

MODERNIZATION THROUGH DANCING BODIES IN TURKEY

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Submitted to  
The Department of History  
The Institute of Social Sciences  
For the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

Boğaziçi University

2007

## CONTENTS

<u>INTRODUCTION</u> .....	1-13
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Presentation of the Research Topic

Methodological Approaches: Oral History Interviews & Texts

<u>CHAPTER I: A GENERAL LOOK AT THE FOUNDATION OF INSTITUTIONAL DANCE/BALLET IN THE WORLD</u> .....	14-27
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<u>CHAPTER II: A CRITICAL SURVEY OF DANCE SCHOLARSHIP IN TURKEY</u> .....	28-47
---	-------

<u>CHAPTER III: A HISTORICAL NARRATIVE OF STATE SPONSORED BALLET IN TURKEY</u> .....	48-106
--	--------

The Founding of the State Conservatory and the Establishment of the First State Ballet Company

*Destined Paths of the First Ballet Students: From Yeşilköy School of Ballet to the Ankara State Conservatory of Ballet*

*The Foundation and Early Achievements of Ankara State Ballet Company*

Founders, Bureaucrats, and Pioneers: Influential Actors of Early Turkish Ballet

*The Founders of the Infrastructure of Turkish Ballet: British Teachers and Choreographers*

*Visibility of the Turkish State in Dance Circles: Turkish Bureaucrats*

*Pioneers of Turkish Ballet: Turkish Dancers, Choreographers and Teachers*

<u>CHAPTER IV: RETHINKING ISSUES OF TURKISH BALLET: GROWING PAINS OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION</u> .....	107-156
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The Impact of the British Roots: The Prestige and the Confinement

The Inevitable Separation from Dame Ninette de Valois: Shifting towards a Russian Impact

Administrative Conflicts: Institutional, Visionary, and Individual Aspects

CHAPTER V: DEBATES ON “THE NATIONAL”: DEFINING A TURKISH  
BALLET.....157-203

A “National” Ballet with “Foreign” Roots: Negotiating the Quality of Education

Different approaches: Various Presentations of Being National

International Exposures of Turkish Ballet

CHAPTER VI: REFLECTIONS ON GENDER, MEMORY AND IDENTITY: VOICES  
FROM TURKISH DANCERS..... 204-222

CONCLUSION.....223-230

BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 231-244

APPENDIX

FIGURES

INTERVIEWS

A. METİN AND 12/21/2006, Ankara

B. RICHARD GLASSTONE 05/25/2007, İstanbul

## INTRODUCTION

### Presentation of the Research Topic

This research focusing on the first thirty years of Turkish ballet aims to construct a body of memory about the state sponsored ballet in Turkey. Perhaps because dance history and performance studies are fields which have not been sufficiently established in Turkey, there are very few sources which deal with the Western dance tradition of Turkey that connect it to relevant cultural debates. There is not a single critical work that directly concerns ballet and contemporary dance in Turkey tracing the history from its beginning up until now. Fortunately, Metin And, who is an expert in theater studies has given some attention to the subject concerning its beginning years. However, later on, his interest diverted to other fields. Jak Deleon existed as the only scholar writing about ballet in Turkey, yet his work is mostly descriptive and does not allow the reader to dive into a wider context of social, cultural and political debates in relation to dance.

Since my main interest lies in the contemporary performing arts scene both in Turkey and elsewhere, I believe, the memory gap concerning the history of Western-infused dance in Turkey has been one of the crucial obstacles in situating the contemporary dance works in their own framework. In addition to that, the individual stories that built up the experiences and structures of Turkish Western dance environment have to be told in an academic framework in order to view Turkish Republican history yet from another angle other than the official discourse. Dance history of Turkey is a very fertile field that has not been covered entirely. Ballet as a practiced art form since the 1930s offers an indispensable understanding

with respect to nation-building, authenticity, modernization practices, and Westernization attempts in Turkey. It is for these reasons alone that the state sponsored ballet institutions of Turkey deserve a detailed look. Although the scope of this thesis consists of only the first thirty years, one of the aims is to construct the main bridges and facilitating other studies to follow the trail in their own pursuits.

The study is divided into six chapters. An assessment of the foundation of institutional dance/ballet in the world is introduced in Chapter I. While looking at the history of Turkish ballet, one has to be able to situate it in a broader framework. Therefore, in this first chapter, the general history of ballet is explored through the basic phases of its journey and different national approaches are presented. Chapter II contains a critical survey of dance scholarship in Turkey. As the concept of dance brings on vast and varied examples in the Turkish context, one has to define the territories and clarify the kind of dance scholarship first. To begin with, the written works based on the debate on folk dancing and revitalization of the field in the early Republican era has to be mentioned. Although in the scope of this thesis one can't attempt to cover the extensive debate based on the re-organization of the dance genre and the attempts to create national dances related to folk dance traditions in Turkey, it is important to recognize the studies in this field and the literature supporting this work. Then, the written works connected to the Westernized dance are examined. It is all the more exciting to discover that individual interests lied in more contemporaneous dance which existed in the 1920s, yet it could not be transformed into a systematized structure with its educational and performing institutions.

In Chapter III, a historical narrative of state sponsored ballet in Turkey is told. The first section focuses on the founding stories of educational and professional institutions of ballet. It is stressed that in the beginning, the priority was given to the field of music and theater. Institutions such as People's Houses and Village Institutes undoubtedly were the

main agencies of the early imaginary of Republican thought. The establishment of People's Houses had facilitated the building of a national cultural repertoire of dance in relation to folk traditions. In addition to that, the state institutions in the field of stage arts were concentrated on music and theater, therefore, the founding of ballet institutions in Turkey had been postponed for almost twenty years. The oral interviews contributed to the understanding of the initiation process of the ballet institutions. Since the society was not familiar with this art form, it is vital to comprehend the process through which some Turkish families had decided to send their children to the conservatory of ballet. Many contradictory emotions were revealed in relation to the implementation of new forms and their connection to wider social practices. The chapter continues with a description of the early achievements of Ankara State Ballet Company and explores the debates in relation to the company's practices. Once again, the insights of the first generations of ballet dancers have been fundamental in forming an insider's story related to these early years.

The second section of Chapter III examines the most influential actors of state institutions of ballet. British teachers and choreographers as the founders, Turkish bureaucrats as agents acting between the state's interests and ballet circles, and finally Turkish dancers as pioneers of ballet practices in Turkey are introduced. British experts are examined from the stance of building up a ballet tradition in a foreign country connected to national preferences, more precisely to the British school. Turkish bureaucrats are analyzed in terms of their involvement with this new art form as their aspirations formed by the Republican ideology manifested itself in the ballet circles. They represent the public face of the ballet institutions. Their presence is connected to the specific political and cultural milieu of Turkish Republican history. Lastly, by focusing on the Turkish pioneers of this field, their impacts are examined in terms of their growing artistic interests. As the representatives of

new role models for the Turkish society, their images are explored in between their national identity and a distant foreign aesthetic to be reached.

Chapter IV attempts to delve into the growing pains of institutionalization. The first thirty years of Turkish ballet are indispensably attached to foreign experts, particularly to the British. In this manner, the confined aspects of a distinctive relationship based on dependencies are contrasted with the affluent nature of affectionate interests. There are many complexities to be analyzed. Apart from the relational context, significant conflicts related to administrative qualities in Turkish ballet institutions are underlined in terms of their particularities. The most visible conflicts can be seen primarily between different branches inside the same artistic structure such as music and dance, followed by the conflicts around artistic visions related to political frameworks, and lastly amongst the individuals. The chapter stresses that the institutionalization of state sponsored ballet had its own weaknesses related to the local realities.

Chapter V seeks to consider the debates strongly attached to the inner problematic of Turkish culture following the foundation of the nation-state. The search for ‘the national’ comprises the main axis of this chapter. The aim is to show how the socio-political context of the educational process and the staging strategies relate to the concept of constructing a “national ballet”. The intertwined history of ballet as an art form is situated in the context of the relevant historical and social framework of the 1960s and the 1970s of Turkey. The experimental and aesthetic aspects of the field were essential to find a refined balance between the local colors of the culture and the universal language of ballet. It should be stressed that the recent debates on the concept of universality of ballet are left aside in this thesis. Since the recent scholarly studies on dance anthropology and history have shown that there are justifiable questions on the perception of ‘universality’ of certain dance forms invented in European cultures, one should be careful about generalizations on this issue.

However, this study is concerned with the practices and the perceptions of the first thirty years of Turkish ballet. Therefore, the axis is constructed around the political context of those times. Following a political framework of these thirty years as the next step, one can definitely get involved in more critical approaches towards these practices and debates. Definitely, this kind of study awaits further research. In the last part of Chapter V, the ambiguous relation between the classical and modern approaches of dance in the Turkish context is analyzed. The main argument is based on the fact that since the state companies were founded as classical dance companies, the tendencies towards modern dance and its creative space have been confined to certain levels. This is analyzed within the debate of ‘the national’ by trying to depict the shortcomings.

In chapter VI, our attention is directed to the relation between memory and identity. Looking at diverse perceptions of gender and individuality in ballet practices, the main aim is to hear the interpretative voices of Turkish ballet’s subjects. Oral history as source material can capture and preserve life stories, convey personality, reveal inner thoughts and perceptions. As a much-valued historical approach developed in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it has been used in many different fields of study ranging from anthropology to media studies. In general, scholars agree that oral history is not only a tool or a method, but “it is also a theory of history which maintains that the common folk and the dispossessed have a history and this history must be written”.<sup>1</sup> In this case, it is the history of Turkish ballet dancers, their perceptions have not been expressed in any other written study until today.

To conclude, the focus of this thesis is centered upon the process of ballet’s introduction to the Turkish society as a Western dance form and its infiltration within the state institutions. The primary debates are made visible by the oral interviews of ballet’s

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<sup>1</sup> Ed. By Dunaway, David. K., Baum, Willa K., *Oral History-An Interdisciplinary Anthology-*, Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 1996, p.12



subjects through their own perceptions and experiences supported by the writings of the critics in daily media.

## Methodological Approaches: Oral History Interviews & Written Texts

### *Oral History Interviews*

In this thesis, oral history methodology is used to include the experience and knowledge of the living sources of Turkish ballet. These accounts of personal histories are used to establish a body of memory belonging to a certain structure in a period of time. By the help of oral history, we can establish the specific common memory related to Turkish institutional ballet where the primary subjects are still alive and able to share their experiences. Since there are very few written sources on dance institutions and artists, one of the main aims of this thesis is to transform the oral knowledge into a body of written work. In order to arrive at satisfactory results, one has to make a list of carefully chosen people for a balanced account of different generations and different periods of these institutions.

These interviews took place between November 2006 and July 2007 in Istanbul, Ankara, Antalya, Datça and Bodrum. They consisted of twenty-five people from different generations of Turkish ballet.<sup>2</sup> Since the content of this thesis is mainly the first thirty years of Turkish ballet, younger generations actively working after the 1980s were not interviewed. The decision to choose these twenty-five artists of ballet resulted from certain needs related to our research and also the personal qualities that these people possess.

Tenasüp Onat and Güloya Gürelli Aruoba of Ankara State Ballet Company, represent the first generation of Turkish dancers. They were also students of Lydia Krassa Arzumanova before the establishment of state conservatory of ballet. Tenasüp Onat, the first

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<sup>2</sup> Namely, in alphabetical order; Şebnem Aksan, Metin And, Yıldız Alpar, Güloya Gürelli Aruoba, Güneş Berk, Selçuk Borak, Richard Glasstone, Jale Kazbek, Geyvan McMillen, Binay Okurer, Tenasüp Onat, Alevcan Öncel, Ceyhun Özsoy, Uğur Seyrek, Sait Sökmen, Evinç Sunal, Meriç Sümen Kanan, Suna Eden Şenel, Osman Şengezer, Aydın Teker, Efza Kıpçak Topçu, Suna Uğur, Rezzan Ürey, Feridun Ulusoy, Deniz Olgay Yamanus

principal ballerina of the Ankara State Ballet Company and her husband Alevcan Öncel have been interviewed several times for this thesis. They are amongst the oldest witnesses of Ankara State Ballet Company during its early years. Alevcan Öncel, even though he was not a dancer himself, was actively involved in ballet through the private ballet school, *Kuğu Bale* which was found in Ankara in the 1970s and constituted an alternative for the state ballet conservatory education in those years. Güloya Gürelli Aruoba has worked as more than a dancer, an administrator, choreographer and a teacher, first in Ankara State Ballet Company and then in Istanbul State Ballet Company for many years.

Yıldız Alpar, belonging to the first generation, has never been involved with the state institutions of ballet in Turkey. She is amongst the first Turkish dancers to establish a private ballet school and the only one who continued to this day. She was also a pupil of Lydia Krassa Arzumanova. Sait Sökmen, Meriç Sümen, Jale Kazbek and Binay Okurer were the second generation of principal dancers in the company. Meriç Sümen performed frequently as the principal ballerina, danced in various foreign companies as a guest artist, and her dance career is the longest amongst them. Sait Sökmen is the first Turkish choreographer. Jale Kazbek continued to work as a teacher in Istanbul State Ballet Company until her retirement. Geyvan McMillen, Suna Eden Şenel, Rezzan Ürey, Güneş Berk, Feridun Ulusoy and Suna Uğur, also belonged to the second generation. Amongst them, Geyvan McMillen inclined towards modern dance. Suna Eden Şenel was the first Turkish choreologists of the Ankara State Ballet Company. Güneş Berk also studied choreology in England, and on her return continued to work as a dance notator for Ankara State Ballet Company. Rezzan Ürey, with her twin sister Ümran Ürey, assisted Dame Ninette de Valois to filter Turkish folk motives in many choreographies of the Ankara State Ballet Company.<sup>3</sup> Feridun Ulusoy also danced abroad and worked as a teacher at the Ankara State Conservatory of Ballet upon his return.

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<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately Ümran Ürey passed away at the end of 2006.

He, then, founded his private ballet school in Ankara. Suna Uğur danced for many years in Ankara State Ballet Company, and then has formed her private ballet school in Istanbul, working extensively as a teacher to this day.

Deniz Olgay Yamanus and Ceyhun Özsoy belong to the third generation of dancers who have danced extensively in many roles including the principal dancer. Deniz Olgay Yamanus is also one of the important repetitors of state ballet companies, especially for the choreographies of Oytun Turfanda. She was the assistant of Turfanda and inherited the copyright of his dance pieces.<sup>4</sup> She is the soloist repetitor of his choreographies. Ceyhun Özsoy, following a successful career at the Ankara State Ballet Company moved to the USA in 1982 and worked extensively as a teacher. In 1990, he established his private ballet school in Dallas. He currently continues to direct the school and regularly teaches at the Joffrey Ballet School's summer courses as well.

Among the interviewees, Şebnem Aksan, Selçuk Borak, and Efza Kıpçak Topçu were the only ones educated outside the state conservatories. The two women studied at the school of Beatrice Appleyard (Fenmen) and were able to continue teaching in the state conservatories. Efza Kıpçak Topçu also danced in the Ankara State Ballet Company for sixteen years. Selçuk Borak applied to Istanbul State Ballet Company's auditions when it was first founded at the beginning of the 1970s. He is the only male dancer of his generation who stopped his university education in chemistry and started to dance professionally. Selçuk Borak currently works as the Head Choreographer of the Istanbul State Ballet Company.

Aydın Teker is from the fourth generation of Turkish dancers. Teker graduated from Ankara State Conservatory of Ballet in 1973, after eleven years of education. She finished her master's degree there; in fact, she was the first person to get one. Uğur Seyrek, as the

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<sup>4</sup> Along with Oktay Keresteci, they are the only legal representatives of Turfanda's choreographies.

youngest amongst these artists, entered Ankara Conservatory of Ballet in 1971 and started to dance as a soloist dancer in the company in 1980. He then moved to Germany and worked as a soloist and principal dancer mostly in Stuttgart Ballet Company. After 18 years of successful career abroad he, returned and continued his dance career in Turkey. He is the only male dancer interviewed for this thesis who worked extensively as a dancer abroad for a long period of time and came back to Turkey to continue his dancing career.

Osman Şengezer is the first Turkish stage designer who extensively worked for ballet pieces in the Ankara State Ballet Company. In fact, he was a protégé of Dame Ninette de Valois and learned his craft with the help of de Valois by acquiring scholarships from England to study stage design for ballet. Richard Glasstone, one of the British choreographers of the Ankara State Ballet Company, spent four years in Ankara during the 1960s. He witnessed the first years of the ballet company and has valuable observations through a foreigner's eyes. Metin And is one of the most prominent ballet critics in Turkey who directly witnessed the first years of Turkish ballet side by side with Dame Ninette de Valois. With the help of his critical writing, one can approach towards many important themes of Turkish ballet of the first thirty years.

The attitude of ballet artists towards giving interviews was very positive and helpful. Everyone accepted to be interviewed, except one. Kaya İlhan, who is in her mid-eighties today, belongs to the first generation of dance artists in Turkey. She refused to talk due to personal reasons. During our conversation on the phone, she mentioned that there are too many issues incomplete in her dance career and many things to accomplish still. She stated that: "I have projects to realize and complete especially at Eminönü People's House. Only after their realization I might be able to talk about the past"<sup>5</sup>. It is in fact very unfortunate for

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<sup>5</sup> Telephone interview, 11/02/ 2006, Istanbul

this thesis since she is an important witness of a long process both from inside the institutions and outside.<sup>6</sup>

Interviews were conducted generally at people's houses, except for Geyvan McMillen and Efza Kıpçak Topçu; we met at their university's dance departments, with McMillen at Yıldız Technical University in Istanbul and with Topçu at Hacettepe University in Ankara. We spoke with Aydın Teker and Yıldız Alpar at their dance studios in Istanbul, with Feridun Ulusoy at his dance studio in Ankara, with Binay Okurer at Güneş Berk's house in Bodrum, with Uğur Seyrek at Aspat Dance Camp in Bodrum and with Metin And, in Muzaffer Evcı's house in Ankara. There is one interview made through the mail and not face to face: with Ceyhun Özsoy. He lives and works in the USA but when I contacted him and informed him about this thesis, he was very helpful in terms of communication through other means. We first corresponded by telephone and through the internet, then I sent my questions and he answered them by writing a letter.

Without the contribution of these dance artists, this thesis could not be completed. Their memories and insights have provided the most valuable source, at times created the dazzling feeling of traveling inside a documentary. Since their first hand testimony paved this research's main axis, the work was just to follow the trails and combine this inner knowledge with the relevant debates of the time.

### *Written Texts*

There are very few written sources on Turkish ballet. Other than the ones reviewed in the first chapter, there have not been any studies focusing on classical dance in Turkey. In reality, it is a confusing situation since the foundation of new institutions of art should consist of relevant intellectual and technical staff who contribute to their establishment and the

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<sup>6</sup> She is currently teaching at universities and directing a laboratory dance program at Eminönü People's House where she had danced in the ballet group of Lydia Krassa Arzumanova in the beginning of the 1940s.

development. The means for conveying the new symbolism of the new artistic forms need to be constructed carefully. Relations with the public are a core issue in this context. What we observe in the context of the Turkish institutional ballet in that manner is a situation that turned its seemingly disadvantaged position to an advantageous one.

Although there were not academically educated critics of ballet in the first thirty years of the Turkish ballet scene, we can observe a somewhat dynamic atmosphere established in the field of critical writing on ballet. There were more articles written on dance in various written media compared to the period after the 1980s. One expects that with the time and experience gained by observing a practical field, the theoretical side would develop more in the process. This did not occur in the field of Turkish ballet. Yet, the period of the first thirty years had its own ballet critics who published many articles on newspapers and popular periodicals.

Except Metin And, who was a specialist in performing arts, particularly in theatre, other critics were journalists who happened to work in the cultural section of the dailies or periodicals. Although they were not a consistent group of individuals who were educated in the field of dance, these critics had an immense role in informing the general public on dance. One can trace ideological variations in the writings of these dance critics. Through dance criticism, one can follow the important themes, and political issues of the period.

Among all critics of dance, Metin And was the most important one. In fact, he was involved with ballet institutions from the very beginning, and had become an informal assistant to Dame Ninette de Valois. With the exception of Metin And, and to a certain extent, Engin Karadeniz, who had been actively involved in art criticism and the artistic policy of the dance institutions, other critics wrote occasionally on random productions.

Engin Karadeniz (1939-2002) wrote on ballet consistently, and after Metin And, he was the most interested person about the issues of dance in Turkey. Selmi Andak, a musician

and a journalist, shared some of the interests of Karadeniz. They both wrote for *Cumhuriyet* newspaper. Müşerref Hekimoğlu (1921-2004), was one of the critics who had a consistent interest in ballet and published several articles in various media. Ömer Atilla Sav, Mümtaz Soysal, Nilgün Tarkan, Haldun Dormen and Faruk Güvenç wrote for *Milliyet* newspaper.

Among the critics of dance, one comes across with conservative writers like Ahmet Kabaklı (1924-2001) and Erol Aksoy from *Tercüman* newspaper. Ahmet Kabaklı is a well known journalist who has written on subjects other than dance extensively. His interest on dance can be coincidental as we learn that he was one of the family acquaintances of a young prima ballerina of the ballet company.

Haldun Dormen, an actor/director and Faruk Güvenç, a well known musician and a music critic, also the husband of famous violin virtuoso Suna Kan, were naturally interested in this new art form. Arsan Aktaş worked in Ankara Art Theatre (AST) as the foreign relations coordinator in 1963. Therefore, we assume that his interest in dance was related to his theatre background. Perihan Çambel, a well-known medicine professor, who specialized in onchology and also worked as a director of Florida University Cancer Research Laboratory, wrote on dance as well. She was interested in performing arts in Turkey and was the author of “Theatre in Turkey” with Orhan Burian, published in May Players Magazine.

There were several daily newspapers which had cultural sections and published many reviews on ballet like *Akşam*, *Son Havadis*, *Dünya*, *Yeni Gazete*, *Barış*, and *Ankara*. Other critics like Ajlan Bilaloğlu, Gül Peri, Selma Berk, Nihal Alp, Hıncal Uluç, Hüseyin Emre, along with Hikmet Feridun Es, Celalettin Çetin, Hayri Alpay, and Haluk Soylu wrote in these various newspapers.

Their articles constructed the main written sources of this thesis along with the interviews of Turkish ballet artists. The themes and discussions which appeared in a scattered way in all of these articles were collected and analyzed by the writer of the thesis.

From the themes, arguments and basic information presented in these articles, one can detect the most vital issues of the Turkish ballet throughout the first thirty years.

The relation to foreign experts of ballet was one of the issues dealt in these articles. The impact of British artists constituted a major debate related to the exertion of building a national ballet in Turkey. The Russian school replaced the British one towards the end of the 1970s. This process illustrated some other complexities related to education and artistic preferences in Turkish ballet. The other main issue was the administrative conflict among various institutions and actors. The administrative methods and managerial visions had an impact on the history of ballet in Turkey. Furthermore, through these articles, the researcher understands that one of the main discussions in Turkish ballet was based on the search of a 'national style'. The appraisal of what was 'national' constituted a vast context. In addition to all that, it can be stated that the debate based on the succession of Turkish ballet artists or their weaknesses on various matters can be traced back even until today and in spite of everything, they have an effect on the contemporary situation in the dance field.



## CHAPTER I

### A GENERAL LOOK AT THE FOUNDATION OF INSTITUTIONAL DANCE/BALLET IN THE WORLD

The development of ballet as an art form in Europe has an extensive history which can be traced back to the Middle Ages.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, it would be unreasonable to claim in the frame of our endeavor that a general look at its foundation and improvement would insure a detailed account. Yet, in order to place the Turkish ballet history in a general frame of ballet as a classical art form, one has to dwell on the basic steps of its journey through the centuries.

The kind of dancing which evolved into what is now referred to as ballet was part of an entertainment favored primarily at the Royal courts in France. Yet, the beginnings of ballet can be traced to Italy during the 1400's at the time of the Renaissance. The houses of aristocracy, the Italian dukes competed with one another in giving costly, fancy entertainments that included dance performances. Catherine de Medici, a member of the ruling family of Florence, became the queen of France in 1547. Catherine de Medici introduced into the French court the same kind of entertainments that she had known in Italy. They were staged by Balthazar de Beaujoyeux who had come from Italy to be Catherine de Medici's chief musician.

Ballet historians consider one of Beaujoyeux's entertainments, the *Ballet Comique de la Reine Louise*, to be the first ballet presented in 1581 in the French courts. "There were people between nine and ten thousand in the assembly. The audience ranged around the

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<sup>7</sup> Ian Woodward informs us that during the Middle Ages a certain type of 'ballet' could be found inside the church. In Seville even today, for instance, the cathedral's choirboys perform a stylized dance before the altar on a number of religious occasions. See Woodward, Ian. *Ballet*, Great Britain: Hodder and Stoughton Ltd, first printed in 1977.

walls, some on the floor, more in raised tribunes”<sup>8</sup>. The ballet was a great success, and was much imitated in other European courts. *The Ballet Comique de la Reine* established Paris as the capital of the ballet world. King Louis XIV, who ruled France during the late 1600's and early 1700's, greatly enjoyed dancing. In 1661, Louis founded ‘The Royal Academy of Dancing’ to train professional dancers to perform for him and his court.

Professional ballet began with the king's dancing academy. With serious training, the French professionals developed skills that had been impossible for the amateurs. The dance technique of the period, recorded by the French ballet master Raoul Feuillet in his book *Choregraphie* published in 1700, included many steps and positions recognizable today. Also floor patterns were very important since the audience’s vision was generally placed from above. Geometrical patterns were used and even the name of the king could be written with these patterns on stage. These geometrical patterns were combined with mathematical coordination. A new theatrical form was developed which placed equal emphasis on singing and dancing and generally consisted of a series of dances linked by a common theme. The most famous 18th-century advocate of the dramatic ballet was the Frenchman Jean Georges Noverre whose *Letters on Dancing and Ballets* published in 1760 influenced many choreographers both during and after his lifetime. As a highly educated man who had established strong relationships with philosophers of his time, his *Letters on Dancing and Ballets* has been described as the first manifesto of ballet. He advised using movement that was natural and easily understood. He emphasized that all the elements of a ballet should work in harmony to express the ballet's theme. Noverre developed the ‘ballet d'action’ (ballet of action), a form of dramatic ballet that told the story completely through movement.

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<sup>8</sup> Kirstein, Lincoln. *Dance- A Short History of Classical Theatrical Dancing-*, New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1935, p.153

Besides working at the Paris Opera, he spent some time in Stuttgart, under the protection of a patron, Duke of Wurttemberg and at the court theaters of Vienna.<sup>9</sup>

Ballet as an art form, although it seemed unattached from the realities of its time, in fact proved to be in close link with the erratic nature of social and cultural life. During the years of turmoil that followed the French Revolution, the Paris Opera staged several ballet performances like *L'Offrande de la Liberté*, which involved dancers, singers and horses. People worshipped the goddess of liberty in her temple.<sup>10</sup> The mass gatherings that occurred during the 1790s including political debates and protests, parades and festivals encouraged citizens to participate in art in a different way. Dancers and choreographers also participated as an integral part of almost all theatrical productions. Pierre Gardel's successful productions along with other choreographers' works were staged in the Opera. They continued the tradition of storylines based on well known classical myths, "although they avoided tragic or heroic subjects easily associated with the nobility in favor of plots with the lighter concerns of courtship and romance".<sup>11</sup> For the first time, the stories of ordinary people began to appear in the ballet productions. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, "ballet had established itself as a legitimate vehicle for dramatic expression, and not merely a decorative adjunct to an opera or play".<sup>12</sup>

The ballet *La Sylphide*, first performed in Paris in 1832, introduced the period of the romantic ballet. As the first example of "white ballets" in the history of ballet, the Italian choreographer Filippo Taglioni created *La Sylphide* for his daughter Marie Taglioni. She danced a supernatural creature that is loved and inadvertently destroyed by a mortal man. The

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<sup>9</sup> Jonas, Gerald. *Dancing-The Pleasure, Power, and the Art of Movement-*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1992

<sup>10</sup> Au, Susan. *Ballet and Modern Dance*, London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1988

<sup>11</sup> Foster, Susan Leigh. *Choreography and Narrative- Ballet's Staging of Story and Desire-*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996, p.148

<sup>12</sup> Au, Susan, 1988, p.43

toe-dancing assumed an importance during this period because it was a natural continuation of the movements demanded by many of the Romanticism's central characters like nymphs and fairies. Their beings required an illusion of flight.<sup>13</sup> Their wings symbolized freedom, both mystically and worldly, imposed by the French Revolution. The ballerinas of the Romantic era seemed more than merely human: "they symbolized the yearning for release from everyday reality that exemplified the Romantic sensibility".<sup>14</sup> Actually, one could also argue that with these ballets, an idealized female image was introduced, particularly imagined by male choreographers. Many critics argued that the ballet *La Sylphide* had changed the face of the ballet of its time.

In 1836, *Cachucha*, a balleticized Spanish dance was performed inside Coralli's ballet *Le Diable Boiteux* and its success activated the spread of national dances of all kinds. Ballet was in tune with the uprising of nationalism in the world. "The folk dances of Europe and occasionally of other continents were plundered enthusiastically by ballet choreographers and dancers in search of local color".<sup>15</sup>

However, towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, ballet began to decline in France and Italy. Paris remained the capital of the ballet world during the early 1800s, but many dancers and choreographers who trained and worked there took their technique to cities in other countries. As an example, the Danish choreographer August Bournonville, who had studied in Paris, not only established a system of training but also created a large body of works, including his own version of *La Sylphide*, and during which his distinctive style was born.

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<sup>13</sup> Woodward, Ian. 1977

<sup>14</sup> Jonas, Gerald. 1992, p.134

<sup>15</sup> Au, Susan, 1988, p.51

Royal Danish Ballet, one of the oldest major ballet companies, was established at the opening of Denmark's Royal Theater in Copenhagen in 1748.<sup>16</sup>

Another important national ballet tradition was established in Sweden. The Royal Opera House in Stockholm opened in 1782. King Gustavus III appointed the French ballet master Louis Gallodiner to train an existing dance group into a national ballet company in 1773.<sup>17</sup> The Royal Swedish Ballet had many choreographers and teachers since then, mostly from France, Italy, and Denmark. In the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Michel Fokine worked for a short time as a ballet master and choreographer. After the Second World War, the English choreographer Anthony Tudor was hired to revive the company.<sup>18</sup> As also Helena Wulff asserts, the Royal Swedish Ballet was formed by foreigners and operated at the intersection of the national and transnational.

At the end of the 19th century, Russian ballet was considered as the 'Mecca of ballet'.<sup>19</sup> Its history can be traced back until the 17<sup>th</sup> century when ballet was introduced at the court of Czar Alexei. During the reign of Peter the Great between 1627 and 1725, the attitude towards dancing underwent radical changes. Dancers were brought to Russia from many European countries. The first Imperial Theatre School was opened in 1738; it also marked the beginning of the Imperial Russian Ballet.<sup>20</sup> One of the greatest of Russian

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<sup>16</sup> "The first artistic director of the Royal Danish Ballet was Vincenzo Galeotti (1733–1816), who brought from Italy and France an international repertoire, led the company from 1775 until his death. One of his works, *Amors og Balletmastererens Luner* (1786), is the world's oldest ballet retaining its original choreography. The next great leader was Auguste Bournonville, who directed the company for 51 years (1828–79). The more than 50 ballets he created included many parts intended to show off his own brilliant dancing, and these later became vehicles to establish and display the excellence of Danish male dancing in general. After his death the Danish Ballet declined until 1932, when Harald Lander returned from studying dance in the Soviet Union and the United States to become the company's ballet master (1932–51)" *The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, 6th ed.* Copyright © 2007, Columbia University Press.

<sup>17</sup> Wulff, Helena. *Ballet Across Borders*, New York: Berg / Oxford International Publishers Ltd., 1998

<sup>18</sup> Wulff, Helena. 1998

<sup>19</sup> Lester, Susan. *Ballet Here and Now*, London: Dobson Books Ltd, 1961, p.13

<sup>20</sup> Woodward, Ian. 1977

Imperial Ballet Companies was the Imperial Ballet of St. Petersburg (Kirov Ballet), whose students were the first ones to study at the Imperial School founded in 1738. The Imperial Theaters in Russia became a state system in 1756 and ballet was included as one of its branches.<sup>21</sup> In the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were three state academies of dancing at St. Petersburg, Moscow and Warsaw. They were unique training grounds for the Imperial Theaters. The artistic director of the Imperial Ballet of St. Petersburg was Marius Petipa, a Frenchman, who had a great influence and control over Russian ballet for almost fifty years. He moved to Russia with other ballet dancers while the ballet in Paris was in the process of decline. Petipa composed and revived over one hundred ballets. As Elizabeth Souritz informs us in her book, “by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century a style had been created that was the culmination of Petipa’s many years of creative work: the style of the academic full-length ballet”.<sup>22</sup> Some of the other significant choreographers included Lev Ivanov, Alexander Gorsky and Michel Fokine. Ivanov was the assistant of Petipa and they had collaborated on several productions. Ivanov was recognized as the first Russian choreographer of its time. Alexander Gorsky was strongly influenced by Konstantin Stanislavsky’s “Art Theater of Moscow” and tried to translate Stanislavsky’s principals to ballet.<sup>23</sup> Fokine graduated from the Imperial Ballet School in 1898, attacked the ballet’s highly stylized and artificial form of mime and its costumes of tutu and point shoes. One of his famous ballets, *Petrushka* staged in 1911 was considered to be one of the most representative ballets of the era. Fokine also had written the second manifesto of ballet after Noverre.

Following the 1917 Russian Revolution, the heritage of pre-Revolutionary art of ballet had been preserved. Souritz states that “Despite the civil war, destruction, and famine

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<sup>21</sup> Au, Susan. *Ballet & Modern Dance*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1988.

<sup>22</sup> Souritz, Elizabeth (trans. by Banes, Sally & Visson, Lynn). *Soviet Choreographers in the 1920s*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1990 (first published by Iskusstvo, 1979), p. 21

<sup>23</sup> Au, Susan. 1988.

when the companies lacked leading dancers and choreographers, and it was almost impossible to continue studying in schools, the ballet survived”. Those governing the arts after the revolution, proclaimed that they would save the classical heritage and make it the legacy of future generations. Yet, following the implementation of a new ideology, the question of the content and forms of new Soviet ballet rose. The methods of poster/agitprop theater were reflected in the ballets of the late 1920s. According to Souritz, “the ballet innovators searched in their laboratories for new forms to help the ballet revitalize itself for the mass audience. But the mass audience at that time went to the old ballets”. Therefore, in the late 1920s, ballet in Russia moved towards dramatization, impressionist sketches had disappeared and the time for the poster and allegory had also passed.<sup>24</sup>

Before the revolution, as one of the young avant-gardes, Serge Diaghilev organized several important art exhibitions in Russia and Western Europe and was the editor of the periodical *Mir Iskusstva* (The World of Art) at the end of the 1890s. After an attempt which was not seen through in building up professional relations with the Imperial Theater, he had embarked to found his own ballet company, the famous Ballet-Russes. Isadora Duncan, the pioneer of modern dance, had already performed in Russia. For Diaghilev who had revolutionary ideas, the art of ballet had become static and artificial. His ideas were strongly compatible with Fokine’s, so they started to work together. He brought this first Russian Ballet Company to Paris in 1909, produced five ballets all with choreography by Fokine.<sup>25</sup> During the First World War, Diaghilev’s company which traveled in Italy, Switzerland, Spain, Portugal, England and the USA had been very successful. Most significant dancers, teachers and choreographers of the 20<sup>th</sup> century ballet like Vaslav Nijinsky, Enrico Cecchetti, Leonide Massine, Serge Lifar, Anton Dolin, Dame Ninette de Valois, and George Balanchine

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<sup>24</sup> Souritz, Elizabeth. 1990

<sup>25</sup> Davidson, Gladys. *Ballet Biographies*, London: Werner Laurie, 1952

first started their careers in Ballet-Russes. For twenty years, Diaghilev and his famous Russian Ballet regularly visited most of the capitals in Europe until his death in 1929. Lynn Garafola, who examined the impact of Ballet-Russes in Europe concludes that ‘the idea of privilege’ has become synonymous with the company and even today it is identified with the identity of classical dancing.<sup>26</sup> His dancers and choreographers then joined companies in many parts of the world and strongly influenced ballet wherever they went.

In fact, British tradition began to take root with the Russian ballet’s conquest prior to the First World War. Traditional ballet had been taught in England by a very few foreign teachers until then. Amongst them were Madame Kattie Lanner, Italian dancing master Enrico Cecchetti, and Leon Espinoza. Lanner’s ‘National School of Dancing’ provided dancers for the Empire ballets in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Ninette de Valois was a child dancer when Anna Pavlova inspired the London’s dance audiences from 1910 onwards.<sup>27</sup> During the period of 1929 and 1932, the first strong seeds of the British ballet were sown by Marie Rambert in a small theater called Mercury.<sup>28</sup> In fact, it is very interesting to discover that in England a new ballet emerged in the small theaters with almost no financial support, few dancers and with limited opportunities for either the making or the showing of ballets. In the early 1930s, different kinds of leadership supplied by Marie Rambert and Dame Ninette de Valois led to the creation of a British ballet, distinctively discrete from other national ballets.<sup>29</sup> It is more remarkable after we gather information about the condition of ballet in England with respect to previous times. As music and drama critic George Bernard Shaw asserted towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the places where most ballet was seen in

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<sup>26</sup> Garafola, Lynn. “Diaghilev’s Cultivated Audience” in ed. by Carter, Alexandra. *The Routledge Dance Studies Reader*, London; New York: Routledge, 1998

<sup>27</sup> ed. by Thomas, Helen. *Dance in the City*, London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1997

<sup>28</sup> Lester, Susan. 1961

<sup>29</sup> Lester, Susan. 1961



London were the music halls. In one of his critiques in 1889, Shaw declared that “the brainless artificiality of the ballets was too much for the public. People went and stared; but the quality of applause was always poor. I gave it up at last as a hopeless affair”.<sup>30</sup> In spite of the fact that past experiences were not very fruitful for the British ballet scene, Sadler’s Wells Ballet of Dame Ninette de Valois had gained enough prestige by the time of 1946 to be invited to reopen the Royal Ballet House, which had been used as a dance-hall during the Second World War.<sup>31</sup> Dame Ninette de Valois worked as the principal director of Royal Ballet until her retirement in 1963. Frederic Ashton, a significant choreographer and associate director of Royal Ballet since 1952 acceded to the overall directorship after her. In Woodward’s analysis, Dame Ninette’s ambition had been single-fold: to build up the Royal Ballet into a major institution in world dance and she succeeded.<sup>32</sup> In fact, it has been mentioned that the rise of Royal Ballet coincided with the decline of Britain as a colonial power. Helena Wulff, in her book provides an account of the ex-members of the Royal Ballet. They expressed their feelings when touring in the 1950s and 1960s, “we were thought that we were ‘ambassadors’ of Britain that we had to behave very well”.<sup>33</sup>

In the 1930s and 1940s, new ballet companies with strong national identities sprang up in Britain, France and the USA, though the reality can not be denied that all had the Russian ballet tradition behind them. One of the choreographers of Ballet-Russes, the Russian George Balanchine was encouraged by an American art lover Lincoln Kirstein, to move to New York.<sup>34</sup> Kirstein, who was also the writer of the book “*Dance*” that we referred

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<sup>30</sup> Shaw, George Bernard. cited in Sorell, Walter. *The Dancer’s Image*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1971, p.331

<sup>31</sup> Au, Susan. 1988

<sup>32</sup> Woodward, Ian. 1977

<sup>33</sup> Wulff, Helena. 1998, p.27

<sup>34</sup> Wulff, Helena. 1998

in this thesis, founded the School of American Ballet in the middle of the 1930s and New York City Ballet in the late 1940s. At the same time, American Ballet Theater formed and financially supported by Lucia Chase started to perform. In 1961, another wealthy American woman, the composer Rebekah Harkness established the Harkness Foundation and began to sponsor the individual artists' companies such as Jerome Robbins's Ballets, the Robert Joffrey Ballet, the Pearl Primus Dance Troup. The Ford Foundation sponsored the regional ballet to flourish and many Balanchine dancers spread out to different parts of the USA. Then through the 1970s, we observe that apart from big companies, there are a great number of amateur and semi-professional ballet companies all over the country, attached to a school or several schools of a particular region.<sup>35</sup>

Meanwhile, in a neighboring country, Canada, there was not any institution of ballet; however, in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, foreign companies visited Montreal. These were German expressionist choreographers, American modern dance pioneers like Ruth St. Denis, along with some classical ballet groups. At the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century, there were some ballet studios offering a partial ballet education but up until 1940, there was no classical ballet school and a company. In the early 1940s, the "Conservatoire d'Art Dramatique et de Musique" was founded.<sup>36</sup>

As we have mentioned earlier, Denmark had a strong ballet tradition established solidly in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Ian Woodward informs us that, in fact from 1755 on, ballet in Denmark began to distinguish itself. The choreographer Bournonville following the French school of Vestris gave the Royal Danish Ballet a distinctive character and this style survived.

In Italy, the principal company is housed at La Scala in Milan which for two hundred years has been the centre of ballet in Italy. The Imperial Dancing Academy was founded in

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<sup>35</sup> Woodward, Ian. 1977

<sup>36</sup> Tembeck, Iro. *Dancing in Montreal- Seeds of a Choreographic History-*, The Journal of the Society of Dance History Scholars, vol.5, no:2, Fall 1994.

1812 and known as the Scala Ballet School it has continued its existence. La Scala Ballet Company had many significant choreographers and there are also ballet companies attached to the opera houses in Rome, Naples, Turin, Genoa, and Palermo.<sup>37</sup>

Most of the ballet critics agree upon the fact that there is no national German ballet like in Britain or Denmark, yet today, there are about sixty opera houses in the Federal German Republic and each of them has a ballet company. Perhaps the art of ballet has not developed there. However, Germany has been the centre of expressionist dance (Austdruckstanz) since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Germans sympathized with Isadora Duncan's revolt against the ballet. In Sorell's analysis, it was because of the fact that ballet had never taken a real root with the German society.<sup>38</sup> Many of the pioneering choreographers and dancers in this field like Kurt Jooss, Rudolph Laban, Mary Wigman, and Harald Kreutzberg contributed to the newly established German dance. Laban's philosophical approach to dance had the outmost importance in the establishment of German expressionist dance. It constituted the fundamental platform for modern approaches. He rejected the academic ballet and developed a form of dance that contained a wider range of human movements. His strong belief that the dance should have grown out of the life of its time dragged him towards ordinary actions such as work movements. His analysis of movement qualities deepened his work in theater as well.<sup>39</sup> When Hitler took power in 1933, there was a strong performing arts scene in the context of expressionist dance, later to be named simply as dance theater. As Helen Thomas's work informs us, in Nazi Germany, dance was not perceived as individual pleasure or expression, but a collective entertainment

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<sup>37</sup> Woodward, Ian. 1977

<sup>38</sup> Sorell, Walter. 1971

<sup>39</sup> Au, Susan. 1988

and a demonstration of the national spirit and will.<sup>40</sup> Dance gymnastics was extremely popular during the Weimar Republic and Laban with his improvisational techniques enabled new forms of mass participation. In Nazi Germany, folk dances were applied to the pre-existing forms. They invented new Aryan steps and aimed to eliminate all non-Aryan influences. Dance schools had to comply with these directives if they were to stay open. Most of the German choreographers fled out of the country as the Nazification of German culture reached its height physical exercise. Only after the end of the Second World War and the collapse of Nazi regime, the German expressionist dance artists could return to their homeland and continue their artistic and educational explorations interrupted by the political ideology. As for classical ballet, there was no distinct institution until 1961 when the South African born and Royal Ballet dancer/choreographer Joan Cranko became the director of Stuttgart Ballet Company. He also founded a ballet school in Germany. The school was based on Russian and British styles. In the mid-sixties, Royal Ballet's resident choreographer Kenneth MacMillan went to Berlin Deutsche Opera. With the help of Dame Ninette de Valois, he also formed a ballet school there. The company became one of the two major ballet companies in Germany.<sup>41</sup>

In fact, Dame Ninette de Valois supported more national ballet companies, besides laying the foundation of the British one. Ian Woodward, while informing us about various countries' encounters with the art of ballet, also provides information on Dame Ninette's endeavors. She founded the Turkish ballet by coming to Turkey herself but she has contributed to other ballets by sending her associates. She sent Royal Ballet dancer and mistress Peggy van Praagh to Australia after the death of Edouard Borovansky, who was a Czech dancer, a soloist of the Ballet Russes settled and founded a ballet company in Australia

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<sup>40</sup> Thomas, Helen. 1997

<sup>41</sup> Woodward, Ian. 1977

in 1939. Peggy van Praagh was invited to be the artistic director of the Australian Ballet in 1962. During Dame Ninette's stay in Turkey, Iranian Shah Rıza Pehlevi invited her to found a national ballet company in Iran. She indeed visited Iran in 1958 and started ballet classes in the Academy of Dance, which was founded in 1955. Actually, we learn from Nima Kiann, an Iranian who migrated to Europe after the Islamic Revolution, and also the founder/choreographer of "Les Ballets Persan" (The New Iranian National Ballet) that the history of ballet education goes back to 1928 when Madame Cornelli, Serkiz Janbazian and Yelena Avedizian, both of Armenian origins, were educated abroad and went back to Iran to found ballet schools.<sup>42</sup> De Valois sent teachers from the Royal Ballet School including Ann Cock, Miro Zolan, and Sandra Vein. The last one was Robert de Warren who was the director of the company between 1966 and 1971.<sup>43</sup> Then the first prima ballerina of Iran, Aida Ahmadzadeh succeeded de Warren. The company existed until the Islamic revolution in January, 1978. In fact, while reviewing the history of ballet in Iran, one can not help but recognize the similarities of the processes of the foundation of national ballet in Turkey.

To conclude, one may add that a focused look on the national ballet styles and the funding of ballet would help to draw the frame with respect to various ballet traditions existing in different countries. Till now, we presented a brief history of ballet in terms of its foundations and institutions mostly centered in Europe. It is quite appealing to continue with the foundation of national ballet traditions in the eastern part of the world, but the limits of the thesis would not allow us to explore further since the boundaries should then be extended to various more countries.

As Wulff argues, the idea of national ballet styles can be traced back to the major ballet schools. She grants these to be the French, the Russian, the British, the Danish and the

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<sup>42</sup> Kiann, Nima. [www.artira.com/nimakiann](http://www.artira.com/nimakiann), 07/27/ 2007

<sup>43</sup> Woodward, Ian. 1977

American schools. Wulff declares that although an Italian ballet center existed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, since the Italian style is not used as a feature of nationalism like the other ballet styles; one does not consider it amongst the others. However, as Wulff emphasizes, it can be argued that although many people still regard ballet styles as reflections of ‘nations’, young generations are increasingly challenging this belief and switch back and forth between different ones.

As for the funding, European ballet depends mostly on public subsidy. The Royal Swedish Ballet and Ballet Frankfurt are both predominantly state-subsidized like Turkish State Ballet Companies. The British Royal Ballet relies to a greater extent on private and corporate sponsorship and the American ballet companies almost entirely do so.<sup>44</sup> In fact, as we mentioned that Turkish State Ballet Companies mostly resemble to Royal Swedish ballet, we have to add that there are also differences. Royal Swedish Ballet is a secure company in terms of social benefits like the Turkish. Yet, Swedish dancers can get a contract after three years in the ‘corps de ballet’ until their retirement in their early forties. After that, they have to find another job. Whereas in Turkish State Ballet Companies, once you have a contract, you may continue until the age of sixty-five which is the age of retirement in Turkey.

In general, one can observe that the styles and techniques of ballet were refurbished by the genius choreographers’ works. Examples such as Cecchetti, Petipa, Fokine all belonged to the league of most creative choreographers. They had developed certain styles. According to many experts of ballet, technique of ballet always has to be combined with distinctive styles; otherwise it might become a parade of difficult movements discarded from its essence.

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<sup>44</sup> Wulff, Helena. 1998

## CHAPTER II

### A CRITICAL SURVEY OF DANCE SCHOLARSHIP IN TURKEY

Before beginning the survey of dance scholarship, it is worth considering the concept of “*dans*” in Turkey. From various sources, both academically and sporadic, we gather that the concept of “*dans*” situated in the context of Turkish modernization process is a very recent phenomenon in Turkey. Although traditionally Turkish dance scene provides vast and rich examples ranging from folk dances to belly dancing, along with various ritualistic practices within the context of religion, a “Western” concept of dance has a comparatively short history. Dance performed in theatrical space and connected to classical or modern techniques developed in Europe was introduced to Turkey during the late Ottoman period. As we trace particularly the writings of Metin And, Jak Deleon and Arzu Öztürkmen, along with various journalists of the time, we gather information on the Westernization of Turkish dance scene more precisely. Öztürkmen particularly emphasized the complexity of the concept of ‘national dance’ in Turkey and its wide scope of various dance styles. The meanings of these dance styles have been clarified in the process of nationalization centered in Westernization.<sup>45</sup> She stated that the difference between play and dance was quite obscure. Play meant both dancing and theatrical plays, also covered the act of playing in children’s games. Metin And provided a vast study based on the concept of play in Turkish

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<sup>45</sup> Öztürkmen, Arzu. “Modern Dance Alla Turca: Transforming Ottoman Dance in Early Republican Era”, *Dance Research Journal*, summer 2003, 35/1. See also Öztürkmen, Arzu. “Politics of National Dance in Turkey: A Historical Reappraisal”, *Yearbook for Traditional Music, ICTM*, 2001, pp-139-143

culture.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, it has not been easy to clarify the concept of dance in the Turkish cultural frame. Yet, when we speak of dance and dance scholarship in general, what we really focus on is the cultural milieu created with the foundation of the Republic and its transformational process on dance.

Definitely, at first, we have to recognize the rich sources based on the debate on folklore and revival of the field in the early Republican era. The writings of Rıza Tevfik, Ziya Gökalp, and Selim Sırrı Tarcan were the first examples published between 1909 and 1929 which offered a preliminary source of information on this subject.<sup>47</sup> Particularly Rıza Tevfik and Selim Sırrı Tarcan directly wrote on folk dance as a newly established discipline referring to Western sources. In the following decades, the journals of People's Houses provided a significant platform for the discussions on folk dance practices in the Turkish Republic. All of these works instituted a valuable understanding on the relation of folk culture and nation, illuminating the process of the establishment of dance genres in the context of a new society/nation.

Then, we have to turn our attention to the written sources on classical music, opera and theater. In the beginning, the Republican elite were interested mostly in music and theater. As a matter of fact, the first institutions of art established in Western style in the Republican Turkey were the State Conservatories of Music and Theater followed by State Opera and Theater Companies. In fact, the interest in Western music had started with the Tanzimat period reforms. The concept of 'music reformation' dated 1826 brought Western

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<sup>46</sup> And, Metin. *Oyun ve Bügü- Türk Kültüründe Oyun Kavramı*-, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yay., 1974

<sup>47</sup> Rıza Tevfik's *Memalik-i Osmaniye'de Raks ve Muhtelif Tarzları* (Dance and its Various Styles within the Borders of Ottoman Empire) was published in 1909, Ziya Gökalp's "Halk Medeniyeti 1, Başlangıç" (Folk Civilization 1) was published in *Halka Doğru* journal in 1913, Selim Sırrı Tarcan's "Mürebbliler Arasında: Folklor" (Folk-lore among the Governess-of children-) was published in *Yeni Muhit* journal in 1922 which are examples cited in Öztürkmen, Arzu. *Türkiye'de Folklor ve Milliyetçilik* (Folklore and Nationalism in Turkey), İstanbul: İletişim Yay., 1998, p.25



classical music into the Ottoman society.<sup>48</sup> The field of Western theater had already been established in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman cultural life. Particularly, the venues placed in Beyoğlu/Pera area provided a wide range of examples of theatrical plays performed by both foreign groups and the artists, usually of non-Muslim origins. We can find many articles related to these activities in the journal of *Tiyatro ve Musiki* published at the end of the 1920s.<sup>49</sup> Yet, for dance, it is hard to find a similar interest. There are mainly sporadic articles on several dance performances in private venues of mainly Pera district. These were the continuation of the Tanzimat culture, mainly centered upon the activities of non-Muslim communities. In terms of Western theater dance genre, Selim Sırrı Tarcan published several articles on Isodora Duncan in various periodicals of the time. One was called “Rhythmic Dances” and contained sketches of the dance movements as well.<sup>50</sup> His daughter Selma Selim Sırrı, who was also a dance practitioner, was strongly interested in the contemporary forms of Western dance tradition and she published a booklet called ‘The Aesthetic Dances of Selma Selim Sırrı’ in 1926. She put an emphasis on the concept of *mevzun raks* (rhythmic dance).<sup>51</sup> Apart from these writings, there were no other publications with respect to dance scholarship situated in a Western context.

On the other hand, while looking at the periodicals published in the 1920s, particularly in *Muhit*, we find a growing interest in the study of “body” as a new cultural domain. There are articles related to physical training and dance, particularly targeting

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<sup>48</sup> Aksoy, Bülent. “Cumhuriyet Dönemi Musikisinde Farklılaşma Olgusu” (The Fact of Versatility in the Music of Republican Era), *Cumhuriyet’in Sesleri*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yay., 1999

<sup>49</sup> Many other journals related to arts were published in the first half of the 20th century. Some of them can be cited as *Dar-ül Elham Mecmuası*, *Müzik ve Sanat Hareketleri*, *Yeni Adam*, *Ar*, *Güzel Sanatlar*, *Arkitekt*, *Yeditepe*, *Muhit*, *Resimli Ay*.

<sup>50</sup> Tarcan, Selim Sırrı. “Ritmik Danslar” (Rhythmic Dances), *Muhit*, no:1, teşrinisani; 1928, p.56.

<sup>51</sup> Sırrı, Selma Selim. *Selma Selim Sırrı Hanım’ın Bedii Raksları (The Aesthetic Dances of Miss Selma Selim Sırrı)*, İstanbul: Sevimli Ay Matbaası, 1926 cited in Öztürkmen, Arzu. *Dance Research Journal*, summer 2003, 35/1

women readers. In one of these articles published without the name of its writer, we even find a presentational text for an “automatic dance machine”, one of the primitive versions of body fitness devices.<sup>52</sup>

When we approach to the 1930s and the 1940s, People’s Houses’ journals provide us with a valuable insight about the physical culture in Turkey. As Öztürkmen describes, People’s Houses “were important semi-official cultural centers devoted to the promotion of Republican reforms”.<sup>53</sup> As explored in Arzu Öztürkmen’s works, they contributed to the building of a national cultural repertoire and played an important role in the introduction of new social activities. Amongst them were ballroom dancing, the celebration of national days and even the initiation of new political rituals like the welcoming of bureaucrats. According to Arzu Öztürkmen, as the institutions for networking in transmitting the ideas and projects of the new Turkish Republic, People’s Houses also “defined a new sense of attachment to the changed boundaries of the motherland and to the culture growing within it”.<sup>54</sup> The missions of the People’s Houses were best reflected in the journals. These journals emphasized certain themes and images. Popular education was very important, and as stated by Öztürkmen, fine arts and basic sciences were given a particular emphasis. The opening of the Ankara State Conservatory of Theater and Opera, for example, was announced in *Fikirler*, in 1937.<sup>55</sup> The themes of the articles or information on dance that appeared in these journals were mostly related to folk / national dances. Yet one can also find a few number of news related to dance

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<sup>52</sup>“Otomatik Dans ve İdman Makinası” (Automatic Dance and Physical Training Machine), *Muhit*, no:10, Ağustos, 1929. A dance teacher in Paris, M. Albert Sylvain devised a machine for people to exercise. We see photographs in the text where a woman dressed in high heels attached to the device practicing the movements. Appendix no: 1

<sup>53</sup> Öztürkmen, Arzu “Modern Dance Alla Turca: Transforming Ottoman dance in Early Republican Turkey”, *Dance Research Journal*, summer 2003, 35/1

<sup>54</sup> Öztürkmen, Arzu. “The Role of the People’s Houses in the Making of National Culture in Turkey”, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, 11, 159-181, 1994. See also Çeçen, Anıl. *Atatürk’ün Kültür Kurumu: Halkevleri* (The Cultural Institution of Atatürk: People’s Houses), Ankara: Gündoğan Yay., 1990

<sup>55</sup> Balaban, Rahmi. 1937a. “Ankara Tiyatro Okulu” (Ankara Theater School), *Fikirler* 7 (157, October), p.1, cited in Öztürkmen, Arzu. 1994

performances in more Western forms. One such article was related to the yearly performance of Marga Birsen's "Bodily Training and Rhythmic Dances Studio" (Beden Terbiyesi ve Ritmik Danslar Salonu) on the 23rd of December, 1945 in Ankara.<sup>56</sup>

So, apart from this interest in folk or the so-called "national" dances in the journals of People's Houses, the real interest in the literature on the history of Western dance, particularly on ballet emerged in the 1960s mainly with the works of Metin And. In his books, And approached the art of dance from different angles both historically and critically. In *Gönlü Yüce Türk: Yüzyıllar Boyunca Bale Eserlerinde Türkler*, he followed the historical trails of Western stages and found Turkish characters or stories about Turks in ballet performances between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>57</sup> His book suggested that working on the history of dance had some deficiencies and disadvantages in comparison to the history of theater or opera. The reason for that was because the sources were very limited since almost none of the ballet performances have been documented on paper. The main studies which had been published about the art of dance were also few in number. In general, the sources were widely varied and scattered.

In *Gönlü Yüce Türk*, Metin And mentioned two main reasons why Turks have been presented in many ballet pieces. The first was "aesthetical" and the second "historical /political". And stated that in the beginning, the writings and memoirs of Western travelers journeying in the east motivated the curiosity of Westerners about these unknown lands and their life styles, best reflected in orientalist paintings. Turkish ambassadors appearing in Western cities had also gotten much attention. In historical and political contexts, Turks as bearers of big empires had a great influence on the world history; therefore, their relation to the Western empires provided a rich source for the themes and plots of ballet pieces. Single

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<sup>56</sup> Altar, Cevat Memduh. "Sanat Hareketleri" (The Movements of Art), *Ülkü*, sayı:103, January, 1946

<sup>57</sup> And, Metin. *Gönlü Yüce Türk: Yüzyıllar Boyunca Bale Eserlerinde Türkler* (Sublime Hearted Turk: Turks in Ballet Works Through Centuries) , Ankara : Dost Yayınevi, 1958.

events like military victories or the Sultan's coming into power could constitute stories of these ballets. Well-known Turkish figures and their stories also found a place in ballet performances.<sup>58</sup>

Metin And formed the sections in the book according to the contents of certain ballets. These performances in which Turks appeared have taken place mostly in France, Italy and Britain. The appearance of Turks in ballets started with the horse-ballets and in victory processions in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. The "turquerie" fashion as a new life style was an important influence reflected in ballet performances. Also the curiosity for dervish whirling was quite high and adaptations of these ritualistic practices could be found in various ballet performances. The usage of Turkish characters next to different nationalities was also performed. In addition to these, well known political incidents like the siege of Vienna found their place in ballet performances. As an example, *Les Indes Galantes* was a very important political opera-ballet performed in 1735 in Academie Royale de Musique, where one section was called *Le Turc Généreux*, and was based on the true character of Vezir Topal Osman Paşa.

Metin And stated that in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with the rising of nationalistic feelings in the Balkan areas where Russia emerged as their "guardian", ballet had been used as a propagandist tool against the Ottomans. One such example was famous choreographer Petipa's *Roxana, the Beauty of Montenegro* staged in 1878 which stirred up the nationalistic feelings in the Balkans against the Turks.<sup>59</sup> He underlined the fact that the ballets which were about Turks or having stories related to Turks were keystones in the history of ballet. According to And, in these ballets, one could identify different styles

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<sup>58</sup> And, Metin. 1958

<sup>59</sup> In Metin And's book, the staging date of this ballet piece was stated as 1877 (based on the source of Benois, Alexandre. *Reminiscences of the Russian Ballet*, London, 1941, pp.49-51) but in the list of the original works of Petipa, the date was given as January, 1878.(en.wikipedia.org , 08/29/07)

overcoming others in terms of aesthetic perceptions. Therefore, ballets which had contents about the Turks were also marked by their different aesthetic styles. In And's analysis, whether or not this was a deliberate choice or only a coincidence, one could not guess. And provided examples of such ballets, stating that *Ballo di Donne Turche* was one of the first examples of a melodramatic ballet, where *L'Europe Galante* had been the start of operaballets. One of Noverre's ballets, *Les Fetes ou les Jalousies du Serail* had been given as an important example of *ballets d'action* in his letters.<sup>60</sup>

In another book called *Türkiye'de İtalyan Sahnesi*, Metin And informs us about the Italian theatre, ballet and opera performances which were staged from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards. It is with these staged performances that the Ottoman audiences became acquainted with Western performing arts.<sup>61</sup> And gives information about a ballet performance created by the Italian minority in Istanbul in 1524 in which some Ottoman artists were involved. Also we learn that in these performances Italian stage-art technicians worked in Ottoman stages. In the festivities of the Ottoman Empire, many Italian artists performed and were effectively involved in building theatre spaces in Istanbul and Izmir from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards.<sup>62</sup>

In 1850, in Naum Theatre in Galatasaray, many operas were staged including several ballet performances. And mentioned a ballet company which staged *Trionfo d'Amore* amongst many other performances. Based on various sources, And informs us that in 1859 *Paquita*, *La Farfalla* and *La Caccia di Diana* ballets had been staged.<sup>63</sup> The famous ballerina

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<sup>60</sup> And, Metin. 1958, p.47

<sup>61</sup> And, Metin. *Türkiye'de İtalyan Sahnesi* (The Italian Stage in Turkey), Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1970.

<sup>62</sup> And, Metin. 1970

<sup>63</sup> ed. Bent, James T. "Dr. John Covel's Diary", *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, London, 1893; Mariotti, Giovanni. "Un'antica imitazione del Teatro Farnese a Costantinopoli", *Avrea Parma Rivista di Storia-Letterature-Arte*, 1912; And, Metin. "Türkiye'de İlk Tiyatrolar" (First Theaters in Turkey), *Devlet Tiyatrosu*,

Rosina Ravaglio danced in three ballets including *La fille Mal Gardée/ Şımarık Kız* in 1860. These activities motivated the formation of the Italian culture and aid association, “Societa Operaia Italiana Di Muttuo Soccorso” in 1863.

And continued giving information on Italian companies coming from abroad. In spite of the fact that the famous Naum theatre burned down due to the fire in 1870, performances continued on other stages until 1911. And stated that due to the Turkish-Italian war these artistic activities had been cut off between 1911 and 1917, nevertheless they started again after 1917, losing their past glory. Metin And commented on the importance of Italian artists’ contribution to the Ottoman art scene and stressed that all these stage performances had been followed also by Muslim audiences, and consequently opening the way to Turkish stage artists.

Metin And started searching for Turkish images in Western opera, theatre and ballet performances in his following book *Tiyatro, Bale ve Opera Sahnelerinde Kanuni Süleyman İmgesi*.<sup>64</sup> Due to the Ottoman invasions in European lands beginning in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, there was mainly a negative association about the Turks. In And’s analysis, from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, we find mostly negative images relating to Turks in European stages, with the exception of some positive examples which can be seen in carnivals in the Renaissance period. According to Metin And, this was also due to the positive effects of the Turko-French agreements in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Particularly in Germany, in the carnival plays (*Fastnachtspiel*) of the Renaissance, one comes across with positive images of Turks. For example, in Hans Rosenplüt’s “*Des Turken Vasnacht-Spiel*”, the Turks were staged as the saviors of the oppressed Christians. Furthermore, in some operas, one can also observe that

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December, 1961 and “Eski Beyoğlu’nun Tiyatroları” (Theaters of Former Beyoğlu), *Devlet Tiyatrosu*, October, 1965 cited in And, Metin. 1970

<sup>64</sup> And, Metin. *Tiyatro, Bale ve Opera Sahnelerinde Kanuni Süleyman İmgesi (The Image of Kanuni Suleiman in Theater, Ballet and Opera Stages)*; (Fransızcadan çeviren, Şehsuvar Aktaş). Ankara: Dost Kitabevi, 1999.

the *Sultan* or the *Paşa* was characterized as the most benevolent, humanist individual. As an example, the opera-ballet, *Les Indes Galantes* which was staged in 1735, had a character, *Osman Paşa* who fell in love with his captive, Emilie. In the end, he had approved of her joining with her fiancé Valere and gave them a fleet as a wedding present.<sup>65</sup>

Among many opera pieces, we learn that the originator of modern ballet, Jean Georges Noverre had created three ballets about Turks in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>66</sup> Another choreographer, Franz Hilverding created *Le Turc Généreux* and Gasparo Angiolini created *Il Soliman Secondo* ballets during the same period. And, in this book, searched for the image of famous Kanuni Süleyman in European stages throughout centuries. In the fourth chapter of his book, he mentioned Angiolini's ballet about Kanuni Süleyman performed in 1773 and also in 1781, 1782 in different cities in Italy. As And added, we came across images of Kanuni in many theatre and opera pieces throughout France, Italy, Spain, Britain, in Mozart's operas, in Georges de Scudéry's, F. Cerlone's, Roger Boyle's and Madame Favart's plays.

In *The History of Theatre and Popular Entertainment in Turkey*, Metin And focuses mainly on traditional and modern theatre in Turkey, mentioning "musical theatre and ballet" only in the last chapter.<sup>67</sup> There, he briefly mentions the foundation of Turkish State Ballet School and the State Ballet Company in the Opera House in Ankara. We learn from And that Guistiniani's theatre was sponsored by various embassies in Istanbul. Together with the Turkish government, they imported drama and operatic companies from France in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In 1858, Italians made an attempt to find a school of drama and music in Naum's theatre. Even though they couldn't realize their project, Naum's theatre was the focus of Turkish society in those days. Other theatres were Gedikpaşa and Opera theatres in

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<sup>65</sup> And, Metin. 1999, pp.15-16

<sup>66</sup> And, Metin. 1999. These ballets are, "*Le fetes ou Les Jalousies de Serail*", "*Die Fünf Sultaninnen*" and "*La Fontaine de Jouvence*", p.21.

<sup>67</sup> And, Metin. *A history of Theatre and Popular Entertainment in Turkey*; Ankara: Forum yay., 1963-64

which opera and operetta performances were given. Armenians were strong art producers in the Ottoman Empire. Güllü Agop, an important producer, began to produce musicals and took a company on tour of Istanbul and other areas in the 1870s. Dikran Çuhacıyan, another producer was quite successful in opera and musical plays.

*Türkiye’de İtalyan Sahnesi* and *Tiyatro, Bale ve Opera Sahnelerinde Kanuni Süleyman İmgesi* both combined the knowledge of interest in Turkish images staged in European theaters between the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and the impact of the contribution of European artists to the Ottoman stages. While gathering information provided by these books, one can perhaps point out that although institutionalized ballet started much later in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, urban audiences of the Ottoman Empire were familiar with these cultural forms.

Perhaps among many books on dance, the most well-known book of Metin And is “*A Pictorial History of Turkish Dancing: From Folk Dancing to Whirling Dervishes, Belly Dancing to Ballet*”, where And drew parallels between Central Asian traditions and modern Anatolian performances, with a particular focus on Ottoman dance practices.<sup>68</sup> By analyzing Ottoman miniatures, he was able to depict the different styles of dancing in various contexts such as religious, social and institutional. Metin And drew a picture of not only the presentations of these dances but also established the theoretical links to necessary contexts. The last chapter of the book is devoted to classical ballet in Turkey, inciting the institutionalized ballet with Dame Ninette de Valois.

Published in 1976, Metin And provides his readers in this book with his first-hand witness account about the establishment of ballet in Turkey. Beginning with the first phase of the educational process at the conservatory and the establishment of the State Ballet Company in Ankara in 1961, he continues with the repertoire of each season. He gives

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<sup>68</sup> And, Metin. *A Pictorial History of Turkish Dancing: From Folk Dancing to Whirling Dervishes, Belly Dancing to Ballet*; Ankara: Dost Yayınları, 1976.



information on choreographers, composers, solo dancers, stage designers, themes and stories of ballets. As an actual witness of this era, And has a critical approach suggesting a distinction between folk dance and ballet practices.<sup>69</sup> According to And, a professional company should perform folk dances separate from the ballet company. For Metin And, it was necessary to seek new folk dance forms separate from the traditional and conventional classical ballet. It was his true will to enable folk dance to develop fully.<sup>70</sup> In fact he was the person to suggest to the Ministry of Tourism and Information that a professional folk dance company should be established which led to the establishment of State Folk Dance Ensemble.<sup>71</sup>

Metin And, a constant follower of the improvement of Turkish institutional dance, has written many articles, critical analyses also in newspapers, periodicals and program introductions in State Opera and Ballet houses' magazines. Metin And's collection of articles published in *Ulus* and *Akşam* newspapers, and the journals of *Forum* and *Kim* between 1955 and 1975 will be reviewed in detail in this thesis since these writings provide not only information about the art of dance and its institutionalization as practiced in Turkey but also on social, political and aesthetic debates in Turkey during this period.

Another consistent writer on ballet and modern dance in Turkey was Jak Deleon. Following the footsteps of Metin And, Deleon's writings follow the actual news of ballet and modern dance in Turkey. Although his writings lacked an analytical and critical approach, they are still valuable sources in providing its readers with the seasonal programs of State

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<sup>69</sup> And, Metin; 1976. p, 169.

<sup>70</sup> And, Metin; 1976. p.177

<sup>71</sup> For a comparative review of State Folkdance Ensembles, see Shay, Anthony. *Choreographing Politics: State Folk Dance Companies, Representation and Power*, Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2002. Shay focuses on the following national dance companies: the Moiseyev Dance Company (Russia), Ballet Folklorico de Mexico, LADO ensemble of folk dances and songs of Croatia, Egypt's various national folk dance companies, the Dora Stratou Greek Dance Theatre, and the Turkish State Folk Dance Ensemble.

Opera and Ballet Houses. His book *Beyoğlu'nda Beyaz Ruslar* was in fact a more research oriented work where he wrote about the Russian immigrants, particularly about the artists in Istanbul and their artistic activities starting from the 1920s onwards.<sup>72</sup> As Deleon informs us, many stage artists mainly from the opera and ballet disciplines met each other in Istanbul stages and some of them founded schools. Olga Mechkovskaya founded a ballet school and had 160 students enrolled in 1927. A famous ballerina called Karnetsky from Diaghilev's ballet company came and performed in the Petit Champs Gazino in Tepebaşı in 1924. Mesut Cemil, in *Radyo* magazine in 1949, wrote about his memories in the 1920s Istanbul and mentioned that it was the first time in his life that he watched dancers on the stage dancing with music. This was the play *Şehrazat* performed in Ferah Theatre.<sup>73</sup>

Amongst the ones that resided a long time and marked their influence on the history of the art of dance in Turkey were Lydia Krassa Arzumanova, Madame Nanasova and a Hungarian Olga Nuray Olcay. Jak Deleon interviewed Madame Arzumanova, and reported that she was born in 1897 and was educated in St. Petersburg ballet school. Arzumanova had come to Istanbul in 1921 and giving her first ballet performance with her students in Casa d'Italia on 8th November, 1931. She had started to give ballet classes in Tepebaşı Municipal Conservatory in 1941 and also founded a ballet school, "Bedii Raks", at Eminönü People's House the same year. She had contacted Dame Ninette de Valois when the latter came to found a state ballet school. Arzumanova transferred her star students like Tenasüp Onat, Hüsnü Sunal, Kaya İlhan, Engin Akaoglu, Güzide Noyan to the newly established conservatory. In fact these students were the first graduates of the state conservatory of ballet in Ankara. Olga Nuray Olcay joined Istanbul State Opera in 1940 as a ballet dancer and a pianist. She was appointed as a ballet teacher to the municipal conservatory in Tepebaşı in

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<sup>72</sup> Deleon, Jak. *Beyoğlu'nda Beyaz Ruslar (Belarussians in Beyoğlu)*, İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2003

<sup>73</sup> Deleon, Jak. 2003. pp.70-72

1954 and opened her own ballet school in 1960, working for 30 years to train ballet students in Istanbul.

Along with ballet artists, there were also other dancers performing in various music halls, garden bars and clubs in Istanbul, especially in the Pera area. Deleon mentioned some of them who had contributed greatly to the dance life of the city. For example, Krioukovsky trio who performed between 1924-1930 in various garden bars and night clubs in İstanbul, danced in both classical ballet and modern dance styles, along with Russian folk dances, and ballroom dances like the *fokstrot* and *çarliston*.<sup>74</sup>

Jak Deleon also has a series of dance-related articles and reviews published mainly in newspapers like *Milliyet*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Dünya* and journals like *Nokta*, *Gösteri*, and *Düşün*, which he collected in a book called *Düşten Düşünceye*.<sup>75</sup> There, he gave mostly descriptive information on the dance pieces like the cast, costumes and acts. One other important contribution of Deleon is a biographical account of important Turkish choreographers. In 1997, he published *200 Bale ve Dans: Künyeler, Konutlar, Tarihsel, Koreografik ve Eleştirel Notlar*<sup>76</sup> and in 1998, *100 Turkish Ballets: In Commemoration of the 50th year of the Turkish State Ballet*.<sup>77</sup>

Like Metin And, Deleon was one of the few writers who directly wrote on the history of ballet in Turkey and the Ottoman world. His book, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyete Türk Balesi* published in 1988, included a section on the ballet of Ottoman period mainly following the framework in Metin And's writings and adding information on the private ballet courses of

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<sup>74</sup> Deleon, Jak. 2003

<sup>75</sup> Deleon, Jak. *Düşten Düşünceye- Tiyatro, Opera, Bale Yazıları (From Dream towards Thought- Writings on Theater, Opera and Ballet)*, İstanbul: İmge yay.,1985

<sup>76</sup> Deleon, Jak. *200 Bale ve Dans: künyeler, konutlar, tarihsel, koreografik ve eleştirel notlar (200 Ballet and Dance:Identification tags, Residences, Historical, Choreographing and Critical Notes)* İstanbul: Yapı Kredi yay., 1997

<sup>77</sup> Deleon, Jak. *100 Turkish Ballets: In Commemoration of the 50<sup>th</sup> Year of the Turkish state Ballet*, İstanbul: Siemens Leasing, 1998

their time.<sup>78</sup> In *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Balesi*, providing an overview of institutionalized ballet in Turkey, Deleon focused more on the Republican period. His narrative started with Ninnette de Valois and the Yeşilköy ballet school, and then followed the Ankara State Conservatory and Ankara State Ballet Company's contributions. In this book, he emphasized Arzumanova's contribution to Istanbul Municipal Opera, and provided the necessary information on the foundation of Istanbul State Ballet Company, Istanbul State Ballet Conservatory, and İzmir State Ballet Company. He also mentioned one and only independent ballet company, "Çağdaş Bale".<sup>79</sup> He concluded by including performances in the context of Istanbul Arts Festivals, some information on Turkish choreographers and some important ballet synopsizes during the years ranging between 1948 and 1990.

In his other books, *Kısa Bale ve Modern Dans Tarihi* and *Ballet in Turkey*, Deleon more or less repeated and retold the foundation story of the Turkish ballet. He stated the roots of classical ballet in the world and combined it with information on certain modern ballet and dance companies around the world. He included some libretto synopsizes of various dance pieces.<sup>80</sup> He also added a chapter on Turkish ballet and combined basically the same knowledge in his other books. In *Ballet in Turkey*, he provided information on Turquoise Modern Dance Company.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Deleon, Jak. *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyete Türk Balesi (Turkish Ballet from Ottomans to the Republic)*, İstanbul: Dönemli yay., 1988

<sup>79</sup> Deleon, Jak. *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Balesi (Turkish Ballet in the Republican Era)*, İstanbul: İletişim Yay., 1992. 'Çağdaş Bale' Company is the only independent ballet company of Turkey. See for detailed information: Ertekin, Cem. *Çağdaş Bale Topluluğu -1972/1992-*, İstanbul, 1992.

<sup>80</sup> Deleon, Jak. *Kısa Bale ve Modern Dans Tarihi (Short History of Ballet and Modern Dance)*, İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar Basımevi, 1993

<sup>81</sup> Deleon, Jak. *Ballet in Turkey*, İstanbul: Redhouse Press, 1986. Turquoise Modern Dance Company was the first independent modern dance company in Turkey. Choreographer Aysun Aslan, graduated from the Ankara State Conservatory and worked in the state ballet companies, formed Turquoise Modern dance Company in 1989. Company performed various choreographers' works and due to financial problems, it stopped its artistic activities in 1993.

There are other scholars who also wrote and presented their research on dance; among them one can cite Arzu Öztürkmen, Şebnem Aksan, Efza Topcu Kıpçak, Necla Çakıgil, Geyvan McMillen, and Leman Yılmaz, each coming from different fields.

Arzu Öztürkmen, a historian and folklorist, is mostly interested in the history and the development of folk dance in Turkey and its relation to nationalism along with various issues related to Ottoman and Turkish culture and society. In her book, *Türkiye’de Folklor ve Milliyetçilik*, she provided a historical account of the process in which the collection and staging of folk dance in Turkey were experienced. Dating back to Ottoman intellectuals, the use of folk dance had always been a political practice. Looking at the different actors and structures related to the institutionalization of folklore in the Republican era, Öztürkmen particularly stressed the significant role of the People’s Houses and the university students in the emergence of a new movement system, referred to as “*folklor oynama*” in Turkey.<sup>82</sup>

Öztürkmen also wrote several articles on dance and movement related figures of the late Ottoman-early Republican era, including Selim Sırrı Tarcan and his daughters Selma and Azade Selim Sırrı, and Mehmet Fetgeri Şuenu. In her article “Modern Dance *Alla Turca*: Transforming Ottoman Dance in Early Republican Era”, one can follow the shift from Ottoman dance traditions to a more Western approach to dance.<sup>83</sup> It is very interesting to learn that both Selim Sırrı and Selma Selim were in touch with the developments in the artistic field of modern dance, newly establishing itself in Isadora Duncan’s work. Selma Selim Sırrı made choreographies in a similar manner, while Selim Sırrı Tarcan was more interested to establish a national dance form rooted in the folk dances of Turkey, particularly in the *zeybek* tradition.

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<sup>82</sup> Öztürkmen, Arzu. 1998

<sup>83</sup> Öztürkmen, Arzu. Summer 2003, 35/1

In another article called “Dansta Millilik ve Yerellik Kavramları Üzerine Düşünceler” published in *Sanat Dünyamız*, Öztürkmen questions the concept of “national dance”, a complicated issue in approaching dance in Turkey.<sup>84</sup> Looking at four different genres of dance, namely, folk, ballet, oriental and modern to investigate about the various dimensions of “the national” in the dance field, she opposes the ecclectical merger of the “folk”, “local”, and “national” with new dance choreographies.

Şebnem Aksan, the founder of modern dance department at Mimar Sinan University, and also a ballet teacher, published her writings in several journals and newspapers.<sup>85</sup> In her paper “Atatürk Türkiyesi’nde Bale” presented in a symposium on “Ataturk and Arts”, Aksan draws attention to early attempts to open a conservatory education in dance and then the establishment of State Opera and Ballet Houses.<sup>86</sup> The fact that the following years could not keep up the initial pace, Aksan wrote the Turkish ballet was not able to develop an efficient character to earn world’s respect. Aksan also argued that there were not any established Turkish choreographers or a dance piece from Turkey that had yet been included in foreign companies’ repertoire. She stressed the importance of education and the creative vision that needed to be established in the conservatoires.

In her paper called “Theatrical Dance in the Republic of Turkey” presented in the Society of Dance History Scholars 1998 Conference, Aksan provided a detailed history on the development of theatrical dance in Turkey from 1927 until the present time.<sup>87</sup> Drawing on oral histories, archival records and personal experience as a dancer, choreographer and

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<sup>84</sup> Öztürkmen, Arzu. “Dansta ‘Millilik’ ve ‘Yerellik’ Kavramları Üzerine Düşünceler” (Thoughts on the Concepts of ‘National’ and ‘Local’ in Dance), *Sanat Dünyamız*, sayı:85, Güz, 2002

<sup>85</sup> Such as *Ballet Tanz Actuell International*, *State Opera and Ballet magazines*, *Istanbul Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi magazines*, *Gösteri*, *Milliyet Sanat*, *Sanat Dünyamız* and *Cumhuriyet*, *Radikal*, *Yeni Yüzyıl*

<sup>86</sup> Aksan, Şebnem. “Atatürk Türkiyesi’nde Bale” (Ballet in Atatürk’s Turkey), *Ist. Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi-* yayın no: 86; 11/26-28/ 1981

<sup>87</sup> Aksan, Şebnem. “Theatrical Dance in the Republic of Turkey”, *Society of Dance History Scholars 1998 Conference Proceedings*, Oregon: University of Oregon, June/18-21/ 1998.

educator, she examined the choreographing initiatives of Turkish choreographers, focusing on their motives and influences. She again questioned the weakness of Turkish theatrical dance expression by situating it in the context of civil service system and education. In Aksan's analysis, the specific relationship with the state authority subsidizing the ballet education and the ballet companies brought problematic issues related with power, leadership and responsibility. Furthermore, the concept of national identity had its own complicated baggage, becoming particularly more confusing with respect to the aims of creating a national ballet. In terms of the educational structure, the conditions were more problematic. The lack of flexibility and the lack of a serious education in second language prevented the conservatory education to be more attractive for academically talented students. Aksan also mentioned the process of separation of highly experienced British staff from the posts of Turkish ballet companies and conservatoires. She stressed the consequences related to the absence of a strong artistic direction in the field of ballet. In another article in *Milliyet Sanat*, she asserted that the development of Turkish artists had not been really the first priority of the Turkish Opera and Ballet Houses; instead the emphasis was given to foreign choreographers and educators.<sup>88</sup> In her article called "Bir Eserin Özgünlüğü, Yaratıcı Gücün Özgürlüğüne Bağlıdır", Aksan also emphasized the disability of Istanbul State Ballet Company to adapt and work with foreign choreographers. She stated the major problems of Turkish ballet, and stressed the importance of acknowledging the creative power whether it is from abroad or inside the country.<sup>89</sup> As a teacher/trainer herself, we understand that in her articles, the critical thinking and research on dance education were given priority.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Aksan, Şebnem. "Balemizin Yaratıcı Güce Gerekisini Var" (Our Ballet is in Need of Creative Power), *Milliyet Sanat*, 03/01/1989

<sup>89</sup> Aksan, Şebnem. "Bir Eserin Özgünlüğü, Yaratıcı Gücün Özgürlüğüne Bağlıdır" (Originality of a Work of Art is Dependent on the freedom of Creative Power), *Milliyet Sanat*, 03/01/1991

<sup>90</sup> In the forthcoming book called *Yirminci Yüzyılda Dans Sanatı: Kuram ve Pratik*, Şebnem Aksan wrote an introduction in which she also summarized the situation in dance education in Turkey, particularly after the

Beside these few studies of Turkish institutional dance and ballet, there are some M.A theses which dealt with the subject from different angles. Efza Topçu Kıpçak, a dancer and a teacher of ballet, in her M.A thesis, *Art of Ballet in Turkey*, mainly focused on the institutions of ballet (İzmir, Mersin and Antalya State Ballet Companies) and their repertoires until 2001.<sup>91</sup> She also provided us with the biographies of Turkish dancers, teachers, choreographers along with foreign choreographers and teachers who visited Turkey since the opening of state ballet schools.

Leman Yılmaz, who is involved with various styles of dance both in practice and in theory, in her M.A thesis, *Dance History in Turkey During the Modernization Process of the Republican Period -1929/1939*, focused on the modernization process between 1929 and 1939 in Turkey and combined the relevant ideology and social life with different dance styles performed during those days.<sup>92</sup> The dances were mainly categorized as stage, social and traditional dances. Stage dances included canto, classical ballet and modern dance practices while social dances included tango and foxtrot. Among several book sources, she mainly used journals like *Yedigün* and *Kim* in order to collect information on these dance activities.<sup>93</sup>

Geyvan McMillen, who is one of the pioneers of modern dance in Turkey, established a Modern Dance Program at Yıldız Technical University. McMillen's M.A thesis, given in the field of Museum Studies, also provided some insight on Turkish ballet and modern dance

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1980s. Prepared for publication by Aksan, Şebnem; Ertem, Gurur. *Yirminci Yüzyılda Dans Sanatı: Kuram ve Pratik*, İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yay., 2007

<sup>91</sup> Topçu, Efza Kıpçak. "*Türkiye'de Bale Sanatı*" (The Art of Ballet in Turkey). M.A thesis, submitted to Ballet Department, Hacettepe University, 2001

<sup>92</sup> Yılmaz, Leman. *Dance History in Turkey During the Modernization Process of the Republican Period (1929-1939)*, M.A thesis, submitted to the Institute for Atatürk's Principles and History of Turkish Renovation, Boğaziçi University, 1994

<sup>93</sup> Leman Yılmaz wrote her PhD thesis titled as "*Dans'ta ve Tiyatro'da Hareket Olgusu*" (The Concept of Movement in Dance and Theater), submitted to the Dramaturgy and Theater Criticism Department, İstanbul University, 2001



combined with the history of international dance scene.<sup>94</sup> She mentioned the sociological significance of the art of dance and provided a brief history on the development of Western theatrical dance. McMillen added some information on State Ballet Companies of Turkey and modern dance practices experienced in the Turkish scene. Her work mainly focused on the project of founding a modern art museum and the proposal of an establishment of a Turkish dance section in it.

Necla Çakıgil's book, *Ankara'da Dans* looked at the relatively recent period of 1984-1994.<sup>95</sup> In these ten years, she examined the classical ballet and modern dance repertoire of the Ankara State Ballet Company. Çakıgil narrated also the story of Beatrice Fenmen (Appleyard), who was one of the first teachers of the Ankara Ballet Conservatory, having established her own private ballet school in Ankara, and educated hundreds of ballet students.

As one of the written sources, one can also depend upon the various art congresses and their publications that were held in Turkey. Concerning one of them, the researcher found a published documentation of papers and discussions on Turkish state sponsored dance institutions. The congress was held in İzmir in 2003.<sup>96</sup> It is a valuable source since not only theoretical papers were published but also certain important discussions were documented. It provides an understanding perhaps more on the contemporary situation of Turkish ballet institutions but through the retrospective analysis, one can also find relevant information on past issues as well.

As a short introduction, a survey on dance scholarship in Turkey can be viewed as above. It can be stated that the relevant ideological and political agenda of the Turkish state and the cultural life of the society with respect to institutional dance is a disregarded subject.

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<sup>94</sup> McMillen, Geyvan. Türkiye'de Kurulacak bir Modern Sanat Müzesi İçin Cumhuriyet Sonrası Türk Dans Sanatı Bölümü Önerisi (A Proposal of Post-Republican Turkish Dance Department for a Modern Art Museum to be Established in Turkey), *M.A Thesis*, submitted to Museum Studies, Yıldız Technical University, 2002

<sup>95</sup> Çakıgil, Necla. *Ankara'da Dans (Dance in Ankara)*, Ankara: T.C Kültür Bakanlığı Yay., 1997

<sup>96</sup> *I. Uluslararası İzmir –Müzik ve Sahne Sanatları Kongresi-* (I.st International İzmir Music and Stage Arts Congress), İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı Kültür Yay., 2003

Except the scholarly texts of Metin And and Arzu Öztürkmen, and to some extent Şebnem Aksan's papers and articles, Turkish dance scholarship is still a vast area to be explored. Definitely, the connection of the art of dance to the relevant cultural and political picture is a significant part of any analytical work. However, the critical approach on the aesthetic issues also needs to be dealt with in detail. One should emphasize, that the articles of Metin And which appeared in daily media had a significant contribution in both aspects of Turkish ballet as they are explored extensively in coming chapters of this thesis. One may also question his direct involvement with the internal affairs of ballet institutions in Turkey and his attacks on several individuals related to this field. Yet, one should also remember during the time of the foundation of ballet institutions in Turkey, there was no established Turkish ballet critic or expert other than Metin And whose interest in ballet was quite intense. Furthermore, the founder of Turkish ballet, Dame Ninette de Valois needed someone who could communicate in English and write on ballet in local media to publicize the newly introduced art form. This person was Metin And for her. His articles reflected strong research and first hand knowledge in matters related to Turkish ballet, and they also possessed sharp criticisms for certain people. Therefore, And's direct involvement with ballet institutions in Turkey which at certain times might be seen as a strong interference in the direction of these institutions. This should be viewed in terms of the realities of its time.

## CHAPTER III

### A HISTORICAL NARRATIVE OF STATE SPONSORED BALLET IN TURKEY

In Turkey, theater and opera were given an early chance to get institutionalized since 1936, but Western dance, particularly classical ballet could not find a place for a long period of time. Atatürk clearly defined the musical policy of the state after the foundation of the Republic. In his view, it was necessary to establish a new type of music by having the basis in Turkish folk music and applying the polyphonic techniques and methods of Western music.

It is necessary to collect the songs and oral narrations which inherited the most delicate sensations of national feelings and to apply the last updated methods of musical theory to them. Only in this way, the national Turkish music can make progress and take its place among the universal world of music<sup>97</sup>

His priority was given to the field of music, so the developments took an earlier start when compared to the field of ballet. Some young Turkish musicians were sent to Europe to come back after the 1930s, and to begin teaching in the new institutions of music.<sup>98</sup> One of

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<sup>97</sup> Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, 11/01/1934, from the speech he gave at the opening of Turkish National Assembly's fourth semester, fourth year cited in Aktaş, Melike. "Türkiye'de İlk Devlet Opera ve Balesi'nin kuruluşu" (The Establishment of the First State Opera and Ballet Institution in Turkey), *30. Yılında İstanbul Devlet Opera ve Balesi (1960-1990) Kitapçığı* (State Opera and Ballet Booklet in its 30th year 1960-1990), p.17. Also cited in *Bir Yurttaş Yaratmak 1923-1950 – Muasır Medeniyet için Seferberlik Bilgileri-* (To Create a Citizen 1923-1950-Campaign Facts for a Developed Civilization), YKY, 1998; p.85 "Ulusal; ince duyguları, düşünceleri anlatan; yüksek deyişleri, söyleşileri toplamak, onları, bir gün önce, genel son musiki kurallarına göre işlemek gerekir. Ancak; bu düzeyde, Türk ulusal musikisi yükselebilir, evrensel musikide yerini alabilir".

<sup>98</sup> Among the first musicians who were sent to Europe were Ekrem Zeki (Ün) and Ulvi Cemal (Erkin) to Paris in 1924; Necil Kazım (Akses) to Vienna in 1926; Hasan Ferit (Alnar) to Vienne and Cevat Memduh (Altar) to

these institutions was *Musiki Muallim Mektebi* in Ankara and the other was *Dar-ül Elhan* in Istanbul. In the middle of the 1930s, particular attention was given to the production of national operas. In fact, the first of these, composed by Ahmet Adnan Saygun, was called *Özsoy*. *Özsoy* opera was first performed on the 19th of June, 1934 in the presence of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his guest Iranian Shah Rıza Pehlevi. As Emre Yalçın informs us, *Özsoy* opera was commissioned by Atatürk himself.<sup>99</sup> It was followed by *Bay Önder* composed by Necil Kazım and Münir Hayri and *Taşbebek* composed by Ahmet Adnan and Münir Hayri, the same year. In 1935, *Ülkü Yolu*, composed by Ulvi Cemal, was staged.<sup>100</sup>

These first national operas created the demand for the establishment of a conservatory, leading to the opening of Fine Arts Department under the Ministry of Education in 1936. Two well-known Germans, composer Paul Hindemith (1895-1963) and theater director Carl Ebert (1887-1980) were invited to be the directors of music and theatre departments in the newly established Ankara conservatory. They accepted and became the directors of the Ankara State Conservatory of Music and Drama. Hindemith lived abroad but visited the school from time to time while Ebert actually stayed in Ankara, escaping from the Nazi regime in Germany. He continued to be the director of the drama department in the conservatory for nine years.

An important event took place related to the administrative side of the institution. A law was put into practice on the 16th of May, 1940. The conservatory which was founded inside the *Musiki Muallim Mektebi* was separated to become an entity of its own. This newly

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Leipzig in 1927; Ahmet Adnan (Saygun) to Paris and Halil Bedi (Yönetken) to Prag in 1928. Nurullah Şevket (Taşkiran) and Bayan Afife were also sent to Europe for opera education. *Bir Yurttaş Yaratmak-*, 1998, p. 85

<sup>99</sup> For a more detailed discussion, see Yalçın, Emre. “Cumhuriyet Döneminin ilk Lirik Sahne Operası: Özsoy Operası” (The First Lyrical Stage Opera of the Republican Era: Opera Özsoy), *Hürriyet*, 12/08/2000

<sup>100</sup> *Bir Yurttaş Yaratmak 1923-1950 –Muasır Medeniyet için Seferberlik Bilgileri- (To Create a Citizen 1923-1950- Campaign Facts for a Developed Civilization)*, 1998, p.87

established “State Conservatory” consisted of music, opera, ballet and theatre departments.<sup>101</sup> Although music, opera and theater were active since the beginning, the ballet department had not been opened until 1948. Several attempts were made to found a ballet department and the thought of contacting the Russian authorities was considered, without success. Metin And informs us that investigations had been made to send ballet students to Russia in 1935, it had again been reconsidered in 1936 but had never been achieved.<sup>102</sup>

Although the art of ballet existed strongly in Russian performing arts traditions for hundreds of years, an invitation from Russian school of ballet did not come. The political framework of this decision can be seen when one refers to the works of political scientists who worked on World War II politics. Hakan Yılmaz, in one of his articles, focused on the democratization period of 1945 and 1950 in Turkey. Because of its collaborative policies towards Nazi Germany, Turkey’s international stand was at a low level after World War II. This was a time when the Soviets suggested the renewal of the ‘special friendship’ contract of the interwar years. Kemalist ruling elite knew that the renewal of that sort of friendship would eventually result in the deposition from power by Soviet-backed groups and turn Turkey into a Soviet dependency. In Hakan Yılmaz’s words: “The prevention of the re-establishment of the ‘special friendship’ with the USSR thus became for the Kemalist ruling bloc a question of its own political survival.”<sup>103</sup> Given this political context, the government of RPP (CHP) had obvious reservations to establish relations with Russian authorities for the founding of ballet institutions in Turkey.

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<sup>101</sup> Aktaş, Melike. *30. Yılında İstanbul Devlet Opera ve Balesi (1960-1990) Kitapçığı* (State Opera and Ballet Booklet in its 30th year (1960-1990), p.18

<sup>102</sup> And, Metin; in Beumont, Cyril B.; 1964

<sup>103</sup> Yılmaz, Hakan. “Democratization from above in response to the international context: Turkey, 1945-1950” *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no.17, fall, 1997; p.6

## The Founding of the State Conservatory and the Establishment of the First State Ballet Company

The thought of establishing a state ballet school and a company was part of the early Republican approach, strongly connected to the mission of making of a national culture in modern Turkey. Therefore, we know that the new directors of opera and theater conservatory, Paul Hindemith and Carl Ebert seriously considered opening a ballet section in the conservatory. They even designed the educational program which consisted of three periods continuing ten years in total. This project was not realized.<sup>104</sup> During the same era, between 1932–1951, there was a state-controlled cultural institution such as the People’s Houses (*Halk Evleri*). Yet, towards the end of the 1940s, People’s Houses came to an end. Through the controversies in domestic politics after the transition to multi-party system, the People’s Houses linked to the RPP (CHP) were disbanded by the DP government in 1950. However, Öztürkmen argued that ‘their impact continued in the state schools and other state-related agencies’.<sup>105</sup> In fact, one can claim that two of these state-related agencies where the impact of People’s Houses was strongly felt were the state-led institutions of ballet. The state conservatory of ballet education, first introduced in 1948, was connected to the mission of the development of national artistic genres, just like the People’s Houses, this time in the context of the Western artistic disciplines.

Along with instituting Western forms of artistic disciplines, Republican ideology had keen desires connected to the establishment of an urban social life. Definitely the participation of women in this new, Republican public life had the outmost importance. Selim Sırrı Tarcan, a well-known figure in sport education in the last years of the Ottoman

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<sup>104</sup> And, Metin. “Türkiye’de balenin Kısa bir Tarihi” (A Short History of Ballet in Turkey) in Beumont, Cyril B, translated by Özcan Başkan, *Kısa Bale Tarihi (Short History of Ballet)*, İstanbul: Elif Yay.,1964

<sup>105</sup> Öztürkmen, Arzu. 1994, p.175

Empire and a dedicated dance practitioner and teacher in early Republican times, had created an urban social dance called *Tarcan Zeybeği*.<sup>106</sup> In fact, it was based on the traditional dance genre *Zeybek* of the Aegean coast of Turkey. Selim Sırrı Tarcan indicated, in one of his articles, that during his studies on gymnastics in Sweden he found out that Swedish society attached a great value to their national music and dance genres. They even re-arranged some of dances and included them in their dance tradition. Immensely affected by this approach, on his return, he traveled in Anatolia analyzing certain regional dances and selected *Zeybek*. In re-arranging its movements and gestures, he formed a dance genre performed by men and women together.<sup>107</sup> He hoped that it would become a national dance but because of the lack of social settings where dancing would be legitimately performed, prevented *Tarcan Zeybegi* from being performed nationwide. As stated in Öztürkmen's analysis: "in the early Republican context, where the 'salon culture' was limited to a few urban settings, it was difficult for any social dance tradition to get established."<sup>108</sup> So the hopes of inventing a widely performable social dance genre had to be postponed, and in fact it had never been realized in the way of Selim Sırrı Tarcan had envisaged it.

In her article "Modern Dance Alla Turca", Arzu Öztürkmen gives an account of early interest in modern form of dance in Turkey during the 1920s and mentions individual attempts in the creation of a Western type of dance performance genre. As Öztürkmen informs us, the daughters of Selim Sırrı Tarcan, Selma and Azade Selim Sırrı were interested in modern dance as practiced in the Western world. Their father had seen the performances of Isadora Duncan, one of the initiators of modern dance in the world and was strongly affected by her liberal and free moving style, very different than ballet. Selma and Azade

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<sup>106</sup> Öztürkmen, Arzu. "Turkey", *EWIC Arts: Folk Dancers and Folk Singers*, Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, 2007

<sup>107</sup> Tarcan, Selim Sırrı. "Halk Raksları ve Zeybek Oyunu" (Folk Dances and The Zeybek), *Muhit*, no:8, June, 1929

<sup>108</sup> Öztürkmen, Arzu. Summer 2003, 35/1; p. 50

Selim Sırrı were in charge of choreographing the dance sections of the first Turkish opera, *Özsoy*, performed in 1934. Yet, particularly Selma Selim Sırrı's interest lay in modern choreography. Selma Selim Sırrı and her sister Azade choreographed two dance pieces of this kind of dance genre inspired by European history and literature. Actually, we understand that their imagination was far ahead of their social settings, more contemporaneous than their associates. Unfortunately, their interest in dance did not take a systematic form and never transformed into an institutionalized structure.<sup>109</sup> We only find out from Öztürkmen's article that Azade Selim Sırrı who has specialized in Swedish Gymnastics continued to train young dancers in Istanbul until the early 1980s and then settled in Austria in the late part of her life.

Apart from Selim Sırrı family's practices in the field of dance and physical training, People's Houses festivals, celebrated annually were also very significant in publicizing the knowledge of local traditions, particularly in the field of dance during that time. We know that the students of Madame Lydia Krassa Arzumanova's ballet studio, traveled to Ankara and performed in the Ankara People's House for one of these festivals at the end of the 1930s.<sup>110</sup>

In Istanbul, the entertainment and performing arts culture of minorities constituted a noteworthy environment for social dances throughout the 19th century and onwards. They also served a considerable mission in audience-building including the muslim population of the city. Social clubs, particularly Galata and Pera districts, and the cultural centers of the embassies were spaces of social gatherings, where performances were displayed by both local artists and foreign traveling groups. Among them, Societa Operaia (Italian), Union Française (French), and Teutonia (German) were the most active institutions in organizing concerts,

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<sup>109</sup> See also Öztürkmen, Arzu. "Türk Usulü Modern Dans- Cumhuriyetin ilk Yıllarında Osmanlı Dansının Dönüşümü" (Turkish Style Modern Dance – The Transformation of Modern Dance in the Early Years of the Republic) in the forthcoming book of Aksan, Şebnem; Ertem, Gurur. 2007

<sup>110</sup> Interview with Yıldız Alpar. 12/11/2006, İstanbul



theater and dance performances, conferences and balls.<sup>111</sup> The balls organized for charity were also very popular among the minority.<sup>112</sup> One of the writers focusing on the cultural activities in Beyoğlu area mentioned a social club “Garden Bar” which was run by a Jewish citizen, Jacques Natanson in 1911. It was situated next to Pera Palace Hotel. It had both closed and open sections and included a large dance platform along with an orchestra space. In the beginning, the customers consisted of only minorities, Levantines and foreigners, yet after the World War I, the Turkish population also started to come. At first, the performers were mostly European ‘revue’ artists, and then the Russian ballet artists became regular visitors and performed ballet pieces in this club.<sup>113</sup> It is quite interesting to find out that although the establishment of systematized Western dance education was late, when compared to other artistic fields such as music and theater, there was already an established social and cultural environment for dance in the city of Istanbul. Nevertheless, it should be added that the scope of this environment could not be expanded to a larger society.

When we come the 1950s, in various journals of the time, such as *Resimli Tarih Mecmuası* and *Resimli Hayat*, we find many articles with respect to physical culture and dance. It is certain that the cultural atmosphere was much more tolerant towards the activities once perceived as low class and immoral related to the display of the naked body, and particularly that of a woman’s. There were many articles focusing on the night life of big

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<sup>111</sup> Akın, Nur. 19. *Yüzyılın İkinci yarısında Galata ve Pera (Galat and Pera in the Second Half of the 19th Century)*, İstanbul: Literatür Yay., 1998

<sup>112</sup> Duhani, Said. N. *Beyoğlu'nun Adı Pera İken (When Beyoğlu was called as Pera)*, İstanbul: Çelik Gülersoy Vakfı İstanbul Kültür Yay., 1990

<sup>113</sup> Üsdiken, Behzat. *Pera'dan Beyoğlu'na 1840-1955 (From Pera to Beyoğlu 1840-1955)*. İstanbul: Akbank Kültür ve Sanat Yay., 1999

cities with photos of women performers half naked, on the physical training of body and on beauty.<sup>114</sup>

*Destined Paths of the First Ballet Students: From Yeşilköy School of Ballet to the Ankara State Conservatory of Ballet*

Almost ten years after the establishment of the first Musical conservatory, the Turkish government conducted some research in order to establish a school of ballet. This school would become a part of the state conservatory founded in 1936. To explore the details of how Dame Ninette de Valois came to Turkey, one can refer to the autobiographical work *The Lives and Times of Molly Lake and Travis Kemp* written by Naomi Benari. According to Benari's accounts, the priest of British Embassy had a role in the invitation of Dame Ninette de Valois. The priest of the parish in which the Old Vic Theatre was situated in London, Father Hutchinson, who was a ballet lover, and a constant member of the audience of Dame Ninette de Valois's company in London, took the post in Turkey of working at the British Embassy. When he was sent to Turkey as the priest of the British Embassy in Istanbul, during a cocktail party he had met with the Minister of Education who was also responsible for theatre, and suggested to start a national ballet company.<sup>115</sup> Although the book does not cite the name of the Minister of Education, the dates refer to Hasan Ali Yücel who acted as the Minister of Education between 1938-1946. Metin And gives a different account in one of his articles. And states that the person whom the priest contacted was Muhsin Ertuğrul:

Dame Ninette de Valois first came to Turkey in 1947, with an invitation from our government. I had personally listened from Muhsin Ertuğrul, that there was a prelude to this invitation. Muhsin Ertuğrul believed that the time had come to start ballet training in Turkey. He had met the reverend of

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<sup>114</sup> "Yüz Güzelliği Ayaktan Başlar" (The Beauty of Face Starts from the Feet), *Resimli Hayat*, no:22, Şubat, 1954. "Gece Yarısından Sonra Çehresi Değişen Şehir" (The City that Changes its Face After Midnight), *Resimli Hayat*, no:36, April, 1955. Appendix no: 2-3

<sup>115</sup> Benari, Naomi. *The Lives and Times of Molly Lake and Travis Kemp*, London: Avon Litho Ltd., 1990

a church near Old Vics Theatre in London, who knew Dame Ninette well, and through him had asked her if she would come to start a national ballet in Turkey. When a positive answer came from Dame Ninette, our government officially invited her.<sup>116</sup>

Father Hutchinson who was familiar with the ballet scene in England proposed the Minister that Ninette de Valois would establish the Turkish ballet school. The Minister agreed and Dame Ninette de Valois was invited. During the year of 1947, Dame Ninette was accompanied by Halil Vedat, the director of the Fine Arts Administration, Dr. Phillips, the British Council representative to Turkey, and Mübeccel Argun, the British Council's Turkish advisor.<sup>117</sup>

Ninette de Valois became the principal director of the school which was officially opened by the mayor of Istanbul, in January 1948 in Yeşilköy (fig.1). In some recent web pages, it has been stated that the official approval could not be obtained from the Ministry of Education for those two years in Istanbul.<sup>118</sup> Eventhough it could not be proven by reliable sources, the fact that the school was transferred to Ankara after two years and became a part of Ankara State Conservatory in 1950, somewhat confirmed the information on those first two years. The first teachers in Yeşilköy School were Joy Newton and Audrey Knight. Both were close associates of Dame Ninette de Valois, Newton was from the Sadler's Wells Ballet and Knight was from the Royal Academy of Dancing (fig.1a). For the selection of students, Dame Ninette de Valois, Joy Newton and Audrey Knight selected 32 students (fig.2).

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<sup>116</sup> And, Metin. "Dame Ninette de Valois", *Ulus* newspaper, 01/25/1967- *Dame Ninette de Valois Türkiye'ye ilk kez 1947 yılında hükümetimizin çağrısı üzerine gelmişti. Bu çağrının öncesi de olduğunu Muhsin Ertuğrul'un kendisinden dinlemiştim. Muhsin Ertuğrul Türkiye'de bale çalışmalarına artık başlamanın sırası geldiğine inanmıştı. Londra'da Old Vic tiyatrosunun yakınındaki bir kilisenin papazıyla tanışmış, bu papaz Dame Ninette de Valois'yi iyi tanırmiş, onun aracılığıyla Türkiye'de ulusal baleyi başlatmak için gelip gelemeyeceğini sormuş, Dame Ninette de Valois'dan olumlu cevap alınca hükümetimiz kendisini resmi olarak çağırılmıştır.*

<sup>117</sup> Deleon, Jak. 1986. In Jak Deleon's book, we learn that Mübeccel Argun was also the translator of Dame Ninette de Valois; Joy Newton had written an article called *First Ballet Steps* on *Dancing Times*, London, Feb., 1948. In this article, she mentions that Mübeccel Argun translated Dame's lectures in Turkish schools given to Turkish teachers and parents, explaining them what it would mean if they sent their children to the National Ballet School.

<sup>118</sup> For example in the web page of baledans.net (www.baledans.net) 08/20/2007, this information was cited.

The conservatory was both a boarding and a daily school. Beside ballet courses which had been designed based on Saddler's Wells' program, there were also Dalcroze Eurhythmics courses in the curriculum. For the first twenty five years, the school had British teachers.<sup>119</sup> When the former ballet teacher Joy Newton had left, Beatrice Appleyard (Fenmen) had been appointed. She was one of the former dancers of Saddler's Wells, later to be married to one of the most prominent Turkish pianists Mithat Fenmen.

After Beatrice Appleyard, Dame Ninette de Valois sent two other teachers, Travis Kemp and Molly Lake. Kemp was one of the former Saddler's Wells dancers and his partner Molly Lake was one of the dancers of Pavlova Ballet Company.<sup>120</sup> Lake and De Valois had grown up together but their paths diverged when Lake moved from the academy. During the 1950s, the Royal Academy of Dancing curriculum was similar to that in the classes De Valois had instigated at the Sadler's Wells School, so the training in Turkey was just right for performing the Sadler's Wells repertoire.<sup>121</sup> When they first arrived, they were surprised to find the school with only fifteen small children. Lake and Kemp observed that in Turkey, for most people ballet dancing meant belly dancing, so they wanted to start creating performances to show what actually ballet was, and not only in Ankara but throughout Turkey. As cited in Benari's book, Molly Lake and Travis Kemp asserted: "We had to start at once to show the Turkish public what ballet actually was when produced in theatre spaces as big productions".<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> These were Joy Newton, Audrey Knight, Beatrice Appleyard, Lorna Munsford, Robert Lunnon, Angela Bailey, Travis Kemp and Molly Lake

<sup>120</sup> In fact we learn from Benari, after Joy Newton left, instead of Beatrice Appleyard (Fenmen), Dame Ninette de Valois at first had invited Molly Lake and Travis Kemp to go and teach in her place but Continental Ballet which they were working at the time was doing so well, they refused.

<sup>121</sup> "35 Degrees East", *The Royal Opera House's ROH2 Programme booklet*, Project Manager: Rebecca Hanson, Creative Director: Deborah Bull, 25-28 May, 2006

<sup>122</sup> Lake, Molly&Kemp, Travis cited in Benari, Naomi. 1990; p.162

In fact, they actualized their wish of performing ballet pieces frequently during their teaching at the conservatory.<sup>123</sup> Molly Lake and Travis Kemp continued to work as teachers and directed the Ankara State Conservatory of Ballet for twenty years (fig.3).

For now, it is necessary to turn into the first years of the establishment of conservatory education and try to comprehend the process of enrollment for ballet education. The decision to send the children for a type of education that had no previous precedent in Turkey was a risky and brave decision for many families.

#### *From Yeşilköy School of Ballet to the Ankara State Conservatory of Ballet*

Turkish society had no knowledge about the art of ballet at the end of the 1940s. There had been some foreign dance groups which traveled and performed in Istanbul mainly during the last century of the Ottoman Empire. After the Russian revolution, there had been some Russian artists like Lydia Krassa Arzumanova who migrated to Turkey and established ballet courses. These teachers began training children, however, these were small attempts in the context of a large society. The introduction of a new art form as an educational model inside the Turkish Republic was a big social project.

Exploring the process of enrolling students for the conservatory is extremely important in order to understand the mentality of both the founders and the civil society towards the introduction of new forms and styles of living. How a student entered the conservatory of ballet is a relevant question to propose. Since there was not any knowledge of ballet in general, nor a state ballet school in particular, families did not send their children for ballet education.

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<sup>123</sup> This will be dealt in detail further in the chapter, since their method of directing the conservatory has been criticised widely by Metin And who was writing extensively on Turkish ballet's administrative problems as well as artistic aspects during that time.

According to the interviews collected from the first generation of dance students in Turkey, one perceives that very few of them had entered the conservatory as a family choice. Dame Ninette de Valois' British assistants visited schools and selected students. Therefore, many of the first ballet students were chosen by these teachers. Some of the students joined the school merely by coincidence. They came to the primary school to register for their standard education where the ballet teachers chose them from among the new registerers. After the selection, they contacted the students' families and asked for their permission to enroll their children in the conservatory.

These teachers who had been sent by Dame Ninette de Valois recruited the first ballet students of Turkish Republic.<sup>124</sup> Yıldız Alpar witnessed the time when Dame Ninette de Valois first came to Istanbul to establish the school. Madame Arzumanova had met her and handed over some of her own students like Tenasüp Onat, Hüsnu Sunal, and Kaya İlhan.<sup>125</sup>

After two years of education in Istanbul, the ballet school moved to Ankara along with some of the students and became a boarding school. In Ankara also, the teachers continued to visit schools to select new children with suitable bodies for ballet. Suna Uğur recalled that Beatrice Appleyard (Fenmen) with other teachers had come to her Bahçelievler primary school and selected her with other students. At first, this group attended the conservatory as part-time students.<sup>126</sup>

After a certain time period, teachers decided to ask some of these students to enroll as full time students. This attitude indicates that in the beginning, there was a trial period for the students not to be cut-off directly from their normal education. After the trial period, teachers

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<sup>124</sup> Amongst them were Hüsnu Sunal, Güloya Gürelli Aruoba, Meral Öge, Güzide Kalın Noyan, Ayla Ünal. Some older ones, although they have never been official students of the school due to their age, the students of Lydia Krassa Arzumanova; Tenasüp Onat and Kaya İlhan were included in the group and have been educated together with them.

<sup>125</sup> Interview with Yıldız Alpar. 12/11/2006, İstanbul

<sup>126</sup> Interview with Suna Uğur. 01/11/2007, İstanbul

made the final decisions and then the consent of the families followed. Even though the school had established the entrance exam, there were not enough applicants. The entrance exams were held both in Istanbul and in Ankara. There is an interesting incident that Meriç Sümen recalled about the exams. She had applied to take the entrance exam in Ankara. While she waited for her name to be called out, Kaya İlhan announced that the students of Madame Marga could not take the exam. We don't have detailed information on Madame Marga, but through the memories of Şebnem Aksan and Meriç Sümen Kanan, we know that she was another emigrant from the Eastern communist bloc countries and she had established a private dance school in Kızılay, Ankara at the end of 1940s.

Madame Marga had a different approach to dance, she mixed gymnastics with classical ballet. It seems that British teachers of the conservatory did not approve of her teaching style and her students were thus not accepted to the conservatory.

I remember Madame Marga's students, probably because of my jealousy. It was a very expensive school in Kızılay, Ankara. She offered private lessons then. How could I go? We didn't have enough money. Anyway, I was waiting for the exam outside. The door was opened and Kaya İlhan, she was the one who took me to the exam, announced that they 'were not accepting students of Madame Marga'. Everyone was shocked and they looked at each other. I couldn't understand, either. Of course, it was a totally wrong education, it was gymnastics and Beatrice Appleyard believed that it was impossible to teach classical ballet to those who have been trained by gymnastics. So, she didn't want those children to enter, believing that they would be unhappy. She wanted bodies with no training, raw bodies.<sup>127</sup>

Very few students applied directly to take the entrance exam of the conservatory. In this matter, the social environment was quite effective as families influenced each other for their children's educational career. Furthermore, an acquaintance who had artistic

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<sup>127</sup> Interview with Meriç Sümen Kanan, 07/11/2007, Datça. - *Madame Marga'nın talebelerini hatırlıyorum, o da kıskançlığımdan herhalde. Çok pahalı bir okuldu, Ankara'da Kızılay'da bir demirlerden sesi gelirdi, ben de o sesi dinlerdim. Alt katta herhalde bir stüdyosu vardı. Madame Marga, özel ders veriyormuş, paramız filan yok o zaman, nasıl gideriz? Neyse derken imtihandayız, kapı açıldı, Kaya abla. Kaya abla aldı beni imtihana. Almadan evvel 'Madame Marga'dan gelen talebeleri kabul etmiyoruz, bilgilerinize'diye..kızlar böyle baktılar, ben onlara bakıyorum, anlayamadım. Yanlış eğitim, jimnastik eğitimi olduğu için tabii, Beatrice Appleyard, o eğitimin üzerine baleyi geçiremeyeceği için 'gelmesinler, çocuklar üzülür' diyor. O hiçbirşey bilmeyen vücutlar istiyor, ham, dümdüz.*

connections would be an influential component in families' decisions to send their children to ballet school. To give an example, Geyvan McMillen's family friend Tenasüp Onat was already involved with the ballet circles. Tenasüp Onat suggested to McMillen's family that she had a suitable body for ballet. The family was convinced to register her for the entrance exam and she was admitted to the conservatory. She pointed out that when Meriç Sümen and Binay Okurer who were both family friends decided to take the conservatory's exam, she also decided to follow suit.<sup>128</sup> The twin sisters, Rezzan and Ümran Ürey's mother decided for her daughters to take the exam because Kaya İlhan convinced her that this kind of education was very suitable for these mischievous girls:

We started like this: there were no other kids in the family. We are twins but very mischievous. Every girl prefers playing house but we used to play 'tarzancılık' on the trees. My mother thought that we needed a good discipline.<sup>129</sup>

Of course it was not a very educated decision, since they were only eight or nine years old, but one can perceive that the influence of the social environment was important.

Hüsnü Sunal was already attending the ballet classes of Lydia Krassa Arzumanova when the conservatory opened. Arzumanova insisted on his attending the school. Sait Sökmen's older brother and Evinç Sunal's father were opera singers and they were the ones who supported their admission to the school. Tenasüp Onat's father was a ballet lover who always wanted her daughter to become a ballerina. Suna Eden Şenel's parents were art lovers. Through her older brother who studied at Robert College at the time, they learned a ballet conservatory was established. So, the parents decided to send Şenel to the conservatory. Ceyhun Özsoy's mother was painter Perihan Yetkin. After she had seen

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<sup>128</sup> Interview with Geyvan McMillen. 11/30/2006, İstanbul - Meriç Sümen 'le aynı apartmanda otururduk. Binay Okurer'de bizi ziyarete gelirdi. Onlar müracaat edeceklerdi sınava. Onların da edeceğini duyunca ben de heveslendim ve o şekilde, yani sınava müracaat edip girdim ve kazandım.

<sup>129</sup> Interview with Rezzan Ürey. 03/25/2007, Antalya.- Biz şöyle başladık: Ailede hiç başka çocuk yoktu. Biz de tek yumurta ikiziyiz fakat çok yaramazız. Her çocuk evcilik oynar kız çocuğu, biz ağaçlarda Tarzancılık oynardık ve annem demiş ki "bunların iyi bir disipline girmesi lazım.



Bolshoi Ballet Company in Istanbul at the end of the 1950s, she insisted that her son Ceyhun take the conservatory exam. Jale Kazbek's parents were folk dancers and toured extensively in the country. They were friends with the artists at *Ses Theater*, Istanbul. Kaya İlhan gave ballet courses at the theater then and became friends with Kazbek's mother. When she saw Jale Kazbek, she wanted the family to apply for the conservatory exam. Deniz Olgay Yamanus' family and Binay Okurer's uncle were friends of the composer İlhan Usmanbaş and his wife. When Deniz Olgay Yamanus' family contacted the Usmanbaş family, they supported the decision. Binay Okurer's uncle, a well-known literature teacher, also asked opinions of the Usmanbaş family. These examples can be multiplied.

Amongst the few, the artistic field of dance was a deliberate choice, influenced by the cultural atmosphere of the period. Meriç Sümen studied at a primary school in Ankara where they had "national dance" classes as part of the curriculum. She attended these dance classes and her teacher was very attentive to her talent. Therefore he contacted the parents and convinced them to send Meriç Sümen to the conservatory in 1951. Her parents were already very interested in arts. Her father's family was educated in *Musiki Muallim Mektebi* and played traditional musical instruments like the *kanun*, and the *ud*. They were interested in the idea, but made a little research about the future of ballet before sending their daughter to the conservatory.

My father at first was worried about my future. It was like throwing a stone to a pit hole, nobody knew what ballet was. Therefore my father did a little research on it and learned that the graduates of the conservatory would be state officials by the article of 657, and that they would be dancers with monthly salaries. Then, also because they were very open, they decided to send me to the conservatory.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Interview with Meriç Sümen Kanan. 07/11/2007, Datça. - *Babam demişki, ne olacak bu çocuğun istikbali? Bir kıyuya taş atıyorsun o zamanlar, bilmiyorsun ki ne olduğunu, şimdi herkes biliyor. Babam gidiyor öğreniyor, 'hayır' diyorlar, '657 devlet memuru kadrosuna alıyorlar, maaşlı dansçı yapıyorlar'. Tabii açık bir aile olduğu için de veriyorlar beni.*

Parents of Deniz Olgay Yamanus had decided to make their daughter a ballerina when they had first watched the film *Red Shoes*:

My parents had watched that film, the Red Shoes; and when my mother got pregnant, they decided that if they had a daughter, they would make her a ballerina. Life was dictated for me before, a future prepared for me beforehand. After I was born, I was caressed as “my ballerina child”...I knew I was going to be a ballerina<sup>131</sup>

They stood firm in their decision against the rejection of the other family members. Not all the members of the society were in favor of dance. Some viewed dance in terms of former societal presumptions. “*Köçek*” was a person in Ottoman society who danced in front of an audience for mere entertainment. Some families perceived pursuing this new dance form of ballet as becoming a “*köçek*” dancer which had undeniably low social status in the eyes of certain social groups. When they decided to send their child to the state conservatory of ballet, the older relatives of Deniz Olgay Yamanus asked her parents if they wanted to make her a “*köçek*”? “When I was caressed as ‘my ballerina child’; all the relatives were saying ‘are you crazy? Are you going to make your daughter a ‘*köçek*’ ”<sup>132</sup>

Another memory related to the concept of “*köçek*” came from Suna Eden Şenel. She took and passed the entrance exam of the conservatory. The conservatory was going to open in November that year and the parents wanted her to attend the classes of her primary school in Zonguldak from September to November to prevent her from being idle until the opening of the conservatory. When she went to the school, her teacher did not let her enter the classroom:

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<sup>131</sup> Interview with Deniz Olgay Yamanus. 12/04/2006, İstanbul - *Annemle babam o filmi izlemiş Kırmızı Pabuçlar’ı ve de annem hamile kalıyor. “Eğer kız çocuğumuz olursa balerin yapalım” diye karar alınıyor, yani hayat bana önceden dikte edilmiş bir şey; hazırlanmış bir gelecek, yani benimki ve de ben doğduğum zaman “benim balerin kızım” diye sevmeye başlıyorum. Sonra İlhan Usmanbaş ve Afitep Usmanbaş. İlhan Usmanbaş kompozitör biliyorsun belki, Afitep Usmanbaş’da operacı, onlar bizim ahabımızdı. Onlara danışıyorlar ve onların yönlendirmesiyle Konservatuar imtihanına giriyorum, yani ben balerin olacağımı biliyordum.*

<sup>132</sup> Interview with Deniz Olgay Yamanus. 12/04/2006, İstanbul - *Benim “balerin kızım, balerin kızım” diye sevildiğim zaman, bütün ailenin etrafındakiler; halalar, amcalar, dayılar filan “sen deli misin, kızını köçek mi yapacaksın” diye çok karşı çıkmışlar.*

My teacher was Melahat Ergenekon, I never forgot her name. I was very proud and happy to continue my education in a ballet conservatory. I entered the class, I was standing in front of the door. It was very painful, she said to me that I was becoming a “köçek”, therefore I did not have any place in that classroom. It was as if she was accusing me. I went out, crying. It was quite painful for me(...) Maybe it was the reason why I chose teaching later<sup>133</sup>

“Köçek” in their mind had a deteriorating status, a kind of person who would never have a respectful role in the society.

From the interviews, one can also reach an understanding that most of the families who wanted their children to attend the conservatory were somehow in a state of disarray. Binay Okurer stayed with her grandmother and uncle. She never knew her mother until her adulthood. Güneş Berk was almost in the same situation. She stayed with her aunt in Ankara. Rezzan and Ümran Ürey’s parents were divorced as well as Geyvan McMillen’s. Deniz Olgay Yamanus’ father had passed away in an early age as well as Feridun Ulusoy’s. Ulusoy’s mother looked for a boarding school and by coincidence, they found the conservatory. Jale Kazbek’s parents were always on the road, touring, so they could not provide a steady atmosphere for their daughter to continue her standard education. Therefore, a boarding school specializing in arts education, and sponsored by the state was a very attractive solution for their children’s education in those circumstances.

### *The Foundation and Early Achievements of Ankara State Ballet Company*

The first graduates of Ankara State Conservatory of Ballet started dancing in the opera productions in 1956-57 season. Because there was not yet a separate ballet company, ballet pieces were performed in the theatre and opera structures. One can perceive from the

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<sup>133</sup> Interview with Suna Eden Şenel. 07/10/2007, Bodrum. - *Hocam Melahat Ergenekon, hiç unutmuyorum, isim unuturum ama bu bayanın ismini hiç unutmadım. Ben, işte girdim, hem de çok gururla, baleyi de kazanmışım, sınıfıma girdim, ayakta kaldım kapının önünde, çok acıdır, çok çok acı. Sen köçek olacaktıydın dedi ama suçlar gibi, bu sınıfta senin işin yok dedi. Ben ağlayarak çıktım, çok acı bir şeydi, o çocuk yaşta ben gururlanmışım, hayllerim gerçek oluyor, arkadaşlarıma anlatacağım...Acı duydum, belki de hocalığı seçmemin büyük nedeni budur.*

writings of Metin And that the situation became a great frustration for the dancers. Metin And, in a series of articles in *Kim* magazine, dealt with the situation of Turkish ballet, giving examples from other national ballet companies and strictly criticizing the lack of a national ballet company in Turkey. He draw attention to the performances in the tenth anniversary of the national ballet school given by its students and the visit of two very important dancers, Margot Fonteyn and Michael Somes:

Until today, in Turkey, there has never been done any kind of work towards the establishment of a national dance company(...) Even if you do not know the small country of Denmark, you would have heard or seen their famous Royal Ballet. Starting with Yugoslavia, all the Balkan countries have one or more dance companies with which they present their national identities(...)Even a land like Bali, which is hard to spot on the map does not have only one but two world famous dance companies. When you think about all these examples, it is impossible not to regret that we don't have a national company with our national style and spirit(...) The State Theatre General Director has not even given our dancers the importance that he has given to a part of stage design or a stage lamp(...)Even though the dancers may be very small in numbers, he has not given any aid to the dancers to develop a separate identity from the opera<sup>134</sup>

In the meantime, Dame Ninette constantly looked for ways to found a company. Manuel de Falla's *El Amor Brujo* had been staged as the first separate ballet piece inside the opera structure in 1960, and then Dame Ninette de Valois sent her assistant Ailne Phillips to stage *Coppelia* as a three-curtain ballet piece for the same season.

Metin And, in one of his articles, recounted his encounter with Ailne Phillips. He first saw her in the performances of Royal Ballet Company in London in 1959. He mentioned her expertise in ballet and her efforts in the establishment of the Royal Ballet

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<sup>134</sup> And, Metin."Türk Balesine Doğru 1- Suç Kimin?" (Towards Turkish Ballet 1- Whose Blame Is It?), *Kim*, 06/05/1958 - *Bugüne kadar Türkiye'de henüz bir milli dans topluluğu meydana getirmek yolunda hiçbir çalışma yapılmamıştı...Küçük Danimarkayı hiç tanımayanlar bile onun dillere destan Kraliyet Balelerini ya görmüş ya da duymuşlardır. Yugoslavya'dan başlayarak denebilir ki bütün Balkan memleketlerinin milli sınırlarını aşacak güçte, ve milli benliklerini zorla her yerde kabul ettiren bir ve daha fazla dans toplulukları vardır...Harita üzerinde yerlerini kolayca gösteremeyeceğimiz memleketlerden bir ufak bali adasının bütün dünyanın gönül verdiği hem de bir değil iki önemli dans topluluğu vardır. Bunları düşünüp de milli çizgilerimizi, ruhumuzu taşıyan bir milli topluluğumuzun olmamasına yerinmemek elden gelmiyor....Devlet Tiyatrosu Genel Müdürü on yıldır emek ve sabırla yetişmiş dansçılarımızı bir dekor parçası, sahne ışığı kadar önemsememiş, onları yalnızca operaya bir destek olarak düşünmüştür...Genel Müdür, Türk dansçılarının sayıca az da olsa operadan ayrı bir varlık göstermelerine yardım etmemiştir.*

Company with Dame Ninette de Valois. Dame Ninette wrote Metin And a letter that week, saying that she would send Ailne Phillips and she would join her soon to organize the Turkish State Ballet Company separate from the Opera Company. In his review published in *Ulus*, Metin And stressed the fact that an important person like Ailne Phillips was coming to found the state ballet company:

Miss Ailne Phillips like Dame Ninette de Valois is a fundamental member of Royal Ballet(...)She has directed the ballet department in her father's opera company, Carl Rosa, until 1931 and then worked as a dancer, teacher, director in the Royal Ballet Company; becoming an associate of Dame Ninette(...) maybe from now on, our offended, unemployed dancers who have lost confidence in themselves can start a new journey of artistic endeavor<sup>135</sup>

With these two performances, Manuel de Falla's *El Amor Brujo* and especially with *Coppelia*, Ankara State Ballet Company was artistically founded in the institution of Ankara State Opera and Ballet. Ankara State Opera and Ballet was founded in 1949 with a special law, and the operas have been performed regularly since then, but it is interesting to learn that Ankara State Opera and Ballet General Directorship was actually founded officially under the Ministry of Culture only in 1970.<sup>136</sup>

When *Coppelia* was performed, it had a big press coverage. A journalist from the conservative front, Ahmet Kabaklı wrote in *Tercüman* newspaper: "The art of ballet that we all admire when watching foreign companies has now fortunately arrived in Turkey and the

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<sup>135</sup> And, Metin. *Ulus* newspaper, 09/13/1960 - *Miss Ailne Phillips de tıpkı Dame Ninette de Valois gibi Krallık Balesi'nin temel direğidir...Kendisi 1931 yılına kadar babasının Carl Rosa opera topluluğunda bale işlerini yönetmiş, buradan sonra da Krallık balesinde dansçılık, öğretmenlik, yöneticilik gibi görevlerle onun bütün kaderine ortak olmuştur...Krallık balesinin böylesine önemli bir sorumlusunu Dame Ninette de Valois emekleyen Türk Balesinin ayaklarını yerden kaldırsın diye dokuz aylığına Türkiye'ye gönderdi...Geçen hafta Dame Ninette de Valois bu satırların yazarına gönderdiği mektupta kendisinin de kasım ayında Türkiye'de olacağını, Miss Phillips ile birlikte Türk Bale Topluluğunu düzenleyip, kendi başına temsil verir duruma sokacaklarını yazıyordu....Yillardan beri opera temsillerinde sığıntı gibi kullanılan; işsizlikten güçsüzlükten kendilerine ve sanatlarına güvenleri sarsılmış, küskün dansçılarımız bundan böyle belki zor, fakat sonu umut dolu bir sanat yolculuğuna çıkmış oluyolar.*

<sup>136</sup> The Number of the law: 1309 Acceptance date: 07/14/1970- Published in the Legal Newspaper (Resmi Gazete), 07/23/1970, no: 13557. Appendix no: 4

young dancers of the Ankara State Ballet have performed in front of the Istanbul audience.”<sup>137</sup>

Metin And declared the relevancy of the choice of *Coppelia* compared to *El Amor Brujo* as a ballet piece and stressed the successful direction of the company by Dame Ninette de Valois. He also wrote an artistic critique for each and every dancer in the company for the same production:

For many, the success of our young artists in *Coppelia* performance on the 28th of May 1961 in ‘Büyük Tiyatro’, seemed like a fairytale.(...) In a country where there was no ballet tradition a three-curtain ballet piece could win such an approval was simply due to the environment that Dame Ninette de Valois has constructed with her own hands<sup>138</sup>

The same year, Todd Bolender, a renowned American choreographer came to Turkey to stage two ballets with students from Ankara State Conservatory. Metin And wrote about Todd Bolender in his two different articles. In the first one, he welcomed him as his choreographies were Metin And’s favorites amongst the American choreographers. Metin And’s second article on Bolender gave information about his choreographies that were in the process of being staged in the conservatory. And mentioned Bolender’s great interest in Turkish folk dancing and particularly learning it.<sup>139</sup>

In fact, one can state that the artistic vision of Ankara State Ballet Company has been carefully constructed by Dame Ninette de Valois (fig.4). She always invited foreign choreographers and teachers according to their suitability to the young company. Therefore,

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<sup>137</sup> Kabaklı, Ahmet. “Coppelia”, *Tercüman* newspaper, 02/02/1961- *Batıda görüp işittikçe hayran olduğumuz, ‘bizde de olsa ne vardı’ diye yakındığımız bu kat kat güzel sanatı, Ankara Devlet Balesi’nin genç dansçıları başarmış ve 16 nisan gecesini, İstanbul seyircisine sunmuş bulunuyorlar.*

<sup>138</sup> And, Metin. “Coppelia”, *Ulus* newspaper, 02/02/1961- *28 Mayıs 1961 gecesini Büyük Tiyatro’da genç sanatçılarımızın verdiği kesiksiz Coppelia temsilinde ulaştıkları başarı birçoklarına masal gibi inanılmaz gözükte. Oysa bu gerçeğin ta kendisiydi ve bu gerçeğe varmak için ilerisini gören bir yaratıcı kadının istem gücü, bükülmez inancı, genç Türk sanatçılarının yetenekleriyle birleşmiş; bilgi, emek, düzen bağı elele vermiş, bu inanılmaz sonuca ulaşmıştı... Üç perdelik bir balenin hiç bale sanatı yaşantısı, geleneği olmayan bir ülkede çabucak tutup, yerleşivermiş oluştunda Dame Ninette de Valois elinden çıkan düzenin de büyük payı var.*

<sup>139</sup> And, Metin. “Todd Bolender”, *Ulus* newspaper, 04/06/1961

following Todd Bolender as a strong believer on national dance traditions which can grow out of folk dance traditions, she invited Andrée Howard as a guest choreographer for the next season. Howard was also interested in folk dances like Todd Bolender. Metin And provided her with full support on the subject:

At first, I showed the pictures of our folk dances in my archive, made her listen to the music. Then we watched them (...)Two of our young ballet dancers know very well the folk dances, good enough to perform with the original dancers of these regions. Andrée Howard took them as her assistants and would go wherever there was a folk dance performance.<sup>140</sup>

Rezzan Ürey was one these young dancers with her twin sister who happened to know the folk dances very well. In our interview, she recalled the beginnings of their interest in folk dances as such:

We had folk dance classes in the conservatory. We also have been going and performing in the Presidential House (...) Because we were very fond of folk dances, we dwelled into folk dance associations. I believe we founded the federation in 1962 (The Federation of Folk Dances and Songs). The aim of the federation was to collect all the scattered information, put them in order, develop and diffuse them, as well as introducing new authentic dances and songs. After the federation was founded, we performed as an all-women group almost all the dances of Turkey except few regions<sup>141</sup>

In her analysis on the institutionalization of folklore in Turkey, Arzu Öztürkmen informs us that from the beginning of the 1950s, there were two main developments in the field of folklore studies. One was the continuation of the work realized in *Halk Bilgisi Derneği* (the Folk-lore Association) and the People's Houses, the establishment of “national

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<sup>140</sup> And, Metin. “Bale İşleri ve Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı” (Matters of Ballet and Ministry of Education), *Ulus* newspaper, 07/25/1963.- *Önce arşivimdeki halk dansları resimlerini gösterdim ve müzikleri dinlettim. Sonra birlikte seyrettik...Balemizden iki genç dansçı halk danslarını çok iyi biliyorlardı, hatta zaman zaman o yörenin dansçılarıyla beraber dans ediyorlardı. Andrée Howard onları yardımcı aldı. Nerede bir halk dans gösterisi var, oraya seyretmeye gidiyordu.*

<sup>141</sup> Interview with Rezzan Ürey, 03/25/2007, Antalya.- *Konservatuar'da bizim halk oyunları dersimiz vardı. Biz köşke de gider gösteri yapardık...Çok sevdiğimiz için derneklere daldık. Sonra Verda Gürgün Bingel'i tanıdık. Bütün Erzurum oyunlarını ve türkülerini, ondan sonra örf ve adetlerinin hepsini Verda'dan öğrendim...Zannediyorum 1962'de Federasyonu kurduk (Halk Oyunları ve Halk Türküleri Federasyonu)... Federasyonun amacı bütün bu tek tek yapılan çalışmalarını bir çatı altında toplamak, derlemek, geliştirmek, yaymak ve yeni yeni mahalli, otantik dansları, türkülerini ilkökimize kazandırmak. Federasyon kurulduktan sonrada biz ekip olarak, yani kadın ekibi olarak aşağı yukarı birkaç bölgenin dışında hepsini oynadık... Sırf aşkımdan, yani halk oyunlarına olan, milli folklorumuza olan aşkımdan.*

folklore types". The other is the appearance of private institutionalization after the closure of People's Houses and their support for the practice of folk dances. Therefore, during the 1950s, the process of becoming associations and federations of folk dances took off fast.<sup>142</sup>

Ürey twins with their friends had also established one of the federations on folk dances and songs in 1962. As classical ballet dancers, in the ballet company, they were always interested in working on folk motives and helping foreign choreographers to find ways to introduce these folk steps into classical dance. Andrée Howard was one of them. Unfortunately, she had left the post when she just started working on an interesting ballet piece using Turkish folk dances' motives.<sup>143</sup> Instead she staged "Assembly Ball" for the company. Metin And presented a review for the piece and stressed the importance of the choreographer:

Andrée Howard has prepared Assembly Ball by herself in a long time period. She knew how to adopt the piece for our young dancers. From our middle aged unknown dancers to the greater ones, she has touched everyone with her miraculous hand and it was as if they were all reborn<sup>144</sup>

In the interview made for this thesis, And also talked about Howard with great respect and admiration:

Andrée Howard is really a solid woman. She goes and wants to see the costume department, finds the most expensive tulles, cuts them into pieces; collects and creates something beautiful. For example in autumn, as she walked she would collect the leaves and she would do something as well. She was extremely creative, a poet. Later on she committed suicide in Avignon. She was an extraordinary woman<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Öztürkmen, Arzu. 1998, pp.193-194

<sup>143</sup> This issue will be presented again in Chapter IV when we will be focusing on the impacts of the British roots of Turkish ballet on p. 121

<sup>144</sup> And, Metin. "Gençler Balosu" (Assembly Ball), *Ulus* newspaper, 12/27/1962 - *Andrée Howard Gençler Balosunu (Assembly Ball) kendi eliyle uzun bir süre içinde hazırladı. Eserim anlamını, havasını, üslubunu kesip, biçip genç dansçılarımıza giydirmesini bildi. En iyilerden, iyi bilmediğimiz orta dansçılarımıza kadar hepsinin üstünde tulsımlı elini gezdirmiş, hepsi yeniden doğmuş gibiydi.*

<sup>145</sup> Interview with Metin And, Ankara, 12/21/2006 - *Andrée Howard çok esaslı bir kadın. Gidiyor, terzihaneyi görmek istiyor, bakıyorlar en pahalı tülleri doğruyor; böyle parçalar, büyük parçalar dökülüyor. Tutuyor, parçaları topluyor, mesela yürürken sonbaharda yaprakları da alırdı yerden, onlardan da bir şey yapardı. Böyle çok yaratıcı bir kadın. Şair, sonra Avion'da intihar etti. Müthiş bir kadındı o.*



As it was mentioned earlier, Dame Ninette de Valois devised the artistic policy of the company and she selected the foreign choreographers and teachers to work with the company for every season. Claude Newman, Nancy Hanley, Dudley Tomlinson, Richard Glasstone were some of the choreographers invited to Turkey by Dame Ninette de Valois. Claude Newman came after Howard left to take the post of artistic director of the Ballet Rome. Nancy Hanley, a close friend of Dame Ninette de Valois, stayed in the company in 1963-64 seasons. Joy Newton came back to Turkey accompanied by Dudley Tomlinson who was to become the Company's new ballet master for the next season. Richard Glasstone was invited by Dame Ninette de Valois to be the resident choreographer and principal teacher to the company in 1965 and stayed for four years. He expressed his memories in Turkey in various articles related to dance. The writer of this thesis also had the chance to meet him in one of his visits and made an interview. His memories related to the artistic activities of the company in 1965 and the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations in 1967 were quite vivid.<sup>146</sup>

Dame Ninette de Valois' belief in creating a national ballet based on national folk dance motives, folk themes and original musical composition proved to be the case for the ballet piece *Fountainhead / Çeşmebaşı* created in 1965 (fig.5). It was a decisive moment for the company related to its artistic policy.<sup>147</sup> Richard Glasstone, a close witness of this particular period in the ballet history of Turkey had mentioned the creation process of *Çeşmebaşı* in his various writings. In one of them, he stated that by the example of *Çeşmebaşı*, it was possible to demonstrate that an "indigenous" ballet could be created:

Set around the fountain found on every Turkish village square, and using the music of Ferit Tüzün's Anatolian Suite, de Valois set out to demonstrate how, using Turkish themes and music and drawing on the enormously rich

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<sup>146</sup> Richard Glasstone's interview is presented in the last section of this thesis along with Metin And's.

<sup>147</sup> This ballet piece will be dealt in detail when analyzing the debates on national ballet, in Chapter IV.

language of Turkish folk dance, a truly indigenous ballet could be created<sup>148</sup>  
(fig.5a/ 5b)

Right after *Çeşmebaşı*, there were two important events. The first one was an international representation of Turkish ballet in the International Music and Dance Festival in Pakistan. The national as well as international press had good coverage of the event. In *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, it was mentioned that Meriç Sümen and Engin Akaoglu would dance a part from the first Turkish ballet piece *Fountainhead /Çeşmebaşı* in the festival in Karachi. Four dancers danced in front of an elite audience where Pakistan's President Eyüp Khan was also present. "Until today, three beautiful Turkish ballerinas and a male dancer who have been admired only by the foreigners who had come to Turkey participated for the first time in an international festival as guest artists."<sup>149</sup>

In the *Morning News*, the emphasis was given to Turkish dancers' will to organize international exchanges and their aim in teaching Turkish dance to Pakistani dancers. It has been stated that: "The Turkish artists suggested frequent exchanges of cultural delegations between Pakistan and Turkey. They also supported the idea of training Pakistani artists in the Turkish music and dance idioms"<sup>150</sup>

In these reviews, one can detect the feeling that our dancers have grown to a stage where they could offer their expertise to other nations who did not have a prior ballet tradition in their national dance field. In the meantime, Turkish ballet celebrated its 20th anniversary in 1967. Richard Glasstone staged *Sylvia* for this occasion. Özdemir Nutku

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<sup>148</sup> Glasstone, Richard. Spring, 1999

<sup>149</sup> "Meriç Sümen, Binay Berkan, Jale Akyüz ve Engin Akaoglu Karaçi'deki Festivale Katıldılar" ( Meriç Sümen, Binay Berkan, Jale Akyüz and Engin Akaoglu participated the festival in Karaçi). *Cumhuriyet*, 08/14/1966- *Bugüne kadar sadece Türkiye'ye gelen yabancıların büyük hayranlığını kazanan 3 güzel Türk balerini ve bir bale dansörü, ilk defa sanatlarını göstermek üzere beynelmilel bir festivale, özel davetli olarak gitmişlerdir... Karachi'de, Pakistan Devlet Başkanı Eyüp Han'ın da hazır bulunacağı seçkin bir topluluk önünde dans edeceklerdir.Festivalde ilk Türk bale eseri 'Çeşmebaşı'ndan bir bölümü Meriç ile Engin oynayacaklardır.*

<sup>150</sup> "Turkish Artists Laud Pakistani Dances: Leave For Home", *Morning News*, 18.08.1966- Other newspapers informed the event were *Evening Star*, 08/17/1966; *Daily News*, 08/15-16/1966

observed that the ballet piece was rearranged by the choreographer for the Ankara Company and it was an important event itself.<sup>151</sup> Metin And underlined the importance of the adaptation comparing it to other ballets that were being created for the company itself. For example, Andrée Howard prepared the ballet piece called *Mysterious Obstacles* for the company. *Fountainhead / Çeşmebaşı* and *Senfonieta* which Dame Ninette de Valois choreographed on the Turkish musical compositions, along with Richard Glasstone's *Hançerli Hanım*, were some examples of the ballet pieces created particularly for Ankara State Ballet Company alone. Nevertheless, it was the first time that a long ballet piece from the world's repertoire was adopted especially for a Turkish company and performed.<sup>152</sup>

Ömer Atilla Sav wrote about this performance stating that the success of this young company belonged mostly to Dame Ninette de Valois and her endless efforts to build ballet in Turkey. For the critic, the success originated from Dame Ninette de Valois' extreme attention and her great experience in the field. Moreover, she worked for Turkish ballet without expecting any financial gain in return. After twenty years of its formation, Turkish ballet could easily be compared with its counterparts in Western countries:

The night of January 25th 1967, the Büyük Tiyatro in Ankara has witnessed an extraordinary art event (...) When it was founded in a studio in Yeşilköy Istanbul, it was difficult to imagine that one of the greatest art forms would one day develop so strongly and gain such an identity (...) Dame Ninette who sees extremely well the great ability and quality of the dancers along with our national faults progressed with consciousness and discipline to develop our ballet at its present level<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Nutku, Özdemir. "Devlet Bale Topluluğunun Başarılı bir Temsili: Sylvia" (A Successful Performance of State Ballet Company: Sylvia), *Cumhuriyet*, 02/03/1967 – *Ankara'da oynanan Sylvia'nın ilgi çekici yönü, genç ve başarılı koreograf Richard Glasstone'nun bu klasik eseri, Türk bale topluluğuna göre, yeni baştan düzenlemiş oluşudur. Bu da Sylvia'nın dans düzeni yönünden önemli bir olaydır.*

<sup>152</sup> And, Metin. "Sylvia", *Ulus* newspaper, 01/29/1967- *Örneğin kadın koreograf Andrée Howard birkaç yıl önce gelmiş, Esrarengiz Engeller adlı bir baleyi topluluğumuz için hazırlamıştı...Bu arada Dame Ninette de Valoi'nın bizim topluluğumuz için Türk bestecilerin müziği üzerine hazırladığı Çeşmebaşı ile Senfonieta; ayrıca Richard Glasstone'un hazırladığı yine Türk müziği üzerine Hançerli Hanım balelerini sayabiliriz. Fakat dünya bale dağarcığının uzun bir balesinin topluluğumuz üzerinde hazırlanıp, oynanması ilk kez olmaktadır.*

<sup>153</sup> Sav, Atila Ömer. "Türk Balesi 20 Yaşında" (Turkish Ballet is Twenty Years Old), *Milliyet* newspaper, 01/28/1967- *25 ocak 1967 gecesi, Ankara'daki Büyük Tiyatro salonu gerçekten olağanüstü bir sanat olayına tanık oldu. Bugün batı ülkelerindeki benzerleriyle rahatça kıyasladığımız balemizin kuruluşundan bu yana yirmi yıl geçmiş. 1947 yılında, İstanbul'da Yeşilköyde bir stüdyoda kurulurken, sahne sanatlarının en gücünün*

During the first performance of *Sylvia*, Dame Ninette de Valois had been presented with an honorary award for her twenty years of contribution to the Turkish Ballet. Metin And in one of his articles, gave an overview of these twenty years and stressed the importance of Dame Ninette de Valois. He again pointed out that she did not gain anything except emotional satisfaction. Her years of effort and commitment to Turkey proved very fruitful. Along with her disciplined approach, her artistic vision was also praised:

During these twenty years, she has done everything in a planned, programmed way. First, she has seen to the training of the dancers, then the first performances by choosing from various styles and periods of ballets, she has managed to raise an audience as well. Along the way, believing that Turkish ballet should be directed by the Turks, she has made efforts for their education. As a matter of fact, she has been supportive in finding scholarships for our dancers for becoming ballet mistresses, choreologists, and repetitors.<sup>154</sup>

Ballet performances during the 1960s and the 1970s also opened a platform where high rank state officials came together. This platform proved indeed to be another kind of stage for political performances. We observe that the performance of *Sylvia* was attended by the President and the Prime Minister of the time, Cevdet Sunay and Süleyman Demirel respectively. This was an important sign of the value given to this new art form in those times.<sup>155</sup>(fig.6) The ballet programs artistically did not carry significant information on the

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*yurdumuzda günün birinde bu denli gelişip, güçlü bir varlık kazanacağını kestirmek güçtü. Ancak teşebbüsün başına gerçekten bu alanda yeterli bir otoritenin getirilmesi; onun bu süre içinde ilgisini bu filizlenen varlıktan esirgememesi, bu mucizenin yaratılmasının başlıca nedenidir...Dame Ninette, Türk gençlerinin bu alandaki yeteneklerine inanmış; bu inanç ve sevgiyle hiçbir maddi karşılık beklemeden sanatımıza yardıma gelmiştir. Sanatçılarımızın üstün kabiliyetleri ve meziyetleri yanında milli kusurlarımızı da çok iyi gören Dame Ninette, bilinçli ve programlı bir gelişimle balemizin bugünkü seviyesine ulaşmasını sağlamıştır.*

<sup>154</sup> And, Metin. "Dame Ninette de Valois", *Ulus* newspaper, 01/25/1967 - Dame Ninette de Valois yirmi yıldır hiç bir karşılık beklemeden ve almadan balemizi bugün göğsümüzü kabartacak duruma getirmiştir. Bütün bu yirmi yıllık çalışmalarının nedeni bu ülkeye bağlılığı ve Türk gençlerinin sanat yeteneğine büyük inancıdır. Yirmi yıl süresince herşeyi planlı olarak yapmıştır. Önce ilk dansçıların eğitimi ile ilgilenmiş, ilk temsillerin verilmesi, Türk seyircinin yetişmesi için bale dağarcığından her çağ ve üslupta balelerin tasarlanmasını sağlamış; bu arada yarının Türk balesini yine Türklerin yönetmesi gerektiğine inandığı için bunların eğitimini de çaba harcamıştır. Nitekim bale eğitmenliği, bale yazıcılığı ve bale repetitörlüğü için bazı dansçılarımıza burslar sağlamış, onların bu alanda yetişmesi için destek olmuştur.

<sup>155</sup> Photos appeared in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, 01/27/1967; and in *Akşam* newspaper, 01/29/1967

political history of Turkish cultural life, yet the course of events related to ballet performances revealed a certain political climate. To give an example, one can state the article of Gül Peri in Akşam newspaper.<sup>156</sup> The writer had given the premier of the ballet piece “*Pagodalar Prensi*” as an example. It was the time when tense discussions on Cyprus took place among the politicians, yet the premier proved that the impact of art was able to change the atmosphere. After two flourishing decades, towards the end of the 1970s, Turkish ballet seemed to decline. Despite the unstable political conditions, the “cultural honorary award” given to Dame Ninette de Valois showed the intent to improve ballet within the Turkish cultural life.

When Alfred Rodrigues’ three different ballets, namely *Glazunov Suite*, *Orpheus and Judith* were staged by the company, Metin And found the program very successful. The importance of ballet *Judith* was that the role of *Judith* was created by Alfred Rodrigues for the dancer Meriç Sümen and musical composition was undertaken by a Turkish composer, Çetin Işıkoğlu.<sup>157</sup> For the first time, a role created for a Turkish dancer by a foreign choreographer had a significant impact on our ballet circles.

The Ankara State Ballet Company’s first tour abroad together was in Bulgaria (fig.7). Their second important tour abroad was in North Africa (fig.8). They had good reviews and the dance circles of Turkey were happy about these first international representations of the Turkish ballet. Despite the fact that ballet as an art form was given a respectable place in societal life, the material conditions of the practice were still not at a desirable level. When the ballet *Nutcracker* was performed, Metin And indicated that the ballet’s imperfections resulting from the disputes between the opera structure and the ballet company was obvious.

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<sup>156</sup> Part of this article will be cited in p. 95 while we analyze the role of Turkish bureaucrats in dance circles. Peri, Gül. “Kıbrıs Görüşmeleri yapılırken Politika ve Bale Kolkolaydı” (While the Cyprus Negotiations were Taking Place, the Politics and Ballet were hand in hand), *Akşam* newspaper, 12/03/1967

<sup>157</sup> And, Metin. “Üç Yeni Bale” (Three New Ballets), *Ulus* newspaper, 06/03/1970 – *Gecenin en önemli yanı ise ilk oynanışı Türkiye’de yapılmış olan Judith balesidir. Balenin bizim için iki ilginç yönü var. Önce koreograf balesini genç bir Türk bestecisinin, Çetin Işıkoğlu’nün müziği üzerine yaratmıştır. Sonra da Judith rolü değerli balecimiz Meriç Güventürk için yaratılmıştır.*

There were internal conflicts between different structures. At one occasion, the stage design was completely changed after the approval of Dame Ninette de Valois. The members of the orchestra were sent to another event while they had to be present during the general rehearsal of the ballet.

Despite all the deficiencies, Sait Sökmen's first choreography *Çark* had marked a very significant moment for the State Ballet Company in 1968. In his dance, Turkish creativity had presented itself for the first time and proved its maturity in spite of the fact that the company was very young.

During the Istanbul Festival two years after the military intervention of 1971, the State Ballet Company presented four ballets, *Çeşmebaşı*, *Judith*, *Çoğul* and *Pembe Kadın*.<sup>158</sup> *Çoğul* was choreographed by Duygu Aykal and *Pembe Kadın* by Oytun Turfanda. Cengiz Tanç composed the music for *Çoğul* and Necil Kazım Akses's music was used for *Pembe Kadın*. After twenty years of its foundation, the Turkish ballet had started to have choreographers of its own. Engin Karadeniz wrote about *Pembe Kadın*, stating it was the first time both the composer and the choreographer were Turkish for a ballet piece. When the critic made an interview with the composer Necil Kazım Akses, Akses had stated that 'the ballad' was an emotional piece of music that suited a drama like *Pembe Kadın* very well:

In the opening of Oytun Turfanda's 'Pembe Kadın', Akses introduced the idea of using the instruments of 'timbale' or 'drums' as a leitmotif in various sections of the music. In this way, the introduction of the characters and the events are made with the help of melodies as well as rhythms.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Ajans Türk, 08/01/1973

<sup>159</sup> Karadeniz, Engin. "Akses, Turfanda ve Pembe Kadın" (Akses, Turfanda, and the Pink Woman), *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, 02/27/1973 - *Türk beşleri adlı saygın öbekten, Necil Kazım Akses ile Ankara Devlet Konservatuvar'ndaki çalışma odasında konuştum. 'Ballade' için Akses, 'bir tahassüs müziği' deyimini kullandı. Öyle ise böylesi bir duygulanma müziği, 'Pembe Kadın' gibi bir drama uyabilirdi...Oytun Turfanda'nın 'Pembe Kadın'ın başlangıcına tembal ya da davul ile ritm koyme düşüncesini geliştiren Akses, müziğin çeşitli yerlerine bu öğeleri 'leitmotiv' olarak serpiştiriyor. Böylece, kişinin, olayların tanıtılmasına, melodi ve armonilerin yanı sıra ritm ile yardımcı oluyor.*

In fact, before *Pembe Kadın*, Sait Sökmen's *Kurban* was choreographed on Ahmet Adnan Saygun's music, but at the last moment the composer did not allow his music to be used in the performance and Sait Sökmen performed his piece in silence. In another article that appeared in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, the critic stated that "Ankara State Ballet's most interesting piece performed that autumn was *Çoğul*.<sup>160</sup> It had been mentioned that after Sait Sökmen's modern choreographies, this was the first modern ballet piece of the Ankara State Ballet Company. The choreographer Duygu Aykal had the chance to get her education abroad in Germany and in Britain, therefore, she was quite well-educated in terms of modern approaches. In another article about *Çoğul* in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, Duygu Aykal expressed her intentions about the choreography as follows: "When I was in the creative process, I tried to show that individuals are not capable of accomplishing things by themselves, only with a unified awareness those wishes can come true".<sup>161</sup>

Probably, it was the second time after Sait Sökmen's *Çark* that a choreographer intended to show political awareness in an abstract way in Turkish ballet. In the aftermath of the military intervention in 1971, the political atmosphere was filled with skepticism and uncertainty. Even though the first elections were held in 1973 following two years of martial law, the political unrest got worse. There were violent fights in the cities between left and right wing camps. The educational institutions were not able to function properly. Naturally, a high inflation rate was the forerunner of the approaching economic crises. During such an atmosphere, the choreographer Duygu Aykal underlined the theme of 'unified awareness' in order to reach individual goals. The theme itself was a cry in the search of a unified world where all polarizations and radical isolations were suspended and people were able to live in a peaceful

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<sup>160</sup> *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, 11/04/1973

<sup>161</sup> Andak, Selmi. "Türk Balesi'nde Büyük Gün" (A Great Day in Turkish Ballet), *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, 07/03/1973 – *Bu oyunu baleye uygularken, özellikle insanların tek başlarına bir şey yapamayacaklarını, ancak bilinçli bir birlik sağlanabilirse diledikleri amaca varabileceklerini anlatmak istedim.*

atmosphere. The Ankara State Ballet's program included *Swan Lake* for the next season. It was one of the few four-curtain performances of *Swan Lake* in the world. Müşerref Hekimoğlu, in one of her articles, placed Ankara State Ballet Company on the map of all national ballets and acknowledged its success. She added the importance of art in the hectic political life of the capital city: "In *Swan Lake*, I left the hums of parliament behind and rested. With such music and beautiful dancers, I felt my brain rejuvenated. I always write the only way we can tolerate the high tension of the capital is with artistic events such as these."<sup>162</sup>

The *Swan Lake* performance was an important turning point in the company's administrative history as well. Ömer Atilla Sav wrote about *Swan Lake* in *Milliyet*, mentioning that the first performances in 1966, 1967, 1968, and 1971 were staged by Dame Ninette de Valois herself. The importance of 1974's performance was that two Turkish directors were in charge of the company. Also the choreologist of the company was a Turkish artist, Suna Eden Şenel and they were all students of Dame Ninette de Valois. The piece had been given further importance by the success of new directors of the company Hüsnü and Evinç Sunal:

The contributions of Dame Ninette concerning the Turkish ballet are unforgettable. This great artist is honorary serving this institution still. It is important that *Swan Lake*, after being staged a few times under the supervision of these great directors, has in its last staging given its directing positions to dancers that have been raised by her. Above all, this performance can easily be compared by the previous ones<sup>163</sup>

Being a national ballet company involved some other national issues as well. The Turkish male ballet dancers had to fulfill their obligatory military service like all other

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<sup>162</sup> Hekimoğlu, Müşerref. *Yeni Halkçı* newspaper, 11/19/1974- *Kuşu Gölü'nde parlamentonun uğultularını geride bıraktım ve çok dinlendim. Çaykovski'nin müziğiyle, güzel danslarla beynimin yıkandığını hissettim neredeyse. Her zaman yazarım, başkentin yüksek tansiyonuna ancak bu sanat olaylarıyla dayanabiliyoruz.*

<sup>163</sup> Sav, Ömer Atilla. "Kuşu Gölü" (*Swan Lake*), *Milliyet* newspaper, 11/01/1974 - *Bu gösterinin özelliği, bu kez yöneticilik görevlerini de iki Türk dansçının yapması: Evinç Sunal ile Hüsnü Sunal...Türk balesinin kuruluşunda Dame Ninette'in büyük katkıları unutulamaz. Hala da bu büyük sanatçı onursal olarak bale kurumumuza hizmet etmektedir. Kuşu Gölü bu değerli yetiştirici – yöneticinin gözetiminde birkaç kez sahnelendikten sonra bu son oynanışında yöneticilik görevini de kendi yetiştirdiği iki genç sanatçıya bırakması önemli gözüküyor. Üstelik bu gösteri öncekilerle rahatça karşılaştırılabilir.*



Turkish male citizens of the country. We gather from the newspapers that the 1974 season's delay was due to Oytun Turfanda's military duty, and in an article, the question had remained unanswered when it was asked: "weren't there any other male dancers to dance the role?"<sup>164</sup> 1974 was also a year where RPP (CHP) government and the Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit faced an international crisis in Cyprus. Although they were serving in the army, neither Oytun Turfanda nor any other male dancers were dispatched for the Cyprus Campaign in July, 1974.

The Ankara Company staged *La Fille Mal Gardée/ Şımarık Kız* the following season, for the second time. The piece was choreographed by Frederic Ashton and its adaptation was done by Hüsnü and Evinç Sunal. The choreologist was once again Suna Eden Şenel<sup>165</sup>. In that program, besides *La Fille Mal Gardée/ Şımarık Kız*, the company performed *Pembe Kadın*, *Yoz Döngü* and *Güzelleme*, all choreographed by Oytun Turfanda<sup>166</sup>. Journalist Selma Berk, who wrote about the Ankara State Ballet Company's performance in Istanbul, expressed her frustration that the program was not placed in Istanbul Festival. Instead, a Brazilian Tropical Dance Group had taken the stage. The critic was deeply sorry for not being able to see the three major works especially reflecting Turkish music and folklore with its own decor and costumes. Selma Berk wished that these works had been performed in Istanbul and therefore reached a greater audience.<sup>167</sup> From this review, we understand that

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<sup>164</sup> *Ankara* newspaper 09/18/1974

<sup>165</sup> *Olay* newspaper, 02/14/1975

<sup>166</sup> There will be further discussion on these ballet pieces related to national art forms in Chapter IV.

<sup>167</sup> Berk, Selma. *Son Havadis* newspaper, 06/09/1975 – *Festivalin tek bale gösterisinin bu yıl Açıkhava Tiyatrosunda Brasil Tropical Dans topluluğunca yapılacağını hem sevinerek ve hem de üzülerek öğrendik. Üzüldük çünkü Ankara Devlet Opera ve Balesi'nin bu sezon sonu evvela Ankara'da ve sonra şehrimizde yapmış oldukları; bilhassa Türk müzik ve folklorünü kendi dekor ve kostümleriyle yansıtan cidden üç büyük ve değerli eserin de, festival nedeniyle İstanbul'a gelmelerini ve bu vesileyle daha geniş bir izleyici kitlesine tanıtılmalarını kalpten arzu ederdik.*

these three important pieces of the time could not be placed in Istanbul Festival's program. It seemed like an administrative and artistic failure on the part of Istanbul Festival.

The Ankara State Ballet Company witnessed the first censorship coming from the government in 1976. As we have stated earlier, the period between 1973 and 1980 was characterized by a civic turmoil in political and social spheres. The RPP (CHP) and JP (AP) governments constantly shifted places in power and opposition. Short term governments with coalitions were not helpful in bringing back the political stability to the country. Süleyman Demirel and National Front coalition/ *Milliyetçi Cephe* (MC) were in power during 1976 when *Oluşum*, choreographed by Duygu Aykal, was found inappropriate due to its Darwinian implications and was canceled.

Following the cancellation, interestingly, Oytun Turfanda's next choreography, *Hürrem Sultan* focused on the Kanuni Sultan Süleyman period of the Ottoman Empire. In the press releases of the program, we came across a statement of this kind: "For the first time using the historical story of Süleyman the Magnificent and his wife Roxanne, using Ottoman costumes in the choreography has attracted great attention from the audience and was very successful".<sup>168</sup>

Dame Ninette de Valois mentioned earlier that new classical Turkish ballet was in need of its own choreographers. *Hürrem Sultan* was dedicated to Dame Ninette de Valois by its choreographer Oytun Turfanda. Haldun Dormen mentioned the hectic preparation period, particularly stressing the efforts of Evinç and Hüsnü Sunal, the directors of State Ballet Company of the time.<sup>169</sup> In his later article, he praised the piece stressing that the

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<sup>168</sup> Alev Yamaç, Chief of Public Relations in Ankara State Opera and Ballet, from Oytun Turfanda's archive presented in the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus.

<sup>169</sup> Dormen, Haldun. "Çeşitleme- Hürrem ve Oytun Turfanda" (Variation- Hürrem and Oytun Turfanda), *Milliyet* newspaper, 12/19/1976

choreographer would be an important name for the world ballet in near future.<sup>170</sup> Vedat Nedim Tör, who was the Cultural and Arts Consultant of Yapı Kredi Bank also wrote a congratulations letter to the composer, Ferit Tüzün, while the Ministry of Education Ali Naili Erdem presented his best wishes to him, indicating that the ballet piece defined new horizons in Turkish ballet (fig.9)

Despite all the discussions on its success, the piece presented Turkey abroad in one occasion: on the 10th of March 1977, *Hürrem Sultan* was performed in the Bessmertnova Festival during the “Les Saisons de la Danse” event.<sup>171</sup> Turfanda received many letters of congratulations, but one of them was particularly important since it came from Dame Ninette de Valois herself. Dame Ninette de Valois regretted that she was not able to attend the premier of *Hürrem Sultan* due to her duty to be present at the 21st celebration of Benesh Notation in London.<sup>172</sup>(fig.10) Oytun Turfanda replied her letter, thanking her for the encouraging expressions and informed that he was working on *Rake’s Progress*, one of Madame’s earlier choreographies. It is worth stating that he also wrote about his wishes to visit Bejart’s company and asked advice from Dame Ninette de Valois. She was away from Turkish ballet, yet still receiving demands from Turkish choreographers. (fig.11) Another friend of Turfanda’s from Royal Opera House, Peter Brownlee also expressed his hopes for great success and stressed that Turfanda’s dedication of the piece to Dame Ninette de Valois would have been a thrilling feeling for her in particular.

Towards the end of the 1970s, there was a negative turmoil of feelings. *Romeo and Juliet* choreographed by Alfred Rodriques, was repeated in Ankara. General frustration was in the air as the difficult physical conditions of the State Ballet Company had been expressed

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<sup>170</sup> Dorman, Haldun. “İlk Uzun Türk Balesi” (The First Long Turkish Ballet), *Milliyet* newspaper, 02/06/1977

<sup>171</sup> From Oytun Turfanda’s personal archive presented in the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus.

<sup>172</sup> Letter dated as 02/02/1977. From the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus. (fig.10)

in various media. Despite deteriorating conditions, Haldun Dormen, in his article, stressed the success of the prima ballerina of *Juliet*, the performance of Meriç Sümen. He stated that she had been the prima ballerina of the Ankara State Ballet Company for the last ten years.<sup>173</sup> Also Tenasüp Onat, the first prima ballerina of Turkish ballet joined the production as a guest artist and interpreted the role of Lady Capulet with an enormous charm according to some critics. Osman Şengezer was found very successful in costume and stage designs; furthermore, the direction of the company was handled professionally by Evinç Sunal. This was a relief in terms of all the negativities concerning the actual physical conditions of the State Ballet (fig.12).

When the famous seventy year old Russian choreographer Sulamif Messerer visited the Ankara State Ballet Company to stage *La Bayadere*, it was mentioned that she fell in love with Turkish ballet and she has expressed her feelings of astonishment. She was surprised to witness such a successful yet very young company compared to Russian ballet which was 200 years old.<sup>174</sup>

Tenasüp Onat, actually the oldest witness of the first years of Ankara State Ballet Company, had been actively involved in the direction of the company with Dame Ninnette de Valois.<sup>175</sup> In fact she, with Güloya Aruoba, along with Hüsnü Sunal, also the first principal male dancer of the company, and his wife, ballerina Evinç Sunal were the first Turkish directors of the State Ballet Company after Dame Ninette de Valois' artistic direction has ended.

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<sup>173</sup> Dormen, Haldun. "Sümen ve Julliet" (Sümen and Juliet), *Milliyet* newspaper, 02/12/1978

<sup>174</sup> "70 Yaşındaki Koreograf Türk Balesine Hayran" (The Seventy Years Old Choreographer is an Admirer of Turkish Ballet), *Hürriyet* newspaper, 02/19/1978

<sup>175</sup> Tenasüp Onat and Sait Sökmen with Alev Can Öncel, an outsider of ballet and husband of Tenasüp Onat, had founded "Kuğu Bale" school in Ankara, the school continued teaching ballet for 18 years and became an alternative school to state conservatory during its time.

Dame Ninette de Valois was not present all the time in Ankara. Tenasüp Onat, in her interview, mentioned that she had received a letter from Dame Ninette, saying that she should prepare herself to direct the company.<sup>176</sup> Also Dame Ninette appointed Sait Sökmen as the principal director of the company in 1969. He had stayed in the post for almost one year. They were in administration when Dame Ninette was away. Yet, they never acquired an autonomous power. Although Dame Ninette motivated Turkish dancers to become directors of the company, until her separation from the company, in the middle of the 1970s, none of the Turkish directors were really active in this post. After Dame Ninette's active involvement ended, Evinç and Hüsnü Sunal became directors. Hüsnü and Evinç Sunal continued to be the directors of the company for many years.

#### Founders, Bureaucrats, and Pioneers: Influential Actors of Early Turkish Ballet

The nature of the relation of ballet to Turkish society can be traced back by focusing on different actors. The primary actors can be cited as the British teachers and choreographers, the Turkish bureaucrats, the Turkish dancers, choreographers and teachers and the Turkish critics of ballet.

The actual founders of Turkish ballet who went through extreme physical efforts during the establishment of schools were the British teachers and choreographers. Among them were Dame Ninette de Valois, who was also the founder of the Royal Ballet in Britain. Then, there were Turkish bureaucrats who were interested in Western forms of dance, believing that it would be appropriate for the young Republic's ideological visibility. As the representatives of the Kemalist society, bureaucrats were the messengers of the new nation-state's cultural ideology committed to establishing strong links with the Western culture.

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<sup>176</sup> Interview with Tenasüp Onat, 12/22/2006, Ankara

Actually, there is a vast discussion in Turkish social science literature related to the process of nation-building and constructing a new national identity and the role of culture in this endeavour. Şerif Mardin argued: “The Republic took over educational institutions and cultural practices from the West without realizing that these were just the tip of an iceberg of meanings, perceptions, and ontological positions”.<sup>177</sup> Surely, these meanings, perceptions and ontological positions were constantly negotiated in the process of cultural practices, more specifically in the field of ballet as one witnesses while doing research on the first thirty years.

Deniz Kandiyoti and Ayşe Saktanber discussed that the cultural policies of early Republicanism had underscored the Western orientation of the ruling elite.<sup>178</sup> State-controlled radio broadcasting preferred only Western classical music along with stylised versions of folk tunes. The ‘Oriental Music Department’ (*Şark Musikisi Şubesi*) of *Dar-ül Elhan* was closed in the end of 1920s.<sup>179</sup> The discussion on what is national included the banishment of things perceived as non-Western.

One of the main fields that contains the basic arguments in this respect was architecture. Sibel Bozdoğan provides information on modern architecture in Turkey, expressing the architectural culture of the early Republic is a “vast exertion of reconciliation between the modern and the national”.<sup>180</sup> Çağlar Keyder argues that “the silence of the masses also permitted the construction of an imaginary ‘popular’ by the elite”, more precisely by the Kemalist ruling circles.<sup>181</sup> This ‘imaginary popular’ found its place mostly in the

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<sup>177</sup> Mardin, Şerif. “Projects as Methodology”, Ed. by Bozdoğan, Sibel/Kasaba, Resat; *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, Seattle: University of Washington press, 1997, p.65

<sup>178</sup> ed. by Kandiyoti, Deniz/ Saktanber, Ayşe. *Fragments of Culture*, New Brunswick, N.J. : Rutgers University Press, 2002. p.10

<sup>179</sup> *Bir Yurttaş Yaratmak (To Create a Citizen)*, 1998, p.85

<sup>180</sup> Bozdoğan, Sibel. *Modernizm and Nation Building-Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic-*, Seattle: University of Washington Press., 2001, p.19

<sup>181</sup> Keyder, Çağlar. “Whither the project of Modernity-Turkey in the 1990s”, Ed. by Bozdoğan, Sibel/Kasaba, Resat. 1997, p.45

cultural life of the new society with its new art institutions including music, theater, dance and visual arts.

The field of dance in Turkey, before the end of the 1940s, consisted of mostly traditional styles of folk dances and ritualistic practices belonging to the religious domain, except for very few Western style dance performances among the social dances staged in urban settings like the Republic Balls. As Arzu Öztürkmen stated, women's participation in public performances had been one of the main issues in terms of public displays of dance. For folk dancing, institutions like the People's Houses, or the state television (TRT) encouraged women's participation whereas informal entertainment settings such as the 'pavyon' or 'gazino' were perceived as male spaces and dancing of women in such spaces was not considered appropriate.<sup>182</sup> Öztürkmen provides another insight with her studies in the field of folklore, she states that:

Given the dancers' perception of folk dance movements, the canonised repertoire in urban Turkey has become increasingly uniform, until it generated a totally new cultural form, '*folklor oynama*', which could not have come into existence in any cultural milieu other than that of the nation-state.<sup>183</sup>

Turkish state-sponsored ballet was born into the above mentioned dance debates. Its practice, however, took place during the transition to a multi-party political system. A political scientist, Hakan Yılmaz commented on the transition from a single to a multi-party regime in Turkey as follows:

First, the postwar regime change was a reform from above led by the state; second, the state undertook democratic reform in response to the international context; and third, the final outcome of the democratic transition was a reallocation of political power among the state actors.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Öztürkmen, Arzu. 2007

<sup>183</sup> Öztürkmen, Arzu. "I Dance Folklore", ed. by Kandiyoti, Deniz/ Saktanber, Ayse. 2002, p.142

<sup>184</sup> Yılmaz, Hakan. "Democratization from above in response to the international context: Turkey, 1945-1950" *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no.17, fall 1997

Therefore, as the second phase of Republican nation-state, ballet institutions were situated in a more complex social context with the democratic reforms followed by a reallocation of political power. During the process, they have experienced three military interventions, were totally sponsored by the state and employed British staff in the beginning. As time went by, the Turkish dancers and teachers who were raised from the first institutions became important actors in the development of Turkish dance.

*The Founders of the Infrastructure of Turkish Ballet: British Teachers and Choreographers*

In the process of the foundation of the Turkish ballet, the role of British teachers have been fundamental. Amongst them, Dame Ninette de Valois was the most important figure. She was the founder of Royal Ballet, formerly known as Sadler's Wells Ballet in Britain. She was born as Edris Stannus and had an Irish origin. As a dancer, choreographer and teacher of ballet; she had started dancing before the First World War in a children's troupe called *The Wonder Children*.<sup>185</sup> They toured all over England until 1914. In the early years of the 1920s, she had moved to Diaghilev's ballet company called *Ballet-Russe*. Her real ballet training had thus started in this important ballet company. Dame Ninette had been a student of some of the most prominent ballet teachers of the period like Edouard Espinosa, Enrico Cecchetti, Nicholas Legat, Madame Nijinska and Olga Preobrajenska. She was in the famous ballet company, Diaghilev's *Ballet-Russes* from 1923 to 1925. Apart from dancing she also learned about company management, choreography and from her studies with Cecchetti and Legat, the classic academic dance. In 1926, Dame Ninette opened her own school.<sup>186</sup> In 1931, with the renewal of the theatre space, *Sadler's Wells Theatre*, she moved

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<sup>185</sup> De Valois, Dame Ninette. *Step by Step*, London: A Howard & Wyndham Company, 1977

<sup>186</sup> Clarke, Mary; Monahan James. "Dame Ninette de Valois", *The Guardian Newspaper*, 03/09/2001



her own private ballet school into the theatre. *Sadler's Well Ballet*, later to be called *Royal Ballet*, was conceived there. In 1946, Dame Ninette de Valois opened the Royal Opera House. There *Sadler's Wells Ballet* was renamed as *Royal Ballet* and it also included the *Royal Ballet School*. Dame Ninette de Valois was the founder of the most prominent ballet institution in England.

When the Turkish authorities contacted her about founding a state ballet school in Turkey, Dame Ninette accepted the offer without a second thought. According to Zoe Anderson, a British dance critic regularly writing for the newspaper *The Independent*, De Valois knew very well that British ballet was a descendant of European and Russian ballet. In Anderson's words: "When the chance came for British ballet to create its own descendants, she jumped at it, working abroad or sending her dancers out to found other companies."<sup>187</sup>

The Royal Ballet is the oldest of Dame Ninette de Valois' companies, founded in 1931. At the same time, she set up a second company for the theatre they left behind. Anderson informed that the Sadler's Wells Theatre Ballet became the touring branch of the Royal Ballet, and in the end achieved complete independence as Birmingham Royal Ballet.

We learn from the article of Zoe Anderson and from the interview with Richard Glasstone, a long time colleague of de Valois, that also Australian and Canadian dancers seeking a ballet career turned to Britain and Dame Ninette de Valois' companies. When Canadian and Australian companies were planned, de Valois' organization was an obvious model and the first source of advice. She had recommended Sadler's Wells dancer Celia Franca to Canada. There, her new National Ballet of Canada gave its first performance in Toronto in 1951, succeeded then by a school which was established in 1959. In Australia, a former Pavlova dancer, Edouard Borovansky had founded a ballet school and a company.

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<sup>187</sup> Anderson, Zoe "Madam's Missionaries", *About the House- The Magazine of the Royal Opera House-*, London: Origin Publishing, Feb. 2006, p.29

When he died suddenly in 1959, the Australian Arts Council asked de Valois to recommend a successor. She suggested Peggy van Praagh who then followed the Royal Ballet model, setting up a school for the company. In fact, according to the same critic, Dame Ninette de Valois was an empire-builder, but one who encouraged her companies to develop their own traditions. In Dame Ninette's own words: "We can claim, in the Turkish State Ballet, the first national ballet in Europe to have its foundations laid in England. Both the Istanbul and the Ankara schools have been staffed by English teachers from Royal Ballet and elsewhere".<sup>188</sup>

Zoe Anderson explained de Valois' approach in creating new ballet schools around the world as follows:

Abroad and at home de Valois and her colleagues had the same goal, the same system. There would be a school to support each company, and new choreography. In each case she wanted to draw on the national style of the country, on its folk dances, its own music and stories.<sup>189</sup>

In 1948, she formed the nucleus of the future Turkish ballet. In his interview Richard Glasstone stated that: "she was totally devoted to Turkish ballet. Many Royal Ballet dancers were terrified of her, but her Turkish company would laugh and joke with her."<sup>190</sup>

When the Shah of Iran visited Turkey and attended a gala performance given by the Turkish Ballet in his honor, he requested from Dame Ninette de Valois to start up a similar effort in Iran in 1964 (fig.13). She went to Iran several times to pursue this goal and then sent a British teacher to follow up the work but due to actual political conditions, a ballet institution similar to Turkey could not be achieved in Iran. As Richard Glasstone informs us, Dame Ninette de Valois' work in Iran did not work out, because: "she was getting old, she

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<sup>188</sup> de Valois, Ninette. 1977

<sup>189</sup> Anderson, Zoe; 2006. p.29

<sup>190</sup> Interview with Richard Glasstone, 05/25/2007, İstanbul

did her job here, she started it there, it's for someone else to continue really and she sent British teachers (...) but then the Humeyni revolution happened there".<sup>191</sup>

Hence, one can perceive that she was eager to found other nations' ballet structures with an almost missionary attitude, but as everyone agrees she was putting a great effort in these national ballets to have characteristics of their own.

In many ways, Turkish case was a parallel achievement to what Dame Ninette de Valois had created in Britain. A National Ballet Academy, with full-time education and dance training, a professional State Ballet Company with an international repertoire and the nurturing of original choreographers, composers and designers, the training of a fully professional staff, and finally with the creation of a ballet audience. Dame Ninette put a great emphasis on full-time education of ballet and chose British teachers with outmost care. The most important ones were, Joy Newton and Audrey Knight who were the first teachers starting the school, Beatrice Appleyard followed them and Molly Lake and Travis Kemp later to join the school as directors and teachers of the school.

Molly Lake and Travis Kemp started to teach in 1955 and continued to be administrators of the same institution for twenty years. Molly Lake was one of the dancers of Pavlova Ballet Company, also a good friend of de Valois. Sevgi Sanlı in her article on Turkish Ballet in *Dancing Times* magazine told one of her memories. She attended Molly Lake's memorial service in London and Dame Ninette de Valois spoke about Molly Lake: "She and I were friends when we were very young. Molly was very industrious. I liked to have fun, go to parties and dance all night- yet I always beat her at auditions." <sup>192</sup> De Valois praised Molly Lake's contribution to ballet education in Turkey. Lake with her husband Kemp constituted a significant example for the ballet education in Turkey. Along with them,

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<sup>191</sup> Interview with Richard Glasstone, 05/25/2007, İstanbul

<sup>192</sup> Sanlı, Sevgi. "Madam's Turkish Company", *Dancing Times*, April, 1994. p.717

there were visiting artists to the conservatory such as Lorna Munsford and Robert Lunnon from Royal Ballet. Nine years after its establishment, the first graduates of the Turkish State Ballet School were to form the nucleus of what was eventually to become the Turkish State Ballet Company, housed at the Ankara Opera House. In 1960, Robert Harrold staged de Falla's *El Amor Brujo*, but the real debut as a classical ballet company came the following year with the three-curtain *Coppelia*. It was staged by Ailne Phillips, a member of the Royal Ballet Company.

Todd Bolender, a well-known musical choreographer in America, Andrée Howard, a British choreographer, Claude Newman and Nancy Hanley, ex-Royal Ballet dancers, Dudley Tomlinson, an ex-Royal Ballet dancer and a future teacher of Cape Town University of Ballet, and Richard Glasstone, a teacher/choreographer trained in South Africa and in London are some of the important choreographers and teachers who visited the company for certain periods of time and staged ballet productions.

As one conducts research on Dame Ninette de Valois' direction methods, one gets acquainted with her rigorous ways of finding positive solutions for many of the actors involved in different scenes of the ballet field. In her article based on the memories of Dame Ninette de Valois, Meath Elizabeth Baker talked about Richard Glasstone as follows:

Richard Glasstone born in the Belgian Congo did not have the profile to be taken on directly by the Royal Ballet. But by sending him to Turkey as her man, "Madam" gave him the chance to prove himself with a young and enthusiastic company at his disposal(...) After four years in Ankara, Glasstone went on to work for seventeen years at the Royal Ballet School.<sup>193</sup>

In his own words, Richard Glasstone described the first acquaintance with Dame Ninette and her invitation to Turkey as such:

I was working in Holland then but wanted to go to England. One of my teachers in Holland introduced me to Dame Ninette de Valois. I remember we were having tea in her garden at her house in London. She told me, there isn't any available post in Royal Ballet at that moment but if I would

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<sup>193</sup> Baker, Meath Elizabeth. "Memories of Madam", *Cornucopia*, issue 23, volume 4, 2001; p.12

go to Turkey for couple of years then later she might take me to Royal Ballet. I had won a second prize in choreography contest back then. She said: ‘we won’t tell them it is a second prize; we just tell them that you won a prize’. So that’s how I came to Turkey(...) it was a step for me but also was a wonderful opportunity.<sup>194</sup>

In that sense, Glasstone declared that in the beginning he perceived his work in Turkey as a step to reach the desired post in England. Dame Ninette de Valois was always the one suggesting and supervising the teachers and choreographers for the Ankara State Ballet Company. In 1963, she retired as director of Royal Ballet School and was able to devote herself more to Turkish ballet. Following her own establishment methodology, she was in search of creating original Turkish ballet. The premiere of ‘*Çeşmebaşı*’ on 17 February 1965 was a turning point in the company’s development for Richard Glasstone in terms of opening the way to future local composers, choreographers and designers: “De Valois herself was characteristically modest about her new ballet, but her cleverly structured choreography had enormous vitality and charm”<sup>195</sup>

According to Richard Glasstone, close witness to de Valois’ work and who himself spent four years in Turkey, all this had to be achieved against sometimes almost insuperable odds. There were endless battles with Turkish bureaucracy because all the artists were employed as civil servants. Compulsory military service regularly reduced the ranks of male dancers. Currency regulations hampered the import of pointe shoes. Dame Ninette de Valois earned no money. In one occasion, Richard Glasstone remembers the incident that one airline lost de Valois’ luggage. But this did not at all affect her as she said “the important things are in my hand luggage”. They turned out to be a tutu, a specific ballet costume, and several pairs of pointe shoes for the leading dancers.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> Interview with Glasstone, 05/25/2007, İstanbul

<sup>195</sup> Glasstone, Richard. “De Valois’ Turkish Adventure”, *Dance Now*, Vol.8, No.1, Spring 1999.

<sup>196</sup> Interview with Glasstone, 05/25/2007, İstanbul

Most of the people involved in Turkish ballet, either foreign or Turkish agree on the fact that her ultimate aim was gradually to train a full, Turkish staff, capable of running the ballet company without a foreign ballet master or resident choreographer. Richard Glasstone himself stated that during his time in Turkey, in the latter capacity, an important part of his mission was to assist her in training such staff. He mentioned this with an emphasis in his interview:

I have seen letters that she wrote right in the beginning when she was here. She was saying to Joy Newton; ‘you must make clear to them, to Turkish that I am not trying to make jobs for British people. I want to create jobs for Turkish people’. That was always her idea.<sup>197</sup>

By the time Glasstone left in June, 1969, the company had a ballet mistress, Güloya Gürelli Aruoba and a fine teacher and repetitor in Tenasüp Onat, as well as a Turkish choreologist, Suna Eden Şenel.<sup>198</sup>

#### *Visibility of the Turkish State in Dance Circles: Turkish Bureaucrats*

In his book, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, Feroz Ahmad states that Mustafa Kemal neither preferred to impose social convictions and symbols, nor wanted to rule Turkish society by means of traditions as Franco and Mussolini did in Spain and Italy. “He preferred to create a new ideology”, Ahmad stated, “and symbols which would permit Turkey to progress rapidly into the twentieth century”.<sup>199</sup> Since the Republican ideology chose to keep distant from the past Otoman cultural forms, it needed to invent new tradition(s) replacing the old one(s), with an eye on Westernization and universalism. As Hobsbawm indicated, one should expect ‘the invention of tradition’ to occur frequently when a transformation of

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<sup>197</sup> Interview with Glasstone, 05/25/2007, İstanbul

<sup>198</sup> Glasstone, Richard. Spring 1999

<sup>199</sup> Ahmad, Feroz. *The Making of Modern Turkey*, London; New York: Routledge, 1993, p.56

society destroys the social patterns designed by the old tradition.<sup>200</sup> Turkish nation-state was no exception to other nation-building processes. In his analysis of Turkish Republican society, Çağlar Keyder mentions that redefinition of the popular (via folklore and history) is a common feature of all nationalisms:

In the Turkish case, this redefinition could take place with more than the usual liberty because the freshly constituted elements of a popular ‘tradition’ were represented to the masses as the authentic (and official) version, without much concern for preexisting versions.<sup>201</sup>

To what degree the public, in this case “the masses”, were confronted with the construction of an imaginary popular by the ruling elite of Turkish Republic undoubtedly exceeds the limits of the thesis. It would only be fair to investigate how the imaginary popular met the public in various ways and through which vehicles popularity was established.

At this point, one can state that the newly introduced cultural forms drew much attention as in the case of ballet performances in the capital of the Republic. In fact, the Democrat Party years in power coincides with the first period of our ballet institutions since the school’s transition from Istanbul to Ankara in 1950, towards the first ballet performance of Ankara State Ballet Company in January 1961. Ironically, the chairman of the DP, Adnan Menderes expressed in numerous occasions that the ideological reforms of the Republican People’s Party were not suitable for the Turkish society in general. During its ten years in power, DP government tried to change many of the Republican aspects along with the symbolic attributes of Atatürk’s initiations like the changing of the language of ‘*ezan*’ in Turkish back to Arabic again. In an essay, he wrote:

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<sup>200</sup> ed. by Hobsbawn, Eric & Ranger, Terence. *The Invention of Tradition*, New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983, p.4

<sup>201</sup> Keyder, Çağlar “Whither the Project of Modernity-Turkey in the 1990s” in ed. by Bozdoğan, Sibel/Kasaba, Resat; *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, Seattle: University Of Washington press, 1997, p.45

The city culture was a poor imitation of the Western way of life, morally corrupt and anti-national. The villages, on the other hand, remained as the repository of the national values and traditions. The early Kemalist project of modernizing the villages by means of education, and to inculcate urban values in the peasants, was not only unrealistic but also destructive.<sup>202</sup>

One of the modernizing institutions in the villages were the Village Institutes (Köy Enstitüleri) which were founded in 1940 and terminated in 1954.<sup>203</sup> With the discontinuation of two early Republican institutions, first the People's Houses in 1951 and then the Village Institutes in 1954, the political and social atmosphere grew to be more polarized. The DP government tried to curtail freedom of speech of the growing opposition of the press, the universities and the outspoken bureaucrats.<sup>204</sup>

Interestingly, the DP era had a rather positive effect on ballet circles. The government did not intervene in the internal affairs of educational institutions and it was during the DP era that the ballet artists salaries went up. When the first State Ballet Company began its performances in Ankara during 1960-61 season, Turkey had recently witnessed its first military intervention and the DP government was overthrown by a coup d'état on May 27, 1960. The military officials formed a committee called 'Committee of National Union' (CNU) which governed Turkey until the convention of newly elected parliament on October, 1961. The mass trials of the former president, prime minister, cabinet members, parliamentaries, and other bureaucrats of the DP administration divided the public

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<sup>202</sup> Menderes, Andan quoted in Yılmaz, Hakan "The Democrat Party Period in Turkey, 1950-1960: Populists, Progressives, and Officers", *unpublished manuscript, PhD thesis*, submitted to Columbia University, 1995, p.2

<sup>203</sup> See for more detailed discussion: Kirby, Fay. *Türkiye'de Köy Enstitüleri* (Village Institutes in Turkey), Ankara: İmece Yay., 1962., Karaömerlioğlu, Asım. *Orada bir Köy Var Uzakta: Erken Cumhuriyet Döneminde Köycü Söylem* (There is a Village Far Ahead: Village Discourse in the Early Republican Era), İstanbul: İletişim Yay., 2006., Öztürkmen, Arzu. "Folk dance and Nationalism in Turkey", *Proceedings of the 17th Symposium of the Study Group on Ethno-choreology*, 1992, vol.1; 1994 and *Türkiye'de Folklor ve Milliyetçilik, İletişim Yay.*, İstanbul, 1998.

<sup>204</sup> "The press law amendment restricted the criticism towards persons in the positions of authority and increased punishments for journalists in March, 1954. Three months later, the same year; another law endowed the government with the authority of retiring any state official without regarding their quality or length of service. Twenty-five judges were forcibly retired in May 1956. The dismissal of the dean of the Faculty of Political Science at Ankara University was followed." Yılmaz, Hakan. *Unpublished manuscript, PhD thesis*, 1995, p.10



into two. Following the verdicts of the special court on September 15, 1961, Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, Foreign Minister Fatin Rüştü Zorlu, and Finance Minister Hasan Polatkan Zorlu were hanged, opening a new era upon the traumatic memory of this political revolution.<sup>205</sup> Three months after the executions, The State Ballet Company performed its first three-curtain ballet piece, *Coppelia* in Ankara and the audience always continued to consist of state bureaucrats (fig.14)

For a certain period of time, the hallways and the intermissions of ballet performances provided another stage for both internal and international affairs. As one can observe, regardless of political affiliations, Turkish bureaucrats' political visibility was firmly established inside the opera and ballet buildings of the Turkish Republic. Although these new art forms symbolized the direct connection to Western life-styles, they also probably presented a neutral space or a shelter for public displays in the context of the turmoiled political life of Turkish citizens.

During the thirty years' time spectrum, there were various approaches towards dance by the different governments of Turkey. At certain times, the institution was in close supervision but at other times the material conditions deteriorated. Bureaucrats approached dance in different manners but for the first thirty years, one can observe that the relation of dance to bureaucratic elites was quite strong. Despite the fact that his party's political view adopted a more conservative approach to Republican reforms, Adnan Menderes was after all part of the elite of the early Republican era. He was the one who approved the improvement of dancers' salaries. Similarly, İsmet İnönü and Celal Bayar were physically present, attending the premiers of ballet performances along with many other politicians. If one borrows the term of Çağlar Keyder, one example of 'the imaginary popular' of the new

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<sup>205</sup> Yılmaz, Hakan. 1995, p.26

Republic had been sustained in gala performances of newly found ballet institution, the Ankara State Ballet Company.<sup>206</sup>

As mentioned above, following shortly after the military intervention in 1960, *Coppelia* was performed as the first three-curtain ballet piece by the graduates of the State Conservatory of ballet in January 1961. It had extensive press coverage. The newspaper *Hürriyet* published a big photo showing İsmet İnönü, the President of Republican People's Party, accompanied by Prof. Turhan Fevzioğlu, Minister of Education who congratulated the ballet dancers.<sup>207</sup> (fig.14) It is inevitable that one comes across reviews in newspapers making comparisons with Democratic Party years after it was overthrown by the military intervention. Reviews indicated how they tried to reverse the improvements of Republican reforms by closing down the People's Houses and supporting the religious institutions along with their ways of life instead of developing art and culture, particularly the Western forms of art.<sup>208</sup> In that sense, in the media, the success of the young ballet company was seen as revenge against those who "destroyed the cultural life".

During the 20th anniversary of the Turkish ballet in 1967, Richard Glasstone staged *Sylvia*. The president Cevdet Sunay and the Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel were present at the premier. Süleyman Demirel was elected as the chairman of a newly established Justice Party, a representative of the DP legacy, founded in 1961. Although they obtained nearly fifty percent of the votes in 1961 elections, JP (AP) could not form a government. For four years the country was governed by RPP(CHP)-dominated coalition governments. In 1965's elections JP (AP) came to power and thus the period of center-right governments restarted. The chairman of JP, Süleyman Demirel who became the new prime-minister stated that:

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<sup>206</sup> The term, 'imaginary popular' is borrowed from Çağlar Keyder.

<sup>207</sup> *Hürriyet* newspaper, 01/30/1961

<sup>208</sup> Alpar, Hayri. "Coppelia", *Yeni Gazete* newspaper, 02/01/1961

“The government which came to power in 1950 was the first government which made it possible for the people to participate in the administration(...)and this was the reason behind the intervention of 1960. Our elites could not live with the people”.<sup>209</sup>

Yet, the elite-initiated new art form of ballet flourished with the people and the bureaucratic circles of JP (AP) also participated in its representation. These examples constitute an understanding that different governments remained in the general picture dependless of whether they favored ballet as a Western art form introduced to Turkish society or criticized it as an elite-led institution. They motivated thier bureaucratic circles to participate in the gala performances, they were covered in the media and actually followed the process of the Turkish ballet’s improvement. The institution itself presented a sort of untouchable, neutral space for various political affiliations until a certain time.

Again in 1967, we come across another important event in the premier of a ballet piece *Pagodalar Prensi*, summarized best in newspaper critic Gül Peri’s article, titled “While the Cyprus situation was in negotiation, Politics and Ballet were hand in hand”. The article mentioned the tense discussions on Cyprus and the atmosphere filled with rumors of the possibility of war. The British ambassador’s whisper to the ear of the former Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs during the intermission of the ballet, and the Russian ambassador and his wife’s happiness followed by intense phone calls all contributed to the softening of the political tension while watching the performance:

You could imagine during those days when President Johnson’s private representative was back and forth between Athens and Nicosia, the nerves of our capital city’s inhabitants were drained. News changed hourly, no one knew how the sun would set. State Ballet Company’s new production ‘*Pagodalar Prensi*’ coincided with such a night(...) The Russian ambassador Smirnof and his wife, together with the American ambassador’s wife Mrs. Hart looked very cheerful but there was great interest in what the British ambassador told to the ear of ex-Foreign Minister Feridun Cemal Erkin. Phone calls in the intermission changed the peacefull mood into war. In short, state ballet has premiered in the capital

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<sup>209</sup> Demirel, Süleyman quoted in Yılmaz, Hakan. 1995, p.3

city in such a tense atmosphere. The impact of art becomes perceptible at such times. As the ballet production continued, the air softened, the beautiful stars of our ballet shone into our hearts(...) Amongst the audience were the president of the parliament Ferruh Bozbeyli and his wife, Minister of Education İlhami Ertem and his wife, the wife of Istanbul Mayor, Mrs. İşcan, their daughter and her husband, along with Japanese, American, Russian, Yugoslavian, British ambassadors.<sup>210</sup>

After the second military intervention (note) on March, 1971, the Prime Minister Demirel resigned. In his analysis of Turkish political dynamics of that period, Ersin Kalaycıoğlu stated that the military had insisted a neutral, technocratic prime minister and cabinet be appointed. In the end, the president appointed such a cabinet, and the National Assembly supported the initiative.<sup>211</sup> Minister of Culture of this new cabinet, Talat Halman presented “the first state honorary award” to Dame Ninette de Valois for her ongoing work and services for the Turkish Ballet (fig.15). In his speech, Talat Halman emphasized that the art of ballet had been one of the greatest artistic victories of Atatürk’s Turkey. It was the 24th anniversary of the Turkish ballet that year and its great success was envied by countries that had “hundreds of years of ballet tradition”. In Ankara and Istanbul, two classical ballet companies and one modern dance company had been established and a new traditional dance company was about to be founded in the context of the State Ballet:

It is with unrivaled pleasure that we have the honor of presenting ‘the Turkish Republic’s first state honorary award to foreigners’ to Dame Ninette de Valois who has rewarded and graced our ballet with her

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<sup>210</sup> Peri, Gül. “Kıbrıs Görüşmeleri yapılırken Politika ve Bale Kolkolaydı” (While the Cyprus Negotiations were Taking Place, the Politics and Ballet were hand in hand), *Akşam* newspaper, 12/03/1967. – “Başkan Johnson’un özel temsilcisi Vance’in Atina, Lefkoşe, Ankara arasında mekik dokuduğu günlerde, başkentlilerde sinir diye bir şey kalmadığını tahmin edersiniz. Haberler saat başı değişiyor, başkent üzerine nasıl bir güneş doğacağını hiç kimse bilmiyordu. Devlet Balesinin yeni temsili Pagodalar Prensi de böyle bir geceye rastladı...Ön sıralarda oturan Sovyet elçisi Smirnof ve eşi, Amerikan sefinesi bayan Hart oldukça neşeli gözüküyorlardı ama İngiliz elçisinin eski Dışişleri Bakanı Feridun Cemal Erkin’in kulağına ne söylediği büyük bir merak konusuydu. Perde arası yapılan telefon konuşmaları ise barışa dönük havayı yine savaşa çeviriyordu. Sözün kısası devlet balesi yeni temsiliyle böyle gergin bir havada çıktı Başkentlilerin karşısına. Sanatın havası da asıl böyle zamanlarda belli oluyor. Bale devam ettikçe hava yumuşadı, balemizin güzel yıldızları gözlerimizi de gönümüzü de parlattılar...Galanın seyircileri arasında Meclis Başkanı Ferruh Bozbeyli ve eşi, Milli Eğitim Bakanı İlhami Ertem ve eşi, İstanbul Belediye Başkanının eşi Bn. İşcan, kızı ve damadı, Japon ,Yugoslav, Amerikan, Sovyet, İngiliz elçileri... dikkati çekiyordu...”

<sup>211</sup> Kalaycıoğlu, Ersin. “The Making of the Modern Turkish State” in ed.by Kesselman, Mark; Krieger, Joel; Joseph, William A. *Introduction to Comparative Politics*, Boston: Houghton-Migglin, 2005; p. 215

outstanding creativity and experience, educating our ballet artists, inspiring our success in the dance field.<sup>212</sup>

The speech clearly defined the foundation of ballet in Turkey as one of the aims of Atatürk's Republic. The artistic endeavors of the Republic were stressed in the occasion, right after eight months of the second military intervention (note) in 1971.

When the company performed *Romeo and Juliet* in 1972, newspaper critic Müşerref Hekimoğlu wrote about this ballet performance, focusing on the political tension in the capital city, the severe attacks of the president Sunay and its influence on the Justice Party. President Sunay attended the premier of *Romeo and Juliet* that night and according to the critic, he was able to forget the political disputes by watching the performance:

At my side our London ambassador's wife Necla Kunalalp and Vienna ambassador's wife Türkan Mayatepek are seated (...) President Sunay accepted the artists after the curtain closed. The audience strongly applauded Dame Ninette de Valois who has labored greatly for Turkish ballet.<sup>213</sup>

In some reviews for the staging of *Hürrem Sultan* in 1977, one can perceive that the premier of the ballet coincided with the head of the Turkish parliament, Tekin Arıburnu's official

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<sup>212</sup> "Ninette de Valois'e Kültür Armağanı verildi" (Ninette de Valois Received a Cultural Honorary Award), *Yeni Gün* newspaper, 11/13/1971 - *Bale Atatürkçü Türkiye'nin üstün sanat zaferlerinden biri olmuştur. Bugün kuruluşunun 24.yıldönümünü kutladığımız Türk balesi yüz yıldan uzun bale geleneği olan ülkeleri bile imrendirecek bir başarı seviyesindedir. Bugün Ankara ve İstanbul'da iki klasik bale topluluğumuz, bir modern dans topluluğumuz çalışmaktadır ve Devlet balesi içinde yeni bir halk oyunları topluluğu kurmaktayız. Balemizin kurulmasında ve büyük aşamalar yapmasında belki de herkesten fazla Dame Ninette de Valois'nun hizmeti geçmiştir... Ülkemizin balesine 24 yıldır üstün yaratıcılığını ve tecrübesini armağan eden sanatçılarımızı titizlikle yetiştiren, dans alanındaki başarılarımıza ilham ve heyecan getiren Dame Ninette de Valoi'ya Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin yabancılara verilen devlet kültür armağanlarından ilkinin sunmak, bizler için büyük bir şeref ve eşsiz bir zevktir.*

<sup>213</sup> Hekimoğlu, Müşerref. "Başkent'in Tansiyonunu Sanat Olayları Düşürüyor- Romeo ve Jülyet Rüya gibi bir Bale, bu rüyayı Sunay da gördü" (Artistic Events are Calming Down the Temperature of The Capital- A Ballet like Romeo and Julliet, Sunay Also had the Dream), unknown newspaper, 10/31/1972. From the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus. Appendix no:5 - 30 ekim günü Başkent gergin bir havadaydı yine, *Büyük Tiyatronun holünde buluşanlar olayların gelişmesi üzerine yorumlar yapıyordu. Aynı saatlerde AP yönetim kurulu toplanmış, Sunay'ın sert çıkışını tartışıyor, Başkent'in nabzını iyi bilenler de Genel yönetim Kurulu üyelerinin istifa edeceğini konuşuyordu. Derken perde açıldı, artık AP'de, Başkent'in gerginliği de gerilerde kaldı. Olayların göbeğinde yaşayan Cumhurbaşkanı Sunay bile şeref locasında birkaç saat başka bir dünyaya daldı denebilir... Yanımda Londra sefiremiz Necla Kunalalp ve yeni Viyana sefiremiz Türkan Mayatepek oturuyor... Her zaman söylerim, kulisdeki bütün alaturkalıklara rağmen Batılı tek kuruluşumuz bu... Cumhurbaşkanı Sunay perde kapandıktan sonar sanatçıları kabul etti locasında. Türk balesine çok emek veren Dame Ninette de Valois da çok alkışlandı seyirciler tarafından.*

dinner, but many high level bureaucrats like Ali Naili Erdem, the Minister of Education, Fuat Bayramođlu, General Secretary of the President of the Republic, and Hilmi Fırat, Commander of Naval Offices preferred the ballet premiere to the official dinner.<sup>214</sup>

The Istanbul State Ballet Company was formed in 1970. During the period of 1970-1980, there were many fluctuations in terms of artistic investments and policies of this art form that had affected the dance artists directly.

One can state that the interest in ballet as an art form and the value given by Turkish bureaucrats has considerably decreased during the 1980s. The popular and commercial art forms drew more attention than the ballet performances, and the bureaucratic circles of the Republic chose to appear in different social settings other than gala performances of Turkish State Ballet Companies. One may also add that these first thirty years of Turkish ballet could not create a wider involvement with the public, and therefore it ceased to exist in the popular imagination of the society.

#### *Pioneers of Turkish Ballet: Turkish Dancers, Choreographers and Teachers*

At the end of the first decade of State Conservatory, the graduates took their posts in the State Ballet Company in Ankara. The full Turkish staff of the company consisted of its graduates. The first two generations of Turkish dancers took the positions as administrators, ballet-mistresses, teachers and eventually choreographers. These were the first children of Turkish National Ballet educated by British teachers, most affectively by Dame Ninette de Valois who had guided them for future administrative work after their dance career was over.

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<sup>214</sup> “Devlet Balesi Hürrem Sultan’la Perdelerini Açtı” (State Ballet Opened its Curtain with Hürrem Sultan), Ankara Office, *Tercüman*, February, 1977, from the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus, Appendix: 6 - *Hürrem Sultan’ın galası ile Senato Başkanı Tekin Arıburun’un yemeđi aynı geceye rastlamıştı. Ama “Bale”yi ‘Yemek’e tercih edenler vardı. Eğitim Bakanı Ali Naili Erdem, kontenjan senatörü Şerif Tüten, Cumhurbaşkanlığı Genel Sekreteri Fuat Bayramođlu, Deniz kuvvetleri Komutanı Hilmi Fırat, Dışışleri mensupları salonun siyasi ve askeri kesimini oluşturuyordu...Hürrem Sultan’ın galasında üniversite mensupları da dikkat çekti. Prof. Reşat Aktan, Doç. Mukbil Özyörük, Doç. Kurthan Fişek, Dr. İlber Ortaylı görebildiklerimiz arasındaydı.*

The Turkish dancers' impact can be categorized in four sections. Firstly, there were those who were strongly attached to the creative processes. Secondly, there were dancers who were directly involved in teaching, either as repetitors or mistresses. Some were more interested in the administrative aspect and others were strongly connected to performing. Of course, many of them practiced different endeavors in the process. Duygu Aykal, for instance, worked both as an administrator as well as a choreographer. Deniz Olgay Yamanus worked extensively as a repetitor as well as a dancer or Güloya Gürelli Aruoba made choreographies and taught as well along with her administrative activities. Yet mostly, they were interested in one or two things in a stronger way than others. In that way, they left their traces in the Turkish ballet.

The first generation of Turkish dancers included Tenasüp Onat, Hüsnü Sunal, Kaya İlhan, Güloya Gürelli Aruoba, Güzide Kalın Noyan, and Ayla Ünal. Except for Kaya İlhan, all had continued their classical dance career in the Ankara State Opera and Ballet House. Tenasüp Onat, Güloya Gürelli Aruoba and Hüsnü Sunal were the first directors of Ankara State Ballet Company. Tenasüp Onat obtained a diploma from "Royal Academy of Dancing" in Britain and she worked as the ballet mistress and director to the company. She was sent there with a scholarship by Dame Ninette de Valois. In an interview, she reflected her experience abroad as follows:

I went to England. Rene Homme, the French teacher (...) I first attended his classes in teaching. He told me to show him a 'retire', I did it; he said 'I know that you can do it but how are you going to teach to do it?' Then I understood that I was deeply ignorant (...) When I started to do the *retiré*, I sweated like hell. He asked what I could teach. A *plié* perhaps, the easiest one. I said that I didn't know either. He said that we were beginning from the abc.<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>215</sup> Interview with Tenasüp Onat, 12/22/2006, Ankara, – İngiltereye gittim. Rene Homme denen Fransız asıllı hoca. Onunla eğitimlik üzerine çalışmaya başladım. Bana 'retire'mi göstermemi söyledi, yaptım. 'Yapabildiğini biliyorum, nasıl öğreteceksin onu göstermeni istiyorum' diyince anladımki birinci derece cahilim. Retire'ye başladığımız zaman ter böyle aktı. Dedi ki "Retire nasıl öğretilir bilmiyorsun, başka bir şey biliyor musun? Plié en basiti, nasıl öğretilir?" "Onu da bilmiyorum" dedim, "burdan 'A'dan başlayacağız" dedi.

Onat had started to learn how to teach ballet right from the start. As she stressed in the interview, practicing and teaching were indeed two completely different expertise and unfortunately in Turkey what was experienced in later periods was the fact that practitioners directly shifted to teaching.

Like Tenasüp Onat, Güloya Gürelli Aruoba also worked as a ballet mistress, repetitor and a director besides choreographing in Istanbul State Ballet Company as well as in Ankara. She was the first director of Istanbul State Ballet Company and stayed in that post for ten years. Hüsnü Sunal as one of the first prima dancers of the company continued his career as a director of Ankara State Ballet Company for almost twenty years with his wife Evinç Sunal.

The second generation of choreographers included Sait Sökmen, Oytun Turfanda, Duygu Aykal, Geyvan McMillen, and dancers included Meriç Sümen, Binay Okurer, Gülcan Tunççekiç, Suna Eden Şenel, Yüksel Çapanoğlu, the twin sisters Rezzan Ürey, Ümran Ürey, Güneş Berk and Jale Kazbek. Suna Eden Şenel became the first “choreologist” of the company and followed by Yüksel Çapanoğlu.<sup>216</sup> Güneş Berk had also studied one year of choreology in Britain and worked as assistant notator as well.

Sait Sökmen was the first Turkish choreographer. His modern ballet piece called *Wheel / Çark* was staged in Ankara in 1968 followed by Duygu Aykal’s and Oytun Turfanda’s choreographies. After her staging of *Çeşmebaşı*, Dame Ninette de Valois was in search of Turkish choreographers in the company. Sait Sökmen remembers that she had asked him to make choreography right after *Çeşmebaşı*, but he was afraid to try it in the

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<sup>216</sup> Choreology was defined by its inventor Rudolf Benesh as ‘the aesthetic and scientific study of all forms of human movement by movement notation’. This movement notation developed by Joan and Rudolf Benesh in 1955, is based on a more clearly visual rather than symbolic form of notation. It is written on a five-line stave, recording the dancer’s position as viewed from behind. The top line shows the position of the top of the head; the second, the shoulders; the third, the waist; the fourth, the knees; and the fifth, the feet. Movement notation gives a true and accurate, three dimensional representation of movement. *Encyclopedia of Britannica online* www.britannica.com, 08/21/2007



beginning. After a couple of years, he was willing to try and *Çark* was created. He preferred to make the choreography to Ravel's music. In his own words:

Young mind (...) a mind that is willing to exceed the mountains. I chose Ravel's 'Quartet' and informed Ninette that I was going to use Ravel's music. She said 'Couldn't you choose an easier one?', I replied that I wanted to make a valuable choreography with worthy music. She wished me good luck. <sup>217</sup>  
(fig.16)

Second generation of dancers took different paths. Sait Sökmen and Duygu Aykal presented the modern tendencies in ballet followed by Geyvan McMillen, whereas Oytun Turfanda's pieces were examples of strictly classical ballet with Turkish themes, musical compositions and dance style. In his interview, Richard Glasstone expressed his thoughts about Sait Sökmen and compared him to other Turkish choreographers like Oytun Turfanda:

Sait was an interesting character. He was a very intelligent boy, very talented. On the one hand, he knew what was good, what Madame was saying was good. He knew that she was giving him opportunities because he did the first choreography. But he resented having the British here; on the one hand he was saying 'why do we need them?' Then maybe he wanted to do choreography and Madame gave him the first opportunity but she wanted Oytun. She always said about Oytun, 'that's the one who is going to make choreographies' and maybe that annoyed Sait (...) Also the ballet is all about princes and princesses and he wanted something more. He had socialist tendencies and maybe he wanted to be more on the modern side (...) Oytun was very talented as a dancer, as a choreographer. I liked Oytun very much and he loved Madame, he really loved her. She loved him too. I think he was not a strong character, and I think the others were always jealous of him because he was doing well. Already I have given him the principal part in Sylvia. I could see his talent as a dancer and Madame could see the choreographer in him. She had an eye for that. <sup>218</sup>

In fact, Richard Glasstone agreed with the argument related to Turkish perception of British teachers and choreographers, the problematic relations among the Turkish dancers and the tension between the tendencies of classical and modern choreographers.

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<sup>217</sup> Television Documentary, director: Muzaffer Evcı, TRT "Sahnedeki Tutku"/3. Bölüm-Balenin Büyüsü- (Passion on Stage/ 3rd Section- The Magic of Ballet-), 2001- *Genç kafa...çabuk dağları aşmak isteyen kafa, gittim Ravel'in Quartet'ini seçtim. Ninette'e gittim, Ravel seçtiğimi söyledim. 'Daha kolay bir müzik seçemezmiydin?' dedi. 'Koreografi yapacağım müziğin değerli olmasını istedim' dedim. 'Peki, kolay gelsin' dedi.*

<sup>218</sup> Interview with Richard Glasstone, 05/25/2007, İstanbul

The dance audiences and critics carefully followed the four prima-ballerinas of the 1960s and the 70s, namely Meriç Sümen, Binay Okurer, Gülcan Tunççekiç and Jale Kazbek. They always got a lot of attention from the public and their private lives were examined since they were more than dance icons. They rather became national female figures and even after they stopped dancing, media continued to report about them. Their performances even got the attention of one of the leading literary figures of the conservative front, Ahmet Kabaklı who happened to be a family acquaintance of Binay Okurer, the principal dancer of Coppelia. Kabaklı gave a detailed review about her in one of his articles. He provided information on her personality during her childhood and that her uncle, Cahit Okurer, a famous literature teacher of Turkey bought her all kinds of ballet magazines from London, during a time when foreign currency was quite difficult to find.<sup>219</sup>

In another review signed as Gülal in the popular *Ses* magazine, an interview was made with Binay Okurer which stressed her talent on music and theatre as well as dancing. This review also gave some artistic information on the relationship between music, dance and drama, and their impact on the art of ballet. The critic established a resemblance of Binay Okurer with the characters of Kerime Nadir's novels. Her ballet education supported by a strong musical education was seen as the primary cause of her success.<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> Kabaklı, Ahmet. "Coppelia", *Tercüman* newspaper, 02/02/1961- *Coppelia Balesi'nin çocuk denecek yaşta genç yıldızı Binay Okurer'i, Swanilda rolünde seyredirken kafamda nice anılar canlandı: İlkokula başladığı günleri hatırlıyorum; koyu yeşil gözlü, beyaz tenli bir kızdı...Zihni gibi vücudu da çevikti. Herhalde sevimli Türk balesinin ilk yıldızı olacağı kestirilemez ama birşeyler yapacağı umulurdu...Sene 1957 idi. Binay'ın kıymetli amcası Cahit Okurer ile Londra'da buluşmuş 'Royal Bale'de bir temsile gitmiştik. Cahit bey poz poz balerin resimleri, dergiler ve tablolar satın alıyordu. Döviz kıtlığında bunları ne yapacağını sordum. -Bizim Binay, Ankara bale okulunda dedi. Çok kabiliyetli görünüyor. Hocaları beğeniyor. Akli fikri, büyük bale yıldızlarında...Dün akşam ki başarısını görünce, amcasının ne kadar haklı olduğunu anladım.*

<sup>220</sup> Gülay, *Ses* Magazine, 02/15/1961- *Türk Sanat Dünyasında, özellikle bale gibi güzelsanatların en zor dalında, hem de Coppelia gibi güç bir yapıtın Swanilda rolünde, ilk oyunuyla bir yıldız olup parlayan Binay Okurer ile konuştum evinde...Kerime Nadir'in romanlarındaki içli kız tiplerinden biri gibi geldi bana...Konservatuarda Beatrice Appleyard (şimdi Fenmen)in elinde yetişmiş. İlkokulda iken müzik öğretmeni Kemal Eoğlu ondaki aşırı sanat kabiliyetini sezmiş, mandolin çalıştırmış. Müzik anlayışı ve ritm duygusu üstünlükle gelişmiş. Baleciler için müziğin ne kadar önemli olduğunu kendisi de biliyor. Konservatuarda bir yıl da piyano çalmış. Benim de bildiğime göre, bir zamanlar bu okulda balecilere piyano öğretilirdi. Ne yzak ki sonradan bu çok faydalı işten vazgeçildi.*

In the field of stage and costume design in Turkey, Osman Şengezer constituted a significant example. Şengezer had attended the Architectural Department of Middle Eastern Technical University for two years and then was transferred to Ankara University's Faculty of Language, History and Geography to study drama and criticism.<sup>221</sup> One of his friends who was in the ballet conservatory at the time asked him to help her with her stage design assignment and that was how he became interested in stage and costume design in ballet. The head designer of Ankara State Opera and Ballet was Ulrich Damrau between 1955 and 1962. Becoming Damrau's assistant, Şengezer continued to design for Turkish ballet for many years.

For a long period of time, Meriç Sümen and Oytun Turfanda were acclaimed as the favorite couple of the ballet performances. Their artistic talents and physical expertise were praised in many of the critical reviews of their time. A review for the ballet piece *Judith* commented on Meriç Sümen and Oytun Turfanda's artistic experience as follows:

Meriç Sümen (Güventürk) in her role as Judith was able to show all her lyrical talent in her sensitive interpretation and to present her noble look. Meriç performed Judith's despair, later on her flirtatious seductiveness and in the end the feeling of losing her only love with dramatical tones, delicate points and with flawless success. Her partner Oytun Turfanda is flattering in the character of Hollyfernes with his dynamic movements and his maturing acting.<sup>222</sup> (fig.17)

Similarly, Müşerref Hekimoğlu reviewed *Kuşu Gölü* in one of her articles commenting on Turkish artists' enthusiasm. In her view, Meriç Sümen and Oytun Turfanda's artistic capabilities were very high. While watching their performances, one gained an understanding of 'what a filtered art form ballet was': "Meriç Sümen is almost

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<sup>221</sup> A Theater Institute was opened in 1958 and closed in 1962. The Theater Department opened again in 1964 inside the Faculty of Language, History and Geography, having a four years curriculum and providing a university diploma for its graduates in Ankara.

<sup>222</sup> Başağa, Nermin. "Üç Bale" (Three Ballets), *Yeni Gün*, 01/15/1971- Meriç Güventürk *Judith* rolünde tüm soylu görünüşü ve yorumundaki duygulu, lirik yeteneklerini gösterme fırsatını bulmuştu. Meriç, *Judith*'in umutsuzluğunu, sonradan cilveli baştan çıkartıcılığını, sonunda ise biricik aşkını yitirmesini dramatik öğelerle, zarif pointlerle yorumu kusursuz bir üstün başarı ile sürdürdü. Partnörü Oytun Turfanda *Hollyfernes* rolünde yeğin hareketleri, gittikçe rahat olgunlaşan oyunu ile...övgüye değer.

dancing with her eyelashes, presenting the softness of the feathers of a swan. Oytun Turfanda is also a very successful and an elegant dancer.”<sup>223</sup>

A look at the reviews of ballet in the Turkish press reveals a direct interest in the lives of ballet dancers. One can understand that the private lives of these dancers were the subject of both positive and negative attention. Especially the women dancers were seen as symbols of the new Turkish women who built a career in one of the most daring fields of Western art, the ballet. They differed from their heirs who had not attracted that much attention from the public and the critics. This was related to the changing status and social role of the art of ballet after the 1980s.

During the first thirty years, between 1950 and 1980, and particularly after 1960, when the State Ballet Company was established, ballet as an institution played an important symbolic role in the encounters of Turkish bureaucratic circles and among the intellectuals of the society. A Western art form transferred to Turkish society had a symbolic value in the eyes of the Republican elite, for both left oriented RPP (CHP) voters and right wing conservatives of DP and much later for the JP (AP) followers. Interestingly, a conservative intellectual like Ahmet Kabaklı expressed the feeling of the conservative front in a direct way. He stated that ballet needed great effort and discipline. Irregularity, neglect, separation from group harmony would degenerate the performance. In that sense, ballet was a totally Western art. According to the critic, Turkish society’s greatest deficiency in life and on stage was group work. But with the work of young ballet artists, this could change. In Kabaklı’s words: “We wish that the Western type of order that we perceived in Coppelia performance

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<sup>223</sup> Hekimoğlu, Müşerref. “Kuğu Gölü” (Swan Lake), *Yeni Halkçı Gazete*, 11/19/1974- *Bale genç bir sanat dalı, sanatçılar heyecanlarını yitirmediklerini belirtiyor her sahnede. Meriç Sümen, Oytun Turfanda çiftini seyretmek ayrı bir zevk ve heyecan veriyor insane. Balenin nasıl bir süzme sanat olduğuna inanıyorsunuz. Meriç Sümen bir kuğunun beyaz tüylerindeki yumuşaklığı veriyor danslarında, kirpikleriyle dans ediyor adeta. Oytun Turfanda da çok başarılı, ayrıca çok zarif bir dansçı. Özellikle selam sahnelerinde geride kalarak, Meriç Sümen’i öne itmesi çok hoş. Kuğu gölünde kuğuların dansı ağır basıyor ama Meriç ve Oytun çifti bu ağırlığı hissettirmeden çok dengeli dans ettiler.*

would inspire our unconfined lives. I congratulate from the bottom of my heart the founder of Turkish ballet Dame Ninette de Valois and the dancers.”<sup>224</sup>

This concept of Western type of art bringing a Western type of order to ‘our unconfined lives’, as expressed in the words of Kabaklı, was a projection of a general sentiment about the art of ballet in Turkish society during that period. That was also why the Turkish ballet dancers represented new role models for the Republican society. They were the ones into the first generation of the young Republic, trained in Western type of order and discipline, and mixing a distant beauty with their local realities. They were brought up inside the borders of Turkey, the first products of the strongly desired and constructed national identity, yet always having an eye on Western concept of progress. This combination was thrilling in the eyes of the elite circles of the society.

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<sup>224</sup> Kabaklı, Ahmet. “Coppelia”, *Tercüman* newspaper, 02/02/1961- *Bale, büyük bir emek ve disiplin isteyen bir sanattır. Müsiki, dans, giysi ve dekorlar bu sanatta vaz geçilmez bir ahenk kurmalıdır. Başı bozukluk, ihmal, gevşeklik, küme ahenginden bir santim ayrılış, bütün bir temsili soysuzlaştırır. Bu yüzden bale tam bir batı sanatıdır. En kabası 20 yaşında olan bizim genç çocuklar, bu üstün sanatı heyecan ve zevk ile başardılar. En büyük eksiğimiz, hayatta ve sahnede, küme çalışması idi; güzel çocuklar bu yolda bir çığır açtılar...Coppelia temsilinde gördüğümüz batılı intizamın, başıboş hayatımızın her safhasına ilham vermesini dilerken, Türk balesinin kurulmasında büyük hizmeti geçen Dame Ninette de Valois’yi, ve bazı sanatçıları can ve gönülden tebrik ederim.*

## CHAPTER IV

### RETHINKING ISSUES OF TURKISH BALLET: GROWING PAINS OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION

A survey of written literature and oral narratives shows us that three main issues surface in the historical exploration of the institutionalization of Turkish ballet. The first of these consists of the question of how the British roots of Turkish ballet had an impact on its development up to 1980. The relation to British dance experts deserves a careful look for the inside story of a young national institution. The tensions and conflicts of this specific relation may expose an underestimated issue of intercultural exchange in the artistic field of dance. This process which had an influence on the artistic development of ballet in Turkey led to a shift from the British school to the Russian one. That brings us to our second issue, the change in artistic schools and the nature of foreign expertise. Definitely, the gradual separation of Dame Ninette de Valois was related to the growing demands of Turkish actors in the institutions. The external support of the British school was eventually replaced by the Russian counterpart. This change needs to be explored thoroughly.

The third issue that needs to be analyzed is the role and the nature of administrative conflicts. The administrative conflicts among ballet institutions and actors had been an important factor which affected both the artistic history of dance and the historical development of the dance institutions in Turkey. The conflict between opera, theatre and ballet structures has been an issue present at all times. Directors who did not have

necessarily an art-related background were appointed by governments of the time created undesired conditions. The problematic relation of the conservatory as an educational institution to the State Company of Ballet as a professional one should also be dealt with in detail. In addition to that, artistic policies were affected by Turkey's political stance throughout these thirty years, mostly because this period was subjected to three military interventions. Therefore, the political history should also be considered in relation to the art of ballet and the consequent conflicts in the administrative side should be cleared out.

Administrative problems showed themselves through the personal relations of Turkish dancers in the institutions as well. The first three generations of dancers were brought up in the boarding school at Ankara State Conservatory before they were appointed as the first dancers of Ankara State Ballet Company. On the one hand, they shared a common feeling of "distinction". On the other, being raised in boarding school system, they had developed very close ties which became problematic as some became directors, teachers or choreographers in the same company and school. The feeling of belonging to the "ballet-family" versus the veracity of professionalism was a crucial issue in the context of institutionalization of Turkish ballet.

This history can be traced back mostly by looking at Metin And's writings in daily and weekly publications of the time. He was a participant observer of the Turkish ballet since the beginning of its foundation. Being very close to Dame Ninette de Valois, as one of the few English speaking people, Metin And was also able to experience the whole process as an insider by making translations for Dame Ninette voluntarily. Therefore, his publications in various written media provided the most meticulous knowledge about the process of particularly first twenty years in Turkish ballet. Hence, we frequently refer to them when particularly examining the relation of British experts along with the oral interviews which bestowed the first hand experiences of Turkish dancers.

## The Impact of the British Roots: The Prestige and the Confinement

British influence on Turkish ballet, in the first thirty years of its establishment, had an indisputably sure place. The impact had been visible through certain individuals and debates. On the one hand, there were personalities who had created their own area of influence and affected the trajectory of the Turkish ballet scene for an extended time. On the other hand, there were certain debates which continued to be present on contemporary concerns of dance in Turkey. One should focus here, particularly on Dame Ninette de Valois and the two long time conservatory teachers Molly Lake and Travis Kemp. Their stories in Turkey somewhat summoned up both the prestigious side of British existence and the feeling of captivity that led to the gradual separation of British actors from the Turkish ballet scene.

Almost ten years after the Ankara State Conservatory of Ballet was established, Metin And, in one his articles in *Vatan* newspaper, referred to a cultural event, namely the ‘British-Turkish Cultural Week’ with a focus on British influence on Turkish ballet. Metin And, in this article, emphasized the vast support of British ballet since the beginning of the foundation of Turkish ballet. For And, their generous interest had not limited itself to just sending teachers and choreographers but extended also to supplying the material needs. The ‘cultural week’ became a tradition and many famous British ballet stars had visited Turkey and danced with the young Turkish dancers. In his view, the influence was so great that foreign ballet circles in Europe and America have started to perceive Turkish ballet as a branch of ‘Royal Ballet’ in England.<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>225</sup>And, Metin. “İngiliz-Türk Kültür Haftası” (British-Turkish Cultural Week), *Vatan* newspaper, 05/07/1959 - Üç yıldır bu haftalarda Ankara’da bir Türk-İngiliz kültür bayramı düzenleniyor, artık bir gelenek oldu bu...kültür ayının belkemiğini, ağırlık noktasını tanınmış İngiliz bale yıldızlarının bizim bale öğrencileriyle elele verdikleri temsiller sağlıyor. Geçen yıl Margot Fonteyn ile Michael Sommes’u, bu yıl da Krallık Balesi yıldızlarından genç fakat çok iyi dansçıları gönderdiler...İngilizlerin balemize bu açıkelli, dostça ilgileri her yıl buraya yıldızlar göndermekle kalmıyor, bu yakınlıkları daha köklü, daha eski bir geçmişe uzanıyor. Oniki yıl



The British influence on Turkish ballet was rooted in the efforts of Dame Ninette de Valois, also the founder of British ballet. Ninette de Valois expended a vast effort in Turkey, to build a ballet education and a ballet company by bringing many teachers, choreographers from England, and also by granting scholarships for Turkish dancers to attend classes in Royal Ballet. She provided the substantial conditions for them to improve themselves by following their talents. She also motivated the ones inclined towards different fields other than dancing, like teaching and choreographing. In order to understand her impact, it would be best to take notice of some of her students' views. In our interview, Deniz Olgay Yamanus, a long time soloist and principal dancer in the company put forward Dame Ninette's approach as follows:

'useful staff' it was what Madame used to say, 'the dancer who would be useful for the company is important'. Be as much talented as possible, if you are lazy, what use is that? That's why, you have to be clever and hardworking. For example, my body is a difficult one, I was not lucky like some other dancers that could do whatever they wanted with their bodies. I always had to force my body. Then you understand how true what she had said was...And she provided us with scholarships for London every year.<sup>226</sup>

Her disciplined attitude towards the art of ballet had an impact on Turkish dancers. We observe that the first three generations had very strong connections with the art form of ballet to this day. Most influential figures emerged from among them. Besides these strict principles, Dame Ninette was able to show tenderness and care directed particularly to her Turkish students. Deniz Olgay Yamanus added a critical memory with Madame. When her

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*önce ilk bale okulumuzun temeli atılırken bize akıl öğretmişler. İşi bizden çok benimseyip en iyi öğretmenlerini getirmişler, hatta bale giyimi, bale ayakkabısı göndermeye varıncaya kadar bir küçük kardeşe gösterilebilecek yakınlığı, sıcaklığı esirgememişler. Bu ilgiyi öylesine özenerek, benimseyerek yapmışlar ki, bugün Avrupa, Amerika bale çevrelerinde Türk bale okuluna, Krallık Balesi'nin bir dalıymış gözüyle bakılıyor, üzerine incelemeler yayımlanıyor, vereceği sonuçlar büyük bir merakla izleniyor.*

<sup>226</sup> Interview with Deniz Olgay Yamanus. 12/04/2006, İstanbul – *Kullanılır eleman' Madam'ın söylediği bu zaten, Madam'ın o tarafı çok önemlidir, hep öyle derdi, yani 'company'e faydası olacak dansçı önemlidir.' derdi. Sen istediğin kadar çok yetenekli ol, tembel olursan ne olacak, anladın mı? Onun için akıllı ve çalışkan olmak lazım bu işte, ki bunu ben çok gördüm. Çünkü benim vücudum zor bir vücut, yani doğuştan her şeyi yapabilen dansçular kadar şanslı değildim ben, hep zorlayarak hep düşünerek dans etmek zorunda kaldım. O zaman da söylediği çok doğru, çok doğru. Bir de şu var tabii ki o dönemde, mezun olduğumuzdan 2 sene sonra galiba, her sene Londra'ya burs verirdi.*

knee was injured, Dame Ninette took her to England. It was a precautionous action since the Turkish doctors diagnosed Yamanus with meniscus. It turned out to be a small problem with the knee cordes and she had gotten better and her problems never recurred. At first, people reacted to Dame Ninette's decision to use one scholarship for a dancer's injury but she made certain for everyone that it was crucial not to risk any dancer's health if they took their own duties seriously.<sup>227</sup>

These kind of incidents can be multiplied. Dame Ninette's presence was almost like a mother figure for the first, second and third generations of Turkish ballet. As Deniz Olgay Yamanus' case indicates, if the dancer was important for the company, then all the prospects were applied to obtain the desired solutions.

Suna Uğur also recalled Dame Ninette's attitude towards Turkish students. She had brought them to England during summer time and put them in classes at the Royal Ballet Academy. Uğur mentioned that her fondness towards Turkish students was very obvious and caused jealousy amongst the British students. When the Turkish dancers were there, the British students would be upset. They used to say 'Madame's Turkish children are here'. They were jealous of the Turks:

Once, after class, Madame told us to show our *fouetté* (turning movement), each came to the front and turned. British students were performing great, almost all have turned 32 *fouettés*. I became very excited, turned only 8 *fouettés* and finished. Madame looked and said 'you see, turning 32 *fouettés* is not important because you are changing your place all the time. If you want to turn right, do it like Suna does and turn 8 *fouettés* but do it perfect!' Of course all those British girls were furious with me. She loved us that much".<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> Interview with Deniz Olgay Yamanus. 12/04/2006, İstanbul – *Bir tanesinde sakattım onun için götürdü, yani dizim sakatlanmıştı. Burada menüsküs teşhisi kondu. O zamanda demek ki bende her halde ya aklımlı beğeniyordu veyahut da işte kullanışlı bir elemandım, company için önemliydim bilmiyorum ama onun için Londra'ya götürdü beni burs verip ve de gittiğimin ertesi gününe randevu almıştı. Doktor geldi okula. Royal Bale'ye geldi ve de kontrol etti dizimi "katiyen" dedi, "menüsküs filan yok sende. Ameliyat olamazsın, sorun sadece bağlarında" bir iğne yaptı ve de geçici alçıya aldı ve de dizimde bir daha problem yaşamadım.*

<sup>228</sup> Interview with Suna Uğur. 01/11/2007, İstanbul - *Biz burs kazanır giderdik Londra'ya, Kraliyet Bale Okulu'nda kurs görmek için biz gidince oradaki İngiliz öğrenciler çok bozulurlardı. "Madam'ın Türk çocukları geldi! derlerdi..Kıskanırlardı bizi. Bir seferinde kurstayız gene Royal Bale'de, fuette diye bir hareket vardır belki bilirsin, hani 32 tane dönme büyük klasik balelerde, Swan Lake'de özellikle çok meşhurdur o. Ben*

One of the dancers who was greatly affected by Madame's actions was Suna Eden Şenel. She was a hard-working person, always trying to achieve best in classes. She remembers that she was a fast learner of the movement combinations. Şenel used to show her friends how to do a certain combination, maybe finding an easier way as well. So she attracted Madame's attention. After graduation, the first ballet piece, *Coppelia* was performed and during a conversation with Madame following the performance, Şenel expressed her feelings about ballet in general. She was in love with it but something was missing for her. She wanted to do more. Dame Ninette de Valois immediately decided that she had to attend choreology education in London. The same year she arranged a British Council scholarship for her and Şenel went to London:

She said that I had to study choreology. In 1962, I went to London to study choreology. I guess I like studying, or rather I study harder when it is something I like. How suitable was choreology for me. It was like doing a puzzle. Of course my luck was that I was working with Joan Benesh and her husband Rudolph Benesh. In choreology, there is mathematic, an excellent aesthetic and logic. I understood that I was very fond of such things. I came to know more about myself there (...) It really made me happy and I finished 4.5 years of education in 1.5 years time (...) Upon my return, Madame asked me to stage '*Kapandakiler /The Burrows*'. It was a test for me. I learned all this, yet was I able to put it on stage? She watched and then approved my work. I was working with Madame, and I was like a shadow of her. I was going everywhere with her and making translations (...) so I learned everything. She also asked things from me, I believe, in order to educate me in every branch of the ballet discipline. Then, I became very comfortable at the back stage with all this knowledge.<sup>229</sup>

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*dönemedim, dönüşlü bir kız değildim çünkü en fazla 8 tane dönerdim. Bir gün dersten sonra işte "fuette" dedi Madam "herkes tek tek gelsin ve yapsın" hepsi İngilizler çıkıyor bırak, 32 tane dönüyor hepsi şakır şakır ve bitiriyorlar 32 tane! Ben heyecan içinde ve çıktım 8 tane döndüm ve bitirdim. Madam durdu, [...ak...] "bakın" dedi, "hiçbir zaman 32 tane dönmek marifet değil" dedi, "çünkü bir oraya, bir oraya giderek dönüyorsunuz, hiç yerinizde dönmediniz" dedi, "eğer dönecekseniz Suna gibi dönün, 8 dönün ama tam dönün!" Tabii o İngiliz kızlar öyle, düşün yere bakarak! Yani bu kadar çok severdi bizi.*

<sup>229</sup> Interview with Suna Eden Şenel. 07/10/2007, Bodrum.- *Sen koreoloji öğrenmelisin dedi bana. 1962'de Londra'ya koreoloji çalışmaya gittim. Ben galiba çalışmayı seviyorum, daha doğrusu sevdiğim bir şey olunca daha çok çalışıyorum. Ne kadar uygunmuş bana, bulmaca yapar gibi geldi ve de derinliğine gidebiliyorsunuz. Şansım vardı ki Joan Benesh ile birlikte çalıştım, çok hoş bir hanımdı, eşi Rudolph Benesh de öyle. Koreolojinin içinde matematik var, müthiş bir estetik var, mantık var ve meğer ben öyle şeyleri severmişim. Kendimi tanıdım orada...beni çok mutlu etti, hala da öyle. 4,5 senelik eğitimi 1,5 senede tamamladım, çok sistemli çalıştım. Madame'dan dolayı, Covent Garden'da Madame'ın locasına ben istediğim zaman gidebiliyordum ve ben orada mesela Uyuyan Güzel balesini yazdım karanlıkta...Döndükten sonra, Madame benim kendi balesi olan 'Kapandakiler'i sahneye koymamı istedi, sınavdı benim için o, bunları biliyoruz da sahneye koyabiliyormuyuz?*

Suna Eden Şenel worked for many years as a choreologist of State Ballet Companies in Turkey and trained many other people. Later, she was given the responsibility to found the Izmir State Ballet Company due to her experience in many aspects of the art of ballet. For that reason, one can say that Dame Ninette was right in her decision to choose Suna Eden Şenel and instigate her towards choreology.

Dame Ninette encouraged and coached Turkish dancers to produce choreographies. Sait Sökmen recalled how Dame Ninette de Valois had asked him to choreograph a ballet piece. At first he could not comply with this wish but after some time he choreographed *Çark*, the first ballet piece choreographed by a Turkish dancer in 1968.<sup>230</sup> Then she motivated and supported Oytun Turfanda and Duygu Aykal. They both became successful choreographers and were able to develop their own distinctive dance styles in the Turkish ballet.

Certainly Dame Ninette's identity had been shaped by her nationality and cultural background. In fact, two of the dancers belonging to the first and the second generation indicated the word "colonizer" for Dame Ninette in their interviews. Yet, the perception of Dame Ninette de Valois 'being a colonizer in mentality' is a highly argumental position for the writer of this thesis. She was, no doubt, fond of the fact that along with other British ballet artists, she established a ballet tradition in a country where there had not been a ballet establishment. She undoubtedly had a British style and approach. Still in the world of art, the schools are important. Dame Ninette belonged to the British school, indeed she was one

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*...Seyretti, beğendi, ondan sonra onay verdi zaten. Ben tabii Madame ile birlikte çalıştığım için, ona hakikaten hayrandım çok, onun yanında hem tercüme ediyordum hem de gölgesi gibi gidiyordum onunla. İşte terzihaneye gidiyorduk, tütülerin nasıl dikileceğini tercüme ediyordum, nasıl yıkanacağını; şimdi ben de terzilere öğretebiliyorum onu, nerdeyse dikeceğim. Dekor, ışık, aksesuar için öyle, hep tercüme ettiğim için rahatladım. Sanırım beni yetiştirmek için olacak, mesela Sylphide balesini sahneye koyacağız, o gün 'sen', dedi 'ışığı yap'; böyleydi...Yok biryerde 'aksesurların santimlerini sen ayarla' derdi, onun için de ben şimdi çok rahatım sahne gerisinde.*

<sup>230</sup> Interview with Sait Sökmen. 12/13/2006, İstanbul

of the pioneers who established it. However, one should add that being an Irish origin and having a significant status in British society also included a kind of patriotism that was stressed by her unusual situation. She was fond of the idea of belonging to a country and serving for it. Therefore her intolerance towards the draft dodgers, for example, should also be mentioned.<sup>231</sup> She had a great respect for matters related to the state of belonging, and in that respect she was totally British. Güloya Gürelli Aruoba, one of the first dancers of the Ankara State Ballet Company, a repetitor and ballet mistress who was actively involved at the foundation of Istanbul State Ballet Company stated her view on this issue as follows (fig.18): “Whoever thinks that she was a colonizer is actually being indiscreet and ungrateful and has no idea whatsoever of the outcomes of her personal efforts. She even went as far as bringing costumes from England.”<sup>232</sup>

Surely, bringing costumes had nothing to do with the discussion of having a colonial attitude. What Aruoba meant was that Dame Ninette’s vast efforts in order to support the infrastructure of the Turkish ballet, demonstrated her constructive intentions and her affiliation. This kind of attitude, for Aruoba, had nothing to do with a colonizing mentality. The account of Richard Glasstone also confirms this view that Dame Ninette made sure from the beginning that she was not trying to create jobs for British people, but for Turks.

In the end, de Valois directed the artistic policy of the Ankara State Ballet Company for almost thirty years. It was only the mid-1970s that Turkish directors found firm positions in the company.

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<sup>231</sup> Interview with Osman Şengezer. 03/21/2007, İstanbul

<sup>232</sup> Interview with Güloya Aruoba. 02/10/2007, Ankara- *Kostüm yolladı kadın çocuğum, kostüm. Royal Ballet Company’den bize kostüm geldi. Biz burada kostüm dikmedik. Kadın indi terzihaneye tütü yıkamayı öğretti kadınlara, leğenle tozu alıp, yani bu kadına “koloni yapıyorsunuz” demek için adamın dilinin kopması lazım... nankörlük türkçesi. Aldılar orada okuttular, yatırdılar, yedirdiler, içirdiler, yani “bu insanlar bizi koloni yapıyor” demek ayıp! Onların adına utaniyorum ve özür diliyorum.*

Tenasüp Onat, for example, had a resentful memory on the scholarship issue. During her active dancing period in the company, Dame Ninette de Valois had informed her that she was going to be given a scholarship to go to England to attend courses and becoming a ballet mistress/ teacher. Then, according to Onat, Dame Ninette de Valois had, for no apparent reason, changed her mind, and informed Onat that the scholarship was not possible. Later, the director of State Opera and Ballet, Cüneyt Gökçer had interfered and mentioned to Dame Ninette de Valois that they were going to give Onat a scholarship to go to Russia to continue her studies there. Dame Ninette suddenly had changed her mind once again and gave the scholarship to Tenasüp Onat. Onat attended the Royal Ballet Academy and pursued her teaching studies there for one year.<sup>233</sup> This is an interesting story that would indicate how power games were established between the foreign directors of the company and the future Turkish candidates of these posts.

Quintessentially, there were also competitive attitudes towards other schools of dance. Nevertheless, Dame Ninette de Valois had a strong missionary involvement with her students and tried to provide them with necessary scholarships supported by the British institutions. As another example, Feridun Ulusoy mentioned that he had a scholarship from Dame Ninette de Valois in 1976 to go and work at Royal Academy of Ballet. This was even after her departure from her active role in the administration of the Ankara State Ballet Company.<sup>234</sup>

Probably, an intimate example of Osman Şengezer's collection of memories related to Dame Ninette de Valois on their first company tour abroad, to Bulgaria, provides us with some hints for De Valois' attitude towards Turkish ballet. In Şengezer's view, Dame Ninette de Valois had never liked to be near communist regimes, and this was the first time she had accepted to be actually in one of those countries. She traveled with the company by bus

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<sup>233</sup> Interview with Tenasüp Onat. 01/17/2007, İstanbul

<sup>234</sup> Interview with Feridun Ulusoy. 02/10/2007, Ankara

whereas the British conductor of the orchestra, Allen Abbot, had a private car. She refused to be in the car, saying that she wanted to be with her company:

We had a tour of Bulgaria. Varna, Rusçuk, Filibe, Sofya. Madame was with the Turkish ballet. They sent her private cars like limos, but she refused and said: I am going on the bus with the children. We had a capricious orchestra conductor called Allen Abbot, refusing to go on the bus because of his hemorrhoid condition, saying his hands which hold the stick would shake. Madame used to get annoyed, and the gentleman came afterwards with the limo and us, together with Madame, chanting songs in Bulgarian roads. Madame had a certain complex, a certain fear of communists. She had an allergy towards them. She didn't even want to be in Istanbul because it was too close to Russia. Madame has been invited many times to Russia. Always declined, she never went. She was a woman greatly against communism and the communist regime. She was also a great admirer of Atatürk. This must be said, she would use his name whenever possible and would say that it was Atatürk who founded the Turkish ballet. Her joining the tour of Bulgaria was a big event in England and for the British Embassy. Because Madame crossed the iron curtain and was very edgy. But she overcame her inhibitions and participated in the Bulgarian tour.<sup>235</sup>

For many Turkish dancers interviewed for this thesis, Madame's presence was inevitable and necessary for those years since Turkish directors were young and inexperienced. In their assessment, Dame Ninette's separation was quite early for Turkish ballet.

Besides Dame Ninette de Valois' impact, one should also refer to two other influential figures, Molly Lake and Travis Kemp. Lake and Kemp worked as the teachers and directors of Ankara State Conservatory for twenty years, and had been the subjects of

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<sup>235</sup> Interview with Osman Şengezer, 03/21/2007, İstanbul – *Bulgaristan turnemiz olmuştur, Varna, Rusçuk, Filibe, Sofya. Madam Türk Balesi'yle beraber. Ona özel arabalar gönderiyorlar, ne bileyim limuzinler gidiyor ama otobüste bizimle geliyor "hayır" diyor "ben çocuklarla otobüste gideceğim". Kapris, kıyamet Allen Abbot diye bir orkestra şefimiz var, hemoroidleri olduğu için asla otobüse binemezdi "hiiiih! Elim titrer. Çubuk, baget tutacak elim titrer". Madam sinirlenir "la havle" der ve beyefendi limuzinle arkadan gelir. Biz Madamla otobüste kıyamet, şarkılar Bulgaristan yollarında. İlk yurtdışı turnesi olduğu için Devlet Balesi'nin Madam da bizle gelmeyi istedi. Madam'ın bir kompleksi vardı. Madam'ın müthiş bir korkusu vardı! Komünistler. Komünistlere karşı alerjisi ve korkusu vardı ve Madam uzun yıllar İstanbul'da bile olmayı çok sevmemiştir "Rusya'ya yakın" diye. Madam bir çok kere Rusya'ya davet edilmiştir, reddetmiştir. Hiç gitmemiştir. Çünkü komünizme, komünist rejime karşı müthiş karşı bir kadındı. Madam aynı zamanda da müthiş bir Atatürkçüydü. Bunu açıkça da söylemek, mutlaka söylemek lazım. Her yerde bu ismi kullanır ve "Türk Balesi'ni Atatürk kurmuştur" der hep. Bulgaristan turnesine geliyor olması İngiltere'de ve İngiliz konsolos, sefaretinde büyük olay olmuş! Çünkü Madam demirperde gerisine gidiyor ve gerçekten çok huzursuzdu. Fakat çok kendini düşünerek, yani baleyi düşünerek öbür tarafları bıraktı, yani kendi şeylerini yenerek bu Bulgaristan turnesine katılmıştır bizle.*

different debates. Firstly from the writings of Metin And, one can follow an argument underlining the fact that although they were good teachers, their artistic approach had always been problematic. Although Metin And was a strong believer of the British school in Turkish ballet, he had some reservations about Molly Lake and Travis Kemp. And's criticism was based on both Lake and Kemp's being more in quest of power, to control the decision-making mechanisms inside the dance institutions in Turkey. They focused on performance rather than the educational process. Metin And accused them of not motivating Turkish students to make choreographies and also of holding their posts more than the usual time span that all other British trainers spent in Turkey, and hence, not letting anyone work for the conservatory long enough to establish themselves and to challenge their authority. In that sense, one can follow a line of argument that they had pursued their own interests in Turkey, sometimes contrasted with the actual needs of Turkish ballet. And's criticism was also directed towards Lake and Kemp's competence in choreography. He believed that good ballet teachers would not necessarily become good choreographers and that the Turkish ballet needed real choreographers from abroad to improve:

The worst part comes into the picture when there isn't any choreographer around (...) Molly Lake and Travis Kemp, are two very good teachers. Their presence is a great benefit for the conservatory but being great teachers does not necessarily mean that they will be successful in choreography as well.<sup>236</sup>

Metin And also criticized Lake and Kemp's general attitude of foregrounding these kinds of final stage performances instead of educational process. In another article in 1961 published in *Akşam* newspaper, he wrote a review on the performance of *Coppelia*. There,

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<sup>236</sup> And, Metin. *Vatan* newspaper, 05/07/1959 - *İşin en kötü yanı koreograf yokluğunda ortaya çıkıyor. Programda konservatuar öğrencilerinin dans ettikleri, her ikisi de Çaykovski'nin müziği üzerine, iki uzunca eser vardı. Fındıkıran Balesi'nin ikinci perdesi ile Bırakılmış Bahçe adlı senfonik yapıda bir eser. Bunları bale öğretmeni Molly Lake düzenlemiştir. Konservatuar bale öğretmeni ve bale bölümünün sorumlusu Molly Lake ve Travis Kemp, iki çok üstün değerde bale öğretmeni. Varlıkları konservatuar için büyük kazanç, ancak değerli bale öğretmeni olmanın her zaman her zaman koreografi yapmaya eli yatkın demek olmayacağı her iki eserde de açıkça ortaya çıkıyordu.*



he expressed his concerns about the conservatory education where Lake and Kemp focused more on performance rather than the training process:

Another danger is that there is an inclination more towards performance by the state conservatory. There, they are preparing ballet pieces that exceed the limits of the educational context. Because their dancers aren't qualified enough, other dancers are being taken from the State Theatre and choreographies which are not at all sufficient, are being realized.<sup>237</sup>

In another article the same year, Metin And shared with his readers the consequences of his criticism for Lake and Kemp, the conservatory had stopped inviting him as a critic after the publication of his article condemning them as “incompetent choreographers”.<sup>238</sup> It is interesting to find out that the directors of the conservatory could have taken such a central decision and stopped inviting a Turkish dance critic for conservatory's performances. We know that the decision was not applied for a long time, because And continued to review the conservatory performances. He kept on stressing that Molly Lake and Travis Kemp were good ballet teachers but not good choreographers.<sup>239</sup> The whole debate on Lake and Kemp, showed in a way that power games were established and the authority of the foreign experts were now subject to Turkish criticism.

During our research, we came across an interesting fact about the personal relation between Molly Lake and Dame Ninette de Valois that has to be mentioned here because of its consequential effects on Turkish ballet. Molly Lake and Dame Ninette de Valois had a relationship that went back very long to their childhoods. They grew up together and were both involved with ballet. Dame Ninette eventually formed her own company but Lake did

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<sup>237</sup> And, Metin. “Bizim Bale” (Our Ballet), *Akşam* newspaper, 03/02/1961- *Bir tehlike de bu dansçıları hazırlayan Devlet Konservatuarında icraya doğru bir yönelim sezilmesidir. Orada da öğrenim çerçevesini aşan genişlikte eserler hazırlanıyor, dansçıları yetmediği için Devlet Tiyatrosu'ndan dansçı alınıyor, ve hiç de yeterli olmayan koreografiler yapılıyor.*

<sup>238</sup> And, Metin. *Ulus* newspaper, 03/25/1961

<sup>239</sup> In fact it is an overrepeated issue in many of And's articles. For example, in 1964, he mentioned again a performance in the conservatory and Molly Lake's choreographies. His emphasis was that she had an opportunity here that she couldn't get in Britain before. He accused her of not motivating Turkish students to make choreographies. And, Metin. *Ulus* newspaper, 04/16/1964

not join her and participated to other groups as a dancer. In the end, it was Dame Ninette who had founded the Royal Ballet and became the most influential figure in British ballet scene. Molly Lake, on the other hand built up a career as a dancer. When Dame Ninette came to found Turkish ballet, she offered Lake and her dancer husband, Travis Kemp, the posts of director and teacher at the school. They accepted the invitation after considering it some time and became long time teachers and directors of the conservatory in Ankara. However, Lake had strong ambitions to make choreographies and to found a private company all along. Dame Ninette de Valois wanted them to be the teachers of the conservatory, not the choreographers. Witnessing people's perception and memories, one can conclude that the tension grew through time but got never resolved. In fact, in the interview with Richard Glasstone, he touched on this subject as follows:

Molly is a very good teacher, Travis is not. Madame has always said Molly is a very good teacher and right towards the end she still gave her job in Royal Ballet. Madame and Molly as young children they were friends, they grew up together. Then when Madame started her tiny little group of six people, Molly went with some other group and she thought that's not very important. Eventually Madame brought her here and she did a very good job, she built the school but she wanted to be the choreographer. Madame's idea was 'you built the school, I'll bring the real choreographers' because she was not a good choreographer...But you see Molly made a lot of problems here.<sup>240</sup>

Once again, Metin And, in our interview recalled those years and supported Glasstone's view. And conferred an insider observation on their relationship. In And's analysis they were against Madame. They wanted to found a ballet company in the conservatory:

That woman, Molly Lake was too ambitious; indeed she was worthy as well. Not Travis Kemp but Molly was quite important, she knew Pavlova and all. But I wrote hurtful articles and eliminated them. Madame always protected them because she had an affinity towards Molly. She had respect towards their past but I rejected them. Because they wanted to form a separate company with which I was totally against. There was one company and that was the State Ballet Company. Conservatory is a place

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<sup>240</sup> Interview with Richard Glasstone, 05/25/2007, İstanbul

to educate the students, not a place for an alternative company (...) Molly was jealous of Madame. Madame was not a person to pay attention on such things.<sup>241</sup>

Moreover, their long term student Aydın Teker mentioned this issue in her interview, adding interesting memories linked to their plans of founding a private ballet company in Turkey. Their attitude towards Teker who, in Lake and Kemp's view, could play an important part in their projections of future, was somehow disturbing:

I remember Molly's grace. I believe that we have learned the origin of classical technique from her but the school had such a problem: with only one teacher all those eleven years, one tends to get exhausted. I am a very curious person, always ready for research. For example, a certain thing happened, Angela Bailey came, when she came I tried to work with her privately, we were meeting in the weekends, attending classes, etc. I remember that this situation annoyed Molly, she said: 'you don't believe in me'! On the contrary, I was very much believing in her, but in that historical process, I mean being with the same teacher with eleven years, a curiosity develops (...) the curiosity of what is happening elsewhere? Then we had a conversation with Molly and Travis: they said 'we want to form a company in the future and in that company we want to accommodate you. We are hoping that you will be a part of it'. I am very honest and credulous, can not play tricks. I told them that I wanted to go other places, see other things' and they made me go through hell during my masters. In the second year, I was all alone. I was in pain, it was like torture. They were furious, because they thought of me as a big investment. They knew about me that I did research, helped the younger ones, I guess they were aware of my talent in teaching (...) So they were thinking of establishing a company in Ankara, in the meantime I had a very difficult time. I used to leave the class every day. I started to smoke. It was such a nightmare, but then, when I thought that they wouldn't let me graduate, they did so and with very high notes. I went through such an experience (...) they had such a dream. I understood that but I also had dreams, those dreams didn't coincide with one another. Because it didn't respond to my needs. Being there such a long time with the same teachers (...) A difficult thing was lived through there.<sup>242</sup>

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<sup>241</sup> Interview with Metin And. 12/21/2006, Ankara- *Onlar Madam'a karşılar ve orada Konservatuar'da bir bale topluluğu yapmak istiyorlar. Kadın, çok hırslı bir kadın Molie Lake. Aslında çok değerli bir kadın, yani onu . O Travis Kent değil ama Molie Lake çok değerli bir kadın. Pavlova'yı falan tanıyan o zamanların şeysi, balecisi ama ben bu, onları bu şeye karıştırmadım. Çok ağır yazılar yazdım onlar hakkında, yani onları şey ettim, ekarte ettim. Madam da onları korudu, yani Molie Lake karşı bir şeyi var. Aynı yaşta falan, onun şeyine mazisine karşı bir saygısı vardı falan ama ben tamamıyla reddettim. Çünkü onlar orada ayrı bir topluluk kurmak istiyorlar karı koca. Ben buna karşıyım, şimdi bir topluluk var o, o da Devlet Balesi, yani şimdi Konservatuar'da öğrenci yetişir ama ayrıca bir rakip şey olamaz...Madam'ı da kıskanıyor, kıskanan bir kadın. Madam da bunlara aldırış etmeyen bir kadın.*

<sup>242</sup> Interview with Aydın Teker. 03/09/2007, İstanbul - *Molly'nin, zerafetini hatırlıyorum, klasik tekniğin özünü ondan öğrendiğimizi düşünüyorum ama şöyle bir sorunu vardı okulun, yani ben 11 yıl o okulda okumuş ve*

Teker's account puts a shadow on the pedagogical skills of Molly Lake and Travis Kemp. Putting pressure on young minds undoubtedly created an unfair situation between a powerful teacher and a vulnerable student. Even if they had a private project, this had nothing to do with the educational institution they were in at the moment. In fact, there existed negative accounts of incidents with their students related to the conservatory education as well. Jale Kazbek expressed a traumatic memory where she had considered to quit her education three months before her graduation because Molly Lake's unacceptable attitude towards her. Although Kazbek admits that these were the most anxious years of her youth, she still felt that it was Molly Lake's place as a teacher to act maturely. As Kazbek was dancing on stage, Lake reportedly was shouting at her that she was going to fail in class. Many people interfered so that Kazbek could finally graduate.<sup>243</sup> These incidents clearly indicate that Molly Lake and Travis Kemp were not managing their authority well.

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*meraklı biriyim, yani farklı şeyler görmek; o işte araştırmaya hazır bir öğrenciydim her zaman ama mesela bir hocayla aynı, 11 yıl okuduğun zaman artık tükenme görüyorsun ve mesela şöyle bir şey yaşandı. Angela Bailey geldi. Angela Bailey geldiğinde, mesela ben onunla özel çalışmaya çalışırdım, yani böyle hafta sonları buluşuruz, işte ders filan. Hatta böyle zaman zaman "Molly'nin Fransız olduğunu" ve "bana inanmıyorsun" dediğini hatırlıyorum! Halbuki ona çok inaniyordum ama o tarihsel süreçte, yani bir insanın 11 yıl aynı hocayla olmasının getirdiği bir şey var; merak. Başka yerlerde neler oluyor? ...Şöyle bir konuşma geçti hocalarımla aramda Molly ve Travis'le "biz" dediler, "bir company kurmak istiyoruz ilerde. O company'de de seni görevlendirmek istiyoruz, yani bir parçası olmanı istiyoruz." Ben de çok böyle saf ve dürüsttüm, yani numara çekemem. Ben de dedim ki "başka yerlere gitmek istiyorum, başka şeyler görmek istiyorum" ve de çok zor bir kabus dönem yaşattılar bana yüksekte. İkinci senede, yani tek başımayım. Acı çektim, işkence gibiydi bir yerde. O kadar öfkelenildiler, çünkü çok büyük yatırım düşünüyorlarmış beni orada. Çünkü görüyorlar işte araştırıyorum, küçüklere yardım ediyorum, yani böyle ders verme yeteneğimi ilk herhalde görüyorlardı... Ankara'da, yani öyle bir company kurmayı düşünüyorlardı, yani "mış", o sırada ve çok zor bir dönem geçirdim. Hatta orada nasıl? Her gün dersten çıkıyorum ağlıyorum, sigara içmeye başladım filan. Tam bir kabus, fakat ondan sonra, yani beni mezun etmeyeceklerini düşünüürken çok yüksek notlarla mezun ettiler okuldan. Öyle bir şeyler yaşadım, yani öyle bir hayalleri vardı. Onu görüyorum ama benim de hayallerim vardı, yani o hayallerimiz çakışmadı, çünkü ihtiyaç, yani beni tatmin edecek, benim ihtiyaçlarıma artık orası cevap veremeyecek durumdaydı. Bu kadar uzun süre aynı yerde, aynı hocalarla olmak. Böyle bir şeyimiz oldu, yani böyle bir zor dönem yaşandı orada..."*

<sup>243</sup> Interview with Jale Kazbek. 02/09/2007, İstanbul- Ben dans ediyorum, hem bana diyor ki 'seni sınıfta bırakacağım' ve kuliste bana, sadist kadın, kuliste bana bağıyor 'seni geçirtmeyeceğim, sana böyle yapacağım.' Bu olur mu? Ben de o kadar asabiyim. Tam benim ergenlik zamanım. Sen ne uğraşıyorsun benimle, çıldırtacak kadın beni. Ondan sonra ben de sahnede dans ediyorum, 'istediğini yapabilirsin' diyorum. Kendimi oradan oraya atıyorum, oraya zıplıyorum buraya zıplıyorum, 'hiçbir şey yapamazsın' diyorum ve böyle kavgada ediyoruz biz. Düşünebiliyor musun? Yani facia bir şey, şimdi bunu okusan veyahut da anlatsan birine kimse inanmaz 'Jale abartıyor' der veyahut 'çılgın' der.

Another negative experience came from Tenasüp Onat. Onat recalled that Molly Lake and Travis Kemp were against one of her earlier scholarships. In fact, they did not want her to go to England and pursue teaching. According to Onat, this was because of their fear that on her return, she would have become one of the ballet teachers challenging their power: “British people perceived here as a market. They wanted to send their artists here as teachers, choreographers, repetitors. They did not want us to establish our own power, by ourselves.”<sup>244</sup>

In reality, one might state that Turkey was a land of possible career opportunities for foreign experts. They provided the necessary knowledge to Turkish students and in return they improved their status and financial situations. Certainly the British teachers must have had enough job opportunities since they had various ballet companies and schools in Britain, but still other posts in different countries were also probably quite tempting. For some, working abroad was a way of acquiring a permanent job back home. As Richard Galsstone asserted, coming to Turkey was a step for him to be able to work in the Royal Ballet.<sup>245</sup>

Meriç Sümen expressed her opinion on Lake and Kemp, associating the issue to an artistic difference in the field of ballet. For her, the tension between Dame Ninette and Molly Lake started long before when Royal Ballet Company had adopted a different artistic style other than Cecchetti style which Molly Lake had favored more as a dancer. Dame Ninette’s and Molly Lake’s incompatibility was obvious for Sümen. They turned conservatory education to a company education mainly because of their backgrounds:

Molly belonged to the style of Cecchetti, she was coming from Pavlova times and when Madame established Royal Ballet, she had changed that style. That was their main wrestle with each other. It was before us (...) Molly desired to found a company here in Cecchetti style. It was very

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<sup>244</sup> Interview with Tenasüp Onat. 01/17/2007, İstanbul - *İngilizler burayı bir pazar gibi görüp kendi sanatçılarını buraya öğretmen, koreograf, repetitör olarak göndermek istiyorlardı. Tam olarak kendi başımıza, kendi iktidarımızı kurmamızı istemiyorlardı.*

<sup>245</sup> Interview with Richard Glasstone. 05/25/2007, İstanbul

wrong. Madame brought them here for teaching at the conservatory. They taught us how to dance. In truth, they didn't bring a pure technique, even damaged it. Because we were very talented, after our three years background with Beatrice Appleyard, we added Molly's callous yet beautiful dance. Both Molly and we were lucky in that sense. It would have been another story. Our bodies might have not been suitable; our backgrounds would have been weak.<sup>246</sup>

In that sense, Meriç Sümen also questioned their teaching methods. She argued that they did not bring a pure technique; moreover they damaged the technique that students already had. The differences in artistic styles while examining influential dancers are undoubtedly worth to be further studied.

During the same period, in the middle of the 1960s, one comes across a dialogical debate between Metin And and Travis Kemp. Travis Kemp, during a conference held in the conservatory, made certain statements about the future of Turkish ballet. Based on Şebnem Aksan's private archive, a complete translation of Travis Kemp's speech in that conference is available for study. Translated into Turkish by Filiz Ali, the speech was entitled: "What is to become the future of Turkish Ballet?"<sup>247</sup> In this speech Kemp touched many subjects related to the most discussed issues of Turkish ballet. In short, he expressed that the ballet, although an art form born and flourished in Europe in the last five centuries, it had a basic technique which was international. For Kemp, it was most appropriate that this international

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<sup>246</sup> Interview with Meriç Sümen. 07/11/2007, Datça- Konservatuar eğitimini company eğitimine dönüştürdüler, evet. O, onların altyapılarından kaynaklanan bir şey. Madame ile Molly'nin geçimsizliğinden kaynaklanan bir hikayedir. Madame Royal Ballet'ye director olduğu zaman; Cechetti, Pavlova zamanlarından geldiği için Molly, ve onların bir Cechetti stili vardır biliyorsunuz, Royal bale stili değiştirdi ve orada kapıştılar onlar, bize gelmeden evvel, bizim haberimiz bile yok böyle birşeyden. Metin abi bilir onları, sonar biz öğrendik. O kapışma döneminde Royal Bale'ye beni aldığı zaman Madame, Molly çok kızdı mesela. 'oraya gitme, niye gidiyorsun?'. Nasılsöylerim ben, o da benim hocam. Sen benim okul hocamsın. Molly, Cecchetti stilinde bir company kurmak istedi, bunlar çok yanlış şeyler. Madame sizi oraya okul hocası olarak getirtti, ve bize dans etmeyi öğrettiler. Aslında teknik olarak, net bir tekniği bizden istemediler. Aslında bozdular demem lazım. Biz çok yetenekli olduğumuz için aldığımız o ilk üç yıllık alt eğitimin, o temiz tekniğin üzerine Molly'nin o duygusuz güzel dansını koyduk. Yani Molly de şanslı çıktı, biz de şanslı çıktık. Çıkmayabilirdik. Vücudumuz uygun olmayabilirdi, altyapımız zayıf olmayabilirdi. Aptal bir bacağıın üzerinde habire dans etmenin manası yok, yani çok doğru bir eğitimin üzerine dans etmek lazım ama şanslı çıktık çünkü Beatrice Appleyard ile altyapıdan çok doğru girdik.

<sup>247</sup> Kemp, Travis. "Türk Balesinin geleceği ne olacaktır?" (What will be Turkish Ballet's Future?) *Unpublished manuscript, Ankara State Conservatory Conferences*. From the private collection of Şebnem Aksan. Appendix no: 7

technique should be adapted to the local characteristics of the body in order to reach a certain national artistic expression in each specific geography. The classical technique of ballet should not be taught in the manner of another country's local/national artistic characteristics. Foreign teachers should stay long enough in a specific country in order to be able to make research on nationalistic qualities and therefore being able to teach classical ballet adapted to the local conditions. Kemp added that no matter how famous and qualified in their own countries, foreign teachers who came and went in short periods of time to another country could not develop the cultural competence to contribute to the development of their national ballet.

That perhaps provides hints for their negative attitudes towards some foreign teachers visiting Ankara State Conservatory and the company which was an issue constantly mentioned in Metin And's writings. One of these teachers strongly affected by Lake's and Kemp's negative attitudes was Andrée Howard. Howard had just started to rehearse an interesting choreography focusing on folk dance motives:

The three minutes of the piece was successfully realized. At that moment, an inauspicious event happened. Andrée Howard slapped a dancer who was giving her hard time in the class and hence obstructing the lesson (...) This event resulted in Andrée Howard's leaving without finishing her piece.<sup>248</sup>

Metin And who reported this incident also mentioned earlier rumors about Andrée Howard's visit. And believed that these rumors were created by the directors of the conservatory, Molly Lake and Travis Kemp, long before Howard came to Turkey. She had been introduced to the dancers as a "loser" and that her ballet piece, *Assembly Ball* was only performed once in Britain and canceled. Therefore, young dancers already affected by these rumors developed a resistance towards the choreographer and sort of sabotaged her piece.<sup>249</sup>

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<sup>248</sup> And, Metin. *Ulus* newspaper, 07/25/1963. - *Eserin üç dakikası başarıyla ortaya çıkmıştı. Tam o sırada uğursuz bir olay oldu. Andre Howard sınıfta uslu durmayan, çalışmalarını aksatan bir dansçıyı kendini tutamadan tokatlamak zorunda kaldı...Bu olay Andre Howard'ın eserini bitirmeden ayrılmasına yol açtı.*

<sup>249</sup> And, Metin. *Ulus* newspaper, 07/25/1963

Travis Kemp also revealed the absence of ballet tradition in Turkey, but for him this provided a positive affect enabling the dancers approaching ballet with more liberal attitudes and introducing fresh ideas to their artistic expressions. Then Kemp touched the delicate issue of miss-communication between the State Theater and State Conservatory.<sup>250</sup> For him, the non-existent relationship between these two institutions had a devastating affect on young dancers. The graduates of the ballet conservatory were facing a world which had no connections with their previous conservatory education. Graduating was like passing a doorway and after they pass this threshold, they could not continue to improve themselves in their field. The metaphor of the dancer resembling the wine was used to explain the deteriorating conditions of the professional life:

A freshly made bottle of wine should be rested in excellent conditions for a certain period of time to reach its best taste. A responsible wine maker can not leave his bottles to organizations whose main idea is to sell them urgently and make profit out of it. This is what has been happening to our young dancers when they graduate. They are being ruined due to the fact that not being aged properly in the State Theater.<sup>251</sup>

According to Metin And, Kemp's point of view was not relevant at all. After Kemp's speech, And published a severe criticism about these statements in *Ulus* newspaper:

Travis Kemp, in his conference, compared ballet people to wine. According to him, a superbly made wine, in the conservatory is being ruined due to the fact that it is not being aged properly in the State Theatre. How could he possibly say that without blushing? There, ballet teacher Molly Lake leaves her classes stays in South Africa for months without feeling any responsibility. Classes are done without having the musical accompaniment, students are being used by the amateurs who haven't got any talent for choreography but still eager to fulfill their desires from their underachieved past (...) then how is it possible that our dancers are being ruined in the State Theatre (...) The truth is, the education in the conservatory should be re-organized, and for the realization of this, the first thing to do is to change the teachers in the conservatory.<sup>252</sup>

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<sup>250</sup> During that time State Opera and Theater were not separated from each other.

<sup>251</sup> Kemp, Travis. *Unpublished manuscript*. Appendix no: 7

<sup>252</sup> This newspaper article was found in the private collection of Muzaffer Evci, yet it has not any dates on it. Since this specific issue about Molly Lake and Travis Kemp in And's articles has appeared in the middle of the 1960s, we assume that the article was published between 1962 and 1965.



As he stated in this article, he condemned them for not providing the necessary education at the conservatory. The long leave of absence of Molly Lake had proved that they were in no condition to criticize the state institutions. We understand that Lake was able to stay in South Africa for another private project in the educational semester. Some of her classes, as And indicated, could not be done, and this probably had an effect on students' productivity. Yet because the only decision makers were Lake and Kemp, no body would have done anything about it. Osman Şengezer mentioned in one of our interviews another incident which shaved Lake and Kemp's unquestioned authority. Apparently, a conservatory student was thrown up from the school during his last year of studies just because he was gay.<sup>253</sup>

During the celebrations of twenty years of Turkish ballet, Metin And gave an overview of these twenty years and stressed the importance of Dame Ninette de Valois.<sup>254</sup> He emphasized that there was one very important weakness of Turkish ballet, which was the absence of Turkish choreographers and their creativity. Metin And mostly blamed the conservatory education for this. In his view, the two teachers, Molly Lake and Travis Kemp's attitudes were responsible for this situation. He blamed them for making their own choreographies and not preparing students for creative work. Also, according to And, their long term negative attitude towards the newly arrived foreign teachers to conservatory had

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And, Metin. "Bir Konferansın Düşündürdüğü" (The Thought Activated by a Conference), *Ulus* newspaper, from the private collection of Muzaffer Evcı. - *Travis Kemp konferansında balecileri şaraba benzetti. Ona göre konservatuarda iyi yapılan şarap Devlet Tiyatrosunda iyi yllandırılmadığı için bozuluyormuş. Bunu hangi yüzle, nasıl yüzü kızarmadan söyleyebildi? Orada bale öğretmeni Molly Lake derslerini yüzüstü bırakır, başını alıp Güney Afrika'da aylarca kalır, hiçbir sorumluluk duygusu taşımadan aylarca müziksiz ders yapılır, öğrenciler koreografıktan hiç nasibini almamış fakat gençliğinde doyurulamamış hevesleri karşılanmak isteyen acemilerce kullanılır...sonra da nasıl olur da dansçılarımız Devlet Tiyatrosunda bozuluyor denir...Asıl konservatuardaki eğitimin bir yoluna konması gerekir, bunun için de şimdiki öğretmenlerin yerine başkalarının getirilmesi bu yolda yapılacak ilk iştir.* Appendix no: 8

<sup>253</sup> Interview with Osman Şengezer. 03/21/2007, İstanbul

<sup>254</sup> And, Metin. "Dame Ninette de Valois", *Ulus* newspaper, 01/25/1967

resulted in teachers' early departure from the institution. This is an explicitly over repeated subject in Metin And's writings.

As a matter of fact, on several occasions, the teachers responded to And's accusations. In one of these writings, they took refuge in the evaluation and competence of Turkish state officials:

In the time of our twelve year period work in Turkey, many headmasters and Ministers of Education has come and gone. If Metin And's claims were taken under consideration, then none of these cultured and intellectual people who have held us together, must have been committed to their duties. His insistence on unjust flanders which do not at all corresponds with the traditional Turkish hospitality, righteousness and grace, does not bring him any credit and leaves us with unfair accusations and sorrow.<sup>255</sup>

Indeed these accusations had a solid ground. Metin And published a series of articles in *Ulus* newspaper in 1963. In these articles, he mentioned a proposal of forming a draft law. It was related to the foundation of a general administration for ballet prepared by the teachers of the conservatory, Molly Lake and Travis Kemp. In Metin And's observations, this proposal was not appropriate for Turkey. One understands from the critical writing of And that the teachers' suggestion was to separate the opera, theatre and ballet structures, each owning their own artistic units, therefore, each having separate financial budgets. And believed that, on the contrary, one had to show an effort to minimize the artistic budgets of the state institutions. Opera, theatre and ballet should rather have shared the costume and stage design departments instead of being separated into different departments. In Metin And's analysis, this was an attempt of the part of Molly Lake and Travis Kemp to strengthen their positions in Turkey. And believed strongly that if there was someone like Dame Ninette de Valois in Turkey, the Minister of Education should have taken her, and not Lake or

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<sup>255</sup> Kemp, Travis cited in And, Metin. "Bale üzerine bir Tartışma" (A Discussion on Ballet), *Ulus* newspaper, ??/1966. From the private collection of Muzaffer Evcı. - *Bizim Türkiye'de çalıştığımız 12 yıl zarfında birçok konservatuar müdürleri ve Milli Eğitim Bakanları geldi geçti. Metin And'ın iddiaları göz önüne alınırsa bizi tutan bu kadar kültürlü ve akıllı insanlardan hiçbirinin vazifesine müdrük olmaması icap eder. Metin And'ın Türkiye'nin geleneksel doğruluk, asalet ve misafirperverliği ile bağdaşmayan bu ısrarlı ve haksız kötümeleri ona hiçbir itibar temin etmemekte, bizleri de haksız ithamlar altında üzüntüde bırakmaktadır.* Appendix no: 9

Kemp's decisions, as the final judgment in these matters. As indicated by And; Lake and Kemp were ineffective ballet people abroad, and they tried to have more power in Turkey.<sup>256</sup>

Indeed, Molly Lake and Travis Kemp stayed almost twenty years at the Ankara Conservatory. Their long term adventure with the state ballet school has stemmed from the decision of Dame Ninette de Valois. De Valois never replaced them with another British teacher. Most likely, she was too occupied with the company, finding support for other British choreographers and teachers. Perhaps, also Dame Ninette had not considered the situation as a problem. As we learned from Richard Glasstone, she provided a job for Molly Lake in Royal Ballet upon their return from Turkey to England.<sup>257</sup> Therefore, these debates about Lake and Kemp's incompetence or rather their befitting to Turkish educational system stayed inside the Turkish circles, more precisely in Metin And's criticisms. This, in fact, provides an understanding that Turkish ballet, after some time was struggling to gain control over the issues related to its own existence.

During the beginning of the 1970s, Istanbul State Ballet Company was founded. Allen Carter, suggested by Dame Ninette, came to İstanbul and started the institution. In fact, Selçuk Borak was one of the young applicants who were chosen by Allen Carter. Carter, a graduate of Royal Ballet, was an experienced choreographer. Şebnem Aksan was Carter's assistant during that time and in our interview she stated that Carter who directed the Berlin Opera and Ballet, was a very beneficial and effective person for the Istanbul Company. He was not only a choreographer but a very knowledgeable person in directing. However, Aksan noticed that a counter reaction against him had already started and in four months he had to leave the company. Şebnem Aksan was in America during his separation so she could not gain knowledge of what has happened. Similar things happened to other foreign directors

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<sup>256</sup> And, Metin. *Ulus* newspaper, 07/04-05/1963

<sup>257</sup> Interview with Richard Glasstone. 05/25/2007, İstanbul

and choreographers following Carter. Aksan asserted that as if there was a virus inside the İstanbul Company, whoever tried to do something serious was prevented to do so.<sup>258</sup> Historical process also shows that all these complications with British teachers and choreographers resulted, perhaps with an early departure of the British school. In fact, similar doubts about the teaching or directing methods could target some other British experts as well. Yet it is also crucial to acknowledge the strong presence and contribution of British choreographers and teachers who visited Ankara and İstanbul companies during the first thirty years. It is very hard to obtain an account or criticism for all of them since the published sources are very scarce. So we based our arguments on oral interviews and written sources that were available. This inevitably limited our objective on certain individuals who were mentioned in either one or the other source. Therefore we can not claim that all the British subjects are covered.

## The Inevitable Separation from Dame Ninnette de Valois: Shifting towards a Russian Impact

Molly Lake and Travis Kemp had stayed twenty years, contributing to the Ankara, as well as İzmir and İstanbul conservatoires, as teachers and choreographers. In 1974, as the political disturbance grew stronger and that one night a bomb was thrown against the wall of their house, Lake and Kemp decided to end their twenty years long journey. In Naom

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<sup>258</sup> Interview with Şebnem Aksan. 12/20/2006, İstanbul- *Alan Carter'la müthiş bir çalışma ve tam hayal ettiğim şeyler. Yepyeni bir Romeo Juliette yapıyor, Türkiye Yunanistan arasında. Müziklerini kendi yazıyor, maketler yapıyor. Oturup konuşabildiğim önemli bir dansçı koreograf, yanında genç bir karısı var. O daha çok demonstrationları yapıyor...Fakat gittikçe müthiş bir reaksiyon başladı adama. Romeo Juliet provaları iptal edildi.İptal edildiği için dansçılar gelmiyorlar. Nereye gittikleri belli değil, hiçbir disiplin uygulanamıyor ama...Royal Bale'nin dansçısıydı, yani MacMillan'lar filan aynı jenerasyonlardı bunlar. MacMillan ondan sonra mesela Berlin'i devraldı, yani bana göre çok görgüsü olan bir adamdı. Tam işte böyle bir adama ihtiyaç var ve o alıp götürecektir bu hikayeyi; yalnız hoca değil, yalnız koreograf değil, yönetmen ve bir şeyi biliyor. Bir sistemi çok iyi bilen bir adam...Ne olduğu belli değil ama kaç jenerasyon geçti bunun üstüne. Aynı sistem gidiyor, yani sanki bir mikrobu var, hastalığı var bu Opera'nın içinde. Kim orada ciddi bir şey yapmaya kalkarsa, mutlaka önleniyor.*

Benari's book, there is an interesting quotation from Travis Kemp, reflecting the tensions between Turkey and Russia in the late 1940s. Kemp stated that in the first years of their arrival, they were not allowed to accept invitations from the Russian embassy without permission from the Minister of Education, or to put a Russian dance into the conservatory's program. Although Russians constantly proposed to sponsor Turkish conservatoires with Russian teachers, their proposals were refused. As it was mentioned earlier in the thesis, the political climate of the period in the end of the 1940s was also in favor of the British. In one of her articles, the British critic, Zoe Anderson pointed out that Dame Ninette had considerable political support in the process of founding the Turkish ballet during the "Cold War". As we stressed before, in those days neither the British nor the Turkish governments welcomed Soviet influence:

‘The British presence in Turkey was important’ says Glasstone, ‘and ballet was a way of having it’. He remembers how cross the Soviet Cultural Attachés were when the British staged *Swan Lake*, ‘which they considered to be a Russian ballet’ in Turkey in 1966. In her Turkish activities, de Valois liked to joke; she was a sort of Mata Hari figure.<sup>259</sup> (fig.18)

However by the time Travis Kemp and Molly Lake left, the political climate was changing. Travis Kemp thought that their departure gave the Russians a chance to get infiltrated into the Turkish ballet system<sup>260</sup>. Their insight about Russian dance teachers replacing the British ones was essentially true. After the middle of the 1970s, with the slow withdrawal of Dame Ninette de Valois from the direction of the Ankara State Ballet Company as well, the artistic advisory and teaching roles gradually slipped into the hands of the Russians. In fact, there is an interesting incident recounted by Richard Glasstone related to the earlier times when the Russian choreographers were not able to work in Turkey. In this

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<sup>259</sup> Anderson, Zoe. 2006

<sup>260</sup> In Naom Benari's book, we get the chance to read the couple's memories about their stay in Turkey. There are some interesting details of how they had perceived the Turkish situation during those twenty years of time span.

anecdote, Glasstone made clear that the artistic advisor was Dame Ninette before the middle of the 1970s and no attempt of familiarization with Russian dancers were given any chance during her time:

It was during Rodrigues' first visit to Ankara that one of the most amusing and telling incidents of my time in Turkey occurred. Summoned to see the director of the Opera House, I was informed that Serge Lifar had arrived to stage a program of his own ballets for the company, in honor of an impending state visit by General de Gaulle.<sup>261</sup> I was instructed to cancel all Mr. Rodrigues' rehearsals and to allocate the time and the dancers to Lifar. Without going into all the Byzantine intrigue which had led to this sudden change of plan, it turned out that someone had failed to realize that de Gaulle would not actually have appreciated it, as Lifar was rumored to have been a collaborator during the war. I telephoned de Valois for advice, and she flew out on the next plane. Not only was General de Gaulle treated to a program of our regular Anglo-Turkish repertoire (including Pineapple Poll), but for the finale of her *Çeşmebaşı*, Madam replaced the scarves waved by the dancers with French tricolors! Poor old Lifar had to be content to sit in the audience. We never did stage any of his ballets.<sup>262</sup>

An influential character in the international ballet world like Sergei Lifar had not given the chance to work for Turkish ballet due to his promiscuous relations with German officials in the Second World War. World politics facilitated the British presence in Turkey during the time. The climate changed however in the mid 1970s.

One year later than the honorary state award which Dame Ninette de Valois received for her ongoing work and services to Turkish Ballet in 1972, Perihan Çambel reviewed the ballet performance *Romeo and Juliet*. She stated that the Ankara State Ballet Company had many problems both artistically and administratively. The critic implied that Dame Ninette de Valois could no longer handle these internal problems. In Çambel's analysis, Dame Ninette mostly stayed in England and visited Turkey once a year. The time she spent here

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<sup>261</sup> Serge Lifar (1905-1986) was a ballet dancer and choreographer of Ukrainian origin, famous as one of the greatest ballet dancers of the 20th century. He was engaged as the ballet master and director at the Paris Opera Ballet, where he remained in charge until 1957. He openly socialized with the German High Command during the Occupation of Paris. Although the appearance of collaboration led to Lifar's "banishment for life" from the Paris Opera Ballet in 1944, he was back at work there by 1947. Gruen, John. *The Private World of Ballet*, The Viking Press, New York, 1975 and also in <http://en.wikipedia.org>, 03/29/2007

<sup>262</sup> Glasstone, Richard. "De Valois' Turkish Venture", *Dance Now*, vol.8, no.1, Spring 1999; pp.42-43

was not enough to dwell in the internal affairs of this growing institution. As indicated by Çambel, our ballet structure was in urgent need of a council formed by specialists, and having a principal director of its own. This principal director, as had not been indicated directly in the article, but was implied, would preferably be Turkish:

Romeo and Juliet, which for us, can be considered a large and good production takes place in a room which is half empty. Only the tradition of decadence continues with program booklets printed in bad quality paper. In the past, when program booklets were sold along with other works of art, today there is even an unsystematic order in the sales of the programs. Even though we have an orchestra conductor like Ferit Tüzün, he is not given the opportunity to conduct the ballet or opera orchestras, nor are there any orchestra conductors being raised, and furthermore there aren't any joint efforts with the State Conservatory.<sup>263</sup>

Çambel clearly directed her criticism towards the British administrators. The condition of Turkish ballet was deteriorating and the responsibility in her eyes, belonged mostly to Dame Ninette de Valois. In reality, it was true that she was mostly away from Ankara and visiting the company once or twice a year but it was also true that a Turkish group of directors were grown for the positions, yet they did not have the full responsibility in their hands. We observe that by the middle of the 1970s, with the establishment of Turkish administration more firmly, Dame Ninette preferred to stay distanced from the management of the company. In the years to come, we can follow the change in the artistic administration of the Ankara State Ballet Company. In fact, the 1976's season's program included *Don Quixote* staged by Russian artists. This was clearly an outcome of the obvious partition of Dame Ninette de Valois from the artistic direction of the company.

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<sup>263</sup> Çambel, Perihan. "Romeo-Jülyet Gösterisinin açıkladığı Sorunlar" (Problems That The Performance of Romeo and Juliet Revealed), *Vatan* newspaper, 02/22/1972- *Romeo-Jülyet Balesi gibi bizim için büyük ve iyi sayılabilen bir prodüksiyon ortada iken salon ancak yarı yarıya kadar doluyor. Ortada sadece kötü bir kağıda basılmış program satışları dekadant bir gelenekle sürdürülegelmektedir. Eskiden fuayede programlar ve başka eserler satılırken, bugün program satmada bile düzensizlik vardır...Ferit Tüzün gibi bir orkestra şefimiz varken, ona ne bale orkestrası, ne opera orkestrası yönettilmez; ve de opera ve bale orkestralarımız için başka yönetmenler de yetiştirilmez; bu iş için Devlet Konservatuvarı ile iş ve el birliği yapılmaz.*

As a matter of fact, an incident marked this change of hearts for both sides. Many Turkish ballet artists recalled the incident in one way or another. Some preferred not to mention it, and others strongly emphasized it. During our interview with Richard Glasstone, the question was asked about his hearings of the incident. Dame Ninnette de Valois was a good friend and work companion of Glasstone for many years. It is interesting to discover that she never mentioned the process of her separation from Turkish ballet's administration to Glasstone, nor did she ever make any comments on the following incident.<sup>264</sup>

The incident took place during the rehearsals of *La Fillé Mal Garde /Şımarık Kız*. We can grasp the strong effect of this incident on Dame Ninette de Valois in two of our interviews. The first story was told by Osman Şengezer. He recounted a scene embedded in his visual memory of those years:

It was an unfortunate situation (...) the time of *Şımarık Kız /La fille mal Garde* (...) Little plots had begun towards Madame and eventually they asked her to leave. There was a war against those who told her to go and those who asked her to stay. That's why we call the ballet *Şımarık Kız*, the inauspicious ballet. For a moment I caught Madame watching behind the curtains, tears running down her face. I can't ever forget that scene. After that I wasn't the same towards ballet. I had given her a necklace that night, as a present. She was wearing it. I bought her a little candle. I cried, she cried, we all cried. Thus, she left and didn't come back for a long time. After that, she either sent someone, or came herself but only for a day or two. It wasn't ever the same after that.<sup>265</sup>

The actual story linked to the rehearsal of *Şımarık Kız* was told by Deniz Olgay Yamanus as follows:

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<sup>264</sup> Interview with Richard Glasstone. 05/25/2007, İstanbul.

<sup>265</sup> Interview with Osman Şengezer, 03/21/2007, İstanbul – *Talihsiz bir durumdu...Şımarık Kız zamanı ... Madam'a karşı filan böyle bir şeyler başlamıştı ve nitekim sonunda Madam'a "git" dediler. "Git" diyenlerle "gitme" diyenler birbirine girdi. Onun için biz Şımarık Kız balesine uğursuz bale deriz. Bir ara baktım, perdenin aralığından seyrediyor Madam, gözlerinden sicim gibi yaşlar akıyor...hiç unutmuyorum o sahneyi ve o geceyi hiç unutmuyorum. Ben Madam'a bir kolye hediye etmişim. Onu takmıştı, ona küçük bir mum götürdüm. Salonda bir perdeler var Ankara'da. Perdelerden ağlayarak ilk temsili seyrediyor ve onu hiç unutmadım ben hayatta. Ondan sonra zaten biraz Bale'den soğumuştum. O ağladı, ben ağladım, hepimiz ağladık ve gitti. Çok uzun yıllar gelmedi ve ondan sonra geldiklerinde de hep ne bileyim birini gönderdi. Kendi 2 gün geldi, bir gün geldi hiçbir zaman eskisi gibi olmadı.*



Madame was hurt, very hurt (...) some dancers didn't allow all of us in the rehearsals for example. Madame rehearsed, only with Oytun and Meriç. Only Oytun and Meriç were in the rehearsal. Madame is on stage, about to start the rehearsal and nobody is there, it's empty! The whole company is forbidden from rehearsal. They sent us to the other front (...) of course, it's a very wrong thing but we aren't a society that acts upon thinking. I don't even remember what I thought at the time. I don't remember why. Maybe I would have rebelled if I had enough experience and knowledge at that time.<sup>266</sup>

It seems that the reaction towards Dame Ninette was organized by the newly assigned administration and was followed by the dancers who were not fully aware of its consequences. The accounts of the dancers who were at the general rehearsal of *Şımarık Kız* prove that this walk-out was not their conscious choice. It was mostly an act of obedience. The statement of "some dancers" is significant in showing the uneasy feeling towards a conflictual memory. Apparently, newly establishing Turkish administrators were in charge of this "walk out" which was sort of a power demonstration. This, itself pointed to a problematic nature of the growing Turkish ballet. According to some witnesses of the period, the new actors of Turkish ballet asked for more power in the administration, without having the necessary experience.

Geyvan McMillen, as one of the dancers who totally believed in the expertise of Dame Ninette de Valois, when thinking retrospectively, expressed her belief that the time had not come for such a break-up from the British school. In her analysis, she stressed the fact that it was too early for Turkish ballet to obtain its own wings and fly on its own. The artistic vision of Dame Ninette was still very important for the company to grow. McMillen expressed her feelings about the departure of Dame Ninette de Valois as follows:

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<sup>266</sup> Interview with Deniz Olgay Yamanus, 12/04/2006, İstanbul – *Madam kırıldı, çok kırıldı... hepimizi provaya sokmadılar mesela. Madam provaya girdi, bir tek Oytun'la Meriç....Oytun anlatırdı, ben hatırlamıyorum. Hangi eserdi? Şımarık Kız'dı hatırladığım. Bir tek onlar vardı provada...Madam sahnede, prova almak üzere sahneye geliyor ve de boş karşısı, hiç kimse yok! ...bütün company'i derse sokmadılar. Karşı cephe aldirttilar yani... tabii ki çok yanlış bir şey ama bizler de çok fazla düşünerek hareket eden bir toplum değiliz...o zaman düşündüğümü bile hatırlamıyorum, nedenini bile hatırlamıyorum. Belki de karşı çıkardık, eğer o kadar bilince sahip olsaydım o zamanlar.*

Unfortunately, we said to Madame that ‘we had no longer in need of her. We could do this on our own’. But, according to me, we weren’t ready. It was very wrong to send a master like her away. She should have been the one leading us, and we could also continue to do our jobs. As a matter of fact, she wanted the same thing. She had already begun to choose the head choreographers, administrators (...) but she should have been with us because she was such an experienced and important personality. She set our visions, what we had to do? Which piece we should choose in which year? From where, what sort of teachers should come? She brought all the teachers, ‘who should come, who should go?’ What sort of works should be produced? She focused on all of these details. One has to possess all this knowledge in order to direct a company. When one says: ‘I was a dancer, now I’m finished with dancing and I’m continuing on directing the company’. Maybe, there is a chance of being successful, if the company is traditionally mature and professional enough. But, if not, if it’s a newly born company, until you attain this knowledge and experience, it is better to stay with the person who could form you in a suitable way. This is my opinion.<sup>267</sup>

As we understand from this evaluation as well, there were certain issues unresolved in the relationship of Turkish dancers to Dame Ninette de Valois. If we place the incident of *Şımarık Kız* in the context of its historical situation, we perceive that already Dame Ninette had prepared some of the dancers of the Ankara State Ballet Company to become the directors after her. Yet for some, the time of handing over the authority had come and passed. Dame Ninette had gotten older. According to Meriç Sümen and Evinç Sunal, the problem was not her aging but more importantly her connections becoming outdated too. She was not able to support Turkish ballet with young and enthusiastic British choreographers anymore. Meriç Sümen expressed the problem as follows:

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<sup>267</sup> Interview with Geyvan McMillen, 11/30/2006, İstanbul- *Maalesef Madam’a “artık sana ihtiyacımız yok git, kendimiz bu işi yapabiliriz” dedik ki hazır değildik, bana göre. Böyle büyük bir ustayı buradan göndermek yanlış bir şeydi açıkçası. Her zaman başımızda olmalıydı, biz yine kendimiz işlerimizi devam ettirmeliydik. Zaten o da bunu istiyordu, bizlerden adamları seçmeye başlamıştı, yani baş koreograf olsun, işte yönetici olsun... ama o her zaman başımızda olmalıydı. Çünkü çok tecrübeli ve çok önemli bir kişilikti... Madam sadece yardım etmenin dışında, her iki topluluğu da bilgili bir şekilde yönlendiriyordu: Vizyonumuzu koyuyordu, n’apmamız icap eder, hangi yılda nasıl bir oyun oynamalıyız? Nereden, nasıl bir şekilde hocalar getirtmeli buraya? Çünkü bütün hocaları o getiriyordu “kimler gelmeli, kimler gitmeli. Nasıl bir eser çıkmalı sahnede” onları düşünüyordu. O derece bilgili olmak lazım, yani bir topluluğu yönetmek için sadece işte “ben dansçıydım, şimdi bitirdim dansçılığı topluluğu yönetmeye geçiyorum” dediğin zaman eğer o topluluk hakikaten çok geleneği olan, professional bir topluluksa belki insan yapabilir. O zamana kadar işte birçok koreograflarla çalışmış oluyorsun, birçok iyi yöneticilerle çalışmış oluyorsun, yani topluluk çok iyi bir topluluk oluyor. Sen de onu devam ettirebilirsin ama eğer topluluk o kadar iyi bir topluluk değilse, daha yeni doğmuş emekleyen bir topluluksa, sen daha hakikaten o bilince gelinceye kadar, seni kim yönetiyorsa ve ilerletiyorsa onunla birlikte kalmanda yarar var diye düşünüyorum ben açıkçası. Bana göre öyle.*

Madame did everything for the Turkish ballet but she did not give responsibility. She did not give responsibility for administration. Then, a time came she was not able to send teachers anymore. There was no money. She was also right of course. For how much longer, the Royal ballet could support us? But we also have reached a stage that we did not want to fall back (...) and during this time Russians wanted to send their teachers for nothing. Then I said let's do it. Very good teachers came in the beginning. But when Madame heard about it, she was furious. She was right but we were also right. Then the relation disrupted. She did not care for us anymore.<sup>268</sup>

Another close witness of the period, Evinç Sunal approached the process from a more imperturbable perspective. She even stated that Dame Ninette herself has suggested to work with the Russians since the economic situation was difficult for the Turkish state to finance other foreign experts. Dame Ninette was no longer able to find the financial support from British sources as she did before. Definitely the middle of the 1970s was marked by an economic crisis on the side of Turkish state. In Sunal's view Madame was getting older. She tired quickly. It wasn't easy to find teachers as before:

Of course, Madame got older. One night, at a reception at the British Consulate, we were together with her and Metin And. She said that 'you have become the ones to plant these fields. It has come the time that we will hand them to you'. Then, slowly by positioning us, expanding our authority, by talking and deciding together with us, a new way of doing things started; besides she was getting really old. We would always call and she would come to the school. She eventually suggested doing something with the iron curtain countries. It was cheaper. In other words, there wasn't enough money and she couldn't find financial support anymore. All her surroundings, all her friends had aged as well. It was difficult, for her as well. We had cultural agreements with the iron curtain countries at the time. So the relation slowly started.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>268</sup> Interview with Meriç Sümen Kanan. 07/11/2007, Datça- *Madame herşeyi yaptı Türk balesi için ama sorumluluk vermedi. Oytun'u aldı koreograf olması için yetiştirdi, Suna'yı gönderdi koreolojist olarak yetiştirdi, onlar elzemdi, çünkü yurtdışından, mesela notator getirtmek çok zor, para yok zaten...İdareceliği vermedi, Tenasüp'e vermedi, Sait'e vermedi, bilmiyorum niye vermedi. Toplantı yapıyor gelince, Tenasüp'ün filan suratı asık çıkıyor, kavga ediyorlar filan...Madame dedi ki 'artık size hoca gönderemiyorum', ben de 'sizin gönderdiğiniz hocalarla takışıyoruz zaten' dedim. 'siz artık kendi yağınızda kavrulun dedi, tabii çok teşekkür ederiz dedim. Pabuç gelmiyor para yok, kadın da haklı. Royal Ballet parasız bize daha ne kadar bakacak ama biz de bir yere gelmişiz, düşünse geçmek istemiyorsun. Onun için de bizim için de zor bir durumdu...Bu arada Ruslar üç kuruş paraya hoca göndermek istiyorlar...valla gelsinler dedim ben de. Başlangıçta bir iyi hocalar geldi, azıcık paraya. Fakat tabii Madame bunu duydu, delirdi, haklı ama biz de haklıyız. Ondan sonra koştuk biz artık, bizle ilgilenmedi.*

<sup>269</sup> Interview with Evinç Sunal, 12/22/2006, Ankara – *Şimdi Madam tabii ki epey yaşlandı. Artık yoruluyordu, hoca bulmak eskisi gibi kolay değildi. Hatta burada bir gece, İngiliz sefaretinde, son gelişinde bir yemek vardı. Metin And, biz hep beraber oturuyorduk masada, dedi ki "yavaş yavaş artık bu tarlaları siz ekecek duruma*

Şebnem Aksan also expressed her thoughts in relation to Dame Ninette's separation in our interview. For her, Dame Ninette was the artistic director of the Ankara Company and when she had left Ankara everything collapsed. The Turkish administrators were not ready. Most importantly they were not able to communicate with the foreign world. They did not know other languages.<sup>270</sup> In reality, as much as the economic restrains, the Turkish state prepared the context for Russian invasion in the field of ballet. The ambition of Turkish directors played an important part on this shift of artistic choices. Osman Şengezer described the actual situation in a very clear way. In reality, there was a certain pressure from the Russian Embassy and Russian teachers, reflecting on the administrations, but the real issue was that the Turks began to act as the directors and administrators:

Actually, the reason what had happened to Madame, to a certain extent, was because of the pressure of Russians. They came for free and of course, they had the ballet style. So they started to come. Madame used to say, 'they are waiting to come here with their suitcases ready'. Therefore, the pressure of the Russians also had an effect on the change but the main issue was the Turkish administrators' insistence on their competence. So there was the matter of 'We have flourished. We have grown up'. Madame, despite all this, had already raised Hüsnü and Evinç because she had the idea of placing couples in charge, Molly Lake and Travis Kemp for example (...) once again, the real issue is the Turks being in charge (...) The same thing happened to Ulrich Damrau who was the head stage designer and Refik Eren took his place. Perhaps, this is the way it should have been, but it should have taken its own natural course.<sup>271</sup>

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*geldiniz, yavaş yavaş size devredeceğiz" diye bir konuşmaları olmuştu o zaman. Sonra işte yavaş yavaş bizleri başa koyarak, daha büyük yetkiler vererek bizlere, artık eskisi gibi kast, orada yapılıp değil de buraya geldiği zaman beraber konuşarak, tartışarak, anlatarak dansçıları şey yaparak, öyle yavaş yavaş başladı. Sonrada zaten artık çok yaşlanmıştı... Arada hep çağırıyorduk, okula geliyordu, bize geliyordu. Sonra yavaş yavaş, hatta işte o bize tavsiye etti "demir perde ülkelerinden şey yapın, daha ucuz" yani para da yetmiyordu artık, o da bulamıyordu. Eski, onunda arkadaşları etrafında, herkes yaşlandı tabii yani. Zordu, onun için de zordu. Bu kültürel anlaşmalarımız vardı demir perde ülkeleriyle o zaman, o zaman yavaş yavaş oradan işte başladı.*

<sup>270</sup> Interview with Şebnem Aksan. 12/20/2006, İstanbul - *Bıraktığı anda her şey çöktü. Çünkü yetişmemişti, yani kaldıracak durumda değil. Bir kere dil bilmiyorlardı, en büyük hikaye dil bilmiyorsunuz, yani bir iletişim problemi var*

<sup>271</sup> Interview with Osman Şengezer, 03/21/2007, İstanbul - *Aslında Türk Balesi'nin, yani Madam'a bunların olmasının sebebi biraz da Rus baskılarıdır. Bedava geliyor ve nitekim de bale ekolü orada biraz! Biz hep kuvvetlendi, çeşni kattı diye kullanıyoruz ama Rus balesi başladı, Ruslar gelmeye başladı. Bedava geliyor, ve bir gün öyle dedi "sınırdaki bavulıyla bekliyor bunları ayol" derdi pat diye... yani biraz da o da var! Onların baskısı da var, yani Rus sefaretle, Rus hocalarının baskısı da var. Bunlar tabii idarecilere de yansıyor ama asıl konu, "Türkler yönetsin, biz Türkler yöneteceğiz. Artık biz büyüdük, geliştik" meselesi var ama Madam*

Perhaps this was right, the change was inevitable yet it would have been much better if it could have taken its natural course. As a consequence, British choreographers and teachers ceased to exist and were eventually replaced by the Russian ones, due to the Russian government's complimentary offers in the dance field. This change, in both the artistic and administrative fields of Turkish ballet had significant outcomes. As one of the examples of reviewing the process of change positively, we can look at the articles of journalist Ömer Atilla Sav.<sup>272</sup> In one of his articles, he analyzed the contribution of Russian artists and the success of the piece, *Don Quixote*. In his opinion, the performance proved the technical superiority of the State Ballet Company under the direction of the Russian artists:

Our State Ballet was in need of a leap, of something new, for a certain time. The three Russian artists, who have participated as guests in the beginning of the term, had very positive influences. If one could compare, it was like a doping effect. As well known, our ballet was formed by the British ballet school founder, Dame Ninette and has had, until today, a British performance attitude. This time, a piece staged by yet another great ballet school, the Russians, gives the effect of taking a new deep breath.<sup>273</sup>

Despite the positive review by Sav of the Russian artists, some of the ballet artists of Turkish State Ballet had controversial sentiments about this change of schools in the art of ballet in Turkey. Fundamentally, there are two different opinions. One is in favor of the Russian school, believing the change in style had been positive. The other takes the contrary

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*bütün bunlara rağmen Evinç 'le, Hüsnü 'yü... Çünkü Madam 'ın bir fikri vardır. Biliyorsun Konservatuar 'ları bile hep karı kocaları görevlendirdi. Molly Lake, Travis Kemp. Ondan evvel, şeye bile Opera 'ya bile! Çünkü bir hoca getirdi, gay idi. Homoseksüeldi, ortalık bir birine girdi, yani Dudley Tomlinson. Çok zor oldu onu idare etmemiz. Madam, bir de onu idare ediyordu. ... Kimler gidiyor geliyor, o arada neler var. Doğru, yani asıl konu "Türkler ele geçirsün, Türkler yönetsün." Aynı şeyi Ulrich Damm Brown 'a yaptılar başdekoratör olarak. Refik Eren onun yerine baş dekoratör oldu, yani belki bu doğru, bu değişim ama bu başka.. bir kendiliğinden oluşma şeklinde olmalıydı.*

<sup>272</sup> There is a person named Atilla Sav who was elected as the Minister of Labor in the cabinet of Nihat Erim, after the military note of 1971 but we do not have any confirmation that the two men are the same.

<sup>273</sup> Sav, Ömer Atilla. "Don Kişot", *Milliyet* newspaper, 01/09/1976 - *Devlet Balemizin bir süredir bir sıçramaya, bir yeniliğe gereksinmesi vardı. Bu dönemin başında konuk olarak çalışmalara katılan üç Rus sanatçısının bu açıdan çok olumlu etkisi olmuş. Benzetmek uygun düşerse, bir doping etkisi sağlanmış. Bilindiği üzere, İngiliz Bale Okulunun kurucusu Dame Ninette 'in kurduğu balemiz, bugüne değin daha çok İngiliz yetiştirici ve sanatçılarla geliştirilmişti. Bu kez bir başka büyük bale okulu olan Rus yetiştiricileriyle yapılan çalışma yeni bir soluk etkisi yapıyor.*

stance and prefers the British school of ballet over the Russian. Suna Uğur belonged to the latter view and expressed her feeling towards the Russian school of ballet in the interview as follows:

Wasn't any good for us. I wasn't particularly warm towards the Russians because this art has a very delicate tendency which I can't find in the Russians. The Russian ballet doesn't give me the pleasure of the British or the French ballet. Perhaps, it's due to the rigidity of being raised under communism. It's a whipping rhythm. They are not successful, neither their choreography, nor their dancers. Everything depended on technique. Perhaps, it's spectacular, but it's croaky. If there isn't any feeling, there isn't any art. That's why, for me, it is not very appealing.<sup>274</sup>

In her analysis, we can see that she puts forward the difference in artistic attitude. Her preference in terms of artistic style was definitely in favor of the British school. Deniz Olgay Yamanus, on the other hand, added her interpretation of different schools of ballet as follows:

We had a Russian teacher. I remember feeling very well with the foot positions (...) How to put the weight on the foot. I think that woman was very beneficial for us. At that time, we felt the difference with the British school. The Russians are committed to the power of movement, it's very important for them. Whereas, for the British, dance is more important, telling the story is more important. The Russians have more technique. This is my assessment.<sup>275</sup>

Ceyhun Özsoy asserted the impacts of the teachers on his teaching career after the British influence. Actually before the Russians, there were two important teachers, one from

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<sup>274</sup> Interview with Suna Uğur, 01/11/2007, İstanbul – *bize yaramadı. Ben zaten Ruslara karşı pek sıcak değilim. Çünkü bu sanatın bir ince tarafı var. Ben onu Ruslarda bulamıyorum, bir İngiliz balesinin, Fransız balesinin verdiği hazzı bana vermiyor Rus balesi. Belki komünizmin verdiği bir katılıkla yetişmiş oldukları için... Kırbaçlı bir ritim. Başarılı olamıyorlar, koreografileri de öyle, dansçıları da öyle. Tekniğe, tamamen tekniğe dayalı bir şey. Belki, 32 fuetteyi şöyle dönüyorlar; mesela bir tek, bir çift. Tek, çift bu hakikaten müthiş bir şey ama bu akrobasi. Arabeskler bir kalkıyor, bilmem nereye kadar ama onu ufak yapıp da öyle bir duygu katmak var ki, zaten duygu yoksa bu işin içinde sanat da yok, onun için bana çok cazip gelmiyor. Bir Vagonava tutturmuşlar "Vagonava sistemi, vagonava sistemi". Biz Vagonava'yla yetişemedik ama o zaman baleler hakikaten dört başı mamurdu: Dozurucuydu, her şeyiyle dozurucuydu ama şimdi nedense böyle bir Vagonova modasıdır aldı gidiyor. Evet bütün dünyada belki değişti, daha çok Rus sistemi uygulanıyor ama bence gerek yok.*

<sup>275</sup> Interview with Deniz Olgay Yamanus, 12/04/2006, İstanbul- *Adı neydi, bir Rus hocamız vardı? Ayak pozisyonlarında çok iyi hissettiğimizi hatırlıyorum, ağırlık ve de ayak pozisyonlarında o kadının bize çok faydası olduğunu düşünüyorum. O zaman İngiliz ekolüyle aradaki farkı hissetmiştik. Ruslar daha çok "hareketin gücüne" bağlıdırlar, hareketin gücü onlar için mesela daha önemlidir. Halbuki İngilizlerde dans daha önemlidir, anlatım daha önemlidir. Teknik Ruslarda daha fazla, yani benim değerlendirmem öyle.*

Finland, G. Hudova and the other from Hungary, Sandor Toth. Of course both of them have acquired the Russian technique of Vaganova. Then, the Russian Alexander Prokovsky came and had a significant influence on Özsoy. Özsoy believed that the technique of Vaganova was much more appropriate for the Turkish dancers: “Vaganova technique is more suitable for our bodies since we also have a very rich folk dance tradition like them.”<sup>276</sup>

Therefore, one perceives that there were artists who could appreciate the alternative styles without placing a judgment on them. For some, to take advantage of both schools was important. Yet, everyone agreed that as time passed the quality of Russian teachers and choreographers decreased. For the communist bloc countries, to be able to work abroad meant much better conditions comparing to their home country. So, they wanted to come and stay in Turkey as long as they could. Good Russian teachers and choreographers came to work in the beginning, but through time the quality of expertise of incoming teachers had diminished. According to some Turkish artists, the better ones started to prefer going to Europe, not to Turkey.<sup>277</sup> Yet, there was not an authority, a decision maker in order to stop the flow or to organize a process of selection of the teachers according to the needs of Turkish ballet. During the Cold War era, cultural exchange between Turkish and the communist countries was a channel of international communication. The cultural exchange programs particularly with Russia provided to establish a smooth relation in the international context. Due to these regulations established with communist bloc countries, their teachers and choreographers automatically continued to come and work in Turkey. Therefore, Turkish ballet faced with a greater problem which continued to this day. The scarcity of high quality choreographers both foreign and Turkish marked its trace in the field of ballet in Turkey.

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<sup>276</sup> Mail from Ceyhun Özsoy. 05/15/2007, Dallas -*Vaganova tekniği biz Türklerin vücut ve ruhumuza daha yakın. Zira bizim de onlar gibi çok yönlü son derece zengin bir halk oyunlarımız var.*

<sup>277</sup> Interview with Meriç Sümen. 07/11/2007, Datça

As mentioned above, the relation to foreign experts was a problematic one. Turkish ballet had the chance to establish a very strong connection with British experts, yet it had its own infirmities. Russian teachers and choreographers started to come after the middle of the 1970s. With the support of the Russian government, they lasted longer than the British, but to this day, they never achieved such an intense relation with Turkish artists comparing to their British counterparts. The story of the establishment of Turkish ballet directors, teachers and choreographers was at the core of this relation with foreign experts. This aspect brings us to our third issue of administrative conflicts in the ballet institutions.

#### Administrative Conflicts: Institutional, Visionary, and Individual Aspects

In order to understand the complexities and the confusion in the creative part of ballet in Turkey, one has to consider the administrative side of this history first. There are different aspects of administrative conflicts in ballet circles. First, one has to consider the artistic policies in relation to artistic visions of the institutions. Second, Turkish politics was one of the significant factors affecting the administration of Arts. And lastly, intense personal relations among the ballet circles of the first three generations had a significant impact on the professional life leading to important administrative conflicts.

We will again extensively make use of Metin And's collection of writings published in *Ulus* newspaper, *Forum* and *Kim* journals between 1955 and 1975. Along with them, we will look at other writers who wrote on dance, like Müşerref Hekimoğlu, Engin Karadeniz, Mümtaz Soysal and Hikmet Feridun Es. These writings provide information not only about the art of dance and its institutionalization as practiced in Turkey, but they also contain social, political and aesthetic debates in Turkey during this period. In addition to these written sources, administrative conflicts are best examined in the light of the interviews with ballet artists.



In examining the administrative side of the dance institutions in Turkey, we come across with two important discussions. One belongs to the first period, between 1950 and 1960, when there had not been a separate ballet company. Ballet pieces were performed in the theatre and opera structures, and often the direction related to dance was in question. The state theatre and opera were in constant dispute on many issues. The directors of both institutions were in battle over everything concerning the use of material and artistic sources and it directly affected the dance. The second discussion belongs to the later period when the ballet company was formed in 1961. Between 1961 and until the end of 1970s, competence of the directors in terms of their managing skills and artistic strategies were questioned. During this period, the institutions were also subject to the intervention of relevant political authorities of the period.

If we return back to 1957, after nine years of education, the first graduates of the ballet conservatory had joined the State Theatre. Dancers like Tenasüp Onat, Kaya İlhan educated from outside and Hüsnü Sunal, Güzide Kalın Noyan, Ayla Ünal continued their training inside the conservatory. They formed the small company of dancers inside the State Theater.<sup>278</sup> They danced in the ballet sections of the staged operas. In 1958, a series of texts appeared in *Kim* magazine dealing with Turkish Ballet and its problems. In the first one called “Towards Turkish Ballet-1- Whose blame is it?”, Metin And referred to performances realized in May. This was the same year where the students of ballet conservatory had the chance to dance with two significant dancers of the world, Margot Fonteyn and Michael Sommes.<sup>279</sup> It was the 10th anniversary of the opening of the first ballet school in Yeşilköy and the students proved themselves very talented on stage. But And’s emphasis was on the fact that there had not yet been any attempts to form a national dance company. He gave

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<sup>278</sup> Among them were also Ayla Dayıgil, Meral Öge, Engin Akaoğlu

<sup>279</sup> And, Metin. “Türk Balesine Doğru-1- Kimin Suçu?” (Towards Turkish Ballet-1- Whose blame is it?) *Kim*, no.2, 06/06/1958

examples of different countries and how national dance companies were successful agents to promote the culture of that nation. Since there were graduate students dancing in opera and theater pieces, and that many more were graduating soon, it was the duty of the general director of the State Opera and Ballet Houses to start a national ballet company. His article emphasized certain matters on behalf of the general director, and was an invitation to take the necessary action to form a company.

In 1958, Metin And wrote another article in *Ulus* newspaper about the problems of ballet dancers inside the Ankara State Theatre Company. And stated that the reason to found a ballet conservatory in Turkey was to establish the national ballet of Turkey, which surely was not the case, with dancers performing only at opera performances. Besides, the graduates of the conservatory, five female and one male dancer that year, were unemployed wasting their time in State Opera, had a rupture from their practice after nine years of hard work in the conservatory. In fact three of these dancers had been sent to the Royal Ballet in London for a year to be trained as future choreographers, teachers and dancers of the company. The director of Royal Ballet School and well known ballet critic, Arnold Haskell, had not found their level of expertise high enough to acquire those posts. Metin And consulted him during that year, and he suggested to bring a foreign choreographer or a ‘maitre de ballet’, or better both in order for a separate ballet company to function properly.<sup>280</sup>

Metin And also believed in the necessity that the ballet company as a professional group and the conservatory as an educational platform should collaborate. Given the tense relations between these two institutions, however, this proved to be difficult.<sup>281</sup> And projected questions to certain authorities of the day about plans and visions to improve the

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<sup>280</sup> And, Metin. “Opera Balesi” (Ballet of the Opera), *Ulus* newspaper, 04/08/1958

<sup>281</sup> And, Metin. “Türk Balesine Doğru 5-İşbirliği” (Towards Turkish Ballet 5- Collaboration), *Kim*, no:6, 06/04/1958

Turkish stage dance. He again stressed the difficulties between the state theatre and the conservatory. Since there had not yet been a state ballet company, students graduated and directly entered the theater company without any chance to practice their physical training. Then they were going on stage in small number of plays where there were dance sections.<sup>282</sup>

It is interesting to note that we came across similar ideas in Travis Kemp's speech that was given in a conference in the conservatory.<sup>283</sup> Long time conservatory teachers Molly Lake and Travis Kemp had been criticized by Metin And in many of his articles. It seemed that Kemp expressed similar ideas on this subject with Metin And. He emphasized the necessity to build a strong relationship between the conservatory and the State Opera and Ballet in Ankara. And thought that the separation of the administrations of ballet and opera structures was compulsory. He stated that nowhere in the world one could observe a strong ballet company under the same roof of the opera. There were similar structures to Turkish case such as Metropolitan Opera in New York or Paris Opera, and some opera structures in Germany but the real ballet companies in these countries had grown elsewhere, out of these institutions. New York City Ballet, Martha Graham Dance Company in America, Kurt Joos, Mary Wigman Dance Companies in Germany, Royal Ballet, Rambert Ballet in England or Roland Petit's Ballet de Paris, for example, were among such examples of ballet companies which had grown out of the opera structures of these countries. Kemp's emphasis was on the fact that if Turkish ballet stayed to be just a part of the opera and could not become a separate entity of its own, destined to die eventually.

Metin And's articles also revealed that Dame Ninette de Valois had tried to devise a board, a committee, for the functioning of a separate ballet company. This board was thought

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<sup>282</sup> And, Metin. "Türk Balesine Doğru 6- Gerçek İşbirliği"(Towards Turkish Ballet 6- True Collaboration) *Kim*, no.8, 07/18/1958

<sup>283</sup> Kemp, Travis. pg.2, *unpublished manuscript*. Appendix no: 7

of as consisting of one or two theatre people, musicians, a stage designer, a folk dancer and even a person from an association which could invest financially in the ballet company.<sup>284</sup>

While reviewing these suggestions and criticisms, one has to consider the political situation as well. The political unrest was at its peak in the late 1950s. DP government's authoritarian methods were faced with severe disobedience by the opposition and also by the public. Beginning from the middle of the 1950s, the policies of the DP government were regarded as unplanned, aid-dependent, and deficit-financed. They were criticized by many institutions in Turkey as well as by the US academic experts and government officials.<sup>285</sup> In such circumstances, understandably, DP government's priority was not to form an independent state ballet company. However, after the military intervention in 1960, the political climate changed drastically.

Indeed, with the staging of *Coppelia* in 1961, a separate ballet company was founded inside the State Opera and Ballet Institution. Andrée Howard was one of the guest choreographers invited to the Ankara State Ballet Company. Metin And, in one his articles in *Ulus* newspaper, praised Howard's artistic direction of the company and her talent in choreography.<sup>286</sup> Unfortunately, from another article of And, we learn that due to the infirmity of the State Theatre Administration, Andrée Howard had left the post when she had just started working on an interesting ballet piece using Turkish folk dances' motives.<sup>287</sup> If it had been realized, it would have been the first ballet piece before *Çeşmebaşı* to use Turkish folk dance motives to be displayed within a universal ballet language. This piece could never been finished due to administrative problems and mutual misunderstandings.

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<sup>284</sup> Her vision was in fact far more avant-garde than the actual situation in state ballet companies today.

<sup>285</sup> Yılmaz, Hakan. 1995

<sup>286</sup> And, Metin. "Baleler Geçidi" (Procession of Ballets), *Ulus* newspaper, 03/07/1963

<sup>287</sup> And, Metin. "Bir Çıkar Yol" (A Course of Action), *Ulus* newspaper, no date, from the private collection of Muzaffer Evcı. Appendix no: 10

In an article he reviewed the ballet *Nutcracker* performed during the season of 1968-1969. Metin And referred at the long lasting dispute of the State Theatre and the State Opera, resulting in deteriorating conditions for the State Ballet Company which was officially connected to the State Opera. According to And, the opera administration wanted the ballet company was attached to the opera in order to have priority in decision making on issues related to ballet. In addition to that, their long lasting problem with the theater administration had very negative effects on ballet performances. One recent example was *Nutcracker*, where the stage design had been changed after the approval of Dame Ninette de Valois. During the general rehearsal of the ballet, the members of the orchestra had been sent to another event taking place in Çankaya (Presidential House). Metin And suggested that if things were to continue in that direction, ballet in Turkey would soon be finished:

We say that our ballet should be independent from the opera. The backstage at the *Nutcracker /Fındıkkıran* production shows the back binding and damaging influence of this dependency. I spoke with authorities on ballet, and they all had much to say. No matter how much the decor sketches of Acar Başkut were admired, because of the incapacity of those who had painted them, the decor had turned into a fatality. The administrators, who have fallen to the roads with the vision of the newly opened ‘Büyük Tiyatro’ in Istanbul, haven’t left anyone in Ankara who could be in charge to take responsibility. Three days before the general rehearsal, five of the orchestra members have been called to Çankaya, and after their departure, the orchestra’s reaction was not to rehearse properly. The stage lighting were insufficient, there was only one, instead of the required two (...) then comes out, the head of the Opera and the head of the State Theatre, like two enemy brothers, couldn’t share the lights amongst themselves. Should I go on? If there are still those who wish to see the ballet under the opera, they must be those with the cruel intensions of abolishing our ballet.<sup>288</sup>

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<sup>288</sup> And, Metin. “Fındıkkıran” (*Nutcracker*), unknown newspaper from the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus, 1969- *diyoruz ki artık balemiz operanın boyunduruğundan kurtulmalı, bağımsız olmalı. İşte Fındıkkıran temsilinde sahne arkası bu boyunduruğun kötü yönetiminin balemiz üzerindeki yıpratıcı, geriletici etkisini iyice gösteriyor. Bale ilgilileriyle konuştum, hepsi neler anlatmadılar ki. Acar Başkut’un Dame Ninette de Valois’ya gösterdiği dekor taslakları ne denli beğenildiyse, bunları boyayıp gerçekleştirenlerin badanacılıktan bile nasipleri olmadığı için dekor kuşa dönmüş, yöneticiler İstanbul’da açılan büyük Tiyatro’nun sevdasıyla yollara dökülüp, arkalarında dert dinleyecek tek bir sorumlu bırakmamışlar...Temsilden üç gün önce yapılan genel provada orkestra üyelerinden beşi Çankaya’ya çağrılmış, onlar gidince orkestra da kazan kaldırmış, doğru dürüst prova yapılamamış. Dar-uzak ışıklardan ikisi de gerekirken ancak bir tane bulunmuş, sonra öğrenilmiş düşman kardeşler gibi birbirini çelmeleyen Tiyatro Genel Müdürü’yle, Opera Genel Müdürü her şeyi olduğu gibi bu ışıkları da paylaşamamış. Bilmem daha uzatayım mı? Hala devlet*

In later years the critic, Müşerref Hekimoğlu wrote about the staging of *Swan Lake*, comparing ballet performances to opera performances.<sup>289</sup> In her writings we can see a critical approach towards the Ankara State Opera, as an institution, in comparison to the Ankara State Ballet. The State Ballet's improvement was obvious in the eyes of many art lovers during the time unlike the condition of the State Opera. Hekimoğlu stated that audiences filled ballet performances but not opera, because they had lost hope in opera. She interviewed Prof. Sadi Irmak in his office, one of the candidates for the post of Prime Minister, before the *Swan Lake* performance. In this interview, Irmak seemed to be inclined towards founding a Ministry of Culture in collaboration with the People's Houses in the near future. It is interesting to come across with the idea of reviving People's Houses, yet this had never happened. Furthermore, the hope of Sadi Irmak was to found an orchestra, and an art gallery in each and every city of Turkey, were found by Hekimoğlu, far exceeding the reality. She suggested having a better orchestra urgently in Ankara for a start.

The situation seemed to get worsened for ballet institutions with the resignation of Mithat Fenmen from the head of the State Opera and Ballet in 1975. Turkey's unstable political life in the 1970s keenly affected the cultural life. After the 1971 coup, a martial law was introduced lasting until 1973. Only in 1973, the democratic elections were held again and a coalition government of RPP (CHP) and the National Salvation Party, NSP (MSP) was formed in 1974. This was the year, when Cyprus crisis emerged, leading to an international embargo to Turkey. The international oil crisis did not ease the domestic economics. In the end, the RPP (CHP) and NSP (MSP) coalition was broken and right-wing parties formed a

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*balemizi operanın boyunduruğunda görmek isteyen varsa bunlar olsa olsa balemizi tok etmek isteyen kötü niyetli kişiler olmalı...*" Appendix no:11

<sup>289</sup> Hekimoğlu, Müşerref. *Yeni Halkçı* newspaper, 11/19/1974

“Nationalist Front” government, *Milliyetçi Cephe* (MC).<sup>290</sup> Where the political unrest was given a prior attention and new administrative posts emerged with the constant change of governments, the cultural institutions went through a difficult time.

Müşerref Hekimoğlu mentioned the deteriorating situation after the resignation of Fenmen, with the appointment of Şevki Taştan, a physics teacher arousing many problems. His direction had been seen as catastrophic since there was no space for dancers to work, they could not buy even the most necessary items like the point shoes, and the agreements were not done for ballet productions to be staged. Hekimoğlu proposed questions for the President of the Republic, Fahri Korutürk at the time, if he was aware of the problems facing by the State Ballet Company.<sup>291</sup>

After the middle of the 1970s, the critic, Engin Karadeniz touched on the same subject and published an article in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, giving hints of administrative problems caused by incapable directors appointed by the conservative government of the period. The government was formed by Nationalist Front (MC) and Süleyman Demirel was the Prime Minister. These appointed directors were generally not artists but coming from unrelated fields like physics:

While the consultant, physicist Şevki Taştan, who has replaced Mithat Fenmen, was preparing for his trip to Mecca, the assistant director of State Opera and Ballet, was in another sort of preparation. Because of his intentions to serve as general director, he tried to change the mandatory regulation, ‘one, who is not an artist, can not be put into an administrative post’<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> NF (MC) government included JP (AP), NSP (MSP), RTP (CGP), and NMP (MHP).

<sup>291</sup> Hekimoğlu, Müşerref. “Mes Giymeleri Önerildi” (It is Proposed They Wear ‘Mes’), unknown newspaper from the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus. 09/14/1976, Appendix no: 12

<sup>292</sup> Karadeniz, Engin. “Ezenler, Ezilenler, ve...” (Oppressives, Submissives, and...), *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, 09/30/1975 - *Haç hazırlıklarına başlamış danışman, Mithat Fenmen’in yerine bakan Devlet Opera ve Balesi Genel Müdür Yardımcısı fizikçi Şevki Taştan da bir başka hazırlık içinde; Genel Müdür olarak işbaşı yapmayı tasarladığından, ‘sanatçı olmayan teknik görev alamaz’a ilişkin yönetmelik maddesinin ‘tadiline’ uğraşiyor*

Hikmet Feridun Es pointed out another aspect of outside intrusion in an ironic article, when one of the Ministers of Industry, from the Islamist political party (MSP), Abdülkerim Doğru, suggested the dancers wear “mes”, traditional prayer shoes, instead of point shoes which were to be ordered abroad and was more expensive:

The Minister, Abdülkerim Doğru, flipped out when he heard the words ‘point shoes’: ‘What! Point shoes! Not possible. Let them wear ‘mes’, he said and rejected the demand (...) What an ingenious discovery! Mes, rubbers, plastics at the feat of the Turkish ballet (...) Once, we wanted the anchorwomen on television to wear veils, that didn’t happen(...) at least we can benefit from this. Our dancers with ‘mes’ on their feet and veils on their faces, and whatever else wherever else (...) Stand up and salute, a new leaf is opening in art history: the Sheik Abdülkerim ballet.<sup>293</sup>

Both Karadeniz and Es were clearly making insinuations and pointing out the infirmities of recent directors. Their conservative life styles as it were indicated in the trip to Mecca or suggestion of wearing ‘mes’ were not suitable with their positions. In the eyes of the intellectuals, the critics, the journalists, the institution of state ballet company was a place where the administrators should have inclined more towards Western visions of life styles. Karadeniz was also worried that Şevki Taştan would have changed the principal of becoming administrators in the opera and ballet institutions. In order to be an administrator, one had to be an artist as well. In reality, perhaps one also had to question this principal. Since observed in various foreign companies, some very successful administrators did not come from an artistic background but more from a management background.

The Ankara State Ballet Company witnessed the first censorship from outside of the artistic circles in 1976. The Nationalist Front (MC) government had found the Darwinian inclination of the ballet piece *Oluşum*, choreographed by Duygu Aykal, inappropriate. As a

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<sup>293</sup> Es, Hikmet Feridun. “Mes giyen Türk Balesi” (Turkish Ballet Wears ‘Mes’), unknown newspaper from the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus, 09/22/1976 - *Bakan Abdülkerim Doğru bey, ‘parmak ucu pabucu’ lafını görünce ifrit kesilmiş: 2Parmak ucu pabucu haaa? Olmaz...Mes giysin hanımlar efendim diyerek geri çevirmiş isteği...Ne güzel buluş. Türk balesinin ayağında mesler, lastikler, galoş kunduralar...Bir zamanlar TV’deki spiker ve sunucu hanımlara peçe, çarşaf, baş örtüsü giydirmek istedik olmadı...hiç değilse bu sefer istifade edelim...Ayaklarına mes giydirdiğimiz bayanların üzerlerine de şöyle hanım hanımcık, kadın kadıncık birer pelerine...yüzlerine birer peçe...’Ayağında mesi var...başka yerinde nesi var..’ şarkısı eşliğinde ne gider, ne gider...ayakta selam durunuz, yarının sanat tarihinde yeni bir fasıl açılıyor: Şeyh Abdülkerim Balesi.*



leading prominent intellectual, Mümtaz Soysal criticized that the company yielded to censorship, which was a total acceptance and rearrangement of the program according to outside direction. Soysal thought that it was the sole responsibility of all the people with awareness to resist such decisions even if it contradicted with one's own personal interests:

What is important and surprising is that the writers, the composers, the choreographers, and the dancers of the ballet that has replaced the censored one, have said absolutely nothing about this incident. The expected attitude from them would have been to reject to replace a censored art piece (...) and say: 'We are against the censorship that is inflicted by the administrators towards art' and for them to step back.<sup>294</sup>

In his criticism, one detects a larger condemnation for the ballet circles than the criticism directed to the originators of the censorship. In fact it is very important for us to understand that the response of the ballet circles to the censorship was quite disappointing in terms of political awareness and being able to show the right response. This kind of attitude resulting from the internal conflicts of ballet dancers needs to be examined more thoroughly. An incident related to Duygu Aykal's choreography was recalled by Suna Uğur as a memorable moment since Duygu Aykal had a straightforward personality and was not afraid to show her reactions in public:

That piece was perceived as 'leftist' and the government rejected the staging of the piece by the State Ballet Company. At that time the head of State Opera and Ballet was İsmet Kurt, the tenor. With this government notification, he collected all the ballet artists and said the premier of the piece was banned. At that moment, Duygu stepped out of the crowd and walked slowly towards him and banged him on the head. He found himself on the ground.<sup>295</sup>

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<sup>294</sup> Soysal, Mümtaz. "Oluşum" (Formation), *Milliyet* newspaper, 04/14/1976 -Önemli ve şaşırtıcı olan yasaklanmış balenin yerine sunulan öbür baleyi yazanların, besteleyenlerin, koreografisini yapıp oynayanların bu olaya hiç ses çıkarmamış olmalarıdır. Onlardan beklenen davranış, sansür edilmiş bir sanat yapıtının yerine geçmeyi reddetmekti... 'Biz yöneticilerin sanata koydukları sansüre karşıyız' deyip kendilerini geri çekmekti.

<sup>295</sup> Interview with Suna Uğur. 01/11/2007, İstanbul- *Duygu bir bale koymuş sahneye, ben gene o sırada İtalya'da. Bütün önemli olaylar, ben İtalya'dayken oldu. İşte o sırada ve şeymiş "biraz sol kokuyormuş" ne demekse? Ve buna o zamanki hükümet karşı çıkmış ve demişler ki "bu eseri kaldırın, oynanmasın bu eser." Hatta o zaman da İsmet Kurt vardı tenor, o Genel Müdür Ankara'da. Böyle bir tebliğ gelince, toplamış bütün balecileri, ertesi gün de gala var, yani başlayacak bale. Hepsi toplanmışlar, işte demiş ki İsmet "çocuklar, maalesef şey kalktı, yarınki temsil oynanamıyor" demiş, "onu bildirmek için size geldim." Duygu çıkmış topluluğun arasından ağır ağır yürümüş ve İsmet Kurt'un iki yakasına yapışmış, bir kafa atmış, inan ki bu*

Tenasüp Onat's husband Alevcan Öncel recalled another memory about the investigations on political affiliations by the Turkish National Intelligence Service (MIT), particularly about the communist tendencies of the artists, during the 1950s. Alevcan Öncel worked for the intelligence service at the time and he was assigned to follow certain artists from Ankara State Opera Company. Actually that was how he had met with his wife Tenasüp Onat. MIT believed that 'the conservatory was the home of communists' during that time. A certain dancer even remarried and escaped to America because of an incident, and years later returned back. For Alevcan Öncel, these stories have long been forgotten.<sup>296</sup>

In later periods, according to the cultural preferences of the political elites, there were efforts made to change the artistic policies. From time to time the definition of "national" in the context of art of ballet was questioned by people with no artistic backgrounds or knowledge. Deniz Olgay Yamanus stated her thoughts about these political interventions on the artistic direction of state ballet companies:

Between cultural turmoil and political changes, there was such a big transformation. During military interventions, we weren't affected much but I remember one period's suppressions on ballet. In Ankara for example, there were periods that they wanted to have ballets with 'drum and schnozzle'. It was sort of forced to us. Whereas *Yoz Döngü* was a piece using 'saz' in its music. The choreographer was free to use such

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*doğru ama bir kafa atmış ve İsmet Kurt kendini yerde bulmuş. Ne harika bir şey ama ve ondan sonra bütün bale hücum etmiş İsmet'in üstüne ve bir hayli hırpalanmış, ondan sonra kalkmış gene tabii bale. Kalkmış ama, yani iyi de bir ders olmuş İsmet'e.*

<sup>296</sup> Interview with Tenasüp Onat/Alevcan Öncel. 12/22/2006, Ankara – A.Ö: "O dönem MIT'in Ankara başkanı, yani müsteşarın yardımcıları; 'Konservatuar komünist yuvası' diyorlar, beni çağırdılar. 'Peki' dedik gittik. Ben yıllar sonra Tena'ya dedim ki, Tena'yı tanıyorum ama gitti şeye, yani şüpheli şahıslardan biriydi. Nitekim sonra itiraf etti bana ama çok çabuk vazgeçmiş".

T.O: "Olmadım ki vazgeçeyim"... "x abi kapıda beni bekledi 'gel bir çay içelim'dedi, O da talebeydi son sınıfta, biz de daha ilk sınıfta. 'abi ne söyleyeceksiniz' diyorum. 'Gel oturalım bir çay içelim, konuşacağım seninle' diyor. Meğerse komünistin babasıymış!

A. Ö: Hepsini sıraladım, yıllar sonra kimlerin olduğunu! Şimdi bizim toplumumuzda kızım bak, öyle bir hastalık vardır ki bütün olanlar unutulur, hepsi badem gözlü olur. Türk halkına bunlar anlatılmaz, kabak Nazım Hikmet'in başına patlar"... "Bir dansçı vardı, eş değiştirip Amerika'ya kaçtı bu olaylardan ötürü, sonra geri geldi.

instruments but when it was forced, 120 people almost resigned. We had such turmoiled times.<sup>297</sup>

Uğur Seyrek who was a young dancer during the most violent days of political unrest in the end of the 1970s, recalled those days as the students used to stay at the dormitory and could not go out after dark. There were both fascist and communist tendencies in the conservatory itself at Cebeci dorm. Also another university's dormitory was just behind the conservatory and they all foughted with each other. Seyrek stated that he was the only one coming and going out because everyone knew that he had nothing to do with politics and he was only interested in dance and nothing else:

I was never involved with those things. I have never believed in group things. I was living in a different world. There was only one thing I concentrated on. I wanted to go to Germany in a shortest time without doing the military service and continue to do my art in the best way.<sup>298</sup>

Seyrek left Turkey towards the end of 1980 and did not come back for fifteen years. Just two days before the third military intervention of the Turkish army on the 12th of September, 1980, Oytun Turfanda resigned from the post of Head Choreographer and the Director of Istanbul State Ballet Company, due to the disputes between him and the head of Istanbul Opera and Ballet, Okan Demiriş. As it can be observed, the political unrest of Turkey was affecting dance, censorship of the arts was high.<sup>299</sup>

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<sup>297</sup> Interview with Deniz Olgay Yamanus. 12/04/2006, İstanbul - *Kültürel, çalkantılar, siyasi değişimler arasında; o kadar büyük değişimler yaşandı ki. Tabii darbe dönemlerinde değişiklik bize pek yansımada ama bir dönemin baskılarını çok iyi hatırlıyorum Bale'de, Ankara'da örneğin "illa ki davul zurnayla bale yapalım, yapın" denilen, yani dayatılan diyeyim, "denilen" derken dayatılan dönemler oldu. Halbuki Yoz Döngü sazla yapılmışta bir eser, koreograf istediği sazı kullanmakta serbesttir ama dayatıldığı için o dönem, 120 kişi filan neredeyse istifa etmeye kalktı, çünkü bir dayatma vardı, yani böyle bir çalkantılı dönemler oldu.*

<sup>298</sup> Interview with Uğur Seyrek. 02/10/2007, Bodrum- *Darbe beni hiç ilgilendirmiyordu ama eve gidemiyorsun, akşam çıkamıyorsun. En son dönemde tam bu olayların ortasında, faşizmin arttığı dönemde Cebeci yurdunun arkası yurttu, faşistler vardı, bizim okulda da vardı faşistler. Okuldan bazı komünizme ilgi duyan arkadaşlar vardı, onlar çıkamazdı ama ben çıkardım çünkü onlar beni bilirlerdi okuldan, kimin ne yaptığını, bir tek ben çıkardım aslında bu şeylere hiç karışmazdım çünkü bu tür şeylere, topluluk şeylerine inanmam, inanmadığım bir şeye de imza atmam arkasına onun için biraz böyle tek savaştı gibi benim hayatım aslında. Çünkü benim konsantre olduğum, hayatta yapmak istediğim bir şey var, diğerleri hiç ilgilendirmiyordu beni...Ben başka bir dünyadaydım. Beni asıl ilgilendiren askere gitmeden, en kısa sürede Almanya'ya gitmek ve sanatımı en iyi şekilde yapabilmektir.*

<sup>299</sup> *Yankı* newspaper, 09/10/1980

While these conflicts between institutions and the various visions of life were re-designing the appearance of the state ballet companies in both Ankara and Istanbul, the personal relations among the ballet circles too were playing fundamental roles as well.

There was a certain feeling of “distinction” given to the first generations of the dancers of Turkish Republic, to do ballet. The dance community had been constructed by foreign experts supported by the Turkish state itself. The state had provided all the physical conditions and charged no financial fees for the families of dance students. This created a kind of gratitude towards the state and towards the foreign, particularly the British staff. The teachers provided scholarships for successful students to go abroad and brought necessary equipment like point shoes which could not be found in Turkey during those times. These students belonged to a privileged few and they were expected to become good dancers with strong bodies: “ ... It was another world, yes, as if we were not living in Turkey.”<sup>300</sup>

Since it was a new artistic field founded by the state itself, ballet was accepted with grand attention by the public, particularly from the elite and the state circles. The general view was that the most important political figures met in gala performances of ballets and that the press coverage of these events often became headlines according to the relevant political matter of the time. The photos and news of dancers were being published in many different newspapers and periodicals of the time along with political and social issues. Foreign experts educated the dance artists. Everything was in place in order to feel “distinguished”. The first generations of dancers of Turkish Republic thus cherished their status and became the first authorities of this artistic field. Many had been appointed to the artistic and administrative positions of the state companies.

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<sup>300</sup> Interview with Suna Uğur. 01/11/2007, İstanbul - *Başka bir dünya. Başka bir dünya, evet Yani Türkiye’de yaşıyor gibi değildik hakikaten, fakat şanslı bir tarafımız vardı ki hep ailelerimiz destektı bize, yani benim ailem çok destek oldu, yani annem başta istemedi ama sonra, girdikten sonra tabii çok destek oldu. Babam ha keza, ablam öyle, yani hakikaten el üstünde baktılar, öyle. Meriç’in de ailesi öyle çok destek oldu... Bizim devrimizde çok şanslıydık ki her şeyimizle meşgul oluyorlardı İngilizler, yani işte pabucumuzdan kostümümüze, saç filemize kadar getiriyorlardı dışardan ve Madam’ın, yani unutulmaz hizmetleri vardır Türk balesine.*

These generations of dancers were brought up in the boarding school at Ankara State Conservatory before they were appointed as the first dancers of Ankara State Ballet Company. They shared a common feeling of being part of a distinguished family, a relationship which became problematic as they became the first directors, teachers and choreographers of the state companies and schools (fig.19). The family feeling versus professionalism is an important issue to be dealt with in the analysis of administrative conflicts. Particularly the first and second generations of dancers had developed a special family tie and a sense of belonging to a special group:

Our older sisters in that period were our guardians in a very strong manner, this can also be called oppression (...) for example there was sister x, the bogy sister. Whenever we saw her we were terrified. They really guided us, educated us, controlled us. They scared and entertained us at the same time, all together.<sup>301</sup>

Boarding schools created their own stories of enjoyment and horror in general and the ballet conservatory was not excluded from this tradition. Yet, after the conservatory finished the students did not spread out to other places as in all other schools. They continued to stay together in the company. Therefore, their bonds were somehow much more stronger and complex than the students in the normal educational institutions.

One of the positive examples of having such a close bond came from Jale Kazbek. She recalled an incident when Meriç Sümen, a classmate of Kazbek and one of the members of their four principal dancer group of friends, had decided to quit an administrative job in the ballet company. Kazbek, furious with her decision, convinced her that she actually represented the four principal dancers of the time and she did not have a personal initiative to decide only for her own. Therefore Sümen continued her mission.<sup>302</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> Interview with Deniz Olgay Yamanus, 12/04/2006 - *ablalar biraz bizim o dönemde, bizleri fazla sahiplenirlerdi, biraz böyle baskı da diyebilirsin buna ama...(x) vardı mesela, bizim öcü ablamız. (x)i gördüğümüz zaman ödümüz kopardı mesela. İzmir'de şimdi kulakları çınlasın. Ondan sonra, onlar bizi çok sahiplenirlerdi. Bizi eğitirlerdi, kontrol ederlerdi, hem korkuturlardı, hem eğlendirirlerdi, yani hepsi bir arada.*

<sup>302</sup> Interview with Jale Kazbek. 02/09/2007, İstanbul

Eventually when the State Ballet Company was established in 1961, they also found themselves in the midst of media coverage. If stage appearance was one type of performance covered by the media, the intermissions offered another stage for politicians to perform. Dancers' self esteem grew stronger parallel to the applause and positive encouragements, explicitly coming from the British authorities of the field. The attention also came from the society itself. In many newspaper articles one came across news related to the company, performance criticism of ballet pieces with information on soloists and principal dancers. Actually most of the dancers were carefully being watched by critics, even a small amount of weight gained could be the focus of an article. They constantly felt great attention on themselves.

In later periods, particularly after 1973, Turkish dancers like Tenasüp Onat, Hüsnü Sunal, Evinç Sunal had become directors of the company. Due to their family like ties among their circle of friends in ballet, they expressed that they had difficulties in professional life. For instance while deciding the season's repertoire and the casts they had been under psychological pressure of their friends/dancers, and even close relatives of the dancers in terms of deciding who is going to get the relevant roles:

During our first meetings, we were at a friend's house in Yeşilyurt street. We were there, chatting, then a boy and a very beautiful girl came in. She was also a ballerina. They said to Tenasüp; ' We brought you this gift'. We took the gift and went back home. I found this to be very odd. It was against my principals. I told Tenasüp that she was the director of the company(...) 'Why did you take this gift?' We opened it and I'll never forget, it was a tea set. The dancer wanted a role.<sup>303</sup>

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<sup>303</sup> Interview with Tenasüp Onat/ Alevcan Öncel. 12/22/2006, Ankara- *İlk tanıştığımız zamanlardı, bir arkadaşlarının evine gidiyoruz Yeşilyurt Sokak'ta. Gittik oraya. Oturuyoruz, bir oğlanla, çok güzel bir kız geldi, yani dış görünüş olarak, balerinmiş. O da Opera'nın tenoruymuş, şimdi İstanbul'da okulları var. Dedi ki "Tenacığım" dedi, 'sana bu hediyeyi getirdik" dedi. Aldık hediyeyi eve geldik, şimdi ben bunu çok yadırgadım. Benim iş prensiplerimde böyle bir şey yok!. Dedim ki "bak, evvela sen bu balenin yöneticisi olarak gelmişsin...Şimdi dedim, buraya gidiyorsun, hocalık yapıyorsun, bu kadar ülke sana teklifte bulunuyor, eğer bir baleyi yöneteceksen... şimdi o kadar zor ki Türk balesini yönetmek. Diyelim ki sizi yönetici yaptılar her hangi bir kuruluşa. Aynı nasihati size de veriyorum. Hiçbir iş arkadaşınızla katiyen ev ahbablığı yapmayacaksınız, alıp da sinemaya gitmeyeceksiniz, yan yana. "Ya biz bu gece buraya filana gidiyoruz." Katiyen ilginiz olmayacak. Hiçbir otorite sağlayamazsınız, otoriteniz sıfıra düşer. Hepsi yaşadı. Başlarına neler geldi, Kuğu*

The story told by the husband of Tenasüp Onat constitutes one of the examples of these close bonds which had generated problems in their professional lives. Later on, when the choreographers became stronger and the artistic visions conflicted with each other that created another field of disturbance. Suna Eden Şenel remembered an incident when she had choreographed and staged one of her ballets in Izmir State Ballet Company. After a couple of staging, a commission came from Ankara State Ballet Company, in fact, some of her close friends were included in the commission, and they decided to stop the staging of the piece. There was not any explanation made to Şenel for the cancellation of her piece and she had never questioned the decision. In our interview, she just stressed that her close friend was involved.<sup>304</sup>

When Duygu Aykal was appointed as the head choreographer of Ankara State Ballet Company, one of the first things she did was to send Oytun Turfanda to Istanbul State Ballet Company. At first glance, the appointment looked like a promotion for Turfanda but Oytun Turfanda declared in several cases, in reality, it was like an exile. They were both strong choreographers with full of projects in their minds and being at the same company did not allocate space for all of them.<sup>305</sup>

The examples can be multiplied. Along with many joyful memories, there were also disappointments, jealousy and impalements that affected the creative processes in Turkish ballet. These personal conflicts were made visible by administrative practices. Administrative practices were influenced by these strong relational clashes.

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*Bale bu yüzden açıldı. Dedim “Tena” dayanamadım “sen bu hediyeyi niye aldın? Aç bir bakalım ne göndermişler” açıldı. Hiç unutmuyorum, 8 tane; fincan takımı! Ondan sonrada (x) dansçı rol istedi.*

<sup>304</sup> Interview with Suna Eden Şenel. 07/10/2007, Bodrum

<sup>305</sup> Interview with Deniz Olgay Yamanus. 12/04/2006, İstanbul

## CHAPTER V

### DEBATES ON “THE NATIONAL”: DEFINING “THE TURKISH BALLET”

The process of creating a ‘Turkish’ ballet based on its own cultural and social codes, stories and images has to be dealt in care. The attempts in this direction rooted by British founders of Turkish ballet should also be analyzed in detail. From the very beginning of the foundation of new art institutions in Turkey, the discussion of forming certain national artistic forms was in the core of all endeavors.

Establishing a persuasive education and maintaining its quality was one of the initial aims. In the process, different approaches of various presentations of being national were in question. The usage of Turkish composers’ musical scores, the traditional themes and costumes, foreign and Turkish choreographers’ approaches to dance were experimented in several levels. In addition, the balance between folk dance movements and their implementation in classical ballet was explored. Moreover, the tendencies towards modern dance inside the classical ballet companies were questioned and practiced at various levels through the years. And finally, international staging of Turkish ballet had a significant role in the perception of both Turkish audiences and ballet artists.

Today, the debate on originality and creation of national forms are still in the core of many contemporary works of dance. Since the younger generations of dance practitioners in Turkey have no reference to the precedent debates and experiences, it is important to clear out the previous approaches and make them visible. Therefore, in the contemporary dance



field of today's Turkey, artists would have a general memory of these practices and a collective ground for questioning certain attitudes with respect to the creation of "the national".

In the beginning, we have to comprehend the complexity of founding educational institutions in the field of ballet and ensuring their quality. In order to build a classical art form where the basic desire was to balance the universal language of ballet with the original national expression, one has to consider, firstly, how the educational institutions were designed.

#### A "National" Ballet with "Foreign" Roots: Negotiating The Quality of Education

Quality of education was one of the substantial factors related to the development of Turkish ballet. State conservatory of ballet had a solid ground, under the close inspection of Dame Ninette de Valois. The British teachers were chosen and sent by her until the middle of the 1970s. After, the British teachers were no longer able to come due to economic and other reasons, the Russian ones had replaced them. The change was sudden, but at first high quality Russian teachers came and they brought a new breath to the ballet education in Turkey. In later years, however the quality, unfortunately, diminished among the teachers and naturally the quality of education also dropped. Firstly, we have to look at the beginning of this process.

The conservatory education was always accompanied by private ballet schools. From the middle of the 1950s, we come across ballet courses/schools established outside of the state conservatory education. During the process, some of the graduates of these schools applied and were accepted to the State Ballet Companies. Before the opening of state conservatory of ballet, there were private ballet courses as well. Dancers like Evgenya Nanasof, Madame Marga and Azade Selim Sırrı had provided dance courses where the

teaching was mixed with gymnastics. For ballet, Madame Lydia Krassa Arzumanova and Olga Nuray Olcay established private dance schools in Istanbul. Arzumanova had started in the 1930s. At the time, they were the only places to get acquainted with the art of ballet. It is interesting to note that after the establishment of state conservatory, new private ballet schools continued to be opened. As much as it was probably due to the growing demand for ballet education, this parallel establishment of private ballet schools was also connected to the increase in the numbers of ballet experts of ballet in Turkey, trained abroad. While the first steps of Turkish National Ballet were rooted in the training and the management of the British and the Russian ballet, there emerged a parallel formation of private ballet schools by Turkish dancers.

The first example was Yıldız Alpar, after attending ballet classes of Arzumanova, she had gone to study ballet in France. She returned back to open her own ballet school in Istanbul in 1953. The French Consulate in Taksim invited her to give dance classes. They offered the use of their library once a week when it was not occupied. But Alpar felt like she was going to be someone ‘not really wanted in the household’. After all it was like a colonial feeling for her. She found another place on Sıraselviler Street, opened by People’s Houses’ efforts after they were officially closed down. Alpar began giving dance classes there, but after one year they had to move out from the building, and with them she moved out too:

I came to Kadıköy then, to be correct I had a friend who owned a school at Kadıköy, the ABC Primary School. I started to give dance classes there but I always wanted to open my own school and after sometime, there was really a huge demand for my ballet classes at the school.<sup>306</sup>

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<sup>306</sup> Interview with Yıldız Alpar. 12/11/2006, İstanbul - *Taksim’deki Fransız Konsolosluğu, benim orada ders vermeme teklif etti. Şimdi girdim, orada bir kütüphane vardır biliyorsunuz. Kütüphaneyi haftada bir sana veririz, kütüphane boşken sen burada ders yaparsın” dediler ama ne kadar sığıntı olacaktım. Fransız hükümetinin bahçesinin içindeki, hem de böyle şey gibi dominyon gibi, koloni gibi, bunu pek istekli görmedim. Çok şeker insanlar ama Taksim Sıraselviler’de bir yer buldum. Bu yine Halkevleri’nin, dağılmış olan Halkevleri’nin kendi çabalarıyla açmış oldukları bir Halkevi. Taksim Halkevi, evet ve üst katını bana verdiler. Orada derslere başladım. Fakat bir yıl sonra şekerim, onlar orada kiracıymış. Meğer biliyorlarmış çıkacaklarını da, beni de bir güzel, onlar çıkınca ben de otomatikman çıktım... Evet öyle oldu çıktım ama ne kadar güzel bir okul olmuştu orası. Arkadaşlarım falan çok yardım etmişlerdi, çok heyecanlanmıştık, hoş bir yer olmuştu. İlk şeyim, tabii çok genç olduğum için...Oradan Kadıköy’e geldim, daha doğrusu burada bir*

So Yıldız Alpar opened her own school in Kadıköy, which turned out to be the longest lasting private ballet school in Turkey. The second example was Beatrice Appleyard (Fenmen) who came to teach at the state conservatory of ballet in Ankara. When she got married to Mithat Fenmen, a specific Turkish law did not allow her to teach in a state institution. As a foreigner married to a Turkish person, she had to stop teaching at the conservatory. This led her to open her own private school in 1954 in Ankara which continued until 1971. Rezzan Abidinoğlu who was one of the teachers at the municipal conservatory in Istanbul, had also opened her private school in 1955 in Istanbul. The fourth example was *Kuğu Bale* Studio, founded by Tenasüp Onat, Sait Sökmen and Alevcan Öncel in Ankara in 1973 which remained open for eighteen years. It became an alternative ballet education in Ankara for many young students of ballet. Its graduates who applied to State Ballet Companies were mostly accepted. Zeynep Tanbay, a renowned dancer who was rejected by the state conservatory due to her tall body structure, had graduated from *Kuğu Bale* and continued a successful career abroad. Feridun Ulusoy, a State Ballet Company dancer and later on a conservatory teacher, started his private studio in 1978 in Ankara. So, it is important to note that there were alternatives to the State Conservatory education but State Ballet Companies mostly preferred to choose their dancers from the State Conservatory despite the growing reservations about the quality of its education.<sup>307</sup>

Most of the dancers interviewed for this thesis mentioned a certain degradation in education through time concerning mostly the Ankara State Conservatory. As one of the first students who entered in the beginning of 1950s, Geyvan McMillen stated that their teachers

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*arkadaşımın okulu vardı ABC İlkokulu. "Orada ders ver" dediler...Orada ders verirken gene de gönlüm okulumu açmaktaydı...Gerçekten, birden bire müthiş bir yüklenme oldu bale bölümüne, okulumdaki*

<sup>307</sup> Actually the only state ballet company was Ankara State Ballet Company until 1970 and in 1970, İstanbul State Ballet Company was established, in another ten years time in 1982, İzmir State Ballet followed by Mersin and Antalya in 1990s.

were quite strong not only in ballet classes but also in cultural studies. However as time passed, there came a noticable change for the worse:

Our visual arts teacher was Arif Kaptan, the literature teacher was Cahit Külebi, a renowned poet. For dance history our teacher was Mahmut Ragıp who was a well known music critic. So all of our teachers were really excellent at their subjects. But later on this kind of education ceased to exist in the conservatory.<sup>308</sup>

Suna Uğur confirms a similar situation for the later periods: “most of the negative facts would dissappear from Turkish ballet if the conservatory education would have changed”<sup>309</sup>. Suna Uğur believes that, as the first conservatory students, they had the chance of studying with very good teachers like Beatrice Appleyard (Fenmen), Molly Lake, Travis Kemp who took their places in ballet history books. Uğur thinks that there were worldwide teachers for the first, second and the third generation of Turkish dancers. The so-called British school had been strongly established during the first thirty years of Turkish ballet, it was not only for artistic consultancy alone but also for their financial support in providing scholarships for successful students to go to Britain in summers and attend ballet classes of Royal Ballet School or the Royal Ballet Company. Almost all of the first generation of Turkish dancers were given these scholarships. Tenasüp Onat and Güloya Gürelli Aruoba attended courses becoming teachers, Sait Sökmen, Meriç Sümen, Jale Kazbek, Binay Okurer,

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<sup>308</sup> Interview with Geyvan McMillen. 11/30/2006, İstanbul- *Şimdi bir kere o zaman hocalarımız çok iyiydi bizim. Mesela resim hocamız Arif Kaptan'dı; meşhur bir ressam vardı, onun babasıydı. Ondan sonra edebiyat hocamız Cahit Külebi'ydi. Şair Cahit Külebi, mesela dans tarihi hocamız Mahmut Ragıp Sevengil mi? Tam onun soyadını hatırlamıyorum ama Mahmut Ragıp önemli bir müzik yazarıydı. Dansımızın yanında da böyle birtakım aldığımız derslerde de çok iyi, o zamanın ünlü kişileri gelip bize ders verirdi. Sonradan Konservatuar'larda bu kalmadı, yani bu şekilde, çünkü biz okulun içinde ders almaya başladık, yani okulda işte edebiyat okuyoruz, İngilizce okuyoruz, ondan sonra Türkçe okuyoruz hatırladığım kadar. İşte dans tarihi okuyoruz, yani dansla belki de hepsi dans da değildi ama dans tarihi olarak hatırlıyorum. Başka ne derslerimiz vardı? Solfej vardı, ritmik vardı... O zamanın ünlü isimleri gelip bize ders veriyordu. Dans derslerine gelince İngiliz ekolünü öğreniyorduk. Tamamen İngiliz hocalar geliyordu, çünkü o zaman daha Türkiye'de hiç kimse henüz yetişmemişti ve eğitimimiz bence iyiydi.*

<sup>309</sup> Interview with Suna Uğur. 01/11/2007, İstanbul- *Eğer konservatuardaki eğitim değişirse, sırf bale ağırlıklı olmaz da insan olarak iyi yetişmeleri sağlanırsa çocukların, o zaman düzelecek, yani Türk balesinde pek çok şey düzelecek o zaman....Sanatçı kitap okumazsa, güzel sanatlar dallarıyla meşgul olmazsa, seyahat etmezse, insan tanımazsa, sergilere gitmezse, yani ruhunu beslemeye nasıl olacak ki bu? Sırf 'batman, grandbatman' yürümele olmuyor bu iş. Önce ruhunu birleştirmesi lazım, yani o çok zayıf konservatuarda. O kadar zayıfki, resim dersi doğru dürüst yapılamıyor, bir lisan dersi doğru düzgün verilemiyor, hep icra, hep icra.”*

Gülcan Tunççekiç, Duygu Aykal, Oytun Turfanda, Deniz Olgay Yamanus among others attended classes and worked with choreographers in England on a regular basis.

After the middle of the 1970s, British teachers had left their places to Eastern Europeans of the time. The Russians had completely different teaching attitudes than the British. Actually the school of Russian and British ballet represented two different versions of ballet as an art of dancing. In terms of ballet education, certainly a different era had begun after the middle of 1970s.<sup>310</sup> The founders of *Kuşu Bale* Studio, Tenasüp Onat and her husband Alevcan Öncel mentioned that one of the reasons to find a private ballet course in Ankara in 1973, was that the education in Ankara State Conservatory had been deteriorated.<sup>311</sup>

Surely, the most significant issue related to education was to bring up the Turkish staff who took posts in the dance institutions as administrators, choreographers, teachers and repetitors. In the newly developing infrastructure of Turkish ballet, the lack of a Turkish staff as managers, choreographers or art-directors caused, undoubtedly, a discrepancy in how to formulate a “Turkish” ballet. Dame Ninette de Valois in that sense had put a great effort in providing scholarships to Turkish dancers in order to educate them in various areas in dance. Metin And recalled Dame Ninette de Valois’ search for different talents inside the company:

She had a method: She used to watch dancers in the class. For example, if you would do something slightly different from the other; then she would take you aside, talked to you. She thought that such a person could possibly have an inclination towards choreography. Because such a person didn’t completely fit in with the others, she always used to spot the black cats. That was how she discovered Sait as well. Sait is a wonderful person, very talented, very cultured, like Rudolph Nureyev (...) Madame chose him, gave him a mission. She understood his capacity.<sup>312</sup>

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<sup>310</sup> Ankara State Conservatory had changed its name in 1982, due to İhsan Doğramacı’s efforts to found a Fine Arts Faculty in Hacettepe University. The Ankara Conservatory became Hacettepe University State Conservatory. In our interview, Efza Kıpçak Topçu stated that other kinds of problems have occurred due to this change of status related to teachers and students but it exceeds this thesis’ concern in terms of time period.

<sup>311</sup> Interview with Tenasüp Onat and Alevcan Öncel. 12/22/2006, Ankara

<sup>312</sup> Interview with Metin And, 12/21/2007, Ankara- *Kadının metodu şu: Koreograf keşfetmekte, sınıfta dansçıları izliyor. Mesela siz dans ederken ötekilerden farklı bir şeyler yapıyorsunuz değil mi? Sizi bir kenara*

Yet, this had happened after they graduated from the conservatory, while they worked as full time dancers in the company. In the nature of the conservatory education, there was not much space for creative work. The students practiced ballet classes to become “good dancers”. Deniz Olgay Yamanus stated that if they had been encouraged in the fields they were interested in during their conservatory education, their career would have taken a much different direction:

There were ‘student nights’, and Oytun, me, Sema Başaran, Ümran, Ümit; I remember that much, we staged a performance with ‘Rhapsody in Blue’ . We made a choreography but neither of our teachers came to watch, nor gave any review. We used to do such things on our own and look I did the costume design, so it was obvious that I was interested in costume design, maybe they could have directed me to that field or to choreography. But there was not such supervision at the school.<sup>313</sup>

The motivational approaches of British choreographers, other than Madame herself, can also be questioned. There is an interesting memory of Geyvan McMillen related to her first years in the company as a dancer. Richard Glasstone had spent four years in Ankara during which Geyvan McMillen was a company dancer who had recently graduated from the conservatory. She recalled her attempt of asking Richard Glasstone for some guidance to become a choreographer, and his refusal indicating that she was too young to become one. Actually the impact of his words was hard on Geyvan McMillen who had interpreted them as if she would never be able to move towards that kind of creative process:

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*çekiyor, onunla konuşuyor diyor ki “bu koreograf olabilir” yani, çünkü ötekilere uymayan bir adam, yani kara kedi mi derler, ne derler? Bir şey, onu çekiyor, yani toplumun içinden bunları böyle cimbızla çeker gibi, Sait’i de öyle buluyor. Sait Sökmen’i izliyor, Sait Sökmen müthiş bir adam aslında,.. Şimdi bu adam önce şeyi yaptı, müziği dinlemiş, çok iyi müzik bilen bir adam, yani kültürlü, çok kültürlü. Şey gibi bu, Rudolf Nureyev gibi... Ravel’in Quartet’ini biliyor çok iyi. Onun içine doğmuş o Quartet “ben bunu bale yapacağım” diyor. Çark diye bir bale yaptı, Madam onu seçti, onu görevlendirdi, anladı ki bu işe yatkın bir adam.*

<sup>313</sup> Interview with Deniz Olgay Yamanus. 12/04/2006, İstanbul - *Tabii ki eğer biraz teşvik edilmiş olsa, yönlendirilmiş olsa diyeyim, teşvik demeyeyim, çünkü Talabe Geceleri vardı ve biz bir Talebe Gecesi’nde Oytun, ben, Sema Başaran, Ümran, Ümit; bu kadarını hatırlıyorum şöyle Rapsody in Blue ile eser koyduk sahneye, koreografi yaptık ama ne hocalarımız gelip seyredip de bize bir şey söylediler, ne de herhangi bir “iyiydi, kötüydü”dendi, yani biz kendi kendimize lay lay lom lom işte öyle bir şey yaptık ve kostümü ben yaptım bak, o zamanlar çıkmış demek ki... ama o tarafımı görüp de beni kostüme yönlendirebilirler veyahut da ne bileyim beni koreografiye yönlendirirler, yani böyle bir yönlendirme yoktu, işte okulda yoktu.*

I had many dreams. Maybe that's why I became a choreographer. Because you dream, you prepare all the things in your head before choreographing. And I remember that I have found the education unsatisfactory. I believed that we had to learn different things too, other than dancing. I was the first one to ask for advice for becoming an artistic director and a choreographer. I asked for help. It was 1963–64. I was 22–23 years old. He told me 'you are too young for choreographing'. I said 'but you make choreographies and why can't I? Then he was angry with me, he said 'what you think you are, Maria Callas? You are behaving capriciously'. Did I resemble Maria Callas or something? I remember such an incident.<sup>314</sup>

That might have affected the young student in a negative way and persuade her to give up her ambitions in choreographing, yet instead the opposite happened and this incident motivated her. McMillen later developed a career in choreographing. It seems that the process of inclusion of Turkish teachers or choreographers in the system was a hard transition to accept for the British founders. The chaotic structure of the transition period from the British to Russian school proved to be even harder, as shown in the experience of Feridun Ulusoy.

With the gradual distancing of British staff and the change of schools in Turkish ballet, many disputes emerged in teaching methods with Russian or other communist bloc countries teaching staff. Feridun Ulusoy, one of the former company dancers had just returned to Ankara from Germany in 1975, and was assigned as a teacher at Ankara State Conservatory. He recalled that the British teachers had left by that time and Russian teachers replaced them as full time staff at the institution. The conservatory itself had not really focused on bringing up Turkish teachers. He eventually felt uneasy because of the conflicts

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<sup>314</sup> Interview with Geyvan McMillen. 11/30/2006, İstanbul - *Hayaller, hayallerim çok vardı. Mesela belki de o yüzden koreograf oldum diye düşünüyorum, çünkü bir şeyi koreograf olarak hazırlamadan önce kafanda geliştiriyorsun, meydana çıkartmak için ne yapmak istiyorsun. Ve hatırlıyorum, yani yetersiz buluyordum; eğitimimizin daha farklı bir şekilde olmasını, dansın yanında başka şeyler öğrenmemiz icap ettiğini düşünüyordum. O yüzden de içlerinde de belki de işte 1964 yılında ilk defa ben gidip "topluluk yönetmeni, ben koreograf olmak istiyorum bana yardımcı olun" diyen kişi bendim...Evet, 1963-64 yılları. 22-23 yaşlarındaydım. Bana dedi ki 'sen' dedi 'dur, otur daha çok gençsin böyle birşey yapmak için'. Ben de dedim ki ona 'sen şu anda koreografi yapıyorsun bize. Sen nasıl yapıyorsun da ben niye yapamayayım' dedim. O da bana o zaman biraz sinirlendi ve dedi ki 'sen kendini ne zannediyorsun' bu lafı hiç unutmuyorum 'sen kendini ne zannediyorsun?'. 'Kendini ne zannediyorsun, Maria Callas?' dedi bana 'kapis yapıyorsun'. Biraz da Maria Callas'ı mı andırıyordum ne? İşte öyle bir şey hatırlıyorum açıkçası.*

and disputes about teaching methods amongst the teaching staff. Ulusoy finally opened his private ballet studio resigning from his teaching post at the conservatory. He believed that it was a transitional period:

All the British teachers left, we had to shed our skin. ‘Who was going to be the authority’? There were lots of fights and discussions. At that time we were all at the same level, we had not proven ourselves yet. Then the Russians started to come. State didn’t allow financial support to bring teachers from England (...) Therefore, we had a very troubling time (...) there were lots of fights inside the conservatory. It was such a mess. One time they (Russian teachers) decided to fail a girl, just because her hair was afro! I rebelled of course (...) I didn’t really want to work with them.<sup>315</sup>

Uğur Seyrek’s memories suggested that the situation had not gotten better in the following years. He was a very hard working, very talented and therefore successful student at the conservatory in the end of the 1970s. He was known to always exercise more than his classmates. Once, in the year end exams he was told by his teachers not to work so hard because he was shifting the class’ level up. Seyrek declared that he found this kind of attitude odd. For him, the teachers should have put more interest in such a person and guide him. There had remained no one in the conservatory to lead and assist the students.<sup>316</sup> Ankara State Ballet Head Choreographer Duygu Aykal, along with Oytun Turfanda wanted to take him to the company as a full time dancer at his last year of his studies. This meant that he had to skip one year and graduate from the conservatory a year earlier. This was a

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<sup>315</sup> Interview with Feridun Ulusoy, 02/10/2007, Ankara - *Şimdi bir defa biz bir geçiş dönemi yaşadık. İngiliz öğretmenler gitti, bir kabuk değiştirdik o anda. O, “o zaman kim otorite olacak” endişesi başladı bütünü öğretmenlerde. onun için kavgalar gürültüler çok oldu. O dönemde hepimiz aynı düzeyde insanlar olduğumuz için, kendimizi de daha henüz kanıtlayamadığımız için çok çekişmeli bir dönem geçirdik. Sonra Ruslar gelmeye başladı, devlet bale öğretmeni için para vermeyince, İngiltere’den öğretmen getirme olanağı olmadı. Oysaki Dame de Ninette Valois beni burslu olarak İngiltere’ye aldı. Bölüm başkanı olmadan önce ki sanıyorum amaç belki de biraz İngiliz öğretmenleri çekmek olabilirdi ama para vermiyor devlet, yabancı öğretmeni istemiyor. Onun için çok zor bir dönem geçirdik.... çok kavgalar gürültüler oluyordu, yani sınavlarımız öğrenci sınavı değil de sanki öğretmen sınavı gibiydi. Gruplaşmalar içerde; 5 tane öğretmen var mesela, gizli not veriyoruz. 4 tane 9’a karşılık, 10’a karşılık bir tane 0 çıkıyor, yani böyle düzensiz, böyle aksi ya da bunun tam tersi oluyor. Karar veriyorlar bir çocuğu bırakmaya, saçı afro diye bir kıızı bırakmaya kalktılar. Ben tabii isyan ettim yine. Avrupa’dan yeni dönmüşüm, Alman disipliniyle yetişmişim, istemedim pek onların arasında çalışmak.*

<sup>316</sup> Interview with Uğur Seyrek. 07/10/2007, Bodrum- *Sen çok çalışıyorsun diye kızılıyordu hocalar bana. Halbuki ilgi duyan bir kişiyi daha farklı değerlendirmeleri gerekiyordu...Elden tutan, yol gösteren kimse yoktu konservatuarda.*



procedure previously applied to other dancers, and this was why Duygu Aykal requested the same from the Turkish director of the conservatory. The director of the time refused to graduate him, stating that ‘there were not enough male dancers for the performances of the conservatory if Seyrek was to be graduated earlier’. So he left his studies without finishing the school and entered the company.<sup>317</sup>

The mentality showed itself in other decisions made. It seems that of the late mid-1970s, the search for improving the quality of education in state institutions of ballet was never given the priority. The general outlook of the state conservatories did not indeed change much after the 1980s. Efza Kıpçak Topçu, a long time conservatory teacher in Ankara, expressed that, in reality in Turkey, a separate dance education could not be realized. She pointed out that in many of the foreign countries, the disciplines were separated from each other in the educational institutions and neither one discipline interfere with the other. Yet, in Turkish conservatories, every different discipline exercised control over the other, particularly on dance.<sup>318</sup> This also implies that a self confident and self sufficient dance education has not been assured in our state institutions until this day.<sup>319</sup>

#### Different Approaches: Various Presentations of Being National

The efforts Dame Ninette de Valois made to create “original” Turkish ballet pieces are best reflected in a series of articles Metin And published in 1958<sup>320</sup>. De Valois searched

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<sup>317</sup> Interview with Uğur Seyrek. 07/10/2007, Bodrum

<sup>318</sup> Interview with Efza Kıpçak Topçu. 02/11/2007, Ankara- *Rusya’ya bakıyorsunuz bale okulu ayrı bir okul. İngiltere’ye bakıyorsunuz bale okulu ayrı bir okul, yani benim gördüğüm ülkelerde bir ‘arts education’ var. Bizim Konservatuarın içinde tiyatro da var, bale de var, müzik bölümü de var ve burada her şeye müdahale ediyorlar. Ama dışarıda hiç kimse, örneğin baleye müdahale etmiyor ki.*

<sup>319</sup> See for more detailed discussion on contemporary situation: *I. Uluslararası İzmir-Müzik ve Sahne Sanatları Kongresi*, (1st International İzmir-Music and Stage Arts Congress Papers-), İzmir: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kent Kitaplığı Kültür Yay., 2003

<sup>320</sup> These articles were also stated in the section of ‘Administrative Conflicts’ in pp.143-144 of this thesis. And, Metin. “Türk Balesine Doğru 1- Suç Kimin?”, *Kim*, 06/05/1958. “Türk Balesine Doğru-2” *Kim*, 06/13/1958 “Türk Balesine Doğru-3” *Kim*, 06/20/1958. “Türk Balesine Doğru 5-İşbirliği” (Towards Turkish Ballet 5-

for possible themes for original Turkish ballets, and examined musical compositions created by Turkish musicians and painters who could become Turkish stage designers of the near future. According to And, ballet could provide a general technique and universal language to build one's own national stage dancing like in America. For hundreds of years, the stage dance of ballet, passed through various stages, and developed a universal language based on aesthetic foundations. According to And, without a ballet tradition like in France, America was able to conduct the technique of ballet in providing its own national stage dance. This is why the American case could be a role-model for Turkish. When the Americans decided to form a stage dance for themselves, they used classical ballet. Consequently, by adjusting it into their own national colors, ways, and traditions, Americans managed to form the youngest, yet one of the leading ballet companies in the world: The New York City Ballet. Metin And gave other examples of national dance styles as well, and drew the line between the suitable approaches and unsuitable ones in building original stage dance of Turkey. For example, Indian stage dances existing for two thousand and five hundred years had a very strong standing but its techniques and internal meanings were so inseparably connected together that it was impossible to adopt them into another dance structure like the Western ballet. In And's analyses, Indian dance had to stay as Indian dance. It could not step into a universal ladder like the classical ballet: "We must think of ballet not as a final point to be reached, but as a step in reaching the Turkish stage dance (...) If we stop blindly imitating others, one day we can manage to adopt classical ballet into our structure."<sup>321</sup>

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Collaboration), *Kim*, no:6, 06/04/1958; "Türk Balesine Doğru 6- Gerçek İşbirliği"(Towards Turkish Ballet 6- True Collaboration) *Kim*, no.8, 07/18/1958

<sup>321</sup> And, Metin. *Kim*, no. 4, 06/20/1958 - *Dört yüz yıldan beri bu sahne dansı, Avrupa'da denene denene, çeşitli aşamalardan geçerek, seyredenin ilgisini çekecek sağlam mantık ve estetik temeller üzerine oturmuş bir evrensel dil meydana getirebilmiştir. Ona her şeyden önce bedeni ve onun hareketini dizginleyecek, yön verecek bir araç gibi başvuracağız... İşte klasik baleyi şimdilik varılmak istenen bir nokta olarak değil de Türk sahne dansına varmak için bir basamak olarak düşüneceğiz... Türk milli sahne dansını kurarken, yerimizi bulabilmek için önümüzde üç tip örnek millet var. Önce yüzyıllar boyunca süren bir oluşmanın, evrimin meydana getirdiği geleneksel sahne dansını bulan milletler. Fransa ve Hindistan gibi. Ancak aradaki farkı hemen belirtmek için*

In fact, his belief in avoiding to imitate others leads us to reach our own structure in dancing was an idea shared by long time Ankara conservatory teacher Travis Kemp. In one of his speeches in the conservatory, Kemp made clear that Turkish male and female dancers had certain qualities different than most of the European dancers. All other nationalities such as French, Italian, Russian, British and American also had different ballet styles from one another. This should be the case with Turkish dancers as well. When Kemp listed the main missions of a dance company supported by the state, he provided four basic steps. The first was to entertain the public, the second was to provide knowledge for the public, the third was to support the local talents to the highest level of expertise and the fourth was to create dance pieces which would inherit national qualities and can be presented in the international dance scene.<sup>322</sup> For many British ballet experts, for artistic work of dance to contain certain nationalistic colors, it had to inherit a Turkish musical composition, certain folk dance motives, some traditional symbols and images, along with a content which is appropriate for local realities.<sup>323</sup>

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*söyliyeğim; klasik bale yerine tutup da Hint klasik danslarına başvurmayacağız. Hint dansında teknikler anlatım öyle bir kaynaşmıştır ki ayrılmaz bir bütün olmuştur. Bu yüzden Hint dansı Hintli kalmak zorundadır, klasik bale gibi evrensel bir dil katına çıkamamıştır...bir de üçüncü tip vardır ki bu bize en yakın gözükendir. Hiç sahne dansı geleneği olmayan ve klasik baleye uzun zaman yabancı kalmış Amerika. İşte Amerika'nın kader çizgisi bu bakımdan bize benzemektedir. Amerikalılar kendi sahne danslarını kurmaya karar verince en akıllıca yol olarak klasik balenin kapısını çalmışlar, bunu kendi milli renklerine, üsluplarına uydurabilmişler, bunun sonunda bugün ortaya dünyanın en genç fakat en önde giden bale topluluğu meydana gelebilmiştir: New York City Ballet...Körü körüne başkalarını kopya etmeye heveslenmezsek, klasik baleyi eninde sonunda kendi bünyemize uydurabiliriz.*

<sup>322</sup> Kemp, Travis. p.2, presented in the Appendix no: 7

<sup>323</sup> In fact, the idea that ballet has a universal language which can be applied to any culture has been questioned widely in the context of recent dance anthropology studies. Scholars problematized the concept of universality which in fact meant "Western". Amongst others, (Kealiinohomoku, Joann. "An Anthropologist Looks at Ballet as a Form of Ethnic Dance". *Impulse* 1969-70: 24-33, 1969. Reprinted in *JASHM* 1(2): 83-97). Dance scholar Angela Carter suggested that ballet's relation to social class and its depiction of masculine and feminine should be investigated. (Carter, Angela. "Contemplating the Universe", *Dance Now*, vol.2,no.1, 1993, pp.60-63) Chris de Marigny stressed the fact that neither classical ballet, nor abstract dance is easily translated between different parts of the world (Marigny, C.de. "Is Dance an International Language?", in ed. by B. Schonberg, *World Ballet and Dance 1990-1991*, London: Dance Books, 1990, pp.2-7).

On the other hand, many critics favored ballet simply because it presented the Turks another kind of perception of life, one endowed with higher risks of individualism yet providing a higher enjoyment in group harmony. Ahmet Kabaklı, a conservative newspaper critic, had written interesting statements emphasizing that the art of ballet acquires “great discipline” and “hard work”. There should be an inevitable harmony between music, dance, costume and decor. Any undisciplined attitude, negligence, carelessness and the separation from the group’s harmony would result in the degeneration of the whole ballet piece: “In this way, ballet is a perfect Western art form (...) We hope that the disciplined attitude that one can perceive in *Coppelia* may bring some inspiration to our untamed life.”<sup>324</sup>

In these sentences we can observe the admiration for ballet as an art form belonging to the “orderly” Western world. Kabaklı’s admiration was therefore to an orderly representation as reflected in the Western life style and lacking in the Turkish attitude to life. Another writer, Celaledin Çetin, expressed his views in response to Kabaklı, indicating that the inspiration Kabaklı asked from the Western art form of dance was surely correct in a country where there was not sufficient respect for its artists.<sup>325</sup> Referring to Binay Okurer’s intention to go abroad to improve in her art, he wished to acquire these in one’s own country without having the obligation to go to foreign places. One can perceive the participatory feeling in Kabaklı but also a kind of reproach that Turks should provide the necessary conditions at home. Erol Aksoy, in his review of 1961’s *Coppelia* performance quoted the words of Prof. Turhan Fevziöglü, the Minister of Education at the time. Fevziöglü indicated that: “We are not considered as a developed nation but when we look away from the grave

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<sup>324</sup> Kabaklı, Ahmet. “Coppelia”, *Tercüman* newspaper, 02/02/1961 – *Bale, büyük bir emek ve disiplin isteyen bir sanattır. Musiki, dans, giysi ve dekorlar bu sanatta vazgeçilmez bir ahenk kurmalıdır. Başıbozukluk, ihmal, gevşeklik, küme ahenginden bir santim ayrılış, bütün bir temsili soysuzlaştırır. Bu yüzden bale tam bir batı sanatıdır...Coppelia temsilinde gördüğümüz batılı intizamın, başıboş hayatımızın her safhasına ilham vermesini dilerken.*

<sup>325</sup> Çetin, Celaledin, “Coppelia’nın Ardından” (After Coppelia), 01/01/1961, unknown newspaper from the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus. Appendix no: 13

realities and open our eyes to look on our art, then we are surprised how far we have gone.”<sup>326</sup> These words summarized the general feeling towards the new Turkish ballet company. While reviewing all the past newspaper articles and critical texts of the period, one can observe a general public perception after years of struggling to reach the “real, civilized, western art” produced in their own land, in their own culture.

In Zoe Anderson’s article, Dame Ninette de Valois was presented as the teacher and choreographer who could draw the original material of the relevant culture and relate it into classical ballet:

Alongside the classics, de Valois encouraged Turkish choreography, leading by example. ‘Her own choreography was essentially didactic’, explains Richard Glasstone, who became the company’s resident choreographer in the 1960s. ‘She wanted to show them how they could use their own material’. Her 1965 ballet *At the Fountainhead* (*Çeşmebaşı*) drew on local dances and folklore, including a duet for two shadow puppets. Her next ballet, *Sinfonietta*, was set to music by the Turkish composer Nevit Kodallı. It was a pure dance work- unusual for de Valois, but she was showing another way of using the Turkish culture in ballet.<sup>327</sup>

When the ballet piece called *Çeşmebaşı* choreographed by Dame Ninette de Valois was presented, it was a big success in terms of being the first original Turkish ballet piece in content and in musical score. Ferit Tüzün’s musical score *Anadolu Süiti* was used, to which some small alterations and additions were made at the choreographer’s request. Metin And wrote on this particular ballet piece in several journals, including the foreign ones. In *Dancing Times*, he stated:

Using the Turkish composer Ferit Tüzün’s score as a starting point, Dame Ninette devised what can best be described as a Turkish fantasy, loosely yet harmoniously combining such elements as scenes in a Turkish village- water carriers, gossiping women, the village drummer- a sort of town crier- with scenes showing the famous shadow puppets, Hacivat and Karagöz.<sup>328</sup>

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<sup>326</sup> Aksoy, Erol. “Türk Balesinin Başarısı: Coppelia” (Turkish Ballet’s Success: Coppelia), *Tercüman*, 02/02/1961 – *Pek ilerlemiş bir millet sayılmayız henüz. Fakat bazen bir takım çatık kaşlı meselelerden başımızı kaldırıp sanat alanına baktık mı ne kadar ileri gittiğimizi görüp şaşırveriyoruz.*

<sup>327</sup> Anderson, Zoe. 2006 , p.29

<sup>328</sup> And, Metin. “Ballet in Turkey”, *Dancing Times*, 02/01/1966, p.241

In *Ulus* newspaper he stated that it was a very important step for Turkish ballet.<sup>329</sup> He thought that it was the first original Turkish ballet piece, although Dame Ninnette de Valois was not Turkish in origin. It didn't matter since she had actually been trying to establish Turkish ballet for many years, and the content, the music, costumes, stage design and the dancers of the piece were Turkish. Metin And also apposed to a specific issue argued in artistic and cultural circles in Turkey. This was a belief that in order to reach a truly national ballet style, one should only use folkloric movements. And disagreed with this idea and stated that in those circumstances it would have been a folk dance company not a ballet company. He strongly believed that *Çeşmebaşı* was a good answer to this kind of confusion, yet one should have remembered that Dame Ninette de Valois was a foreigner in the end and it gave perhaps unavoidably, a foreigner's impression of Turkish culture. Metin And remembers in great detail the process of creating the piece:

Madame wanted to do a Turkish ballet. What she understands from Turkish is that the content and the musical composition are to be Turkish. I, in order to help her, went to Ankara Radio Broadcasting Department and gathered all the music in the archives, so she could listen. Adnan Saygun's First Symphonie, Ferit Tüzün's Anatolian Suite (...) 'That's it', she said, 'this is what I've been looking for'. We chose that one. Madame had some obsessions like '*Karagöz* and *Hacivat*'. She loved them very much and wanted to use them in the piece. Actually there is no place for *Karagöz* and *Hacivat* in the village, in a rural area but out of respect for Madame, I also proposed to use them. Her ideas began to appear (...) and there were also dancers Rezzan and Ümran Ürey, the twins. They were teaching Madame the folk dances of Turkey. In one of Chaikovsky's ballets, she used Anatolian dance figures for the snake dance scene. She really trusted the twins. Anatolian Suite of Ferit Tüzün as a musical composition is a masterpiece. I thought of bringing the piece together by emphasizing the fountain. People in the villages gather around the fountains. I said let's put its name as '*Fountainhead/ Çeşmebaşı*'. Everybody meets around this fountain, a visiting circus arrives to the village, and also the *Karagöz* and *Hacivat* characters, even though I did not want to include them, she was so influenced, she wanted to put them in no matter what. I talked to Ferit Tüzün, and he accepted to give his music. Actually it became his most popular musical composition. Madame wanted some changes in the music

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<sup>329</sup> And, Metin. "Çeşmebaşı- İlk Türk Balesi" (Fountainhead- First Turkish Ballet), *Ulus* newspaper, 02/25/1965

and he agreed (...) that was how the ballet piece *Fountainhead* came to life.<sup>330</sup>

It is particularly interesting to find out the insistence of using *Karagöz* and *Hacivat* characters in the piece. Their presence were out of context as Metin And stressed but out of respect for Dame Ninette de Valois, nobody could stand against their placement. In this manner we can argue that the orientalization of certain images has already been realized in the first ballet piece related to Turkish culture. In the process of its creation, Dame Ninette de Valois had the help and guidance of the twin sisters Rezzan and Ümran Ürey of the Ankara State Ballet Company. Ürey sisters had a solid folk dance training in Turkish dances and were a great help in the creation of the choreography of *Çeşmebaşı*:

In 1965, Madame wanted to do a Turkish ballet, '*Fountainhead*'. She really liked us very much. Whatever we suggested she would eventually agree to (...) then the '*Fountainhead*' was realized. At times we fought. We used to say, 'not like that Madame, like this' (...) and she would have screamed 'no twins', we replied as 'no Madame'. She wanted a certian step in that way and we used to object to it, saying 'Madame you want it that way but this is blacksea region step and you have to add this shoulder movement here', she says 'no, I do not want that' 'no, you should want that'

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<sup>330</sup> Interview with Metin And. 12/21/2006, Ankara - *Şimdi Madam Türk balesi yapmak istiyor, Türk balesinden anladığı konusu Türk, müziği de Türk müziği olacak böyle. Ben de ona yardım etmek için Ankara Radyosu'na gittim. Oradaki, arşivdeki bütün bantları götürdüm. Ona dinlettim. İşte Adnan Saygun'un Birinci Senfonisi, sonra Ferit Tüzün'ün Anadolu Suiti'ni götürdüm. "İşte" dedi, "benim aradığım bu" dedi. O müziği aldık. Şimdi Madam'ın belli saplantıları var, Karagöz'le Hacivat'ı çok seviyor, "onu ille koyayım" diyor. Sonra işte birtakım köy motifleri, bir de sirk cambazları falan geliyor, aslında Karagöz'le Hacivat'ın köyde işi yok. Kırsal kesimde işi yok ama kadının isteğine saygı duyaraktan önerdim. Kadının fikirleri yavaş yavaş belirmeye başladı. Ben dedim ki "köyde geçiyor ama gelenler tam köye uygun değil, yani ne Karagöz'le Hacivat köye uygun, ne de o sirk çemberi var, cambaz falan buraya uyar." Bunları anlattım "ama" dedi, "ben bunları koymak istiyorum" dedi. Bir de Rezzan ve Ümran Ürey; ikizler var...Madam'a halk danslarını öğretiyorlar... Çaykovski'nin bir balesinde üç yılanın dansını, bunların Anadolu dansını koydu, Çaykovski'nin müziğiyle dans ettirdi. Böyle, bu kadar onlara güveniyordu. Ferit Tüzün'ün bir şahaser bu Anadolu Suiti. Şimdi yalnız benim bunu toparlamam lazım, dedim ki "şimdi her köyde bir çeşme var. Çeşmeye işte kızlar geliyor, erkekler geliyor falan, buluşuyorlar. Aralarında işte ilişkiler var falan. Şimdi" dedim, "buna" dedim, "çeşmebaşı adını koyalım, yani çeşme başına geliyorlar. Bu arada da gezici bir sirk topluluğu geliyor o köye. O arada Karagöz Hacivat'ı, işte onlar da giriyor" yani ben istemeyerek Karagöz'le Hacivat'ı. Çünkü kadın çok etkilenmiş Karagöz ve Hacivat'ı ille koymak istiyor. Bunları koydum, müzikte Ferit Tüzün'e söyledim. Dedim "Ferit bak, Madam senin Anadolu Suitini bale yapmak istiyor" dedim "sizin eve gelsek bunu bize dinletir misin? Müziği dinledi zaten ama yani piyanoda yardım eder misin? Tabii" dedi. En çok popüler olan eseri oldu Ferit Tüzün'ün bu eser. Madam Ferit Tüzün'den de orkestrasyonda bazı değişiklikler istiyor, yani çıkardığı, koyduğu falan şeyleri istiyor. Ferit Tüzün'ü, karşıma aldım "ya bak" dedim "dünya çapında bir koreograf senin eserini bale yapacak, Türk balesi." ...sonra "peki" dedi, yaptı o değişiklikleri. Ondan sonra işte Çeşmebaşı, adını da ben koydum Çeşmebaşı böyle oluştu.*

and in the end, she would have said ‘ok then’. There was no ‘no’ to the twins.<sup>331</sup> (fig.20)

So one can argue that somehow the guidance of twin sisters had helped de Valois in finding a balance between an outsider’s view and an original approach with respect to the implementation of Turkish images and cultural codes. In Metin And’s view, since one could not tell when Turkish ballet would have a real Turkish choreographer, it was good that at least a Turkish ballet in content and in musical score was staged. Though not long after, we observe that the first original Turkish choreography, *Çark* would be performed by Sait Sökmen who choreographed it in November, 1968. Metin And mentioned this piece as a turning point for the Company. He stressed how the efforts of Dame Ninette de Valois motivated talented Turkish dancers to become choreographers.<sup>332</sup> In fact, de Valois had asked Sait Sökmen to make a choreography a few years ago and Sökmen had refused, stating he was not ready for choreographing. After some years according to And, he proved to be trusted by Dame Ninette and has made an excellent choreography which could be staged in any of the foreign companies’ repertoires.

A journalist, Haluk Soylu, in his article in *Yeni Tanin* newspaper, also praised the piece, stressing the success of Sökmen. He believed that Sökmen was in the beginning of a long lasting choreographing journey.<sup>333</sup> Ömer Atilla Sav, in *Milliyet* newspaper, indicated

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<sup>331</sup> Interview with Rezzan Ürey, 03/25/2007, Antalya - 65’te *Madame Çeşmebaşını yapmak istedi; tutturdu bir Türk balesi yapacağım diye ve, bizi çok severdi Madame...hiç kimse bir şey söyleyemez, ikizler söyleyince hemen yapardı...ondan sonra Çeşmebaşı doğdu, biz Madame’la bazen dövüştük...’öyle değil böyle Madame’, ‘no twins’ diye avazı çıktığı kadar bağırdı, biz de ‘no Madame’ derdik; al takke ver külah işte, ‘hayır ben bu adımı böyle istiyorum’ diyor mesela, ‘Madame sen bu adımı böyle istiyorsun ama bu Karadeniz adımı, burada bu omuz gerekiyor’ derdik.. ‘ben istemiyorum’, ‘hayır isteyeceksin Madame, bu Karadeniz adımı’, ‘haa, öylemi peki twins’derdi...hayır yok ikizlere.*

<sup>332</sup> And, Metin. “Çark” (The Wheel), *Dost* magazine, no.56, 06/?/1969

<sup>333</sup> Soylu, Haluk. “Üç kızkardeş, Çark, Kanlı Düğün” (Three Sisters, The Wheel, The Blood Wedding) , *Yeni Tanin* newspaper, 11/26/1968



that the point had arrived of having the first Turkish choreographer, which was indeed the result of the long lasting efforts of Dame Ninette de Valois.<sup>334</sup>

*Çark* had the story of 20th century human beings, overwhelmed by the complexities and antagonisms, yet it was also the story of one's humanitarian feelings, struggles and love. Blue dressed dancers, symbolizing the tradition and the established structures, used classical ballet style in their movements, against the red dressed ones opposing the tradition with broken lines and modern dance style.

The future expectations from Sait Sökmen were high, especially for the collaboration with Turkish composers. *Çark* used Ravel's music, but the next choreography "should have a Turkish composer" suggested by many critics. Another critic, Ajlan Bilaloğlu also perceived the performance as a turning point for Turkish ballet, and stated that its success was quite big. Bilaloğlu asserted that we did not need to ask for foreign choreographers to create ballet pieces for Turkish ballet anymore. "We had our own".<sup>335</sup> From various critical writings we understand that in fact, *Çark* was a modern ballet piece, capable of containing hints for modern dance choreography. In an interview with Sait Sökmen, he commented on Turkish ballet, as follows:

We could have produced better ballet in Turkey but due to some difficulties and educational insufficiencies, it was postponed (...) we had the engine and the man to assemble the engine but we did not succeed in it, and had the responsibility for it. If I had a wider view of life like a Westerner, I would have choreographed the piece, *Çark*, at least two years before."<sup>336</sup>

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<sup>334</sup> Atila, Ömer. "Çark" (The Wheel), *Milliyet* newspaper, 12/06/1968

<sup>335</sup> Bilaloğlu, Ajlan. "Sökmen'in Çarkı başladı" (Sökmen's Wheel Started), *Yeni Gazete* newspaper, 11/20/1968

<sup>336</sup> Aktaç, Arsan. "Balemizin Çarkına Eklenen Yeni Dişli (2)- Sait Sökmen: 'Dans evrensel bir şeydir'" (The New Gear Attached to Our Ballet's Wheel (2)- Sait Sökmen: "Dance is Universal"), unknown newspaper, from the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus. – *Türkiye'de daha iyi bir bale yapabilirlerdi ama bazı zoluklar ve eğitimdeki yetersizlikler nedeniyle bu ertelendi... Motora sahiptik. Motoru çalıştıracak adamımız da vardı ama başaramadık ve sorumluluk bize aittir. Bir batılının sahip olduğu geniş görüşe sahip olsaydım o zamanlar, bu eseri en az ikiyıl öncesinde gerçekleştirmiş olurum.*

In the interview made for this thesis, one can perceive a certain feeling of drawback, a tiredness of Sait Sökmen rooted in the struggles to maintain his creative activity inside the state institutions. That was perhaps why he abandoned the state-controlled institutions and continued in the private sector at a very early stage in his dance career. Stressing his strong connection with European dance field, Sökmen expressed the difference in the way of experience dance and creativity in Turkey and Europe. He stated that he was closer to contemporary dance world during this time and that his perception and needs did not correspond to what he found in Turkey. He stated in the interview: “You say, time is passing. What are you going to do next? The world goes to this direction, where do we go? Because I could go abroad very often then (...) I mean I could follow the world.”<sup>337</sup>

This would have created perhaps a yearning for the things Western. Although he was strongly in touch with the western world, his perception of himself was Turkish after all. The expression of “having a broader vision like a Westerner” had indeed been a concept familiar to Turkish cultural circles as many Republican institutions committed themselves to the notion of Western progress. The Westernization itself was sublimated in the new society through many channels of artistic and educational initiations. For Sökmen, this yearning, accompanied by the incompetence and weaknesses of Turkish administrative methods must have created a feeling of frustration leading to the self-orientalization of the artist.

Though, the inclination towards self-orientalization could be heard in Sökmen’s words, his artistic practice was on the contrary slope. To answer a question related whether Turkish ballet should consist of folk movements or not, he stated that he believed dance had a universal language. Although having benefited from Turkish folk dances, *Çark* was not a “folkloric dance”. In order to interpret the motives that one borrowed from traditional dances

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<sup>337</sup> Interview with Sait Sökmen. 12/13/2006, İstanbul- *Zaman geçiyor diyorsun. Bundan sonra ne yapacaksın? Dünya bu tarafa gidiyor, nereye gitsek, çünkü ben o sırada çok sık gidebiliyordum dışarıya...yani dünyayı takip edebiliyordum.*

of Turkey, Sökmen thought that one had to “pay too much attention, because they became his own vocabulary in the end”.<sup>338</sup> This is indeed a very crucial statement in respect to originality. As mentioned above, blending Turkish folk dance motives into classical ballet was seen as one of the main ways of reaching a ‘national’ dance language. Yet, the artistic style in doing that had to be so mature that the experiment would allow the viewer to experience a fresh and new artistic experience and not a patch work of folk dance motives blended into classical ballet. In his artistic works, Sait Sökmen, as perceived by other artists, had succeeded in reaching an original and mature dance style in that respect.

Following Sait Sökmen’s *Çark*, Duygu Aykal and Oytun Turfanda also began to make choreographies and other Turkish choreographers followed them. *Çark*, in that sense, was the starting point of Turkish creativity in Ankara State Ballet Company.

From time to time one can observe criticism directed to the artistic choices with respect to the debates on national art. As an example, Ömer Atilla Sav in his article on *Sylvia* in 1967 targeted the “content” of the performance.<sup>339</sup> He focused on the amalgamation of Greek and Latin mythologies and stressed that Turkish audiences needed ballets related more to their own realities and their land, as well as on more contemporary issues. He tried to find a balance to his criticism by acknowledging the fact that one definitely needed to learn the classics and a basic knowledge which will lead, step by step, to one’s own national ballet.

One of the important debates related to the creation of national ballet was having original Turkish musical compositions for the productions. In one of the Istanbul Festivals, the State Ballet Company presented four ballets, *Çeşmebaşı*, *Judith*, *Çoğul* and *Pembe Kadın*.

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<sup>338</sup> Interview with Sait Sökmen. 12/13/2006, İstanbul

<sup>339</sup> Sav, Atilla Ömer. “Türk Balesi 20 Yaşında” (Turkish Ballet is Twenty Years Old), *Milliyet* newspaper, 01/28/1967

The program's importance according to Selmi Andak came from the fact that four of the ballet pieces' musical compositions were created by Turkish composers.<sup>340</sup>

For some critics, the perception of being Western was more important than being national. Müşerref Hekimoğlu in one of her newspaper articles of 1972 had stated her belief as follows. Here, the conception of being Western was mainly dictated by the forms and not the contents: "Although the State Ballet Company has oriental, allaturca attitudes at the backstage, it is still the only Western institution in the country."<sup>341</sup>

As mentioned before, one can feel that 1973 was a turning point for national ballet institutions, according to their administrative and artistic visions. After 1973, the Turkish directors were more in charge of Turkish ballet. That same year, Engin Karadeniz stressed the importance of the *Pembe Kadın* in relation to the changes in the artistic direction of the Ankara State Ballet Company. *Pembe Kadın* was choreographed by Oytun Turfanda.<sup>342</sup> He stated that before *Pembe Kadın*, Sait Sökmen had choreographed *Kurban*, but due to some problems with its composer, Adnan Saygun, it had to be performed without music.<sup>343</sup> So *Pembe Kadın* had magnitude, having both a Turkish composer and a choreographer.

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<sup>340</sup> Andak, Selmi. *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, 06/03/1973

<sup>341</sup> Hekimoğlu, Müşerref. "Başkent'in Tansiyonunu Sanat Olayları Düşürüyor- Romeo ve Jülyet Rüya gibi bir Bale, bu rüyayı Sunay da gördü" (Artistic Events Calm Down the Tension of Capital City- A ballet like Romeo and Julliet, Sunay had the Dream too), 10/31/1972, unknown newspaper from the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus- *Her zaman yazarım, kulisdeki bütün alaturkalıklara rağmen Batılı tek kuruluşumuz bu.* Appendix no:5

<sup>342</sup> Karadeniz, Engin. *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, ?/?/1973. From the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus.

<sup>343</sup> In various interviews, artists remembered the incident and stated that in the last day of premier, composer Adnan Saygun called Sait Sökmen and informed him that he did not allow his music to be used. In fact, Sait Sökmen expressed his thoughts on this matter in our interview. He stated that when he formed a modern dance group inside the State Theater Company, his group was seen as an alternative to the State Ballet Company. (We will mention the establishment of this modern dance group inside the Ankara State Theater in p.186) That year, the theater company wanted to open the season's curtain earlier than the ballet company and this created problems. Sökmen believes that the opening of the State Theater Company with his choreography, *Kurban*, before the State Ballet Company caused certain tension. He thinks that Adnan Saygun's prohibition of using his musical score was directly related to the earlier opening. By not allowing his music to be used, Saygun might have thought that the performance would not have taken place. Therefore Sökmen had faced the dilemma of canceling the performance or continuing without the musical score and dancing in silence. He chose the latter. Actually, Metin And stated that the situation proved the importance of the piece in terms of artistic quality. The

1970s were in fact the period where Turkish staff came to many of the important roles of the company. In 1974, the *Swan Lake* production was praised, as was its choreologist Suna Eden Şenel. One of the critics stated that: “Evinç and Hüsnü Sunal are two of our older dancers. Now, they became the choreographers (...) The role of the choreologist Suna Şenel should also be pointed out (...) We do not need foreign choreographers and choreologists anymore.”<sup>344</sup> Ömer Atilla Sav while writing about *Swan Lake* in *Milliyet*, focused on the importance of 1974’s performance. The two Turkish directors were in charge of the company and they were the students of Dame Ninette de Valois. He continued : “...Nationalism as a vision can be narrow minded in the context of ballet, which is a strong and multidimensional art form (...) Our wish is that the Turkish ballet continues to improve and form its own national identity.”<sup>345</sup>

If one thinks that the article was written in the afterwards of the Cyprus war, it can be seen that a certain reservation surfaced vis-à-vis extreme nationalistic politics. One can see that a distinction was made in terms of the conceptions of nationalism as a general vision and nationalism as having a distinct cultural identity. In Sav’s analysis, in the context of an artistic genre like the ballet, the general nationalistic vision might have some disadvantages but reaching to a distinct national identity different than the other national styles in the field of dance was something desirable. In fact, this perception of differentiating the two versions of nationalistic attitudes marked the scope of the debates on creating a national style in Turkish ballet. For some observers, the new ballet pieces created by Turkish choreographers

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choreography was so strong that it needed no music and the performance was very successful. Interview with Metin And. 12/21/2006, Ankara.

<sup>344</sup> “Meriç Sümen ve Oytun Turfanda” (Meriç Sümen and Oytun Turfanda). 12/24/1974, Unknown newspaper from the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus – *Evinç ve Hüsnü Sunal iki eski dansçımız. Şimdi koreograf oldular...Koreolog Suna Şenel’in de rolünü belirtmek gerekir. Artık yabancı koreografa ve koreologa pek ihtiyacımız olmadığı meydana çıktı.* Appendix no: 14

<sup>345</sup> Sav, Ömer Atilla. “Kuğu Gölü” (Swan Lake), *Milliyet* newspaper, 11/01/1974 – *Bale gibi çok yönlü, güçlü bir sanatta bir ulusçuluk dar açısı yanılıcı olabilir...Dileğimiz Türk balesinin gelişmesini sürdürmesi, kendi ulusal kişiliğini oluşturmaktır.*

which had a general nationalistic vision consisted of Turkish music, folk dance motives, and a content relevant to Turkish culture were enough to call them original. For some others, these might have been important qualities but in order to reach a truly original Turkish expression, one had to question also how these important attributes were being applied in the production. The musical score had a significant role. If a Turkish composer was involved then the originality of the experimentation could be questioned. The fusion of Turkish folk melodies and rhythms with Western music had not always provided the best solution, therefore, one should have been attentive. This was appropriate for the movement part as well. Folk dance movements could supply a rich context for experimenting with classical ballet forms, but to combine them with one another, one had to be very careful of not sticking out as patch-works.

The company performed *Pembe Kadın*, *Yoz Döngü* and *Güzelleme* in 1975, all the works belonged to the choreographer Oytun Turfanda. Selma Berk stated that all these ballet pieces were derived from our own national folk dances, traditional motives, music and poems and they reflected the existence of a Turkish ballet school.<sup>346</sup> In general, the 1975 national newspapers headlines for dance columns proved that a breakthrough was established in terms of “national ballet” perception.<sup>347</sup> Not only did aesthetic choices reflect a national tone, but the contents were also in tune with Turkish contemporary socio-political context.

*Yoz Döngü* chose the theme of migration from villages to big cities, *Pembe Kadın* focused on an abandoned wife and a mother, on the difficulties of raising a child in a

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<sup>346</sup> Berk, Selma. *Son Havadis* newspaper, 06/09/1975

<sup>347</sup> “Türk Balesine Doğru Eğilimler” (Tendencies Towards Turkish Ballet), *Barış* newspaper, 03/21/1975; “Devlet Balesi’nde Anadolunun Sorunları” (Problems of Anatolia in the State Ballet), *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, 03/25/1975, “Üç Telli Saz Bale’ye Girdi” (Three String Instrument Saz Entered into Ballet), *Tercüman* newspaper, 03/28/1975, “Ulusal Bale’nin Doğuşu” (The Birth of National Ballet), *Dünya* newspaper, 04/02/1975, “Devlet Balesi Ulusal Bale’ye Eğiliyor” (State Ballet Inclines Towards National Ballet), *Zafer* newspaper, 04/04/1975, “Üç Yeni Baledede Türk Halk Motifleri Kullanılıyor” (Turkish Folk Motives were presented in all of the three New Ballets), *Halkçı* newspaper, 04/04/1975, “Ulusal Bale” (National Ballet), *Kelebek*, 10/04/1975

traditional village in Turkey. Oytun Turfanda, himself, stated that as a child raised in a village context, he had never forgotten the difficulties and problems of his youth. He believed that his personal experience belonged to all Anatolian people, therefore Turkish people would find the piece meaningful.<sup>348</sup> For the musical scores, it was also an experiment as the composer tried to combine the Turkish traditional instruments with Western ones. In one of the texts, it was mentioned that the musical score composed from a collection of Turkish folk songs arranged by Güray Taptık for Oytun Turfanda's *Yoz Döngü*, and the movement quality derived from Turkish folk dances, was a starting point for escaping the Western emulation.<sup>349</sup> In some texts the choreography was praised with the statement that "the real Turkish ballet" was born.

The same year, a critic, Nilgün Tarkan wrote that a performance was devised in honour of Iranian Shah Rıza Pehlevi's visit to Turkey. A collection of Turkish ballets were in the process of preparation to be staged on the 29th of October, 1975.<sup>350</sup> In *Dünya* newspaper, the premier of these three Turkish ballets was mentioned and it was suggested that dance audiences should see the program as the pieces were accompanied by traditional drums and a string instrument *saz*.<sup>351</sup> The traditional steps were applied to contemporary ballet technique. This could have not been imagined before, and the choreographer Oytun Turfanda was "to be celebrated by heart".

However, not all the critics thought the same way. As one of the critics, Engin Karadeniz who was in favor of questioning on how these new attributes were applied in the

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<sup>348</sup> Alp, Nihal. "Türk Balesine Doğru Eğilimler" (Tendencies Towards Turkish Ballet), *Barış* newspaper, 03/21/1975

<sup>349</sup> "Devlet Balesi Ulusal Bale'ye Yöneliyor" (State Ballet inclines Towards National Ballet), *Zafer* newspaper, 04/04/1975

<sup>350</sup> Tarkan, Nilgün. *Milliyet* newspaper, 10/17/1975

<sup>351</sup> *Dünya* newspaper, 04/02/1975

productions, mentioned that the discussion on the three ballets by Oytun Turfanda continued and that the musical score of *Yoz Döngü* by Güray Taptık was a degeneration:

The musical composition of Güray Taptık, degenerated by the combination of electronic instruments, was also degenerating ‘Yoz Döngü’ in the musical field. Instead of a local, contemporary ballet piece, there appears mixed blood folk dances-ballet confusion, completely different than being a contemporary ballet piece.<sup>352</sup>

Karadeniz thought that *Yoz Döngü* was an incoherent and emulative ballet piece, far distant than being a conscious step towards a national ballet. In another criticism that appeared in *Yeni Ulus* newspaper, the title of the text reflected the negative attitude towards the piece, *Güzelleme*. The title was ‘Ballet Piece where the Village Clothing Mixed with Palace Costumes did not arouse the Expected Interest’.<sup>353</sup> It was stated that the ballet piece did not arouse the expected interest and the core theme of *Yoz Döngü*, the theme of migration, was not to be found anywhere in the piece itself.

In another column in *Milliyet* newspaper, it was argued that Oytun Turfanda’s tendencies towards village life were not influenced enough by folk culture in terms of expressional possibilities and tools.<sup>354</sup> Ömer Atilla Sav thought the same and he proposed the questions of whether *Yoz Döngü* was a ballet piece or a traditional dance piece, and whether it was a stylization done by an expert or just an emulation.<sup>355</sup> He concluded his analysis that there were not yet clear answers to these questions. Nevertheless, he thought that *Yoz Döngü* was an original work that deserved to be discussed and the choreographer was worth

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<sup>352</sup> Karadeniz, Engin. *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, 04/07/1975 – Güray Taptık’ın müziği elektronik elektronik gereçlerle yozlaşırken, ‘Yoz Döngü’ yü müzik alanında da yozlaştırıyor(...) Yerli çağdaş bir bale gösterisi yerine adeta kanı karışık halk dansı-bale ortaya çıkıyor. Yoz Döngü, ulusal bale yolunda bilinçli atılmış adımdan çok tutarsız ve özenti bir gösteri.

<sup>353</sup> “-Güzelleme-Köy Kıyafetlerinin Saray Kostümleri ile Birleştirildiği Bale Beklenen İlgiyi Görmedi” (A Poem of Beauty- The Ballet Piece which the Village Clothes Mixed with Palace Costumes did not Attract the Expected Interest), *Yeni Ulus* newspaper, 04/04/1975

<sup>354</sup> *Milliyet* newspaper, 04/18/1975

<sup>355</sup> Sav, Ömer Atilla. “Köyde Bale? Bale’de Köy?” (Ballet in a Village? Village in an Ballet?), *Milliyet Sanat*, no: 126, 04/04/1975



following. He also mentioned the disputes between the musicians who performed the piece and the choreographer. It seemed from the musical side, the experimentation of the synthesis of traditional music with Western one had stirred much of the confusion in *Yoz Döngü*'s case. In *Ankara* newspaper, the composer Muammer Sun shared his feelings with the writer and stated that he would never allow his music to be used until real choreographers were established in the country.<sup>356</sup>

Engin Karadeniz, in *Yeni Ulus* newspaper wrote about the past attempts to convince Madame Ninette de Valois to focus more on our own traditional sources, yet the writer believed that it was not considered seriously. Oytun Turfanda's dancing quality was undeniable yet, according to Karadeniz, "not all dancers could become choreographers". According to him, choreographing needed delving into cultural sources, wide research and consciousness of intellectual matters. There was wider criticism for the dance community in these lines, since the writer could not see any of the Turkish dancers at important dance performances staged by visiting foreign companies.<sup>357</sup> Engin Karadeniz, actually set the most important issues discussed in terms of creating a national ballet in Turkey. He questioned not 'what's but 'how's, in order to reach a distinctive national style. He mostly raised the problematic attitudes towards the negligence of wider research on cultural and intellectual matters in general.

As a next step, *Hürrem Sultan*, choreographed by Oytun Turfanda, was staged by the Ankara State Ballet Company (fig.21). As a contemporary ballet work, it had again folkloric elements in the musical score and in the choreography. Presented as the first full length ballet piece choreographed by a Turkish artist, *Hürrem Sultan* was promoted as a piece in

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<sup>356</sup> Uluç, Hıncal. "Ulusal Bale veya Oytun Turfanda" (National Ballet or Oytun Turfanda), *Ankara* newspaper, 03/28/1975 – "...Sonra kendi bale müziklerini bu ülkede koreograf yetişinceye kadar hiç kimseye vermiyeceğini anlattı..."

<sup>357</sup> Karadeniz, Engin. "Tereciye Tere Satmak ya da Biti Kanlanmak" (Selling Cress to a Cresser), *Yeni Ulus* newspaper, 03/25/1975

which the general audience would very much be interested to see.<sup>358</sup> Yet, it had stirred up more complex issues rooted in Turkish society in terms of the perception of Ottoman culture. The existence of a relatively conservative government of the period formed by JP and the Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel definitely did not ease the situation for the choreographer. His creation was perceived by certain groups of Republican elites, as an inclination to curry favor with the political power of JP.

The confusion in different ideological perspectives was presented in an article in *Vatan* newspaper. In the article, it was stated that for left wing political groups, the character of Kanuni Sultan Süleyman was not appropriate for presentation in a contemporary ballet piece. For right wing politicians an important Sultan of the past and a glorious empire had to be protected from the unsacred spaces of dance productions:

The leftist winds blowing in Ankara, are surrounding the theater, opera and ballet stages and making conflictive echoes. The latest example is the staging of Kanuni and Hürrem (The Magnificent and the Roxelane) at the State Ballet. This ballet was composed by Nevit Kodallı. Oytun Turfanda is the choreographer. It will be curiously worthwhile to observe the outcome with all the ideological conflicts making their way through the stages. The winds blowing from the left direction are trying to prevent an emperor of the Ottoman era to be a subject at the State Ballet. They consider Oytun Turfanda to be conservative. Whereas in the right winds direction, the efforts are focused on protecting Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent from dancing on stage, and honoring him with holly immunity. When the dispute between the left and the right thoughts reaches these levels, naturally a vicious circle is entered.<sup>359</sup>

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<sup>358</sup> “Hürrem Sultan Büyük İlgiyle İzleniyor” (Hürrem Sultan is Being Watched with Great Interest), *Barış* newspaper, 02/06/1977

<sup>359</sup> “Bu da Yobazlığın Başka bir türü” (This is Another Type of Bigotry), *Vatan* newspaper, 12/2/1976. From the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus. Appendix no: 15; - *Ankara’da sol konuttan esen rüzgarlar tiyatro, opera, bale sahnelerini de kapsıyor, çelişik yankılar yapıyor. Son örnek devlet balesinde Kanuni ve Hürrem balesinin sahnelenmesi. Bu baleyi Nevit Kodallı besteledi. Koreografisini de Oytun Turfanda yapıyor. Ama sahneye kadar ulaşan ideolojik çekişmelerle nasıl bir sonuca varacak meraka değer. Soldan esen rüzgarlar Osmanlı döneminden bir hükümdarın, devlet balesine köprü olmasını önlemek istiyor. Oytun Turfanda’yı tutucu buluyor. Sağdan esen rüzgerlarda da Kanuni Sultan Süleyman’I sahnede dansetmekten korumak, kutsal bir dokunulmazlığa ulaştırmak çabası var. Sağ ve sol tartışmaları bu boyutlara varınca kısır bir döngüye giriliyor.*

In other articles, however, Nevit Kodallı's musical score was praised, stressing the success of the modernization of "mehter" and "tekbir". Lastly, Osman Şengezer's costume and stage designed was found very relevant and successful. Two other different articles published in *Cumhuriyet* newspaper had the opposite views.<sup>360</sup> The first one stated that the premier was empty, the second article's writer stated that the piece, like a dance of historic clothes, "kaftan", had no bodies. The choreography was deprived of any compositional quality and synchronization (fig.22). Kodallı's music was found weak, without any originality and eclectic in nature.

Another criticism in the same article targeted the choreographer. As an artist, not trained in folk dances, yet trying to establish his choreography through it, Oytun Turfanda was not found a successful choreographer. Engin Karadeniz had written a similar criticism for *Hürrem Sultan* in *Cumhuriyet* earlier that month.<sup>361</sup> Faruk Güvenç wrote in *Milliyet* newspaper that he thought in parallel with composer Nevit Kodallı when saying that:

National ballet, national opera and national music will be born out of the composers and not by the practitioners. After *Hürrem Sultan*, composers should create music, especially for Turkish ballet and our national ballet will improve with their music, taking its place in the world.<sup>362</sup>

Faruk Güvenç disliked the musical composition of *Hürrem Sultan* and the ballet piece itself. Güvenç believed that the right way of creating our national ballet's music should not come from "mehter" songs or single vocal "köçekçe" music. Nevit Kodallı, the composer himself, made a confession about his music for *Hürrem Sultan*, stating that he had wished to

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<sup>360</sup> "Hürrem Sultan Balesinin Galası çok Tenhaydı" (The Premier of the Ballet Hürrem Sultan was Devoid of People), *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, 01/23/1977; "Kaftanların Dansı" (Dance of the 'Old Tunics'-Kaftan-), *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, 02/21/1977

<sup>361</sup> Karadeniz, Engin. "Şu 'Hürrem Sultan' üzerine" (About That Hürrem Sultan), *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, 02/13/1977

<sup>362</sup> Güvenç, Faruk. "Kodallı'nın Hürrem Sultan'ı" (Kodallı's Hürrem Sultan), *Milliyet* newspaper, 02/21/1977 – *Ulusal bale, ulusal opera ve ulusal müziğimizin icracılarla değil, kompozitörlerimizin yaratıkları ve yaratıcıkları eserlerle doğacağına, 'Hürrem Sultan'dan sonra meslektaşlarımın bale için verecekleri özel eserler sayesinde ulusal Türk balesinin gelişerek zamanla dünyadaki yerini alacağına inanıyorum.*

compose more affective scores for some episodes of the ballet, but he could not use the preferred number of percussion instruments due to the congested space of the orchestra.<sup>363</sup>

Beside these debates in respect to music and traditional culture's implementation into classical dance, there was also one very significant yet undercovered issue in creating "the national", the inclination towards "modern dance" among the ballet circles. The tendencies towards modern dance inside the State Ballet Companies need to be explored for a better understanding of different approaches to the concept "national". The choreographies of Sait Sökmen and Duygu Aykal had already introduced the Ankara company to more modern inclinations in dance. Particularly, it can be argued that Sait Sökmen and Duygu Aykal had opened up the channels for modern choreographies in a company where the base was founded classically. Yet, as one would expect, there were strong reservations towards modern tendencies. First of all, the education was not constructed in modern techniques. The classical ballet technique was not appropriate for practicing modern choreographies. Although Aykal did give importance in requiring the relevant technique, she herself was not able to direct classes on modern dance techniques.

Sait Sökmen, at a very early stage separated himself from the Ankara State Ballet Company due to the disputes related to classical and modern dance approaches. Since he was more interested with modern choreographies, it was hard for him to continue after some time in a classical company so he transferred himself to Ankara State Theatre Company. Inside the company, he started a modern dance group also giving dance classes to actors and actresses. As time passed he was again unhappy with the conditions there, followed by other negative incidents, therefore he resigned from the state institutions at a very young age:

I was on the modern side. As an initiator of the new technique (...) I founded a group in the theatre. I was giving stage classes to the theatre students in the conservatory as well. My aim was to spread dance because it

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<sup>363</sup> "Hürrem Sultan Balesi başarıyla Sürdürülüyor" (The Ballet Hürrem Sultan Successfully Continues), *Bugün* newspaper, 02/03/1977

was such an unproductive period, the audience was always the same. I founded a group, furthermore it wasn't easy to find dancers during the time. Some of them were drop-outs from the conservatory, some were not interested to continue academically. I collected six or seven dancers like that. Cüneyt Gökçer also supported the group. It was appropriate with the establishment law of the State Theater as well. The State Theater could form a dance group if it was needed. So I founded the group, worked with them, made the contracts and also provided good salaries. This group could create modern dance pieces. Give us the chance to do modern choreography! You could not adjust modern pieces in the other company (...) Then they were separated, theatre and opera. Aydın Gün became the director of the opera and the budget stayed with them. I watched from the other side. They offered everybody jobs but not me. They didn't say a word to me as 'Sait, come back'. Because they did not offer me, I did not return. Then I continued in the conservatory to teach my classes and realized that I had free time, talked to Tenasüp and said 'let's do this thing'. We founded 'Kuğu Bale'.<sup>364</sup>

After the foundation of the private ballet school, Kuğu Bale, Sökmen resigned from Ankara State Theatre Company.

Duygu Aykal as a student of Leonide Massine at the Royal Ballet Academy for three years, was able to combine her modern interest with her classical training. Therefore, she was suitable for the company. Yet, the tension between modern and classical styles had its place inside the company and the artistic policy was also influenced by this fact. As an example, Deniz Olgay Yamanus recalled an incident:

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<sup>364</sup> Interview with Sait Sökmen. 12/13/2006, İstanbul - *Ben modern taraftarıydım, yani modern taraftarı demekle, hani bir öncülük yapan, hani bir teknik gelsin. Benim derdim dansı yaymaktı, anlatabiliyor muyum? Çünkü kısır bir dönem, yani seyirci neredeyse hep aynı seyirci. Dedim ki hani "yurtalım bu kefeni." Bir grup kurdum. Üstelik, yani o sırada öyle dansçı da bol bulunmuyor. Konservatuar'da mezun olacağı sırada yaptırmışlar çocuğu mesela. Kaybetmiş iznini, ne bileyim ben, okuldan atılmış veya ne bileyim okumaya pek niyeti yok, Konservatuar'da sıkışmış veya kalamamış bir dönem, orası yüksek okul gibiydi. Böyle kaç tane çocuk topladım. 6-7 tane öyle çocuk topladım kızılı erkekli. Cüneyt Gökçer'in işine de geldi. Kanunda da yazılı, o zamanki, yani kuruluş kanununda: Devlet Tiyatrosu kendisine bir dans grubu kurar, icap ettiği zaman. Çocukları aldım; yeni yetişmiş çocukları ben aldım, topladım, kontratı da yaptım. İyi de para verdim... yani bak bir şey koptu Devlet Balesi'nde. Bir fırsat verin, burası da modern yapsın, tamam mı? Çünkü öbür tarafta modern sokamıyorsun..., Sonra ayırdılar tiyatro ile operayı. Aydın Gün başına geçti ve bütçe öbür tarafta kaldı. Ben de karşıdan seyirci kaldım. "Şimdi ne yapacağım" dedim ama herkese teklif ettiler, bana teklif etmediler, yani "Sait geri dön artık, ayıp oluyor" falan demediler. Demedikleri için ben de dönmedim, yani kimse "tek kaldın orada, ne işin var" demedi. Ben baktım ki konservatuara gidiyorum, hareket dersimi veriyorum. E Devlet Balesi'nde de bir sürü noksan şeyler var, söylüyorum, hani "gelin ben öğreteyim." Vermiyorlar. E tamam, baktım, boş zamanım da var. Tenasüblerle konuşmuşum zaten "hadi bu işi yapalım" dedik. Kuğu Bale'yi kurduk.*

In order to dance in Duygu's pieces, you have to have certain body training. After a long time of classical dancing if you suddenly take on modern dancing, it just won't look right. We should have taken lessons for a year or at least in the worst case during the rehearsals for the piece. It is not at all easy to put the body into a form that you are not familiar with. Still I don't think we were bad or at least the audience didn't realize this unfamiliarity. But in the beginning there were so many judgments, especially by ourselves on ourselves (...) We were craving for suitable body training, for example my back problems started in Duygu's piece. My back was nearly destroyed and Madame told me to choose, 'either classical or modern, you can't do both'. Then I decided not to participate in Duygu's second piece, even though I was casted for it. But in general I loved dancing in 'Çoğul'.<sup>365</sup> (fig.23)

During the same period, Geyvan McMillen who had recently returned back from New York where she studied with the modern dance pioneers of the time like Martha Graham and Merce Cunningham had taken the responsibility of teaching modern dance techniques. In fact, McMillen, in our interview reflected on those years and mentioned Duygu Aykal's insistence on her return to the Ankara Company and starting modern dance classes there:

We were together with Duygu Aykal in London. She had children then and could not really get into the modern technique. When she returned back to Turkey, she needed to establish the technical classes for her modern choreographies. That's why she was too keen on my return. Then I returned and started to work in the company right after. I both gave ballet and modern dance technique classes."<sup>366</sup> (fig.24)

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<sup>365</sup> Interview with Deniz Olgay Yamanus. 12/04/2006, İstanbul- *Duygu'nun eserinde oynayabilmek için bence önceden bir vücut hazırlığı gerek ama bu kadar klasik dans ederken, birden bire kalkıp modern yaptığın zaman olmaz, yabancı duruyor üstünde. Yabancı duruyor, yani onu önceden bir alt yapısını hazırlaması lazımdı Duygu'nun, yani bize 1 sene ders veriyor olması lazım veya hadi bıraktım vazgeçtim 1 seneyi, o eser çıkarken ders veriyor olması lazımdı. Onun için de biz tabii ki adaptasyonu, hiç bilmediğimiz bir forma sokmak vücudu kolay değil. Kolay değil, fena oynamadığımızı düşünüyorum, yani belki bu yabancılığı siz karşıdan izlerken anlamazdınız belki ama ilk başta biz çok yadırgadık, yani "keşke ders olsa, ders olsa" diye konuştuğumuzu hatırlıyorum aramızda, yani öyle bir şey vardı Duygu'nun eserinde ve de mesela Duygu'nun eserinde çıkmıştır benim sırtımdaki problemler. Sakatlanma değil ama sakatlanma olarak alma, sakatlanma değil. O kadar yabancı ki o kadar hazırlıksız birden bire kalkıp da bir şey oynuyorsun ki! Bütün sırtım olduğu gibi gitti ve Madam dedi ki bana Çoğul'dan sonra "karar ver, senin sırtın" dedi, "karar ver ya klasik bale ya modern bale karar vereceksin" dedi, "karar vereceksin" dedi, "ikisini birden yapamazsın sen" dedi ve de öyle bir ayrıma onda sonra gittim. 2. eserinde yazılmama rağmen dedim ki "oynayamayacağım, çünkü sırtım tutmuyor" yani birden bire garip, başka hareketler yapmaya başlayınca sırtım olduğu gibi tutuluyordu ama çok severek dans ettim Çoğul'da.*

<sup>366</sup> Interview with Geyvan McMillen. 11/30/2006, İstanbul- *Duygu Aykal'la Londra'dayken birlikteydik. Duygu Aykal şey yapmıyordu, ne denir ona teknikle pek uğraşmıyordu, çünkü çocukları vardı onun o zaman. Türkiye'ye döndükten sonra da koreografilerini yaparken tabii teknik öğretmiyordu, çünkü teknikle öğrenmediği için. O yüzden benim gelmemi çok istiyordu Devlet Balesi'ne ki teknik dersi vereyim dansçılara. Yaparlarken daha bilinçli bir şekilde yaparlar koreografileri. İşte Ankara'ya tekrardan döndüm ve beni Devlet Balesi'ne aldılar hemen ve başladım Hem klasik bale hem de modern ders veriyordum.*

Geyvan McMillen also called attention to an interesting process lived through in the company. In the beginning, many dancers came. The classes were crowded, it really got their attention. Men were usually a bit shy but a lot of men were coming as well. After a while, this extreme interest disturbed people in the ballet company and causing rumors to start. Slowly the participation dropped. However McMillen continued to have dancers to form a group, the real passionate ones stayed with her for the first modern dance lessons.<sup>367</sup> She continued to stage her modern choreographies with the group. Her choice of themes was also related to national issues. Her first pieces were *Toprağa Ninni* and *Anadolu'da Gece* (fig.25). When one looks at her corpus of work, it can be stated that McMillen was directly involved with the concepts of “Turkishness”, “national” and “localness”. Her first works can be viewed as avantgarde of that period where, for example, she used the recorded voice of the river Kızılırmak as the musical score. As time passed by, creating works within the state system might have forced her to direct her attention more towards the commonly used imagineaire related to the concept of the “national”. When McMillen moved to Istanbul State Company in 1977, she started another modern dance company there as well and performed in several spaces. Although, these attempts were successful in their own terms, she could not continue with her modern dance company in the state ballet institutions.

Late 1970s were also a period where Şebnem Aksan had begun to teach at the Istanbul State Conservatory. She had recently returned from America and had many ideas related to ballet education. Aksan strongly believed that there should be modern dance classes inside the conservatory education, as she had experienced in American ballet

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<sup>367</sup> Interview with Geyvan McMillen. 11/30/2006, İstanbul- *Modern dersi isteyen geliyordu. Bütün herkes geliyordu başta. Bayağı kalabalıktı, ilgilerini de çekiyordu dans. Erkekler biraz çekimserdir, bir çok erkek geliyordu. Fakat sonradan oradaki rağbet baledeki insanları biraz rahatsız etti. Onun için bu sefer konuşmaya başladılar, bazı şeyler konuşuldu, yani bir şeyler başladı. Yavaş yavaş azaldı yukarıdaki grup ama yine de benim topluluk kuracak kadar bir grubum vardı orada, yani tam istekliler vardı. Topluluğun ismi 'Geyvan McMillen ve Çağdaş Dans Topluluğu' oldu.*

schools, such as Julliard.<sup>368</sup> Analyzing the different approaches to dance, Aksan ratified that there had always been a clash in terms of opinions in respect to modern and classical approaches in the world. On the other hand she believed that, in Turkey, this conflict was received in much more harsh conditions. Yet, the solution had to be found since the real creativity, for Aksan, would generate from the modern approach. Ballet, as it was practiced in Turkey had not allowed self-expression, therefore, no choreographers had really emerged from the field of ballet.<sup>369</sup> Nevertheless, despite the general opposition Aksan was able to establish modern dance classes at the conservatory. Every year, she used to organize events called ‘Art’s Coalescence’ with painters from Fine Arts Academy. The students performed in alternative spaces inside the Fine Arts Academy instead of stages. With Filiz Ali, they used to select musics from the contemporary composers like İlhan Usmanbaş. These may be seen as the first examples of interdisciplinary approach in dance education in Turkey. At the same time, Geyvan McMillen continued to make modern choreographies. Aksan and McMillen arranged an evening for dance in ‘Painting and Sculpture Museum’ in Beşiktaş in 1979. There, McMillen placed one of her dancers, Aysun Aslan, inside a glass base. Resembling a live sculpture, among many other sculptures of Mehmet Aksoy, and letting the

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<sup>368</sup> Interview with Şebnem Aksan. 12/20/2006, İstanbul- *Ankara konservatuarından farklı bir okul olması lazım, daha fazla modern ağırlıklı olsun istiyorum çünkü mesela bu Julliard’dan aldığım bir şey bu. Julliard’da baleye de, moderne de gidiyorlar ve ayrı ayrı major yapılmıyor. Mecburdunuz almaya bunları, mutlaka iki modernden birini almanız gerekiyordu bale alırken. Bilinçli olarak değil ama, “böyle olması lazım” gibi bir şey var kafamda, “bu iş böyle olacak” ve modern dersleri koyuyorum mesela haftada bir jimnastik dersinin yerine. Ankara’da birtakım müfredat program toplantıları yapıyorum Kültür Bakanlığı’na bağlıyız o zaman. İzmir Konservatuarı’ndan, Ankara Konservatuarı’ndan gelenlerin hiç benim kafamdakine benzeyen, modelleri yok ve böyle bir model yaratma, bir vizyon yaratma şeyleri de yok, yani onlarda bildiklerini yapıyorlar ama ben ciddi ciddi kurguluyorum kafamda, yani “bu okul ne biçim temsiller verecek, biz klasikleri nasıl oynayacağız? İşte Danimarka; o ekolünden birisini getirebilir miyim” böyle şeyler var kafamda.*

<sup>369</sup> Interview with Şebnem Aksan. 12/20/2006, İstanbul- *Ben modernin dışlandığı bir dönemi yaşamadım Amerika’da ama şimdi bile var bir fikir ayrılığı. Onu tabii çok sıkı görüyorum ama Türkiye’de bunu çok sert bir şekilde yaşadık.. Çünkü siz ne birikiminden geliyorsanız, onu biliyorsunuz, onu vermeye kalkıyorsunuz. Halbuki burası o süreçten geçmemiş, o sürecin başına dönülmesi gerekiyor...moderni mutlaka başlatmam lazım, başlaması lazım Türkiye’de, yani buna inaniyordum. Türkiye’de bir türlü koreograf yetişmiyor baleden. Çünkü burada self expression’a müsaade edilmiyor ama modernden gelecek bu.*



audience strolling around these, this performance was a pioneering merger of visual arts and dance in Turkey.

Along with all these attempts towards modern dance choreography and education, there had always been a struggle inside the state institutions related to the acceptance of modern approaches. McMillen, again left Istanbul State Ballet in 1980 and went back to the USA, only to return in 1986. During our conversation, she stated that the relation with state companies in Turkey had not been a smooth one for her. In order to improve in choreographing she believed that she had to have more opportunities to work with the company dancers but the state ballet companies focused more in classical ballet. Because the preference was always on the classical approach, the artistic directors did not present enough opportunities for more modern dance choreographies to be produced.<sup>370</sup> This artistic policy expresses itself in the words of long time director of Ankara State Ballet Company, Evinç Sunal:

It's like this, maybe they are going to be a bit annoyed with me but the stage of the State Opera and Ballet is much too big for modern dancers. Have you ever seen or heard anywhere in the world such a huge stage for modern dance? Certain companies may come and do a big production, something rare for the State Ballet then ok (...) but the turn out is much too low because the opera is much too big. In London there is the stage of the Contemporary Dance School, there they have plays. Everybody goes. There is nothing like that here. I am speaking about opera. It is not possible. They have to establish a place for themselves. In my opinion, their stage is wrong.<sup>371</sup>

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<sup>370</sup> Interview with Geyvan McMillen. 11/30/2006, İstanbul- *Klasik bale dansları yapan bir koreograf olsaydım daha fazla imkan vereceklerdi bana. Daha çok çalışma ortamım olacaktı...Bence birincisi doğru "anlamıyorlardı" ama ikincisi de orası bir klasik bale company'si, yani onlar klasik bale yapmak istiyorlardı modern dans yapmak istemiyorlardı. Ayriyeten bilgileri de olmadığı için, ben orada çıplak ayakla insanları dans ettirmek istediğim zaman buna bir şekilde karşı gelmeye çalışıyorlardı tabii... klasik bale kendi vizyonu içinde daha çağdaşlaşarak eserleri sergilemesi lazım ama modern eser oynayamazlar. Çünkü klasik bale gibi kalıyor...Mesela Duygu Aykal'ınki de öyle kalırdı o zaman bana göre: Fikirleri çok moderndi Duygu'nun, ama beden klasikti, çünkü eğitilmemişlerdi. Benim ilk başta 4-5 ay eğitmemdeki sebep de oydu. O bile yetersizdi ama yine de bu işin yolunun bu olduğunu anlatmak istedim o zaman dansçılara.*

<sup>371</sup> Interview with Evinç Sunal, 12/22/2006, Ankara - *Şimdi şöyle, yani bana kızacaklar belki ama şöyle diyeyim: Devlet Opera ve Balesi'nin sahnesi modern dansçılara çok büyük, yani dünyanın hiçbir yerinde, siz gördünüz mü? Duydunuz mu, yani Modern Dans, böyle büyük yerlerde olmaz, yani şöyle özel bir şey gelir de, bir büyük bir şey yapar Devlet Balesi'ne değişik bir şey, o zaman tamam ama böyle dolmuyor çünkü. Opera büyük, yani onların; Londra'da da öyle Contemporary Dans School'un sahnesi vardır, orada temsil yaparlar*

The frustrations resulting from the artistic direction of the companies, the outside interventions to arts by the political figures of the time, internal conflict among the associates have all played a part in the diminishing of creative energies inside the ballet companies in Turkey. For instance Sait Sökmen was an important choreographer, yet he left the state institutions at a very young age. One wonders how it would have been like if he might have continued his career inside the state ballet institutions. Duygu Aykal was a very strong figure in choreography as well. But her early death at a very important stage of her dance career was an unfortunate loss.<sup>372</sup> One can observe that even her early death could not stop her impact on younger generations of dance artists and she continued to inspire them until today. Her choreographies were among the first examples of Turkish modern dance. Unfortunately, the fact that state ballet institutions have a very weak archival material and the lack of publications on dance obstructs larger number of people to reach these choreographies.<sup>373</sup>

The choreographic works of Oytun Turfanda illustrated one of the most influential examples in the Turkish ballet. These choreographies, as discussed much in terms of creating ‘the national style’, and whether or not reaching an original expression, provided a solid ground for various interpretations of the Turkish ballet. He worked, for long time, as a dancer, teacher, choreographer, director of state ballet companies. Yet one always acquires a kind of impression that he was not totally exploited in terms of his talents and energies. His strong motivation towards creating choreographies was troubled by several administrations of his time. Turfanda was not supported as much as he believed in his choreographies.

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*biliyorsunuz, oraya gider herkes. Burada böyle bir şey yok. Opera’da diyorum, yani olmaz, yani kendilerine has bir şey kurmaları lazım. Bence sergiledikleri yer yanlış bana göre”*

<sup>372</sup> Duygu Aykal passed away in 1988. Her choreographies were: Çoğul (1973), Uzlaşma (1973), Oluşum (1974), Bulutlar Nereye Gider? (1977), İnsan İnsan (1978), Sanat Uzun Yaşam Kısa (1979), İnsankıran (1980), Biz, Siz, Onlar (1983) and İnsancık (1985)

<sup>373</sup> Muzaffer Evcı (a producer in Turkish Radio and Television-TRT) has started to collect all the materials on Duygu Aykal to publish a book, though it has not been realized yet.

Therefore one could detect a certain drawback in his attitude towards ballet institutions in Turkey after 1980. Even if he continued to stage choreographies, his early death caused by heavy drinking can be seen as an emotional response to Turkish ballet scene.

Tenasüp Onat thinks that she was never been used by the state institutions properly in terms of her teaching skills. She worked at the Ankara conservatory for a short time after coming back from Britain but the conditions for her were so unbearable that she left the state institutions to open her own private ballet school. In fact, *Kuğu Bale*, was a very important educational center for many years. Not everybody had the chance to attend the conservatory and *Kuğu Bale* provided a high quality ballet education for them. Also Sait Sökmen had made choreographies for *Kuğu Bale* studio and performing them in television had provided the opportunity for more people to get acquainted with classical and modern dance in Turkey.<sup>374</sup>

Suna Eden Şenel, besides doing choreology for ballet, had introduced choreology in folk dances of Turkey. Her extensive studies on folk dance notation was accepted and approved by the Benesh Institute of Choreology and this was the first time ever such a thing happened. There was no other folk or national dance notation approved by this institution until that day. Her memories provide us valuable information as they constitute a bridge between different cultures and generations. In our interview, she explained extensively how she had worked on Turkish folk dances in order to notate them in the Benesh style. Particularly, the movements of shaking and bouncing in the folk dances had strongly challenged her. Then the concept of ‘flawed rhythm’ (*aksak ritm*) which does not exist in Western music was hard for the British to understand. Yet, they brought a German expert in the field of musicology and Şenel worked with him. Finally she succeeded to make them understand and accept the new notation of Turkish folk dances. This encounter was

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<sup>374</sup> *Kuğu Bale* studio’s students performed regularly for TRT in the end of the 1970s, the producer was İzzet Öz. Choreographies and staging of classical ballets were realized by Sait Sökmen and Tenasüp Onat.

important for her to prove them that Turkish choreologists had also developed their own skills:

I worked extensively on the movements of shaking and bouncing in Turkish folk dances. Normally there's only one way of shaking the shoulders, you go up front and come back but it is not like that in Turkish folk dances. There are many variations. You have to deliver the feeling and it is also related to the interior muscles. There are thousands of ways for bouncing. In knees, feet, shoulders, stomach, practically everywhere. And there is the 'flawed rhythm'. Westerners didn't know anything about the flawed rhythm. In 1998-99, I brought two of my folk dance students with seventy-seven folk dances of seven different regions, recorded on tape. Dear British are quite conservative but my mind is actually very witty. A Turk can also have a wit. Besides I really worked very hard, experimented on the notation. I do not talk about things I am not sure of in any case (...) As I was the oldest choreologist alive at that time, they showed me a great respect. Yet, they have approached my proposals with doubt (...) Because my teachers, the Benesh taught me that every movement could be transferred to notation, I was very persistent (...) and they accepted in the end.<sup>375</sup>

She also worked for the opening of the Turkish folk dance departments in the context of universities and for the choreology departments to be established both in classical ballet conservatoires and as branches of folk dance departments in the universities. Her studies in this field proved the importance of dance notation. Many of the folk dances belonging to various regions of Turkey have been preserved until this time by her notations as they were performed during the 1960s and 1970s.

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<sup>375</sup> Interview with Suna Eden Şenel. 07/10/2007, Bodrum.- *Türk halk oyunlarındaki titremeler, yaylanmalar üzerine epey çalıştım. Normal dansda sadece bir tane titreme var, omuz titremesi, öne gidersiniz, arkaya gidersiniz, bitti ama Türk halk oyunlarında öyle değil, birçok varyasyonu var onun, hem duyguyu vermek lazım, hem de iç kaslarla ilgili bir şey. Sonra da binbir çeşit yaylanma, dizde, ayakta, omuzda, midede, her yerde var. Sonra da aksak ritim! Batının aksak ritimden haberi yokmuş. İngiltere'ye 1998-99'da gidip bunları götürdüm, anlattım. İki tane Ege Üniversitesi'nden halk oyunları öğrencimi de götürdüm. 17 yörenin 77 tane videoya çekilmiş oyununu, Kültür Bakanlığı'ndan alarak götürdüm. Onlara da hocalık yapıyordum, onun için ilişkilerimiz de iyiydi. Onlarla birçok yöreye gidip halk oyunlarını yazdım, onlara verdim...Sevgili İngilizler son derece tutucudur ama benim de aklım çalışıyor. Bir Türk'ün de aklı çalışır, bir de üzerinde çok çalıştım, denedim, bilmediğim şeyin üzerinde konuşmam zaten. Yalnız hoş tarafları şu, gittiğimde o gün için hayattaki eski koreolojist benmişim ve ona saygıda kusur etmiyorlar. Çok hoş bir duyguymuş tabii, fakat benim önerilerime şüpheyle yaklaşıyorlar. Aksak ritim büsbütün bir maceraydı. Aksak ritim için yeni bir sembol bulunması lazım...yazılması lazım, çünkü bana Benesh'lerim, hocalarım demişti ki 'yazılmayan hiçbir şey yoktur'. Bu da benim kanımda dolaşüyor, onun için yazılmalı. Bana Almanya'dan genç bir müzikolog getirttiler, olacak iş değil ama oldu. Almancam var ama müzik dilim yok. Fakat insan azmedince oluyor, ben Almancamın, İngilizcenin başını gözünü yara yara anlattım, o bey'e iki mi, üç gün mü, aksak ritim öğrettim, dolayısıyla o anladıktan sonra kabul ettiler tabii.*

Last but not least, one significant factor which affected all kinds of processes in Turkish ballet can be stated as the physical conditions of the institutions. Starting from the beginning of the foundation of Turkish ballet until this day, the material conditions were never raised to general expectations. Physical conditions constituted a major problem in the development of a “national ballet” which became more visible in the 1970s. One of the questions of Turkish ballet has always been this: ‘how would the dancers and choreographers experiment in the creative process if they would not have the necessary physical conditions for bodily practices?’ The original works of ballet could not be created while shivering or trying to find a rehearsing space. The economical condition of the state institutions was not perfect in the end but more importantly it was the mentality behind the failure of providing the basic training facilities. The mentality to suggest wearing ‘mes’ instead of pointe shoes was parallel to ‘*Üçüncü Tiyatro*’ being taken away from the ballet company and the dancers being forced to rehearse in barracks. During the political unrest of the 1970s, cultural domain was never given the priority.

In an article in *Ulus* newspaper, mentioned above sections, Metin And informed us about the problems of ballet dancers inside the Ankara State Theatre Company in 1958.<sup>376</sup> While designing the stage for a certain performance, there was no awareness of dance as an art form. Therefore, dancers never had enough space for their dance performances. According to And, it would have been impossible to create a unique artistic style belonging to the company in these circumstances. Many critics have pointed out the same issue. The unhealthy physical conditions of ballet spaces seemed to be a constant problem in Turkish ballet.<sup>377</sup> The dancers did not have a rehearsal space or a studio of their own. Years after, Oytun Turfanda as one of the people who had openly expressed his criticism on these issues,

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<sup>376</sup>And, Metin. *Ulus* newspaper, 04/08/1958

<sup>377</sup>Gülay, *Ses* journal, 02/15/1961

stressing that economic conditions and distorted visions of administrators had affected Turkish ballet right from the beginning:

When we were working at the ‘*Üçüncü Tiyatro*’, this space was taken away from the Ankara State Ballet in order to be made a gallery, and still hasn’t become one. The dancers in Ankara are continuing their training in the barracks. In Istanbul before the Atatürk Cultural center opened, forget about training, there wasn’t even a stage to have a performance on. Of course, the material problem hasn’t been solved due to currency reasons and the fact that we are dependent to foreign countries for these types of materials.<sup>378</sup>

In both ballet studios and stages, the basic physical necessities were not taking care of and this directly affected the health conditions of the artists. The article concluded with an open request from Cüneyt Gökçer, the director of State Opera and Ballet House in Ankara of the time, for the betterment of ballet spaces. Unfortunately this request is still a valid one.

#### International Exposures of Turkish Ballet

International displays had always presented important opportunities to prove that Turkish ballet had come of age and achieved a “national” style in that international platform. The ballet companies toured both inside and outside of the country. Yet, if one observes the quantity of the displays, it should be stated that these presentations were not high in numbers. The reason for this was mostly due to economic conditions. As one can predict, the financial budget for sending a company of at least sixty dancers abroad would be very high in the context of the Turkish case. However, if one explore deeply, it can also be added that this was related to the artistic policies and the visions of the directors of Turkish performing arts.

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<sup>378</sup> Emre, Hüseyin. “Türkiye’de Bale ve Oytun Turfanda” (Ballet in Turkey and Oytun Turfanda), *Dünya* newspaper, 02/16/1979- *Üçüncü Tiyatro’da çalışırken, bu salon resim galerisi yapılmak amacıyla Ankara Devlet Balesi’in elinden alındı ve hala bir galeri haline de getirilmedi. Şimdi Ankaralı balerinler barakalarda sürdürüyorlar çalışmalarını. İstanbul’da ise Atatürk Kültür Merkezi açılmadan önce, değil çalışacak temsil verecek sahne yoktu. Tabii malzeme sorunu da dışa bağımlı olduğumuzdan, döviz sorunu nedeniyle çözümlenebilmiş değil.*

Between *Çeşmebaşı* performed in 1965 and *Çark* in 1968, there was an important event in August, 1966. Four of our dancers were invited to the International Music and Dance Festival in Pakistan (fig.26). This was the first international festival participation for Turkish dancers. In media, we observe that the Turkish dancers' views were presented. They had been touched by the Pakistani dances to such an extent that the Pakistani dancers had to repeat their performances at a reception on their request. As for their own performances, we learn that they were not quite happy because the stage was very small and it was very hard to dance with taped music. Also they thought that it would have been better if the whole troupe of sixty dancers had performed.<sup>379</sup> Most probably the financial budget of sending sixty dancers abroad was not affordable at the time but one can observe the intention and will of Turkish dancers to present their art and their country in the most effective way.

Only two months later, Turkish ballet, as a full company of sixty dancers, toured in Bulgaria. The tour went very well and on their return to Ankara, everybody was quite happy. Dame Ninete mentioned that the Bulgarian audience who was familiar with the Russian school, was surprised to see such a highly qualified company and that the Turkish ballet proved itself in the international world of art. The general director of State Opera and Ballet, Aydın Gün, stated in one of the newspapers that there will be other tours to different countries: "The time has come to present our ballet and opera in foreign lands."<sup>380</sup> The Ankara State Opera and Ballet traveled to Cyprus in 1967, where they have presented several performances.

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<sup>379</sup> Meriç Sümen, Binay Okurer (Berkan), Jale Akyüz and Engin Akaoğlu participated the festival in Karşı. Both the international and national press had a good coverage for the event. (*Evening Star*, 08/17/1966; *Morning News*, 08/18/1966; *Daily News*, 08/15-16/1966; *Cumhuriyet*, 08/14/1966)

<sup>380</sup> "Bulgaristanda Herkes Türk balerinlere hayran kaldı" (Everybody in Bulgaria Filled with Admiration for the Turkish Ballerinas), *Yeni Gazete*, 10/17/1966 – *Bundan sonra daha başka ülkelere de turneler yapılacak, dış temas arttırılacaktır. Balemizi ve operamızı dış memleketlere tanıtmanın zamanı gelmiştir.*

The press reviews in Cyprus indicated that the first encounter of the Turkish ballet with the islanders was quite successful.<sup>381</sup>

Then, they conducted 45 days of tour in North Africa: Algeria, Morocco, Egypt and Tunisia staging *Çeşmebaşı*, *Swan Lake* and some folk dances of Turkey in 1971.<sup>382</sup> It is interesting to see that the military intervention of the same year did not affect the political authorities to cancel the tour. From the reviews, one can conclude that everything had gone well and the company received good feedbacks. The program included the first Turkish ballet in terms of musical score and themes, *Fountainhead / Çeşmebaşı*, an international ballet, *Swan Lake*, and two of our folk dances from Kars and South Anatolian region. An article appeared in *Dünya* newspaper stated that:

Well known dancers of the state ballet are joining this new tour. The State Ballet which will be participating in an international folklore festival with the piece *Çeşmebaşı* is quite assertive. For a long time, the dancers of the State Ballet have been preparing with great detail and fastidiousness for this tour, and are continuously working. In this tour which was organized jointly by Foreign Affairs and The general administration of the State Ballet, a Turkish group will for the first time visit African countries and introduces Turkish art. As for the news coming from the countries to be visited, they are eagerly and curiously awaiting the Turkish ballet.<sup>383</sup>

The information that the State Ballet Company had participated in a folk dance competition with the ballet piece *Çeşmebaşı* was an interesting event. However, during our interviews with Binay Okurer and Güneş Berk, they indicated that they have never

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<sup>381</sup> “Türkiye’nin Güçlü Sanatçıları dün akşam Neptün’de konser verdi” (Turkey’s Powerful Artists Made a Concert at Neptün Last Night), *Halkın Sesi*, 06/10/1967

<sup>382</sup> *Akşam*, 04/26/1971 and *Dünya*, 06/23/1971

<sup>383</sup> *Dünya*, 06/23/1971 - *Bu yeni turneye Devlet Balesinin ünlü solistleri katılmaktadır. Tunus’da uluslar arası bir folklor festivaline Çeşmebaşı ile katılacak olan Devlet Balesi bu yarışmada bir hayli iddialıdır. Uzun bir süredir büyük bir titizlikle bu turneye hazırlanan Devlet Balesi dansçıları çalışmalarını aralıksız olarak sürdürmektedirler. Hariciye Vekaleti ile Devlet Opera ve Balesi Genel Müdürlüğü’nün müşterek hazırladıkları bu turneyle ilk defa bir Türk sanat topluluğu Afrika ülkelerini ziyaret edecek ve Türk sanatını tanıtacaktır. Öte yandan gelen haberlere göre ziyaret edilecek ülkelerin sanat çevreleri Türk Devlet Balesini merak ve sabırsızlıkla beklemektedir.* Another review appeared in *Akşam* newspaper, 04/26/1971



participated in a folk dance festival with the ballet piece *Çeşmebaşı*. Yet, there were folk dances which were practiced by ballet dancers on this tour and they had a great success.<sup>384</sup>

After the middle of the 1970s, new cultural exchange agreements with the communist countries opened doors to many Turkish opera and ballet artists to travel abroad, mainly to Russia, Romania, Bulgaria, Poland or Czechoslovakia to perform. Some critics stated that the socialist countries would in fact prefer to send their own artists to Turkey instead of welcoming them.<sup>385</sup> Meriç Sümen was one of the dancers who danced as a visiting artist in Russia along with Germany, America and Denmark. She recalled her first visit to Russia and her great excitement to be able to dance in one of the greatest ballet companies in the world, the *Bolshoi*. At first she mentioned that she didn't have such an ambition to go and dance in the Bolshoi Company. It was such a great company in the history of ballet, that all foreign dancer dreamed about it. She first went there to participate the workshops. Then they invited her to dance with the company. Sümen recalled her great excitement at the night of the performance. Over three thousand critics were there, judging every single movement of the dancers. It was a thrilling experience for her to dance in front of such an audience, particularly representing Turkey:

They had a very famous ballerina. She was interested in me. They were such excellent dancers. I didn't think that they would have interested in me. Our styles were very different. Their technique was so strong, they work like men. Then, they liked me and I was invited to work with them. After one month, I was exhausted. I was literally going out of the studio by crawling. Then they invited me to dance. During the time, cultural exchange programs were on. Semih Günver who was the head of Cultural Department in Foreign Affairs supported me. I worked hard with their teachers and went on stage. I was so excited on the way, I thought of pulling one of the ropes and making the decors fall on top of my head. There was a great audience, three thousand critics. So how could you make a mistake? But then again, the dancers were so good that it affected me as well. I am sure that I had danced much better there. Of course, because of representing Turkey as such, I was too proud. Because nobody expected

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<sup>384</sup> Interview with Binay Okurer and Güneş Berk. 07/10/2007, Bodrum

<sup>385</sup> Tarkan, Nilgün. Unknown newspaper from the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus, 10/28/1975

from Turkey to present such an example. In their eyes, Turkey was not even existent in those times.<sup>386</sup>

She also remembered vividly a racist attitude to which she was subjected in Germany once. Invited as a guest artist to Dusseldorf Ballet Company, she was having a cup of coffee before the rehearsal. The other German principal ballerina welcomed Sümen expressing that she was surprised to see a prima ballerina from Turkey. Her choice of words were very annoying for Sümen since she expressed her surprise as follows: “Generally, Turks here are cleaning toilets”.<sup>387</sup>

In our interview, Meriç Sümen expressed that then often they were subjected to such degrading behavior, but that nowadays the situation has completely changed. Therefore for Turkish dancers dancing in the 1960s and 1970s, to present Turkey in international stages meant much greater than their heirs today.

Oytun Turfanda and Meriç Sümen participated in Tokyo Ballet Competition as honorary guests in January 1976. In one article, it was mentioned that the quality of their dances caused much bewilderment since the foreign audience were not aware of Turkish ballet. A Japanese art critic named Haguchi stated on Japanese television that they were not aware of Turkish ballet scene and felt ashamed when they had the chance to see two principal

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<sup>386</sup> Interview with Meriç Sümen Kanan. 07/11/2007, Datça- *Benim öyle bir idealim, isteğim yoktu, gideyim Bolshoi’da oynayayım gibi. O dönemde gidip izlediğim için, ve oranın meşhur balerinası vardı, o çok ilgilenmişti. Onlar çok iyi dansçılar. Benimle o kadar ilgileceklerini tahmin etmemiştim. Benim stilim başka, onlarınki başka. Daha erkek gibi çalışıyorlar, daha teknik. Sonra çok beğenmişler onlar beni, gelsin bizle çalıştıralım demişler. Bir gittik oraya bir aylığına, mahvettiler beni, emekleyerek çıkıyordum salondan. Sonra gelsin dans etsin dediler. O zaman kültür değişimi programları imzalanmıştı. Burada çalışan Semih Günver çok destekledi. Dış İlişkiler Kültür Dairesi Başkanlığıydı. Hocalarla çalıştım ve sahneye çıktım. Orada, sahneye çıkarken dekorların ipleri var, içimden şunu çekiyim kafama düşün diye geçirdim. Şimdi bile düşünüyorum, nasıl yaptım diye, çok heyecanlandım...Sahne kocaman, seyirciler içinde üç bin kişi kritikçi, yani öyle bir yerlerde alkışlıyorlar ki sıkarsa hadi bakiim gelde yanlış yap. Onlar o kadar iyilerdi ki, o iyilik sana da geliyor. Mesela ben olduğumdan daha iyi dans ettiğime eminim orada. Tabii Türkiye’yi böyle temsil etmek çok gurur vericiydi benim için çünkü Türkiye’den asla böyle bir şey beklenmiyor. Türkiye yoktu o zamanlar onların gözünde.*

<sup>387</sup> Interview with Meriç Sümen Kanan. 07/11/2007, Datça- *Provada kahve içtik, oturuyoruz. Bana dedi ki, ‘çok memnun oldum hoş geldiniz. Türkiyeden geliyorsunuz, öyle mi..Çünkü burada Türkler tuvalet temizlerler de’. Anlamadım, ne dedi bu şimdi dedim. Sonra provaya girdim, beynim bir döndü, bir dans ettim. Halbuki prova’da öyle dans etmenin gereği yok. Çıktık. Kız geldi yanıma, işte ne kadar güzel oynadın diyor. ‘Boşver boşver dedim. Türkler hem tuvalet temizlerler hem de iyi dans ederler’.*

dancers like Oytun Turfanda and Meriç Sümen.<sup>388</sup> Other recent foreign invitations from Warsaw and Moscow found more space in Turkish media.<sup>389</sup> On the 10th of March 1977, *Hürrem Sultan* was performed at the Bessmertnova Festival during “Les Saisons de la Danse” event.<sup>390</sup>

Towards the end of the 1970s, individual success stories in ballet could not find deserved recognition in Turkish media. One example was Mehmet Balkan who had won a third prize nomination in an important ballet competition in Varna in 1979. Yet, no government officials were present in the ceremony. Oytun Turfanda also complained about the absence of touring, both inside the country and outside:

In June of 1978, our young friend Mehmet (Balkan), has won the third price in the international dance competition in Varna. This third price is in ‘world league’. Unfortunately, there wasn’t any news about this subject in our media, nor was there any response to a telegraph, informing the Turkish Embassy in Bulgaria. Consequently there was no Turkish official present at the award ceremony. Our ballet is capable and powerful enough to represent Turkey. The well known ‘Dance and Dancers’ magazine has reviews on ballet performances from Cairo to South Africa. There isn’t ever anything about Turkey. The only reason for this is that we don’t send anything. Actually, forget about expanding abroad, we can’t even manage to have a tour inside the country.<sup>391</sup>

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<sup>388</sup> “Tokyo’da İki Müthiş Türk” (Two Extraordinary Turks in Tokyo), 03/01/1976, unknown newspaper from the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus. Appendix no: 16

<sup>389</sup> “Devlet Balesi’nden Meriç Sümen ve Oytun Varşova’daki Yıldızlar Geçidine Katılıyor” (Meriç Sümen and Oytun Turfanda from State Ballet are Participating the Stars Parade in Warsaw), *Hürriyet* newspaper, 05/13/1976; “Devlet Opera ve Balesi Sanatçıları yurtdışında gösterilere Katılacak” (State Opera and Ballet Artists will Participate Performances Abroad), *Hürriyet* newspaper, 05/19/1976; “Meriç Sümen ve oytun Turfanda Varşova’ya, Hüsnü Sunal Moskova’ya gittiler” (Meriç Sümen and Oytun Turfanda Went to Warsaw, Hüsnü Sunal Went to Moscow), *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, 05/26/1976; “Balerin Meriç ve Oytun Turfanda Varşova’da” (Ballerina Meriç and Oytun Turfanda in Warsaw) , *Milliyet* newspaper, 05/21/1976

<sup>390</sup> From Oytun Turfanda’s personal archive presented in the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus.

<sup>391</sup> Emre, Hüseyin. “Türkiye’de Bale ve Oytun Turfanda” (Ballet in Turkey and Oytun Turfanda), *Dünya* newspaper, 02/16/1979- 1978 senesinin temmuz ayında genç dansçı arkadaşımız Mehmet, Varna’da yapılan uluslararası dans yarışmasında, gençlerde üçüncü oldu. Bu üçüncülük dünya çapındadır. Ne yazık ki ne basında bu konuyla ilgili bir haber çıktı, ne de telgrafla haber verilmesine karşın Bulgaristan eşçiliğimizden biri, bir yetkili ödül töreninde bulundu...Balemiz Türkiye’yi başarıyla temsil edebilecek güçtedir...Ünlü ‘Dance and Dancers’ adlı bale dergisi Kahire’den tutunda Güney Afrika’daki bir bale gösterisinin izlencesini verirken Türkiye ile ilgili hiçbirşey çıkmıyor. Bunun tek nedeni de bizim birşeyler yollamayaşımızdır. Aslında bırakın yurt dışına açılmayı, yurt içinde bile turne yapmıyoruz.

In fact, the debate on forming a national ballet and its international stagings are strongly connected to each other, yet one can observe the emphasis was not given to international exposure. Turfanda's rightful complaints about not being able to organize national tours as well as international ones could not change the scene. Actually, the period when the Turkish ballet had proved itself in its maturity coincided with the middle of 1970s. The Turkish ballet has already started to present works in Pakistan, North Africa or Bulgaria. It was the time to open up to "more Western" countries in Europe. Unfortunately, the political fluctuations and the constant changes in the artistic administrative positions were high. There was not a consistent artistic direction in most of the institutions due to the changes of artistic policies. One can state that the incapability of organizing national and international tours emerged directly from the weakness of constructing strong artistic policies in the context of state institutions. The political censorship and the response to this censorship from the artistic circles did not help the situation.

During the middle of 1970s, Ankara State Ballet Company had reached to a certain level of artistic quality. Turkish choreographers and dancers were eager to present their work both inside and outside the country, yet the artistic policies were not supporting the actual conditions. The political infrastructure of State Ballet and Opera institutions in Turkey faced the inadequate management. This can also be related to the discussions on the exchange of foreign expertise, particularly the British. As many of the artists indicated in their interviews that the separation of Dame Ninette de Valois from the active direction of the Ankara Company was early. The Turkish administrators were inexperienced and there were certain tensions among them. They were strongly attached to their artistic discipline but their expertise was not adequate enough to organize the company in defining long term artistic visions. All contributed negatively to the actual situation. It was the perfect time for Turkish

ballet to define and open up its own path of journey through distinct artistic styles, yet it seems like the opportunity was lost.

While one surveys the debates on constructing “the national” ballet in Turkey, there are basically three main issues surfacing the ground. The first and the most significant one is the relation of folk dances to ballet. 1965 onwards, starting from the *Fountainhead/Çeşmebaşı* ballet piece, for a long period, several Turkish choreographers’ main aim was to find a balance and to arrive into a synthesis between the folk dance and ballet. In this endeavor, Oytun Turfanda’s works represent a major contribution to Turkish ballet. Eventhough some of his choreographies were found ineffective by the critics of the time, he was able to construct a rich and complex ground for further experiments. His works have never been analyzed through contemporary dance critics of our time. In order to comprehend his artistic strenghts and weaknesses, besides the fertile context which he intended to built as the national ballet in Turkey, his works urgently wait for further study. The second main issue in constructing the national ballet, has been the relation to modern approaches in dance. Choreographers like sait Sökmen, Duygu Aykal, Geyvan McMillen and others in time were interested to experiment in the field of modern dance. Though there were never enough space, dancers or artistic support for modern choreographies in the state ballet institutions. Therefore, one of the most likely channels of artistic expression in dance leading to originality was cut off from the beginning. Sait Sökmen separated himself from the ballet company, Geyvan McMillen was not given the chance to make more choreographies and Duygu Aykal who was the most accepted of all, unfortunately, died at a very early age. The national ballet had the chance to be nourished by modern approaches but the reality of ballet institutions did not permit it. The last issue can be defined as the poor physical conditions of state ballet institutions. The desired material conditions could never be established in the institutions. This has accompanied to the mentality of dancers being

state-employees. The dancers experienced financial difficulties, their dance studios were not sufficiently built, sometimes there were not even enough spaces to rehearse. In short, creative energy was not fed by material conditions. While looking at it in a retrospective dimension, one can add that the coming years of 1980s did not provide the conditions for the Turkish ballet institutions to grow in the same speed of the 1970s.

## CHAPTER VI

### REFLECTIONS ON GENDER, MEMORY AND IDENTITY: VOICES FROM TURKISH DANCERS

In this thesis, one of the main sources fostering to grasp the first thirty years of Turkish ballet has been the voices of its genuine subjects. The dancers, teachers, choreographers, choreologists and administrators of Turkish ballet, have all shared the same cultural and social context of the Ankara State Conservatory's ballet studios, dormitories, cafeterias. They were separated from their actual families and formed life long bonds with their classmates. Perhaps as Binay Okurer asserted, many of them were mostly the children of disintegrated families, unconsciously looking for a new home.<sup>392</sup> Whatever the reasons were, they constituted the most dedicated generations to the art of ballet in Turkey. In their dedication, the feeling of belonging to a pioneering community played a significant role as many of them indicated.

We heard their voices through these chapters, yet at this point we will devote the space only to them in order to deepen our understanding in relation to their memories. Their memories are unavoidably connected with the identities they have formed during the process. Their gender, family backgrounds, personal characteristics, and their passionate involvement with dance all attributed to shape these memories. Therefore, it is appropriate to begin with the gender issue in the context of Turkish society with respect to ballet.

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<sup>392</sup> Interview with Binay Okurer. 07/10/2007, Bodrum- *Aileler genelde dağınmıktı bizim dönemde. Anne babalar ayrı ya da farklı aileler. Yatılı okulda bir düzene ait olsun çocuklar fikri var.*

As it was stressed before, for the new Republican society, the art of ballet had not yet a well known reputation and the general society had no knowledge about it. The entrance to the school generally was supported by the teachers' visiting other schools and literally collecting students. At first, one's own prejudices would expect that the numbers of male students would be less in comparison to the female ones. During the research we understood that there had not been a rejection among the boys' families as far as the subjects of this thesis were considered. Surely it is impossible to know if there had been rejections among the chosen boys before entering the school, but one gathers from Dame Ninette's own words that actually it was the other way around. Families who had daughters were more difficult to convince to send their children to ballet education. Dame Ninette de Valois had stated that: "It was difficult to convince the average family, during the first eight years that the career of a dancer was possible to consider for women."<sup>393</sup>

Suna Uğur's story was somehow different. His father was adopted by Naime Sultan, the daughter of Ottoman Sultan, Abdülhamit, and he escaped to France with her after the declaration of Republic in Turkey. During their stay, he met a Swiss nurse, the mother of Suna Uğur. Upon their return to Turkey, they were settled down in *Bozhöyük*, one of the largest regions resided with the Circassian population. When Suna Uğur's father wanted his daughter to enter the conservatory of ballet, one of the Circassian relatives stated that: "I would have rather preferred she had died instead of seeing her dance in the ballet."<sup>394</sup>

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<sup>393</sup> De Valois, Ninette. 1977, p.167

<sup>394</sup> Interview with Suna Uğur. 01/11/2007, İstanbul – *Şimdi benim annem İsviçreli dediğim gibi, babam da Çerkez, Kafkasya'dan gelmiş büyükbabam falan. Babam, fevkalade yetişmiş, çünkü halalarım çok güzelmiş, saraya gitmişler, işte kimisi mandolin çalarmış, kimisinin sesi güzelmiş. Babam da çok küçükmüş, üç yaşında mı, üç buçuk yaşında mı ne. Naime Sultan, Abdülhamit'in kızı babamı çok sevmiş,... Naime Sultan, oğlu gibi büyütmüş ve koynunda uyuturmuş...ondan sonra Cumhuriyet kurulduğu zaman dışarıya kaçmış Naime Sultan, malum gitmiş Fransa'ya yerleşmiş ve orada okutmuş babamı... Annem de İsviçre'de hemşirelik okulunu bitirmiş, bir hastanede hemşirelik yapıyormuş. Naime Sultan'ın torunu bir hastalık geçiriyor, kemik hastalığı ve en iyi hastaneye götürecekler. Babam da onlara eşlik ediyor. İşte gidiyorlar hastaneye, hastane önceden haber alıyor, işte "sultan geliyor, sultan geliyor. Kimi koyalım sultanın odasına? İşte en güzel hemşire Abrige hemşire. Onu koyalım." Onu koyuyorlar. Babam da geliyor, işte Naime Sultan'la beraber. Annemi görünce, çok hoşuna gidiyor, aşık oluyor... Evleniyorlar ve Türkiye'ye geliyorlar, baba tarafım Çerkez dedim ya, geldikleri zaman Türkiye'ye Bozhöyük tarafına yerleşmişler. Düz Dağ diye bir yer var, oraya. İşte Gündüzbey diye bir yer*



The prejudices towards girls becoming dancers, as many confronted with the accusation of becoming a 'köçek', had its roots in the society. Apart from that, girls also faced with the belief that ballet, as a professional career was too tiring. Efza Kıpçak Topçu's father, a doctor, never approved of her becoming a dancer. For this reason she did not enter conservatory, but instead followed private ballet courses in Ankara. Later on, when she was accepted to the Ankara State Ballet Company as a professional dancer, she kept this information to herself until the very last minute. She still had reservations that her father's reaction would be negative.<sup>395</sup>

The problems related to the male gender came into the picture later on, after graduation. Men were sent to military service after graduation and they had many disadvantages in comparison to women dancers. Since the training of the body required many years of continuous effort, the two years military service was a very sharp break where the trained body lost the technical skills as well as anatomical fitness. Feridun Ulusoy, one of the dancers of the Ankara State Ballet Company mentioned that he actually never recovered from the negative effects of his military service, and could no longer continue as a dancer in the company after his return:

We began with Coppelia right after my graduation from the conservatory. Shortly afterwards I went to do my military service. Two years of military service ruined me, all expectations and hopes vanished. Think about a football player who does not play football for two years and suddenly they tell him to play. All the physical ability was lost in those two years. Most important of all I lost my enthusiasm. Then I struggled a lot to pull myself

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*var. Şimdi ağabeyim de oraya gitti, Çerkez olayım diyerekten! Orada oturuyorlar hepsi ve inanır mısın, mesela amcalarımın dışında çocukları falan hiçbir yere çıkmamışlar. Bir tane değirmen sahibi vardır, Necdet abi, böyle bakıyor dünyaya. Yani bütün hayatı orada. Gündüzbey'de geçmiş zaman ve diyorlar ki işte "Suna biliyor musun, baleye gidiyor, baleye!" "Eyvah" demiş, "bunu duyacağıma Suna'nın öldüğünü duysaydım daha iyiydi." Düşünebiliyor musun?*

<sup>395</sup> Interview with Efza Kıpçak Topçu. 02/11/2007, Ankara- 1969'un Aralık ayıydı. Ben o sene başladım. Neden sonra da babama söyledim, 'beni operaya aldılar diye' çünkü babam hep karşıydı. Çok kısa ömürlü, çok yorucu bir meslek diye.

together. I started to dance in small solos, and in 1968, I went to Germany.<sup>396</sup>

The same problem was voiced by several writers. One of them is Alevcan Öncel, who in one of his articles, stated that military service for the male company dancers should have changed. According to him, it was necessary to adjust the personal ballet training in the context of the required military service, or else soon the state ballet company would not have any male dancers left.<sup>397</sup>

Selçuk Borak while asked if he had any unpleasant experiences due to his occupation as a dancer, responded that he did not feel any discomfort of being a dancer in the Turkish society. Yet, he remembered the incident that he had concealed his occupation as a dancer while doing the military service.<sup>398</sup> This indicates that the gender issue was not really resolved in the eyes of the society with respect to ballet until the 1970s. Nevertheless, some of the Turkish dancers were luckier than others. Ceyhun Özsoy recalled his military experience in a more humorous manner since he was placed in Ankara after his three months service in Aydın:

I did my military service as a private in Aydın. I made other soldiers play waltz with ‘davul’ and ‘zurna’, they did not have any idea about what ballet was. I did ‘coupé-jeté maneges’ (bouncing by turning in the air), came in the middle and turned four ‘pruvets’ and made a double tour. Everybody liked me very much then. The frequently asked question was: ‘How could I turn that fast and did not get a spinning head?’ They wanted me to teach them the same because some of them were going to be ‘commando’. After three months I was back in Ankara, playing half hour dinner music every day at the military officer’s club.<sup>399</sup>

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<sup>396</sup> Interview with Feridun Ulusoy. 02/10/2007, Ankara - *Copelia’yla başladık ama ben bir süre sonra askere gittim hemen, yani işte Haziran’da mezun oldum, Kasım’da askere gittim. 2 sene askerlik beni mahvetti, yani bütün ümitler, bütün beklentiler yok oldu. Çünkü bir futbolcu düşünün 2 sene futbol oynamıyor ve sonra “hadi çık oyna” diyorlar, yani kondisyon tamamen gidiyor ve o 2 senede çok şey kaybettim. Çok şey; bir defa şevkimi kaybettim en önemlisi. Ondan sonra toparlanmak için çok uğraştım, didindim. İşte yavaş yavaş küçük başroller oynadım filan böyle. 1968’de şeye gittim, Almanya’ya gittim.*

<sup>397</sup> Öncel, Alevcan “Bahçesaray Çeşmesi Balesi ve İki Büyük Sorun” (The Ballet Piece Bahçesaray Çeşmesi and Two Great Problems) *Dünya* newspaper, 12/03/1980

<sup>398</sup> Interview with Selçuk Borak. 12/18/2006, İstanbul

<sup>399</sup> Mailing with Ceyhun Özsoy. 05/15/2007, Dallas - *Askerlik hizmetini er olarak Aydın Jandarma taburunda yaptım. Balenin ne olduğunu bilmeyen askerlere, moral günümde, eğitim alanında davul zurna ile vals*

Another major problem regarding the male gender was the economic status of the company dancers. The payment was quite low according to the standards of living in a city. Women dancers were somehow a little more advantaged, if not much, because they had the chance of spouse's or families' financial support. But for a bachelor male dancer the financial life was very difficult. Many male dancers from the first and second generations of the company left Turkey and established their dancing career abroad. Amongst them were Tanju Tüzel, Cantürk Sakarya and Ceyhun Özsoy. Jale Kazbek had a very vivid memory related to poor economic conditions of those days:

Our windows were face to face with Tanju Tüzel. One day, I noticed that he was out in the garden, bended down doing something. I said 'what are you doing?' he responded by telling me to keep quiet, apparently he had set a trap for starlings. In fact, he caught one right after. I never forgot, he said 'Jale, look at us, we have to go hunting for our food', we had such economic problems. Then of course he left for America.<sup>400</sup>

So, this incident presents an absurd state that a principal dancer of a state ballet company was in such a state that, at certain times, he went hunting for his food. Female dancers also had financial problems due to their family situation. For example Jale Kazbek, following her divorce, had experienced financial difficulties, particularly because she had a child: "We were literally hungry during that time. I was so broke that my child had no shoes. There were such days."<sup>401</sup>

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*çaldırdım. Postalları çıkardım, kesleri giydim, meydanda 'krepe-jete manéz' (havada dönerek zıplama) yaptım; ortaya geldim, dört prüvet dönüp bir de double tour atınca herkez beni çok sevdi. Bana en çok sordukları spru şu oldu: 'Yahu kardeşim, sen nasıl oluyor da o kadar hızlı dönüyorsun ve başın dönüyor? Bize de öğretirmisin, çünkü komando olacağım.' 3 ay eğitimden sonra Ankara'ya getirildim ve ordu evinde günde yarım saat yemek müziği yaptım (piyano ile).*

<sup>400</sup> Interview with Jale Kazbek. 02/09/2007, İstanbul - *Tanju Tüzel ile pencerelerimiz birbirine bakardı; bir gün baktım, bahçeye çıkmış eğilmiş böyle birşeylerle uğraşiyor. Ne yapıyorsun dedim, bana sessiz olmamı söyledi, meğerse bir tuzak kurmuş, sığırcık yakalamak için, hakikaten bir müddet sonra sığırcıklardan biri yakalandı. Hiç unutmuyorum; Jale demişti, şu halimize bak, yemeğimizi bile avlamak zorunda kalıyoruz, böyle maddi sıkıntılar yaşadık. Sonra tabii o da Amerika'ya gitti.*

<sup>401</sup> Interview with Jale Kazbek. 02/09/2007, İstanbul – *Biz çok aç kaldık, çok... Yani yok para! Nerden olacak, çocuğumun ayakkabısı bile yoktu. Öyle günler yaşıyorduk.*

Ceyhun Özsoy also remembered that the salaries were quite low, but according to him it was something they accepted without questioning. He loved dancing and usually in the middle of the month, he used to borrow money from his friends.<sup>402</sup> Dame Ninette de Valois mentioned the economical issue in her book, *Step by Step*, but with a certain drawback. She had written:

In spite of the fact that their salaries are certainly low in comparison with other countries, they have a security offered to them that is unknown as yet to their English and American contemporaries. Everything is found for them during their nine years at the conservatory, and on graduation any dancer, singer, or actor of an average talent, can look forward with some security to a permanent job for life and a pension on retirement.<sup>403</sup>

In fact, this kind of security was a unique benefit that the other dancers abroad lacked. Yet, the general thought in Turkey is that this policy had and still has some disadvantages related to the artistic side. Meriç Sümen Kanan expressed her thoughts on this subject and stressed the fact that dancers abroad are evaluated by their artistic activity every year and if they are not found successful, then their contracts are terminated. Also they are not paid during summer time when they do not work. In Sümen's analysis, the dancers should retire when they reach the age of forty with a reasonable amount of retirement payment. If the administrative commission wants to work with a specific dancer after the retirement then the dancer can be paid by a contract for that specific period and work for the company. It is not acceptable for Sümen that a ballet dancer stays in the company until the age of sixty-five not participating in the creative process:

The artistic activity is dead in that sense. Then they just sit back and talk (...) If the dancers can retire at the age of forty then also we will not have any problems with the permanent positions (cadre) in the company. The younger generations would have their jobs ready.<sup>404</sup>

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<sup>402</sup> Mailing with Ceyhun Özsoy. 05/15/2007, Dallas

<sup>403</sup> De Valois, 1977. pp.167-168

<sup>404</sup> Interview with Meriç Sümen Kanan. 07/11/2007, Dağca- *Sanat öldü. Sonra sadece oturup, laf üretmeye başlıyorlar... Eğer 40 yaşında emekli olursa sanatçı, kadro problemi de yaşamayacağız. Arkadan gelen gençlere yer açılmış olacak.*

It is also true that many of the second generation male dancers migrated to Europe and USA, mostly due to the financial difficulties. Furthermore, women dancers from the first and second generations who retired and lived alone without any partner or family support today, have little retirement salaries, too low to survive alone. One of the principal dancers of the first ten years stated that she has to work as a real estate agent in order to earn the necessary financial budget for her survival. The only support comes from the dancer friends of the same period. That brings us again to a concept of “building an alternative family” during the educational years of the conservatory. (fig.27)

Although, we can not deny that very warm relations were established amongst the first generations of ballet artists, we should also add that there were certain intricacies for some others. For those the feeling of belonging to a privileged family was also followed by a certain drawback with respect to the psychological atmosphere of the boarding school. In fact, not all the students remembered these first years at the conservatory with gratitude. Aydın Teker’s memories for the 1960s are quite disturbing:

They made young children to do things at school, and I was really disturbed by that. I was not used to such treatment and I wanted to create ‘I am special, you can not touch me’ kind of feeling. I started to read Shakespeare at 11 years old, sitting in front of the window. Not that I understood it but in order to create the image that they could not disturb me. Because I had a critical eye and could observe my environment with a critical look. I suppose I was raised in such a family, nobody was oppressed; everybody was an individual at our home. So I decided to protect myself in that environment (...) It was difficult. Maybe this should never be said but I remember once a girl was beaten with a belt by an older sister. There was an enormous hierarchy (...) older sisters made younger ones wash their socks, made them do small things but on the other hand they were also guarding the youngsters. I hated that children were being used in that way (...) at first, I remember protecting myself and then I tried to gather younger children under my protection. I remember such pictures in the dormitory as me reading, I read a lot by the way, to these children, something related to the evolution of humankind, and then I used to explain to them. After a while they were under my protection, and when my time

came to be the older sister, things changed, the environment was different.<sup>405</sup>

It seems that the hierarchical structure of classical ballet education, at some level, had shown its effect on personal relations. Surely, we can not generalize one person's experience for the whole community, yet even the fact that one experience happened would prove that certain possibilities were present. Perhaps this incident was also connected to the complexities of one to one relationships, particularly between women.

The ballet world was a highly competitive field as many other fields in the context of performing arts. In addition to that, women dancers had to compete with their own biological development as well. The physical effects of pregnancy and giving birth were challenging experiences. The continuation of the dancing career following the birth always presented many challenges for the women dancers of the Turkish State Ballet Companies. Evinç Sunal expressed her decision to finish her active dance career related to her daughter's birth. Even though she had experienced a bad injury at the same period, her body's response to the treatment was very good. Perhaps she would have continued dancing for some more years but the injury coinciding with her pregnancy convinced her to stop dancing at an earlier age. Instead she directed her energy into administration and teaching. (fig.28)

Jale Kazbek remembered the artistic period right after giving birth and the struggle for getting into shape in order to continue dancing in her usual roles. It was the period of

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<sup>405</sup> Interview with Aydın Teker. 03/09/2007, İstanbul - Okulda küçük çocuklara bir takım işler yaptırılırdı, böyle ayak işleri filan ve bundan çok rahatsız oluyordum ben, böyle bir şeye alışkın değildim ve "ben özelim, bana dokunamazsınız"ı yaratmak zorunda hissetmişim kendimi. 11yaşında pencerenin içine oturup Shakespeare okumaya başladım. Anladığımdam değil ama, bana dokunamazsınız, öyle bir imaj yaratmak için. Çünkü eleştirel bir gözle çevreme bakabiliyordum, öyle bir aileden gelmişim demek ki, kimse ezilmezdi evin içinde, bireyler önemliydi ve o ortamda da kendi varlığını korumam gerektiğine karar verdim bir şekilde...Zordu, aslında bunu hiç söylememek lazım belki de ama hatırlıyorum bir kız, bir abla tarafından kayışla dövülmüştü, inanılmaz bir hiyerarşi vardı... O çocuklara çoraplar yıkatılır işte ayak işleri hep onlara yaptırılır ama bunun yanında ne kadar da abla, sahip de çıkılır, öyle şeyler de yapılırdı, ikiside vardı. Ben ikisini de seyredip...o öbür tarafından nefret ettim, çocukların öyle kullanılmasından...önce birinci etapta kendimi koruduğumu hatırlıyorum, ikinci etapta küçük çocukları himayeme almak gibi ama o da çok acayip bir şey, çok okuyorum ben sonra yatakhane de tablolar hatırlıyorum, dört tane küçük çocuk, mesela bir şeyler okuyorum evrimle ilgili filan ve onlara anlatıyorum okuduklarımı, sonra onlar bir şekilde benim korumamda olmaya başladılar sonra benim dönemim başladığında ben abla olduğumda zaten böyle bir şey kalmamıştı yani, ortalık başka türlüydü.

Duygu Aykal's artistic direction and because Jale Kazbek was recently given birth, Aykal had changed the usual cast in one of the ballet productions. When Kazbek learned about the situation, she rebelled. According to her, she had the right to dance that role:

My friends were not able to look at me in the face. So I understood that they created the rumors as well, about me, being not able to dance in that role. I did not give any credit to these behaviors. Started rehearsals, but my feet were very weak. I have gained maybe fifteen kilos. Then I started to lose my extra weight, every week five kilos were gone.<sup>406</sup>

Due to her persevering industriousness, she was able to dance the role.(fig. 29) Kazbek remembered that Duygu Aykal was happy to see the consequence of her work. Perhaps the happiness was related to the fact that Aykal herself had experienced similar struggles during her career as a dancer and a choreographer. In fact, most of the women dancers also indicated that they had strong supports from their women friends. Efza Kıpçak Topçu remembered that several women dancers gave her advice on how to get into shape faster after her giving birth.<sup>407</sup>

Apart from the positive encouragements, the personal clashes, particularly in women's relations have played significant roles. We mentioned the conflict between Molly Lake and her student Jale Kazbek during the conservatory years. Their dispute continued towards the professional years of Kazbek's dancing career. In fact, she stated that her early marriage and birth was somehow a kind of reaction towards the perceptions of these people:

Molly used to say that 'you can't get married, you can't achieve anything'. I was the first one to marry. I gave birth, maybe to defy her. I was crazy.

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<sup>406</sup> Interview with Jale Kazbek. 02/09/2007, İstanbul- *Benim arkadaşlarım yüzüme bakmıyor. Demek ki dalavereyi bunlar yapmışlar, yani "Jale yapamaz" veyahut da bilmem ne! Hani bitti gibi pozisyona sokmuşlar. Ben de hiç aldırmadım, dedim "sizin cevabınızı ben vereceğim" ve başladık provalara ama benim ayak çekmiyor! Falan filan derken çalışmaya başladık. Ben 5, 10 kilo mu almışım, 15 kilo mu ne? Hepsini vermeye başladım ben, her hafta bir beş kilo gidiyor, beş kilo gidiyor.*

<sup>407</sup> Interview with Efza Kıpçak Topçu. 02/11/2007, Ankara – *Doğum yapıp geldim, Güzide Kalın vardır, rahmetli oldu, hocamız. 'Patik giymeyeceksin' dedi 'şimdi daha ayakların çekmez, çıplak ayak çalış' dedi. Ondan sonra Deniz Olgay geldi, 'böyle dersle kilo veremezsin. Gel, hemen ben sana şu Sylphide'i öğreteyim' dedi. Ders biter, orada bana Sylphide valsini çalıştırır ki zıplayayım da çeğsin adaleler diye. Çok destek gördüm arkadaşlarımdan.*

After the first child was born, she said that I was finished. Because it was the philosophy. You should not give birth, that was the ideal.<sup>408</sup>

Şebnem Aksan recalled the period of the end of the 1970's when together with other choreographers, dancers, they organized several alternative dance events in various spaces other than the State Ballet Company's stages.<sup>409</sup> Then as Aksan interpreted, a territorial attitude began to interfere and a polarization was formed and 'you and me' kind of feeling started to permeate amongst the relations.<sup>410</sup>

For women dancers, one of the critical factors which had a great effect on their artistic life was the nature of intimate relations within the institution of marriage. During the 1960s and the 1970s, the marriage bond was perceived as perhaps more sacred than in today's society in Turkey. Therefore, the Turkish ballet had sacrificed some of its best dancers to the institution of marriage. Suna Uğur recalled about Gülcan Tunççekiç, who was seen as one of the most talented dancers of the Ankara Company, stopped dancing at an early stage.<sup>411</sup> Many artists interviewed for this thesis agreed that marriage did not bring her happiness and she had been very melancholic, in fact, passed away at a very young age.

The story of the twin sisters Rezzan and Ümran Ürey was even more heartbreaking. After only ten years of the most successful dancing careers in the Ankara Company, they got married at the same time. Rezzan Ürey's husband was a doctor. Right after the marriage wow, he requested from Rezzan Ürey to quit dancing. Until that moment, there was not even a slightest implication of his wish for her to finish her dance career. When she terminated her career at the Ankara Company, her twin sister Ümran Ürey also decided to

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<sup>408</sup> Interview with Jale Kazbek. 02/09/2007, İstanbul- "*Sen evlenemezsin, sen hiçbir şey yapamazsın" diyordu bana Molly Lake ve ilk evlenen ben oldum. Düşün, daha yeni mezun olmuşum, evlenmişim çılgınım ben, bir çocuk doğurdum, inadına. İlk çocuk doğduktan sonra "Jale bitti" dedi. Çünkü felsefe o. Çocuk yapmayacaksın, ideal olan o.*

<sup>409</sup> One of them was an alternative dance evening in a museum for the İstanbul Festival (fig.30).

<sup>410</sup> Interview with Şebnem Aksan. 12/20/2006, İstanbul

<sup>411</sup> Interview with Suna Uğur. 01/11/2007, İstanbul



act in the same direction, stating that she could not continue without her sister. When it was asked to Rezzan Ürey why she accepted her husband's request, she responded that during the time she was a public personality, much favored by the media, she could not handle the thought of getting a divorce right after marrying: "I was so famous that I did not want people to say: 'Married today, divorced tomorrow'. I endured resignation."<sup>412</sup> Her marriage did not last long and after three and half years ended with a divorce. Her sister Ümran Ürey's marriage had also finished but it was years later after losing their thirteen years old son. Yet, they did not return to the company and instead opened a private ballet school, first in İzmir and then in Antalya.

Deniz Olgay Yamanus, in our interview, expressed her thoughts with respect to the society's vision of dancers during the 1960s and the 70s. She considered that the general vision towards the ballet artists, particularly towards women was not favorable. In public media, they were the new society's icons but at homes, for the average Turkish family, they were not considered as 'suitable spouses'. Ballerinas were perceived as today's "top models", their lives were seen as possessing moral flaws. In fact the life of a ballerina was extremely disciplined, for Deniz Olgay Yamanus; it was almost a fiercely imposed appearance: "When you look at it physically, you find that ballet affects your life in such a powerful way. There is a great discipline. It is like a mold. As if you have been situated inside a mold."<sup>413</sup>

The older generations of dancers like Tenasüp Onat, Yıldız Alpar, somehow, seemed to be more supported by their life partners than the younger generations. Yıldız Alpar

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<sup>412</sup> Interview with Rezzan Ürey. 03/25/2007, Antalya- *O kadar meşhurdum ki "bugün evlendi, yarın ayrıldı" dedirtmemek için sineye çektim.*

<sup>413</sup> Interview with Deniz Olgay Yamanus. 12/04/2007, İstanbul- *Fiziksel olarak baktığın zaman da hayatını çok etkiliyor. Çocuğunla, evinle, kocanla, özel yaşantınla, herşeyinle çok fazla etkileniyorsun...çok büyük bir disiplin var, balerin dediğin zaman bir kalıbı var. Belirli bir kalıbın içine sokulmuş oluyorsun.*

stressed about her husband's continuous care all through these years.<sup>414</sup> Tenasüp Onat's husband was also involved with the ballet life of his wife and the issues of Turkish ballet as was understood during our interviews. He was in fact also very knowledgeable about the history of Turkish ballet and was actively involved with the educational process at *Kuğu Bale Studio* during the 1970s and 1980s. The younger generations of women were mostly divorced and remarried. Some stayed single and tried to bring up their children by themselves without receiving any help from their ex-spouses.

Meriç Sümen Kanan touched into another issue related to the different perceptions in perceiving the gender. As we have mentioned before, most of the male dancers of the Ankara State Ballet Company had moved to foreign countries and continued their dancing career abroad. Sümen stated that the male dancers were very talented and earned very little money here. Moreover, Western companies, generally, were in need of good male dancers. So they left Turkey and started their career in the West. But none of the women dancers had done the same thing in the first three generations. For Sümen, the reason was strictly connected to the control of the families over female children. She was chosen by the San Francisco Ballet Company but because of her parents' rejection, she did not continue her career there.<sup>415</sup> Sümen emphasized that she was not discontent at the time because of such a restriction imposed upon her life. Though today when she looks back she regrets that was the case.<sup>416</sup>

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<sup>414</sup> Interview with Yıldız Alpar. 12/11/2007, İstanbul- *Benim moral sponsorum eşimdir. Başım sıkıştığı vakit, bazen gece 04'de uyumam ben, eskiden Devlet Balesi yokken, herşeyi siz yapmak zorundasınız, giysileri siz tasarlamak zorundasınız. Kaldırırım eşimi de, 'Yalçınığım kalk bir otur aynanın karşısına'. Zavallı adamcağız, oturur. İşte deniz bonesini giydiririm, üstünü çiçeklerim filan.*

<sup>415</sup> Interview with Meriç Sümen Kanan. 07/11/2007, Datça- *Çocuklar hem çok yetenekliydi, hem para çok azdı burada. Biz kızlar niye gitmedik, çünkü ana baba bırakmadı. Bu çocuklar erkek olarak gittiler, bizde altyapı çok iyiydi, Avrupada da erkek dansçı çok azdı. Paraları gördüler, okulları açtılar, kaldılar...San Francisko Bale Topluluğu'na seçilmiştim, gidemedim. Babam mücadele etmedi.*

<sup>416</sup> Interview with Meriç Sümen. 07/11/2007, Datça

Whatever the case maybe, many of these artists have stayed in Turkey and played significant roles in the improvement of the art of ballet. If they had another chance to choose their career, they stated that they would certainly choose ballet again. Perhaps it is a cliché answer, but it certainly contains the truth. Their life time devotion and passion can not be explained by anything else. For instance Osman Şengezer, as one of the most productive stage and costume designers of Turkish opera, ballet and theater defined his life in the beginning of Turkish ballet as follows:

In the beginning, I make translations for Madame. I work as an assistant to the stage designer of Madame. I wait the stage settings during the night time, go to the tailors' ateliers, and explain them about the little changes that Madame asked (...) I never went to any of the birthday parties, never participated in any national holidays, did not celebrate new years or went on holidays. If there was not any tour, then I used my summer vacations. Otherwise, I stayed at the opera night and day, winter and summer for eight years.<sup>417</sup> (fig.31)

He had various memories related to the first thirty years of Turkish ballet which revealed the essence of those years and the will, the enthusiasm, and the passion of many artists of the field. One of his memories was related to the big fire of Atatürk Cultural Center in İstanbul. İstanbul State Ballet was founded in 1970 and then a fire destroyed its stage in 1972. Osman Şengezer recalled his memories of that night and how they worked to save the costumes of 'Swan Lake/*Kuşu Gölü*'. It was after the gala performance of the three ballets which came from Ankara. That night Osman Şengezer also gave a big reception and the next night they were all in Haldun Dormen's house. They saw some colors in the sky during which the phone ringed and informed them about the fire at the cultural center:

We all ran there. Until dawn, I never forget, all the tailors were there, Gülcan Tunççekiç was there. Everybody was shocked. The firemen were

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<sup>417</sup> Interview with Osman Şengezer. 03/21/2007, İstanbul – *Madam'a tercümanlıklar yapıyorum, tercümeler yapıyorum. Madam'ın dekorlarını yapan dekoratörlere asistanlık yapıyorum. Geceleri o dekorların başında duruyorum, terzihanelere gidiyorum, "Madam bunu istedi" diyorum tercüme ediyorum "Madam burasını kesin dedi" diyorum.. Ben hiçbir yaş günü davetine gitmedim, hiç bayram yapmadım, 8 sene Opera'da oturdum. Hiçbir yaş günü, yılbaşı, bayram tatili yapmadım. Yaz tatili yapardım turne yoksa. 8 sene her kış, her gece Opera'da oturdum.*

working; we entered the place and saved the costumes of *Swan Lake/Kuğu Gölü*. Of course you couldn't save the stage setting. It all burned. This piece was being staged in Ankara as well. We knew that the next night it was going to be staged in Ankara, and that all the tickets were sold. At six o'clock in the morning while crying, we all stacked the costumes on the street. Black water dripping from them. We saved them that night and they all went to Ankara, dry cleaned and all (...) of course everybody knew of the fire. Then the curtain rose. The audience started to cry (...) the odor of the smoke and the smolder hadn't gone away. It was as if the fire was in Ankara. Everybody was applauding and crying at the same time. We staged the *Swan Lake/Kuğu Gölü* surrounded by the odor of smoke and smolder that night.<sup>418</sup>

Their identities were shaped by the stories in which they participated at the State Opera and Ballet Stages. Although their lives became the parts of Turkish ballet, for some, tragic stories continued in their personal lives, resulting with their early departures from the stages. Binay Okurer, the first principal ballerina in *Coppelia* in 1961, was one of the early deserters of the ballet scene. In our interview, she stated that it was caused by an impolite gesture of a man dancer in Istanbul State Ballet. It was also because her newborn son's

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<sup>418</sup> Interview with Osman Şengezer. 03/21/2007- *Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, birer perdelik 3 balenin galasını yaptık ama gerçekten müthiş bir sükse oldu. Çünkü Ankara balesinden takviyeli İstanbul balesi, karma bir şey. Yenide açılıyor işte şey filan. Biri gayet modern, biri gayet klasik acayip bir program. Ben de büyük bir davet vermişim o gece, 30 kişi çağırmışım gala'ya. Ondan sonra ertesi gece Haldun'un (Dormen) evindeyim. Gökyüzünde bir acayip renkler oluyor. Telefon çaldı, "yanıyor" dediler, koştuk gittik. Sabaha kadar. Sabah güneş doğarken, tabii terziler orada, hiç unutmam Gülcan Tunççekiç de oradaydı. Kuğu Gölü'nü oynayacağız, yani birer perdelik 3 bale gala, Kuğu Gölü, Ankara'yla beraber oynanıyor. Sonra bir kadın terzi, müthiş bir kadın terzi var Hikmet Kır adında, iki erkek terzi daha. Herkes şok böyle, ifaiye çalışıyor, kazmalar, sular sıkılıyor. Girip içeriye, Kuğu Gölü balesinin kostümlerini dışarı çıkardık, tabii dekorlarını kurtaramıyorsunuz. Dekorlar yandı, sahne bütün yandı ama sahnenin arkasında çok büyük bir beton duvar var. O duvar soyunma odalarını, makyaj odaları ayırıyor. Isı, betonu çatlatmış. Tabii ifaiyeciler her şeyi paramparça etmişler. Çünkü bina kurtarıyorlar akıllarınca ama orada biliyorsun ki ve o gecenin ertesi gecesi Ankara'da Kuğu Gölü balesi var ve biletler satılmış. Buradan oraya gidiliyor Kuğu Gölü oynanıyor! Sabah saat 6,30 Biz hem ağlıyoruz, o kadın, o iki terzi, milli kahraman bunlar, hem kostümleri sokağa yığıyoruz... Kurtarıyoruz, çünkü temsil var. Böyle siyah sular akıyor tuvaletlerden, o tütülerden. O tütüleri göreceksin, çıkarıyoruz, ifaiye şokta! Biz bunları çıkarıyoruz, ortaya yığıyoruz, giren çıkan belli değil! Elbiselerin üstünden geçiyorlar. Ankara'nın münibüsü var, bilmem kimin özel arabası var., minübüse, arabaya dolduruyoruz. Bana yardıma gelenler var tiyatrocuların filan! O gece onları kurtardık. Ankara'ya gitti. Ankara'da temizlendi. Giselle'in bir fonu var, mavi fon. Arkaya astılar filan ve anons edildi, yani herkes biliyor, yangını bilmeyen yok. Herkes anlatıyor Ankara'da, tabii ben Ankara'da değilim. Temizlendi bütün o kostümler, bir günde üç ayrı temizleyici, bir de bazı elbiseler temizlenemiyor. O payetler, pullar, tüyler, zil. Ondan sonra, perde bir açıldı. Salon ağlamaya başladı, çünkü iş ve kurum kokusu çıkmamış ve Ankara Operası'nda yangın orada gibi. Tabii büyük bir alkış ve ağlıyor millet ve isler, kokular, yangın kokuları içinde Kuğu Gölü oynadık.*

serious illness. She added that ballet was never her only aspiration: “Ballet has never been my only passion in life. I always wondered about other lives as well.”<sup>419</sup>

Other life styles were somewhere outside the frame of ballet. If they were to be discovered then one had to abandon the ballet circles, the stages and its anxiety. The body which was used to train every day could not handle to exist in both spaces. Therefore the frame of other lives and ballet could only exist as two different universes, side by side but strictly separated. Perhaps this was also the reason for many of the ballet artists in Turkey to continue living in their small community, cut off from the outer world.

Although the male dancers interviewed for this thesis never expressed any feelings of annoyance related to social pressures, it is also known that many of them who had not been interviewed for the thesis, experienced difficulties in their personal lives. In fact, Binay Okurer and Güneş Berk both think that many of them experienced economic and social pressures during the 1960s and the 70s, and were inclined towards consuming alcohol to relax. One of the most successful dancers, Ferit Akın lost his life due to alcohol problems at a young age.<sup>420</sup> Also Oytun Turfanda though lived longer than Akın lost his life due to the liver insufficiency. Meriç Sümen Kanan stated that actually many dancers in the world are heavy drinkers. She thinks that the dancers are generally too tired and stressed. In fact, one of the advices of Dame Ninette de Valois to her was to drink a half glass of wine or sherry after a tiring day but not get used to have pills and relaxants.

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<sup>419</sup> Interview with Binay Okurer. 07/10/2007, Bodrum- *Bale hiçbir zaman benim tek tutkum olmadı. Ben başka hayatları da merak ettim hep.*- In our interview she stated that Özkan Aslan who was one of the principal dancers, has acted intolerably at a rehearsal and at that moment she decided to finish her active career in dancing but everybody knows as well that her son’s spasticism actually contributed her decision. She moved to Bodrum with her family. After long treatment years in Germany, she has lost her son Sinan. Her other son is an interior architect, living in Ankara.

<sup>420</sup> Interview with Binay Okurer and Güneş Berk. 07/10/2007, Bodrum- *Erkek dansçılar zorluklar yaşadı. Bu toplumda dansçı olarak yaşamının, ekonomik sıkıntılarının getirdiği stres, kompleksler, baskılar sonucunda daha çok içmeye başladılar. Hepsi çok içerdi. Ferit Akın’ı o yüzden kaybettik.*

When we move towards the third and fourth generations of Turkish ballet, we perceive the mentality and visions started to change. The researcher believes that their way of involvement with the outer world constituted a more positive experience in relation to their previous generations in Turkish ballet. Surely, we interviewed the most distinctive members of this generation like Aydın Teker and Uğur Seyrek. Both of them were very passionate in their fields and still continue actively working in educational and creative processes of Turkish ballet.

Aydın Teker, a short time dancer in the Ankara State Ballet Company, entered the company in 1973 and resigned after two and half years to continue her studies abroad. She remembers that it was very surprising for her to experience the atmosphere there. In between the rehearsals, the dancers mostly played cards. It was a completely different place than Teker had envisaged earlier. For her, one of the distinctive personalities, Meriç Sümen was very different in her serious connection to ballet. Teker remembers her constantly exercising even on top of the tables.<sup>421</sup> She also remembers the contemporary dance group that Sait Sökmen had formed inside the theater company. When asked her opinion on Sait Sökmen she stated that Sökmen had in fact started important things in state companies but could not carry on with it. Teker thinks that he did not push himself to the limits.<sup>422</sup> Teker was also inclined towards modern dance, and became the assistant of Duygu Aykal. Then she applied for a state scholarship, went to London first, and met with Kazuko

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<sup>421</sup> Interview with Aydın Teker. 03/09/2007, İstanbul- *Ortam çok benim hayal ettiğim gibi değildi. İnsanlar kağıt oynuyorlardı. Prova arasında mesela kağıt oynanıyor ve işte haber veriliyor, "yeriniz, rolünüz yaklaşıyor" diye, bırakıyorlar gidiyorlar, oynuyorlar, gelip oturup kağıt oynuyorlar...Mesela bunlar hep beni çok şaşırtıyordu, yani benim idealimdeki sanat ortamına hiç uymuyordu...Şimdi orada seyrediyorum, ama aralarında bazılarını, mesela Meriç'i hiç öyle görmedim. Meriç onlara hiç karışmazdı, oturur işte kendi provasını yapar, ayaklarıyla ilgilenirdi. Onu hatta böyle masanın üstünde filan hatırlıyorum! Kendisiyle uğraşılıyor ve gayet ciddiymi hiç böyle acayip şakalar yapan filan bir halini hiç görmedim Meriç'in o dönemde. Mesela bu büyük bir fark yaratıyordu.*

<sup>422</sup> Interview with Aydın Teker. 03/09/2007, İstanbul- *Sait o dönem için önemli bir şey yaptı ama devam ettirmedi, yani zorlamadı kendini, sonuna kadar gitmedi maalesef, yani öyle bir yanı var Sait'in.*

Hirabayashi.<sup>423</sup> She gave her a reference to continue her education at the graduate program at SUNY-Purchase, America. There she attended three different technical classes and an improvisational class a day and worked very hard for composition. Her teacher there was also Hirabayashi. She forced Teker's limits who had suffered to expand her classical ballet training and to move towards modern, contemporary dance:

While every student was having a new assignment, she used to say to me 'you would do the old and the new, both'. Almost a year passed liked this, it was such a nightmare. In the improvisation class, we had a teacher. She used to say to me: 'Aydın, don't do arabesque'. Was it possible? It was so difficult for me because I have entered the conservatory when I was ten years old and since then I have learned the movements of 'tandue, degajé, arabesque'. There has never been an 'Aydın' inside these movements. Then one of my friends told me that she had made her first choreography when three years old. Then I bursted into cry. You came to realize the cultural difference. I really suffered a lot.<sup>424</sup>

Teker insisted on taking modern dance training of all the levels and was graduated from New York University. All this was possible by a state scholarship of Turkey. Her new life in modern/ contemporary dance required a time process. It needed some time to acquire meaning. As far as the creativity was concerned, she had understood that one had to do nothing but just be oneself and be honest. Being honest with one self brought 'the real' and that communicated itself to other people: "You have to be sincere. You have to make research and travel to various dimensions."<sup>425</sup>

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<sup>423</sup> Kazuko Hirabayashi is a Japanese choreographer and teacher, living and working in America. She has been one of the influential educationers in the contemporary dance field. She formed Triad Dance Theater and also Kazuko Hirabayashi Dance Theater. She has been in the faculty of Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater; Fordham U., the Julliard School and graduate program at SUNY-Purchase.

<sup>424</sup> Interview with Aydın Teker. 03/09/2007, İstanbul- *Herkes mesela yeni ödeve geçiyor, bana dönüyor "sen hem eskiyi yapacaksın, hem yeniyi" diyor. Böyle bir şekilde tam bir sene geçti, tam bir kabus. O arada mesela doğaçlama derslerinde Melbond diye bir hocamız var. Durmadan bana derste 'Aydın, don't do arabesque' diyor. Böyle olmadan bir şey olabilir mi? O kadar zor bir şey ki bu! O kadar zor bir şey ki, çünkü 10 yaşında girmişim, "bu tandue, bu degajé, bu arabesk" demişler, yani Aydın hiç yok ki onun içinde! Çok zor bir şeydi. Sonra işte bir arkadaşım bana "3 yaşında, ilk koreografimi anneme yaptım" dedi. Bağıra bağıra ağlamaya başladım, yani kültür farkını. orada görüyorsun,! Çok canım yandı, çok üzüldüm.*

<sup>425</sup> Interview with Aydın Teker. 03/09/2007, İstanbul- *Sonra birden bire anladım ki sen sanatçı olarak çok dürüst olursan, kendine dürüst olursan zaten, yani bir şey yapman gerekmiyor. O çok içten ve gerçek oluyor ve*

Uğur Seyrek, the youngest artist interviewed, also escaped from Turkey in the end of 1980. He stayed mostly in Germany, dancing in Stuttgart Ballet Company for almost fifteen years. He experienced both Turkish and European methods of working in professional ballet companies. When he returned back to Turkey following his retirement as a professional dancer, he started to share his knowledge with the younger generations of Turkish ballet. He currently works as the Head Teacher of Istanbul State Ballet Company. In the last four years, he has been organizing summer camps for ballet students. Inviting both foreign teachers and Turkish ones, he tries to establish an attitude amongst the young generations towards the education of ballet. In fact, we met in this camp in Bodrum, during the after hours following dinner, all the students were intensely involved in organizing their creative projects which Seyrek has asked of them. So the education does not only consist of technical classes but is a creative process as well. Seyrek while reviewing the Turkish ballet retrospectively made interesting comments. He thinks that the concept of future was never considered seriously in Turkish ballet. There is an indifference rooted in feeling at ease. Still, the Turkish ballet scene has many very talented people who can arrive at excellent positions as artists.<sup>426</sup> He stated that: “Everything comes to a point and then blocks itself. It is as if the water turns back. One can’t comprehend. Something makes the water stop flowing, it draws back.”<sup>427</sup>

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*o başka bir boyuttan insanlara ulaşmaya başlıyor, yani senin görevin içten olmak, senin görevin araştırmak ve çok farklı boyutlara gidebilmek.*

<sup>426</sup> Interview with Uğur Seyrek. 07/10/2007, Bodrum- *5 sene 10 sene sonrası Türkiyede hiç düşünülüyor, çok önemli değil, o ciddiyeti hiçbir zaman görmedim burada. Herşey, rahatlığın verdiği bir umursamazlık var, inanılmaz yetenekli insanlar var, çok daha iyi yerlere gidilebilir.*

<sup>427</sup> Interview with Uğur Seyrek. 07/10/2007, Bodrum- *Herşey geliyor bir yere kadar ve orada tıkanıyor, suyun geri dönmesi gibi, algılayamıyorsun, bir güç orada onu akıtmıyor, suyu geri çekiyor.*



Seyrek stressed the names of Oytun Turfanda and Duygu Aykal as dancers who had particularly changed the Turkish ballet with their visions, potentials and personal enthusiasm. They were, in Seyrek's analysis, very uniting and giving, benevolent in their lives. Uğur Seyrek believes that: "Turkey needs a renaissance; it needs to shed its old skin. There is a structure, already established. There is a considerable potential but it is so congested that is about to explode. We have to set it in motion."<sup>428</sup>

As we traveled through the voices of ballet practitioners, these issues are revealed as the main realities painted the history of ballet world in Turkey. The perception of society towards ballet dancers have not been a smooth one. There have always been certain tensions, concerning the "dancing body". Even if they were seen as role models and icons of the Western image born in Turkey, they were never really perceived as standard, normal Turkish citizens. The price was paid while being the perfect image representing a foreign beauty, yet strongly attached to Turkish surroundings. The struggles over the institution of marriage, the perception of women dancers being "different" than other Turkish women, financial difficulties faced strongly by male dancers, the inner problems in the ballet institutions and political realities of Turkish society have all contributed to this picture. They deserve further research for the establishment of a deeper understanding of dance rooted in the modernization attempts of the Turkish Republic. Moreover it should be declared that the understanding of the past realities of ballet circles can contribute immensely to the contemporary theory of dance in Turkey.

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<sup>428</sup> Interview with Uğur Seyrek. 07/10/2007, Bodrum – *Türkiye bir kabuk değiştirme istiyor, bir rönesans istiyor, çünkü var, yapı var, sıkışmış durumdayız, kesin patlayacak, potansiyel çok iyi bunu harekete geçirmemiz lazım.*

## CONCLUSION

Any construction of the body, however, is also a construction of the self as embodied, and as such influences not only how the body is treated but also how life is lived.<sup>429</sup>

Anthony Synott

This research, concentrated on the first thirty years of Turkish ballet traveling through the state sponsored ballet institutions and their subjects, attempted to form a body of specific memory in the field of dance in Turkey. The main debates are made visible by the testimony of individual subjects. In fact, their memories constituted the core concepts of this research. The critics of Turkish ballet have been included in this testimony as well. Their choices of words, the syntax of their sentences have implied their perceptions and convictions.

Ballet's history developed parallel to the historical process in Turkey. With the Republican reforms, Western arts were introduced to the society, following music and theater arts, ballet were established with its educational and performing institutions. Therefore, in the 1950s and the 1960s, as a newly introduced art form, ballet had a privileged status, particularly among the Republican elite. In the 1970s, with the economic collapse and political disturbances, Turkish ballet institutions which could not form the necessary infrastructure, started to face with several problems. In this thesis, the history of these institutions is traced back until the end of the 1970s, therefore the period after 1980 anticipates for further analysis. Furthermore, in order to arrive a better understanding of the

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<sup>429</sup> Synott, Anthony. *The Body Social – Symbolism, Self and Society*, London; New York: Routledge, 1993, p. 37

contemporary situation of Turkish ballet, it would be more enriching to apply a comparative approach towards various national ballet companies around the world.<sup>430</sup> As it is mentioned in Chapter I, most of these Western companies have a long history, dating back until the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Their artistic and administrative experience was developed through certain historical periods. Moreover, talented individuals and creators traveled among different countries in Europe, transferring their accumulation of knowledge to various national companies, therefore established a reciprocal influence among them. If one compares the aggregation of the Turkish ballet companies to Western counterparts, then one has to admit that Turkish ones are still in the beginning of their artistic journey. Yet, the centuries have passed and ballet as an art form had been also transformed. Either, the artistic field of ballet in Turkey should adapt itself to the contemporary world, or it has to die. Ballet as opposed to contemporary dance has still distinctive qualities to propose, yet the strong existence of the latter compels ballet to renew itself continuously today, rather in more challenging ways than the past centuries.

One of the aims of this research was building up the references for contemporary dance practices in Turkey and their relation to wider cultural issues. The environment of Western forms of dance as it is practiced in Turkey presents certain drawbacks. One of the weak points is related to the transmission of knowledge between different generations. Relationships exist as they are established in the context of educational institutions, yet the knowledge of certain debates and experiences related to artistic visions could not be transferred to younger generations for the simple reason that the analytical and critical body of memory of these practices have not been written. As presented in Chapter II, the dance scholarship in Turkey has been limited to very few examples. Metin And's historical approach had led the foundation, unfortunately the most relevant follower who wrote directly

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<sup>430</sup> As mentioned in above sections, such an example was accomplished (in the context of national folk dance companies) by Anthony Shay, in his book called *Choreographing Politics* (2002).

about ballet and modern dance in Turkey, Jak Deleon produced mostly descriptive works. Şebnem Aksan tried to bridge the gap in critical and analytical writing on dance. Because she has been more involved on the practical side, her focus was not sufficiently established on the theoretical side. More contemporary scholars like Arzu Öztürkmen, coming from another discipline such as folklore, contributed to the field of ballet by presenting her extensive research on the history of national dances and connecting it to the relevant discussions. She also mentioned the art of ballet as it is practiced in Turkey. Apart from their works, there have been very few sources, mostly existing in the form of master thesis and consequently the body of literature on dance suffers from this scarcity extensively. Today, in the contemporary dance field of Turkey, there are certain ambiguities resulting from this memory gap. For our part, it is very urgent that we begin to ask more relevant questions concerning the nature of our interests and ambitions and their placements in our cultural context, other than the ones shaped by imposed frameworks of foreign theory.

When I tried to establish a historical narrative of state sponsored ballet institutions of Turkey in Chapter III, two main issues emerged. These were the problematic nature of institutionalization in the local context and the quest for originality reflected itself in the effort of creating “the national ballet”. These were dealt in detail in the following Chapters IV and V. In the process of institutionalization of Turkish ballet, one of the primary concerns seemed to be the nature of the relationship to foreign experts. Concerning this relationship, the attitudes of Turkish actors in the field of ballet presented a dilemma. The power relations were established unavoidably, yet the delicacy of a long term affectionate interaction was also recognized. The value of the knowledge and expertise needed to be acknowledged. However the will to acquire more power combined with the tendencies to perceive the British authorities as ‘colonial’ in nature resulted in an abrasive separation. As this research indicates this situation has always been a burden on the shoulders of its actors. It is not an

exaggeration to suggest that the emotions related to this issue are not still resolved. Perhaps its consequences can be also attributed to a general setback in the state institutions of ballet. The administrative aspect of the institutions faced severe problems due to these personal conflicts, but administrative deficiencies were also resulted from the political and economical instabilities in Turkey. The weakness of democratic tradition had a huge effect on these institutions, not only administratively but artistically as well. One observes that censorship prevailed at certain times and the response to the incumbents had failed to accomplish solidarity in the part of the artistic crew. Therefore, the censored dance pieces were replaced by others, artists could not establish a common ground to resist outside intrusions. As a result, there was always a little reliance on each other and particularly a certain tension was constituted between the administrative group and the dancers. In addition to that, there was a problem of individual support towards creativity in general. Consequently this has established a lack of appreciation for the others' achievements.

In the Turkish state institutions of ballet, the fear or the irritation of 'the outsider' was so strongly established that even today the institutions have many reluctances to accept an outside vision or contribution into their structures. This attitude affected foreign experts such as Andrée Howard and Allen Carter, also Şebnem Aksan, as an outsider of state conservatory education experienced the same, along with many others. Beyhan Murphy, also as an outsider, has been one of the successful members of Turkish ballet in terms of creating an acceptance of her work inside the state institutions, yet the recent experience when she became the Head Choreographer of Istanbul State Ballet Company proved that the prejudices were still extant.<sup>431</sup> All the artistic disagreements can not be explained in terms of this dichotomy of educated inside the state institutions or not, however it is important to follow certain trails and recognize the historical congestions in the process.

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<sup>431</sup> Beyhan Murphy after establishing and directing the Modern Dance Company inside the Ankara State Ballet institution for ten years, has been appointed as the Head Choreographer of the Istanbul State Ballet Company in 2005, after working less than a year she resigned due to the inner problems of the institution.

As the military interventions of Turkish political history infused in the state institutions of ballet, the memories constructed by these interruptions were affected in very subtle ways. Perhaps the displacements of many Turkish artists were not considered as a consequence of political life, but it is surely connected to the results of the political atmosphere on the cultural and social life of Turkish citizens. When Uğur Seyrek chose to migrate to Germany, his reasons for this decision were strongly connected to the educational and artistic visions and practices of state institutions of ballet in Turkey.

The institutional structures of arts formed by the state have their limitations and benefits. The benefits can be seen in the artistic support of Turkish dancers to experience further progress in foreign countries. Almost all the pioneering generations of Turkish dancers and choreographers had the support of Turkish state funds along with the British ones. As a more recent example, Aydın Teker continued her higher education in the USA through these funds. Yet, the limitations were already established as well. As Meriç Sümen indicated, a life-long contract to become an employee of the state and the late retirement age proved to be a great nuisance in terms of artistic activity in general. The lack of motivation in order to push the limits, and the general containment with the existing conditions has always been the most significant obstacles facing the Turkish national ballet's creative process.

The deteriorating conditions of the educational institutions of ballet deserve an extensive research of its own. The conversion of British staff into Russian and Turkish teachers contained different levels of contradictions. The conflicts between the Russian and Turkish teachers in the beginning resulted discontinuities in the educational processes. However the period dated after 1980 comprised the clues for this discussion; therefore it could not be covered in the scope of this thesis.

In Chapter V, the debates on defining “the national” ballet was presented. The artistic debates which were centered around ‘the national’ strongly linked to the capacities and incapacities of its actors’ understanding of wider concepts of authenticity, historicity and the shortcomings of an imitational approach in arts. In the past, many experiments were mostly centered on the synthesis of folk culture and ballet, particularly in Oytun Turfanda’s works. Musical scores had the utmost importance and the Turkish composers were very influential in determining the atmosphere of these ballets. The choreographers’ ideas and desires were juxtaposed with the composers’, yet they generally failed to establish a common understanding, and at certain times, resulted the conflictual situations between them. Some other times, the musical score was found unsuccessful, directly affecting the perception of the choreography as well.

The research also shows that if the struggles centered around the creation of ‘the national’ in Turkish ballet scene could accommodate more space for modern approaches, then at this point we might have been in a different level of perceiving the Turkish ballet. The creative energy directed towards modern dance was wasted in the context of ballet institutions. Sait Sökmen’s very early departure of the Ankara State Ballet, Duygu Aykal’s struggles for continuing her modern choreographies in a classical ballet company, Geyvan McMillen’s interrupted career in the institutions were all resulted from the artistic policies that could not be flexible in terms of contemporary needs. There are many classical ballet companies in the world that extensively included the contemporary dance pieces in their repertoires. The conflicts in Turkish State Ballet Institutions were not the result of the nature of ballet companies which were not suitable for more modern approaches in the discipline of ballet. However the personal artistic visions’ deficiencies included such novelties into their scope. It would not be completely wrong to suggest that the state ballet institutions of Turkey have been the cultural spaces to build and impose a preferred national culture from the start,

therefore the individual initiation which had the risk of not corresponding to these preferences was not given the priority. In fact Norbert Elias' concept of 'habitus' provides a deeper understanding in our efforts to conceptualize the deficiencies of the creative aspect of Turkish ballet. Elias worked on how changes in the structure of society have affected individual 'habitus' along with the psychological aspects of these changes. Although the habitus of the subjects of Turkish ballet was very recently created, the level of internalization of state ideologies should be discussed in a wider context.<sup>432</sup>

In Chapter VI, the main focus was on the subjects of Turkish ballet. Their memories constituted the main issues mostly centered in gender and identity. The feeling of belonging to a pioneering community was one of the most significant attributes of the first generations of Turkish ballet dancers, although one can observe that it gradually weakened as the status and the importance of this art form has been diminished through time. The gender issues dominated the ballet scene during the first thirty years. The compulsory military service and financial difficulties affected the men more than the women dancers. Yet, women also had their own struggles resulting from biological nature in a physically challenging occupation like ballet. In fact, the creativity was not supported wholeheartedly and the infrastructure of ballet institutions was always condemned to be poor. The feeling of inferiority originated from these facts blocked the creative energy from the 1970s onwards. As far as this research concerns, a significant success story has been turned upside down and we are still experiencing the psychological drawbacks of the past, though perhaps they gradually fade away with the new generations of dancers in Turkey.

To conclude it should be confessed that this research longs to transform itself into a documentary format by assembling the knowledge in an artistic way of expression. The need

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<sup>432</sup> The reference for Elias' discussion on this subject can be cited as Elias, Norbert. *On Civilization, Power and Knowledge*, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1998



is derived from a certain impossibility of transforming the nature of those experiences into a spoken language. The researcher was deeply moved by and felt the incapability of transferring the memory as a whole as it is expressed by this thesis' subjects. That also included the possibility of hazard by squeezing them into a general discourse of nationalism, Westernization and modernization theories.

Finally, it should be stressed that the field of dance can provide a space that the individual expression has the chance to free from all the conventional restraints. The more 'docile' bodies are produced by various disciplines, the more subtle dancing bodies have the robust probability of resistance. One should be attentive not to waste the chances.

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01/11/2007, İstanbul- Suna Uğur.  
02/09/2007, İstanbul- Jale Kazbek.  
02/11/2007, Ankara- Güloya Aruoba.  
02/11/2007, Ankara- Feridun Ulusoy.  
02/11/2007, Ankara- Efza Kıpçak Topçu.  
02/11/2007, Ankara- Tenasüp Onat /Alevcan Öncel.  
03/09/2007, İstanbul- Aydın Teker  
03/21/2007, İstanbul- Osman Şengezer.  
03/25/2007, Antalya- Rezzan Ürey.  
07/10/2007, Bodrum- Suna Eden Şenel.  
07/10/2007, Bodrum- Binay Okurer.  
07/10/2007, Bodrum- Güneş Berk.  
07/10/2007, Bodrum- Uğur Seyrek.  
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(All the interviews are digitaly recorded)

## APPENDIX



# Otomatik Dans Ve İdman Makinası

Pariste M. Albert Sylvain isminde meşhur bir dans muallimi var. Yüzlerce talebeye dans dersi veren bu muallim dikkat etmiş ki, hemen bütün talebeleri bizzat kendisinden ders almak istiyor ve ta'yin edeceği muavimlerden ders görmeğe razı olmuyor. Halbuki bir kişinin aynı zamanda yüzlerce talebe ile birden meşgul olmasına imkân yok.

M. Sylvain düşünüyor: "Makina asrında yaşıyoruz; her müşkil makina ile hallediliyor. Hatta son zamanlarda icat edilen makinalı adamlar, düşünmek müstesna, bir



insanın görebileceği her işi görebiliyor.

"O halde makinalı

bir dans hocası niçin icat edilemesin? Böyle bir makina tıpkı kendi gibi dans ve bedeni terbiye

dersi verebilir ve fazla olarak yüzlerce yere birden yetişebilir. Ne yapıp yapıp böyle bir makina icat etmek lâzım....,"

M. Sylvain tecrübelerine başlar, nihayet tasavvur ettiği makinayı son zamanlarda ikmal edip dershanesine kurar.

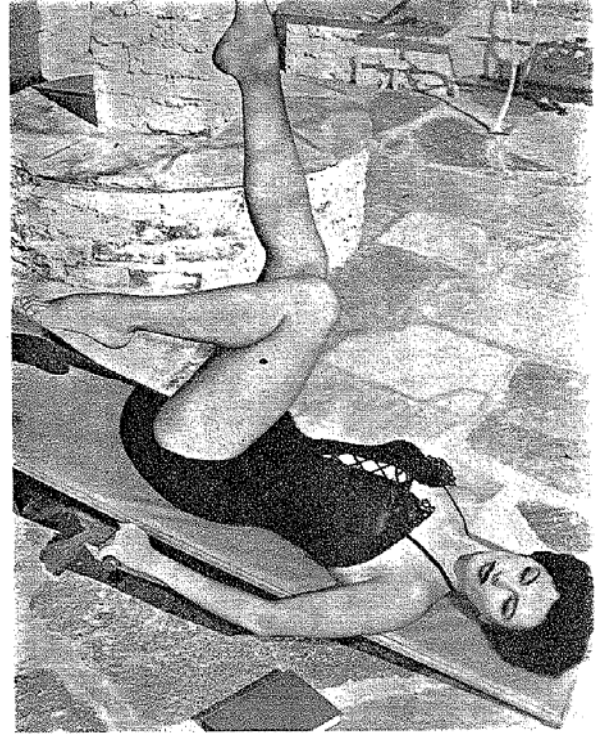
Dans öğrenecek şakirdin ayak bilekleri makinanın bazı aksamına rapt edilir, makina muayyen bir plân dairesinde harekete başlar. Ayakları bu suretle bağlanan kimse makinenin hareketlerine uymak mecburiyetindedir. Makina hatıra gelebilen her türlü dans hareketini icra edecek surette ayar edilebilir.

Dercettiğimiz resimlerde genç bir kadının bu makina ile dans ekzersizi yaptığını görüyoruz. Makinaya takılan şakirt on on beş defa makina ile dans ettikten sonra aynı figürü kendikendine oynayabiliyor..

Bu dans makinası aynı zamanda mükemmel bir bedeni terbiye muallimidir.

Yaşasın makina asrı!





## YÜZ GÜZELLİĞİ AYAKTAN BAŞLAR

BU SAYFADAKİ RESİMLER AYAK VE AYAK BİLEKLERİNİ KUVVETLENDİRMEK, DOLAYISIYLA BÜTÜN VÜCUDU GÜZELLEŞTİRMEK İÇİN YAPILAN FAYDALI HAREKETLERİ GÖSTERİYOR.



**Y**üz güzelliği ayaktan başlar. Bu sözleri tuhaf buldunuz, değil mi? Ama doğrudur, birçok kadının yüzü ayaklarının aynasıdır. Yüzlerinde vaktinden önce kırışıklar beliren kadınların çoğu ayaklarından rahatsızdır.

Ayak rahatsızlığını, rahatsız ayakkabı ve çoraplar yapar. Ayağın küçük görünsün diye bir numara küçük ayakkabı giyen bir kadın, ayak güzelliğini de yüz güzelliğini de mahveder. Dar bir ayakkabıyla yapılan bir gezinti insana cehennem azabı verir. Bu azap yüzünüzde de hemen belirir.

Ayak güzelliğinin ilk şartı rahat ayakkabıdır. Ayak bakımı bundan sonra gelir.

Geceleri ayaklarınızı ılık suya sokup fırçalamak veya lifle uğmak çok faydalıdır. Ayağın her tarafı müsavi şekilde fırçalanmalıdır. Sonra kurulayıp talk pudrası sürülür.

El tırnaklarına gösterilen itina

ayak tırnaklarına da gösterilmelidir. Yalnız ayak tırnakları yuvarlak törpülenmez, ete gömülmesin diye düz törpülenir.

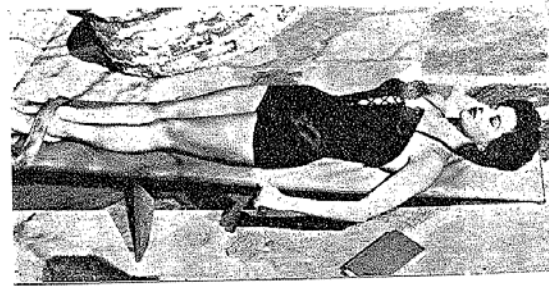
Ayak tabanındaki nasırlar fazla ayakta durmaktan, tabanı çok ince ayakkabı giymekten meydana gelir. Sünger taşı ile uğulur, krem sürülürse bu nasırlar bir müddet sonra kaybolur.

Velhasıl yüzümüzün mânasına rahatlık, gözlerimize parlaklık vermek, gözlerimiz altındaki gölgele-

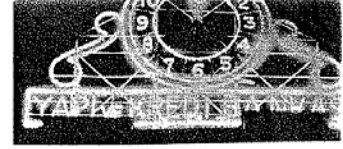
ri gidermek istiyorsak ayaklarımızı da bakmalıyız.

Sıkı, rahatsız ayakkabılar giymemeliyiz. Ölçümüzden küçük ayakkabılar ayağımızı hiçbir zaman güzel göstermez. Aksine yürüyüşümüzü bozar, canımızı acıtır, bu acıyı yüzümüze de aksettirerek güzelliğimizi azaltır. Kadın güzelliğinde, zarafetinde en önemli şey baştan ayağa kadar rahatlıktır.

Dost başa, düşman ayağa bakar sözünü de unutmayalım.



# Gece Yarısından Sonra



## ÇEHRESİ DEĞİŞEN ŞEHİR

Gece yarısından sonra İstanbul, çehresi değişen bir şehirdir.

İşte Taksimdeki Yapı ve Kredi Bankasının büyük saatinin elektrikli akrep ve yelkovanı 12'yi 2 seçtiğini gösteriyor. Caddelerin, sokakların iyice tenhalaşmasına rağmen polis ve trafik ekiplerinin işleri daha fazlaleşmiştir.

Çünkü bu saatte bir köşeden çıkan lambaları sönmük bir taksii bile bir kontrol mevzuudur. →



← Gündüz halkın omuz omuza geçtiği caddelerin tamiri için en müsait zaman işte bu saatlerdir. 12 den sonra gece amelesi hemen elektrik tellerine cereyanlı sırtıklarını asıp etrafı aydınlatırlar. Kazma kürek sesleri birbirine karışır. Asfaltlar sökülür, kaldırım taşları kaldırılır. Faaliyet şafak sökünceye kadar devam eder. Sabahın ilk ışıkları ile birlikte onlar da işlerine nihayet verirler.

Gece yarısından sonra öğle yemeği i. Ama ne yaparsınız?.. Bazen insanın gecesi gündüz, gündüzü de gece olur.

Resimde gördüğünüz tramvaycı vatandaşı da ancak son tramvayı depoya çekip işini bitirdikten sonra karının acıktığını farketmiştir.

Çoğumuzun yaşadığımızda olduğu bu saatte, tramvay depolarının civarında daima ucuz yemek yenilecek yerler bulunabilir. →



Bu saatte felekten bir gece çalışanlar da yok mu? Tabii var.. İşte şehrimizin asri lokallerinden biri.

Aitta gece yarısından sonra Karaköyün bomboş hal. Nerede gündüz saat altındaki korkunç trafik tıkanıklığı?.. Nerede şu manzara...



ASLI GIBIDIR

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XXX/1309A.01

DEVLET OPERA VE BALEŞİ GENEL MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ KURULUŞU HAKKINDA  
KANUN

- Bu Kanunda yer alan "Milli Eğitim Bakanı" ibaresi "Kültür ve Turizm Bakanı", "Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı" ibaresi de "Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı" olarak 22.3.1983 R.G. tarihli 59 s. KHK ile değiştirilmiştir.

- 14.8.1970 R.G. tarihli 1370 s. Kanunun geçici 12. maddesi gereğince; stajyer, müteahhasıs hizmetli, sanatkar olarak çalışan personel hakkında 1327 sayılı Kanun çerçevesinde hazırlanacak kendi kanunları yürürlüğe girinceye kadar 1309 sayılı Kanun uyarınca uygulama yapılır.

- Bu Kanunda değişiklik yapan mevzuat için metnin sonundaki LİSTE'ye bakınız.

Kanun No. 1309

Kabulü: 14.7.1970

R. Gazete No. 13557

R.G. Tarihi: 23.7.1970

Madde 1 - Ankara'da Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına bağlı Tüzel kişiliği haiz bir «Devlet Opera ve Balesi» Genel Müdürlüğü kurulmuştur. Devlet Opera ve Balesi bir genel müdür tarafından yönetilir.

Madde 2 - Devlet Opera ve Balesi Genel Müdürlüğü, lüzum ve imkan gördüğü diğer şehirlerde de, Milli Eğitim Bakanının onayı ile bir müdür yönetiminde Devlet Opera ve Balesi müdürlükleri kurabilir.

Genel Müdürlük ve müdürlükler bakanlığın onayı ile yurt içi, yurt dışı turneler tertip edebilir, millî ve milletlerarası festivaller düzenleyebilir.

Madde 3 - a) Devlet Opera ve Balesi Genel Müdürlüğünün bir Sanat Kurulu vardır. Bu Kurul Genel Müdür Başkanlığında Genel Müzik İşleri Yöneticisi, Başrejisör ve Bale Başkoreografı ile, iki senelik süre için Genel Müdürlükçe seçilen bir sanatkardan teşekkül eder. Müdürlüklerde Müdürün Başkanlığında Müzik İşleri Yöneticisi, Başrejisör ve Bale Başkoreografı ile iki senelik süre için Müdürlükçe seçilen bir sanatkardan teşekkül eden bir Sanat Kurulu vardır. Bu Kurulun görevleri sanatla ilgili konularda Genel Müdüre ve Müdürlere yardımcı olmak, repertuarın hazırlanmasında mütalâa vermektir.

b) Devlet Opera ve Balesi Genel Müdürlüğünün bir teknik kurulu vardır. Bu kurul Genel Müdür veya yardımcısının Başkanlığında Genel Müzik İşleri Yöneticisi, Başkorrepetitör, Başrejisör, Koro Şefi, Başkoreograf, Bale Başöğretmeni, Sanat Teknik Müdürü, Başdekoratör ile iki yılda bir orkestra, koro, solo ve bale sanatçılarının kendi aralarından seçecekleri birer sanatkardan teşekkül eder. Müdürlüklerde de Müdür veya yardımcısının başkanlığında Müzik İşleri Yöneticisi, Başkorrepetitör, Başrejisör, Koro Şefi, Başkoreograf, Bale Başöğretmeni, Teknik İşleri Yöneticisi ve Başdekoratör ile iki yılda bir orkestra, koro, solo ve bale sanatçılarının kendi aralarından seçecekleri birer sanatkardan teşekkül eden bir Teknik Kurul mevcuttur. Teknik kurulların görevleri, Devlet Opera ve Balesine alınacak sanatkâr uygulamacı uzman memur ve uzman memurlarla stajiyerleri imtihan etmek, değerlendirmelerini yapmak, bilgi ve görgülerini artırmak üzere yurt dışına göndermek, yurt içinde kabil olmayacağı sıhhi kurul raporu ile tespit edilen Devlet Opera ve Balesi mensuplarının tedavilerini yurt dışında yaptırmak ve bu kanunla verilen sair işleri görmektir.

c) Devlet Opera ve Balesi Genel Müdürlüğünün bir disiplin kurulu vardır. Disiplin Kurulu Genel Müdür veya yardımcısının başkanlığında Genel Müzik İşleri Yöneticisi, Başrejisör, Başkoreograf, Bale Başöğretmeni, Teknik Müdür, Hukuk Müşaviri ile iki yılda bir orkestra, koro, solo ve bale sanatçılarının kendi aralarından seçecekleri birer sanatkardan teşekkül eder. Müdürlük Disiplin kurulu da müdür veya yardımcısının başkanlığında Müzik İşleri Yöneticisi Başrejisör, Başkoreograf, Bale Başöğretmeni, Teknik İşler yöneticisi ile Hukuk Müşaviri, iki yılda bir orkestra, koro, solo ve bale sanatçılarının

kendi aralarından seçecekleri birer sanatçıdan teşekkür eder.

Madde 4 - a) Genel Müzik Yöneticisi (Başorkestra Şefi niteliğinde), orkestra şefleri ve yardımcıları, başrejisör, rejisörler ve yardımcıları, koro sanatçıları, opera solistleri, orkestra sanatçıları, koro şefi ve yardımcıları, başkoreograf, bale başöğretmeni koreograflar, kordöbale şefi ve yardımcıları, bale öğretmenleri, bale sanatkarları, kostüm koraatörleri, Sanat Teknik Müdürü, balenotatörleri, dekoratörler, başdekoratör, şan pedagogları, başkorrepetitör Devlet Opera ve Balesi sanatkar memurlarıdır.

b) Repetitörler, korrepetitörler, başdromaturg ve dramaturglar, teknik müdür, başrealizatör, başışık uzmanı, başperukacı, Orkestra Müdürü (Müziyen), suflörler, lutiyeler, kondüvitler, bale piyanistleri Devlet Opera ve Balesi uygulatıcı uzman memurlarıdır.

c) Işık uzmanları, perukacılar, realizatörler, sahne uzmanları, atelye şefleri, butaforlar, kaşörler, kostümcüler, sahne marangozları, sahne demircileri, sahne makinistleri, kopistler, sahne müdürü ve yardımcıları, akortçular, desinatörler, makyajcılar, aksesuarcılar, sahne kunduracıları, saz tamir atelyesi şefi ve yardımcıları, opera yardımcı sınıf elemanları ile Teknik Kurul tarafından görevlerinin özelliği belirtilecek ihtisası bulunan elemanlar da Devlet Opera ve Balesi uzman memurları adını alırlar.

Madde 5 - Devlet Opera ve Balesinde :

a) Genel Müdür, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanının teklifi üzerine, yükseköğretim kurumlarının birinden mezun, özel veya kamu kuruluşlarında veya bunların her ikisinde en az 15 yıl hizmet görmüş; opera, bale, müzik alanlarından birinde başarılarıyla tanınmış sanatçılar, bu alanlarda eserler veren besteci veya yazarlar, temayüz etmiş opera veya bale yönetmenleri ile, üniversitelerde bu sanat dallarının birinde görev yapan öğretim elemanları arasından, müşterek kararname ile 657 sayılı Devlet Memurları Kanununun değişik 59 uncu maddesi hükmüne göre,

Bu bent 22.3.1983 R.G. tarihli 59 s. KHK ile değiştirilmiş, bilahare 22.3.1983 tarihinden geçerli olmak üzere 27.5.1983 R.G. tarihli 2832 s. Kanun ile aynen kabul edilmiştir.

b) Genel Müdür Yardımcısı, Genel Müdürün teklifi üzerine Millî Eğitim Bakanı; sair memur ve hizmetliler de Genel Müdür tarafından,

c) Yabancı uzmanlar Genel Müdürün teklifi üzerine Millî Eğitim Bakanı tarafından sözleşme ile,

d) Yerli ve yabancı misafir sanatkarlar, geçici süreli sözleşme ile genel müdür tarafından görevlendirilirler.

Sözleşmeli personelin sözleşmelerinin yenilenmesi de yapılışındaki usule tabidir.

Madde 6 - Diğer şehirlerde kurulacak Devlet Opera ve Balesi müdürlüklerinde :

a) Müdür, opera, bale ve müzik alanında başarıları ile tanınmış sanatkarlar arasından genel müdürün teklifi üzerine, Millî Eğitim Bakanı tarafından ve 3656 sayılı Kanunun 6 ncı maddesi hükmüne göre,

b) Yabancı uzmanlar müdürün teklifi ve genel müdürün tasvibi ile Millî Eğitim Bakanı tarafından sözleşme ile,

c) Yerli ve yabancı misafir sanatkarlar geçici süreli sözleşme ile müdür tarafından,

d) Her çeşit memur ve hizmetliler müdür tarafından görevlendirilirler. Sözleşmeli personelin sözleşmelerinin yenilenmesi de yapılışındaki usule tabidir.

Madde 7 - Devlet Konservatuvarı mezunları, stajyer kadrolarına göre idarî sözleşmeye tabi olmaksızın Devlet Opera ve Balesine alınırlar. Bunlar bir yıl süre ile stajyer olarak çalıştırılırlar. Bu sürenin bitiminde teknik kurul tarafından sınava tabi tutularak başarı gösterenler kabiliyetlerine göre derecelere ayrılarak sanatkarlığa alınırlar ve idarî sözleşmeye bağlanırlar.

Sınav sonucunda başarı gösteremiyenler veya bunlardan teknik kurul

kararı ile bir yıl daha staja tabi tutulmasına lüzum görülenler için ikinci yıl sonunda, yeniden yapılacak sınavda başarı sağlayamazlarsa görevden çıkarılırlar. Bunlardan mecburi hizmeti olanlar Milli Eğitim Bakanlığının uygun göreceği hizmetlerde çalıştırılırlar.

Stajyerler, staj süresi içinde idarî sözleşmeli sanatkârlara ait haklardan yararlanırlar ve yükümlülüklerden sorumlu olurlar.

Madde 8 - Devlet Opera ve Balesinde Devlet Konservatuarı mezunları dışından da sanatkâr istihdam edilebilir. Bu gibi sanatkârlar, teknik kurul tarafından sınava tabi tutularak gösterecekleri başarı ve kabiliyet derecesine göre kurulca tespit edilecek ücretlerle sanatkâr olarak ve idarî sözleşme ile hizmete alınırlar.

Memleketin, opera ve bale sahne hayatında öteden beri yüksek başarı ile tanınmış olanlar, teknik kurul kararı ile sınavsız olarak alınabilirler. Kendileri ile idarî sözleşme yapılır. Ücretleri yukarıdaki esaslara göre kurulca tespit edilir.

Madde 9 - Çalışmakta olan sanatkârların, uygulatıcı uzmanların ve uzman memurların müteakıp sözleşme devresinde alabilecekleri ücret miktarı, gösterecekleri ehliyet ve başarıya göre sözleşmelerinin yenilenmesinde teknik kurulca tespit edilir ve kararlaştırılır.

Ücretleri indirmeye ve yükseltmeye teknik kurul yetkilidir. Ancak, bu indirme ve yükseltme emeklilikle kazanılan hakları ihlâl edemez. Mukavelenin feshi halinde genel hükümler uygulanır.

Madde 10 - Genel Müdürlükte genel müdürle, müdürlüklerde müdürle sanatkârlar, uygulatıcı uzman memurlar ve sair sözleşmeli görevliler arasında yapılacak idarî sözleşmeler noter huzurunda yapılmış sözleşmeler hükmündedir ve hiçbir harç, vergi ve resme tabi değildir.

Madde 11 - Devlet Konservatuarında parasız yatılı okuyanlardan Devlet Opera ve Balesi sanatkârlığına alınan stajyer ve sözleşmeli sanatkârların burada geçirdikleri süre mecburi hizmetlerine mahsubedilir.

Madde 12 - a) Devlet Opera ve Balesi sanatkârları, uygulatıcı uzman memurlar ile uzman memurları ve stajyerler tespit edilecek ehliyet ve iktidarları nazarı itibara alınarak aşağıda gösterilen ücretlerle çalıştırılırlar.

Stajyer ayda	1 200 Tl.
Uzman memurlar ayda	800 Tl. - 3 500 Tl.
Ugulatıcı uzman memurlar ayda	1 000 Tl. - 4 250 Tl.
Sanatkâr memurlar ayda	1 500 Tl. - 5 500 Tl.

b) Devlet Opera ve Balesi Genel Müdürü ile Opera ve Bale müdürlerine en yüksek sanatkâr memur ücretine ilâve olarak, Bakanlar Kurulunca tayin edilecek miktarda idare ve temsil ödeneği verilir.

c) Devlet Opera ve Balesi sanatkârları, içkili gazino ve benzeri yerlerde çalışamazlar. Aksi halde, genel müdürlük ve müdürlüklerce re'sen sözleşmeleri feshedilir.

Madde 13 - İki ayrı görevi aynı zamanda yapan sanatkârlara, ikinci görevi için ve bu görevin devamınca, almakta oldukları aylık ücretlerinin tutarını ve bir ayı geçmemek ve yılda bir defa olmak üzere teknik kurulca tespit edilecek miktarda ek ücret ödenebilir.

Madde 14 - 6388 sayılı Kanun hükümleri, Devlet Opera ve Balesi sanatkârları, uygulatıcı uzmanlar hakkında da uygulanır. Uzman memurlar aynı kanunun 3 üncü maddesi hariç diğer hükümlerinden faydalanırlar.

Madde 15 - Devlet Opera ve Balesi Genel Müdürlüğünce ve Devlet Bu maddenin yurtiçi turne faaliyetlerine katılacaklara ödenecek harcırah yevmiyelerinin tesbitini düzenleyen hükmü 1.3.1982 tarihinden geçerli olmak üzere 15.12.1981 R.G. tarihli 2562 s.

No.4- continue

Kanun ile yürürlükten kaldırılmıştır.

Opera ve Balesi müdürlüklerince tertip edilecek yurt içi turne faaliyetlerine katılacak sanatkâr memurlar, uygulatıcı uzman memurlar ve uzman memurlarla diğer görevlilere ödenecek harcırah yevmiyeleri 75 lirayı geçmemek üzere her yıl teknik kurulca tespit edilir. Turnelerdeki ikamet yerleri genel müdürlükçe temin edilir ve parası da genel müdürlükçe ödenir. Turne ile ilgili seyahatlerin zamanı ve hangi vasıtalar ile yapılacağı genel müdürlükçe tayin olunur. Harcırah yevmiyelerinden herhangi bir kesinti yapılamaz ve otel ücreti tenzil edilemez. Yurt dışı turne faaliyetlerine ait yolluk ve harcırahlar hakkında genel hükümler uygulanır.

Madde 16 - a) Devlet Opera ve Balesi sanatkârlarını, diğer idari sözleşmeli memurlarını görgü ve bilgi ve ihtisaslarını artırmak maksadiyle yol parası ve almakta oldukları aylık ücretlerini müessese bütçesinden vermek suretiyle azamî bir yıla kadar ve beş yıl içerisinde bir defaya mahsus olmak üzere yabancı memleketlere göndermeye Devlet Opera ve Balesi Genel Müdürlüğü ve müdürlükleri yetkilidir.

Bu hususlar için ilgili teknik kuruldan karar alınır.

Bu madde uyarınca kendilerine izin verilmiş olanların memuriyetleri ile buna ait her türlü hak ve yükümlülükleri saklı kalır.

b) Devlet Opera ve Balesi mensuplarının hastalık veya her türlü estetik cerrahi dahil, ameliyat ve müdahaleye maruz kalmaları halinde, lüzum ve zaruretlere göre yurt içinde veya dışında muayene ve münferiden veya refakatta tedavi ettirmeye gerekli ilaç, protez ve sair masrafları ile cenaze masraflarını yapmaya Devlet Opera ve Balesi Genel Müdürlüğü ve müdürlükleri yetkilidir.

Tedavi, ameliyat ve müdahalenin yurt dışında yapılması gerektiği takdirde bu konuda teknik kuruldan karar alınır.

c) Bilgi ve görgü maksadiyle yabancı memleketlere gönderilen sanatkâr ve diğer görevliler yurda dönüşlerinde yabancı memleketlerde kaldıkları sürenin bir buçuk katı kadar mecburi hizmetle yükümlüdürler.

Madde 17 - Devlet Opera ve balesi mensupları, 7244, 263 ve 819 sayılı kanunlarla tanınan haklardan yararlanırlar. İdari sözleşmeli memurlara ödenecek meblâğ, idari sözleşmelerle belli edilen aylıklara ilâve edilmek suretiyle hesaplanır.

Madde 18 - 657 sayılı Kanunla değerlendirme, sınav ve ödül kurullarına verilen görevler, teknik kurul tarafından ifa edilir.

Madde 19 - Sanatkârların, uygulatıcı uzman ve uzman memurların sözleşme, tedavi, ayrılış ölüm tazminatı, izin, yolluk, inceleme seyahati, disiplin işleri ile opera ve balenin iç yönetim işleri ve 3 üncü maddede gösterilen kurulların çalışma esasları tüzük ve yönetmeliklerle düzenlenir.

Madde 20 - Devlet Opera ve Balesinin gelirleri :

- Genel Bütçenin Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı kısmının «Eğitim kurumları» giderleri tertibinden ayrılan ödenek,
- Temsil ve konserlerden elde edilecek hasılat,
- Tanıtıcı ve aydınlatıcı yayınlar hasılatı,
- Opera ve bale faaliyetinden yararlanan iller özel idareleri ile belediyelerince yapılabilecek bağışlar,
- Her türlü bağışlar ile diğer çeşitli gelirler,
- Yurt içi ve yurt dışı festival gelirlerinden elde edilecek hasılatтан ibarettir.

☒ Madde 21 - Devlet Opera ve Balesi Genel Müdürlüğünün bütçesi her Bu maddenin 10.4.1990 R.G. tarihli 409 s. KHK ile değiştirilen şeklidir.

yıl Maliye ve Gümrük Bakanlığının olumlu görüşü üzerine Genel Müdürlükçe hazırlanır ve Kültür Bakanlığınca tasdik edilir.

Devlet Opera ve Balesi müdürlüklerinin bütçeleri müstakil olarak

No.4- continue

Maliye ve Gümrük Bakanlığının olumlu görüşü üzerine müdürlüklerince hazırlanır ve Genel Müdürlüğün tasvibinden sonra Kültür Bakanlığınca tasdik edilir.

☒ Madde 22 - Devlet Opera ve Balesinin, Kültür Bakanlığınca tasdik Bu maddenin 10.4.1990 R.G. tarihli 409 s. KHK ile değiştirilen şeklidir.

edilecek olan bütçesi ve buna dayanılarak yıl içinde yapılacak giderlere ve gelirlere ait evrak tetkik ve vize edilmek üzere kesin hesap cetvelleriyle birlikte yıl sonundan itibaren en çok üç ay içinde Sayıştaya gönderilir.

Madde 23 - Devlet Opera ve Balesi muamelâtında 1050 sayılı Muhasebeî Umumiye Kanunu ile 2490 sayılı Artırma, Eksiltme ve İhale Kanunu hükümleri uygulanmaz. Müessesenin alım ve satım muameleleri ile hesap usulleri Maliye ve Millî Eğitim Bakanlıklarınca müştereken tespit olunacak esaslara göre yürütülür. Devlet Opera ve Balesinin hasılatı ve muameleleri her türlü vergi, harç ve resimlerden muaftır.

Madde 24 - Devlete ait binalardan Devlet Opera ve Balesi için lüzum görülenler Millî Eğitim Bakanlığının teklifi üzerine Maliye Bakanlığınca eşya ve tesisleri ile beraber bu müesseselere parasız olarak tahsis edilebilir.

☒ Madde 25 - .....

Bu madde 27.6.1979 R.G. tarihli 2252 s. Kanun ile yürürlükten kaldırılmıştır.

Madde 26 - 5441 ve 6629 sayılı kanunlarda opera ve baleye ilişkin hükümler kaldırılmıştır.

Madde 27 - 274 ve 275 sayılı kanunların hükümleri Devlet Opera ve Balesi mensuplarına uygulanmaz.

☒ Ek Madde 1 - Kanunda geçen Millî Eğitim Bakanı ifadeleri, Kültür

Bu madde 22.3.1983 R.G. tarihli 59 s. KHK ile eklenmiş, bilahare 22.3.1983 tarihinden geçerli olmak üzere 27.5.1983 R.G. tarihli 2832 s. Kanun ile aynen kabul edilmiştir.

ve Turizm Bakanı, Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı ifadeleri de, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı olarak değiştirilmiştir.

Geçici Madde 1 - 5441 ve 6629 sayılı kanunlara göre faaliyette bulunan Devlet Tiyatrosunun, Büyük Tiyatro binasındaki, mobilya, mefruşat, gardrop, aksesuar, dekor ve sair malzemesi arasından Devlet Opera ve Balesine devredilecek olanların listesi, Maliye Bakanlığınca seçilecek bir, Millî Eğitim Bakanlığından Bakanlıkça seçilecek iki, tiyatro ve opera uzman ve idarecilerinden seçilecek üçer kişi olmak üzere dokuz kişiden ibaret bir heyet tarafından tespit ve tanzim edilir.

Yapılacak bu tespite göre heyetçe hazırlanacak liste en geç altı ay içinde Millî Eğitim Bakanlığının tasvibine sunulur.

Geçici Madde 2 - Devlet Opera ve Balesi sanatkârları ve mütehasıs hizmetlileri ile Devlet Tiyatrosu Genel Müdürlüğü arasında imzalanmış olan sözleşmeler, bu kanunun yürürlüğe girmesiyle Devlet Opera ve Balesi Genel Müdürlüğü ile akdedilmiş sayılır.

Madde 28 - Bu kanun yayımı tarihinde yürürlüğe girer.

Madde 29 - Bu kanunun hükümlerini Bakanlar Kurulu yürütür.

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BU KANUNDA DEĞİŞİKLİK YAPAN  
MEVZUAT

No.4- continue



Değişiklik Yapan Mevzuat No.	Yayımlandığı R.Gazete Tarih ve No.	Yürürlük Tarihi	Değiştirilen Maddeler
2252	27.6.1979 - 16679	27.6.1979	Md.25
2562	15.12.1981 - 17545	1.3.1982	Md.15
KHK/59	22.3.1983 - 17995	22.3.1983	Md.5, Ek Md.1
2832	27.5.1983 - 18059	22.3.1983	Md.5, Ek Md.1
KHK/409	10.4.1990 - 20488	10.4.1990	Md.21,22

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No.5- Hekimođlu, Múşerref. “Başkent’in Tansiyonunu Sanat Olayları Dúşürüyor- Romeo ve Júlyet Rúya gibi bir Bale, bu rúyayı Sunay da gördü” (Artistic Events are Calming Down the Temperature of The Capital- A Ballet like Romeo and Julliet, Sunay Also had the Dream), unknown newspaper, 10/31/1972. From the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus

rında Romeo ve Jülyet'in dünyasına girdiler... Cumhurbaşkanı Sunay perde kapandıktan sonra sanatçıları kabul etti lo-casında. Türk balelerine büyük emekler veren Dame Ninette De Valois da çok alkışlandı seyirciler tarafından.

#### RODRİGES SEREFİNE KADEHLER KALKTI

Romeo ve Jülyet balelerini Rodrigues sahneye koydu. İspanyol ve Güney Afrikalı karışımı bir dansçı bu Rodrigues, bazı dansların çok sıcak olmasının nedeni bu belki de

Hemen ekliyeyim Meriç Sümen ile Oytun Tufanda'ma da çok tatlı bir Romeo - Jülyet'liği var. Danslarıyla çok güzel bir aşk köprüsü kuruyorlar, ikisi de müthiş heyecanlıydı. Osman Şengezer, Meriç Sümer ve Oytun Tufanda Büyük Ankara Otel'i'nin gece kulübünde küçük bir toplantı düzenliyerek Rod onuruna kadehler kaldırdılar geç saatlerde Meriç Sümen üzeri çiçekli vual bir elbise giymişti. Annesi babası ve yakınları arasında çok mufluydu. Dame Ninette De Valois'in de gözleri parlıyordu. Romeo ve Jülyet de baleimizin eski yıldızlarından Tenasüp Onat da var. Leydi Capulet rolünde, operaden Leman Cıdamlı da dedeyi canlandırıyor, doğrusu pek başarılı ama müthiş bir rakibini var. Meriç Sümer'in annesi de bu role is teki üstelik provaya da lüzum yok diyor!. Meriç gibi bir yıldızı doğurmanın tadını çıkarıyor güzel esprilerle.

Matin Ant elastisrölikten vaz geçmiş artık ilk defa büyük bir rahatlıkla bir bale seyrettiğini, tepkilerini gösterdiğini söylüyor. O akşam çukulata renkli balecimiz Sait Sökmen'in e kulakları çok çınlatıldı. Çünkü bir gece önce onun kurbanını seyretmişti bir çok kişi. Balecilerde çok sevdiğim bir şey var, o rekabet kavgaları, sanat çizgisinin çok altına düşen soysuzlaşmaların dışında kalmayı başarıyorlar. Birbirlerinden çok güzel bahsediyorlar.

## HÜRREM SULTAN'IN KONUSU:

Kanuni'nin haremine girip gözdeci olan Hürrem Sultan, Gâlibahar koltandan olma şehzade Mustafa'ya İktisatçı ve Kanuni şahadeti boğdurur. Kanuni pigmandır ama bu olay İmparatorluğun ve kendisinin ihtişamına halel getirmesin...

3.5 AYLIK BİR GECİKMEDEN SONRA

G - TERCÜMAN - 34

# Devlet Balesi Hürrem Sultan'la perdelerini açtı

ANKARA BÜROSU

Devlet Balesi müziki Nâvîlî Kodallı'ya ait, koreografisini Oytun Turfanda, dekor ve kostümlerini de Osman Şengezer'in yaptığı "Hürrem Sultan"la perdelerini önceki gece açtı. Balesini açtisi 3.5 aylık bir gecikmeyle gerçekleşti. Şehir bala sanatçılarının çalıştığı eski halkevi binasının zargı sorununa halina getirilmesi ve çalışacak yer buluramamasıydı...

### KİMLER VARDI?

Hürrem Sultan'ın Galasine Senato Başkanı Tâleddin Artun'un un yemedi aynı geceye rastlamıştı. Ama "Bale"yi "Yemek"le tercih edenler vardı. Eğitim Bakanı Ali Nallı Erdem, Kontenjan Senatosu Başkanı Şerif Tâleddin, Cumhurbaşkanı'nın genel sekreteri Fâat Soyramoğlu, Deniz Kuvvetleri Komutanı Hilmi Feat, Dışişleri menzupları salonun "Siyasi ve askerî" kısmını oluştuyordu. CHP'den de Ali Topuz da fuayede yeşil kadife tuvaletli ve vizon etolü eşyile dikkatleri çekti.

Sanatçılar cephesi de oldukça kalabalıktı. Onlu kemancımız Suna Kan "Kollarının uyumsuzluğundan" şikayet ediyordu. Doğum yapmak üzere olan Meric Sümer gene de galayı kaçırmamıştı. Mithat Ferhat, Ferit Tüzün, Cüneyt Gökcer tiyatro, opera ve bale için eski ve yeni başarıları ile rakı tayyedeydiler.

Hürrem Sultan'ın galasında üniversite mensupları da dikkatli çekti. Prof. Reşat Aktan, Doç. Mukbil Özyörük, Doç. Kurthan Elsek, Dr. İbar Ortaylı

ını ortadan kaldırmıyordu. Dekor içinde "İhtisam"ın sadakate yansıtması bakımından "Başarılı" deyimini kullanmak versiz oluyordu...

Oytun Turfanda'nın koreografisi için aynı "Başarılı" puanlarını vermek ise pek mümkün değildi. Turfanda, "Ara dans"ları düzenlerken başarıları olmuştur ama Hürrem Sultan'ın ansiyasını verirken, başyığı ağır kalmıştı. Çabada bala yapayım derken "Dramatizasyon" ağır basmış, bir çok yerde "Sesiz Tiyatro" ortaya çıkmıştı.

No.6- "Devlet Balesi Hürrem Sultan'la Perdelerini Açtı" (State Ballet Opened its Curtain with Hürrem Sultan), Ankara Office, *Tercüman*, February, 1977, from the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus

çirnağına. Mikhal Fomen, Ferit Tüzün, Cüneyt Gökcer tiyatro, opera ve balenin eski ve yeni başları olarak tuayede ydiler..

Hürrem Sultan'ın galasında üniversite mensupları da dikkati çekti. Prof. Reşat Aktan, Doç. Mukbil Özyörük, Doç. Kurthan Fişek, Dr. İber Ortaylı görebildiklerimiz arasındaydı..

#### MÜZİK VE KOSTÜMLER

Nevit Kodallı'nın "Hürrem Sultan" bale müziği "İsmarılama" bir ozerdi. Oytun Turfanda'nın isteği üzerine Kodallı uzun bir çalışmayla ve bale salonunun özelliklerini de dikkate alarak müziği hazırlamıştı. Müzik başarılıydı. "Mahter" ve "Takbir" in modernizasyonu ve çok seslendirilişindeki güzelliği kulaklar rahatlıkla fark ediyordu. Müzik, "Devri Osmanî"yi şağdas bir biçimde yansıtıyordu..

Hürrem Sultan'da, seyircinin en çok alkışladığı kişi dekor ve kostümlerin yaratıcısı Osman Şengezer oldu. Gerçekten de Şengezer, özellikle kız dansçılarının kostümlerinde son derece başarılı olmuştu. Kostümler hem bir devri tam anlamıyla ve bütün ihtişamıyla yansıtıyor, hem de "Bale"nin inceliklerini ortaya çıkaran parakellere mani olmuyor, vücut hatla-

TÜRK BALEİNİN GELECEĞİ NE OLACAKTIR

Travis Kemp  
çev: Filiz Ali

Bale, uluslararası Tiyatro sanatlarının bir çeşididir. Dil ayrılığı olamadığından bekki de Tiyatro sanatı çeşitleri içinde en önemli olanıdır.

Avrupa ülkelerinde, geçmiş dört veya beş yüzyıl içersinde bir temel Bale tekniği yaratılmış ve geliştirilmiştir. Bu temel teknik uluslararasıdır ama her ülke bunu kendi vücut, ruh ve duyu özelliklerine göre uygulayıp milli sanat anlayışına eklemelidir.

Bu klasik tekniği herhangi bir ülkede, başka bir ülkenin özelliklerine göre uygulanmış şekliyle öğretmeye kalkışmak hiç de iyi sonuçlar vermez.

Yabancı öğretmenler bir ülkede, o ülkenin milli özelliklerini incelemeye yetecek kadar kalmalıdır. Bu özellikleri öğretim tarzlarına uyguluyabilsinler ve onları değiştirmeye yahut kendilerine uydurmaya çalışmasınlar.

Ana vatanında ne kadar tanınmış olurlarsa olsunlar, misafir oldukları ülkenin milli özelliklerini anlayıp, bu özelliklere en uygun öğretim şeklini bulup geliştirmeye yetecek kadar uzun bir süre kalmadıktan sonra bu ülkeye ard arda getirtilen yabancı öğretmenlerden iyi sonuçlar ummak yersiz olur.

Türk dansçılarının henüz bir bale geleneği yoktur, fakat böyle bir geleneğin olmaması onların sanatlarına daha büyük bir özgürlükle yaklaşmalarını sağlıyor. Geleneğin kurallarına bağlı olmalarından yeni fikirlerinin gençlik ve tazeliğini sanatlarına ekliyebiliyorlar.

Bununla beraber, Türk dansçısının kökü çok eskiye dayanan büyük bir Halk Dansı geleneği vardır. Başka ülkelerin tersine, özellikle oğlan çocukları için dans, bir çeşit anlatım yolu olmuştur. Bu çocuklarda; hayatiyet, ritim, doğal bir duygululuk, hareketlerde özgürlük ve eşliklerinde çok güçlü olmaları göze çarpan en önemli özelliklerdir. Bütün bunlar geliştirilmeli ve en iyi şekliyle kullanılabilir duruma getirilmelidir. Hiçbir surette -başka ülkelerde görüldüğü gibi-"efeminë" olmaların a yol açmamalıdır.

Kızların çoğunluğunun vücutu, diğer ülkelerde geleneksel diye kabul edilen vücuttan daha kalındır ama çok kuvvetli ve serbest

hareketlidirler. Özellikle parmak ucunda çok kuvvetli, "Tour de Force" ve "Pas de Deux" de korkusuzdurlar. Yine bütün bu iyi yönlerin geliştirilmesi gerekiyor. Bu dansçıları yüz yıl önce ki "Petipa" dansçısının kopyası yapmak hem sıkıcı hem de gereksizdir.

Eğer Bale dansçıları yetiştirmemiz gerekiyorsa, "Türk" bale dansçıları olmalıdır bunlar, başka ülkelerin dansçılarının sönük kopyaları değil. Fransız, İtalyan, Rus, İngiliz ve Amerikan dansçılarının hepsinin değişik bale anlayışları ve stilleri vardır. Türk dansçılarının da kendilerine özgü bir anlayışları olmalıdır.

Öğretmen ile öğrenci arasındaki bağ çok hassas bir bağlıdır. Hergün bir grup öğrencinin önüne oturup onların bir takım belirli çalışmalarını yapmalarını seyrederek bale öğretmenliği yaptığınızı sanmak gülünç olur.

Her dansçı ayrı ayrı ele alınmalı, vücut ve ruh sorunları gözönünde tutulmalıdır. Öğretmenle öğrenci arasında karşılıklı saygı, güven ve sevgi kurulmalı, dansçının kişilik ve artistik gelişme sorunu ailesi ile paylaşılmalıdır.

Dansçı ve öğretmen arasındaki bağ böylece kurulunca, öğretmen bir temel olur ve dansçı artistik geleceğini bu temel üzerine kurar. Şu halde dansçıyı 18 veya 19 gibi çok önemli bir yaşta bu temelden uzaklaştırmanın ve her türlü bağı yasak etmenin onun üzerinde yapacağı psikolojik etkiyi kavramak pek zor olmasa gerek.

Dansçının ilk dersinden başlayarak kendi artistik geleceğini kontrol edebileceği çağa gelene kadar geçireceği akıl, vücut ve ruh gelişmelerinde bir devamlılık olması gereklidir. Büyük sanatçılar bile artistik bakımdan tam özgür olamamışlar ve ölünceye kadar kendileriyle baştan beri beraber olan öğretmenlerine dayanmışlardır.

Devlet Tiyatrosu ve Devlet Konservatuvarının birbirleriyle hiçbir ilişkisi olmamasının genç sanatçılar üzerinde yapacağı korkunç etkiyi anlamak çok kolaydır. Konservatuvardan mezun olmak ne yazık ki bir kapıdan geçmeye benziyor, o kapı ki geçer geçmez arkamızdan vurulup kapatılıyor ve mezuniyet öncesiyle sonrası hayatları arasında hiçbir bağıntı bırakılmıyor. Oysaki, mezuniyet, sanatçıyı yükselten basamaklardan biri olmalı, sonra ki gelişmesi bu yükselişin mantiki bir devamı olmalıdır.

Dansçı ile bir şişe şarap arasında bir benzetme yapalım. Konservatuvarda şarap yapılıp şişeleniyor, ama şarapın lezzetlenmesi isteniyorsa en iyi şartlar altında dinlendirilmesi, olgunlaştırılması gerekir. Her şeyin en iyisini arzulayan bir şarapçı herhalde elindeki malı bu işe değer vermeyen bütün isteği şarabı bir an evvel piyasaya sürüp para kazanmak olan bir organizasyona teslim etmek istemez. Oysaki, bizim dansçılarımızın başına gelen ne yazık ki yukardaki örneğin eşi.

Bir sanatçı için mezuniyetten sonraki gelişme ve olgunlaşma devresi çok önemlidir, yardımcısız kalınca bütün istidadın yokolup, gelecek için hiçbir şey kalmaması öyle kolaydır ki .

Balede bu durum gözle görülmeye başladı bile. İki yıl önce Binay Okurer'e uluslararası bir yıldız adayı gözü ile bakılıyordu, oysa şimdi kendisi Devlet Tiyatrosundan çekilmiştir. Alkışlar bu sefer Meriç Sümen'e dönmüş durumda. Onun yıldızı ne zaman sönecek acaba? Türkiye'ye kurban edilen birinci sınıf dansçılardan bir başkası da Cantürk Sakarya'dır. Bütün bu olanlar Devlet Opera Balesini idare eden şahısların anlayış kıtlığından ileri gelmiştir.

Devlet Konservatuarı ve Devlet Balesi yöneticileri arasında tam bir anlaşmagerekmektedir, ve hatta Devlet Balesi bilgili, anlayışlı, ve güçlü bir yönetici ile ayrı ve özgür bir hale getirilmelidir.

Bale Tarihinde hiçbir zaman bir Opera Yöneticisinin yönetimi altında ileri bale dansçılarının yetişip geliştiği görülmemiştir.

New York'daki Metropolitan Operasının bir balesi vardır ama, ancak New York City Ballet veya Martha Graham topluluğu gibi özgür topluluklar Amerika'nın bale şanını geliştirip yayabiliyorlar.

Eskiden beri yerleşmiş bir balesi vardır Paris Operasının ama Fransa, bale dünyasındaki yerini "Ballet des Champs Elysee" ve Roland Petit'nin "Ballet de Paris" dans toplulukları ile sağlayabilmiştir.

Eski bale topluluklarından biri de Milano Scala'sındadır ama İtalya'da hiçbir özgür bale topluluğu olmadığından yıllardır hiçbir gelişme görülmemiştir bu ülkede.

Almanya'daki bütün operalara bir de bale bağlıdır ama dans dünya sına Almanya'nın neler yapabileceğini göstermek Kurt Joos'un ve Mary Wigman'ın toplulukları gibi bağımsız topluluklara kalmıştır.

İngiltere'de Royal Ballet'nin de Rambert Ballet'nin de hep özgür yöneticileri olmuştur.



Şu halde, Türk Balesi, Opera Balesi olarak kalma çıkmazından kurtarılmazsa bütün canlılığı ve gençliği, çabucak genişleme kaabiliyeti ve isteğine rağmen ölmeye mahkûmdur.

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Devlete bağlı olan Bale topluluğunun dört görevi vardır:

- 1.) Halkı eğlendirmek.
- 2.) Halka bilgi vermek.
- 3.) Yerli istidatları en yüksek dereceye ulaştırmak.
- 4.) Ülkenin ulusal özelliklerine dayanan dans kültürünü dünyaya sunabilecek eserler ortaya çıkarmak.

Şu and a bu görevlerin hangisi yerine getiriliyor?

Birincisi üzerinde epey tartışılabilir.

İkincisi, yüzyıllık geçmişi olan balelerin yanı sıra sunulan çağdaş ama başka bir ülkenin dansçıları için yaratılmış bir iki eserle halka bilgi verdik, öğretici olduk denemez. Türk dansçısının kendine özge dehasını ortaya çıkartacak yeni, araştırmacı baleler yapılmalıdır.

Üçüncüye gelince, herhalde genç istidatlar Binay Okurer ve Cantürk Sakarya örneklerinde görüldüğü gibi toptan çürümeye veya baleden ayrılmaya bırakılmamalıdır.

İstidatlı genç dansçılara mezun olur olmaz baş roller verilerek zarar görmelerine sebep olunuyor. Bunların istidatları iyice kurutulduktan sonra sıra daha yeni mezunlara geliyor. Opera Balesi ancak Konservatuvardan belirli sürelerde yapılan kan yardımlarıyla yaşatılabilir.

Dördüncüye gelince, Opera Balesi şu güne dek Türk dansçısının özelliklerini ortaya koyan yeni, orijinal, yabancı ülkelerde de ilgi çekebilecek tek bir eser sahneye koyabildi mi?

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Türk Bale ve Koreografi istidatlarını geliştirmenin iki yolu vardır.

1.) Devlet Balesini Operanın kısıntılı yönetiminden tam anlamıyla kurtarmak, bağımsızlaştırmak ve uygun bir Bale Yöneticisinin eline vermek. Ayrıca Operalarda kullanılmak üzere Opera Müdürünün Yönetimi altında ufak bir dansçı topluluğu bırakmak.

2.) Eğer Devlet Balesini Opera yöneticisinin elide çürümeye bırakacaksa, hiç olmazsa Konservatuvarda küçük fakat çok canlı, istidatlı ve hareketli bir topluluk yaratmalıyız.

Bunların ikisini de yapamazsak Türk dansçılarını yetiştirmek için harcanan zaman, istidat, para ve ağır çalışma ziyan edilmiş olur.



solme

YAZAN:

Metin And

Konservatuarda, bale öğretmeni Travis Kemp tarafından verilen bir konferansı ele alan yazar, bu konferansa ve Türk Bale'sinin durumuna değiniyor

## Bir konferansın düşündürdüğü

«Ah şu Devlet Tiyatrosu» başlıklı bir yazı yazmış, ve Devlet Tiyatrosunun aksaklıklarını, yanlış yöneltişini uzun süren bir yazı dizisiyle orta koyacağımı belirtmişim. Bu yazı dizisinde daha sonra ele almayı düşündüğüm bir konuyu bu hatta dinlendim bir konferans balmından öngördüm. Konferans Devlet Konservatuarında verildi; konferansı bale öğretmeni Travis Kemp'ti. Dıyeceksiniz ben Konservatuar'a nasıl girdim. Gerçekten bugüne kadar bu kurumün kapıları yüzüme kapanmış, konservatuardaki ler tenkidten hoşlanmadıkları için hiç bir temsil beni çağırma olmuştur. Ama şimdi durum değişti. Konservatuar'ın belki ilk defa aydın, uyanık, yansız, kültürü bir müdürü var: İhan Usmanbaş. Kendisi, tenkidten değil çekinmek, tersten tenkid isteklendirecek Babu kadada bir müdür olduğu için ben de böylece aydın konservatuar'ın kapıları açıldı. Travis Kemp'in konferansını burada ele alıyorum iki neden var. İlkin Travis Kemp bu köşeden sık sık balemin gelişmesine engel olan öğretmenlerden biri olarak anılır. Okuyucularım için yabancı değildir, hatırla o kadar ki bu gazetenin yapılarında onun bir mektubu bile yayımlandı. Hand bütün dünya baleleri'nin ve Anna Pavlova gibi ünlü dansçıların oynadığı Coppella'ya lesi için «bayağı» bir eser diyen öğretmenidir. Sonra da Travis Kemp'in «Türk Balemin geleceği ne olacaktır?» konulu konferansında söyledikler çok doğrudur, öylesine doğrudur ki bu satırların yazarı bunları çok daha önce bes, altı yıl önce KİM dergisinde uzun bir yazı dizisinde yazmış, ondan sonra da gerek Türkçe gerek İngilizce bir çok yazarlarında savınmıştır. İşte Travis Kemp'in konferansı baştan aşağı benim söylediklerimin bir tekrarı oldu. Gönlü isterdi ki bu doğru fikirlerin sözcüğü Travis Kemp değil de başkası olsun; çünkü yıllardır bu söylemlerin gerçekleştirilmesine engel olanlarda birisi de Travis Kemp'in kendisidir. Örnek istersem bu köşeden yazdığım eski yazılarda bu örnekler bol bol

okulu bitiren öğrencileri meslekten dansçı olduklarında da izleyebilmeli, onlarla bağlantı kopmamalı; yani Devlet Tiyatrosu ile Devlet Konservatuarı arasında sıkı işbirliği olmalı. Devlet Balesi de dört görevi olduğunu bilmesi buna göre davranmalı. Bu görevler şunlardır. Halkı eğlendirmek - Halkı eğitmek - Ulusal yetenekleri en iyi biçimde geliştirmek ilkinin ulusal özelliklerine dayanan eserler yaratmak.

Şimdi bu fikirleri tartışalım. Önce opera - bale ayrılığı. Gerçekten iyi bale toplulukları operadan ayrılır. Her ne kadar bu sanatlar en başlarda beraber idilerse de.. Ama aynı çatı, tek bir yönetim altında fakat her birinin başlarında kendi sanat yöneticileri bulunan opera - baleler vardır. Ben bunların uzun bir listesini bir kaç hafta önce Forum dergisinde yayınlamıştım. Kopenhag Kraliyet Balesi'nin de başlarında opera ve bale tiyatrosu, hem bale ornandır. Tek bir yönetim altındadır, fakat her bir kolun kendi «Artistik Direktörü» vardır. Covent Garden'da böyle. Bir Covent Garden'in genel müdürü vardır. Bu genel müdürlük altında opera ve balelerin birer ayrı sanat yöneticisi vardır. Bale için Dame Ninette, de Valois idi, bu ay sonunda Frederic Ashton olacaktır. Bugün için ayrı bir bale genel müdürlüğü düşünemeyiz.. Opera için ayrıca yeterince dansçı da yoktur. Opera ile baleyi tiyatrodan beraberce de ayıramayız. Neden olduğunu bu köşeden uzun uzun açıklamıştır. Bu durumda yukarıda verdiğim örneklerde olduğu gibi tek bir genel müdürlük altında üç kol, ve her birinde şimdilik dışardan getirilecek birer sanat yöneticisi, birer «Artistik direktör» olmalı. Bugün balemin mutsuzluğu başında yetki sahibi birinin bulunması, operanın başındakilerin kışkırtıcı ile her gün baltalanmasıdır. Genç Cüneyt Gökçer çağında halemi gelişmiştir, büyük başarılar göstermiştir. Cüneyt Gökçer kendisinden önce gelen genel müdürler gibi davranmamış bu işe önem vermiştir. Onun başarısının nedeni bu işi bugün dünyanın bir numaralı ba-

lecisi Ninette de Valois'ın eline vermesidir, fakat öte yandan işin uygulanması operacıların elindedir, balemin başında yetkili, orkestra, dekor ve benzeri işlerde karar sahibi biri yoktur, bu yüzden operacıların hızla gelişen bale karşısında kışkırtılıktan sonra bale ile baltalanmaktadır. Nitekim Uyuyan Güznel gibi çok üstün bir temsil hazırlayan balecilerimiz aradan bir aydan fazla geçtiği halde hala bir orkestra provası verilmemekte bile bile inat edilmektedir. Bundan sonra da artık geçtir, çünkü baleyi sahneye koyan kişiler burada olmayacaklar. Başkan Kennedy için üç günlük yas sırasında buna vakit vardı, operacılar kendi Eugene Onegin temsilini bugünlerde prova ettiler, fakat Uyuyan Güznel'e gene prova verilmedi. Gene yanlış bir siyaset yüzünden içinde bale olan operalar birbirini ardına konarak baleciler güç durumda kalmışlardır. Arka planı şöylece

operacılar balecilerin başarısını kıskanıyor, onu baltalamaya çalışıyorlar. En kısa sürede balemin başında operacılar kadar sözü geçen bir yönetici gerekiyor. İstenirse Ninette de Valois bu kimseyi gönderebilir. Travis Kemp konferansında balecileri şaraba benzetti. Ona göre Konservatuar'da iyi yapılan şarap Devlet Tiyatrosunda iyi yillandırılmadığı için bozuluyormuş. Buna hangi yüzde, nasıl yüzde kızarmadan söylediydi? Orada bale öğretmeni Molly Lake derslerini yüzümlü buralar, başını alıp Güney Afrika'da aylarca kalır, hiç bir sorumluluk duygusu taşınmadan aylarca müziksiz ders yapılır, çoğu zaman pas de deux sunmaları yapılmaz, öğrenciler koreografiktan hiç nasibolmayan fakat kendi gençliğinde doyurulmamış hevesleri karşılamak isteyen acemilerce kullanılır. Adnan Saygun'un o güzelliği Orman müziği çarpık bozuk bir beğeninin kurbanı olur, sonra da nası olur ça dansçılarımız Devlet Tiyatrosunda bozuluyor denir. Bu konu va gene düşünceğim. Fakat asıl Konservatuardaki eğitimin bir yolda konması gerekir, bunun için de şimdiki öğretmenlerin yerine başkalarının getirilmesi bu yolda yapılacak ilk iştir.

bulunur.

Şimdi gelelim bu konuya söylemlerinin özeline. İki sa ile bale birbirinden bağımsızdır. Dünyada en iyi toplulukları bağımsızdır yapılmazsa, hiç değilse Konservatuar içinde ufa meci bir bale topluluğudur. Ulusal bale yeteneği kuracak öğretmenler bu zaman yıllar kalmalı böylece neklere tanınmalıdır. Öğret-

# Bale üzerine bir tartışma

Devlet Konservatuarı Bale Öğretmeni M. TRAVIS KEMP'den şu mektubu aldık: «Basın hürriyeti, ancak doğru bilgi ve dürüstlükle yazanlar için haklı görülebilir.»

19 Kasım 1965 tarihli Ulus gazetesinde çıkan makalesinde gerçekle ilgili olmayan birçok suçlamaları arasında Dame Ninette de Valois'un adını, aşağıdaki noktalara da değinmiş:

1 — Metin And, bizim Londra'da işsiz kaldığımızı ve Dame Ninette de Valois tarafından acınarak, merhametle Türkiye'ye gönderildiğimizi yazıyor. Böyle demekle Dame Ninette'i ağır bir ithama atlında bırakıyor.

Eşim ve ben hiçbir zaman iş istemek için Dame Ninette de Valois'a başvurmadık. Kendisi ilk defa 1951 de Türkiye'ye gelme niyetini teklif etti ve biz reddettik. (Bu konudaki yazışmalarımıza ait bütün yazışmalar bende değildir). Müteakip yıllar zarfında aynı teklifi birkaç kere tekrarladı, nihayet 1954 yılında Türkiye'ye gelmeği kabul ettik.

2 — Metin And, Dame Ninette de Valois'ın bizim iyi öğretmenler olduğumuzu «inanmış» olduğunu söylemekle gene Dame Ninette'i ağır bir itham altında bırakıyor.

Dame Ninette, bizim iyi öğretmenler olduğumuzu «biliyordu». Ben şahsen Dame Ninette ile 1932 yılında işbirliği yapmaya başladım. Eşimle olan tanışıklıkları daha da eskidir. Dame Ninette ve eşim, daha önce başlanmadıkları tarihlerde çocukluk arkadaşlarıydılar. Dame Ninette kendi okulumu açtığı zaman eşim de başöğretmen olarak yanına geldi. Eşim, daha sonra kendi bale grubunu kurduğuna ilişkin okuldaki ayrıntı:

3 — Metin And, Devlet

Konservatuarında muntazaman verilmekte olan halo temsillerinden şikâyetçi.

Bir dansçı için alışılması için ilk şey, bendisini sahnede seyircilerin önünde hissetmektir. Meriç Sümer, Binay Okuzer, Evaç Sunal, Gülecan Tunççekiç, Saif Sökmen, Ferit Akın, Tanju Tuzer, Cantürk Sakarya v.s. gibi dansçılar bu sahne alışkanlığını kazanmamış olsalardı, daha mezun oldukları yıllar başrollerde dans edemeyebilirlerdi.

4 — Metin And, bizim Türkiye'de kalmamıza istememekte, fakat eşimin Güney Afrika ziyareti için de tenkid etmektedir.

Eşim Molly Lake «Ceccheti Cemiyeti» nin mümeyyizlerinden biridir. Cemiyetin dünyanın çeşitli yerlerinde açmakta olduğu sınavlardan birinde görevlendirilmişti. Aynı zamanda başka memleketlerden sahneye bale eserleri koyması için teklifler almaktadır. Başka yerler tarafından da istenilen öğretmenlere sahip olmak, Ankara Devlet Konservatuarı için iyi bir şeydir kanısındayım.

5 — Metin And, «hasat bir mazurka adını bile bilmeyen» öğrencilerden bahsediyor.

Birincisi, bu işte bilgi sahibi herhangi bir kimse konservatuarda mazurkanın doğru stilde yapıldığını Metin And'a söyleyebilir. (Sıralarda nadiren görülmekte olan bir stildir). Sora mazurka basit bir dans değildir. Karakter danslarının en zorlarından biridir.

İkincisi, Operada erkek dansçılardan çoğunun sakatlanmış olmasından dolayı Konservatuar 3 erkek öğrenci ile Opera Balesi'ni takviye etmiştir. Kuzer da sahneye gayet az sayıda provadan sonra çıkarılmış ve kendilerine mazurka yaptırılmıştır.

6 — «Dışa dönüklük» ve «beşinci pozisyon» meselelerine gelince, Metin And bu konuda ne kadar bilgi sahibi olduğunu ortaya koyuyor.

«Dışa dönüklük» iki şey için lazımdır. Birincisi, hareketi «yana doğru» azami şekilde genişletmek, ikincisi vücudu azami dengeyi temin etmektir.

Çocukların vücut yapısında bu dışa dönüklük derecesi birbirinden farklıdır ve gelişme ile ancak bir hadde kadar geliştirilebilir. Fazla zorlanırsa netice olarak sadece sakatlık elde edilir. Eğer balade sadece bu dışa dönüklüğe tam olarak sahip olan dansçılar kullanılsaydı, bugün dünyada ancak çok uzak bir bale grubu bulunabilir veya hiç bile yapılmazdı. Pavlova dahil bu dışa dönüklüğe tam olarak sahip değildi.

Metin And, dansla beşinci pozisyonu bir amaç olarak düşünüyorsa benziyor. Beşinci pozisyon bir gaye değildir, diğer herhangi bir gayeye erişmek için ancak bir vasıta olabilir. Dörtüzdense önce tekemmül etmiş olan bu pozisyon vücudu azami dengeyi sağlar ve vücut kuvvetini istenilen yönlere yönlendirmeye yardımcı eder. Mamafih beşinci pozisyonun mükemmelliği de kalçanın «dışa dönüklüğüne» bağlıdır. Eğer kalçadan dışa dönüklüğe tam olarak sahip olmayan bir vücutta, beşinci pozisyon tam bir çaprazlama halinde zorlanırsa netice olarak sadece ayakta ve dizde sakatlıklar elde edilir. Operadaki sakatlıkların çoğunun sebebi de budur ve Metin And buna sebep olanları suçlandıracak yerde bizleri suçlandırmaktadır.

7 — Metin And, aynı şekilde Saif Sökmen'in sakatlığından ötürü de bizleri suçlandırıyor. Saif Sökmen

in gayet güç bir fiziki vardır. Kalçaları sıkıdır ve her men hemen içe dönüktür. Ayrica bir dizinde de hafif bir zayıflık vardır. Çabıştırılması büyük bir dikkat ve itina ister. Bu itina maalesef Konservatuardan mezun oldukları sonradan gösterilmemiş ve nihayet bu zayıf olan dizin tamamen kırılması ile netice olmuştur. Konservatuardan mezuniyetinden çok sonra olan bu kırık, dikkatli ve titiz bir çabıştırma ile önlenilebilirdi. Şimdi bile iyi bir çabıştırma metodu ile kurtulabilir, fakat maalesef dansçılar itina ile çabıştırılmamaktadırlar ve Türkiye, dünya çapında bir şörete sahip olabilecek bir dansçıyı kaybetmek tehlikesindedir. En büyük ümitler vadedilen bir öğrencimizin böyle bir akıbetle karşı karşıya kalması ve onu meydana getirebilmek için harcadığımız çabaların boşa gideceği düşüncesi bizleri fazlasıyla üzmektedir.

Yıllardan beri en haksız bir tarzda bize çatan Metin And'ın defalarca tekrarladığı şey, bizim işimizi bırakmamızdır. Bizi kötülemeğe ilk başladığı vakit eşim ve ben Milli Eğitim Bakanlığımıza istifaımızı gönderdik, fakat Bakanlık kabul etmedi.

Bizim Türkiye'de çalıştığımız 12 yıl zarfında birçok konservatuar müdürleri, Güzel Sanatlar müdürleri ve Milli Eğitim Bakanları geldi geçti. Metin And'ın iddiaları göz önüne alınırsa biz tutan bu kadar kültürü ve akıllı insanlardan hiç birinin vakfesini müdrik olmaması icap eder.

Metin And'ın Türkiye'nin geleneksel doğruluk, asalet ve misafirperverliği ile bağdaşmayan bir ısrarlı ve haksız kötülemeyle ona hiçbir itibar temin etmemekte, bizleri de haksız ithamlar altında üzüntüde bırakmaktadır.»

Yazan :  
Metin And



sahne

## Bir çıkar yol!...

**H**ANI bazı anneler, babalar vardır, yetişmiş, evlilik çağına gelmiş kızlarına, oğullarına hâlâ çocuk gözüyle bakar, yanlarından ayırmak istemezler. İşte Konservatuardaki bale öğretmenleri de bu türlü bencil annelere, babalara benziyorlar. Yetistirdikleri öğrenciler Konservatuarı b.tiriyorlar, Devlet Tiyatrosu sanatçısı oluyorlar, gelişiyor, oğunlaşıyorlar, fakat öğretmenler bunu göremiyorlar; sanıyorlar onlar hâlâ ellerinin altında kalmalı, hâlâ kendi yaptıkları düzmece okul balelerine çıkmalıdır. Güçleri yetmeyince bakıyorsunuz genç sanatçılarımızı türlü yollardan etkilemeye, diyorlar: İn-

giltire'de bale bitmiştir! Royal Ballet bir takım güzel kızlardan başka birşey değildir! Ninette de Valois yetkili değildir! Buraya gelen öğretmenlerin, koreografların hiçbir değeri yoktur! Hazırlanan baleler kötü, Coppelia bayağı bir eserdir! Genç dansçılarımız kötü, öğretmenler elinde bozuluyorlar günden güne!..

Tabii genç sanatçılarımız yıllarca beraber oldukları öğretmenlerine zaman zaman kaniyorlar. Çoğu Royal Ballet'yi veya başka baleleri görmemiş, Ninette ve Valois'ın eserlerini tanımazlar, başka bale topluluklarıyla karşılaştırma yapamazlar. Titrçkede bale kitapla-

rı olmadığı için yabancı dilde ki bale yayınlarını karıştırmazlar. Bütün bilip bilecekleri yıl larca yanlarında buldukları öğretmenleridir. Sanırlar en yetkili kimseler bunlardır. Değil ki bu iki öğretmen hiç bir baleyi, kimseleri beğenmez, öyleyse bunlardan daha iyisi yoktur. İşte bu türlü olumsuz kandırmaçaların sonunda bu yıl yedi dansçı istifa etti. Bir iki balesever işadama (!) bulmuşlar, yedi kişiyle orkestrasız, koreografsız, sahnesiz bale topluluğu kuracaklar. Neyse ki yedi dansçımız gerçeği çabuk görüyorlar, değil Devlet Tiyatrosundaki avhıkları, saygın durumları, fakat bu balesever iş a-

Balemizin bugünkü durumu nedir? Aşağıdaki yazıda Metin And bu sorunun cevabını veriyor ve balemizin kurucusu Dame Ninette de Valois'ın bu konuda vereceği raporun titizlikle uygulanmasını tek çıkar yol görüyor

damlarının (!) tek bir ayıklığını bile veremeyecek durumda olduklarını, bunun bol keseden bir düş payı olduğunu anlamakta gecikmediler, yuvaya döndüler. Bu konuya yeniden döneceğim. Fakat ne hikmetse bu yıkıcı hareketi yapanlar cesazsız kaldı, nedense Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı harekete geçmedi.

İş bununla da bitmiyor. Bu iki öğretmen yüz kişilik bale bölümünü yürütmeye çalışıyorlar. Yardımcıları yok çünkü yabancı yardımcıları geçimsizlikten duranıyor, barınamıyor, kaçıyorlar. Her birinin uzun bir hikâyesi var. Sanki yüz kişilik Konservatuarın işi yoluna girmiş gibi bir de Devlet Tiyat-

rosuna ellerini uzatmaya çalışıyorlar. Ulusal baleden, fişan söz açıyorlar, Dergilere demeler veriyorlar. Acaba ulusal baleden ne anlıyorlar? Derme çatma gezici adı duyulmamış bale topluluklarında tüketilmiş bir ömürle, ulusal bale üzerine fikir yürütmek kabil mi? Birakin bunu, bu öğretmenlerden biri geçen yıl ders mevsiminde beş altı ayını Güney Afrika'da geçirdi, bu yıl da Şubat tatilinden bu yana gene Güney Afrika'da, ne zaman geleceği belki değil. Bale dersleri Güney Afrika'dan mektupla verilemeyeceğine göre uzaktan avhıkları kendisine hâlâ veriliyor mu, bu bizi ilgilendirmez, fakat yüz kişilik bale bölümünün bir öğretmenle yönetildiği (gerçi bir iki kişi daha varmış ama haftanın ancak bir iki saati ders veriyorlarmış) daha doğrusu yürütülmeğe çalışıldığı ilgilendirir. Şimdiki durumda bu iki öğretmen balemizin en önemli derdi, en çetin aşması. Bakanlık bunlar için bir şey yapmaz, yerlerine yeni öğretmenler getirmesse bu çıkmazın gelecek yıl daha büyük acıları, sıkıntılarını göreceğiz.

### Bir çare

Neyse ki Sayın Millî Eğitim Bakanı büyük bir uyanıklık ve anlayışla balemizin kurucusu ve bütün dünyanın ögüt almak için kendisine başvurduğu Dame Ninette de Valois'ı bir hafta için çağırdı. Türkiye'ye büyük sevgisi yakından bilinen

# “Fındıkkıran”

## Metin And

Çaykovski'nin üç büyük ba-  
lesi için müzeli için değil fa-  
kat dramatik yapıtı bakımın-  
dan en az sevdiğim bale Fın-  
dıkkıran'dır. Devlet Balemi-  
z böylece üç Çaykovski ba-  
lesini (Uyuyan Güzeli, Kuğular Gölü,  
Fındıkkıran) oynamış oluyor.  
Hiç şüphesiz Fındıkkıran'ın  
müziğini öteki balelere kadar  
güzel, hatta daha güzel bu-  
lanlar da çıkacaktır, ancak Lib-  
retto'nun bilinmeyen yazarı  
dramatik bakımından doyuru-  
cu ve kandırıcı bir çabı yapa-  
mamış bale için. Buna rağmen  
St. Petersburg'da ilk oynandı-  
ğı 1892 yılından beri sevilmiş,  
en aranan balelerden biri ol-  
muştur. Bunun çeşitli nedenle-  
ri var. Ben kısaca ikisi üzerin-  
de durayım. Önce Fındıkkıran  
bir Noel balesidir. Noel'i kutla-  
yan ülkelerde, hele bale Noel  
sirasında oynamınca çocuklu  
büyüklükte seyircilerde sıcak bir  
ilgiyle karşılanır. Bizde Noel'de  
da oynansa aynı etkiyi yapmaya  
çabı doğaldır. Sonra bale kala-  
balık dansıyla gösterişli bir  
biçimde oynanmalıdır. Çoğu ba-  
le toplulukları bu kalabalığı  
kendilerine bağlı olan bale o-  
ğullarını öğrencilerinden sağ-

larlar, özellikle Fındıkkıran  
ve askerleriyle. Farelere kralı  
ile fare tayfası arasındaaki sa-  
vas göz doldurur. Bizde Dev-  
let Balesiyle Devlet Konservat-  
uarı arasında böyle bir işbir-  
li beklemes fazla iyimserlik  
olur. Hepsi devletten para ve  
aynı amaca hizmet etmeleri ge-  
rekirken sürekli genel müdür-  
ler ve müdürler birbirlerinin  
yaptığını bilmeye çalışırlar.  
Devlet Konservatuarında bira-  
kın yaş gelmiş geçen dansçı-  
larını mezun etmek onları da  
na da bir süre okulas alakoy-  
mak için yeni yeni gariplikler  
aramakta. Şimdi de «Yüksek  
bölüm» diye dünyanın hiç bir  
bale okulunda olmayan iki yıl-  
lık bir bölüm daha ekleyecek  
zaten ömürlü kısa olan bale  
dansçılarına iki yıllık bir en-  
jeli daha tanıdı. Ancak Devlet  
Konservatuarından söz etmek  
bile bozuna zaten ben öyle bir  
kurumu defterimden sildim,  
yok kabul ediyorum; olmayan  
birşey üzerinde de konuşmak  
abes.

Fındıkkıran üç sahnelik, iki  
perdelik bir bale. Birinci per-  
desi gerçek bir dünyada, hall  
vakti yerinde Bay Silberhaus'  
ün evinde, ikinci bölümü ise  
masal ve diğ. dünyasında ge-  
çer. Bu iki bölüm ustaca bir  
biçimde birbirine bağlanır. As-  
lında baleye haksızlık etmiye-  
lim. Balenin güzel mantıklı  
bir kuruluşu var Birinci sah-  
nede bir hikaye geliştiriliyor.  
İkinci ve üçüncü sahnelerde  
bir danslar dizisi karakter  
danslar divertissement'lar, hal-  
labilelerle, ikililer ilk bakışta  
bir birlik gösteriyorsa da,

bu kopukluk düş ve masal dün-  
yasının özgür çağrışımları i-  
çinde kendine göre bir mantık  
ve üslup birliği gösteriyor. Kü-  
çük bir kızın asker biçiminde  
bir fındıkkıranı dişleriyle bes-  
liyerek gönlünün çektiği bir  
yakışıklı delikanlı, bir es yapa-  
rak onunla birlikte renkli ma-  
sal dünyasına gitmesi yalnız  
çocukça değil büyüğe de bir  
düş değil mi?

Buna rağmen Büyük Tiyatro  
da bizankiler daha iyisini yapa-  
bilirlerdi diye düşünmekten  
kendimi alamadım. Fındıkkıran  
ın ilk yaratıcısı Lev Ivanov'un  
düzenini temel alarak Richard  
Glasstone'ın değişiklik, kimi  
çıkarmaları derli toplu bir  
koreografi vermiş. Dame Ni-  
nette de Valois'nun da oyununun  
tümüne tılsımlı elini değdirin-  
ce ortaya sıkılmadan seyredil-  
en bir bale çıkmış. Ama gene  
de eserin puritansı, cilası eksik,  
sanki henüz olgunlaşmamış bir  
taslak görüntüsünden silkinemli-  
yor. Bunda özenli bir çalışma  
ve işbirliği eksikliği görüldü-  
ğü gibi yukarıda da belirtti-  
ğim gibi bu balenin gerektirdi-  
ği zenginlik, gösterişlilikten de  
yoksun.

Oyunda küçük Clara'yı oyna-  
yan Sadan Ergüler gecenin en  
başarılı oyuncusuydu. Engin  
Akaoglu ve Geyran Örencik  
Bay ve Bayan Silberhaus'da a-  
ğırbaşlı bir ev sahibi çift. Ta-  
ner Akakça Doktor Drosselma-  
yer'in uğursuz ve sevimli yön-  
lerini dengeli bir biçimde ver-  
di. Çelenkine Bebek'de Um-  
ran Çelebi Arlecchino Bebek-  
de Gabriel Sapçıyan Fındıkkı-  
ran'da Ceyhan Özsoy, Kar Kra-  
lıçesinde, Gülcan Tunçelici,  
Kar Frensinde Oguz Özlem, A-  
rap şeyhi ile iki hareminde En-  
gin Akaoglu ile Rezzan ve Um-  
ran Ürey, Şeker Pertlerinde İnci  
Levendoglu ve Neyran Öz-  
men beğenilerek seyrediliyor.  
Fakat balenin tacı sonundaki  
büyük klasik ikili, temsilin de  
en önemli yeri bu ikiliyi oyna-  
yan Meriç Gülventürk ile Oy-  
tun Turfanda. Yalnız onları sey-  
retmek için bale bastan sona  
seyredilebilir. Befenmedikim  
danslardan biri ise Erhan Er-  
güler'in dansettiği trespak oldu.  
Acar Başkut dekorlarında, Os-  
man Şengezer giysilerinde ay-  
rıntılarında pek çok kusurlar  
olmakla birlikte bir üslup bir-  
liğine varmışlardı. Acar Bas-  
kut'un birinci perdedeki Noel  
açacağın arkasında dip perde-  
sinin rengi, son perdedeki gü-  
zel resimlerle süslenmiş sahne  
kanatlarının birbirini örtmesi,  
Osman Şengezer'in ilk perde-  
nin başında karlı bir günde çip-  
lak kolla solağa çıkarttığı garip

kızlar, kar tanelerinin başlıkla-  
rı ve giysileri gibi hoşuma git-  
meyen yerleri pek çoktu. Ki-  
saca Devlet Balemi'nin çok da-  
ha iyi oynayabileceği bir bale-  
de kendi düzeyine erişemediği  
bir temsil.

Şimdi gelin biraz da sahne  
arkasına, tiyatrocuların dey-  
miyle «mutfağa» gidelim. Ger-  
çi bir eleştirmen sahnede gör-  
düklerinde yetinir, gerisine ka-  
rışmaz, ama biliyorsunuz - bu  
köşeden sürekli bir görüşü sa-  
vumyoruz diyoruz ki artık ha-  
lemiz operanın boyunduruğun-  
dan kurtulmalı, bağımsız olma-  
lı. İşte Fındıkkıran temsilinde  
sahne arkası bu boyunduruğun  
kötü yönetimin balemi-  
z üzerin-  
deki yıpratıcı, geriletici etkisi-  
ni iyice gösteriyor. Bale ilgili-  
leriyle konuştum, hepsi neler  
anlatmadılar. Acar Başkut'un  
Dame Ninette de Valois'ya  
gösterdiği dekor taslakları ne-  
denli beğenildiyse bunları bo-  
yayıp gerçekleştirenlerin bada-  
naçlıktan bile nasıpları olmadı-  
ğı için dekor kuşa dönmüş, Yö-  
neticiler İstanbul'da açılan Bü-  
yük Tiyatro'nun sevdisıyla yola-  
lara dökülüp, arkalarında dert  
dünleyecek tek bir sorumlu bir-  
rakmamışlar. Braktıkları da  
zaten birşeyden anlamazmış.  
Temsilden üç gün önce yapılan  
genel gece provasında orkestra  
üyelerinden beşi Cankaya'ya  
çağrılmış, onlar gidince orkest-  
ra da kazan kaldırması doğru  
dürüst prova yapılamamış.  
Dar-uzak usıldaklardan ikisi ge-  
rekirken ancak bir tane bulun-  
muş, sonra öğrenilmiş dışman  
kardeşler gibi birbirini çelme-  
leyen Tiyatro genel müdürüyle,  
Opera genel müdürü herseyi ol-  
duğu gibi bu usıldakları da pay-  
laşmış. Bilmem daha uzatayım  
mı? Hâla da devlet balemi-  
z operanın boyunduruğunda gör-  
mek isteyen varsa bunlar olsa  
olsa balemi-  
z yok etmek iste-  
yen kötü niyetli kişiler olmalı.

Baleden söz açılmışken İn-  
giliz Kültür Heyetinde Ozan  
Sagdıç'ın bale fotoğrafları ser-  
gisini gördünüz mü? Görmedi-  
nize hemen koşun görün. Ozan  
Sagdıç fotoğrafını bir res-  
samın fırçası, bir heykeltçinin  
keski gibi kullanıyor. Yalnız  
resimlerin güzelliği değil fakat  
bunların bir araya getirili-  
şindeki düzene bakmak insa-  
nı saatlerce oyalıyabiliyor. Dev-  
let Opera ve Bale Genel Müdürlü-  
ğünün Başkanın her köşesi-  
ne yerleştiği camkanlarda-  
ki bale resimlerine bakın ka-  
ranlık, en kötü gereksiz sahne-  
leri gösteren, hiç bir fikir ver-  
meyen bulamık seyler. Neden  
Ozan Sagdıç gibi uluslararası  
bir sanatçıdan yararlanmaz?  
Neden mi, çünkü Ozan Sagdıç-  
dan Devlet Tiyatrosu yararlan-  
yor da ondan.

**P**iyasist, Mihnet Fenmen'in istifasından sonra Devlet Opera ve Bale Genel Müdürlüğüne bir atama yapılmadı. Sevidi Taştan'ın bu görevi vekâleten yürütmesine karar verdi MC Meclisi. Oncele de yazıldı. Sevidi Taştan fizik öğretmen, Zehedi Üstünel'den Devlet Operasını nasıl bir köprü kurduğunu de ve şaşkınlık var. İzi. Ama bu şaşkınlık yersiz. TRT Genel Müdürü Şaban Karatas yönetimindeki TRT'nin ne duruma geldiğine her gün tanık oluyoruz. Fizik öğretmeni Sevidi Taştan'ın yönetiminde Devlet Opera ve Bale'nin ne duruma geldiğini de tanımlayabilmeyiz.

— Devlet Operasının kullat her zaman karıştıdır. Siyasal kâşaklar, millîyetçilik ya da senatörlerin aracıları şahıslara kadar genişler çok zaman. Ama bale aklı politikamız içinde kalmayı başardı uzun yıllar. Opera gelenekleri salonun bütününe, bale gelenekleri ağzına kadar dolaşmıştı. İki çelişme, sanat sorununuza eğitilmeye başladınız hiç kimsesiz. Ama Sevidi Taştan'ın yönetiminde durum değişti. Bu sanat dâim kurulumak için terfiye yapılıyor. Tatlı bittir. Bale'nin çalışacak salonu yok, aynı Taştan'a derd yaptığımız zaman da saygırsız sözlerle karlaşıyoruz.

Devlet Tiyatrolarında, Opera ve Bale'de Genel Müdür olmak için, gerekli koşullar var. Bu koşullardan biri de konservatuvarı bitirmek, müzik tiyatrosu opera dalında saygınlık veren bir kişiliği olmak, fizik öğretmenini Sevidi Taştan'a kadar Genel Müdür olan kişiler bir tür kişileri, Çimçim Gökeer, Aydın Gün, Necol Kadın Akses ya da Mihnet Fenmen'in Öyün Tuftanda'ya tanınması düşünülebilir mi? Oysa Sevidi Taştan bu hale yitirmişti abanıyor. Türk olduğunun öğrenince de not kırmaktan geri almıyor. Özkan Aslan'ın yıllarca dış ülkelerde kaldığıktan sonra 7 yaşında Devlet Bale'sine dönmesine ve kadrosu en yüksek çelme getirilmesine karşı çabucuk Öyün Tuftanda'ya büyük bir şabak içinde şöyle diyor fizik öğretmen:

— Siz yurt dışına iş bulamadığınız için burada kalmışınız. İngiliz bale'sinin imlâ öğrenen, Türk bale'sinin kurucusu İsmet Nispet'i de Vakıf'dan korograftı çabucuk aldı. İçin burs İsmet Nispet'i de yurt dışına finans ederek aldığından bir önceki Türk bale'sine pembe kadın kazandıran bir sanatçı Öyün Tuftan da, bu sözler karşısında mide krizleri geçiriyor. Arkadaş-

ları da tepki gösteriyor. bu sözlerden sonra kanun ve Hücum bale'sinin çalışılmasını bırakmasını öneriyorlar.

#### MES GİYİMLERİ.

Taştan'dan önce de açıklandı, Devlet Balesi bu mevzuda Hücum ve Kanun bale'siyle olacak. Ama bale'lerin dans edecek papucuk yok. Biliyorsunuz, parmak ucu papucuk derken papucukların el kabesi savur ama bu papucukların İngiliz'den ithal edilmesini için Sanayi Bakanlığından bir onay gerekiyor. MSP'li Sanayi Bakan'ın bu isteği ters çeviriyor.

— İngiliz'den papuç ithal etmek ne demek, mes giysileri,

## Mes giymeleri önerildi!..

Müşerref HEKİMOĞLU

diyor. Bale'lerin saçlarını, başlarını yuluyorlar, bale kuruluğu hiç güvercin ye kongresinde böyle söz duyurmuşlar.

— Sanayi Bakan'ın mes giymeyi öneriyor. Mâlîye Bakan'ı, ekle güvercin ye kongresinde adı bale'lerin anlaşmasını ınzalamıyor. Biz nasıl dans edeceğiz? Bu iki bale için Koyal Ballet'in direktörü MC. Millan gelecektir Türkiye'ye, anlaşma tutarı da seksen bes bin lira. Mâlîye Bakan'ın Engelenen bu parayı estiriyor bakaden.

Fizik öğretmenini genel müdür vekili bu sorunların çözümü için hiç bir çaba göstermiyor. Meclis başında gelenekçi bekleşen Sovyet öğretmen, orkestra sefi de gelenekçi Ankara'ya. Buna karşılık baleci Özkan Aslan'ın eşi Sonuç Aslan Devlet Bale'sine öğretmen olarak. Fizik öğretmeninin bu oldu-bitti karşılarında bale yöneticileri

tepedi gösteriyor. Sonra Aslan rasgele bir öğretmen, oysa daha önce öğretmenlik beklentileri var. Örneğin Erkan Ergülter, Bale'nin başöğretmeni Hüsnü Sunal habire olmadıktan sonra bir anlaşmadan ötürü genel müdür vekiline tepki gösteriyor.

— Bale sanatı böyle yürütülemez, diyor.

#### DEVLET İŞİ YÜRÜR

Sonuç Aslan'ın Devlet Bale'sine öğretmen olarak girmesinde eski Disiplin Bakanı şimdiki GENYO Genel Sekreteri olan Haluk Bayülkenin rolü olduğu söyleniyor. bir diplomadan bale'ye ilgili nedir dersiniz, kıza bale çalışıyor. Sonuç Aslan'dan ders alıyor. Balıgır Sonuç'un dilekçesi Devlet Balesi Teknik Kurulunda görüşülürken bir de telefon geliyor. GENYO Genel Sekreterinden. Sonuç'un durumunu soruluyor. Bale'lerin soruyor şimdiki.

— Sayın Bayülken Devlet Bale'sini bünyesine etkileyen bir diploma, acaba MSP'li Sanayi Bakanına meste dans edilmeyeceğini anlatamaz mı? Ya da iki güvercin, Kongreso bale'leriyle ilgili anlaşmanın ınzalamasını sağlayamaz mı?

#### ÇUMHURBAŞKANI BİLİYOR MU ACABA!

Devlet Bale'sinin bir de salon sorunu var. Daha önce de yazmıştık, ünlüleri övürsün bınası Çumhurbaşkanı Korutürk'ün önerisiyle resim ve heykeli müzesine dönüştürüldü. Oysa bale'lerin çalıştığı yer de aynı binada 23 ağustos'ta projelara başlamak üzere gelmişler, bir de bakmışlar. Her şey yerinden oynamış, salon bir yakanıya dönmüş, başöğretmen Hüsnü Sunal, yapı işçisi gibi salonu yeniden düzenlemek çabasında, bale'lerin soruyor.

— Cumhurbaşkanı Korutürk de, est de sanatsever işçiler bale'ye de ileri gösterir, devlet kurumlarına verdikleri temsillerden sonra içtenlikle kutularlar bizi, resim ve heykeli müzesi kurulumun Devlet Bale'sinin çalıştığı salonundan vakum kalacağını Cümhuriyet başkanı biliyor mu acaba? Elise yoldukları ıtarımız mıydı?

Bu soruyu özellikle aktarıyorum. Sayın Korutürk'ün başından beri heykeli ve resim müzesine kavuşturmak isteğini herkes sevince karşılıklı ama müze karşılığı bale'lerin vakum katmak üzere çelişkiyle bu durumu bilmiyor muydu acaba? Aradan bir yıl dönümü geçti, bale'ye bir çabasına atılmıyorsa neden hazırlanmadılar? Fizik öğretmeninin bir girişimi var mı bir yoldu? Aslında bu öneriler de başına MC hükümetinin bale papucunu yerine İsmet Nispeti sanat anlayışı salon yerine de stadıyum önerilebilir.

# Yaman Olgay Yaman

## Celalettin Çetin

### Coppelia'nın ardından...

Coppelia'yi seyreden bir yazar arkadaşımız, «Coppelia temalinde sergüdümlü batılı düzenin başlıca hayatımızın her alanına iltiham vermesini dilerim.» diyor. Ote yandan bu bale temsilinde geleceğin büyük yıldızı olmaya adaylığını koyan ve gerçek bir başarının örneğini veren genç balerin Binay Okurer de sanatının daha bir gelişmesi için «Batıya gitmek» ülküsünü güdüyor.

Hakkı bu genç sanatçı. Bir başka açıdan «Basıboş hayatımız» sözünü eden yazar da hakkı. Çünkü bu denli bir hayatın büyük olduğu ülkede, sanata sanatçıya verilen değer ve imkânların da sözü edilmez elbet. Hefe Baladen yana iyiler, yoksunuz. Tiyatromuz iyi kötü bir gelişme yolunda ve o ölçüde de imkânlarla sahip. Operanın sözü ancak başkötürte ediliyor. Yılda bir kaç gün için de İstanbulun yâhu gülüyor, hepse o kadar. İşte bu yüzden gitmek istiyor Binay Okurer. Balenin sanatını daha bir geliştirebilecek ve daha bir sevildiği ülkeye gitmek istiyor. Bütün dileğimiz bu

denli istakları kendi memleketimizde karşılamak. O zaman «Basıboş hayatımız» da bir düzene girecek.

### VE GELSİNLER

Unlu Bolşoy bale topluluğu 27, 29, 30 Nisan ve 2, 4, 6 Mayısda Atlas sinemasında temsiller vermek üzere şehrimize geliyor. «Klasik ve halk-karakterli dans» adıyla temsil edilecek olan iki perdelik bale gösterilerinde Moskova'nın çok tanınmış 14 bale sanatçısı bulunmaktadır. Bunların arasında «Kugulu gol», «Don Kışot», «Coppelia» ve «Romeo Juliet» de büyük başarılar sağlamış olan Valentina Petrova adındaki sanatçı «Seref alâmeti» nişanıyla telif edilmiştir. Ayrıca genç ayını guruptan Svetlana Lidrha-yeva da «Kıdemli artist» unvanını kazanmıştır.

Hep bu çeşit ziyaretler olan İstanbul. Rusyadan, Amerikadan ve Avrupadan gelenler, hiç olmazsa genç değerlerimize de olsa bir gelişme imkânı çıkar.

# Meriç Sümen ve Oytun Turfanda

Elimiyorum, Çaykovski'nin Kuğu Gözü Balesini ülkemizde ve dış ülkelerde kaç kez seyrettim? Üzerine neler okudum?

Klasik bale repertuarının en güzel, en dokunaklı, en iyi ve en yanlış oynanan yapıtlarının biri Kuğu Gözü. Gene diyeceğim. Orkestra Şefimiz Périssou, bundaki demonya, kaç elemanın altını çizgilerle beraber içi ettirdiğinden olağanüstü güzel müziklere yeni boyutlar kazandı.

Ne yazık ki bu yıl balemizin performansında, orkestra şefliği yapan Andrea Giorgi L. çin aynı şey söylenemez. Gidici yer yer iyi bir ritim verebildiği halde, çoğu frazlarda orkestranın tamlarını balecilerin ayak atışları beraberliği sağlayamadı, yer yer bir bando sefi niteliğini gösterdi. Artbur Fiedler bile Boston Promenade konserlerinde Çaykovski'yi daha çok müzikalite ile çaldı. Bando sefi gibi değil de Çaykovski'nin derin müziklerine bir hafif müzik havası vererek (Görge) hangi yeteneklerle Ankara Devlet Opera ve İstetik Balesinin Genel Müzik Direktörlüğüne atandı? Koro Şefliğine diyeceğimize yokken, Müzik ve Bale Direktörlüğü için yeteneklerini yeterli bulmuyoruz. Ama Türkiye'nin orkestra şefliği eğitimini baharız: Gürer Aykal sol çini kullanamaz, onu parçallık gibi sallandırır, Ferit Tütan 8000 lira olduğu denen aygıtını alır bazan güzel, bazan monoton müzikler bağdalar. Ve orkestra yönetmeyi reddeder. (ama sefilik maasını de) en müzikalitesi olan Sabahattin Kabender de halen kendini idare etmek için batıda oturur. Bu ne bantsızlık!

## ÇAYKOVSKİ'NİN GÜZEL BALESTİ

Her yıl ve ya her yıl... Bu sezon... Meriç Sümen Turfanda... güzel performans... kendim... çit, bil... bun... dastır... bo... r aşk... ver... alkış... pyekân... u Sü... her yön

Her yıl ispatladılar: Özlem içinde bir aşk oynadılar. Özlem, onları mutluluk içinde yarattı, kları derin boyuttu. Aralarında ki Özlem sanki elektronik dalga ile gerçekten yansıtıyorlardı. Özlem'in de performansları baştan sona kadar asalet ve zarafet içinde geçti. İki günde sanatçı bir aşamaya, bir perfections, yani mükemmellik aşamasına erişmişlerdi: Hareketleri, dansları ve mimikleri ile. Kolları ile bütün vücudları ile aşk Özlem'in sembolize edebildiler. Sümen'in bacaklarının gücü yeniden bir arbas gösterdi piruetlerde ve developpe'lerde. Kol bileklerdeki yumuşaklık da artmıştı. Elleri şifreliyordu. Turfanda'nın piruetleri ve yüksek atlayışları bütün estetik ölçülerin ve bacakların gücü içindeydi.

İki sanatçının hemen hemen kusuruza yaklaşık hareketlerindeki güzellik, ifadele rindeki güzellik ve bu kadar güzel dans eden bir sanatçı için seyretmek mutluluğum beni eğlence derecede idiler. Giselle'den sonra Meriç Sümen bir daha balemizin primaballerine assoluta'sı unvanını hak etti.

Odile karakterini dans etti. Çi zaman tamamen lirik bir yorumu tercih etmesi, yaratıcı hayayı bozmadı. Odile'in lirik mi, dramatik mi dans edeceği tartışma konusu olabilir. Birsey kuşkusuzdur: Sümen'in Odile yorumu Odette yorumu kadar güzel ve inanılır idi.

## KOREOGRAFİ

Evine ve Hüsnü Suna'nın iki eseri dansçımız Sümen koreograf oldu. Petipa - Ivanov koreografisini sahnelenmek böyle büyük bir eseri içti. Çiçik opera sahnemize uygulamak hiç de kolay değil. Bu ödevi başarı ile hakkettiler. Kendilerini koydukları disiplin için ayrıca kutlamak lâzımdır. Koreolog Suna Senel'in de rolünü belirtmek gerekir. Artık yabancı koreograflar ve koreologlar pek ihtiyacımız olmadığı meydana çıktı.

## DEKOR - KOSTÜME

### OSMAN SENGİZER

Dekorlar genç hatlarla çizilmişti. Orman sahnelerinde, alçak tepelerde Odette ile Fransis silüetleri pek de iyi görülmüyordu. Bu tepelerin aşıklığı Sengizer'i eleştirecek bir nokta olmadığı, kabiliyet her yön

Decoratörün sahnenin teknik yeteneklerinden dolayı bunları bu boyutta tutma ka zorunu kaldığı bana söylendi. Zaten bu sahne bale için yeterlidir. Yeni bir bale olması gerekmektedir.

## GÜLCAN KIRANER VE

### ÖZLEM

Bu iki değerli balecinin de performansları çizgi itibarıyla güzel ve başarılı olmuştur. Gülcün Kiraner daima değerini korumakta, lirikiği ile dikkatli üzerine çekmektedir. Fouet telerine daha çok hız vermek için bulara daha çok çalışması gerekmektedir.

## CORPS DE BALLET

Corps de Ballet'mizin operanın küçüklük denebilecek sahnesine, koreograflarda seçilmesi ve hareketlerin ona göre uygulanması ne koreograflar, ne de Corps de Ballet ve solistler de ahlalarının aklı ile çıkıyor. Uzak terek kusurları yok değildi, sahne ufaklığı ile ilmtli olmayan. En önemli kusur, Corps de Ballet üyelerinin genellikle bacalarında ve de kolların zaman zaman tam bir paralellik gösteremeyişleri, her hareketin kolların ve bacaklarının değişik paralellerde duruşu oldu. Gene de sahne sonunda çizilen tablolar güzeldi. Gene de topluluğun etkililiği hal vardı.

İspanyol dansında topukların yeterli hızla vurulmaması, orkestra sefinin yeterli hızlı tempo veremeyişli ile belki ilmtli idi.

Bale programında, opera programlarında olduğu gibi, kusurlar, yanlışlar vardı. O da balecileri restimlerle, bale resimleriyle tanıtmaması. Oysa daima sefe, bağlara büyük boyutta fotoğrafla yansımak için verilirken Meriç Sümen ve Oytun Turfanda gibi sanatçının doğru dürüst bir fotoğrafı yok program broşüründe. Bir de gidilen akşam, dans eden ansamblin işin listesine katılmamaktadır. Savun Genel Müdür Mitat Fehmenle Genel Müdür Yardımcısı Şevki Taşkın'ın dikkatlerini çekti.



# Ankara Sahnası Çevrecisi Üçün

## Bu da yobazlığın başka türü

Ankara'da son karantân eseri ürgüçler iyatro, operet, bale sahnesini de kapıyor, çelikle yarıklar yapıyor. Sol araçlık devlet bünyesinde Kanuni ve Kürrem bitosinin sahnelenmesi. Bu baleyi Şairin Kedi'ni beşinci Koreografisini de Oytun Turfanda yapıyor. Ama bu baleyi kucak almayan idariyetlik çevrelerinde nasıl bir şeyler yapacak merakla bekler. Soldun eser rakipleri Öksüzün ab-ıyından bir hikâyesini devlet balesine kışkırtımla emânen söylemek istiyor. Oytun Turfanda'ya tutucu buluyor. Sağdan esen yığılar da da Kanuni Sultan Süleyman'ın sühabe dânesimâkân koruyarak kütlesi bir fobikînlümlüğe uğuşturmak çabalı var. Sağ ve sol barışmazlıklar boyutlarına varınca kıyar bir dengeye giriyor böylece. Çevreler Kiliğünde son yıllarda oynanan en başarılı balelerden biri Köşkünç İvan. Lemniler ve Marksçılar bu baleyi tutucu buluyorlar hiç bir zaman; Bolşevy balesinin anti korografisine P-

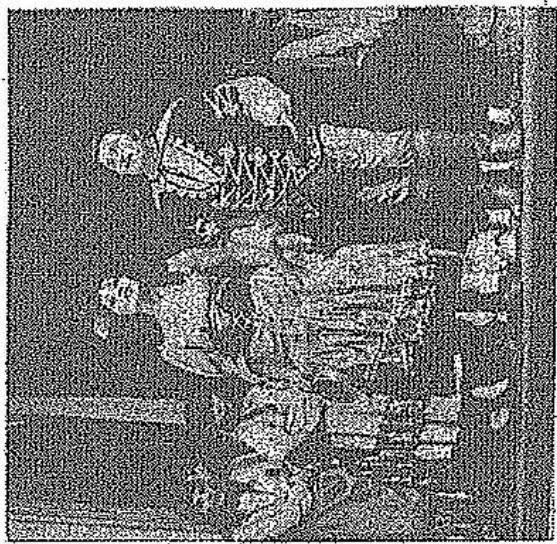
rokofes'in müziğiyle nefis bir Köşkünç İvan yaratmışlar, yalnız Sovyet seyircileri değil, dünyanın dört bir yanında gelen seyircileri de büyüyor. Çirkin bale sanatının tüm güzelliklerini sunuyor.

Oytun Turfanda'nın korografisinde Kanuni ve Kürrem, Kerem ile Asil, Ferhat ile Şirin, Bécenir ve Leyli gibi sevilen bir çifti canlandırıyorlar. Balesinin en büyük özelliği de sahnedeki karavak ve şavvala dans etmek olacak. Kürrem ve Kanuni'nin güvencesini yapan Osman Savaşca kısıtlı çetirecek basif karavak yapmağa çalışıyor. Ancak asi dans sakinelerini karavak ve şavvala yapınak o-lanağı yok, bu nedenle önemli danslar için yatak ofisai sahne ol-  
cak.

## Operaya taze kan gerekir

Devlet Operasında bir bunalmış var, adeta can çekişiyor ve taze kan gerekiyor. Fannımız iyatroca Haldun Dormen'in Devlet O-perasında Yarasa Opereti'ni sahneye koyacağı söyleniyor. Acsaba doğru mu? Bu girişimde kim huluksuna bulunsun katılmak gerekik çözümlü Haldun Dormen Türk iyatro-sunu tizladırın bir kişi. Dev-let İyatro-sunun temposunu hızlandırmayı da başarsa iyi bir a-şama olur.

Opera sevgilerinde Cüneyt Gökkcer'in de Midasın Kulak-ları adlı operası sahneye koyacağı söyleniyor. Midasın Kulakları Çiğdem Rihani'nin ilk oyunlarından biri. Devlet İyatro-sunun Kerem Ağgar ve Bozkurt Kuruç'un yıldırlarını çok parlatan bir o-yundu. Sonra Ferit Tüzün bestledi. İcazabul Kilitli Sarayınca sey-risinde sahneye kondu. Ama çok başarılı olmadı. Ferit Tüzün'ün güzel müziğini sahne dışına çıkartı şiddetini yepitdik. Aydın Gün, çok büyük bir prodüksiyon çıkarmak istemiş, yeteri kadar başarılı olamadı. Cüneyt Gökkcer, bir iyatroca olarak nasıl sahneye ko-yacak bakalım?



Çiğdem Rihani operetinden bir sahne.



Turfanda ve Sümen- bir ikilî dansçı

## Tokyo'da iki müthiş Türk

**30** Ocak 1976 günü Tokyo'nun dört bin kişilik N. K. H. salonunda, her yıl tekrarlanması kararlaştırılan Dünya Bale Yarışmasının ilk açılışı yapıldı. Yirmi gün süren ve Japon halkı tarafından büyük bir ilgi ile izlenen bu yarışmaya Fransa, Rusya, Küba, Bulgaristan, Çekoslovak-

ya gibi ülkelerin yarışmacıları katıldı. Tüm Japon gazeteleri günlerce bu konuya geniş yer verdi. Gösteriler televizyona çekilip milyonlarca insan tarafından izlendi ve yarışmaya katılan ülkelerin yüzlerce gazetecisi Tokyo'yu istifa etti. Japonya gibi dünyanın laaşa öbür ucundaki bir ülkede yapılan bir bale yarışmasından "Bizle ne?" diyecekleriniz... Oysa bu yarışmanın bizi ilgilendiren, hem de çok ilgilendiren bir yanı var. Yarışmaya Japon hükümeti tarafından davet edilmiş iki de şeref konuğu vardı. Bu konuklar 5 şubat gecesi hazırlanan özel galada tüm basın mensupları, televizyon kameraları ve Japon halkı önünde dans edeceklerdi. Bu şeref konukları, Türk Devlet Balesinin iki büyük yıldızı Meriç Sümen ve Oytun Turfanda'dan başkası değildi. Halen Ankara'da oynadıkları Don Kişot balesinin Dünya Bale repertuarının en güç sahnesi olarak tanımlanan, üçüncü perdedeki Ünlü İkili dansını tekrarlayacaklardı sanatçılarımız. Türkiye'nin baş dansçıları oldukları için yarışmaya girmiyorlar ancak Japon hükümetinin şeref konukları olarak gösterilere katılıyorlardı. Tokyo Büyük elçimiz Celâl Eycioğlu ve eşinin özel çabalarıyla bu gösteriler gerektiği şekilde yapılabilmiş ve dansçılarımız

layık oldukları büyük, ama gerçekten büyük başarıyı kazanmışlardır. 5 şubat gecesi dört bin kişi tarafından çalgınca alkışlanan sanatçılarımızı salonda gururla izleyen sayın Eycioğlu ve eşi gösteriden sonra halkın Türk Şefir ve Şefiresini görmek için ısrarla alkışları üzerine ayağa kalkıp selam vermek zorunda kalmışlardır. Ertesi gün Tokyo gazeteleri, televizyon ve radyo haberleri bir gece önce herkesi şaşıratan iki müthiş Türk'den söz ediyor ve sanatçılarımızı göklere çıkarıyorlardı. Televizyon sanat yorumcusu Haguchi şöyle diyor: "Türkiye'de bale olduğundan haberimiz bile yoktu. Oysa dün gece Sümen ve Turfanda bizlere Türkiye'nin, dünyanın en iyi bale topluluklarından birine sahip olduğunu kanıtladı. Onları selamlarken, kendi bilgisizliğimizden bir kez daha utanç duymamız gerek" demiştir.

Meriç Sümen ve Oytun Turfanda çoktan Türkiye'ye dönüp Devlet Balesindeki çalışmalarına başladılar ve eski sakın, sessiz yaşantılarına döndüler. Bizi üzün. Türk kamuoyunun bu olaydan haberi bile olmaması... Neden? Neden gerçekten önemli olan bu olaydan hiç mi söz edilmedi? Türkiye'de sözü edilmesi için insanın dış ülkelerde ille bir başarısız sonuç alması ya da bir rezilet yapması mı gerek? Sonra

sevilmiyoruz, beğenilmiyoruz diye komplekslenip duruyoruz. Beğenildiğimiz zaman da sözünü bile etmeğe gerek duymuyoruz... Anlaşılır, gözölür iş değil bu... Başarıyı kazananlar da bu ilgisizliği görünce kırılıp dökülüyorlar. Bu iki kişinin Türkiye'ye kazandırdıkları, milyonlarca İranın ve yüzlerce göreylinin yaptığundan daha önemli... Bale herkesin ilgilendiği bir konu olmayabilir, ama biz Türk milleti olarak hangi dalda olursa olsun bir başarı karşısında birleşebilir ve Türklüğümüzle gururlanırdık. Dolayısıyla bu başarıdan haberi olmayan her Türk'ün hakkı... Yıllarca önce dış ülkelerde bir konser turnesinden dönen Ünlü bir kemancımızın başarısını elindeki yabancı gazetelerde gören bir memur fena halde şinirlenmiş, "Ben bu tür müzikten anlamamı amaç, bir Türk olarak başarıyı bilmek benim hakkımdır. Onunla gurur duyuyorum" demişti. Gazetelerimiz yalnız karamsar haberleri vermekte neden ısrar ediyorlar, anlamağa olanak yok...

Yıllarca dış ülkelerde Türkiye'yi temsil etmiş Oytun Turfanda ve Moskova'da Ünlü Bolşoy Bale topluluğunda Giselle balesinin baş rolünü dans eden ilk yabancı sanatçı olan Meriç Sümen ikilisini saygıyla, sevgiyle ve gururla selamlamayı bir borç biliyorum.

No.16- "Tokyo'da İki Müthiş Türk" (Two Extraordinary Turks in Tokyo), 03/01/1976, unknown newspaper from the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus

## FIGURES



Fig.1- Yeşilköy Ballet School, 1948, from the private collection of Şebnem Aksan



# BALE

OKULUMUZUN BUGÜNKÜ  
26 YAVRUSU YARIN KU-  
RULACAK AKADEMİMİZİN  
İLK ÖĞRENCİLERİ VE BU  
MÜHİM VE FAYDALI İŞİN  
ÖNCÜSÜ OLACAKLARDIR.

Yazan:

**Cemalettin Bildik**

Yukarıda, solda, bale okulumuzun  
mini minileri okulun açılış günü da-  
veliler arasında. Ortada solda, Miss  
Newton bir yavru ile çalışıyor. Sağ-  
da, okulda Miss Newton nezaretin-  
de çalışma. Altta, solda, Miss New-  
ton yavrulara ilk dersi veriyor. Sağ-  
da Miss Newton'un güzel bir pozü.  
Foto: YEDİGÜN - FAİK ŞENOL



Fig.1a- Joy Newton with the first ballet students of Yeşilköy School, January 1948, Yedigün, from the private collection of Şebnem Aksan



Fig.2- The end of term demonstration and Joy Newton's opening speech at Yeşilköy School, from the private collection of Şebnem Aksan



Fig.3- Molly Lake and Travis Kemp with one of their student at the Ankara State Conservatory, from the private collection of Jale Kazbek



Fig.4- Dame Ninette de Valois



# ÇEŞMEBAŞI

Hayat

AYI: 12 - 18 MART 1965 - 150 KURUŞ

Ankara'da İlk Türk Balesi

ÇEŞMEBAŞI



...sırada Çingenelerden Binay Berkan, Ümran Ürey, diğer bir Çingene Jale Akyüz, ortada Rezzan Ürey, geride Hüsnü Sinal, Sait Sökmen ve Selçuk Soyman

Fig.5-Fountainhead / Çeşmebaşı on the cover of Hayat magazine in 1965

**"Çeşmebaşı"nda Rol Alan Sanatçılar**

ÇİĞİRTKAN .....	Zeki TÖR
ÂŞIK GARİP .....	Engin AKAÖZ
KIZ .....	Meriç SÜN
ÇEMBERBAZLAR .....	Sait SÖKMEN - Hüsnü SUNAL - Selçuk SAYI
MASKELİ İKİZLER .....	Rezzan ÜREY - Umran Ü
İKİ ÇİNGENE KIZI .....	Binay BERKAN - Jale AK
KARAGÖZ .....	Erhan ERGÜ
HACIVAT .....	Dudley TOMLIN



Fig.5a- Meriç Sümen in *Çeşmebaşı* with Karagöz and Hacivat characters in 1965



Fig.5b- Dame Ninette de Valois in front of the poster of *Çeşmebaşı* in 1965, from the private collection of Rezzan Ürey



Fig.6- Cevdet Sunay and Süleyman Demirel at the gala performance of *Sylvia* in 1967



Fig.7- Ankara State Ballet Company's tour to Bulgaria in local newspapers in 1966, from the private collection of Rezzan Ürey

## الشيخ شامل في الباليه الى

الخطوات والحركات من الرقص التركي  
فان ما قدمت لا يعتبر تطورا فنيا  
لخطوات الرقص التركي انه ليس الا

الفرقة باليه ( حول النافورة ) للمؤلف  
الموسيقى التركي ( فريد توزون )  
الذي ولد في اسطنبول وتخرج من  
كونسرفتوار انقرة واثم دراسته في  
المانيا ، ثم عاد الى تركيا ليقود  
وركسترا الفرقة ويقدم بعض  
المؤلفات الموسيقية المستوحاه من الروح  
الشعبية التركية . وتأتي دي فالدا ..  
لتختار من هذه المؤلفات ( المتتالية  
الاناضولية ) لتضم على موسيقاها  
باليه ( حول النافورة )

### تطور الباليه القومي

وتقول نيت تعليقاً على عمله  
التجربة على الرغم من انني استعنت  
في تصميمي لهذا الباليه ببعض

بالإضافة الى عروض الفرقة ماخوذاً  
من المدرسة الانجليزية .. وبمسد  
عامين انتقلت الفرقة الى انقرة حيث  
اصبحت جزءاً من معهد الكونسرفتوار.  
وفي عام ١٩٥٧ قدمت الفرقة بعد ان  
اكتسب لونها .. باكورة اعمالها  
وهو باليه ( الحب للساحر ) ثم  
قدمت الفرقة بعد ذلك العديد من  
الباليهات الكلاسيكية .. ولعل عمله  
الخطه .. تذكرنا على الفور بيسار  
فرقة الباليه المصرية .. لان الباليه  
للكلاسيكي هو دائما بداية الطريق ..  
ولما كانت دي فالدا تؤمن بضرورة  
اتاحة الفرصة للباليه القومي .. فقد  
اعطت جهداً كبيراً لدراسة الرقص  
والموسيقى التركية .. وقد اثرت  
هذه الجهود بالمثل .. عندما قدمت

### كتب محمود خطاب :

منذ عامين فقط افتتح مسرح ابو  
الهور .. ومن المصادفات الغريبة  
ان اول فرقة رقصت عليه .. كانت  
فرقة باليه ( كوفلت جاردن ) الانجليزية  
اما الفرقة الثانية ( التي تعرض  
برنامجها عليه حالياً ) فهي فرقة الباليه  
التركي .. واقول انها مصادفة غريبة  
لان كلا الفرقتين عهد بالاشراف عليهما  
وقامت بتكوينهما السيدة ( نيت دي  
فالدا )

### الباليه الكلاسيكي

والفرقة التركية احدث عهداً فقد  
انشئت عام ١٩٤٨ في اسطنبول وكان  
برنامج الدراسة والتدريب لهما



Fig.8- Ankara State Ballet Company's tour to North Africa in local newspapers in 1971, from the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus

T. C.  
MILLÎ EĞİTİM BAKANLIĞI

ÖZEL  
379/706

Ankara

/ /197

1 - Şubat 1977

Sayın Ferit Tüzün  
Kültür Bakanlığı  
Devlet Opera ve Balesi Genel Müdür Vekili  
ANKARA

Pek Muhterem Efendim,

Zarif beyanlarınızı muhtevi yazınız münasebetiyle size ve değerli sanatkar arkadaşlarınıza teşekkür ediyorum.

Hürrem Sultan Balesi Muzik'i, Aksesuarı ve kostümleriyle takdirlerin üstündedir.

Türk Balesinde yeni bir ufuktur. Canlı, diri ve dop-dolu ritmi ile san'at dünyasına damgasını vurduğu<sup>u</sup> cesaretle söyleyebiliriz.

Kalbi muhabbetlerimle sonsuz başarılar diliyorum.  
Saygılarımla.

Ali Naili Erdem  
Millî Eğitim Bakanı

Fig.9- Ali Naili Erdem's letter to Ferit Tüzün in 1977, from the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus

14 THE TERRACE  
BARNES  
LONDON, S.W.13  
01-876 9201

Feb. 2<sup>nd</sup>

My dear Oytun,  
So many thanks for programme  
& your nice letter. I sent a cable to your  
director telling him that I could not come. I  
do hope that to get it? It was, unfortunately  
the 21<sup>st</sup> celebration of Benesh Notatta in  
London - & I had accepted, months ago, to  
be their guest of honour -

It was wonderful to get such a long  
letter on the stage under your very  
difficult circumstances - you deserve  
every success for making such an effort.  
May many congratulations.

Fig.10- Dame Ninette de Valois' letter to Oytun Turfanda in 1977, from the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus, p.1



I do hope that it has met with a  
really big success - please tell Mr  
Kestall how delighted I am that  
you have a copy of this in  
your repertoire.

With love to everyone  
'Madam'

Thank you very much for your lovely and very encouraging letter. I must repeat that I am very sorry since you were not able to come and see "Hurrem Sultan". Now I have confined myself terribly in your "Rake's" there fore I can very soon get mad.. Nobody can hold me quiet. Please rest assured that I will try do my best to perform as beautiful as you would like...

I know that you wanted me to go to Bèjart always order to go there in next time at least for a month making enquiries through the Belgian Embassy in Ankara to see if Belgian government could extend any financial help.

Would you be so kind to write to Bèjart, whether he would permit me to be present in their rehearsals and performances.

In case a letter from him is sent to our Company, that would enable me to do related paperwork here, especially to finance air-ticket.

Therefore, I had to write to you, as always, I have been reflecting my problems knowing how kind you were to me. I really want to go to Bèjart very much.

Maybe from Belgium I could have a chance to come to London (my second beloved town) and see my lovely Madame, there... As she has very much neglected us this season.

Fig.11- Oytun Turfanda's letter to Dame Ninette de Valois, from the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus

## Tuvalet yok, kalorifer yok, su akıyor

# 60 balerin prova sırasında soğuktan titriyor



● SOBAYI ISITTYORLAR: Balerinler, üşüdükleri için prova aralarında yanmayan soba başında telkinle ısınmaya çalışıyorlar. (Foto: Faysal GEYİK - ANKARA)

**A**NKARA, (Hürriyet) — Balerinler, her gün sekiz saat çalıştıkları Üçüncü Tiyatro salonlarında titreyerek prova yapmakta, bir damla su bulmak için bakkallardan şişe suyu taşımak zorunda kalmaktadırlar. Üçüncü Tiyatro'da aylar önce başlayan onarımın bugüne kadar ödenek yokluğundan yetiştirilmemesi sonucu, 60 balerin her gün tuvalet ihtiyaçlarını, 500 metre uzaklıktaki Etnografya Müzesi'ne koşarak gidermektedirler.

### 20'NCİ ASIRDA SANAT

İnce prova kıyaletleri içinde tirtir titreyerek prova yapmak zorunda kalan balerinler, provadan sonra terli terli, 14 derecede dinlenmektedirler. Dinlenme salonlarında çimento torbalarının yığılı halde bulunması, kalorifer kazanlarının binanın dışında el değmeden durması, balerinlerin morallerini ters yönde etkilemektedir.

— "Tuvalet aramaktan bir hal oluyoruz. Bazan yanımızdaki okula, bazan 'la müzeye koşuyoruz" diyen balerinler, soğuktan şikâyetçi olduklarını söy-

lemektedirler. Bir sanatçı, "Soba var, ama soba bizi ısıtmak için değil, bizim sobayı ısıtmamız için göndermişler" diye konuşmuştur.

### MANTOLARLA PROVA YAPILIYOR

Sobanın verdiği ısıdan yararlanamayan bazı balerinler, mantoları ile dinlenmek zorunda kalmaktadırlar. Provalar sırasında, soğuklar yürülden adaleleri sakatlanan sanatçıların bulunduğunu söyleyen balerinler, "Su yok, kalorifer yok.. En mühimi tuvalet yok.. Ne yapacağımızı şaşırık.." diye çırpınmaktadırlar.

Fig.12- "60 Balerin Prova Sırasında Soğuktan Titriyor" (60 Ballerinas are Shivering During the Rehearsal), 10/28/1973, Hürriyet newspaper



Fig.13- İsmet İnönü with Shah Rıza Pehlavi at a gala performance of Ankara State Ballet Company in 1964



Fig.14- İsmet İnönü with the Minister of Education Turhan Fevzioğlu at *Coppelia*'s gala performance in 1961



Fig.15- The Minister of Culture Talat Halman presents an honorary award to Dame Ninette de Valois in 1972, from the private collection of Osman Şengezer

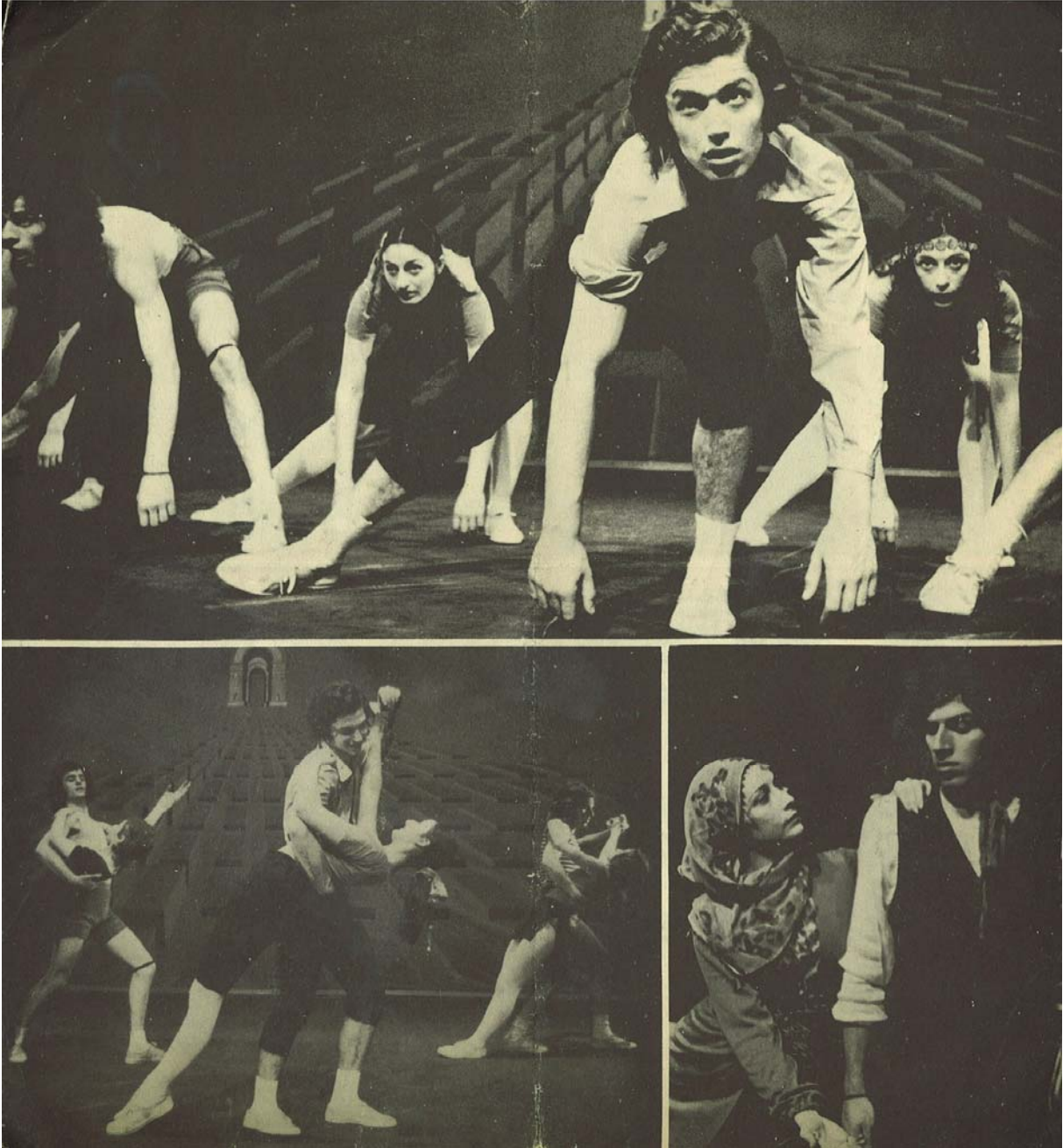


Fig.16- Sait Sökmen's choreographies: *Çark*, *Çift Üç*, *Kurban*. From the private collection of Jale Kazbek

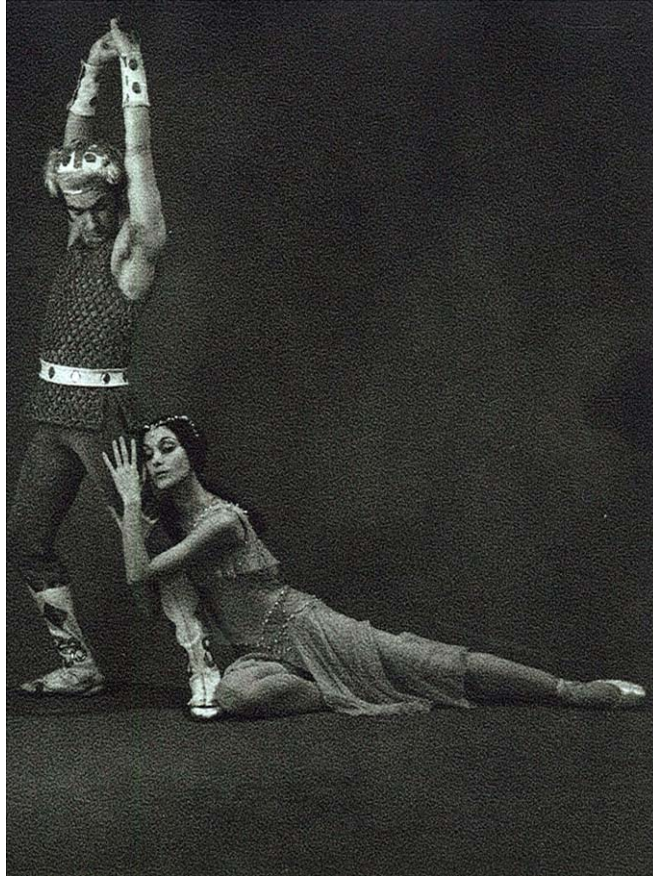


Fig.17- Meriç Sümen and Oytun Turfanda in *Judith* in 1970





Fig.18- Metin And, Oya Gürelli and Dame Ninette de Valois at the gala performance of *Judith* in 1970



Fig.19- Ankara State Ballet Conservatory students in a snowy day at the courtyard of the conservatory. Meriç Sümen, Jale Kazbek, Evinç Sunal and Geyvan McMillen are among the students in 1956



Fig.20- Rezzan and Ümran Ürey at the conservatory, from the private collection of Rezzan Ürey

# Türk balesinin ilk büyük eseri sahneye kondu

Daha önce Anadolu Süiti'nden «Çaşme Başı», Ballad'dan «Pembe Kadın» ve «Sütler»den «Güzelleme» gibi baleler sahnelenmişti, ama Hurrem Sultan cesur ve büyük adım.

Kanunî Sultan Süleyman'ın dans ettiği eseri seyreden Ankaralılar ve yabancılar besteyi yapan Nevit Kodallı ile koreograf Oytun Turfanda'yı hararetle tebrik ettiler.

**A**NKARA'da ne kadar tiyatro varsa, alabildiğince insan, hemen her gece bütün yerleri dolduruyor. Sezon başından beri verilmekte olan temsiller durmaksızın devam ediyor. Bunlar arasında Kanunî Sultan Süleyman'ın gözde eşi Hurrem Sultan'la hayatının dramatik safhalarını canlandıran bir Bale, seyircileri pek çok kendine çekiyor. «Hurrem Sultan» adını taşıyan bu eser için «ilk büyük Türk balesi» deniliyor.

Gerçi memleketimizde Bale'nin boy göstermesi dört yüz küsur yıl önceye kadar uzanmaktadır. O tarihte İstanbul'daki İtalyanlar bir şenlik dolayısıyla bale gösterileri düzenlemişler, bu gösteriye Türkler de katılmış.

Fakat Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sindedir ki bale sanatı ciddi olarak ele alınıyor. 1948 yılında kurulan Devlet Bale Okulu'nun — daha sonra yetişenlerle beraber — bugün hâlâ faaliyette olan mezunları çeşitli Türk bale eserleri de sahneye koyuyorlar. Ancak «Bütünyle Türk olan İlk Büyük Bale» denince, işte bu «Hurrem Sultan» gösteriliyor.

## Bestecinin anlattıkları

Eserin bestecisi Nevit Kodallı: «Şimdiye kadar çeşitli Türk Baleleri sahnelendi. Fakat bunlar başka amaçlar için yazılmış müzikler üzerine konular bulunarak koreografi-

leri yapılmış eserlerdi,» diye anlattı. «BİRER perdelik kısa tür Baleler... Ferit Tüzün'ün "Anadolu Süiti" müziği alındı; "Çaşme Başı" Balesi yapıldı. Necil Kâzım Akses'in "Ballad" ını aldık; "Pembe Kadın" balesini yaptık. Benim «Sütler»imden "Güzelleme" meydana geldi. Fakat "Hurrem Sultan" böyle değildir; özellikle bale olmak için bestelenmiştir.»

Devlet Opera ve Balesi Genel Müdüdüğü bale müşaviri olan Nevit Kodallı, içerisinde Mehter müziği, çeşitli oyun havaları, hatta (Şehzade Mustafa'nın ölümü sıralarında yas müziği olarak kullanılmış) Tekbir bulunan bestesini üç yıla yakın bir zaman içinde çıkardığını sözlerine ekledi. Bundan üç yıl önce genc koreograf Oytun Turfanda'nın hazırladığı kısa özet üstünde bir hay-



ÖN planda, solda Oytun Turfanda Kanunî rolünde görülüyor. Ve vezirler bir arada: (Cevat Aydemir, Tufan Kaymaz, Halûk Özsoydaş).

Fig.21- *Hürrem Sultan*'s one of the media coverage in 1977, from the private collection of Deniz Olgay Yamanus



Fig.22- *Hürrem Sultan* on stage in 1977



Fig.23- Deniz Olgay Yamanus in one of Duygu Aykal's choreographies, *Çoğul* in 1973



Fig.24- Geyvan McMillen directs a technical class at the Ankara State Ballet Company in 1976, on the wall, Dame Ninette de Valois' portrait

20 inci Yüzyılda her sanat dalında bir takım gelişmeler ve değişmeler kaydedildiği gibi dans da bunu görmekteyiz. Türkiyede Çağdaş Dans yeni bir sanattır. Bu gece sunacağımız gösteri dans sanatında şahsi düşüncelerimin ve hislerimin özgün ifadesidir. Bunu uygulamakta beraber çalışan arkadaşlarımın son derece büyük yardımları olmaktadır. Kendileri de değişik kişilikleri ile Türkiyenin ilk çağdaş dansçılardır. Bu çalışmalarımız müşterek gayret ve arzularımızla devam etmektedir.

Gurupta çalışan Mesih Beken, Salima Sökmen Okanar, Aysun Aslan, Binnaz Dorkip, Devlet Balesi sanatçılarıdır. Ümit ederim ki büyük bir gayret ve sevk ile hazırladığımız bu gecede sizlere Çağdaş danstan örnekler verebilelim ve Türkiyedeki bu yeni dans sanatını tanıtabilelim.

Geyvan McMillen

The changes and evolutions that we see in various arts in the 20th Century are also apparent in Dance. In Turkey Modern Dance is very new. The performance we give tonight is the original expression on my own ideas and feelings in this medium. In its realization, the contributions of my dancer friends are great. Each of them, with their special personalities, are the first modern dancers of Turkey. Our works are the fruit of our combined enthusiasm and efforts.

The members of our group, Mesih Beken, Salima Sökmen Okanar, Aysun Aslan, Binnaz Dorkip, are all artists from the Turkish State Ballet.

I hope that in this performance which we prepared with great care we can introduce to you Modern Dance as expressed by Turkish artists.

Geyvan McMillen

Geyvan McMillen

1960 yılında Devlet Konservatuvarını bitiren sanatçı, aynı yıl Devlet Opera ve Balesine katılmıştır. 1970 yılında Londra'ya giderek, London Contemporary Dance okulundan aldığı burs ile üç sene Martha Graham'ın dans tekniği ve koreografi çalışmalarında bulunmuştur. 1972 yılında Almanya'da Köln'de tertiplenen genç koreograflar müsabakasına katılmış, ayrıca Londra ve Fransa'da dans etmiş, eser sahnelemiştir. 1973 yılında Amerika'ya giderek New York'ta koreograf Merce Cunningham'dan aldığı bursla çalışmalara katılmış ve koreografini sahnelediği bir esere dansçı olarak katılmıştır. 1974 yılı yazında Londra'da London Contemporary Dance okulunda modern dans öğretmeniği yapmıştır. Halen Devlet Opera ve Balesinde ve Konservatuvarda bale ve modern dans öğretmeniğidir.



Geyvan McMillen who graduated from the State Conservatoire in 1960, joined the State Opera and Ballet in the same year. She went to London in 1970 and studied dance technique and choreography for three years on a scholarship she was granted by the London Contemporary Dance School. In 1972 she took part in the Young Choreographers Competition in Cologne, Germany, she also danced in London and France and put some works on the stage. She went to USA in 1973 and took part in the studies on a scholarship she obtained from Choreographer Merce Cunningham and participated as a dancer in a work staged by him. In the summer of 1974 she worked as a modern dance teacher in the London Contemporary Dance School. At the present she is a modern dance teacher at the State Opera and Ballet.

Fig.25- The program brochure of Geyvan McMillen Modern Dance Group's performance in 1975



The Istanbul Turco - British Association  
and  
The British Council  
present  
An Evening of Modern Dance  
Choreographed by Geyvan McMillen  
in the garden of the British Consulate General  
by kind permission of the  
British Consul General  
Thursday, 19 June 1975 at 18.00 hrs

Invitations may be obtained in advance from  
The Istanbul Turco - British Association : 48 20 39  
The British Council Library : 45 22 98

Istanbul Türk - İngiliz Kültür Derneği  
ve  
İngiliz Kültür Heyeti  
İngiltere Başkonsolosunun müsaadeleriyle  
Başkonsolosluk Bahçesinde Koreografisini  
Geyvan McMillen'in yaptığı  
Modern Dans gösterisini sunar.  
19 Haziran 1975 Perşembe 18.00

Davetiyelerin önceden temin edilmesi rica olunur.  
İstanbul Türk - İngiliz Kültür Derneği : 48 20 39  
İngiliz Kültür Heyeti Kütüphanesi : 45 22 98



Fig. 25-continue



Fig.26- Meriç Sümen, Jale Kazbek and Binay Okurer with Pakistani dancers in Karachi in 1966



Fig.27-Binay Okurer and Jale Kazbek with Beatrice Appleyard (Fenmen) in later years, from the private collection of Rezzan Ürey

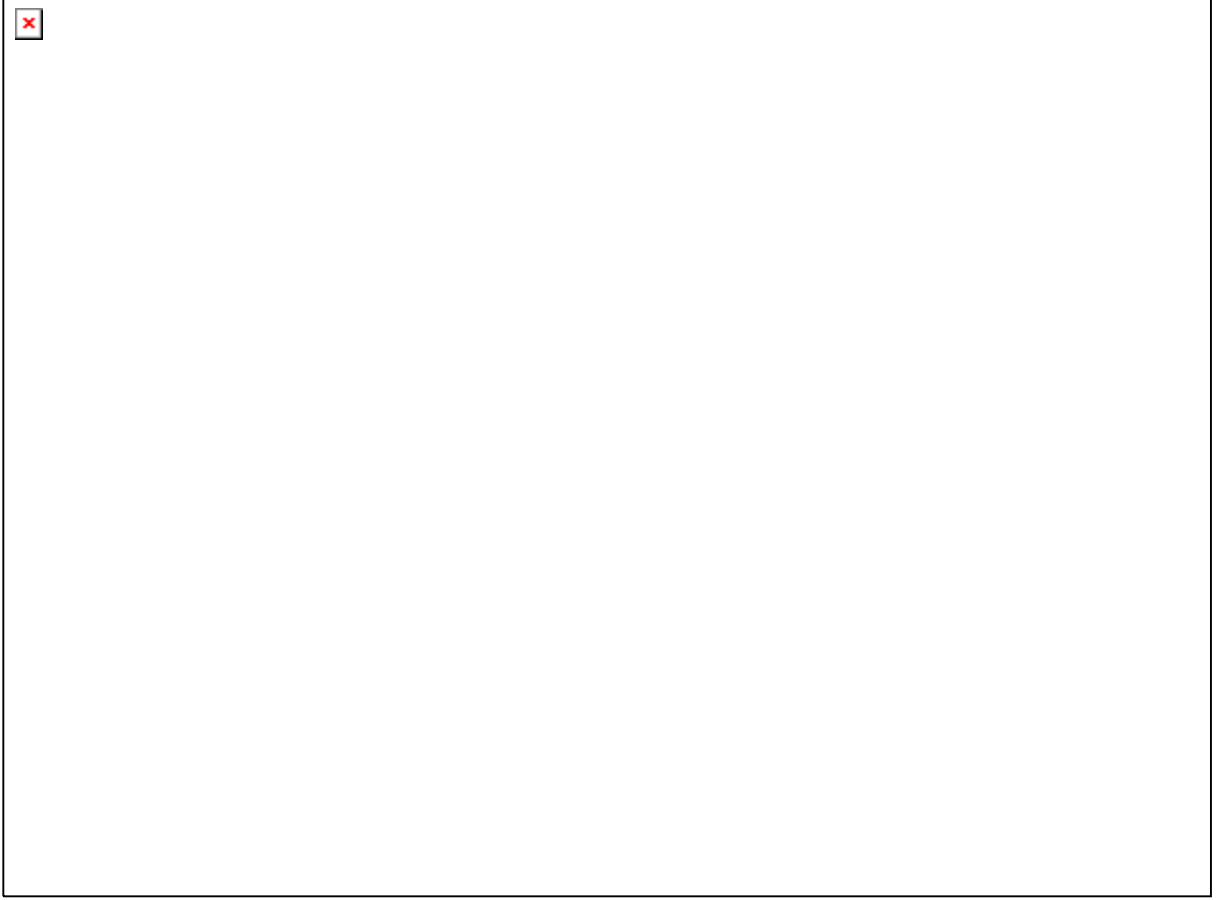


Fig.28- Evinç Sunal and Osman Şengezer at the designing studio of Ankara State Ballet Company, from the private collection of Osman Şengezer



Fig.29- Ceyhun Özsoy and Jale Kazbek on stage, in *Sleeping Beauty/Uyuyan Güzel*, 1972



Fig.30- Şebnem Aksan and Geyvan McMillen's dance event, Istanbul Festival in 1980, from the private collection of Geyvan McMillen



Fig.31- Richard Glasstone, Dame Ninette de Valois and Osman Şengezer at the gala performance of *Sylvia* in 1967, from the private collection of Osman Şengezer

## INTERVIEWS

- A. METİN AND 12/21/2006, Ankara
- B. RICHARD GLASSTONE 05/25/2007, İstanbul



## SÖZLÜ TARİH PROJESİ

<b>Görüşülen kişi</b>	: Metin And
<b>Cinsiyeti</b>	: Erkek
<b>Doğum Yılı</b>	:
<b>Görüşme Tarihinde Yaşı</b>	:
<b>Doğum Yeri</b>	:
<b>Mesleği</b>	: Emekli Profesör
<b>Kurumda İşe başlama Tarihi</b>	:
<b>Kurumda Çalışma Süresi</b>	:
<b>Emekli ise Emeklilik Tarihi</b>	:
<b>Görüşen</b>	: Zeynep Günsür
<b>Deşifre eden</b>	: Filiz Öğretmen
<b>Redaksiyon</b>	:
<b>Süre Toplam</b>	: <b>01:30:22</b>
I. Ses Dosyası	: 00:01:00
II. Ses Dosyası	: 01:11:00
III. Ses Dosyası	: 00:18:22
<b>Ses Kaydı</b>	: 2 Adet CD.
<b>Görüşme Yeri</b>	: Ankara.
<b>Görüşme Tarihi</b>	: 12/21/2006.
<b>Görüşme Sırası</b>	:
<b>Kısaltmalar</b>	

<b>M. A.</b>	: Metin And
<b>Z.G.</b>	: Zeynep Günsür
<b>[..ak..]</b>	: Anlaşılamayan kelime
<b>Muzaffer Bey</b>	: Muzaffer Evcı
<b>Konuk</b>	: Kadın katılımcı
<b>[?]</b>	: Doğru yazıldığı veya duyulduğundan emin olunamayan kelime.

### *Deşifre Notları:*

- 1) Özel isimler ve yabancı dildeki kelimeler redakte edilecek.
- 2) Arka plandan, görüşme boyunca; günlük yaşantısını sürdüren küçük bir çocuğun konuşma, oyun oynama ve seyrettiği TV programlarının sesleri geliyor.
- 3) Görüşülen kişinin yaşı nedeniyle, konuşurken hatırlayamamak üslubunu oluşturduğu için görüşmede kullandığı “şey, yani” gibi dolgu anlamlı kelimeler muhafaza edildi.

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### **[Birinci Ses Dosyası]**

**[M. A.:** ... bir şey var, *Yangın* dergisi var. Kalın saçlar, iki efsane ağzını kapatıyor. [..ak..]...

**Z. G.:** Hemen ben şeyimi çıkartayım, makinemi. Dinliyorum.

**M. A.:** Ondan sonra bir de şey var, şimdi adını; ben adları unutuyorum, çok iyi bir ışıkçı var, Devlet Tiyatrosu'nda uzun seneler, çok iyi bir ışıkçı, yani şey sanatçı, ışıkçı. O da Yüksel'in arkadaşı. Bir gün karşılaşmışlar bir yerde Can Film'de filan bir yerde karşılaşmışlar...

### [İkinci Ses Dosyası]

Şehir Tiyatrosu'nun çıkmazı Muhsin Ertuğrul'la başlıyor. Adamakıllı kavgalar da ettik falan. Şimdi orada Muhsin Ertuğrul da benim yakın ahbabımdı. Birlikte yemek yeriz falan, fakat ona dair bir şeyler de anlatayım. Şimdi ben bu Türk tiyatrosu üzerine çalışmalarım ilerledikçe, onun yerini tespit ettim. Tamamen menfi şeyler, taklitçi bir adam, Batı hayranı ve onun sahneye oyduğu eserlerde; önce Avrupa'da gidiyor seyrediyor, aynen getiriyor. Resimlerle de ispat ettim *Yanlılıklar Komedi* Shakespeare'in; Avion'da 1938'de oynanıyor, Türkiye'de 1938'de. İkisinin de fotoğrafını yan yana koydum, benim *Cumhuriyet* kitabına...

**Z. G.:** Aynı.

**M. A.:** Şapkaları, dekoru falan aynen. Tabii dıştan, içini bilmiyorum ama, yani dış görüntüler bakımından simetrik duruşlar, ikizler.

**Z. G.:** Aynı şeyler.

**M. A.:** Hepsi de aynı, taklit etti ve onu da tespit ettik 1938'de Avion'a gittiği de biliniyor, yani böyle bir adam. Şimdi bunu çok tutuyorlar, tutanlar da işte "beni tiyatrocuyu yapan oydu, hoca bilmem ne." Gençler de bilmeden işte "hocam" diyordu. Ben buna karşıydım, şimdi bu, ne zaman görsem, şeyli olduğum zamanlardı, onun aleyhinde yazılar da yazdığım zamandı, gene yolda gördüğü zaman yahut da mektup yazdığı zaman "sana" diyor, "bir belge vereceğim, baleye dair"...

**Z. G.:** "Baleye dair."

**M. A.:** Sonra öğrendim onun ne yararı olur. Şimdi buna sormuşlar "baleye kimi getirtelim." Bu da bir, İngiltere'de bir papaz varmış onun tanıdığı, ona sormuş o da demiş ki "Ninette de Valois olabilir" sonra Ninette de Valois gelmiş. Şimdi Ninette de Valois'ya sahip çıkıyor, şimdi ben yazmadım onu ama bir gün onu da yazarım, yani yarın gibi fırsat geçince onu da yazarım. Şimdi bu adam o sırada genel müdür. Genel müdür, elde konservatuarda yetişmiş baleciler var, daha henüz mezun olmamış. Şeyde, bir de o üç kadın, dört kadın bir erkek Konservatuar dışından baleyi öğrenmişler.

**Z. G.:** Kaya İlhan, Tenasüp Onat.

**M. A.:** Şimdi bu şeyle, baleye madem bu kadar meraklısın, niye sen Opera'nın da başındaydın? Niye koymadın bir şey, baleyle ilgili bir pro... Opera'nın yanında yahut da şey,

yok böyle bir şey. 1957'de şey geçiyor, Cüneyt Gökçer geçiyor, ilk bale o zaman oynanıyor. Gene Konservatuar'dan mezun olmamışlarla, oradan bazı öğrencileri...

**Z. G.:** Beraber.

**M. A.:** Alaraktan işte şeyi oynuyor...

**Z. G.:** *Keloğlan*.

**M. A.:** Lorca'nın bir şeyini, hayır. O Konservatuar'daki olanları söylemiyorum. Devlet balesindeki şey ve bir koreograf getiriyorlar ve bir de şey, baş balerin Valery Dickens diye bir kız geliyor. İlk bale o. Neydi onun adı? Şey.

**Z. G.:** 1957...

**M. A.:** Değil değil, Lorca'nın gene bir eseri. Şey, *Büyüleyen Aşk* mı ne öyle bir şey...

**Muzaffer Bey:** *El Amor* [..ak..]

**M. A.:** Ha *El Amor* [..ak..].

**Z. G.:** Yani bu opera değil, tamamen bale öyle mi?

**M. A.:** Bale ama *Salome* operasının yanında oynuyor tabii bale. Ondan sonrada gelişiyor...

**Z. G.:** Gelişiyor.

**M. A.:** Yani Cüneyt Gökçer'in zamanını konuşuyorum, yani sen mademki papa...

**Z. G.:** Bu kadar...

**M. A.:** Sonra baleyi öğrenmek için İngiltere'de Ninette de Valois'i bulmak için papaza mı gidip... Tabii herkes biliyor Ninette de Valois'nın kim olduğunu, yani...

**Z. G.:** Hocam peki daha önce Sergey Lifar getirilmeye çalışılmış, o böyle bir şey başlat...

**M. A.:** Getirilmedi. Onu duymadım...

**Z. G.:** Ama Atatürk ölünce 1938'de, kalmış bu girişimler. Öyle bir şey...

**M. A.:** Hayır. Ona dair, onu araştır. Ben onu bulamadım, 1935 yılında zannediyorum iki tane, şimdi adlarını söyleyemeyeceğim, yani çok bilinen iki kişi Asafyev [?] bir tanesi. Şeyde, iki koreograf, bir besteci falan getirilecekken düşmüş suya.

**Z. G.:** Düşmüş suya.

**M. A.:** Biraz da işte şey, komünizme falan, karşıtlık bakımından belki de, yani ben onu gazetelerde tespit edemedim bir türlü ama böyle bir olay da var. Onu da aklında tut, yani Atatürk'ün böyle bir şeyside, girişimi de oldu.

**Z. G.:** Evet... sanıyorum ondan Jak Delon mu bahsetmiş...

**M. A.:** Ama o...

**Z. G.:** Onun kitaplarında bir yerde var.

**M. A.:** Ona hiç güvenim yok. Sana Jak Delon'u anlatayım mı?

**Z. G.:** Anlattınız biliyorum biliyorum. Biliyorum ama hocam, yani...

**M. A.:** Ama ölünün arkasından da konuşulmaz. Şimdi...

**Z. G.:** Ama sonuçta baleyle ilgili hani “kim ne yazmış” diye baktığınız zaman...

**M. A.:** İşte Arzumanov'lara falan, o ben onlara şey etmedim.

**Z. G.:** Evet o yazdı.

**M. A.:** Hiç ilgilenmedim onlarla, Arzumanov'la.

**Z. G.:** Evet, yani şeyde ilginç mesela, Arzumanov'da aslında Rus Devrimi'nden kaçıp da hani Avrupa'ya gidecekken, Türkiye'de Atatürk'ün isteğiyle kalmış öyle diyor, Yıldız Alpar da öyle diyor. Kalıp da, hani Arzumanov'da başlatabilirmiş bu, aslında kurumsal değil mi?

**M. A.:** Valla onu bilmiyorum...

**Z. G.:** Ama hiç şey yapmamış.

**M. A.:** Yani bu kadının tecrübesi var.

**Z. G.:** Madam'ın!

**M. A.:** Evet. Sadler's Wells Balesi, sonunda Royal Bale...

**Z. G.:** Evet Royal Bale...

**M. A.:** Bir numaralı topluluk oluyor.

**Z. G.:** Büyük, tabii büyük.

**M. A.:** Çok yönlü o.

**Z. G.:** Peki siz onun 1973'te gönderilmesi ile ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz, yani...

**M. A.:** Kimin?

**Z. G.:** Madam'ın, yani Madam'ın 1973...

**M. A.:** 1973'te gönderilmedi o.

**Z. G.:** 1973-74 sezonunda...

**M. A.:** Gönderilmiyor.

**Z. G.:** ne oluyor peki?

**M. A.:** Gönderilmiyor. Zaten çağrılmıyor ki gönderilsin.

**Z. G.:** İşte ya da!

**M. A.:** Yani para vermiyorlar kadına. Kadın her şeyi cebinden veriyor. Türkiye'de şey yok, bale pabucu yok, çantasında bale pabuçları getiriyor. Böyle bir durum...

**Z. G.:** Ama ona karşı, bir karşı hareket oluşmuş.

**M. A.:** Hayır o, büyük şeylere karşı daima oluyor ama...

**Z. G.:** Yani orada kendi, hani “Türkler yönetimi, idareyi ele alsın” gibi bir...

**M. A.:** Valla bilmiyorum onu. O sezonlar, onun en parlak sezonları Ninette Valois'nın.

**Z. G.:** 1973, 1974 mü? Ama ondan sonra yok.

**M. A.:** Yoo! Daha sonrada devam ediyor. Ne zaman kesti bilmiyorum şeyde, hatta o benim yazıda var o şey. Ninette de Valois'yla olan. Ben sık gidiyordum Londra'ya orada aradım, hatta beni dersine soktu. Şeyde ders veriyor Royal Bale School'da. O dersi seyrettim, çıktık "seni" dedi, "şimdi Çin lokantasına götüreceğim." O hikayeyi okumuşsundur herhalde, dedim ki "n'olacak şey etmiyorsun" dedi, "benim çocuk büyüdü" dedi, "ben şimdi yeni bir çocukla ilgiliyim. İrlanda balesiye"...

**Z. G.:** Hım! Anladım ama dansçıların bu anlamda böyle bir tepkisel şeyleri olmuş, yani.

**M. A.:** Tepkisel şeyleri çok oldu. Kaç kişiye oldu. Şeye mesela, bir kadın geldi, gönderdiler. Nefis bir kadın, şair, yani şiir sonra Avion'da intihar etti. Müthiş bir kadındı o. Buna karşı duruyor şey, balerinler! Kadın neler yapıyor? Bir kerede dekorda yapıyor kadın, aksesuar da yapıyor. Şeye gitmiş bir gün, akşam üstleri de yoruluyor orada bana geliyordu uzun uzun anlatıyordu. O bir çok baleler yaptı Türkiye'de.

**Z. G.:** Bu kimden bahsediyorsunuz?...

**M. A.:** Andrée Howard: çok esaslı bir kadın o. Onunda aleyhinde bulundular, niye bulunuyorlar? Kadının yaptığı şey var. Şeye gidiyor terzihaneyi görmek istiyor, bakıyorlar en pahalı tülleri, şeyleri doğruyorlar böyle parçalar, büyük parçalar dökülüyor. Tutuyor, parçaları topluyor o şey bile toplardı, mesela yürürken sonbaharda yaprakları da alırdı yerden, onlardan da bir şey yapardı. Böyle çok yaratıcı bir kadın. Sonra onları topluyor, şey vardır iyi bir balerindi o, Ayla, Sunal mı neydi onun adı?

**Z. G.:** Anladım Ayla.

**M. A.:** Ayla Dayıgil.

**Z. G.:** Dayıgil, Dayıgil, evet.

**M. A.:** Ama sonraki ismini hatırlayamadım.

**Z. G.:** Ayla Dayıgil diye biliyorum ama ben, evet.

**M. A.:** O çok iyi balerindi. Onlar bir şey yaptı kadın, klasik balelerden parçalar. Bu Mavi Kuş var ya! Şeyde Çaykovski'nin balesine gidiyor, pas de deux balede orada kıza bir tutu yapmış topladığı parçalardan. Onlara maviye boyayarak...

**Z. G.:** Eee!... böyle şeyler yüzünden mi taktılar kadına?

**M. A.:** Hayır bunlardan değil, yani bunları bilmeden, kadının da çok iyi bir koreograf olduğu... mesela [.ak..] bu, bunu *Gençler Balesi* diye çevirdiler Türkçeye. Hakikaten de gençler balesiydi. Bu balo, *Gençler Balosu*, Bizet'nin senfonisi üzerine, nefis bir eser [.ak..]. Benim anıma yaptı, sırf onun için bir bale yaptık biliyor musun onu.

**Z. G.:** [.ak..].

**M. A.:** Şey, Couperin'nin müziği üzerine, klavsen müziği üzerine...

**Z. G.:** Onun koreografileriydi, yani.

**M. A.:** Ters striptiz. Bu Ankara'da yaptı, sırf onun için yaptı.

**Z. G.:** Adı neydi hocam onun?

**M. A.:** Şimdi gelmedi aklıma. Resmi bile var, benim İngilizce bir kitabım vardı.

**Z. G.:** Hangisi?

**M. A.:** *Theatre and Entertainment*. Orada resmi de var. Yüksel'in fotoğrafları. Şimdi bir kadın geliyor o zaman ama primolin elbise[?], şap, bonesi falan böyle bonesi de var başında, böyle bir bone takıyor, sana da bir bone takalım...

**Z. G.:** Bir dakika.

**M. A.:** Bir şey takacaktı ama bone deyince. Sonra göl var orada, gölde yıkanacak. Ters striptiz bu. Çıkartıyor falan elbiselerini, güya çıplak kalıyor ama şey, ten renginde tayt falan giyiyor. Bir de şey var, onu Küçük Ali'nin torunu vardı, şeyde çok iyiydi oğlan, bazı balelerde çok iyidir. Bir kısa boylu, şey tıknaz böyle şey bir çocuk ama [...ak...] dansçıydı. O da yaşlı bir adam, bunun sazların arasından seyrediyor. Böyle bir bale ama o işte o soyunurken, o Couperin'nin müziğine uygun bir şekilde çıkartıyor elbiselerini falan o şapkasını falan çıkartıyor, sonra suya giriyor. Kısa bir bale ama çık güzel böyle şiirsel bir tarafı da var. Sazların arasında da adam oturuyor seyrediyor.

**Z. G.:** Dikizliyor. Peki mesela seyircilerin filan tepkisi nasıl oluyordu hocam o zamanlarda, yani...

**M. A.:** Şeyleri tabii daha çok seviyorlar. Bu kısa balelerden oluşan program, tabii bu da vardı, başka şeyler de vardı. Kısa kısa parçalar, onlar çok güzeldi. Çünkü çoğu, biraz virtüözite isteyen parçalar olduğu için çok şeydi. Eser de [...ak...] iyi karşılandı aslında.

**Z. G.:** Ben şunu görüyorum, mesela eski şeylere baktığım zaman bütün bu arşiv, yani yazılara, gazetelere filan hakikaten, hani dönemin çok önemli politikacıları, başbakanlar, işte dışişleriyle ilgili insanlar, konsolosluklardakiler filan galalarda buluşuyorlar, yani baleler böyle onların, yani günün politik hayatını takip edeceğimiz neredeyse bir şeye dönüşüyor...

**M. A.:** Eminim şey, şimdiki Kültür Bakanı bir kere baleye falan gitmedi.

**Z. G.:** Gitmedi.

**M. A.:** Operaya...

**Z. G.:** Yani bu değişim nasıl oldu?

**M. A.:** Ama adam zaten haklı gitmemekte, uyuyor çünkü.

**Z. G.:** Ama Ecevit'in filan da pek gittiğini bilmiyoruz, yani dans...

**M. A.:** Ecevit konserlere giderdi.

**Z. G.:** Konserlere giderdi, yani dansla ilgili, hani 1960'lardaki, 1950'lerdeki o...

**M. A.:** Şey Başbakanın sözünü biliyor musun? Belediye Başkanı, “bale” diyor, “belden aşağı bir şeydir.” Ben hatta yazı yazacaktım. Bunun iki anlamı olabilir; yalnız ayaklarda kullanılır anlamına diyorsa, bu yanlış çünkü bilmiyor baleyi. Balede gözler bile kullanılıyor, her şey kullanılıyor, parmaklar bile kullanılıyor, yani vücudun her bir noktası kullanılıyor. O bakımdan yanlış bu. Ötekine gelince, orada galiz bir şeyler söyleyecektim.

**Z. G.:** Hayır, yani bu kadar, nasıl bu kadar, bu değişim bir anda mı oldu? Ben anlamıyorum, yani 1950’ler, 1960’lara baktığımda...

**M. A.:** Baz var, yani temeli var bu şeyin. Onun üstüne bunlar ustalıklarla, takiye usulüyle bina ettiler bu şeyi.

**Z. G.:** Tabii bunda şeyinde çok payı var bence, bilmiyorum siz ne düşünüyorsunuz ama yani işte Antalya, Mersin falan baleleri açıldı ama yani gerçekten, hani “topluma daha çok ulaşmak, toplumsal olarak daha yaygınlaşmakla ilgili bir kültür politikası, baleciler tarafından izlenmedi” diye düşünüyorum değil mi?

**M. A.:** Evet ama gittiği yerde, Anadolu’da çok iyi karşılanıyor bale.

**Z. G.:** Ama yeterli değil, yani eğitimle işte, atölye çalışmalarıyla filan, yani çok büyük bir genç potansiyel var. O genç potansiyeli kanallandırmak için birtakım çabalar gerekiyor.

**M. A.:** Aslında şey yapmak lazım tabii. Şimdi bütün baleyi götüremezsin Anadolu’ya, fakat şeyin, Andrée Howard’ın yaptığı gibi resital şeklinde tek, ikili, üçlü filan baleciler var.

**Z. G.:** Mesela bu tarz programlar.

**M. A.:** Hatta piyano eşliğinde...

**Z. G.:** Mesela.

**M. A.:** Yahut da şey, teyp eşliğinde müzik bandıyla çalarak da yapılabilir, yani.

**Z. G.:** Ama buna ilişkin hiçbir şey yok.

**M. A.:** Şey yaptılar bir ara, işte Faruk Güvenç işte müzik eleştirmeniydi, o yaptı bir ara. Mesela orkestrayı Konya’ya götürdü. Orada işte bariton bir şey söyledi, soprano bir şey söyledi falan. Böyle şeyler yaptı, burada çıktı başkan, bunların açıklamasını falan yaptı büyük bir ilgi uyanmaya başladı. Müzikte şimdi büyük bir ilgi var...

**Z. G.:** Hocam aslında şimdi İstanbul’da çok güzel şeyler yapılmaya başladı.

**M. A.:** Evet takip ediyorum çok...

**Z. G.:** Daha genç, genç tabii çok genç yönetmenlerin hem dansla, hem tiyatrodan...

**M. A.:** Ve dansla yaklaştı...

**Z. G.:** Çok çok...

**M. A.:** İstanbul’daki festival, İstanbul Festivali’nden dolayı...

**Z. G.:** Evet evet.

**M. A.:** [.ak..] şey, neydi o? Bağış, ne Bağış?

**Z. G.:** Pina Bausch [?].

**M. A.:** Pina Bausch falan geldiği zaman yer yerinden oynadı, tiyatro olarak sunuldu bu ama. Eskiden beri söylerim; bale, operada tiyatrodur. Bizde Konservatuar'da yanlış öğretiyorlar. Şey tiyatro fonetif bir sanattır, söz sanatı. Söz değil şeydir...

**Z. G.:** Ses.

**M. A.:** Hayır, ses bile olmayabilir! Tiyatro, gösteri taşıyor. Gösterimde canlanır sahne sanatı olarak, yazar da değildir tiyatronun yaratıcısı...

**Z. G.:** Başka bir dil oluşuyor orada değil mi?

**M. A.:** Ben bir konferans verdim Mimar Sinan Akademisi'nde ama onlar, sonra onu kitaba çeviriyorlar. Başlığı söyle "*Tiyatro öldü mü?*" Soru işareti, "*Yoksa yeniden mi?*" diyor "*Doğacak?*" Kısaca ben, metin de hazırlamıyorum, gittim. Sonra işte az buçuk insan geldi, dinledi falan. Bunu sonra kitap gibi, küçük kitaplar halinde çıkarıyorlar. Kitaba gelince ben konunun ne kadar önemli olduğunu anladım. Onu da teybe almışlar ve şeye geçirmişler, bilgisayara geçirmişler. İpe sapa gelmez, mesela ben serbest konuştuğum için, dedim ki "bana izin verin, ben bunu genişletip bir metin vereceğim size ama acele etmeyin." Boyuna Başkan bana telefon ediyor "ne zaman hazırlanacak" en son dedim ki "ben yapamayacağım onu" ama şeyleri de topladım, iyi bir zamanımda şimdi iki kitap üzerine çalışıyorum. Onlar bittikten sonra buna döneceğim, biraz daha geniş bir kitap olacak. Ne demek istediğim orada anlatılacak bütün bunlar.

**Z. G.:** Çok yavaş, bazı şeyler çok yavaş geliyor.

**M. A.:** Hayır şeyi kırmak zaten söz konusu değil, yani belli bir tiyatro seyircisi var. Onun aradığı şeylerden uzaklaşılmasından yana değilim, biraz da endişeliyim ama bir avangard tiyatro oluşup, onu doğru yolu bulmak için denemeler yapacaklar falan. Sonunda bulunacak, yani 21. yüzyılın tiyatrosunu bu şekilde uyusuk konuşmalar falan, böyle gayet donuk bir konuşmayı çok sevmiyorum. Ben kendim çok konuşkanım ama tiyatrodaki konuşmalara tahammül edemiyorum. Ben biliyor musun, bu 15 sene içinde 3 kere tiyatroya gittim.

**Z. G.:** Biliyorum.

**M. A.:** 3 kere. Bu da bu sene oldu.

**Z. G.:** Öyle mi?

**M. A.:** Bir tanesi Ayşe Emel Mesci.

**Z. G.:** Ha evet. O ilginç şeyler yapıyor.

**M. A.:** *Antigone*'yi koydu.

**Z. G.:** Beğendiniz mi?



**M. A.:** Şimdi onu söyleyeceğim, daha Ayşe Emel Mesci'yi ben çok beğeniyorum. Paris'te benim için *Kurban* oyununu topladı bir üniversitede. Ben konferansım vardı üniversitede, Sorbonne 8 diyorlar.

**Z. G.:** Biliyorum.

**M. A.:** Şimdi kuzeyde, tiyatro falan bakımından da çok şeyli. Orada verdim, bir sürprizmiş bu, bütün topluluğu bir araya getirmiş. Bırakmışlarmış, hepsini toplamış sırf benim için, yani Abdülhamit'in tiyatro seyretmesi gibi. Birkaç kişi daha vardı tabii ama yani...

**Z. G.:** Size yaptılar.

**M. A.:** Bana yaptılar, ben de videoya aldım. Bende şimdi komple şeysi var, buna da bir tane verdim çok makbule geçti, çünkü yokmuş onda.

**Z. G.:** Ne güzel.

**M. A.:** Şimdi bu bana, çok duygulandırdı beni, yani benim için temsil veriyor. Çok kafalı bir kadın.

**Z. G.:** Evet. İstanbul'a ilk geldiğinde görmüştüm, tanışmıştım.

**M. A.:** Bana telefon etti *Antigone*. Ben işte nazlandım falan "Ayşeciğim olmaz" dedim, yani bir şeyler, "bir yerde yemek yiyelim dışarıda. Konuşuruz falan ama ben" dedim, "artık gitmiyorum tiyatroya. Ama n'olur gel" falan dedi. Sonra düşündüm; bir de İrfan Şahinbaş, sahne sanatçısıymış, görmemiştım onu. Ben tiyatro binalarına da meraklı olduğum için "onu göreyim" dedim. Çünkü alıştığımız o çerçeve, sahneden farklı bir sahne. İşte bir eski öğrencim, bir kız arabasıyla beni aldı, şehrin dışında bir yere, yani bana söyleseler şimdi, nerededir o bilemem! Ankara'nın neresine geliyor. Gittik, seyrettim; çok iyi şey bakımından, toplulukları hareket ettirme bakımından, koreografik bakımından çok iyi fakat sesler kötü, yani bu şiirsel oyunlarda sesin bir ezgisi olması lazım o yok! Gayet böyle ham bir ses çıkıyor, şey etmedim ama söyledim, bunu da söyledim ona. Dedim ki ama şeyin çok güzel "bütünüyle çok güzel ama" dedim, "sesler, bunlar" yani bir Antigone'nin kız kardeşi işte Hizmene midir nedir adı, onun sesi iyi, diğerlerinin sesleri hiç iyi değil, yani falan, neyse işte dedim.

**M. A.:** Oraya gittim ama oradaki tiyatroyu çok sevdim.

**Z. G.:** Öyle mi?

**M. A.:** Zannediyorum [..ak..] tiyatrolardan falan.

**Z. G.:** Öyle mi? Yapısı olarak mı?

**M. A.:** Yani şeyini görmedim, sahne arkasını falan görmedim ama tam ideal bir tiyatro. Fakat hiç, hiç sevmedim *Salome*'yi.

**Z. G.:** *Salome*'yi mi?

**M. A.:** Eskiden beri, hele Rusya'ya gittikten sonra, '62'de Rusya'ya gittikten sonra şeyi gördüm meşhur neydi? Bütün Rusya; her her, cumhuriyetin birkaç, her şehrin var hatta hattızatında ama bu bütün Rusya'yı ilgilendiren bir şey. Sovyetler'i ilgilendiren bir şeydi, onu seyrettim ama sonra işte Yugoslavya'da bir kadın var, onlardan falan bir teori ürettim, yani bizim halk dansları hepsinden zengin. Bunlar sahnede seyredilmesi lazım, çünkü şöyle izah ediyorum ben onu, bu danslar tarlada, şurada burada, düğünde falan oynanıyor, herkes coşaraktan: Kendine dönük danslar, birisi seyrediyor diye değil de, kendi şeysi için yapılan danslar. Bunu dışarıya çevirmek, bu zenginliği dışarıya çevirmek. Bunun üzerine bazı teoriler geliştirdim, onu makale olarak yazdım, bir kitabın içine koydum. Şimdi o zaman, şimdiki gibi ilişkiyi de anlamıyorum hiçbir zaman, ha o zaman Turizm Bakanlığı tek başınaydı ama şimdi birleştiler galiba, arada bir birleşiyorlar. Onu, niye birleşiyorlar ama anlayamadım, yani turist, şey turistler gelince eski kültürlerin şeylerini geziyorlar diye mi? Onlar, müzeleri falan geziyorlar, o bakımdan diyelim.

**Z. G.:** Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı.

**M. A.:** Adam bir tanesinin başından çıkamayacak, işin içinden çıkamayınca, ikisini birden almış; iki karpuz bir koltuğa!

**Z. G.:** Biliyorum sizin halk dansları üzerine çok yazılarınız var. Bale ile hatta beraber koyduğunuz yazılar da var.

**M. A.:** Şimdi bunu şey ettim...

**Z. G.:** Selim Sırrı'dan bahsetmişsiniz.

**M. A.:** Turizm Bakanlığı'nın başında bir müsteşar var. Şimdi Türk Tanıtma Vakfı mı nedir? Bir şey var, Kemal Baytaş Başkanı. Durmadan seyahat ediyor, Çin'e boyuna gidiyor böyle sofraya başına oturtuyor adamı falan. Şimdiki hali hoşuma gitmiyor ama o zamanlar müsteşar oydu. Bu bana telefon etti, "Metin Bey" dedi, "bir ara vaktiniz olursa bana gelin" dedi. Turizm Bakanlığı o zaman şeyde, Maltepe'ye giden bir yolun oradaydı Turizm Bakanlığı "oraya gelin" dedi, "sizinle konuşacaklarım var. Peki" dedim. "Bakın" dedi, "ben" dedi, "sizin yazınızı ve kitabınızdaki o bölümü okudum" dedi, "ben de" dedi "halk danslarına hayranım, kendimde yaparım hatta" dedi, "sizden ricam" dedi, "bana bir rapor yazın. Ben" dedi, "kendi olanaklarımla bunu gerçekleştireceğim" dedi. "Çok sevindirir" dedim, "bu benim, bir hayat şeyim, yani hayatta olmasını istediğim ideallerimden biri budur" dedim, "olur" dedim, "size yapayım" dedim. Oturdum uzun kapsamlı bir şey, yani dansçıların oluşumu, alınışı falan, ilgili bir bölüm var. İkincisi; bunların, nasıl bunları yapacakları, koreografisini falan. Üçüncü aşamada bunlar sahnede nasıl yapılacak falan buna dair şeyler. Oldukça uzun bir şey, bir kere burada dedim fizik şeyi önemli, bunlar yetişkinler çünkü,

eğitimi belirlenmiş, yani küçük çocuklar değil bunlar. Artık bundan sonra da daha fazla büyümeyecekler falan. Onun için kızlar için şöyle ideal bir ölçü, kilo ölçüsü ve boy ölçüsü kızlar için. Erkekler için şöyle bir şey falan. “Ondan sonra bunlar” dedim, “kabilse bu halk danslarını bilmeyenlerden seçilsin” dedim. Ondan sonra “bu” dedim, “bir imtihan heyeti olsun, bu da” dedim, “müzikle hareket edebilmek, yani bir marşla yürümek falan gibi bir şey yapsınlar, bir de müzik kulağını, işte piyanoda küçük bir ezgi çalıp bunun tekrarı” falan gibi şeylerle bir de anlattım, yani ne gibi şeylerden geçeceklerini. Sonrasıydı işte, dedim ki “baledeki koreograflar kullanılacaklar ama balecilik kimliklerinden sıyrılıp, yalnız sahnedeki hareketi düşünerek, bunları da bilmiyorlarsa, öğrenecekler bunları şey edecekler” falan, yani “bu şekilde bir şey ve bu bir profesyonel şey olacak, toplu olarak dans edecekler, ideal olan 70 kişidir” diye işte rakamı bile koydum. Hakikaten ilanlar verildi, gençler geldi ben de buldum orada. Ben imtihan etmedim ama işte kilosunu ölçüyor, boyuna bakıyor falan erkeklerin, ondan sonra işte *Dağ Başını Duman Almış*’la yürüyüş yapıyorlar. Böyle ezgiler çalıyor, onları tekrarlıyorlar falan. Bazıları halk danslarını biliyorlarmış, yani zararı yok ama büyük faydası da yok falan. 70 kişiyi aldılar, daha çok alacaklardı...

**Z. G.:** Devlet Halk Dansları Topluluğu oldu ve de Duygu Aykal’ın...

**M. A.:** Sonra ikinci aşamaya geldik. Şimdi Duygu Aykal yalnız kafiydi ama benim aram çok iyiydi onunla. Duygu Aykal’a dedim ki “böyle böyle bir şey gelecek sana, sen” dedim ama “baleci ve şeyini; gardrobu açacaksın. Gelip [...ak...] burada. Olur” dedi. Oytun Turfanda’yı da aldık. Şey de girdi, Oya Aruoba ama o pek fazla bir şey yapmadı. Çalışmalar başladı. Kızlar ilerliyor, adam hiçbir şeyden kaçınmıyor, yani ne kanunu var bunun, bizde çünkü bir kurum kurulunca önce kanunu çıkıyor falan. Bu adam hiç kanun manun tanımadan bunu yaptı ama oraya şart koştu. Bir de mahalli gruplar ama bunlar sık sık Avrupa’ya gidiyorlar altın madalyayla dönüyor hepsi. Onu da belirttim, “bunlara” dedim, “dokunmayın” yani aradaki fark şudur: Bunlar, bizimkiler profesyonel dansçı; sahnede dekoruyla, ışıklarıyla falan dans edecek, o şeylere bunlar gitmeyecek, amatör şeylere. Onların yolunu kapatmayacağız, tersine onlardan yararlanıp, bu dansları onlardan öğreneceğiz. Çünkü bunlar komple grup dedikleri 4, 5 bölgenin dansını yapabiliyorlar. Böyle bir şey usul koyduk. Oldu, ilerliyor şeyler. İşte bir de dekor olarak büyük bir yuvarlak aydınlatılan, renkleri değişen ışıklarla bir şeyi var falan, sade bir dekor, Büyük Tiyatro’da. Benim; *Sanat Dünyamız* -o zaman boyu büyüktü-, o zaman Sağdıç’ın fotoğraflarıyla, renkli fotoğraflarıyla bir de yazım çıktı. Ağlayanlar vardı o gece... [...ak...] çok heyecanlandı, sonra bu Amerika’ya gitti şey etti. Sonra Kültür Bakanlığı’yla birleşti, ben “eyvah” dedim, “kanun da çıktı galiba.” Ondan sonra tamamıyla o rapora aykırı olarak, bir şeyden çağırıyorlar. Mesela Cumhurbaşkanlığı’na bir yabancı geliyor. Buradan

şeyi çağırıyorlar, buradan 5-10 dansçı gönderiliyor ama sonra mahalli dansçılar homurdanmaya başladılar. Korktular “bunlar rakip olacaklar” falan. Onlara bir şey toplantısı yaptım, hepsi geldiler, onlara anlattım bunu dedim ki “sizinle onun arasında büyük bir fark var. Bunlar, siz onların öğretmenlerisiniz ve sizin şeylerinize karışmadım” ama işte giderek, zaten Kültür Bakanlığı’nın...

**Z. G.:** Bağlanınca...

**M. A.:** Bir şeyi sağlam koy, parçalanır o bozulur ve şimdi adını bile duymuyoruz...

**Z. G.:** Hiç. Evet onu soracaktım, değil mi?

**M. A.:** Onun yerine işte Mustafa şeyin, Erdoğan şeysi...

**Z. G.:** Sultan Of the Dance.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Var falan filan ama bayağı kadrolu dans falan filan ama yapıyorlar ama böyle bir şey yok.

**M. A.:** Ama şey aldı onu, hâlâ... dansçı olarak çok iyi de, ayrıca koreografide de büyük başarı gösterdi.

**Z. G.:** Çok ilginç koreografileri var, yani *Yoz Döngü*’yü filan ben nispeten daha yeni seyrettim.

**M. A.:** Şimdi ben Jak Delion’ n’aptım bili... o kısmını belki anlatmamışımdır. Şimdi Jak Deon’la iki defa onun doçentliği bozdum.

**Z. G.:** Biliyorum.

**M. A.:** Üçüncüde, aradan bir zaman geçti. Bana tekrar telefon etti, dedi ki “n’apayım ben bunu almak için” dedim ki “senin yazdıkların derleme, toplama bir şeyler, yani derin, şey bir şey, bir araştırmaya daha. Şimdi” dedim “mesela şöyle bir şey söyleyeceğim” dedim... Dedim ki “şöyle bir şey yap mesela. Şimdi bir şey konuyorsa sahneye şeyde, Devlet Balesi’nde onu bul, onun ilk başladığı zamandan sonuna kadar balenin, oraya git şeyleri yaz, yani n’apıyor, nasıl yapıyor? Şeyleri, yani yaratım sürecini tespit et. Bu arada onun müziğini kim yaptıysa onunla konuş, şeyle dekorları yapanla konuş” falan filan. Turfanda’nın galiba bir balesiydi, baleyi unuttum şimdi hangi bale olduğunu. “Onları” dedim “gün gün yaz ve bu yaratım süreci” dedim, “çok iyi bir şey olur, tez olabilir. Böyle bir şey yap” dedim, “yoksa ötekiler” dedim, “oradan buradan çıkma şeyler, alıntılar. Olur” dedi, “yaparım” dedi, arada bir bana da telefon ediyor, “şunu yaptım, bunu yaptım” falan diye. Sonra bitti bu çalışmasını, bana gönderiyor “bana gönderme artık” dedim. O arada jüri belli oldu, “ah” dedi, “siz yoksunuz” dedi, şeyde “jüride. İyi ki yokum” dedim, “belki ben gene üçüncü kere reddebilirdim” dedim. Bilmiyorum yani...

**Z. G.:** Öyle bir çalışması varsa da ben hiç bilmiyorum.

**M. A.:** Yaptı işte öyle bir şey. Dedim, yani ona “dua etki ben jüride değilim. Belki de” dedim “onu okuduğum zaman beğenmeyebilirdim” falan dedim.

**Z. G.:** Hocam, ben mesela benim başında, kafamda şöyle bir şey vardı, yani Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ve bu yeni toplum sürecine bakarken bazı baleleri, bazı çalışmalarını, Türk koreografların bazı çalışmalarını alıp, incelemek istiyordum, yani hem hani o toplumsal kontekt’in içine oturarak, hem konularıyla, hem yaklaşımlarıyla, hem hareketset olarak incelemesiyle. Ne diyorsunuz siz, böyle bir şey...

**M. A.:** Hayır, bunların büyük bir kısmı aslında notation olarakta kağıda geçirilmiştir.

**Z. G.:** Ama ben notationdan bahsetmiyorum tabii, yani ben bir semiyotik analiz, bir...

**M. A.:** Bak, mesela bir tane katıldığım bir baleyi anlatayım, yani benim, fikrini benim verdiğim bir bale. Şimdi o şeye çıktı, Evin İlyasoğlu’nun *Bülent Tarcan* kitabı çıktı. *Bülent Tarcan* kitabını alırsan orada göreceksin. Ben de ona biraz bilgi verdim bu konuda...

**Z. G.:** *Bülent Tarcan*.

**M. A.:** Şimdi şey, Madam’la *Çeşme* balesini yaptıktan sonra bir şey geldi buraya. Bir şey geldi buraya, şimdi adını birden söyleyemeyeceğim Güney Afrikalı bir şey geldi...

**Z. G.:** Koreograf.

**M. A.:** Birden adı, [..ak..] çıkar. Çok da iyi bir hoca...

**Z. G.:** Biliyorum...

**M. A.:** Genç bir hoca.

**Z. G.:** Biliyorum ben. Neyse ben yazdım onu bir yerlere Güney Afrikalı birisi, evet.

**M. A.:** Şimdi o geldi. O da madam gibi Türk müziğine dayanan bir Türk balesi...

**M. A.:** O şeye geçti *Bülent Tarcan*’ın şeyine geçti. Şimdi bir gün birinin evinde yemek yedik, oturuyorum. Bana dedi ki “ben de” dedi, “böyle bir bale yapmak istiyorum, ne yapayım” dedi. O dedi ki “Bülent Tarcan’ın bir suiti var” dedim...

**Z. G.:** Valery

**M. A.:** Değil hayır.

**Z. G.:** Pardon. O Avusturalyalı.

**M. A.:** Neyse geliriz sonra ona. Şey *Bülent Tarcan*’ın kitabında bu olay çok ayrıntılı değil ama var aslında. Orada oturuyoruz dedi ki “bak” dedim, “şimdi bir besteci var Bülent Tarcan. Onun bir suiti var. O suite” dedim, “bir bale yapabilirsin” dedim. “Hemen” dedi, “şey edelim.” Bir yerlerde araştırdık, adamın numarasını bulduk. Gece, geceleyin oluyor bu olay. Bülent Tarcan’a telefon etti. Adam şıp dedi çıktı telefona. Bülent Tarcan’a dedim “ben Metin And” dedim, “aaa Metin Bey nasılsınız falan” dedi. Dedim ki böyle böyle burada bir koreograf var, sizin suitinizi bir bale yapmak istiyor. Aman ne güzel” dedi, “çok memnun

olurum, çok sevinirim” falan dedi. Dedim “tamam, izin veriyor musunuz bu müziği kullanmasına? Tabii” dedi, “veriyorum.” Sonra oturdum, elimizde de müziğin kaydı yok aslında. Şimdi “bak” dedim, “bir Türk konusu seçelim, *Hançerli Hanım*.” *Hançerli Hanım* bir halk hikayesi, masal değil ama halk hikayesi. Bunlar gerçekçi halk hikayeleri; *Hançerli Hanım* diyor ve *Hançerli Hanım*’ı oynayan da Tenasüb...

**Z. G.:** O hatırlar şimdi kim olduğunu.

**M. A.:** “Şimdi” dedim, “bak” ben ona o gece librettoyu verdim. “Bak” dedim, “şöyle bir şey” dedim. “Şimdi eskiden Türkiye’de meddahlar vardı, hikaye anlatırlardı. Yaşlı bir meddah bir kenarda otururken çocuklara artık, yani büyüklerden dinleyen pek yok meddahı, çocuklara hikaye anlatıyor, *Hançerli Hanım*’ı anlatıyor. *Hançerli Hanım* hikayesini anlatıyor, bunlar da dinliyorlar. Ondan sonra balenin içine giriliyor, oradan hareketle balenin içine giriliyor. Balede *Hançerli Hanım* hikayesi var, yani böyle biraz kanlı bir kadın, hançeri filan var şeyde.” Böyle bir düzenle anlattım, adamın da hoşuna gitti...

**Z. G.:** Yaptı.

**M. A.:** Sonra yeni bulmuş değildi, yapıldı oynandı bale oynandı. Adı da *Hançerli Hanım*. Böyle bir bale yaptık, yani o gece...

**Muzaffer Bey:** Bu Travis Kemp?

**M. A.:** Yooo yoo! Onlarla alakası yok, ben onlarla hiçbir zaman işbirliği yapmadım. Onları reddettim ben.

**Z. G.:** Niye?

**M. A.:** Çünkü onlar Madam’a karşılar ve orada Konservatuar’da bir bale topluluğu yapmak istiyorlar. Kadın, çok hırslı bir kadın Molie Lake. Aslında çok değerli bir kadın, yani onu . O Travis Kent değil ama Molie Lake çok değerli bir kadın. Pavlova’yı falan tanıyan o zamanların şeysi, balecisi ama ben bu, onları bu şeye karıştırmadım. Çok ağır yazılar yazdım onlar hakkında, yani onları şey ettim, ekarte ettim. Madam da onları korudu, yani Molly Lake karşı bir şeyi var. Aynı yaşta falan, onun şeyine mazisine karşı bir saygısı vardı falan ama ben tamamıyla reddettim. Çünkü onlar orada ayrı bir topluluk kurmak istiyorlar karı koca. Ben buna karşıyım, şimdi bir topluluk var o, o da Devlet Balesi, yani şimdi Konservatuar’da öğrenci yetişir ama ayrıca bir rakip şey olamaz.

**Z. G.:** Sizin bazı yazılarınızda “bu icraya çok önem vermeye başladı filan” dediğiniz şey bu mu? “Konservatuar’ın içinde icraya çok önem vermeye başladılar. Fazlaca” falan dediğiniz o mu?

**M. A.:** Evet ama yani o icra meselesi değil de, yani bunların ayrı bir topluluk gibi hareket etmelerine karşıydım. İcra konusu yapabilirler tabii, yani bir konservatuarda...

**Z. G.:** Hayır başka yerlerden dansçı da alıp, sanki öyle bir topluluk oluşturma gibi bir şey ima etmişsiniz çünkü o yazıda.

**M. A.:** Evet, bunlara çok karşıydım ben ama kadın, çok önemli bir kadın aslında ama şey, yani Pavlova'lar falan devrinden kalma bir kadın ama Madam'a da, Madam'ı da kıskanıyor, kıskanan bir kadın. Madam da bunları, çok geniş bir kadın o, yani bunlara şey etmeyen aldırış etmeyen bir kadın ama ben orada...

**Z. G.:** Peki madamın o *Çeşmebaşı*'ni yapmaya karar vermesi, yani o Türk müziği, Türk motiflerini balenin içinde kullanmaya karar vermesi nasıl oldu?

**M. A.:** İşte onu, o şimdi Sevda Cenap And Vakfı'nda bir kitap çıktı. Sevda And, Cenap And Vakfı'nda bir kitap çıktı. Orada benim yazmamı istediler ama ben yazmadım da birisi yazdı. O bana geldi ben... Şimdi olay şöyle oluyor: Şimdi şeyde madam Türk balesi yapmak istiyor, Türk balesinden anladığı konusu Türk, müziği de Türk müziği olacak böyle. Şimdi ben ona yardım etmek için Ankara Radyosu'na gittim. Oradaki, arşivdeki bütün bantları götürdüm. Ona dinlettim. İşte *Adnan Saygun'un Birinci Senfonisi*, yok bilmem kimin, bilmem şeysi falan, yani onların hepsini dinlettim. Hepsini dinledi falan şey edemedi. Sonra Ferit Düzün'ün şeyini götürdüm, *Anadolu Suiti* ki o Yapı Kredi'nin bir ödülünü kazandı. *Anadolu Suiti*'ni götürdüm. "İşte" dedi, "benim aradığım bu" dedi, "tamam" dedim. O müziği aldık. Şimdi Madam'ın belli saplantıları var, saplantılar da şöyle: Karagöz'le Hacivat'ı çok seviyor, "onu ille koyayım" diyor. Sonra işte birtakım köy motifleri, bir de sirk şeyleri cambazları falan geliyor. Onlar da işte cambaz dansları falan var, çemberler var. "Tamam" dedim, işte aslında bunlar, Karagöz'le Hacivat'ın köyde işi yok. Kırsal kesimde işi yok ama kadının şeyine saygı duyaraktan önerdim. Şimdi bu yavaş yavaş belirmeye başladı, kadının fikirleri yavaş yavaş belirmeye başladı. Ben dedim ki "köyde geçiyor ama gelenler tam köye uygun değil, yani ne Karagöz'le Hacivat köye uygun, ne de o sirk şeyleri çember var, cambaz falan buraya uyar." Bunları anlattım falan "ama" dedi, "ben bunları koymak istiyorum" dedi. Bir de şey var, ikizler var, ikizler nefis şeyler, şeye halk danslarını öğretiyorlar...

**Z. G.:** Ha, evet evet.

**M. A.:** Madam'a, öyle ki, yani mesela hangi baleydi? Çaykovski'nin bir balesinde üç yılının dansını, bunların Anadolu dansını koydu, Çaykovski'nin müziğiyle dans ettirdi. Böyle, bu kadar onlara çok güveniyordu, Türk dansına... Şimdi şeyin gerçekten, Ferit Tüzün'ün şeysi bir şahaser bu *Anadolu Suiti*. Şimdi yalnız benim bunu toparlamam lazım, yani şey olarak dedim ki "şimdi her köyde bir çeşme var. Çeşmeye işte kızlar geliyor, erkekler geliyor falan, buluşuyorlar şey ediyorlar. Aralarında işte ilişkiler var falan. Şimdi" dedim, "buna" dedim, "çeşme başı adını koyalım, yani çeşme başına geliyorlar. Bu arada da gezici bir sirk

topluluğu, şeyler geliyor o köye, bunlar da o şeylerini gösteriyorlar. O arada Karagöz Hacivat'ı, işte onlar da giriyor” yani ben istemeyerek Karagöz’le Hacivat’ı. Çünkü kadın çok etkilenmiş Karagöz ve Hacivat’ı ille koymak istiyor. Bunları koydum, şimdi şey, müzikte şeye söyledik, Ferit Tüzün’e söyledim. Dedim “Ferit bak, Madam senin bir şeyini, *Anadolu Suitini* bale yapmak istiyor” dedim “sizin eve gelsek, senin eve gelsek” o zaman Necati Bey Caddesi’nde bir yerde oturuyordu, “oraya gelsek, bunu bize dinletir misin ve şeyden, yani müziği dinledi zaten kadın ama yani piyanoda şey eder misin, yardım eder misin? Tabii” dedi. Allahtan seni, en çok popüler olan eseri oldu Ferit Tüzün’ün bu eser. Gittik, piyanonun başına oturdu, şimdi Madam notadan takip ediyor, çalışıyor. Dedi ki, ben de tercüme ediyorum “buradan” dedi, “dört mezür çıkaracağım” dedi, “şuradan şöyle yapacağız” falan. Kadın şeye, baleye uydurmak için birtakım şeyler, değişiklikler yapıyor. Ferit Tüzün de çok esaslı bir besteci olduğu halde son derecede tembel bir adam. Şimdi bunları kös dinliyor, “o değişikliği yaparız falan” diye. Anlaştık ve kadın hemen başladı şey etmeye, çalışmaya başladı. Şimdi Ferit Tüzün’den de orkestrasyonda şeyleri istiyor, değişiklikleri istiyor, yani çıkardığı, koyduğu falan şeyleri istiyor. Ferit Tüzün tembel olduğu için “ya bak” dedim, karşıma aldım “ya bak” dedim “dünya çapında bir koreograf senin eserini şey yapıyor, bale yapacak, Türk balesi.” Şöyleydi böyleydi falan dedim ama sonra “peki” dedi falan, yaptı o şeyleri. Ondan sonra işte *Çeşme Başı*, adını da ben koydum *Çeşme Başı*...

**Z. G.:** *Çeşme Başı*.

**M. A.:** Diye ama o kadar popüler oldu ki. Kuzey Afrika’ya gitti, Avrupa’ya gitti, bilmem ne Hong Kong’a bilmem ne gitti, her yeri dolaştı bu ve öbür eserlerimden hiç almadığı telif ücretini bu baleden aldı Ferit Tüzün, yani yüzü güldü ve kendi idare ediyor şeyi, orkestrayı da, yani çok memnun kaldı bu işten, hem çok iyi oldu ve çok popüler bir bale oldu. Gerçekten. Şimdi orada bir sahne var; orada da çok iyi bir, çok güzel bir müzik aslında. Bir soprano, yüksek sesli bir soprano, orada bir uzun hava gibi bir müzik söylüyor ama gerçekten çok nefis bir şey, sahne o. Şimdi kadın “bunu nasıl yapalım” diyor, “orada. Bakın” dedim “burada” dedim, “Türkiye’de aşıklar var, esas şairler. Bunlar ezeli bir arama içinde, ezeli rüyalarının sevgilisini arıyorlar. Bu saz şairi gelecek bu müzikle, şeyi karşılayacak, karşılaşacak; rüyalarının sevgilisiyle karşılaşacak. Bir pas de deux yapacaklar bu müzikle, sonra adam geldiği yerin tersine çıkacak. Şey de buradan çıkacak.” “Çok iyi olur” dedi bana. İşte bunun üzerine çalıştık, gerçekten şimdi şey saz şairi, Engin şeydi işte o Konservatuar’dan değil de o sonradan gelen bir, Engin miydi neydi adı, onun adı? O oynuyor, bir de şey Meriç Sümen oynuyor. İşte buradan geliyor kız, bu da elinde sazıyla geliyor karşılaşıyorlar. Sazını bırakıyor bir pas de deux yapıyorlar ikisi. Pas de deux, kadın ters yönden gidiyor, erkek bu



tarafından gidiyor, ayrılıyorlar. Öyle bitiyor, bir rüya sahnesi gibi, yani aşkın kafasındaki sevgiliyi bulmanın şeyi o. En güzel sahnesi de bu oldu, böyle bir bale oldu. O kadar popüler oldu ki bu, yani *Çeşme Başı* dünyanın her yerinde oynandı bu bale. Ferit Tüzün de böyle çıkıyor. O şeydir böyle, biraz kendine önem verir, böyle yakışıklı da bir adam, böyle grand tuvalet çıkıyor idare ediyor falan Hong Kong'a mon Kong, yani gitmedikleri yer kalmadı bunların.

**Z. G.:** Hocam, iyi danışman bulmuş tabii Madam yanına değil mi?

**Muzaffer Bey:** [..ak..] hocasıydı. *Adım Adım*'da girişteki yazısında var, hem yazılı olarak da süreci daha ayrıntılarıyla ama hani üzerinden geçmekte, belki aynı, yeni detaylar çıkabilir...

**M. A.:** Bir detayı yok, işte böyle, yani bu.

**Z. G.:** Peki *Çark*'ı filan nasıl bulmuştunuz, Sait Sökmen'in.

**M. A.:** *Çark*'ı ben bulmadım. Şimdi...

**Z. G.:** Yani hayır, nasıl [..ak..]?...

**M. A.:** Kadının metodu şu: Koreograf keşfetmekte sınıfta şeyleri izliyor, dansçıları izliyor. Mesela siz dans ederken ötekilerden farklı bir şeyler yapıyorsun değil mi? Sizi bir kenara çekiyor, onunla konuşuyor diyor ki "bu koreograf olabilir" yani, çünkü ötekilere uymayan bir adam, yani kara kedi mi derler, ne derler? Bir şey, onu çekiyor. Şeyi öyle buluyor Kenet Mac Millan'ı ve ondan sonra o şey Stutgrad Balesi'ni kuran neydi o adamın adı? Adamın adını unuttum. O falan, yani bütün onları öyle buluyor, yani toplumun içinden bunları böyle cimblele çeker gibi, şeyi de öyle buluyor. Sait Sökmen'i izliyor, Sait Sökmen müthiş bir adam aslında, yani korkunç bir şey. Ben ona yam yam yaptım, biliyor musun?

**Z. G.:** Öyle mi?

**M. A.:** Şimdi kokteyllerde karşılaşıyoruz, "biraz evvel hangi beyaz kadını yedin" diye şey ederim ama şey, şaka kaldıran bir adam.

**Z. G.:** Çok şeker bir adam. Ben üç gün önce onunla buluştum, hakikaten çok, çünkü ben merak içinde "neden istifa ettiniz, niye bıraktınız? Niye bir daha koreograflık yapmadınız"...

**M. A.:** Ama şimdi çok para kazanıyor yahu, yani bütün o şeyleri...

**Z. G.:** Evet o tarafı var.

**M. A.:** Televizyonların revülerini, bilmem neleri, defileleri, her şeyin arajmanını o yapıyor. Gine bir, onun karısı da balerindi ama ayrıldı ondan da bir başka bir kadınla evlendi. Beraber çok iyi anlaşıyorlar ve bu şeyi yürütüyorlar, çok para kazanıyor...

**Z. G.:** Ama, yani bunlar olmadan önce istifa etmiş o biliyorsunuz.

**M. A.:** Evet. Şimdi bu adam önce şeyi yaptı, müziği dinlemiş, çok iyi müzik bilen bir adam, yani kültürlü, çok kültürlü. Şey gibi bu, Rudolf Nureyev gibi. Rudolf Nureyev İngiltere'ye

gittiği zaman, İngiliz baleciler cahil, ne Dostoyevski bilir, ne Shakespear’i bilir, hiçbir şey bilmiyorlar, yani dans ediyorlar yalnız. Adam hepsini biliyor, müthiş bir şey, yani kültürlü. Rusya’da çünkü çok esaslı bir kültür var.

**Z. G.:** Tabii. Sait Sökmen de öyle, doğru. Onun da aileden gelen bir...

**M. A.:** Sait Sökmen...

**Z. G.:** Abisi tenor, öyle bir şey.

**M. A.:** Ravel’in *Quartet*’ini biliyor çok iyi. Onun içine doğmuş o *Quartet* “ben bunu bale yapacağım” diyor. *Maviler ve Bilmem Neler* diye bir bale yaptı, Madam onu seçti, onu görevlendirdi, onu anladı ki bu işe yatkın bir adam. Onu yaptı, fakat çok ilginç bir olay, ikinci baleyi yapacak. Adnan Saygun’un *Keman Konçertosu*’nu bale yapacak...

**Z. G.:** *Kurban*.

**M. A.:** Bu şeye gidiyor, Adnan Saygun’a gidiyor izin veriyor adam. Ben Adnan Saygun’la çok beraber çalıştım, biliyorum adamın huyunu. Dünyanın en huysuz, en rezalet adamıdır, yani karakter bakımından korkunç bir şey. Bunun üzerine baleyi yapıyor, o gece gittik balenin galasına. Bu çok önemli bir şey; son dakikada Adnan Saygun “bale müziğimi kullanma” demiş ve “dava açarım” demiş. Hadeee, müzik kalkıyor, şimdi ben de Madam’la aynı locada oturuyoruz. Bale başladı yok, müzik yok. Gidip geliyorlar şeye falan, hareket ediyorlar hiçbir şey yok, yani vurma çalgısı bile yok düşün! Bitti, millet hayran kaldı baleye. Madam dedi ki “darling” diyor, yani konuşmasının başında “darling.” “Darling” diyor, “bu müziksiz daha iyi oldu!” Yani adamın şeyini düşünün, yani ne kadar esaslı bir adam, müziksiz dans edildi. Sonra İstanbul’da tekrar etti bu *Kurban*, aynı şekilde müziksiz, yani Adnan Saygun’un *Keman Konçertosu* yok orada, böyle bir şey. Adamın şeysi çok esaslı, hareket anlayışı çok iyi, yani kimse de fark etmedi. Zannettiler ki...

**Z. G.:** Müziksiz yapıldı.

**M. A.:** Müziksiz hazırlanmış bir bale. “Böyle de olabilir” diye. Türk seyircisi aslında, yani Ankara’da şimdi seyirci bozuldu. Televizyonlar falan, tamamen bozuldu ama eskiden Ankara... Benim çok iyi bir örneğim var aslında. Şimdi Menotti’nin *Konsolos* operası, Leyla Gencer de oynadı onu Ankara’da. Şimdi bu *Konsolos* operası Menotti’nin bir dram aslında. Müzik çok ikinci planda ama bir drama oynuyorlar. Bir şey Konsolos var. Konsolosun kapısı böyle büyük bir kapı, bir mabet gibi kimse giremiyor oraya. Bekleme salonunda birtakım insanlar var, sınır dışı çıkmak isteyen insanlar. Hepsi ahu vah ediyorlar, yani böyle acılı insanlar, bir türlü çıkamıyorlar, konsolostan vize alamıyorlar, çıkamıyorlar. Memleketi terk edemiyorlar. Şimdi burada öyle şeyler var ki çok gerçekçi, sonunda oradaki kadın, yani Leyla Gencer’in oynadığı yahut da başka sopranoaların oynadığı rolde, sonunda o kadar beziyor ki

kadın, eve gidiyor. Havagazında intihar ediyor ve bu trençkotlu falan insanlar. Şimdi bu bale bu opera şeyde oynanıyor Scala Operası'nda. Çünkü Menotti aynı zamanda İtalyan, yani şeyi de kurmuş. Şeydeki bir festivali kurmuş, çok önemli bir festivalin de kurucusu. Menotti'ye dair de size bir dedikodu hikayesi anlatırım. Burada, Menotti'nin bu operasında şey Milano'da, Scala'da oynadığı zaman bir İtalyan şeyini oynuyorlar. Şimdi adamlar alışmışlar, Rigelotto'da kontlar çıkıyor, dükler çıkıyor düello ediyorlar, şey ediyorlar falan böyle asilzade. Burada adamlar böyle perişan, trençkotlu falan insanlar. Kadın havagazından şey ediyor, intihar ediyor. Isıklıyorlar *Konsolos* operasını. *Konsolos* nefis bir dram. Aslında şey değil, opera değil, dram. Ankara'da seyircinin en sevdiği opera bu oldu. Ben şimdi onun için Ankara seyircisine, eski Ankara seyircisine çok büyük hayranlığım var, yani Scala'nın kabul etmediği İtalyan bestecisinin eserini, Ankara seyircisi kabul ediyor, bu çok...

**Z. G.:** Ama işte bu kaç, kaç seneleri hocam?

**M. A.:** Ama şimdi değişti her şey. Televizyon girdi filan, tüfek icat edildi, mertlik bozuldu.

**Z. G.:** Aynen öyle oldu.

**M. A.:** Bu çok önemli bir şey. Şimdi Menotti'nin dedikodusunu anlatayım size. Bu nedir?

**Muzaffer Bey:** Bu iki ciltlik şey vardı ya hocam *Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin Temeli Kültür...*

**M. A.:** Ben onu görmedim ya o kitabı nerden buluyorsun bakayım bu kitapları?

**Muzaffer Bey:** Bunu şu benim hani Opera ve Bale'nin kısımlarını yazdığım şey vardı ya! Bir tane o zaman bana vermişlerdi. Şimdi *Konsolos*'a kafam takıldı da...

**M. A.:** Yoktur o belki. Belki de yoktur onlar. Benim İtalyanca şeyde var aslında, Leyla Gencer'in resmi var... Bir gizli güç, büyük bir güç, omnipotan güç; herkes ona muhtaç. Ondan alacağı bir şeye muhtaç, gözükmüyor hiçbir zaman, oyunda gözükmüyor, operada gözükmüyor. O kapının önünde bekleyen insanlar; çaresiz insanlar, yani ondan bir vize koparabilmek için bekleyen insanlar. Korkunç güzel bir opera *Konsolos* ama şey Milanolular anlamadı, Ankara seyircisi anladı o operayı. Onun için ben şunu diyorum, yani Ankara seyircisi başlangıçtan beri tiyatrunun, işte sahne sanatlarının en iyi seyircisiydi. Sonra bozuluyor, tabii her şeyin bozulduğu gibi, yani ne bozulmadı ki Türkiye'de? Seyirci bozulmasın, ben şey etmiyorum normal karşılıyorum.

**Z. G.:** Hocam siz Duygu Aykal'ın koreograflerini nasıl buluyorsunuz?

**M. A.:** Çok beğeniyorum. Duygu Aykal'ın kendisini çok beğeniyorum Duygu Aykal bir deha aslında.

**Z. G.:** Çok genç yaşta da, evet. Gitti.

**M. A.:** Ve benim için çok acı oldu Duygu Aykal. Çok neşeli, canlı, şeydi. Mesela bir topluluğa, şeye bir yemeğe gittik beraber. Fransa elçisi de vardı, Fransa elçisi de ufak tefek bir

adam. Adamı kaldırdı havaya, atıyor falan Fransa elçisini. Bu kadar neşeli, şeyli, canlı bir insan, şeydi, yani fakat bana acı gelen neydi biliyor musun? Şeyi de çok iyi tanırdım, onun ablası Sevgi Soysal'ı çok iyi tanırdım.

**Z. G.:** İki birden öyle.

**M. A.:** Şimdi o öldü, onun şeyinde bulunmadım ama Duygu Aykal'ınkinde bulundum. Şimdi onların ablaları var Gönül, neydi adı? Şimdi soyadını hatırlayamadım, Gönül sanat tarihçisi, Selçuklu sanatında bir numaralı kadın. O da vardı cenazede, ikisi de kanserden öldü. Şimdi ablası bana geldi, başını omuzuma koydu "Metin sıra bana geldi galiba" dedi, "sen sıranı savdın" dedim, "sen" dedim, "ablasın, sana bir şey olmadı. Yya abi nedir bu başımıza gelen. İki kız kardeşimi kaybettim" dedi. Böyle bir ağladı da şey etti ama o çok şükür yaşıyor. Çok iyi bir sanat tarihçisi, İzmir'de. İzmir'de. İstanbul'daydı ama sonra İzmir'e taşındı. Dekan felan da oldu, yani şey.

**Z. G.:** Duygu Aykal tamamen kendisi düşündü, değil mi o koreografileri?

**M. A.:** Duygu Aykal, çok esaslı geçmişi çok esaslı. Bunlar iki kızdı konservatuarda, ikisi de bana gelirlerdi; bir tanesi Çiğdem Batu, şey Selahattin Batu var oyun yazarı. Çok iyi bir şey, kültür adamı, onun kızı. İki aynı sınıftaydılar konservatuarda bana gelirlerdi ama Çiğdem Batu sonra hiçbir şey olmadı, duymadım hiçbir şey, ona dair bir şey duymadım ama şey çok esaslı kadın Duygu Aykal, yani o bir daha, mesela bak. Şimdi Maksim var, büyük koreograf, çok önemli klasik bir koreograf, onun bir balesini tekrar sahneye koyacakları zaman Duygu'yu çağırdılar Avrupa'ya, o koydu sahneye. Öyle bir kadın, çok çok esaslı bir kadın...

**Z. G.:** Laban çalıştı...

D: Laban çalıştı. Laban çalıştı ama Laban iflas etti. Laban'ın başındaki kadını çok iyi tanıdım, iyi arkadaş olduk. Çok güzel de bir kadın aslında. Amerika'da Labanotation'ı yayıyor ve bütün büyük şeyler alıyorlar Rockefeller'den falan büyük fonlar alıyorlar ve onları şey ediyorlar. Balanchine'in falan bütün balelerini geçiriyor ve bana biraz şey geldi, hantal bir şey, yani böyle tepeden inme şeyleri; adımları şeyden, tepeden, yani kuşbakışı olan bir şey. İleri, yukarıya doğru çizgiler, oradan hareket ediyorsun. Bana çok şey var, çok sembol var, çok işaretler var falan. Benim karım da notatördü yani çok iyi yetiştirdi 13 tane diploması var onun. Şey de öyle, Şener de. Şimdi bu, sonra kadın seneler sonra; aşka bakın, ne kadar şey ediyor, insanları değiştiriyor. Kadın İngiltere'ye geldi, bir İngiliz şey vardı Irvin Gest [?], benim de tanıdığım bir. Kendisi avukat ama çok güzel, bale tarihlerine dair kitapları var. Çok güzel şeyler, yani bir balerini alıyor, eski bir balerini, ona dair kitap yazıyor falan, böyle bir adam Irvin Gest [?], onunla evlendi. İngiltere'ye gelince, Laban'un peşini bıraktı, Benesh'e çevirdi. Bütün dünya da Benesh'e döndü. Çünkü Benesh çok pratik bir şey, yani dikey

çizgiler yerine, müzik notası gibi yatay çizgilerden oluşuyor ve, yani kaşı oynatsanız o bile gösterilebiliyor şey de, yani Beniş'in notationunda o bile gösterilebiliyor. Tabii onu, öbürü tabii antropolojide falan çok iyi, yani böyle bakınca hangi adımı atacağınızı biliyorsunuz ama öbürü dansçılar için çok iyi. Çünkü nota gibi, aşağısında da nota var, yani hangi mezure, hangi hareket geliyor onu görebiliyorsunuz.

**Z. G.:** Ama tabii şimdi kayıt teknolojisi geliştikçe, değil mi bunlar biraz önemlerini kaybettiler?

**M. A.:** Yalnız ona karşı olanlar var. Şimdi kayıt nedir biliyor musun? Kayıt bir yorumun şeyini donduruyorsun,

**Z. G.:** Evet, doğru.

**M. A.:** Bu tamamen nesnel bir çekim...

**Muzaffer Bey:** Müzikteki gibi, aynen notayla.

**M. A.:** Yani yorumu siz koyacaksınız, yani o notaya göre yorumu siz koyacaksınız. Öbüründe seyrederseniz zaten o yorumun etkisinde kalabilirsiniz, yani bu tehlike var.

**Z. G.:** Evet, yani Duygu Aykal'ı devralan, değil mi yani o meşaleyi verebilecek kimse olmamış?

**M. A.:** Devralan kimse olduğunu zannetmiyorum. O bambaşka bir insandı, yani bu bir yaradılış, yani onun yerini tutmak çok zor. Bambaşka bir insan o. Dünya, neşeli, hayat dolu, ufak tefek bir kız...

**Konuk:** Kaç yaşındaydı öldüğünde, çok gençti herhalde?

**M. A.:** Çok genç, şimdi yaşını bilmiyorum ama...

**Z. G.:** 40. en fazla kırklarındaydı, yani. Belki daha da gençtir.

**M. A.:** Ama hayat dolu fişkırıyor, yani o kadar esaslı bir kadın ki o. Ablası da öyle...

**Z. G.:** Evet...

### [Üçüncü Ses Dosyası]

**Konuk:** Onun yazdıklarını okumuştum ben, neydi? O bir kitap vardı değil mi, Sevgi Soysal'ın bir kitabında bahsediyordu, aile yaşantısından genel olarak bahsediyordu ama...

**Muzaffer Bey:** Şimdi o yazıyı genişleteceğim bende, hazırlanıyoruz ama işte hani biraz geri durdular. Ben oğluyla görüştüm, bu bizim *Dans Daima*'da, işte yazıyı yayınlatabilmek için. Türkiye'de şu ana kadar yazılmış, yani en düzgün yazıydı. O yıllar itibariyle. Bu arada işte şeyi söyledim, dedim "böyle böyle, annenizle ilgili çalışacağım, hani haberiniz ola." Ben işte başladım şeyi toparlamaya. Birde 14. ölüm yıldönümü için beni aradılar, yani "film yapar mısın, işte" dediler bu Ankara üniversitesi. Aslında onu kaydedemedik, oynadılar *Bulutlar*

*Nereye Gider*'ini. O sırada işte ben şey, çalışmaya başladım. Oğluyla işte birkaç kez görüştük...

**M. A.:** Kaç yaşında oğlu?...

**Muzaffer Bey:** Kerem, vallaha 30 vardır.

**M. A.:** Aman yahu bakın.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Sonra şeyde zaten Bilkent'te o da kemancı ya viyolacı, ya kemancı. Şeyi toparlamaya başladık, o da toparladı ve annesinin orijinal notasyonları var bazıları, hepsi yok da. Sonra ben filmi hazırladım, işte götürdüm ondan sonra işte *Dans Daima*, şeyde *Sanat Dünyamız*'da Duygu Aykal şey yazısı vardı ya benim! Onu o, sinevizyon, genişletilmiş hali olarak orada verdim. Açık; başka yerde bulunmayan, kendi TRT'ye açıkladığı bazı beyanları vardı. Onları bulduk, işte heyecanlı...

**Z. G.:** Sahnedeki tutkuda var.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Onları falan yazıya geçirdim, hani "kalsın bir yerlerde" diye. Şimdi de çalışıyorum tabii aileyi anlamak için. İşte annesi Alman falan, bir garip bir aileleri de var, Soysal'ın bir kitabını aldım, Sevgi Soysal konusunda hazırlanmış bir kitabı, orada işte çok, hani sert bir anne, otoriter bir anne tiplmesi var. O, o disiplini filan tamamen Alman kanalından ve eğitiminden geliyor, yani gerçi şeyde, stüdyoya geldiğinde...

**M. A.:** Ama şöyle de...

**Muzaffer Bey:** Kafasında tamamen hazırmış tabii.

**M. A.:** Gönül'le de konuş İzmir'deki.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Kerem söyledi, hani "mutlak onunla da, hani konuşmanız lazım" diye...

**M. A.:** "Yani sıra bana mı geldi" deyişini hiç unutamıyorum.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Evet, evet, evet.

**M. A.:** Bana, böyle başını omzuma koydu, "Metin" dedi, "sıra bana geldi galiba" dedi, iki kız kardeşini kanserden kaybetti.

**Z. G.:** Çok korkunç bir şey.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Yani aile portresi o kitapta bayağı tanımlandı, hani ailenin ağzından alamayacağımız bir çok lafı artık, hani şeyi biliyoruz, belki artık anlatmak istemedikleri. Bir de, aşamıyorsun şeyi de. Sonra, yani işte belki saygı duymak gerekiyor, bilemiyorum. Çok da üzerine gidilmiyor bazı şeylerin.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Şeyi var, yani yepyeni bir çığır getiriyor. Bir kere şey tabii avantaj, eğitilmiş bir aile, kökü hani dışarıda yarısı Alman falan oluşu ve Almanca çok iyi. Dil var, İngilizcesi de muhtemelen var. Bir kere dil avantajından dolayı ve yetişme, kültür şartlarından dolayı, organize Alman yerleri, akrabalarından da kaynaklanan bir bağ açılıyor, oraya giderseniz...

**M. A.:** Yani ben biliyor musunuz sana şunu söyleyeyim: Ben ona bir kere çok kızdım, niye diyeceksiniz? Şimdi beni Amerika'nın neydi? Şimdi unuttum nere olduğunu, beni çağırdılar bu dans konusunda, birden Bodrum'a çağırdılar. Ben de gitmek istemedim, dedim ki "benim yerime gider misin" dedim, "olur" dedi, "giderim" dedi, gitti. Döndü ama hiçbir şey söylemedi, orada ne konuştunuz, n'aptınız falan diye, sonra fena halde bozuldum, yani yav, yani benim namıma gidiyorsun ama hiç değilse orada "n'aptınız, ne konuştunuz, ne şey ettiniz bunu bana kısaca belirt" diye şey ettim. Baktım hiç oralı değil, öylede bir şeyim var, hatıram var, yani.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Yani o ilk yırtanlardan, onun tamamen şeyi kültürel kodlamadan kaynaklanıyor ve yetenekli de. Bir de şey var, yani dansçı olarak zaten iyi bir dansçı değil. Önü hani kapalı, uyanık da bir kadın, kültür var, potansiyel var, dansçı olarak bir şey yapamayacak, gideceği yol koreografi...

**Z. G.:** O yaratıcılık var zaten yani.

**Muzaffer Bey:** O tarafa doğrudan yönelince ama şey çok derin izleri var, yani Uğur Seyrek'ten tut bugün...

**Z. G.:** Bizde bile var...

**Muzaffer Bey:** Tabii bütün öğrenciler...

**Z. G.:** Benim için çok önemli bir insandı.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Bir de geçenler var.

**Z. G.:** öyle birisinin olduğunu bilmek bana mesela çok kapı açmıştır.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Özünde hani şey tesadüf değil. Hep bu öncülerin kadın oluşu, Türkiye'de aslında kadın hareketleri, sen onu biliyorsun. Onu ısrarla vurgulamak gerekiyor, bu kendiliğinden...

**M. A.:** Kesinlikle öyle.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Olan bir şey, tesadüf değil, hani bakıyorsun Aydın Teker, Geyvan Mac Millen ondan sonra, daha sonra ikinci jenerasyon olarak Beyhan Murphy, Aysun Aslan. Burada Ege'nin eşi, neydi ya kadının adı?

**Konuk:** [..ak..].

**Muzaffer Bey:** Ha Aydan...

**Konuk:** Soyadı Aydan'dı...

**Muzaffer Bey:** Yok şey Bin... Bin...

**Konuk:** Binnaz.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Binnaz.

**Z. G.:** Binnaz Dorkip..

**Muzaffer Bey:** Binnaz Dorkip, yani istisnasız şekilde çok belirgin bir kadın hakimiyeti var. Hem kurucu olarak, yani topluluk kurucusu olarak, hem dışarıda o girişimde bulunmuşlar. Tam Batı'daki hareketi aslında, yüzyılın başındaki, işte, Isadora Duncan'lar...

**M. A.:** Erkekler yalnız dans ediyorlar canım, yani kafaları işlemiyor erkelerin. Vallahi, yani...

**Muzaffer Bey:** Hocam bir kurtuluş ve bir varoluş mücadelesi aslında zamanında. Çünkü senle de konuştuk, "sen hani biraz Batı'da bırakılmış bir alan" dedin ya. İşte adam heykeli kapatmış, resmi kapatmış, bir kere plastik sanatlarda kadını kesinlikle yaşatmıyorlar, hani bariz de bir baskı var. Onun dışında mimari tamamen erkek tekelinde bir alan. Böyle, hani şey gibi, buranın şartı gibi bir şey. Şimdi şimdi kırılıyor tabii, bu dediklerim son 10-15 yılda parçalandı bu işler ama bir çok yeri sen kapatırsan, işte böyle ufak tefek, hani bırakılmış alanlar var, yani dans gibi, yani göbek dansıyla şey, arada çok fark yok. Bir çok sanatçı için...

**Z. G.:** Bir de bedenle çok direkt bir ilişkisi olduğu için, kadın ve beden.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Kuşkusuz.

**Z. G.:** Orası hakikaten doğal bir alan...

**Muzaffer Bey:** Yani ilişkisi daha fazla, evet kesinlikle orası zaten ama hani o sosyal alanda, o kurumsal alandaki bu öncü...

**Z. G.:** Tabii, öncü.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Kitapçığı da var. Bakarız şimdi. Başladık Sait Sökmen'le ama kaynak yaratamadılar. Ben onlara bir bütçe çıkardım, fotoğraflarını buldum. *Çark*'ın 20'ye yakın fotoğrafı var. İşte dekor; eski iki dekorlu hali, hocanın yazdığı yazı, diğer yazılar, hepsi hazır. Röportajlarını yaptık, bir düğmeye basılacak artık ama hani o düğmeye bir türlü basılamıyor, yazık oluyor, yani...

**M. A.:** *Çark*'taki...

**Muzaffer Bey:** Şu anda 180 sayfalık, güzel bir...

**M. A.:** Aslında çok güzel bir...

**Muzaffer Bey:** Onunla ilgili...

**Z. G.:** *Çark*'la ilgili...

**Muzaffer Bey:** Tabii tabii çıkıyordu, bitti. Her şey hazır, yani...

**Z. G.:** Muzaffer kirli çıkı gibisin, yani her şey burada hazır duruyor ama çıkmıyor ortaya.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Ama çıkamıyor işte. Benim nefesim tükendi, onlara ben çok cüzi bir para diyorum. Ben bunlardan bir şey kazanmıyorum.

...

**Z. G.:** Bu burada öyle mi?

**Muzaffer Bey:** Evet fotokopisi onun, gayet temiz bir fotokopisi.



**Z. G.:** Çok teşekkür ederim, yani gerçekten.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Sen künyesini al [..ak..], yahu hoca da beni işte böyle anlata anlata. Kötü yola düşmeme sebep olan Metin Hoca ve “Muzafferciğim bak sen böyle bir, bu alan boş ben de bıraktım. Sen niye düşünmüyorsun böyle bir şey. Yahu hocam ben ne anlarım şimdi filan...”

**M. A.:** Her şeyi çok iyi anlıyorsun şimdi, yani...

**Muzaffer Bey:** Tabii. “Sen bir bak bak bu işe filan, bak sen şunu bir oku filan” diye böyle böyle kanıma giren Metin Hocadır, yani. Hocam iyi ki kanıma girmişsiniz, sağ olun, yani gerçekten benim için çok...

**M. A.:** Ama sen biraz şey, küstün galiba, yani yayın ol... olamıyor. İnsan küsüyor sonunda.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Götürdük projeyi verdik genel müdüre. Şimdi Meriç Hanım’la görüşeceğiz önümüzdeki hafta hocam. Nevsal Hanım’la görüşmüştük, ben biraz ona bu kırgınlığımı hani böyle uygun bir dille ilettim. Ondan sonra, o da Meriç Hanım’a iletmış, yani daha önceki genel müdürle ilgili bir olay. Gerçi o Remzi Buharalı’yla ilgili de. Meriç Hanım aradı işte, “ben şimdi bir yurtdışına gidiyorum, döndükten sonra görüşelim. Gelin bir kahve içelim bu meseleyi konuşalım” diye. Önüne projeyi koyacağız bakalım “alın bu hazırlığım, her şeyim tamam. Yeter ki bir düğmeye basıp, tarih koyacağız, finansı yaratacağız, düğmeye basılacak.” Gerisi gelecek zaten bir şey yok ama duruyor hocanın, şimdi içeride bakarız. Bir [..ak..] içim gidiyor ama benim hani ne enerjim, gerçekten onu ben tasnif edeceğim, olabilir bazılarının tarihi var yok, sonra eksikleri de işte gidip *Ulus* gazetesinden şuradan buradan o sıraya dizdikten sonra, bununla karşılaştırıp şöyle. Gerçi Şakiroğlu şeyden yapmış o balyadan çıkarmış ama muhtemel eksikleri var. Bir kere eksiksiz bir, Metin hocanın yazılarının hepsinin tamamlanması. Ben, şu anda o proje bittiydi, mesela senin için hayat o kadar kolay olacaktı ki böyle bir şeyde. Bütün röportajların de şifreleri yapıldı. Ben ondan uygun kısımları alacaktım, ben böyle arama motorundan şak girip, nerde ne var, ne tarafını almak istiyorsan o tarafını alacaktın. Tasnifi yapılmıştı, redaktesi bitmiş, şeyleri ne derler? Anahtar sözcükleri çıkarılmış, indeksleri hazırlanmış, her şeyi elinde olacaktı. Kimi merak ediyorsun? Tak...

**Z. G.:** Yok, n’apalım Muzaffer yok!

**Muzaffer Bey:** Copy paste, al istediğin paragrafı, vur gözüne geçip gidecek, yani neyse, olacakta işte zamanı değil!

**M. A.:** Ama bu doktora uzun yıllara yayılmış bir olay, yani onları yavaş yavaş yapacak şey.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Evet, hani eğer o süreç başlarsa...

**Z. G.:** Benim o kadar vaktim yok maalesef. Ben Eylül’e bitirmek zorundayım.

**M. A.:** Gelecek Eylül’de!

**Z. G.:** Evet.

**M. A.:** Sen de durdun durdun, birden coştun.

**Muzaffer Bey:** İyi iyi hocam ama iyi olur. Hem değişik biliyorsun, daha bakmasında fayda var, hani başka şeyler, başka çıktılar oradan gelecek, çok hayırlı bir iş oldu, yani bir sürü yeni okuma olacak oradan. Okulun tadını çıkartıyor, çok keşfetti, yani şey.

**M. A.:** Ben şeye bile yazdım *London Times*'e bile bir yazı yazdım.

**Z. G.:** Evet.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Osman Şengezer'de çok var.

**Z. G.:** Çok var

**Muzaffer Bey:** Ne derece paylaşır bilemiyorum da.

**M. A.:** Paylaşır, paylaşır.

**Z. G.:** Paylaşır.

**M. A.:** Çok iyidir o.

**Z. G.:** Evet. Biz Geyvan Hoca'yla bir kere girmiştik onun arşivine. Şimdi rica edeceğim tekrar.

**Muzaffer Bey:** O zaman hani çerçeveyi iyi çizip, o zaman şeyi söyledi, ben hani iş başladığında o zaman *Çark* için biz görüşmüştük, bazı şeyleri aldım, ettim. Onun dışında elindekileri yolladı sağ olsun ben, sonra daha sonra kargoyla. O zaman çok sıcak bir şey olarak, hani başlasaydık bütün arşivi açacaktı, yani her zaman hani şey burada. Birde şey, çok düzgün tasnif etmiş halde, bir de onun opera kısmı var. Opera ilk defa, öyle birden toplu...

**Z. G.:** *Çark*'la ilgili...

**Konuk:** Ya orada rahat mısınız?

**M. A.:** Ben rahatım.

**Z. G.:** Peki bana verecek misin Muzaffer? Yoksa kitaba mı saklıyorsun!

**Muzaffer Bey:** Şimdi ben [..ak..]

**M. A.:** Yok Muzaffer verir, nesi varsa verir...

**Muzaffer Bey:** Hocam verelim mi n'apalım, vermeyelim mi?

**Z. G.:** Valla ben sadece tez yazacağım, söz veriyorum.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Bu cici kız, verelim

**M. A.:** Bu kız ben tutuyorum. Onun için ne varsa verelim.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Tabii tabii öyle şey olur mu? Ben şimdi şeyi de vereceğim, ham akışı da.

**M. A.:** Kanun eşit.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Yaz'ın annesi.

**Z. G.:** Hayır, ben çok zaman harcıyorum, şimdi kişisel arşivlerden bayağı bir şeye ulaştım aslında. Mesela Binay Okurer'in arşivi, Deniz Olgay Yamanusta, yani bütün kendisiyle ilgili

yazıları, herkesin yazısını kesmiş saklamış, yani şimdi Milli Kütüphane’de 5 saat uğraştım iki yazı için, yani hani o makaleler şey, yazılar çünkü bir yerinden bir şey çıkacak, öbür tarafından başka bir şey çıkacak.

**M. A.:** Sinek, sinek.

**Z. G.:** Ben yine bir Ankara yaparım, yani sırf onlar için yaparım, yani hani burada tararız. Nerde neyi kullanacağımı da ben sana böyle şey yaparak.

**M. A.:** Ya bu adam bana kabus oldu.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Makalesi var, bir kitabın arkasında filan. Veririm onları da yarına kadar çektiririz, onları yarın sana getireyim.

**Z. G.:** Çünkü esasında onlardan çok şey çıkacak, yani çıkıyor. Aslında yavaş yavaş gidebiliriz de.

**Muzaffer Bey:** Hocam isterseniz böyle geçelim rahat, gelin hadi.

**[Görüşme sona ermiştir.]**

## SÖZLÜ TARİH PROJESİ

<b>Görüşülen kişi</b>	: Richard Glasstone
<b>Cinsiyeti</b>	: Erkek
<b>Doğum Yılı</b>	:
<b>Görüşme Tarihinde Yaşı</b>	:
<b>Doğum Yeri</b>	:
<b>Mesleği</b>	: Bale eğitmeni, koreograf
<b>Kurumda İşe başlama Tarihi</b>	:
<b>Kurumda Çalışma Süresi</b>	:
<b>Emekli ise Emeklilik Tarihi</b>	:
<b>Görüşen</b>	: Zeynep Günsür
<b>Deşifre eden</b>	: Göknur Karaduman
<b>Redaksiyon</b>	:
<b>Süre Toplam</b>	: <b>01:03:35</b>
<b>Ses Kaydı</b>	: 1 Adet CD.
<b>Görüşme Yeri</b>	: İstanbul
<b>Görüşme Tarihi</b>	: 05/25/2007
<b>Görüşme Sırası</b>	:
<b>Kısaltmalar</b>	

<b>R.G</b>	: Richard Glasstone
<b>Z.G.</b>	: Zeynep Günsür

<b>Konuk</b>	: Osman Şengezer
<b>[?]</b>	: Doğru yazıldığı veya duyulduğundan emin olunamayan kelime.

### *Deşifre Notları:*

- 1) Özel isimler ve yabancı dildeki kelimeler redakte edilecek.
- 2) Arka plandan, görüşme boyunca; günlük yaşantısını sürdüren küçük bir çocuğun konuşma, oyun oynama ve seyrettiği TV programlarının sesleri geliyor.
- 3) Görüşülen kişinin yaşı nedeniyle, konuşurken hatırlayamamak üslubunu oluşturduğu için görüşmede kullandığı “şey, yani” gibi dolgu anlamlı kelimeler muhafaza edildi.

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### **[Birinci Ses Dosyası]**

**R.G:** One very interesting point, I don't know if you thought about this, the Russians, Soviet Communist Russians used ballet very much as a way to get into different countries in Eastern Europe and also in China. Chinese ballet founded by Russians and the only country where the English went was here, was Turkey. And I'm sure that, ok they invited Madame Valois to

come here but the reason that it went on so long and supported so much was to keep the Russians out and it is a very important point which a lot of people don't realize and also she used to joke about it and say: "I'm a sort of Mata Hari". When she was a hundred years old, there were lots of articles about her but nothing about Turkey and that's why I wrote that article because people don't realize, ok she was retired and that was a hobby but that was a very important political thing. At first Russians were very friendly and they used to invite people from the embassy. When we did "Kuğu Gölü", they were very angry because it's a Russian ballet. We are next door why we have the English to do a Russian ballet and that is very interesting.

**Z.G:** That is very interesting.

**R.G:** The other thing is you know the Turks wanted Swan Lake and they didn't want Turkish things. She said, no, you must have Turkish ballets. That's why she did *Çeşmebaşı*. Ok, it is not very very Turkish but it's an example to show what you can do and eventually we did that program with three ballets; *Çeşmebaşı*, my ballet, *Hançerli Hanım* and her ballet, with Nevit Kodallı's music, *Sinfonietta*. And that was very important from her point of view. The Turks were not really interested but they were quite pleased to see it and the job she gave me, "by the time you leave Turkey, I want complete Turkish staff, choreographers, Duygu, Oytun, Sait...managers, repetitors, choreologists, decorators"...now you ask me questions

**Z.G:** One thing that I am very interested in how do you perceive that the English media and community, that they are not aware of Madame's work in Turkey?

**R.G:** Well, first of all you see, ıhmm, I know when she asked me "do you want to go to Turkey", for me Turkey was in Arabia and my wife said, no no, let's go. I didn't know, I thought I was coming to Arabia. The English didn't have much idea about Turkey, that's one thing, that's in the 60s. Secondly, they think of ballet as an European art and they know she came to Turkey, they know that but they didn't give much importance. Now, Turkey is much more in the news because trying to get into the European community and argument about should we, shouldn't we, is it an islamic state? So Turkey is news now, but it wasn't then, you know..when there was a revolution then it became news but before no...She was in Iran, you know that.

**Z.G:** Yes, but I really don't know what happened in Iran? She went there and she worked there to establish the national ballet but then what happened?

**R.G:** She did for a short time but then Humeyni came into power.

**O.Ş:** Richard, "Türkiyeden aşağıda bale olmaz" diye bir lafı var Madamın..

**R.G:** Olabilir. Also I think she tried to, I am just thinking myself now, she was already getting old, she did a job here, she started there and it was someone else to continue there and she sent someone to continue there...I can't remember his name. I will think of it later. Maybe you can find what happened there from him? But I don't know. When was Humeyni?

**Z.G:** It should be the end of 70s? 78, The Iranian revolution.

**R.G:** Then that's right she was here in the early 70s. Şımarık Kız. I left in 1969. My last thing was the "açılış of AKM" and then there was the fire afterward, after I left. I didn't make the fire. You see there was no İstanbul ballet, there was İstanbul Opera and Ballet and we came from Ankara with Fındıkkıran and Aida. In Fındıkkıran, the middle scene of the snowlake, Madame made the choreography, the last choreography she did and Aida, there was a big ballet section, they didn't have the music, finally the music arrived and it was very late but she said I will do it. She choreographed the whole ballet and there is a solo. And that solo, originally she did it for herself in 1917s. She actually made it when she was very young before she went to Diaghilev, she was a solo dancer in Covent Garden, she danced in the operas. She told me the story. She choreographed the dance but there were two very famous conductors, I can not remember their name, one played the music very fast, the other very slowly, so she made two solos and when she arrived to the theater, she says ohh, I do the quick solo or I do the slow one. Yani o kadar pratikti and she did that solo for Betül Çakmakçı in İstanbul.

**Z.G:** And you came in 1964?

**R.G:** I think 1965. September, october of 1965.

**O.Ş:** Sonra İstanbul'a geldi biliyorsun

**R.G:** O daha sonra

**Z.G:** I am wondering about your, again, view of the first years of the company. How did you find it? You came here and faced with the company.

**R.G:** I was amazed because it was a very high artistic standard, not so much technical and you know there is something very interesting for you, that the years that Madame was here, giving the ballet the Ashton ballets, McMillan ballets that is the same time as the Chinese cultural revolution, when the Chinese took everything out. That is why now, although they have good dancers but they are very behind in terms of choreography but the Turks understood choreography because Madame showed them how to make a Turkish ballet.. Synfonietta is not typical ballet of her, she really does narrative ballets. In Symhonietta, she wanted to show how you do abstract ballet and giving them Ashton ballets, all these different choreographers, the Turks understood what is choreography, also the Turks have very good

feeling for acting, she always liked that and I think they understood choreography in an artistic way and she was very good to produce them and she gave so much time and so much love. She loved to be here. So I think the Turks, from the beginning I came here, I could see a very artistic company. Kuğu Gölü was the first thing I did here. The Spanish dance in Kuğu Gölü, it is better than anywhere else. İkizler, Hüsnü, Yener..yani wonderful wonderful and Erhan and Oya...very good, very good. They are very dramatic and very real, not affected. You know sometimes in Europe the acting is a bit artificial and affected. There is not that element at all in Turkey. And that is why Rake's Progress worked so well, I don't know if you know that ballet but it has a very universal theme. On the one hand you would think why the Turks do a ballet based on 18th century English paintings, that story is universal..A young man inherits money, loses its money, ends up..that's universal and that's why the Turks understood that and she could feel. Also you see, she is a very amazing woman but in England she had to do everything, her own choreography was only a part, she did choreography when she thought it was necessary and when the company was established then the people, so she was building building, thinking always what is happening in twenty years time. When she came here, she was retired so she could concentrate on the artistic side purely on the one hand and the other hand fighting the boys out of the army, the point shoes' Money...o başka...

**O.Ş:** Çok profesyonel bir kadındı, çok organize, disiplinli, fakat Türkiye'deki yaklaşımı, Türk balecilerine anne gibi, arkadaş gibi, mahalle arkadaşı gibi. Yani Türkiye'deki Madame ile İngilterede'ki Madame iki ayrı Madame

**R.S:** Also You know the story about when the Turks came to England in summer. She used to give parties for them. All the English dancers were yes Madame, no Madame, and the Turks ... And my wife was amused because she said you know...

**O.Ş:** Onlar öpüyorlar, çimdikliyorlar, biri kucağına alıyor oturtuyor.

**Z. G:** That kind of difference came from her attitude towards Turkish dancers.

**O.Ş:** Because she kept saying my name is Turkish name, İdris.

**R.S:** She said so the Turks very liked the Irish. And you said something about the Turks. You said English don't understand. If they want to go from A to B, the English go from A to B, but the Turks say let's go first to C first, then... And the Irish say so. There is a famous story about the Irish. If you ask someone could you tell me the way to AKM. They say what if I was going there I would not start from here. Also you know the story about the... You know, there was one English girl in the company, Shirley Subaşı. Kuğu Gölü genel provasına geç gelmiş kız.

**Z.G:** I know the story.

**O.Ş.** Türkler geç geliyor, ona alışıyor. Türklere aldırıyor. İngiliz geç gelince azarlıyor. Bunu kim anlattı. Kim biliyor?

**Z. G:** Probably I have read this.

**R.G.** Another story I'll tell you. The boys started to grow the hair, became fashionable. Someone said .must cut the hair... She said it does not matter, I will give him a week. Straight away cut the hair.

**Z.G.** Of course, Turkish men never wear wigs!

**O.Ş.** Şeyi sor bakalım. Ben onu bir türlü, üzülerek soramadım. Why did she leave? Why they made her angry, get crossed in issues?

**R.G.** I was not there, you know. But I think, you see having created that staff, the staff were jealous of each other. They needed someone...You know, I have seen letters that she wrote right in the beginning when she was here. And she said to Joy Newton "I want you to make, you must make clear to Turkish people that I do not want to make jobs for English people, I want to create jobs for Turkish people". That was always her idea.

**O.Ş.** Baştan beri planı buydu.

**Z.G.** Why do you think that they could not really continue what Madame had established?

**R.G.** You have to tell me.

**Z.G.** I am curious about you opinion.

**R.G.** I think there are different ways. Maybe, it is a sort of they though like a colonial thing. That somebody is coming from outside... Like all those countries in Africa. When the British and the French left they all faught each other. Because they wanted to feel they were free, grown up. There are very strong characters. Tenasüp Onat is a very strong chracters. Tenasüp has no respect for Oya. And Oya has no respect for her. Because Oya is a very good organizer. Tenasüp thinks she is the artist. Bir de, Hüsnü Sunal I don't know. Did they push her I don't know. Onu bilmiyorum.

**Z.G.** They were the directors for twenty years. Hüsnü Sunal, Evinç Sunal. But in the beginning Tenasüp Onat and Oya Güreli, they were with Sait.

**R.G.** Sait of course, was a big problem. Sait was really a communist. He was really. I don't mind. Why not?...Let me put it in this way. He was a very interesting character. Very interesting boy. One the one hand he knew what was good. He knew what Madame was saying was good, he knew that she was giving him opportunies, he was the first choreographer. But he resented having the British here. On the one hand he said why do we need them. Then maybe, you now I am just thinking maybe, he wanted to do choreography. She gave him the chance, he did the first choreography, but she wanted Oytun. She said that



Oytun is the one who would do choreographies. Maybe, that annoyed Sait. I don't know. I am very amused that Sait now is very rich, has a big school, and very 'société'. But in those days I say communist, maybe I should say, he was a socialist. He was left wing. You know. And, why not? But that was not the way the country was going.

**Z.G.** I believe that his tendencies was towards moderns choreographies and the company was classicly based.

**R.G.** Also that. He had tied up with that sort of socialist feelings. Because the ballets were all about princes and princesses and he wanted something different ... because he is so very dramatic. He is a wonderful artist. Very dramatic. And Madame always had the view. That is how she built the Royal Ballet. That you always have to have the classics because that gives you the training, the techniques. And again you have the modern ballet. That is how she built the Royal Ballet, and that is what she was doing here. Maybe, he wanted to be more on the modern side. I don't know.

**Z.G.** And what do you think about Oytun Turfanda?

**R.G.** Oytun. Very talented dancer, very good artistic, very good choreographer. But too much 'rakı'. He was a very good friend of mine. I love him very much. And he loved Madame. And she liked him really. I think he was not a strong character. And I think the others were always jealous of him. Because he was doing well.

**Z.G.** He was talented.

**R.G.** Already I have given him the principal part in Sylvia. I could see his talent as a dancer and Madame could see the choreographer in him. She had an eye for that. Of course, the other thing is Molly and Travis.

**Z.G.** What do you think of them? I am also curious about your opinion on them.

**R.G.** Molly is a very good teacher, Travis is not. Madame always said that Molly is a good teacher. Right towards the end she still gave her job in the Royal Ballet School. But Madame and Molly as young children they were very good friends. They grew up together, and then when Madame started her tiny little group of six people, Molly went up with some other group and she thought that was not very important. Eventually Madame brought her here. And she did a very good job, she built a school, but she wanted to be a choreographer. And she thought, so you know what Madame's idea was, you bring the school I will bring real choreographers, but she is not a good choreographer.

**Z.G.** That was the tension.

**R.G.** I remember the story very well. One year I was with Madame and Travis arrived. Madame arrived. Travis came to have tea.... Madame asked where was Molly. Travis said

“she has a cold”. Madame said “oh, is that the same cold she had last year?”. You see Molly made a lot of problems here, because she said “in England all men were homosexuals, the ballet dancers”. She made problems. She came once to watch my class in England. And she said afterwards that “the boys are so feminine”. I was angry. Afterwards I understood. Because when I was a dancer boys did not have that sort of *arabesque*. Boys did not do this. We did not. Boys were ninety degrees. And Madame was always very strict. Like for instance Kenneth Mc Millan was one of the first male dancers, he was very loose. And when Molly came to watch this. When I left here, I was teaching in England. Molly saw all these boys like that and she said it is very offensive because in her eyes and in her time that was feminine. She didn’t mean that my boys were homosexual but there is that tension. In the end of jealousy. Yet Madame always said that she is a very good teacher.

**Z.G.** They tried to establish a company here.

**R.G.** Molly wanted to be a choreographer and I can understand. She built the thing but she used to say bad things about the British dancers, about British Royal Ballet. Oh, it is not a good company etc.

**O.Ş.** At one time she threw two boys from the “konservatuar” because she said they were homosexual. At the middle of the education she threw out the boys. I met one of them. I can’t remember the second one, but I know that they are two. She threw them out and she said they were homosexual.

**Z.G.** Incredible. Nobody did anything?

**O.Ş.** They couldn’t do anything because she was the leading person.

**Z.G.** So you have spend almost five years here.

**R.G.** Four years. After three years I said to Madame... First of all I have to tell you the story of my interview to come then. Because I were from S. Africa. Then I got married and went to Holland. And after a while I said to my teacher, I want to work in England. She gave me the introduction to Ninette de Valois. She invited me to tea in her garden and she said, would you be interested to go to Turkey? I said, I was working in Holland and I had the second prize for a choreographic competition. She said, you are not going to tell that you had the second prize, we just say you had a prize (laughters). After three years here I said to Madame I still want to come to England. She said if you stay one more year I will give you a job in the Royal Ballet School.

**Z.G.** That was kind of a step for you, Turkey was a step for you.

**R.G.** Very important step. Because I had my career as a dancer, and I was a young choreographer. And she gave me wonderful opportunities here. Because the first thing I did

here was Pas Deux Six for Kuğu Gölü in the first act. You see what she was very good about she did not try to interfere or put her ideas. But she tried to see what I was doing. And I remember she said to me one day. She watched the Pas de Six. She said, “you know, that step is very nice, but when you do it the second time try doing it twice as fast”. And it just changed the thing. In *Sylvia* she said to me “try not to leave the center of your stage empty. Put some rustoms at the back then you have more level”. That kind of things. You know the story about when she was crying in the canteen?

**Z.G.** Yes, but I would like to hear it from you.

**R.G.** Well, that was the first night of the Three Ballets. *Çeşmebaşı*, *Smphonietta*, and my ballet, *Hançerli Hanım*. They forgot to put the name of the lighting man on the program. He said “ok, I am not lighting the ballets”. She said, my ballet had a dream sequence, she said “it does not matter with my ballet. You can have just white light but you must lighth his ballet, because it depends on the lightings”. He said “ok, I will do that. I won’t do yours”.

**O.Ş.** Düşünebiliyor musun, aptal bir Ankaralı ışıkçı Dame Ninette’e söylüyor bunu

**R.G.** And I went to the canteen later on, and she is sitting in the corner with a cup of coffee, crying. There was nobody else. I never saw a strong women like her

**O.Ş.** I saw her.

**R.G.** She wanted to make Turkish Ballet.

**Z.G.** And what happened that night without the lights?

**O.Ş.** Beyaz ışık, hiç ışiksiz oynandı.

**R.G.** Smphonietta beyaz ışıkla oynanmış.

**O.Ş.** Ve bir daha da oynatmadı Madamme ama. Madamme kaldırdı.

**R.G.** And I had my lighting.

**Z.G.** So you witnessed the first choreographers, the first directors, Turkish directors, the notators.

**R.G.** Before I came they had already done the *Çeşmebaşı*. Suna Eden who was the choreologist, Yüksel And also, Oya Güreli who was the ballet mistress, Tenasüp who went to England to become repetitor. She was one year in England. When she came back dediler ki, because she came back very English. You must be on time. And I was ohh... that was very funny. You know, when I arrived I had come very suddenly to Turkey. And I did not sign a contract. They said you sign it when you get there. I was rehearsing one they, and they said you can now go to the office to sign the contract. So, I went to the office to sign the contract. Dediler oturun, bir kahve içer misiniz, ne var ne yok, how is your mother, how is your wife. Very Turkish.

**O.Ş.** His first experience from Turkey, from the Middle East.

**R.G.** Tenesüp is the opposite. She came. You must be on time. Your point shoes are dirty.

**Z.G.** And was she not liked by dancers?

**R.G.** I think some liked her. I don't know. I think they respected her. She did her job.

**O.Ş.** Çok önemli bir konu var. Rake's Progress, bugün o da konuşuldu. Rake's Progress'i Türkiye'nin çok iyi oynadığını, sana bunu anlattım, Madame bunu hep söyledi. En iyi aktörler onlar oynadı diye. Bir keresinde Royal Ballet School da prova yapılıırken Rake's Progress. Madame dönüyor Tenasüp'e kalk göster diyor. Şok. Herkes şok geçiriyor. Bir Türk dansçı kalkıyor. Yaşlı bir Türk dansçı Rex Progress gösteriyor İngiliz dansçılara Madam'ın önünde...

**R.G.** Siz niye bu konuyu seçtiniz?

**Z.G.** I am really interested in contemporary dance in Turkey. I did my bachelors degree in sociology, then performing arts at Middlesex University. So I tried to combine my sociological background always with the performing arts interest. And when I started to do my Phd in the history department at Boğaziçi. Actually I was one of the first Phd students. They wanted me to do something very historical about Ottomans. But then in the end, I didn't really feel like it, writing my Phd thesis on that subject. Then I quit. And then they gave me a second chance. And I said, if I can write something that I am interested on such as Turkish institutional dance, I can write. They accepted it. So, for me it is also an interesting period, as you can imagine. The Turkish Republic, the ideology of the state, the introduction of Western dance into Turkish culture. And everything actually were established in that period in Turkey in dance. So in order to come to the contemporary situation I felt that I really had to do this. There is also a very sad thing that nothing really has been written properly on Turkish Ballet.

**R.G.** I didn't really see Duygu's work. But I knew she was in England studying and Madame was pushing her. Even though that was a more modern line and she went to work with Massine. So Madame was really seeing that possibility through her. She was seeing more ballet through Oytun, normal modern ballet, and modern dance through Duygu. And what would have been if Duygu had lived. How that would have come. But I think there are some good modern dance, but everywhere there are some bad modern dance.

**Z.G.** When did you go back to work in Royal Ballet?

**R.G.** Those first few years Turks were coming regularly with British Council scholarships. And Madame used to have parties for them in her house.

**Z.G.** But after 75, 76. It decreased and finished.

**R.G.** Was not there a military coup here or something?

**Z.G.** In seventy and in eighty. In every ten years.

**R.G.** But then after two year the Russians started sending people, but you know they didn't send their best people. That was a problem.

**Z.G.** That incident, that ballet, *Şımarık Kız*, Madame's sadness about the incident. Do you have any personal statement from her?

**R.G.** I don't. She never said anything to me about that

**Z.G.** Never?

**R.G.** Never. She always wanted to know how things went in Turkey. When I said I was going back to Turkey, in 90s she said she was very pleased. I have letters from her. Please tell them I love them. She never said there was a problem.

**O.Ş.** Ondan sonra ama, ilk 4 yıldan sonra filan zaten affetti. Sonra notalar göndertti. Kendi gelmedi ama Türk balesini desteklemeye devam etti. Çünkü biz şey dedik. Bu Ruslar öldürüyor Türk balesini. Onun üzerine sonra başladı hafiften hafiften yollarla yardım etmeye.

**R.G.** Rodriguez ne zaman geldi?

**O.Ş.** İşte o zamanlar. Rodriguez kaç kere geldi. Çok uzun yıllar İstanbul'a geldi. Yani Rodrigues'i gönderdi. O ekolden olduğu için

**Z.G.** Todd Bollender?

**O.Ş.** Todd Bollender ondan değil. O Cüneyt Gökçer ile. Onun hiç bale ile ilgisi yoktu. Burda İstanbul'da, yalnız İstanbul'da birer perdelik 4 bale yaptı. Çok kötü bir finali oldu. Todd Bollender'in hiçbir şeyi yoktur Türk balesi ile ilgili. Ama Cüneyt Gökçer ve Devlet tiyatrosu ile çok şey var. 4 tane müzikali oldu, kopyaladı. Geldi burda reperitorlüğünü yaptı. Hatta Metin And çok büyük bir yazı yazdı. Orda hadiseler çıktı. "Dekor diyorsun, rejî diyorsun ama bunlar hep kopya. Siz repetitörsünüz" diye. Cüneyt Gökçer Todd Bollender'i burda sattı. Todd Bollender bir repetitördü, rejisör değildi. Zaten copyright hakkı olarak mecburdun, aynı dekoru, aynı ışığı, aynı kostümü, aynı rejiyi yapmak zorundaydın o baleleri izin alabilmek için.

**Z.G.** When you went back, and started to work at the Royal Ballet School. How many years did you continue there? And then?

**R.G.** Seventeen years. Fifteen years in White Lodge and two years in upper school, and then when Massine retired. When he was doing that course with Duygu, his choreography course Madame used to send me to involve in that. Because she wanted me to continue there. I thought it was too theoretical really, but her neyse

**Z.G.** What is too theoretical?

**R.G.** His system of choreography. You know, he had a system. He did some very good choreography himself. But after he had done all this choreography he then analyzed how to do

it. And Duygu was learning that. And there was another woman called Kate Flatt. Because I became in charge of the choreographic courses at school, but I just did normal things about choreography and Kate Flatt who had worked with Massine used to teach them that system of it which is a bit like music. You know the intervals in music. There are intervals of movement. Öyle büyük bir teori var. Çok böyle mantıklı ama içinden gelen birşey yok. Ama enteresan. Duygu çok beğendi.

**O.Ş.** Richard'ın Checceetti dersleri var, Ballet Rambert'le dersleri var. Onu da biraz anlat.

**R.G.** O başka birşey.

**Z.G.** I am interested in where did you work else, other than England also.

**R.G.** I was stationed in England. Royal Ballet School. Then I went to the Rambert School. Because also in England we had Russian influence through Merle Park and she went to China and Chinese dancers are very good. Merle Park was a very good balerina but, yani kafası yok. And she became the director of the school. Now if you are going to be director of something you have to work, see different departments. She became director, and she thought she is going to change everything and going to help Russians and this. She brought a man from Germany to teach the Russian system. If you are going to learn the Russian system, the Vaganova System. You have two choices. You can send your two best teachers to Russia for two years, or more important you can bring some Russians here to see our repertoire which is very different and see what we need. Now she brought a teacher from East Germany, during the time, East Germany was very close. Very good teacher, but böyle bir teacher. And everybody had to learn the system. And can you believe all those teachers, who had been at Royal Ballet had to sit and read the book and learn what Mr. Putky said. I knew Mr. Putky. He was coming to have dinner with me. In one lecture he said... Somebody asked a question about *chassé*. He said there is no such step in classical ballet. Everybody was writing "there is no such a step". Can you believe? He didn't know our repertoire. Because he came from East Germany. He had never seen. He said you mean you use this step on. I said yes. Well of course, If you use it in your repertoire you must teach it in your school having just said it does not exist. In that atmosphere I left. I went to Rambert. But this was the time.. You see if they deployed him, he said "I would never be allowed out of Germany again". Yani, bu kadar bir politik bir durum vardı. That women came, she made a lot of mess in the school... I have very good relations, no problem with her. She said I don't think people like me should teach repertoire. someone from the company should who is currently dancing. I said yes that is it. But you see sometimes they can't come. They have rehearsal. I said, the day they can't come I'll take that rehearsal. And see the performance she said that was very nice Richard. Did you

teach them the dance? ...Şimdi bir Australian director var. O biraz daha iyi. Ben şimdi orda part time çalışıyorum. Ama dışarda nerde çalıştım? İlk önce Hollanda'da, sonra Türkiye'de, sonra İngiltere'de, sonra guest teacher olarak mesela en son geçen sene Paris'te. Because the Checceetti methodology, that is my speciality, and the French didn't know anything about that so they invited me to give a lecture there. Of course that was Madame's school. I met a lady actually aslo through Checceetti. This lady wrote also about Checceetti. She wrote to me and said I used to do Checceetti also in 1930 with Margaret Cross. This lady, her name is Dai Ailian. She is the founder of ballet in China. She is the Ninette de Valois for China. I have just written a book about her. She was Chinese, but she was born in Trinidad. At that time, this is 1920s, you couldn't, a Chinese child couldn't go to ballet class. All was for white children. And she looked through the window, and she learned all the steps looking through the window. And she asked to come to the class, and the teacher said ok. And she became the best pupil in the class. When the teacher left, and the new teacher came they did not like the that teacher. They wanted her to teach. So at age 11-13 she was teaching. Her father lost all his money gambling, and the mother took the children to London. 1930s. We went to study with Anton Dolin, Marie Rambert, and Margaret Cross. This is the period when Ashton and Tudor are doing their first ballets. So she really saw what is choreography. But she always said, you know, I am Chinese, I can't even speak Chinese but there are other Chinese people. I want to know more about China. And she said I have seen Spanish dance, Dutch dance, but I have never seen Chinese dance. There must be Chinese dance. I want to go to China. She had a love affair with a Chechoslovakian sculpture at Dartington. Then the war started. The Chechoslovakian sculpture went to concentration camp, and finally she went to China. She had introduction to Madame Soniat San. I want to learn Chinese dance. She said first you must learn to speak more Chinese and then we'll send you. She went all over to Tibet everywhere collecting Chinese folk dance. She has written down with Labanotation, the Chinese folk dance. In China she is like an idol for folk dance, but also she started ballet. And then the Russians came and worked with her and then the cultural revolution. They sent the Russians out, and they sent her for seven years to work in the fields. After that she came back, she started again. And now they have wonderful ballet companies in China. Not good choreography, but wonderful dancers. Especially the men. She died just last year. She was ninety something, I became very good friends with her and she asked me to write about it. I have been twice to China, teaching there, falan filan. Now that I just finished the biography. And in that biography I talked about how the Russians came, and then how they were pushed out.

**Z.G.** The world's political history is so much inside the ballet history.

**R.G.** Türk balesinin problemi budur. Hepsi memur, problem o. Ben burda ikinci gelişte, 92'de Çok toplandılar, dansçılar kendi içlerinde. Mesela Ender Savaşkurt, to change the law, ama olmadı. Çünkü tabii, Türkiye'de çok başka problem var. Niye şeye karışsınlar. Ama büyük problem o. Burda ikinci gelişte, ben 83 dansçı soktum sahneye. Onun için ben popüler olmadım, çünkü hiç çalışkan yok. Orda 20-30 kişi çalışkan diğerleri biliyorsun yani. Başka iş yapıyorlar. Ve o şeyi değiştirmek lazım. Üç company var ve memur yani, zaten şeyde aynı problem oluyor. Scandinavia'da, çünkü onlar da memur. Bu hep bir problem. İngiltere'de yok, Amerika'da hiç yok.

**Z.G.** Ben bir de şunu duydum. Avustralya balesini de Dame Ninette de Valois bir kişiyi gönderiyor. O da aslında biraz İngiliz değil mi?

**R.G.** Tabii. Peggy Van Praagh. O da aynı okul. O da Checceette. Kanada'da Sylvia Frank.

**R.G.** But she didn't go herself there, she sent people. And she had very good relations with South Africa. Because John Cranko came from South Africa. Dame Ninette de Valois always wanted to have a British Company, she didn't have enough man. So she took people from all the colonies, dominions. You know South Africa, Canada, Australia. She encouraged the dance to come to England. First time, she really became interested in somebody who was not British was Nureyev. When she saw Nureyev, she saw, this is something more than we have. We must learn from him. A lot of people were cross about it because they lost their places. But she always see what that can happen.

**Z.G.** And what do you think about the Turkish male dancers in the company?

**R.G.** The Turkish male dancers are good, but they don't want to take orders from women. Bir de bu memur işi var. Rapor problemi. I remember first act of Kuğu Gölü. I remember Feridun. He said "ben raporluyum, ben hiç oynayamıyorum". Smokin giymiş, gelmiş, oturmuş böyle seyretmiş. Çünkü raporlu, oynatamıyorsun. Memur işi bu.

**Z.G.** What do you think about the English ballet now?

**R.G.** English ballet is starting to get good. It went through a very bad period in the eighties but now they have a lot of foreing dancers. Because that women destroyed the school, the school was very bad for a long time . And so all the dancers are from the school. Now the school is much better. The dancers are coming from the school. Especially the boys are better than the girls. Because of Common Market we have lot of foreign dancers as well. They say we are loosing the English style. Some say there is no English style. Var tabii.

**O.Ş.** Peki nedir o English style?



**R.G.** It's musical. Ashton always said I want to see every movement but you must never stop moving. Flowing. Düzgün böyle, biraz kibar, musical, not show off, not for techniques.

**Z.G.** And the Russians are much more in favor of the technique?

**R.G.** Because they had no choreography. That is understandable. In one way it is very good, because they developed for instance Pas des Deux. We never had lifts like that. Because they had no choreography, they developed the technique, they developed the Pas des Deux. So that was good. Now they are beginning to get all the ballets, Balanchine, Ashton. It will be very interesting to see what is in Russia in another ten year. Unless Putin destroys it all, or poisons everybody.

**Z.G.** One last question. What do you think about the English teachers and choreographers who came to Turkey? Were they eager to come, were they shocked or were they surprised?

**R.G.** For instance Andrée Howard. When I said to her what is Ankara like? She said it is a cross between Boulevard and the Edgeware Road. You know Boulevard is a big town in London, and Edgeware Road in London. Because çamur var. You came to the opera you have to walk through çamur. But, you see, for instance someone like Dudley Tomlinson, like myself, it was different. Because we were young people. It was an opportunity for us. Also we learned the language. Most English people don't learn any language. So for them, like Andrée Howard had terrible problems with the boys. Because, first they didn't want any woman and secondly they used to make fun of her. Some people saw it like a punishment. You know, why can't have a job in world ballet. Why are they sending me there? Like the people who go to colonies. Others, like especially Dudley and myself saw it as an opportunity. I made my career here. Onun için bedava çalışıyorum senin film için, senin tez için.

**Z.G.** I also heard that Molly Lake and Travis Kemp tried to push the Turkish dancers against Andrée Howard.

**R.G.** Because they thought they should be the choreographer. Molly wanted to be the choreographer. Andrée Howard is a very subtle English choreographer, very good, very good artist and. It is not Molly's style... She made a lot of problems but also she did a good work. She was a very good teacher.

**Z.G.** Yes. Many people say this.

**R.G.** I mean Sait, Meriç, Oytun. All were her pupils. She was a good teacher.

**Z.G.** Well, thank you very much.

**R.G.** Efendim. It was a pleasure. If you give me your address, I send you some articles...