

## CHAPTER 9

# THE NATIONAL ANTHEMS INSTITUTIONALIZATION PROCESS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE 19<sup>th</sup> CENTURY

L. Hilal AKGÜL<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Istanbul Bilgi University, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Istanbul, Turkey  
e-mail: hilal.akgul@bilgi.edu.tr

DOI: 10.26650/B/AA09.2021.007.09

### ABSTRACT

Musical pieces labeled modern anthems in this paper first appeared when Westernization movements began in the Ottoman Empire. These Western-style compositions, particularly national anthems, were played with Western instruments. The Ottoman State's first encounter with modern anthems occurred at the inception of movements toward Westernization, during which changes to military, legal, financial, administrative, and social spheres caused the transformation of the public representation of the state. The praxis of designating a national anthem was first applied during Mahmud II's reign. This practice continued in the eras that followed until it was finally institutionalized. The system was sustained for 91 years until Vahdettin era ended and the Ottoman Empire became history. This paper examines the history of Ottoman Empire anthems in the context of Westernization and examined the functioning of anthems as symbols created to restructure the state. The first section discusses the history of anthems in general terms. The sections that follow elucidate the history of the anthems of the Ottoman Empire and the construction of the band, *Muzika-i Hümâyûn*.

**Keywords:** March, national anthem, musikâ-i hümâyûn, mahmudiye anthem, mecrediye anthem, hamidiye anthem

In the process of modernization, while some traditions disappear, some regain meaning and others are invented. Hobsbawm defined invented tradition as “practices intended to establish repetitive behavior patterns surrounded by a set of rules, rituals and symbols” (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2006, p. 14). According to Antony Smith, the symbols remind community members of their common heritage, cultural affinity; strengthen feelings of collective identity and a sense of belonging (Smith, 2010, pp. 3-9). In this context, symbols appear as one of the most important mechanisms to legitimize a social order. Once the symbols are accepted, it becomes easier to see the functions of the rulers through these symbols; it opens up an important field of action for rulers in order for them to achieve these goals (Türkkahraman, 2000, p. 10).

The symbols, which are also the main elements in the creation of national identity, include features that remind a particular society that it is a nation, increasing solidarity, emphasizing distinctness from other nations and creating a sense of historical continuity. Many traditions and symbols existing in society are first nationalized and then standardized to create and raise the awareness of the nation in the nation-building process. In this process, rulers try to make people forget some traditions and symbols contradicting the official ideology and the invention of new traditions in line with new and different needs that may arise become a topic of discussion (Hobsbawm, 1993, p. 9). Symbolism is one of the most important tools in the invention of tradition (Kılıçbay, 2000, p. 87). The ruling elites impose their own interpretation on the masses through the manipulation of symbols, in this way generating a struggle for legitimacy. The concept of political symbolism is rather meant as a symbolic structure determining or approving social and political identities. Art has an important role in the world of symbols. Ideologies combine art and symbols, allowing new identities to be passed on to the masses. Particularly with modernization, aesthetic values have had a great influence on the reconstruction and continuity of identity. The inspiring and influencing force of art has an important role in the creation and settling of identity (Smith, 2010, p. 150). Elements such as anthems, flags, establishment ceremonies, and festivals can be considered and examined within the framework of political symbolism (Türkkahraman, 2000, p. 81).

Anthems played a crucial role in the construction of national identity or reinforcing the sense of loyalty to the dynasty in monarchic structures. The anthems, which are originally specific to the military field, have been widely used in the public sphere besides the military, and even managed to have a significant place in the civilian field with the effect, on the mass, of creating a common spirit. Particularly after the French Revolution, the anthems in Europe turned into powerful tools used to create a common spirit in the mass. In this respect, anthems have a stimulating, enthusiastic, and inspiring effect on the listening subject.

It is possible to evaluate this practice as it took place during the last 90 years of the Ottoman State, within the context of Westernization movements. This process, particularly the changes that made themselves felt in the military, legal, financial, administrative, and social fields brought about a change in the public representation of the state. It is possible to consider the anthems as part of these changes, and especially the national anthem as an important element of the invention of tradition and the production of symbols for the new era.

In this article, we dealt with the history of “anthems” throughout Ottoman history in the context of Westernization and the construction of symbols for the restructuring of the state. In the first section, the history of “anthems” will be discussed in general terms. The following sections will discuss the history of the “anthems” of the Ottoman Empire along with the construction of the “band”, the “Muzika-i Hümâyûn.

## **March!**

The meaning of the word “marş” [here this word refers to “march”], which entered Turkish from French, is related to the act of walking. The command given to march in the military is expressed by the word “marş”. This word is found in everyday language in Turkish, in the imperative form of the verb “to walk”, though not very often. It is more common for the word to be subject to imperative uses in daily language, such as “haydi marş” [let’s march] or “marş marş” [chop-chop]. “Marş” is also associated with walking as a music term. For example, the Current Turkish Dictionary of TDK gives the first meaning for “marş” [anthem] as “a piece of music that reminds us of rhythm, the march of a walking person or the community” (<https://sozluk.gov.tr/> [23.03.2020]). Music dictionaries, on the other hand, expand this definition. According to these dictionaries, musical works composed to accompany any community during their regular march are called “anthem”. This accompaniment helps to keep the march at a certain pace. While the pieces that can be played and are suitable for regular marches are categorized under the name “anthem”, the composition’s suitability for walking is emphasized as the distinguishing feature of the anthems. Due to this relationship between anthem and regular walking, anthems are composed in 2/2, 2/4, 3/4, 4/4, 6/8, or 12/8, and often in major tones (Öztuna, 1969, p. 13; Üngör, 1966, 9). Anthems that are evocative of a type of dance in terms of form either consist of only a melody, or they may contain lyrics.

The first examples of anthems appeared in a military context in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, in line with military needs. Facilitating the march of soldiers in training and war, keeping this march in its proper steps and pace were the basic requirements behind the birth of the anthems. As part of the emergence of the anthems, it would be appropriate to remember the motivating effect

of the music on soldiers and also its functions during war, such as psychological pressure, frightening the enemy, etc. (Farmer, 1950, pp. 43-71).<sup>1</sup>

Although the origin of the anthem was military, this genre, especially since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, has found wide use in the public space outside of the military and easily spread to the civilian area. In this respect, it would be incorrect to say that the anthems were composed only for military purposes. In the case of anthems composed for civilian purposes, the main aims are creating unity, enthusiasm, and excitement in the mass or community. The anthem plays an important function in inspiring the crowd to discover its soul and turning it into a single being. Although this kind of presentation and use of the anthem apparently differs from the content of the march, in its essence, this kind of anthem also facilitates the management and collective action of the mass, thus also fulfilling the function of “accompanying the appropriate steps”.

Anthems are divided into several types according to the purpose of their composition and to whether they contain lyrics or not, their verbal content, and the tempo used. Common types of anthems include military anthems, national anthems, state ceremony anthems, flag anthems, coronation anthems, royal anthems, and anthems written about political figures. Political party anthems, political movement anthems, youth anthems, school anthems, sports club anthems, corporate anthems, wedding anthems, organization anthems, mourning anthems, funeral anthems also come to mind.

After the French revolution, anthems in Europe turned into tools primarily used to create a common spirit in the mass. While only 116 national anthems and songs were composed in 1789, this number reached 701 by 1794. One of them is the famous Marseillaise. These anthems, whose composers are mostly unknown, were sung at victory ceremonies, at the funerals of heroes, during festivals gathering excited crowds at Champ de Mars. Revolutionary leaders like Danton argued that this enthusiasm for music should be passed on to young people through education; Robespierre even made a law for the learning of anthems. Napoleon Bonaparte wished every victory to be celebrated with words, music, and even dance. Famous composers such as Spontini, Paisiello, Paer and Grétry composed operas, musical dramas, and of course anthems for these celebrations. In the operas of great composers such as Wagner and Verdi, there were parts including anthems that turned into symbols of German and Italian national identities. The lines written in those years about Italians by *Gazetta Musicale*'s Berlin correspondent were particularly important. According to him, almost all nations on earth have national songs

---

1 Henry George Farmer's book remains a classic about military music and the analysis of its place in different cultures. The book discusses the existence and representation of military music since the Romans and indicates how military music was an element of power in Europe during the Revolutionary era (Farmer, 1950).

and anthems they sing together on the days celebrating their victory and liberation. The only exception is Italy. Perhaps, the author had not considered the national passages in the works of Verdi and the anthem-like spirit in the choral parts. In the Italian struggle for independence, national themed songs in Verdi's operas became the people's shared heritage. The anthems and national songs noticeably increased during the 19th-century revolutions. Milan's "Five Days" led to the emergence of several national anthems. The publisher Ricordi published a catalogue that comprised them so that patriots could buy them cheaply. A musician named Giuseppe Novella compiled eight tunes and these went on sale. Two of them were devoted to Pope Pius IX, two to the writer of the constitution, Carlo Alberto, and the others to God, the army, and those who died for independence. In this regard, Prof. Antonino Monti writes: "Anthems and choirs are geared towards praising weapons, marches of war, attacks, attack on enemies and infantry. And, certainly, the rebirth of Italy can now only be attributed to military emotions, that is, to war. For example, the war of 1866 was followed by a plenitude of music that could not be compared with the duration of this war." Garibaldi's anthem in 1858 and the War Anthem, Brofferio's work, which was read according to the style of the march at the theater of Alla Scala and Canobbiana on May 29, 1866, became the lyrical symbols of the epic Italian unification. The songs and anthems that fuse common national feelings in the human soul are a reflection of the romantic age (Devrimler ve Kültür Tarihi Ansiklopedisi, 1975, pp. 105-120). This lyrical symbolic element would become one of the tools used in the Ottoman Empire in the struggle to reposition itself between East and West.

## **From Mehterhane-i Hümayûn to Musikâ-i Hümayûn: Building the "Band"**

### ***Mahmud II Period***

The Ottoman anthems, which were played with Western instruments and composed in the Western style of the Ottoman Empire and which we will call modern anthems in this article, and specifically the "national" anthems, appeared for the first time when the Westernization movements began. Westernization movements in the Ottoman Empire emerged together with the need for new standards, especially in the military field, and their main axis expanded by including different areas alongside the military. Regarding the first Westernization experiences, references can be made to the period of Ahmed III (1703-1730) and especially to the period of Selim III (1789-1807). However, the first serious institutional steps in terms of Westernization were taken in the period of Mahmud II (1808 - 1839).

The 19<sup>th</sup> century began with problems for the Ottoman Empire. In addition to political crises, the internal and external legitimacy problems experienced by the empire, which dominated a territory that was at the center of the European imperial struggle, inspired administrators to produce new liberation plans. Economic and social measures, innovations in the bureaucratic area that started in the period of Mahmud II, reforms that affected cultural life, had implications for the transformation of the traditional components of the empire.

The abolishment of the Janissary Corps (1826), which is referred to as the “Vaka-i Hayriye” [The Auspicious Incident] in the literature, was the most important development during Mahmud II’s era, and it was also a milestone in terms of Westernization movements<sup>2</sup>. Mahmud II, after abolishing the Janissary Corps, established a new western-style army under the name of “Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyye” (1826). This army would also form the basis of the modern Turkish army. At this point, only the “Mehterhane-i Hümâyûn”, a part of Janissary Corps, had not been touched, while they were being abolished. Mehter, which can be called the Janissary band, was preserved in some way. Although it cannot be proven, some sources claim that the Mehterhane-i Hümâyûn was founded in 1362, while other give 1365 as a date. However, there is no exact information about the establishment of the Ottoman Mehterhane. According to a common rumor, Mehter was initiated by the Anatolian Seljuk sultan sending tabl and alem [drum and standard] as a symbol of domination to Osman Gazi, but this is not confirmed by any source. However, in the 14<sup>th</sup> century Anatolian lands, besides the Ottomans, other principalities who took the Seljuks as an example in organization and protocol would have had instruments similar to the Mehter, which played war music to direct the war, even if it was not fully organized. As it is narrated in Nizâmeddîn-i Şâmî’s work, the *Zafernâme*, written about Timur’s victories, both the Yıldırım Bayezid and Timur’s armies which fought in the Battle of Ankara at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century played war music: “The sounds of Gûrgâ, nehr, borgu, nakkâre covered the realm as the sûr-i İsrâfil”<sup>3</sup>. Judging from these narratives, it is possible to take this as a tradition dating back to before the 14<sup>th</sup> century and even to the Turks’ Central Asian period. The Turks realized the positive effect of music in war, practiced it since before the Ottoman period and benefited from it. It is known

- 
- 2 Research in the field of Ottoman historiography in recent years identifies the first steps of the Ottoman Westernization project to the experiences of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. It is possible to come across traces of pioneering initiatives of transformation in state institutions and changes in the perception of European civilization. On the subject, see Can Erimtan’s book (Erimtan, 2008, pp. 9 – 59). For the transformative effects of this situation in Ottoman music life, see Namık Sinan Turan’s article (Turan, 2019, pp. 317-339).
  - 3 For detailed information on Mehterhane see Nuri Özcan’s article (Özcan, 2003, pp. 545-546), furthermore, see Bahaeddin Ögel’s article (Ögel, 1987), Haşmet Altınölçek’s book (Altınölçek, 1999, pp. 751 – 755) and İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı’s book (Uzunçarşılı, 1984, pp. 273-278, 388-392, 449-454)

that the Mehter acquired its classical structure during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent<sup>4</sup>. This classical structure of the Mehter was preserved until the 19<sup>th</sup> century without alterations except for some minor changes.

The “Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyye”, which followed the Western military style and trained according to Western methods, began to train with the Mehter. However, the new troops that were structured, girded, and trained in Western-style had some technical difficulties when working with the Mehter. The inability of the Mehter to keep up with the walking pace of the new troops and the issues experienced in training were the main technical problems. Then, the idea of establishing a Western-style band caused the Mehterhane-i Hümâyûn to be dismantled in 1827.

In fact, before the period of Mahmud II, an attempt to establish a Western-style band was first carried out in the period of Selim III. In 1795, French ambassador Reymond de Verninac visited Selim III, and a French soldier and a marching band accompanied the ambassador during his visit to the Palace. It is known that during this visit, Selim III was influenced by the band accompanying the ambassador and he added the establishment of a similar formation to his agenda (Ünlü, 1999, p. 10). However, this innovation could not be practically carried out until Mahmud II, by abolishing the Janissary Corps, destroyed the greatest power against the Westernization movement and found a place to establish a Western-style band, and to apply many other innovations.

The new structure substituting Mehterhane-i Hümâyûn would be the “Musikâ-i Hümâyûn”. Mahmud II’s interest in and emphasis on anthems and the band is symbolized by the Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediyye Anthem, which he composed in the acemaşiran maqam. This anthem can be considered as the beginning of modern anthems practice among the Ottomans as well as the first anthem composed by a sultan (Üngör, 1966, p.39).

The first Western-style band was under the leadership of Turkish tutors and the first members were Enderun Agas. Nokta Mehmet Efendi, again at the initiative of Mahmud II, and his first trainers were trumpeters Ahmet Usta and Vaybelim Ahmet Aga. Vaybelim Ahmet

4 It is possible to say that the first serious development in this organization took place in the time of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror. After the conquest, he established the nevbethane in Demirkapı, and he also ordered to play three nevbets a day after lunch and night prayers in Eyüp, Kasımpaşa, Galata, Tophane, Beşiktaş, Rumelihisarı, Yeniköy, Rumeliyenihsarı, Kavakyenihisarı, Beykoz, Anadoluhisarı, Üsküdar, and Yedikule. During the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, new regulations were made regarding the mehter use on the part of viziers and pashas, as the state organization changed in parallel with the new conquests. In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, this institution was especially attractive to the music-loving sultan Selim III, who took care of every detail, placed the kös [a kind of big drum (formerly used for signaling)] for the first time in the nevbethanes of Galata Tower and Demirkapı (Özcan, 2003, p. 546).

Aga and Ahmet Efendi were valuable musicians who had learnt to play Western instruments during the Nizam-ı Cedid army experience of the Selim III era. In addition to these two names, Halil Efendi, Osman Efendi, Edip Aga and Hasan Hodja were also involved in its establishment and made history as the first harmonica player officers of the Ottoman Empire. However, despite all their good intentions, the knowledge and experience of these musician officers was insufficient in terms of the development of a new Western-type band and soon after, the French musician Monsieur Manguel was invited to the Palace and began his work (1827). However, Monsieur Manguel did not satisfy Mahmud II's expectations.

Mahmud II then appealed to the Italians, whom he considered successful in the field of music, and asked for advice from the Sardinian Duchy. Following the Duchy's advice, inviting the brother of the famous opera singer Gaetano Donizetti, Giuseppe Donizetti, to his country, Mahmud II appointed Donizetti as the "Chief Master of the Ottoman Harmonica." Donizetti, who started to work in 1828, remained in this position for about 28 years until his death (1856); Donizetti made very important contributions to the development and institutionalization of Western-style music in Turkey and Western-style music education. He also initiated the Turkish "modern and national anthem" period. Donizetti, who is often referred to as "pasha", was given a number of powers in the course of his appointment. He was even given the authority to use the whip during training and performance. In addition to these powers, Donizetti Pasha received significant support from musicians who were trained in the Ottoman lands and other trainers he summoned from Italy. As a result of these competencies and the meticulous work of the staff he put together, the reading-writing and playing scores training were completed in a very short time. It is known that Donizetti Pasha brought many instruments and scores from abroad in this period. A remarkable detail is that when Donizetti Pasha gave his first concert with his students in the presence of Mahmud II, he had been only in the sixth month<sup>5</sup> of his appointment.

With Donizetti Pasha's studies, Turkey's musical revolution began<sup>6</sup>. These works became institutionalized with the official opening of the Muzika-i Hümâyûn 1831. Furthermore, the relevant literature considers the Musikâ-i Humayun as the first conservatory experience in the history of Turkey.

The Muzika-i Hümâyûn was a pioneering step in the performance of European music in the public domain and official protocol. The accounts left by Spitzo, Sir Adolphus Slade

---

5 The most detailed study on Donizetti Pasha's Ottoman years is that of musicologist Emre Aracı (Aracı, 2006).

6 For a study of the Republican era music policies in Turkey in terms of its continuity and breaks from Ottoman-era music policies, see Bilen Işıktaş's article (Işıktaş, 2016, pp.1111-1126).



and Sultan Abdülmecid's doctor, show that the *Muzika-i Hümâyûn* found a place even in the most traditional ceremonies such as the Friday greetings. Gazimihal, however, argues that the military musicians' evident professional knowledge could not go beyond the practice of musical notes or the simplest Italian harmony during the first fifty years. In the preface of his epistle, written in 1875 under the title of *Usûl-i Nota*, Hüseyin Remzi not only complains about the absence of a Turkish music book but also includes comments indicating that musical knowledge was at a preparatory level (Turan, 2019, p. 205).

The painful process of Ottoman modernization paved the way for changes in music life as well as being a social phenomenon. First of all, the public performance of Western music was not limited to military music and the official protocol of the state. It also took a central place in the life of the newly rising upper classes and the *Tanzimat* dignitaries. As traditional music was excluded from the public-official field and losing its old patronage network, Western music found both a military and a civil dimension. Institutions such as Bosco and the Naum Theaters in Beyoğlu increased over time and included companies and opera communities from Europe in their programs. From the 1840s, European virtuoso performers began to give concerts in the presence of the Ottoman ruling elite. The great pianist Franz Liszt, who came to Istanbul in the summer of 1847, was received with great interest and admiration in Istanbul, and he conveyed this to his friends (Turan, 2011 (1), pp. 22-25). According to İlber Ortaylı, the interest shown by the *Tanzimat* elite towards Western music was not because they understood it well, but because they accepted it as an element of a world they wanted to take part in<sup>7</sup>. However, this interest was not just an ambition. For example, in 1836, the imperial band performed in the *Sûr-ı Hümâyûnu* of Mihrimah Sultan, the daughter of Mahmud II, and for the Guardian of *Bahr-i Sefid* Ferik Mehmed Said Pasha. This was the sign of an important change. There were clear differences between the music performed in previous centuries and the one performed now, at least in terms of public reflection (Turan, 2019, p. 206). Undoubtedly, the *Muzika-i Hümâyûn* was the beginning of all these innovations.

The new band soon took its place in the official Ottoman protocol. It performed not only in times of peace but also in war conditions. The war of 1828 - 1829 is an example. G. Keppel noted that in the Shumno camp he went to in 1829, the Ottoman Band played 'Vaudville air' every evening. The empire, which changed the order of the army, started to look for new tones in military music as a symbolic reflection of this transformation. In fact, this was the result of the claim that the new order spoke the same language as its representatives, in other

7 On the change of daily lifestyle among the Ottoman upper classes, see İlber Ortaylı's book (Ortaylı, 2002, pp. 248-262).

words, that it should be evaluated in the same way. A. Slade, who served in the Ottoman army for many years, mentioned “Freichtuz, Zitti Zitti and Malbrouk” among the works that the band played on the Selimiye warship in 1829 and described them as follows: “Suddenly, the Turkish military band began to play Rossini’s music on the coast of the Black Sea strait. The band was playing quite well enough to honor their teacher, Professor Sinyor Donizetti... He was astonished by how young the members of the band were and how they used the European reeds... According to Professor Donizetti, the enthusiasm and talent of these young people in learning music were so high that they were amazed even in Italy.” Over time, the band took its place outside of the military field. Lamartin notes that during a Friday greeting he witnessed on June 20, 1833, the band played pieces by Mozart and Rossini throughout the twenty minutes that the sultan spent in the mosque. European orchestras started to give public concerts after 1826 in Istanbul. Foreign music groups’ concerts had not been allowed until that time. According to what we learned from Prankland, a British band played Mozart and Rossini’s music in Göksu on Sunday, May 20, 1828, and they also performed “God Save the King” (Turan, 2011 (1), pp. 22-23).

### ***Abdulhamid II Period***

During the reign of Abdulhamid II, the invention of tradition and the production of symbols for the new period reached a peak, while Western music preserved its place and importance in the public sphere. Abdülhamid, who admired Western music and took piano lessons from Guatelli and Lombardi, also wanted his children to grow up appreciating Western music. Anna Rilke, the famous pianist who lived in Istanbul by giving piano lessons to the children of distinguished families, praised Prince Burhaneddin Efendi, describing him as a very talented pianist (Rilke, 2019, pp. 54-155)<sup>8</sup>. Abdülhamid II, who was an enthusiastic opera lover, paid special attention to the anthems. It was important for him that the orchestra members of the Muzika-ı Hümâyûn be well trained. Since the violin, piano, and cello were instruments he loved, their performers were honored by his special interest. For example, he sent the violinist Vondra Bey to Paris for educational purposes and, upon his return, arranged an invitation to the palace. During this ceremony, Prince Burhaneddin Efendi (piano), Abdürrahim Efendi (cello) and Tevfik Efendi from the Muzika-i Hümâyûn gave a mini-concert. The Sultan sent

---

8 Undoubtedly, the interest of the children of Ottoman elite families for Western music was not limited to members of the dynasty. Members of the Şerif family, who are at the top of the religious aristocracy, also received Western music education. It is known that Şerif Muhiddin (Targan) and his brothers, who would be referred to as the great oud virtuoso in the following period, also played instruments such as cello, piano, and violin perfectly. Also, Şerif Muhiddin was known as an international cello performer and gave concerts in the USA. For detailed information on this issue, see. Bilen Işıktaş’s book (Işıktaş, 2018).

Safvet (Atabinen) Bey, one of the commanders of Muzika-i Humayun, to Paris for one year in 1908 to develop his flute technique. He also supported Hacı Arif Bey's son, named Cemil, who was a cellist, and Abdulhamid often invited him to the palace to listen to him. Abdulhamid was sensitive about his children's music education. His son Burhaneddin Bey demonstrated a great talent in this regard and dedicated the Re Major polyphonic anthem (Bahriye [Sea] Anthem) he composed when he was 7 years old in 1894 to his father. Burhaneddin Efendi gave a small concert in front of the Sultan with Prince Albert, son of the German Emperor Wilhelm II. While François Lombardi taught Şadiye Sultan and Ayşe Sultan piano, they studied with Mehmet Selim Efendi (piano), Naime Sultan (piano), Mehmet Abdülkadir Efendi (violin), Abdürrahim Efendi (cello and woodwind instrument). In addition to perfectly playing the piano, Ayşe Sultan played the Hamidiye Marşı to Abdulhamid on his 25<sup>th</sup> enthronement anniversary (August 31, 1901) when she was 12 years old (Turan, 2012, p. 28).

Abdülhamid's Muzika-ı Hümâyûn and anthems were kept for official protocols, ambassador meetings, feasts and "the Cuma selâmlığı" (Sultan's procession for Friday prayers).<sup>9</sup> During these events, the Muzika-i Hümâyûn played the "Hamidiye Anthem", songs from Mozart and Rossini's operas and even the Marseillaise from time to time, according to memoirs (Karateke, 2004, pp. 104-105). The Muzika played the anthem of the country of the visiting ambassador alongside the Ottoman anthem during ceremonies, such as the ambassador meetings. Particular attention was paid to the protocol to avoid any problems. The Muzika's performance of anthems during state ceremonies used to take place in the examination hall of the Dolmabahçe Palace, usually in the gallery above the throne area. Sometimes, they could stand beside the hademe-i hassa [private servant]. Considering that there was a need for rulership to be internalized by individuals by means of the symbols that defined it and through repeated ceremonies, the fact that bands performed and anthems were performed in almost all these events underlines their importance.

After the proclamation of the Republic, this structure, which was named "Riyaset-i Cümhur Harmonica Committee", became the basis for today's "Presidential Symphony Orchestra" (Gazimihal, 1939, pp. 96-139; Gazimihal (1955); Tuğlacı, 1986, pp. 76-97).

9 It is understood that Sultan Abdülhamid, who was prone to Western music like his father Abdülmecid, invited him to the palace theater and appreciated the talent of the great artist Tanburi Cemil Bey, but he was not affected by his music. Tanburi Cemil Bey complained of this situation to a close friend in this way: "Abdülhamid-i Sâni has no musical taste. His magnificent band was national" (Cemil, 2012, p. 107).

## First Anthems

Anthems play an important role in the construction of national identity or reinforcing the sense of loyalty to the dynasty in monarchic traditions. In this respect, it has a stimulating, enthusiastic, and ‘fusion’ effect on the listening subject. As Ph.D. Felice points out, enthusiasm and a sense of fusion reach their highest point in the national anthem, the symbolic song of a party or nation. Singing together or listening to a song that expresses common feelings and expectations is the most reliable way to transform a crowd into a single mass, awakening the feeling of being a single entity. Anthems, songs, cut-outs, and regular shouts, in short, all these “vocal poisons” are the main drugs used to provide the crowd with exuberance (Domenach, 1995, p. 74). Anthems were accepted as one of the most important sound symbols of the “ittihad-ı anasır” [Union of Peoples] politics in the last century of the Ottoman Empire and found a place in almost every platform where the state manifested itself in the public space<sup>10</sup>.

The first modern anthem used as a national anthem in Ottoman history is Ahmed Aga’s Military Anthem. The Military Anthem, which consists only of melody, is also important in terms of its composer being Turkish. Although it is not known exactly in which year the anthem was composed, the researchers identify 1829 as the date of its composition (Alimdar, 2016, p. 45). Ahmet Aga, who was the bandmaster of all the regiments at the beginning of Mahmud II’s period also worked as a trainer in Musikâ-i Hümâyûn in the following years. The Soldier Anthem of Ahmet Aga was used during the initial period of Mahmud II’s rule, reflecting the national anthem’s features. This practice was a milestone and with it, the Ottoman national anthem tradition began.

## *Mahmudiye Anthem*

Seemingly, the second and main anthem of Mahmud II’s period was the Mahmudiye Anthem. Mahmudiye Marşı was composed by Donizetti Pasha. Donizetti Pasha composed this anthem immediately after he came to the Ottoman court in order to begin his appointment. He presented it to Mahmud II. Mahmud II liked it and used it as the national anthem until the end of his rule (1839). It is known that the anthem was arranged in Paris and London and was

---

10 The discussions on the composition of the national anthem were also on the public agenda in the early Republican period. Firstly, Ali Rifat Çağatay’s composition in acemişiran maqam, which was composed in the traditional style and quite different from the Ottoman anthems, was used. Starting in 1930, the Western form of an anthem began to be used by Osman Zeki Üngör, who had been conducting the Presidential Symphony Orchestra in Ankara. For detailed information on this issue, see Mehmet Altun’s book (Altun, 2008, pp. 56-59). According to musicologist Bilen Işıktaş, the importance of the anthem and national songs increased even more in the context of national music discussions in the first period of the Republic, and many examples have been given (Işıktaş, 2017, pp. 35-42).

used as a national anthem in Sweden between 1839 and 1927 under the name of “Skånska Dragonregementets Marsch”. The Mahmudiye Anthem was also used as a national anthem in the period of Mehmet VI (Sultan Vahdettin) (1918 - 1922) (Toker, 2016 (1), pp. 50-52).

Many sources refer to the Mahmudiye Anthem of Donizetti Pasha as the first anthem of the Ottoman State, rather than Ahmed Aga’s Soldier Anthem. The fact that the Mahmudiye Anthem was written directly for the sultan and used for a long time played a role in this. The Soldier Anthem can be considered as a first experience of national anthem practice. Emre Aracı reports that the oldest copy of the Mahmudiye Anthem is in the Naples Conservatory Library. This anthem was composed in the first four months after Donizetti Pasha’s arrival in Istanbul. Considering the Mecidiye Anthem that would be written for Sultan Abdülmecid 10 years later, the band’s orchestration of this anthem in fa major matches the French bands of the Napoleonic period. From the content of the orchestration and the depictions of the band, it can be seen that this was not different from Napoleon’s band. This also shows that the interactions between Europe and the Ottoman world were not limited to political and economic dimensions. Interactions between the two cultures in the field of military music would continue throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Aracı, 2006, pp. 66-75).

Abdülmecid, whose rule began after Mahmud II, also continued the national anthem practice. The Abdülmecid period (1839 - 1861), which began with the announcement of The Gülhane Imperial Edict, is also referred to as the “*Tanzimat* Era” [“Reorganization”]. This period, in which Westernization movements had an institutional framework, refers to a series of Western influenced reforms in the legal, administrative, financial, and military fields. The *Tanzimat* era would also be a period of remarkable innovations in education, thought, and art.<sup>11</sup>

The *Tanzimat* began with the announcement that Westernization was accepted as the official program to be followed in order to save the empire. Westernization showed its traces in many aspects of everyday life, from clothing to the change of taste, even of traditional behavior patterns. The emergence of European domination in port cities such as Istanbul, Izmir, Thessaloniki, and Beirut brought with it a change in the public representation of the state<sup>12</sup>. Areas of Istanbul such as Galata and Pera turned into centres of a new lifestyle. Edmondo de Amicis, who came to Istanbul shortly after the *Tanzimat* reforms and depicted

11 As to the studies dealing with the economic and social dimension of the *Tanzimat* period in the last century of the Ottoman Empire, see Halil İnalçık’s book (İnalçık, 2008) and Roderic Davison’s book (Davison, 1963). For a review of important articles on the various phases of this topic see Halil İnalçık-Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu’s book (İnalçık & Seyidoğlu, 2019).

12 For an analysis of the limits of Westernization in the lives of the ruling elite after the *Tanzimat*, see Nuray Mert’s article (Mert, 2019, pp.385-407).

the city in a very rich literary style, described the new lifestyle as the birth of a new Turk against the old Turk. In the new Turk's house that he portrayed, there were notation sheets by composers of European music bought from the music stores in Beyoğlu, and a piano. A Western female instructor who gave lessons to the lady of the house became the tool by which a new musical taste – the musical taste of the rising *Tanzimat* bureaucracy and upper class – took shape. In fact, this was the natural flow of a process that had started just before the *Tanzimat*. Sirkâtibi Ahmed Efendi traced the roots of this curiosity to the Ottoman palace and quoted Selim III, who had said that his sister listened to opera at the seaside palace (Turan, 2011 (1), pp. 21-24).

### *Mecidiye Anthem*

During the reign of Abdulmecid, Donizetti Pasha was still carrying out his duties in the Muzika-i Hümâyûn. Donizetti Pasha would remain active in his appointment until he died in 1856. He composed the Mecidiye Anthem during the reign of Abdulmecid. This anthem was accepted by Abdulmecid and used throughout the Abdulmecid period. It was composed only with melody, without lyrics. The Mecidiye Anthem is a more Oriental piece than the Mahmudiye Anthem. The tessitura that Donizetti Pasha used gave the anthem an oriental effect; he brought the local elements that he had not included in the Mahmudiye Anthem to the fore in the Mecidiye Anthem. In fact, the time he spent in the Ottoman country and the knowledge he acquired by listening during that time also played a significant role (Aracı, 2006, pp. 97-100). In this respect, the following comment made by the French writer Théophile Gautier about Donizetti's new anthem is remarkable: "There are plenty of tambourine and dervish elements in terms of sounding nice to Islamic ears without terrifying the Europeans" (Aracı, 2006, pp. 97-100). However, when the main score of the anthem, which was found in Naples, is examined, we understand that this anthem was of great importance in terms of showing the band orchestration in its original form. The anthem included a much wider instrument staff compared to Mahmudiye and it reflected the level reached by Ottoman bands during this period. This would lead European composers to compose anthems and give them to the Ottoman Sultans as gifts. One of them is the famous opera composer Gaetano Donizetti, who was Donizetti's brother. In 1841, he composed a military anthem for Sultan Abdülmecid and he was rewarded with the Nişan-ı İftihar (Aracı, 2006, pp. 97-100). Gaetano Donizetti would be followed by Franz Liszt, Rossini, and members of the Strauss' family in Europe – Strauss, the waltz king – in composing anthems for the Ottoman Sultans.<sup>13</sup>

---

13 For detailed information on this issue, see Ömer Egecioğlu's book (Egecioğlu, 2012).

On the other hand, it should be underlined that the efforts spent on the Musikâ-i Hümâyûn, which began during the reign of Mahmud II, continued and developed during the reign of Abdülmecid. Abdülmecid appointed Necip to Donizetti Pasha's position after the latter died. Necip Pasha would remain in this position for 5 years. The number of bands had increased during the reign of Abdülmecid, and they had spread to different parts of the country, and the band and the national anthem became an integral part of all the official ceremonies. In this period, different anthems were also composed and a first significant increase was experienced in modern anthem production. The modern anthem phenomenon began during this period, through some public ceremonies. In the following period, the national anthem practice continued, as a new anthem was composed for each sultan who came to the throne. This would then be accepted as a national anthem, or one of the previous anthems would be used as the national anthem. This lasted until the end of the Vahdettin period. The national anthem practice was institutionalized and found its place during the last days of the history of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>14</sup>

### **Hamidiye Anthem**

When Abdülaziz ascended to the throne, Necip Pasha was dismissed and Guatelli Pasha was appointed as the head of Muzika-i Humayun. The national anthem of the Abdulaziz era (1861 - 1876) was the Aziziye Anthem, and it was used throughout the entire period. This anthem by Guatelli Pasha does not include lyrics like the previous national anthems. During Murad V's short rule (1876), the Mecidiye Anthem by Donizetti was again used as a national anthem. During the reign of Abdulhamid II (1876 - 1909), the Hamidiye Anthem was accepted as the national anthem and as the National Ottoman Anthem between 1908 and 1909. The Hamidiye Anthem was composed by Necip Pasha. The anthem, also called Marş-ı Âli-i Hamidiye, was the first national anthem to have lyrics. The composer of the National Ottoman Anthem was Vedi Sabra. Two national anthems would be used in the period of Mehmed V (Sultan Reşad) (1909 - 1918), the Reşadiye Anthem between 1909 and 1912, and the Mecidiye Anthem, accepted as the national anthem between 1912 and 1918. The Reşadiye Anthem, which was used during the first years of Mehmed V's reign and which was especially prepared for Mehmed V, belonged to Italo Selvelli. The anthem was used after being selected out of 100 works presented to the palace. The reason it was selected was that it had no lyrics. The political unease with the lyrics of the national anthem of the Abdulhamidean period was

14 The work of Hikmet Toker is the most detailed academic study on the anthems dedicated to the Sultans in the last period of the Ottoman Empire. Here, the author examines the anthems used nationally after examining the anthems dedicated between the Mahmud II and Mehmed V periods (Toker, 2016).

decisive in this choice (Alimdar, 2016, pp. 45-47). This anthem was the last national anthem of the Ottoman State. As stated above, Mehmed V would use the previous Mecidiye Anthem, after the Reşadiye Anthem; the Mahmudiye Anthem, another old anthem, would also be adopted as a national anthem in the period of Mehmed VI (Sultan Vahdettin) (1918 - 1922).

The Hamidiye Anthem was used for 32 years out the 91 during which Ottoman national anthems were performed. However, considering that the sultans used more than one anthem and included the previous anthems in the protocol, the most used anthems were Mecidiye and Mahmudiye anthems. The repertoire of bands, especially the Muzika-i Humayun, was not limited to national anthems. The anthems of foreign states were also played by bands during ceremonies attended by state representatives. For example, weeks before the ceremony for the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Abdulhamid II's enthronement, the teacher of the Muzika-i Hümâyûn Zati Bey was ordered to find the anthem scores of the visiting ambassadors' states and play them. In April 1887, in his letter sent through the Embassy in London, the British Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, requested the notation of the Hamidiye Anthem, the national anthem of the time, to be played at ceremonies. In 1901, the bands of both states performed at the opening of the German Fountain, which was inaugurated by German Emperor Kaiser Wilhelm. After this event, the score of the Hamidiye Anthem was requested by Bernard Walter, representing the German band (Alimdar, 2016, pp. 48-49).

Guatelli Pasha, who made important contributions to the institutionalization process of the national anthem practice, also contributed to the process of popularization of bands in the Ottoman Empire. In Guatelli Pasha's period, school bands, as well as military bands, were widespread in various parts of the empire. Tophane Music, which was the first band established outside of the army bands, was founded in 1891 by the students of the Tophane Art School and started to work under the direction of Italo Selvelli. The Bahriye Shipyard Industrial School, which was founded in 1889, was also among the early school bands. After the declaration of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, the number of school marches increased, and many schools outside Istanbul established bands (Ünlü, 1999, p. 26). Public demonstrations and ceremonies of both military bands and school bands brought the band music closer to the public.

One of Guatelli's albums, which can be found among the printed note collections and was published by famous note publisher Breitkopf and Hartel, consisted of 24 works named *Arie Nazionali e Canti Popolari Orientali Antichi e Moderni* (Old and New National Weather and Popular Oriental Songs) and it was a harmonization of European anthems and Turkish music. Many of the works in this collection were dedicated to Abdulmecid and other members



of the dynasty. Each work belonging to Sultans Selim III and Mahmud II was harmonized and made suitable for orchestra (Toker, 2016 (2), pp. 291-298). This process would reach a pinnacle with the Second Constitutional Monarchy, just as the process of popularization of the band. Around 550 anthems were composed during the period between 1827 and 1922 (Üngör, 1966, pp. 41-42).

## Conclusion

The Ottoman State's first encounter with modern anthems composed in the Western style and played with Western instruments occurred when the Westernization movements began. During this process, the changes in the military, legal, financial, administrative, and social spheres also caused changes in the public representation of the state. National anthems became part of the agenda for the first time during the reign of Mahmud II and continued in the following period, until they were finally institutionalized. The practice continued for 91 years until the end of the Vahdettin era, when the Ottoman Empire collapsed.

The national anthem practice in the Ottoman State constitutes an important and original example of the invention of tradition, alongside the construction of a national identity.<sup>15</sup> It is possible to consider it as one of the most important sound symbols of the "ittihad-i anasir" ["union of the elements"] politics. National anthems were also a powerful symbolic tool in the context of the response to the nationalist movement weakening the Empire, a response which can also be named Ottomanism.

## References

- Alimdar, S. (2016). Osmanlı'da Batı Müziği [Western Music in Ottoman Empire], *İstanbul, Turkey: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları*.
- Altınölçek, H. (1999). Askerî Mûsikî Geleneği ve Mehterhânenin Bir Kurum Olarak Yerleşme Süreci [Military Music Tradition and Establishment of Mehterhane as an Institution]. Osmanlı, vol. 10, *Ankara, Turkey: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları*.
- Altun, M. (2008). Özgürlük Notaları: Milli Marşın Öyküsü [Freedom Notes: The Story of National Anthem], *İstanbul, Turkey: Tekfen Vakfı Yayınları*.
- Aracı, E. (2006). Donizetti Paşa: Osmanlı Sarayının İtalyan Maestro'su [Donizetti Paşa: Italian Maestro of Ottoman Court], *İstanbul, Turkey: Yapı Kredi Yayınları*.
- Cemil, M. (2012). Tanburi Cemil Bey'in Hayatı [Tanburi Cemil Bey's Life], Ed. Uğur Derman, *İstanbul, Turkey: Kubbealtı Yayınları*.

15 For detailed explanation handling the matter in this dimension, see Selim Deringil's article (Deringil, 1994, pp. 31 – 36).

- Davison, R. (1963). *Reform In The Ottoman Empire (1856-1876)*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Deringil, S. (1994). 19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Resmî Müzik [Official Music in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Ottoman Empire], 22, 31-36.
- Devrimler ve Kültür Tarihi Ansiklopedisi [Encyclopedia of Revolutions and Cultural History] (1975). vol. 6. *İstanbul, Turkey: Gelişim Yayınları*.
- Domenach, J. M. (1995). Politika ve Propaganda [La Propaganda Politica], Trans. Tahsin Yücel, *İstanbul, Turkey: Varlık Yayınları*.
- Egecioğlu, Ö. (2012). Müzisyen Strausslar ve Osmanlı Hanedanı [Musician Strausses and Ottoman Dynasty], *İstanbul, Turkey: Yapı Kredi Yayınları*.
- Erimtan, C. (2008). Ottoman Looking West? The Origins of the Tulip Age and Its Development in Modern Turkey, New York: Taurs Academic Studies
- Farmer, H. G. (1950). Military Music, London: Max Parrish & Co. Limited.
- Gazimihal, M. R. (1939). Türkiye-Avrupa Musiki Münasebetleri [Turkey-Europe Musical Interactions], *İstanbul, Turkey: Nümune Matbaası*
- Gazimihal, M. R. (1955). Türk Askerî Muzikaları Tarihi [History of Turkish Military Harmonica], *İstanbul, Turkey: Maarif Basımevi*
- Hobsbawm, E. & Ranger, T. (2006). *Geleneğin İcadı* [Invention of Tradition], (Mehmet Murat Şahin Trans.), *İstanbul, Turkey: Agora Yayınları*.
- Hobsbawm, E. (1993). 1780'den Günümüze Milletler ve Milliyetçilik [Nations and Nationalism, From 1780 to Present], (Osman Akinbay Trans.), İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları
- İşıktaş B. (2018), Peygamber'in Dâhi Torunu Şerif Muhiddin Targan: Modernleşme, Bireyselleşme, Virtüozite [Genius Grandson of the Prophet, Şerif Muhiddin Targan: Modernization, Individualization, Virtuosity], *İstanbul, Turkey: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları*
- İşıktaş, B. (2016). Müsikî İnkılâbını Osmanlı-Türk Modernleşmesinin Kültürel ve Siyasi Mirası Olarak Yorumlamak [Interpreting the "Music Reform" as the Heritage of the Cultural and Politic of the Ottoman-Turkish Modernisation], *Rast Müzikoloji Dergisi*, 4 (1), 23-53.
- İşıktaş, B. (2017). Sentez Arayışlarıyla Geçen Tarihsel Bir Müzikolojik Tartışma: Cumhuriyet Döneminde Milli Müzik İnşası [A Historical Musicological Discussion with Synthesis Searches: National Music Construction in the Republican Era], *Journal of Interdisciplinary and Intercultural Art*, 2 (2), 1111-1126.
- İnalçık, H. & Seyitdanlıoğlu, M. (2019). (Eds.). *Tanzimat Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu* [Ottoman Empire in Tanzimat Change Process], *İstanbul, Turkey: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları*.
- İnalçık, H. (2018). *Tanzimat ve Bulgar Meselesi* [Tanzimat and Bulgarian Affair], *İstanbul, Turkey: Kronik Yayınları*.
- Karateke, H. T. (2004). Osmanlı Devletinin Son Yüz Yılında Merasimler [Ceremonies in the Last Century of the Ottoman Empire], *İstanbul, Turkey: Kitap Yayınevi*.
- Kılıçbay, M. A. (2000), Şehirler ve Kentler [Cities and Towns], *İstanbul, Turkey: İmge Yayınevi*.
- Marş. In TDK Güncel Türkçe Sözlük [Current Turkish Dictionary]. Retrieved from: <https://sozluk.gov.tr/>
- Mert, N. (2019). Aşırı Batılılaşanlar: Kültürel Batılılaşmanın Arka Planı [Those who Westernize too much: Background of Cultural Westernization]. In Turan, N. S. & Çak, Ş. E. (Eds.). Şehvar Beşioğlu'ya Armağan [Gift to Şehvar Beşioğlu] (pp. 385-407), İstanbul, Turkey: Pan Yayıncılık.
- Ortaylı, İ. (2002). İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı [The Longest Century of the Empire], *İstanbul, Turkey: İletişim Yayınları*.
- Ögel, B. (1987). Türk Kültür Tarihine Giriş: Türklerde Devlet ve Ordu Mehteri [Militari Music Tradition and Establishment of Mehterhane as an Institution], vol. 8, *Ankara, Turkey: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları*.

- Özcan, N. (2003). Mehter. İslam Ansiklopedisi [Encyclopedia of Islam], vol. 28, *İstanbul, Turkey: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayını*.
- Öztuna, Y. (1969). Marş. Türk Musikisi Ansiklopedisi [Encyclopedia of Turkish Music], vol. 2, *İstanbul, Turkey: Milli Eğitim Basımevi*
- Rilke, A. G. (2019). Avrupa Saraylarından Yıldız'a İstanbul'da Bir Hoş Sada [From European Palaces to Yıldız A Pleasant Seda in Istanbul], *İstanbul, Turkey: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları*.
- Smith, A. D. (2010). Milli Kimlik [National Identity], Trans. Bahadır Sina Şener, *İstanbul, Turkey: İletişim Yayınları*.
- Toker, H. (2016) (1). Elhân-ı Aziz Sultan Abdülaziz Devrinde Sarayda Musiki [Music in the Palace during the Period of the Sultan Abdülaziz], *İstanbul, Turkey: Milli Saraylar Yayınları*.
- Toker, H. (2016) (2). Marş-ı Hassa: Osmanlı Padişahlarına İthaf Edilen Marşlar [The Anthems Dedicated to Ottoman Sultans], *İstanbul, Turkey: Dört Mevsim Yayınları*.
- Tuğlacı, P. (1986). Mehterhane'den Bando'ya [From Mehterhane to Bando], *İstanbul, Turkey: Cem Yayınevi*
- Turan, N. S. (2011) (1). Franz Liszt Dersaadet'te [Franz Liszt in Dersaadet], *Evensel Kültür Dergisi*, 239, 22-25.
- Turan, N. S. (2011) (2). Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Gelenek İcadı ve Müzik [Invention of Tradition and Music in Ottoman Empire], *Evensel Kültür Dergisi*, 238, 21-24.
- Turan, N. S. (2012). Opera Tutkunu Bir Sultan: II. Abdülhamid [An Opera Lover Sultan: Adülhamid II], *Evensel Kültür*, 241, 27-31.
- Turan, N. S. (2019) (1). İmparatorluğun Son Yüzyılından Erken Cumhuriyete Toplum ve Müzik Kültürü Üzerine Notlar [Notes on Society and Musical Culture from the Last Years of the Empire to the Early Republic], *Porte Akademik*, 203-218.
- Turan, N. S. (2019) (2). Osmanlı 18. Yüzyılında Müziğin Kamusal Görünümü [Public Appearance of Pulic Music in Ottoman 18<sup>th</sup> Century]. In Turan, N. S. & Çak, Ş. E. (Eds.). Şehvar Beşioğlu'ya Armağan [Gift to Şehvar Beşioğlu] (pp. 317-339), *İstanbul, Turkey: Pan Yayıncılık*.
- Türkkahraman, M. (2000). Türkiye'de Siyasal Sosyalleşme ve Siyasal Sembolizm [Political Socialization and Political Symbolism in Turkey], *İstanbul, Turkey: Birey Yayıncılık*.
- Uzunçarşılı, İ. H. (1984). Osmanlı Saray Teşkilatı [Palace Organization of the Ottoman], *Ankara, Turkey: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları*.
- Üngör, E. R. (1966). Türk Marşları [Turkish Anthems], *Ankara, Turkey: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları*.
- Ünlü, C. (1999). Mehterhane Yerine Bando [Band instead of Mehterhane: Muzika-i Humayun]: Muzika-i Hümayün. Osmanlı Marşları [Ottoman Anthems], *İstanbul, Turkey: Kalan Müzik*.

