:** 26'00" [CAT]

**First performance:** 10 December 1976, Ankara, PSO conducted by Gürer Aykal.

**Location of manuscript:** BUSA.

**Publication:** Score unpublished, hire material only, Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, 12 June 1975*.

57 **Ağtlar - II (Laments)**

For tenor solo and *a cappella* men’s voices (TTBB) in five connected movements.

**Date of composition:** 1974, Istanbul

1. Buio ($\dot{\mathfrak{z}}=56$)
2. Inquieto ($\dot{\mathfrak{z}}=44$)
3. Metso ($\dot{\mathfrak{z}}=48$)
4. Nervoso ($\dot{\mathfrak{z}}=\text{cca.} 92$)
5. Lugubre ($\dot{\mathfrak{z}}=\text{cca.} 66$)
Duration: 2'50", 2'00", 3'15", 1'35", 3'15"; total: 12’55”

Location of manuscript: The photocopy of the autograph manuscript is at BUSA.

Publication: Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, 12 June 1975*.

58  Trio  

For oboe, clarinet and piano in three movements.

Date of composition: January 1975, Istanbul

1. Grave (\(\frac{\text{j}}{\text{=46}}\))
2. Scherzando (\(\frac{\text{j}}{\text{=88}}\))
3. Moderato (\(\frac{\text{j}}{\text{=84}}\))

Duration: 6’52”, 3’55”, 4’28”; total: 15’15”

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

Publication: Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, 27 April 1976*

59  Ballade  

For two pianos in two connected movements.

Date of composition: 8 April 1975, Istanbul

1. Grave (\(\frac{\text{j}}{\text{=cca.40}}\))
2. Vivo (\(\frac{\text{j}}{\text{=cca.116}}\))

Duration: 9’30”

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

60  Ayin Raksı (Ritual Dance)  

A single-movement work for full orchestra.
Date of composition: 18 November 1975, Istanbul

Con anima (♩=92)

Instrumentation: 3Fl, 2Ob, 1 CorAng, 2Cl, 1BCl, 2Bsn, 1CBsn, 4Hrn, 3Tr, 3Trb, BTuba, Timp, Tbno, Tambourro, Cymbales, BassDrum, Tam-Tam, Harp, Triangle, Xylophone, Celeste, Piano, Rothell, Tom-Tom, Woodblock, Darbouka, Glock, Sus Cymb, Str.

Duration: 9'48"

First performance: 26 March 1977, Ankara, PSO conducted by Hikmet Şimşek.

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

Publication: Score unpublished, hire material only, Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, 16 November 1976*.

Recording: Moscow Radio and Television Symphony Orchestra / Hikmet Şimşek, Raks-9713661 (SD05).

61 Ten sketches on aksak rhythms Opus 58

The fourth set of short piano pieces based on the traditional Turkish rhythm of aksak.

Date of composition: 1976, Istanbul

1. Preciso (♩=64)
2. Lento (♩=46)
3. Animato (♩=46)
4. Vivace (♩=80)
5. Moderato (♩=106)
6. Vivo (♩=192)
7. Moderato (♩=60)
8. Animato (♩=120)
9. Andante (♩=66)
10. Comodo (♩=76)

Duration: 1'12", 2'00", 1'55", 1'08", 1'50", 1'05", 1'20", 1'17", 1'30", 2'10"; total: 15'07"
62 Concerto for viola and orchestra Opus 59

Date of composition: 10 February 1977, Istanbul

Commissioned by: Ruşen Güneş.

1. Moderato
2. Scherzando \( \text{\( J \)} = \text{cca.96} \)
3. Lento \( \text{\( J \)} = \text{cca.50} \) - Allegro moderato \( \text{\( = \)} = \text{cca.104} \)

Instrumentation: 3Fl, 2Ob, CAng, 2Cl, 2Bsn, 4Hrn, 3Tr, 3Trb, Timp, Xylophone, Tamburro, Tam-Tam, Tom-Tom, Cymbals, BassDrum, Triangle, Darbouka, Glockenspiel, Celeste, Harp, Str.

Duration: 13’30”, 4’20”, 6’02”, Total: 24’52”


Location of manuscript: USA

Publication: Unpublished


63 İnsan üzerine deyişler - I (Méditations sur l’Homme) Opus 60

A set of five songs for soprano and piano, with words written by the composer.

Unpublished.

Date of composition: 1977 [GR], [AA]

1. Ağıt - Con dolore
2. Üç Kuş - Commode
3. Dönsem - Moderato
4. Hasret - Moderato
5. Dilek - Allegro

**Duration:** 7'49", 4'50", 1'58", 2'37", 2'45"; total: 19'40"

**Location of manuscript:** BUSA

**Accompaniment scored for orchestra by the composer**

**Date of arrangement:** 28 August 1984, Istanbul

Unpublished.

**Instrumentation:** 2Fl, 2Ob, 1CorAng, 2Cl, 1BCl, 2Bsn, 1CBsn, 4Hrn, 3Tr, 3Trb, Timp, Tambouro, Tam-Tam, Cymb, Bass Drum, Campana, Trgl, Harp, Str.

**First performance:** 17 May 1985, Istanbul, İşin Güyer (soprano), ISSO conducted by Erol Erdinç.

**Location of manuscript:** BUSA

**Recording:** İşin Güyer (soprano), Budapest Symphony Orchestra / Hikmet Şimşek, Hungaraton HCD 31483.

### 64 İnsan üzerine deyişler - II (Méditations sur l’Homme) Opus 61

The second set of five songs for soprano and piano, words written by the composer.

**Date of composition:** 1977, Istanbul

Unpublished

1. Arayış - Sostenuto (\(\text{J} = \text{cca.}66\))
2. Alan Kuşlar - Allegretto (\(\text{J} = \text{cca.}108\))
3. Enginler - Calmo (\(\text{J} = \text{cca.}54\)) (\(\text{J} = \text{cca.}72\))
4. Taş - Moderato (\(\text{J} = \text{cca.}48\))
5. Özendiriş - Allegro (\(\text{J} = \text{cca.}126\))

**Location of manuscript:** BUSA (the third song only).
Accompaniment scored for orchestra by the composer

Date of arrangement: 31 August 1987, Istanbul

Unpublished.

Instrumentation: 3Fl, 2Ob, 1CorAng, 2Cl, 1BCl, 2Bsn, 1CBsn, 4Hrn, 3Tr, 3Trb, Timp, Tambourrino, Tam-Tam, Cymb, Sr Drum, Bass Drum, Campana, Trgl, Harp, Xyl, Cel, Glock, Str.

First performance: Unable to find.

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

Notes: According to Saygun's list there are four more sets of these songs with the same title, which are listed with the opus numbers 63, 64, 66 and 69. Atalay refers to them in his list and gives the following dates: 1983, 1978, 1978 and 1984 respectively. Saygun also refers to them in a letter to Henriette Guilloux: “Under the same cover you will also find the words of my five [songs] for voice and orchestra (piano), which form the second book of six that are collectively entitled Méditations sur l’Homme. I must quickly say that I do not pretend to be a poet. I had to write the words for these melodies myself, since none of the texts I had under my hand satisfied me”. (Istanbul, 23 February 1988). Except for the first two sets listed above, there are no records of the remaining four sets.

65 Dört Ezgi [Four songs] Opus 48

Four songs for soprano and piano, words by Selahattin Batu.

Unpublished

Date of composition: 7 April 1977, Istanbul

1. Büyük Kuşlar
2. Deniz yaklaştırken - Moderato ( \( \frac{1}{4} \) = cca.60)
3. Adsız çiçek
4. Kimdir adınıla andığım

Duration: 3'00", 3'00", 1'00", 3'25”; total: 10'25” [EA]

Location of manuscript: The autograph manuscript is at BUSA.

Accompaniment scored for orchestra by the composer
Date of arrangement: Unable to find

Instrumentation: 3Fl, 2Ob, CAng, 2Cl, BCl, 2Bsn, 4Hrn, 2Tr, 3Trb, Timp, Trgl, Xyl, Tambourino, Celeste, Cymb, Tam-Tam, Tambourro, Harp, Str.

First performance: Unable to find.

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

66 Concerto da Camera Opus 62

For string orchestra in three movements.

Date of composition: 4 May 1978, Istanbul

Unpublished.

1. Allegro (\(\text{J}=\text{cca.120}\))
2. Lento (\(\text{J}=68\))
3. Animato (\(\text{J}=\text{cca.116}\))

Duration: 5’50”, 5’30”, 4’50”; total: 16’10”

First performance: 5 July 1979, Istanbul, ACO conducted by Gürer Aykal.

Location of manuscript: A photocopy of the autograph manuscript is at BUSA.

Recording: Ankara Chamber Orchestra / Gürer Aykal (LP), ANK-1, (not released).

67 Atatürk’e ve Anadolu’ya Destan Opus 67

A cantata for soloists (SATB), chorus and full orchestra, with words by the composer.

Date of composition: 1981 - 1982

Instrumentation: 3Fl, 2Ob, 1CorAng, 2Cl, 1BCl, 2Bsn, 1CBsn, 4Hrn, 4Tr, 3Trb, Tuba, Timp, Tambourou, Cymbales, Bass Drum, Tam-Tam, 2 Snare Dr, Harp, Grelots, Tambno, Xyl, Tom-Tom, Trgl, Glock, Campana, Darbouka, Celst, Piano, Rothell, Str

Location of manuscript: BUSA.


68 Gilgamesh  Opus 65

An epic drama in three acts for soloists (SATB), chorus, a ballet core and a narrator with libretto by the composer.

Date of composition: 1962-83

Unpublished.

Unperformed.

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

69 Uc ezgi  Opus 68

A set of three short pieces for four harps.

Date of composition: 1983

1. Con grazia (♩=46)
2. Maestoso (♩=cca.52)
3. Giocoso (♩=68)

Unpublished.

Duration: 3'00", 3'00", 3'30" total: 9'30" [EA]

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

70 Symphony No: 5  Opus 70

For full orchestra in four movements.

Date of composition: 20 September 1984, Istanbul
1. Moderate \( (J=69) \)
2. Vivo \( (J=108) \)
3. Tranquillo \( (J=60) \)
4. Allegro \( (J=104) \)

**Instrumentation:** 3Fl, 2Ob, 1CorAng, 2Cl, 1Bcl, 2Bsn, 1CBsn, 4Hrn, 3Tr, 3Trb, Tuba, Timp, Tambouro, Cymbals, BassDrum, Tam-Tam, Harp, Triangle, Xylophone, Celeste, Piano, Rothell, Str.

**Duration:** 7'20", 4'20", 6'10", 5'25"; total: 23'10"

**First performance:** 17 January 1986, Ankara, PSO conducted by Hikmet Şimşek.

**Location of manuscript:** BUSA.

**Publication:** Score unpublished, hire material only, Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag.

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**71 Concerto for piano and orchestra No: 2**

**Opus 71**

**Date of composition:** 27 December 1985

1. Moderato \( (J=\text{cca.} 60) \)
2. Lento \( (J=\text{cca.} 52) \)
3. Animato \( (J=112) \)

**Commissioned by:** Gülsin Onay.

**Instrumentation:** 3Fl, 2Ob, CAng, 2Cl, BCl, 2Bsn, CBsn, 4Hrm, 3Tr, 3Trb, Timp, Xylophone, Tamburro, Tam-Tam, Tom-Tom, Cymbals, BassDrum, Triangle, Darbouka, Roll trel, Celeste, Harp, Str.

**Dedication:** Gülsin Onay.

**Duration:** 10'45", 5'15", 7'30"; total: 23'30"

**First performance:** 15 December 1989, Izmir, GÜLSIN ONAY (piano)

**Location of manuscript:** BUSA, Piano reduction by Saygun (6.6.1989).
72 Variations for orchestra

A set of eleven variations for full orchestra.

Date of composition: 17 May 1986, Istanbul

Theme - Largo (J=58)
1. Allegro ma non troppo (J=106)
2. Moderato (J=80)
3. Vivo (J=128)
4. Moderato (J=94)
5. Poco piu lento (J=60)
6. Moderato (J=69)
7. ----
8. Vivo (J=104)
9. Con passione (J=80)
10. ----
11. Poco piu mosso (J=86)

Instrumentation: 3Fl, 2Ob, 1CorAng, 2Cl, 1BCl, 2Bsn, 1CBsn, 4Hrn, 3Tr, 3Trb, Tuba, Timp, Tambouro, Cymbals, BassDrum, Tam-Tam, Harp, Triangle, Xylophone, Tom-Tom, Sr Drum, Darbouka, Tambourino, Glock, Celeste, Rothell, Str.

Dedication: To Professor İhsan Doğramacı.

Duration: 13’30”

First performance: 26 December 1987, Ankara, PSO conducted by Gürer Aykal.

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

Publication: Score unpublished, hire material only, Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag.
73 Poem for three pianos

Date of composition: 16 December 1986, Istanbul

Pesante (♩=cca.64)

Duration: 13'14"

First performance: 1987, Hannover

Location of manuscript: BUSA

Publication: Southern Music / Peer Verlag.

74 Concerto for 'cello and orchestra

Date of composition: 29 November 1987, Istanbul

1. Moderato (♩=cca.76)
2. Largo (♩=48)
3. Animato (♩=cca. 94)

Instrumentation: 3Fl, 2Ob, CAng, 2Cl, BCl, 2Bsn, CBsn, 4Hrn, 3Tr, 3Trb, Timp, Xylophone, Tamburro, Tam-Tam, Tom-Tom, Cymbales, BassDrum, Triangle, Darbouka, Roll trel, Snare Drum, Glock, Campana, Tambno, Grelotz, Tamb. rolo, Celeste, Harp, Str.

Duration: 10'30", 6'48", 6'35"; total: 23'45"


Location of manuscript: BUSA.

Publication: Score unpublished, hire material only, Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag.
75 Bir Kumru Masalı Opus 75

A ballet in three acts.

**Date of composition:** 8 March 1990, Istanbul

Unpublished.

**Instrumentation:** 3Fl, 2Ob, 1CorAng, 2Cl, 1BCl, 2Bsn, 1CBsn, 4Hrn, 3Tr, 3Trb, Tuba, Timp, Harp, Xylophone, Celeste, Piano, other percussion, Str.

Unperformed.

**Location of manuscript:** BUSA.

76 Sonata for pianoforte Opus 76

**Date of composition:** 9 May 1990, Istanbul

1. Moderato (♩=cca.60)
2. Allegro (♩=120) (♩♩=cca.48)
3. Lento (♩=50)
4. Allegro (♩=104)

**Duration:** 5'46", 4'26", 4'45", 5'05"; total: 20'01"

**Location of manuscript:** BUSA.

**Publication:** Southern Music / Peer Musikverlag, © 1991

77 String Quartet No: 4 Opus 77

Incomplete with only the first two movements finished.

**Date of composition:** 1991

Unpublished.

1. Lento (♩=50) - Allegro (♩=cca.96)
2. Animato (♩=112)

278
Duration: 7'30", 4'00" [EA]

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

78 Horon

A single-movement work for solo clarinet and piano.

Date of composition: Unable to find.

1. Molto vivo (♩=56)

Duration: 2'20" [EA]

Location of manuscript: Unable to trace.

Publication: Southern Music, 1964

79 Atatürk Marşı

A march for chorus (SATB) and orchestra in A major.

Unpublished

Date of composition: Unable to find.

Instrumentation: 2Fl, 2Ob, 2Cl, 2Bsn, 4Hrn, 3 Tr, 3 Trb, Timp, Sr Drum, Cymb, Bass Drum, Tam-Tam, Str

Location of manuscript: BUSA.

80 Halkevleri Marşı

A march for chorus with orchestral accompaniment for the Halkevi.

Unpublished

Date of composition: Unable to find.

(♩=116)
Instrumentation: 2Fl, 2Ob, 2Cl, 2Bsn, 3Hrn, 2Tr, 3Trb, Timp, Tambourro, Cymb, Bass Drum, Str

Duration: 1’10” [EA]

Location of manuscript: USA

81  İzci Marşı

A scouts’ march for voice and piano.

Date of composition: Unable to find.

Duration: 1’30” [EA]

Location of manuscript: BUSA

82  Quatuor: I

An incomplete string quartet in B minor.

Date of composition: Unable to find.

Unpublished.

Location of manuscript: BUSA

83  Gençliğe Şarklar

A set of five pieces specially composed for young people.

Date of composition: Unable to find.

1. Atatürk Marşı
2. And
3. Eğen Türküsü
4. Sille Türküsü
5. 9 Eylül

Location of manuscript: Unable to find.
Publications: Numune Matbaası, 1939

Notes: Nos. 3 and 4 are for a cappella choir, the rest is for one vocal line and piano accompaniment. To be used as teaching material at schools and halkevi.

84 Trio

For cor anglais, bass clarinet and harp.

Date of composition: Unable to find.

Tranquillo (J=44)

Duration: 4'19" [EA]

Location of manuscript: BUSA, incomplete.

The original Turkish text of Symphony No. 1, Op. 29


The original Turkish text of Symphony No. 2, Op. 30

Birinci kısm sonat yapısındadır. Birinci senfonide olduğu gibi bu senfoninin bu bölümünün gelişiminde ritmik bir ostinatoya dayanma fikri vardır... İkinci kısm birinci korno ile yarılara birbirine zıt iki fikri (korno gayet sakin ve hiç değişmez, unissono yarılara gittikçe daha heyecanlı) A bölümüne meydana getirir. Angoscioso ile B bölümü
başlar. Burada korno motifi değişik bir tarzda ele alınmış ve genişletilmiştir. İkinci kemanların ilk girişini yavaş yavaş başlara takip eder. Devamlı ve üstüste hatlar halindeki bu kısımda pocu piu vivo'da gene gelişim halinde devam eder ve fagotlarda iştilen C'ye ve Poco piu mosso'da D'ye (ff) bağlanır. Bu gelişim Poco meno'da gene ff olarak korno'nun ilk motifi kanonik ve hatti bir yazı halinde (bir nevi) A'ya ulaştırır. Bu kısımda korno'nun kendisi fikrini Calmo havası içinde, ama timpaninin endişeli ritmi üzerinde olan erer. Üçüncü kısımda Sibelius, daha ziyade bir Forlane karakterindedir... Dördüncü kısımda baştta sona (a) motifinin devamlı gelişimi üzerine kurulmuştur. Silofone'de iştilen başka bir motif, bu divisi viololarda baslayıp giderek orkestraya yayılan fikre bir kontrast yapar gibi (a)'ya ulaştırır. Kornonun duyduğu bir kısma fikrin ve bu ritmin gelişimi bir nevi B bölümüne meydana getirir. Bu bölüm daima gelişim halinde ikinci kemanlarda duyulan şu fikre bağlantır ki (a)'nin gelişmiş şeklini daha başka bir şey değildir. Bir fugato halinde gelişen... (a) fikri devamlı gelişim havası sürdürür ve yazıtı tamamlar.

The original Turkish text of Piano Concerto No. 1, Op. 34

Bütün yazı ilk başta yaylıklarda iştilen motifi üzerine kurulmuştur. İkinci kısımda bu motif iki defa (fagotun girişleriyle söyleye meydana gelir. ...). Üçüncü kısımda motif şu şekilde... Göründüğü üzere bütün yazıda hakim olan bu fikirdir. Ancak benim geliştirmem César Franck'ın Cyclique yazı anlayışından da çok farklıdır. Birinci kısımda bir sonat yapısında değildir. (a) temi gelişerek gene o motifin meydana getirdiği (b) temine bağlanır... Buna reexposition diyelim. Değişik bir tarzda gelen bu kısımda (b) fikri olmakszın bölümü sona erdir. Bölüm başta sona bir düşüncenin gelişmesi halinde. İkinci kısımda orkestra ile piyanonun diyaloga halinde gelişen A, aynı motivin değişik bir yaşamışını gösteren B ve kısa bir diyalog halindeki A ile bir lied yapış gösterir. Üçüncü kısımda A-B-A (gelişim olarak) - Coda gibi bir Rondo yapıtırılmalıdır.

The original Turkish text of Symphony No. 3, Op. 39


The original Turkish text of Violin Concerto, Op. 44

Birinci kısımda devamlı bir gelişim havası içindedir. Bu kısımda iki ölçülük bir girişten sonra solo kemanın işittirdiği dörtlü ve eksik鳖li çekirdekleri bütün yazında çok değişik şekillere bölünerek hükümlerini yürütürler... ikinci kısımda orkestra ile solo keman arasındaki diyalogdur... üçüncü kısımda A-B-C-B-A gibi bir yapıdır.
APPENDIX

A list of letters consulted

1. Letters from Saygun to his wife Nilüfer (BUSA).

İstanbul, 6 November 1942
Bursa, 9 November 1942
Ankara, 4 June 1944
Ankara, 23 June 1944
London, 20 October 1946
London, 28 October 1946
Brussels, 20 January 1947
Brussels, 23 January 1947
London, 22 September 1947
London, 26 September 1947
Basel, 14 September 1948
Basel, 17 September 1948
London, 27 September 1948
Geneva, 21 October 1951
Paris, 21 June 1953
Paris, 24 June 1953
Vienna, 27 June 1953
Vienna, 13 October 1954
Salzburg, 16 October 1954
Paris, 19 October 1954
Paris, 22 October 1954
Belgrade, 13 June 1956
London, 15 May 1958
London, 21 May 1958
Tehran, 8 April 1961
Teheran, 11-12 April 1961
Tunisia, 2 December 1965
Tunisia, 6 December 1965
Teheran, 7 September 1967
Augsburg, 2 March 1971
Marquarstein, 5 March 1971

2. Letters from Saygun to Henri and Henriette Guilloux (photocopies sent to me by Mrs. Henriette Guilloux).

Ankara, 20 July 1947
Ankara, 29 November 1947
Ankara, 31 December 1949
Ankara, 18 May 1950
Ankara, 22 December 1953
Ankara, 7 May 1954
Ankara, 12 June 1955
New York, 30 October 1958
Ankara, 30 March 1964
Ankara, 1 May 1964
Ankara, 10 February 1965
Ankara, 6 March 1966
Ankara, 18 December 1972
Istanbul, 12 December 1975
Istanbul, 14 December 1976
Istanbul, 31 December 1977

3. Letters from Saygun to Henriette Guilloux (photocopies sent to me by Mrs. Henriette Guilloux).

Istanbul, 25 March 1980
Istanbul, 4 June 1980
Istanbul, 27 August 1980
Istanbul, 18 April 1982
Istanbul, 12 January 1983
Istanbul, 23 April 1984
Istanbul, 26 March 1985
Istanbul, 14 May 1985
Istanbul, 8 June 1985
Istanbul, 20 September 1985
Istanbul, 30 October 1985
Istanbul, 28 December 1985
Istanbul, 23 April 1986
Istanbul, 28 April 1986
Istanbul, 16 December 1986
Istanbul, 5 April 1987
Istanbul, 29 October 1987
Istanbul, 27 December 1987
Istanbul, 23 February 1988
Istanbul, 17 July 1988
Istanbul, 6 October 1988
Istanbul, 5 January 1988
Istanbul, 27 March 1989
Istanbul, 25 December 1989
Istanbul, 7 May 1990
Istanbul, 15 July 1990

4. Letters from Michael Tippett to Saygun (BUSA).

24 November 1946
27 November 1946
10 December 1946
12 January 1947
9 February 1947
27 February 1947
7 March 1947
29 March 1947 (post card)
7 April 1947
15 April 1947
9 July 1947
2 August 1947
5. The remaining letters (BUSA).

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<tr>
<th>From</th>
<th>To</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Béla Bartók</td>
<td>Adnan Saygun, Budapest, 2 January 1937</td>
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<tr>
<td>Béla Bartók</td>
<td>Adnan Saygun, Budapest, 14 January 1937</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harry W. Coley</td>
<td>Adnan Saygun, Worcester, MA, 18 July 1947</td>
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<td>Carroll C. Pratt</td>
<td>Mortimer Graves, 27 January 1949</td>
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<tr>
<td>Max Meinecke</td>
<td>Adnan Saygun, 30 March 1955</td>
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<tr>
<td>Adnan Saygun</td>
<td>Moritz Jagendorf, Istanbul, 9 August 1955</td>
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<tr>
<td>Max Kaufmann</td>
<td>Adnan Saygun, Istanbul, 7 August 1955</td>
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<td>Moritz Jagendorf</td>
<td>Adnan Saygun, Ankara, 27 December 1955</td>
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<td>Moritz Jagendorf</td>
<td>Adnan Saygun, Ankara, 13 February 1956</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leopold Stokowski</td>
<td>Adnan Saygun, 22 December 1959</td>
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<td>Leopold Stokowski</td>
<td>Adnan Saygun, 12 January 1965</td>
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<td>Yehudi Menuhin</td>
<td>Adnan Saygun, 23 May 1967</td>
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<td>Leopold Stokowski</td>
<td>Adnan Saygun, 24 December 1968</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ronald Thondycraft</td>
<td>Halit Refiğ, 26 September 1986</td>
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