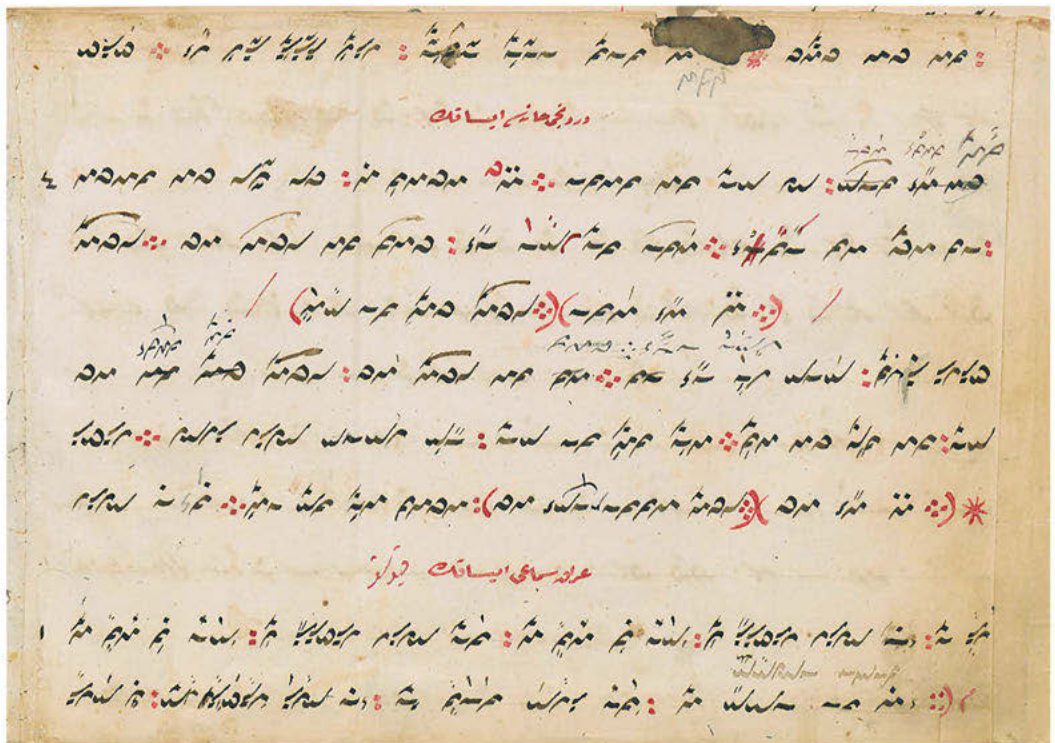# Writing the History of "Ottoman Music"

Edited by Martin Greve

Writing the History of "Ottoman Music"

ISTANBULER TEXTE UND STUDIEN

HERAUSGEGEBEN VOM
ORIENT-INSTITUT ISTANBUL

BAND 33

Writing the History of "Ottoman Music"

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WÜRZBURG 2016

ERGON VERLAG WÜRZBURG
IN KOMMISSION

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Introduction

Martin Greve

Over the past twenty years the research on the music history of Ottoman and pre-Ottoman times has made remarkable progress. Many important sources, theory books, treatises and song collections, which had been hidden in private collections, have been edited, reprinted, or at least analysed in specific articles and monographs. Western as well as Turkish historians and music historians, beginning with Yılmaz Öztuna, Gültekin Oransay, Eckhard Neubauer, Owen Wright, Eugenia Popescu-Judetz, Yalçın Tura, Murat Bardakçı, Walter Feldman, Cem Behar, Recep Uslu and following them many younger scholars, partially replaced musicians and (ethno-)musicologists in the field of Turkish art music research, and with them a historical, sources-based approach has gained increasing weight.

Today the search for and the analysis of sources is a central field of Turkish musicology, and will probably remain so for several more years. Still a great number of sources deserve scientific editions, such as the *Kevserî Mecmuası*, the collections with Hamparsum notation of the 19th century, or the only recently discovered post-Byzantine manuscripts (see Kalaitzidis in this book). In particular the scientific edition of music notations (which was in Europe the central field of musicology for more than a century) has hardly begun and will last at least two more decades.

However, together with the increasing knowledge of sources the general historical outline, the cohesion between the growing amount of detail has been in danger of being lost. Whereas the existence of these source gives rise to the hope that a kind of Ottoman-Turkish music history going back to earlier than the start of the 20th century could be possible (different from so many other music cultures in which no written sources exist), even if concepts of historiography and strategies of writing an encompassing history have hardly been discussed. In order to reflect the conditions of writing music history in Turkey today several authors in the present volume begin their reflections by looking back to the story of music history in Turkey itself, from its beginnings around 1900 until today.

The title of this book already indicates two general problems of the project. The term "Ottoman music" used here obviously replaces the notion of "Turkish music" as used in many Turkish publications, beginning with Rauf Yekta's pioneering article in the *Encyclopédie Lavignac* (1922), up to Öztuna's *Encyclopedia of Turkish Music* (1976/90) and many recent Turkish books on music history (e.g. Özalp 1986). Also many older western publications referred to "Turkish music", and it was only the historical approach that insisted on the foundation of a "Turkish Republic" in 1923, and reminded to the different, even pejorative use of the term "Turkish" before. Together with the influence of Turkish nationalism, also

the impact of western orientalism needs to be taken into account, in particular for the period immediately before the emergence of music history in Turkey (Aksoy, Öztürk).

In particular for the study of folk music history the discussion on Turkish nationalism and its influence on music and musical life in the early Republican era is crucial (Öztürkmen, Öztürk). In this field the turn to a historical approach has dramatic consequences: instead of a history of "Turkish music" that claims to cover virtually thousands of years, beginning in a mystical Central Asian prehistory, a source-based historical approach will in most cases reduce the scope of music history to the 19th and 20th century. Oral history is still a comparatively new field in Turkish musicology (Öztürkmen), and written sources – in particular those for earlier times – are rare and in general of limited value (Şenel). The notion of "Ottoman music" in this context is thereby not of great help.

On the other hand it is doubtful if linguistic, ethnical or political categories – such as the term "Turkish" – always meet with musicological categories. Among the many folk music styles of Anatolia there were also several non-Turkish languages (and still are) used, e.g. Kurmanji, Zaza, Armenian, Laz and Greek. On the other hand, many genres of Anatolian folk music would also demand for comparison with traditions outside of Turkey, for example in the Balkans, Armenia, Iran, up to Central Asia.

Even in the field of art music not all scholars agree with the replacement of the notion of "Turkish music" by "Ottoman music" (Ayangil). In addition to its ideological aspect, the terminological discussion raises the question of the framing of the project. A music history defined by the political-historical Ottoman period would set a scope from the 14th century until the early 20th century. Again the questions require clarification as to whether a political caesura such as the establishment or the collapse of an empire necessarily also implies a break in music history. Actually our knowledge of the music of the early Ottoman period is still too weak to decide about an adequate historical periodisation. However, research conducted so far suggests that it does not make sense to separate the music of the Seljuq area from the early Ottoman period. Obviously the main musical change seems to have happened much later, that is during the 17th century. On the other hand a history of "Ottoman music" would end in the year 1923, or at least around the early 20th century. Whether or not the changes of the 19th century are more important still needs to be discussed.

Moreover, the term "Ottoman music" also implies a particular geography, albeit one that changed over time. However, the musics of the Ottoman territories are far from forming any specific musical unit. Should all these countries and cultures which (at least for some time) were part of the Ottoman Empire – hence most Arabic countries, the Balkans (while not Iran, Central Asia or Azerbaijan) – be included in a "History of Ottoman Music"? Even within the borders of today's Republic of Turkey the diverse ethnic, religious, social or cultural minorities

would have to be integrated into this concept. The detailed description of the complex interaction between court and *tekke* music, urban art and even folk music spread over a wide territory (given the limited historical knowledge available) harbours serious problems for music historiography. A history of Ottoman music in this larger sense would be extremely difficult to handle, and not very different from a general history of the music of the Middle East. On the other hand a history of "Turkish music" would exclude non-Turkish musicians (or at least place them on a periphery), even those active in relation to the same or near-related music.

The title of the present book places "Ottoman music" in quotation marks, which is a diplomatic solution, aiming to keep the field open for discussion between scholars of different approaches.

The second issue imposed by the title of this book is the idea of "music history", or "writing music history", hence the construction of a historical narrative. What should be the object of a musical historiography? Is it only music and musical structures, *makam*, *usul* and musical genres? Or also instruments, the theory of music (Doğrusöz), performance practice, the perception of music, aesthetics, and musical life in general? How to conceptualize, how to write a "history of music" in a comprehensible way, to put it simple how to organize chapters? Should this be according to particular issues (e.g. instruments, theory, structures of compositions and the like) or according to historical periods? Which general concepts need to be clarified in advance, including the notion of source, nationalism, composition as opposed to improvisation, the relationship of composer and performer, and others (Jäger, Haug)?

One crucial point is the question of periodization. The direct adaption of periods known in European music history (e.g. classic, neo-classic, romantic) without any analytical verification and as practised by many contemporary Turkish writers, cannot count as serious historiography (Aksoy). However, today common agreement only exists for a vague historical outline: an early period of international Islamic art music culture between the late middle age and early Ottoman times; the emergence of an "Ottoman music" during the 17th century; the rise of this music culture throughout 18th century and the growing western influence (with complex consequences) by the 19th and early 20th century. While this overall outline is mainly based on data on musical life (performance practice, music theory, social history), a periodisation of the musical structures itself is still far from complete. Even worse: the historical analysis of music and musical structures have hardly been done at all, Walter Feldman's study on *peşrev* and *semâ'î* between the 16th and the early 18th century remained singular, not to mention the lack of a methodological discussion. Several authors of the present volume even doubt that an individual personal style or historical periods of Ottoman music exists at all, thus calling for radical new concepts of musical historiography (Pekin, Karakaya, Beşiroğlu).

Central problem for the concept of a music history comes down to the lack of notations, hence of sources which could pass down the music of earlier times. As generally known, no notated sources have come down to us earlier than the mid-17th century. In his article on the musical changes of the 17th century Feldman thus operates on the outer limits of what is possible to construct on the basis of sources: "For the most part, in the music of the Islamate civilization, it is only at this point in time – the early 17th century – that one can begin to wrestle with those musicological issues that are properly termed historical" (Feldman).

A short comparison with the European middle ages demonstrates the problems arising from the border between oral and written tradition, and the limited opportunities to reconstruct oral tradition even from existing manuscripts (Haug). Likewise Fikret Karakaya asks: Do early notation collections represent the music of their times? To state a "lack" of notation is an unhistorical perspective, the century-long persistence of *meşk* as the central system of education and transmission of music was not due to deficiency but rather constituted an aesthetic preference (Pekin; Bahar 2006).

The consequence of oral tradition, however, is what Ersu refers to with the metaphor of "cinder" and Fikret Karakaya with that of water in a sieve: In an oral transition music more or less changes constantly and what remains today are almost exclusively musical versions of the 19th century, even if the notations pretend to provide music of much earlier time. One central starting point for all analysis of "Ottoman" or "Turkish" music history will hence necessarily be the 19th century, it's aesthetical, musical and social changes which led to the increasing use of notation, and thus the fixation of orally transmitted music (Paçacı, Jäger), as well as the pseudographia of the late 19th century (Feldman).

For a music historian today the music transmitted orally (by far the main part of today's repertoire) turns up as a problem. If history is based on written sources, then how to deal with the main corpus of the art music performed today, which is transmitted without sources (or only via recent ones)? In 1977 Carl Dahlhaus discussed a comparable tension in the historiography of European music between a musical piece as a work of aesthetic reality and as a historical source. History of music cannot ignore the contemporary aesthetic reality and their aesthetic judgements, without, however, being based on them.

In this context the historical reconstruction – or at least the historically informed performance of Turkish-Ottoman music – has to be taken into account. In Europe and America many musicians of the middle ages, the renaissance or of baroque music are at the same time music historians working directly with historical sources. Again the situation in Turkey and the Ottoman empire is obviously different, and once more due to the lack of sources. We hardly have any detailed accounts of musical instruments, the formations of ensembles, playing techniques, and even less on singing techniques, sound, intonation in practice (as opposed to music theory), or melodic embellishment. Nevertheless reconstruc-

tions, how speculative they might be in this situation, might provide important insights into the character of historical Ottoman music.

The articles contained in this volume were originally presented at the conference "Writing the History of 'Ottoman Music'" / "'Osmanlı Musikisi' Tarihini Yazmak", held at the State Conservatory for Turkish Music (Turk Musikisi Devlet Konservatuvari) of the Technical University Istanbul (ITÜ) in Istanbul, 25-26 November 2011, organized in cooperation with the Orient-Institut Istanbul. International music historians, some at the same time highly-respected musicians such as Ruhi Ayangil or Fikret Karakaya, discussed the issue of historiography concerning Turkish, Ottoman or Turkish-Ottoman music. In some of the panels Western musicologists added considerations from more or less outside perspectives including, for example, Andreas Haug, a specialist in Western middle ages music, or Ralf Martin Jäger's comparative analysis of European and Turkish approaches to music history. Some of the speakers enlarged their papers afterwards, incorporating the discussions of the conference, in particular Bülent Aksoy and Walter Feldman, whose article almost provides a second volume to his pathbreaking book (Feldman 1996).

One basic aim of this book is to present different ways of thinking and writing on music history and historiography, and thus it combines essays, overview articles and detailed historical analysis.

The spelling of terms and names in Ottoman, Turkish and other languages has been standardized, a common bibliography will be found at the end of this volume. Without the intense work of the staff of the State Conservatory for Turkish Music İstanbul, in particular its then vice director Prof. Dr. Şehvar Beşiroğlu, together with Doç. Dr. Burcu Yıldız and Yaprak Melike Uyar the conference would not have taken place and neither would this volume have been edited.

Last but not least I am indebted to Efkan Oğuz and Onur Nobrega who translated the articles of the Turkish authors, and in particular to the editor Tadgh O'Sullivan.

1.
Writing the History of Ottoman Music

Preliminary Notes on the Possibility (or Impossibility) of Writing Ottoman Musical History

Bülent Aksoy

Ottoman-Turkish music, as is known, reached us through an oral tradition. Just like the history of anything else, however, a history of music becomes possible only by documented material. The endeavour of building up a history which exists by means of written sources for a music that is based on oral tradition is contradictory. Whether we will be able to speak about a history of Ottoman-Turkish music depends on a solution to this contradiction, which of course is only possible if the contradiction is solvable as such. But even if a solution to this contradiction remains impossible it should be dealt with it in order to justify the writing of Ottoman-Turkish music history; firstly because, in my opinion, there is a necessity to locate Ottoman-Turkish music within that of world music culture.

Seen from a musicological perspective, the musical traditions of the world can be categorized into four different genres. The first is Western European classical music. Since European classical music depends on a written culture, its history is accepted to have been written. In this sense it is unique among all the musics of the world. The second genre is tribal music, produced and performed by preliterate cultures. Since the past and evolutionary timeline of these musical forms cannot be documented, nothing (or very little) is known about their history. Music traditions within this second category might be called music "without history". The third category, which might be seen as similar to the second category, is that of folk music, in other words the music of rural and urban people. Folk music relies on local oral traditions; there is no need to document its history nor is there any curiosity to do so. A research area related to this category involves the collecting of as many new songs as possible. One of the objectives of these collections is to find old and forgotten songs so that attempts to recover their history can be made possible. Finally, there is "high culture" music which is in between Western European music and the traditional musics of preliterate people, and whose history has not been written yet: music at courts, music of religious/spiritual, upper class or well-educated circles. This field includes Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Indian, Iranian, Arab, Turkish (Ottoman) music and the like.

It is possible to categorize all these genres into two types: those that depend on oral transmission and those that depend on writing. In fact, the only musical genre that has a written tradition is Western European music, whereas the rest depend on oral tradition. However, it would be a crude and unrefined attitude to classify all musics of the world in one single category that excludes Western Euro-

pean music. We need other categories to distinguish some musical genres from others, in other words, cultivated musical genres that reflect the taste distinctions of a high society but still dependant on oral tradition. The *makam* music of the Eastern Mediterranean basin, i.e. the music of the Middle East, is an outstanding subcategory of this latter category. There is a theory of this music and books are written to explain this theory. In the regions where it is performed and listened to it has satisfied, so to speak, the need for "art". Of course we cannot talk about a written history of these musical traditions similar to the written history of Western European music, although they do not completely lack sources or records which might encourage thinking about it. However, it is very difficult to document this history and for some traditions it might even be impossible.

For Ottoman music, as an outstanding example of those cultivated musics, we can categorize the factors that preclude analysing its history into two groups: objective factors, which arise from the music's foundations or nature; and subjective factors, derived from our historical-conjunctural fallacies and also from our lack of knowledge.

We know that the renowned music repertoire performed and listened to in Turkey today reached us through 19th century styles and tastes. The oldest source for these compositions goes back to the mid-19th century (the oldest oral source is Dede Efendi, who died in 1847). The emergence of this music repertoire, however, can be traced back to the end of the 16th century. In this repertoire, old compositions mixed with new styles and renewed tastes, and dissolved in the same melting pot. This transformation can also be seen in musical notations. For instance, a melody that Cantemir put into notation in the late 17th century can differ from Rauf Yekta's 20th century notation to an extent that it seems to be a completely different piece. While the taste of every new period overlays the previous one, the development within the flow of history enriched music, evolving from simple to increasingly complex musical structures. This process made it increasingly difficult to observe the evolution of the music. Therefore, it is impossible to write a convincing history of music just by looking at this repertoire. If we examine the history of music only in this context, there is nothing we could say. This is, in fact, an objective factor.

However, the material concerning the history of Ottoman music extends beyond this context. Although music and culture depend upon an oral tradition, Ottoman music has an advantage over other *makam* musical genres in the region. This musical genre has left a number of written sources such as musical theory books (*edvâr*), theoretical treatises (*risale*), collections of lyrics (*mecmû'â*) and official records of the musical activities in the imperial court. Furthermore, dissimilar to other *makam* music traditions in the region, it is not an anonymous music. There are composers whose names have been recorded in history. Many composers can be identified, and we are able to collect biographical information about a remarkable number of them. Additionally, there are miniature paintings that de-

pict the musical instruments used. There are also useful references to musical issues in texts that are not directly concerned with music, such as collections of poets' biographies (*tezkire*). Other sources can be found in archives of non-Muslim communities that are a part of the Ottoman music tradition. Among other things, there are texts written and pictures painted by Europeans who visited Turkey over four centuries. Furthermore, there are collections of notations, even though they were not used in music education, in performance and the transmission of repertoire. In addition, all of these materials that are stored in libraries and archives have not been completely discovered and examined. There are texts written on music in European and American libraries and in countries that once were part of the Ottoman territory, especially in the Balkan states. For these reasons, Ottoman tradition overshadows Iranian and Arab traditions. The written sources on Ottoman music that we are currently aware of have also increased the academic interest in the topic.

However, in Turkey a fictional music history was also constructed, based on the music repertoire transmitted by oral tradition instead of via sources and documents. A music that existed for over five centuries was reduced to the repertoire notated in the early 20. century. Publications about musical history, radio programs, and concerts dealt with this repertoire, and a historical line was drawn up that extended from 'Abd al-Qâdir Marâghî to Dede Efendi, from Dede Efendi to Hacı Arif Bey and down to Suphi Ziya Özbekkan. This genealogy was simply inferred from the surviving repertoire. Some authors went even further and divided Ottoman music into historical periods in terms of style. The odd thing is that this kind of history could have been constructed although the present repertoire that exists after five centuries contains only five percent of the estimated corpus. This does not mean that the effort to construct a history does not at all deserve respect. The need to incorporate this eminent musical tradition into the artistic heritage of Turkey also contributed to the effort to the construction of a music history. However, I will not deal with this aspect.

In fact, there was a grand project: writing a holistic history of this music. A holistic history means that there is a particular direction perceived in terms of its historical development, and this history can be separated into periods following each other in an explicable way, in order to shape a coherent history. These objectives were challenging. The first step on this road was to collect what remained of a five hundred year old repertoire of Ottoman music. Within a short time great success was achieved in collecting and transcribing the repertoire. However, the collection of the repertoire and writing its music history were conducted simultaneously. The project of collecting was thus in practice largely reliant on the oral tradition, while the existence of a history of this music was already presumed to exist. As a result *nolens volens* – a musical historiography lacking a historical dimension – was formed and this historical approach became standardized and officially sanctioned. It is here that subjective factors become visible. If our focal point is the

writing of history, then we have to start by criticizing this existing fictional history which has, in the meantime, been standardized and would possibly become even more standardized over the course of time as long as such work is not discouraged. The least that we can do is to expose the blanks, contradictions, incoherencies and mistakes of this fictional music history.

Subjective factors that degrade the critical understanding of the history of Ottoman music in Turkey already played a part in the approach to the history of *makam* music. *Makam*, which made its presence felt all along the Mediterranean basin, is one of the oldest musical traditions in the world. The origins of this style, however, are unknown. We are able to understand the past of *makam* music better by investigating Islamic sources that emerged in and after the tenth century. The belief that these sources have led us to is that *makam* music originally was an international genre, popular in the élite musical centres of the Middle East. However, this common style influenced local traditions over time, and as it became widespread it turned into styles we might call local or "national". Hence, besides having an international influence, the term *makam* also has local aspects. *Makam* music displays diversity (in terms of both theory and practice) and we can talk about Iranian, Arab and Turkish musical styles. These styles can be categorized even more specifically: for example, there are prominent differences within Arab music, such as the Egyptian style and the Northwest African style (for example Algerian). Differences in historical sources should be added to the list of distinctions in theory, practice and taste.

The main question concerning the history of *makam* music is how a music showing a common stylistic structure until the fifteenth century could have developed new concepts and delights later within regional and local traditions. Clues for the answer can be searched for in music books written between the 10. and 15. centuries. However, what kind of music do these books define? Do these books – that present the theory of an international musical genre – define the live, concrete and performed musical phenomena of the period or rather a flawless, ideal and non-performative musical world and its tonal system and dominant elements? In other words, we are not able to see the bond between theory and practice.

Since the idea that the theoretical information aroused, cannot be confirmed by notated examples of living and actually performed music, we do not know the music that was performed at the time. As we do not have this information, we also cannot explain what kind of changes the old music with international qualities went through in its local and international contexts, and neither can we tell what the specific conditions of these changes were. At least it is clear that a change or a transformation took place.

This transformation needs to be explained in order to determine the place, share and contribution, not only of Ottoman-Turkish music, but of all *makam*-centred musics of the whole East Mediterranean region. This is the first and the darkest spot in writing a history of *makam* music.

However, in Turkey this crucial breaking point has not become clear yet. Under the pressure of the objective and historical conjuncture, almost every country in the region wrote its own "national" musical history. At this point, I will therefore introduce a new term, or rather adapt a term that already exists, that of *official history*. As there is a form of historical writing called "official history" in the sphere of politics, it is also possible to talk about an official perspective on the history of Ottoman-Turkish music, or even several official perspectives.

It is advantageous to look at how official history in Turkey has been formed so far. In the period from the late 19th century until the early 20th century Ottoman music needed to define its existence *vis-à-vis* Western music. When traditions and cultures are isolated, in other words, not disturbed by the outside world, they live in their own shell. But when the day comes and this inner world realizes with its own eyes open that there are other worlds outside, this also is an opportunity to take a glance inside at the point where the shell breaks. Hence, time comes to a point when it becomes necessary to make advances towards the entire buildup of the past. At this moment, it also becomes possible for music to be seen as an object of study. The people who followed this path, which was shaped by the conditions of their period, also showed an interest in musical history. In Turkey, this interest generated the aspiration to write a history of the musical genre in question, or at least to write its outlines. Thus, the work of writing a musical history was based on the objective existence of a repertoire based on oral tradition, and thus on its transcription into notation.

In terms of evaluating Turkey's artistic legacy it was certainly an important step to take up the writing of an Ottoman-Turkish musical history. However, a historical perspective was affected under conjunctural conditions by the nationalist movements of the time. Thus, the "Ottoman tradition" was perceived as a "national music" (*millî musıki*). At this junction two processes where interlinked, the intention to attach Ottoman tradition to a national culture, and the transition from Ottoman identity to Turkish identity, the latter as required by the Republican ideology. A new process began, which although independent of the will of individuals, nevertheless affected people individually as they were not able to remain unaffected by this conjuncture.

It is advantageous to look at this process more closely. At the beginning of this process one can find the publications of the 19th century European Orientalist circles. In the circles of these Orientalists the music of the Turks was not considered to be original, but rather a derivation of Persian-Arabian music. According to some of the Orientalists, the music of the Turks had its origins in Byzantium and others also thought that Byzantine music was related to ancient Greek music. Of course, this point of view was not limited only to music. Turkish poetry (*divan* poetry), for example, was also considered a derivation of Persian poetry. In fact, the entire social and cultural heritage of the Anatolian Seljuk and Ottoman periods was a mixture of one or all Greek, Byzantine, Persian and Arab civilizations;

nothing that was Turkish was original. This point of view, which was prominent among Orientalists in the 19th century also affected a group of Turkish intellectuals. Some of those Turkish intellectuals imported the Orientalist perspective and repeated it, others who did not voice this opinion still explicitly retained this idea and inferred rational conclusions from it.

During the Republican period the opinion that the Ottoman musical legacy did not have a "national" identity, and that the genuine Turkish music was Anatolian folk music, led to an ethno-nationalist cultural policy that leaned on folklore, and eventually formed the Republic's official musical viewpoint. In this context, the followers of Ottoman music took it as their duty to purge it of Greek, Byzantine, Arabian and Persian influence. This was, of course, an ideological reaction. A different ideological argument was formed contradicting this ideology which proclaimed the music of the whole Middle East, East Mediterranean and Balkans as Turkish music. According to this idea Ottoman music was Turkish music in an absolute sense; Turkish people brought this music from Central Asia to Anatolia. Theorists (including al-Fârâbî, Safî al-Dîn, ʿAbd al-Qâdir Marâghî et al, who lived long before the rise of the Ottoman Empire were made out to be of Turkish origin. Thereby, the Orientalist/ethnic nationalist viewpoint was exactly reversed. This answer to the official viewpoint, which had taken its initial impetus from Orientalism, was adopted by the Ottoman-Turkish music community; this community thus formed its own "official" view. In short, two official viewpoints that contradicted each other emerged. This situation had its effects on music history: the assertion that the whole of *makam* music was of Turkish origin in a sense made it unnecessary to examine its history and origins. (This belief, too, must also have drawn on the fact that Turkish researchers were not interested in the musical world of neighbouring countries.)

The tension caused by the opinions derived from Orientalist sources did not end there. It also created an opposition between folk music and *fasıl* music. According to the early Republican-era followers of folk music and the ideologues of that time, the genuine music of Turkey was the music played with the *bağlama*s (long-necked lutes of folk music) and *kaval*s (shepherds' flutes) of Anatolia. This music was seen as the music which carried the true national character. This idea, which was suggested in the early 20th century and staked its theoretical grounding after the foundation of the Turkish Republic, became the official view of the folk music community. Reacting to this argument, the followers of *fasıl* music, starting with Rauf Yekta, saw Anatolian folk music as a "primitive", inferior version of *incesaz* music. Rauf Yekta's approach became the official negative opinion of the *fasıl* music community regarding folk music. In fact these two musical genres had coexisted for five centuries. In addition it was also necessary to acknowledge this fact: At least some of the melodies from Anatolian folk music must have been the products of traditions older than Ottoman-Turkish *makam* music. If pre-Ottoman *makam* experienced a transformation in Anatolia, local traditions must have

played a part in this. However, during these five centuries of coexistence, it should have been considered natural that *makam* music also left some marks on folk traditions. However, the argument was not handled in a productive manner, and instead the discussion fell victim to the ideologically-based "pentatonicism thesis".

When the global political situation changed after the Second World War, the issue of history originating from Central Asia lost its primary importance, relevant arguments were forgotten and articles about it slipped into oblivion among the withered pages of magazines and newspapers. If the argument would have reached a sufficient depth, it might not have ended up this way. Seen from an ideological point of view instead of a cultural one, ideology always crushes culture and art, and a history of the arts becomes inhibited.

Countries on their way to founding a nation-state are afraid of being confronted with their own histories. These periods are guided by nationalist interests; nationalist ideology also creates a historiography that leads to new formations. This was also the case with Turkey; issues that had not caused any discomfort in the Ottoman times became troubling during the early Republican period. Musical debates that have continued for more than a century, lacking scientific objectivity and academic composure, or rather, musical disputes that resembled an ideological controversy, had their origins in the very nationalism that penetrated politics, culture and artistic life in Turkey.

* * *

During the years when musical historiography, based on the repertoire transmitted by oral tradition, was established, Ali Ufkî's collection was not yet discovered. This manuscript was discovered in 1948, but it was only after its publication in 1976 that it finally reached music communities. As for Cantemir's theory book and music collection, it was already known in the early 20th century and published in *Şehbal* magazine (nos. 12-85, 1909-1913). However, this publication had no impact on musical historiography for another fifty years. The book was not seen as worth examining, remaining ignored and even underestimated. Moreover, in general all of the theory books and treatises shared the same fate; they were all seen as primitive. They were interpreted or rather only skimmed through, not in order to understand the past and make an inference from that, but rather to see if they were compatible with current theories. In this context, it is not without significance that the Romanian-American scholar Eugenia Popescu-Judetz's articles published in the 1960s and her comprehensive book in 1973 for the first time situated Cantemir in the history of Ottoman music theory.

The publication of Cantemir's *edvâr* in form of fascicles by Yalçın Tura in 1976, though incomplete, led to the rebirth of Cantemir's music theory. This publication and that of Ufkî's *mecmû'â* can be seen as remarkable steps for music historiography. The first twinkles of light that lead us to a historical perspective thus be-

came perceptible. Additionally, foreign experts published important studies based on these two sources. The most serious studies on the history of this music thus emerged after 1980.

Musical groups, which performed the songs notated by Ali Ufkî and Cantemir, were founded after the 1980s. After listening to the concerts of these musical groups, some people did not want to identify with this old Turkish musical style, even today there are people who are not willing to accept this identification. Some look down on these two *mecmû'âs* or do not show any interest in this repertoire. These are mostly musicians of the older generations who grew up with a repertoire based on an oral tradition. They reject this rediscovered repertoire questioning such as: "Are these simple songs the remnants which belong to those old glorious days?" However, the same people identify with a 17th century composition in a form notated in the 20th century, or with a composition attributed to 'Abd al-Qâdir Marâghi without any hesitation.

If we put aside the Ufkî and Cantemir collections and look through the narrow perspective of the repertoire based on the oral tradition, we have a body of material which is suspicious regarding its authenticity. Although in the 1930s Suphi Ezgi showed obvious evidence that the *kâr*s ascribed to Marâghî could not belong to him (for example, Marâghî did not discuss *usûl*s such as *hafîf* and *semai*, and *makam*s like *bestenigâr, uşşak,* and *segâh* in his books), compositions like *bestenigâr yürük semâî, nihavend-i kebir kâr, uşşak kâr, segâh kâr-i şeş-âvâz* and more were accepted as his own in many encyclopaedic articles and educational institutions, and were performed during concerts without any caution concerning his ascribed authorship. There are compositions that have traditionally been ascribed to al-Fârâbî and Kâtip Çelebi, and they are performed in most professional radio concerts, in concert-halls and even abroad without any reservation regarding their authorship. One may offer an apology: These musicians are not music researchers, and they lack a historical consciousness; professional music researchers, musicologists and music historians have already provided necessary information on this issue. These claims are true in a sense, but not sufficient. The fact that this music today is no longer the same as it was five centuries ago and reached today through transformations and evolutions over time, has now become a subject that is to be given significance in official institutions and music schools, and even at performances in concert halls and radio broadcasts. We are now in the 21th century. A historical consciousness should be instilled in a wider set of audiences and, most importantly performers, and beyond a small circle of researchers and writers. I want to give an example relating to my plea: There is not one historical document proving that Sultan Bayezid II was a composer; this fact was pointed out in serious articles, but nevertheless recent television and radio programs, featuring professional Turkish musicians, in addition to three remarkable albums, ascribed one *eviç saz semaisi* and two *neva peşrev* to Bayezid II.

People who consider music based upon an oral repertoire to be "real" history are rather unduly self-confident. If a composition was recorded in a certain *makam*, they believe that if there is a composition in the repertoire, there must be a hidden reason for that. However, this sort of historiography has many shortcomings. Many of the issues written as musical historiography contradict each other. Such self-confidence in oral tradition is observed also in the official view of the Greek Orthodox Church. Although the religious repertoire performed in the Greek Orthodox Church also resembles the case with the central Ottoman music and was notated in the 19th century, the official stance of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople on this issue is that before the conquest of Constantinople, Byzantine music was under the protection of *Magna Ecclesia* (Hagia Sophia). Therefore it has retained an unspoiled purity until today. We also know that Armenian church music was notated in the 19th century. If we do not want to believe in a fictive history, it is necessary to break this self-confidence, and to put all oral traditions under question. Every oral tradition simplifies the past, imprisoning us in conventional ideas and, most importantly, they are also susceptible to distortion.

* * *

New historicism opened up the possibility of revised historical perspectives. Former historicism tried to fix what occurred in the past and what was recorded in historical sources to an exact point in history. A historian working in a conventional method asks: "What are the events that happened in the past? What do these events tell us about history?" Thus, he attaches a meaning to the past. Instead, a historian who opines according to new historicism asks: "How have these events been interpreted? What do they tell about the political, cultural and ideological context of that time and also about its commentators?" The historian, who reasons in a conventional way, sees history in a holistic manner and presumes that history displays totality. However, life, real and concrete life, is an enormous entity and with an abundance which does not fit into this kind of conceptual totality. Our knowledge of the reality cannot be reduced to the reality itself. The new historian who knows about this epistemology does not present historical knowledge as forming a concrete history. The historian who uses the former historicism as his perspective chooses events from this enormous history for his own purposes and tries to establish coherence in these events. Since he speculates in search of attributing a meaning to a totality and wants to give an exact import to it, thereby putting aside particularities, details and singular events, which he neglects, leaving them out of history or putting them into a dark corner. Another historian who also works in a conventional manner might select events in a very different way, and he could interpret them differently. Thereby different versions of a fictive historical knowledge emerge. From this holistic perspective, the cases that may fit together and the events that are similar to each other are put forward or are highlighted, while deviations and fractures are pushed aside. The new histo-

rian, on the other hand, reflects small pieces of information, smaller and more singular cases, dwelling on details as well as deviations and fractures. He uncovers the cases that were pushed into a dark corner, exposes frauds, and introduces hidden values. If he reflects patiently on fragments of information, on things that look small, he might on these grounds discover valuable or formerly unknown issues. As he pursues this method, he can encounter more and more new issues. Thereby, he can advance towards a more convincing and a more genuine history by means of these small pieces of information and fractures. During such a process, if the subject is music, not only musical texts should be used as sources. It is also the case in texts on very different topics – even in otherwise irrelevant texts – it is possible to find relevant records that can change the perspective on music. An abundance of information can emerge out of such small pieces of information and their combinations; the emerging new history might again evoke a sense of totality. However, we should acknowledge that this, again, is fictional. Because our purpose is not to write a "real" history, but to create a platform where we can shape a non-linear history and thereby to reflect on it from different perspectives. This is the most meaningful thing to do. I assume that we can also adapt this perspective –one aspect of which I explained in a rather abstract way–to musical historiography, because in the field of musical historiography I can detect traces of such a fictional holistic perspective. This is the case even with Western (tonal) music. Its history is written linearly and relies on abstraction: It starts with Bach and Handel, later the names of Haydn, Mozart, Schubert, Beethoven and Brahms appear and then a "main road" is drawn adding Mahler, Wagner, Richard Strauss. The wayfarers along the road are accorded value based on their contribution to this primary route. In fact such a canon does exist, this music is studied in music historical monographs, taught in schools and performed at concerts. Music not on the main road has been pushed aside. There is a written history of Western music, but it is not a history without unknowns, gaps or absences. For musical historians these are new tasks. Especially in the last twenty five years, studies that aim to understand and introduce music outside the canonical history have become increasingly noticeable.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, most of the articles on music written in Turkey are based on the concept of "Turkish music history". Many of them are even titled as such. There are also quite a number of "Turkish music along the centuries" themed music records and concerts which consist of musical works, from the oldest examples to works of contemporary composers. On the other hand, there are few studies that analyse single small events, a tiny historical record, only one treatise or just a single *mecmû'â* in detail. Such specific and singular topics have only recently gained importance.

Eventually, I regard such works on "micro", not "macro" topics as significant. I will give some examples about this issue. The individual pasts of *makam*s are one of these cases. Although Abdülbâki Nâsır Dede wrote in 1797 that the *sûzidil*

makam had been arranged by Abdülhalim Ağa (approximately in the last quarter of the 18th century, in oral tradition a *saz semai* and a *peşrev* in this *makam* ascribed to Gazi Gıray Han (r. 1554-1607) have has been transmitted. The *makam sûzidil* is thus thrown back two centuries. Although *makam şedaraban* should have been considered a modern *makam* in terms of its range, tones and intervallic structure (again, Abdülbâki Dede confirms that it is a new *makam*), and the first works composed in this *makam* were a "*takım*" that consists of two *beste*s and two *semai*s by Sadullâh Ağa (d. 1801?) and Tanbûrî İzak (1745-1814), one *peşrev* and one *saz semai* in this *makam* by Gazi Gıray Han are part of the orally transmitted repertoire. Sadullâh Ağa is said to have revived the *makam bayatî-araban* by composing a *takım*. Only one *peşrev* and one *semai* are known as older examples of this *makam*: both belonging to, yet again, Gazi Gıray Han. Like *suzidil* and *şedaraban*, *bayatî-araban* was one of the *makam*s not even mentioned before. In this case, will we believe that this *makam* was a creation by Gazi Gıray? Of course we can come to this premature conclusion, announcing him as a musical "genius". According to a similar rationale, we should conclude that the *makam hisarbuselik* is the creation of Tanbûrî Mustafa Çavuş who is said to have lived in the first half of the 18th century (as the oldest song in this *makam* transmitted orally belongs to him). Gazi Gıray seems to be one of the dark topics in musical history.

None of these three *makam*s is mentioned in Ufkî, Cantemir, Kevserî or Nâyi Osman Dede, which means they were not used in the music of the 17th and 18th centuries, in other words for two hundred years. Were Gazi Gıray Han's songs in these *makam*s performed or known in these years in Istanbul? There is not a single positive clue regarding this. The case of *makam sûzidilârâ*, which is described everywhere as a creation of Sultan Selim III, is also awkward: one *peşrev* and one *semai* are ascribed each to Gazi Gıray, Cantemir, and Arapzade Abdurrahman (first half of the 18th century) in the orally transmitted repertoire. Instead of approaching Ottoman music history in a holistic manner, it seems more reasonable to deal with such singular situations.

The compositions that Cantemir gave in his collection as his own do not correspond to the compositions ascribed to him in the oral tradition. While he refers to *sazkâr* as an obsolete *makam*, his nowadays most performed composition of the repertoire collected from the oral tradition is a *sazkâr peşrev*. The compositions that Cantemir introduced as his own, on the other hand, were not performed until very recent times. Only a few of his *peşrev*s and *semai*s from the oral tradition, including *sazkâr peşrev*, have been performed. The oral tradition has been so indifferent to the notated material. Until recently such inconsistencies did not attract attention from anyone except a few researchers. In order to understand how Ottoman music has evolved, one should concentrate on the gaps and contradictions that can be observed in the repertoire of the oral tradition. The history of *makam*s, their development, and the transformation of their structure can be a reference point to discover an evolutionary line.

The music theory which dominates the musical life of today is based on compositions from the orally transmitted repertoire. In theory books *makam*s are generally defined as frozen in the forms that they took at the end of their journey. Even a custom of giving a notation sample for each *makam* took shape (although exemplifying a *makam* with only one notation sample is methodologically faulty). Therefore, in the definition of *makam*, its historical dimension was neglected. Moreover**,** the musical concept called *makam* has changed as times and tastes changed. *Makam* does not have a finalized or isolated structure, but rather an *open* one. It is always open to add new scales, new elements and new flavours. If there were not any written sources left to us from the past, it could perhaps be seen as acceptable to detach *makam*s from their historical context and meaning. A chronological examination of old treatises in a comparative fashion could yield meaningful new clues and indications about the historical evolution of *makam*s. Thereafter, it serves a major purpose to compare the definitions of *makam*s given by the oral tradition and with those in the historical sources: if we can reconcile these two different ends, we can have a happy ending; otherwise we will end up empty handed. It becomes thus inevitable to approach more of the written sources in a more serious manner. Could we ever consider a situation a part of history, although it is not backed up by a written source? It would be advisable to concentrate on every contradiction individually within the oral tradition, which would at least help eliminate some of the incoherencies. I would like to mention a recently published study. In his seven-volume work titled *Türk Musikisinde Makamlar* (Makams in Turkish Music, 2000), the result of much hard work, Fikret Kutluğ put the oral tradition ahead but on the other hand also dared to point out gaps and incoherencies in the definitions of *makam*s .

There are further absences in relation to the information we have regarding the eras in which composers lived. For example, Tanburî Mustafa Çavuş was credited as being called a "musical genius" in the first half of the 18th century, although there are no other examples of his style during that period. The songs that were credited to Mustafa Çavuş have a typical 19. century style. In fact, according to the anthology of Fuat Köprülü and the research of Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun, Mustafa Çavuş was one of the 19th century bards (see also endnote 1).

Another example is Dilhayat Hanım. Her works were referred to in the *Hekimbaşı Mecmû'âsı*, which is thought to have been written around the year 1775 (as well as in other 18th century collections). Since Dilhayat was featured in such a prestigious anthology, she must have flourished in the mid-18th century. However, it was often repeated as fact that she was a composer who belonged to the school of Selim III, even down to the period of Mahmud II. As Sultan Selim was born in 1761, he was fourteen years old in 1775. Most probably because of Abdülbâki Nâsır Dede's statements about Sultan Selim being the devisor of *makam evcârâ*, the lifetime of Dilhayat Hanım was dated to about fifty years later.

Also, the ascription of *makam evcârâ* not to Küçük Mehmed Ağa who composed two excellent *beste*s and two *semâî*s in this *makam* but to Selim III, who has only one composition in the same *makam*, is one of the assumptions of the musical history that is hard to understand. When it comes to such issues regarding in which periods composers lived and which songs they composed, we see it is not enough to just take a look into the *mecmû'â*s, they also need to be studied seriously.

Abdülali, who has four compositions ascribed to him in today's repertoire (*kâr*s in the *makam*s *evc*, *rast*, and *segâh*, and a *sabâ nakış aksak semâ'î*), has been discussed – due to a mistake by Suphi Ezgi – in articles, encyclopaedias published thereafter and even some articles in foreign languages – as a 16th century composer who flourished towards the end of the Kanunî Süleyman era (before 1566). As I was informed by unpublished remarks from Gültekin Oransay, of which I have a copy, Abdülali was a Shiite composer and a poet who died in either 1643 or 1644 in Basra, hence he flourished as late as the first half of the 17. century. Oransay was a capable researcher who discovered such historical black holes and tried to rectify mistakes by analysing the sources carefully (see also endnote 2).

Having underlined all these issues, I would like to state the following:

(i) Historiography has produced a history that cannot be claimed to be factual history. What we really need is a music-historical consciousness that is more than a music history book. Even the most stable musical genres change over time. Nothing can be rejected simply for the reason that it does not fit the music we know today. It appears that the repertoire of Ottoman-Turkish *makam* music has changed faster than expected. Here is a striking example: Only three of the 165 songs which Şeyhülislam Esad Efendi mentioned together with their lyrics in his *tezkire* (collection of biographies) *Atrabu'l-âsâr*, reached the present time (see Behar 2010: 118). However, Esad Efendi was a musician of a distinguished circle, hence the compositions he referred to must have been distinguished products in his time. Furthermore, while the celebrated *neva kâr* of Itrî is not mentioned by Esad Efendi, he quotes the lyrics of other Itrî compositions that have not actually survived down to today. Collections of lyrics (*mecmû'â*s) are of major importance because they reflect the acceleration of change and show how the repertoire changed over time.

Not only the historical aspect of *makam*s but also the historical aspect of *usûl*s, the compositional forms and the transformation of musical instruments fall within the scope of this issue. Dealing with musical history, those texts that shed light on this historical transformation will be the most valuable.

(ii) The compositions we have today can be said to resemble a tangled web in which the tastes of the old music masters and older times overlap with each other. Furthermore, even the compositions that have reached today can have ten different versions. The compositions that are based on oral tradition, in a word, lack an objective existence. Thus, the authentic repertoire should be the first thing to

consider in historiography. The manuscripts of Ufkî, Cantemir, Nâyî Osman Dede, Kevserî, Abdülbâki Nâsır Dede, and the Hamparsum manuscripts are what constitutes this repertoire. Cantemir and Osman Dede connect the 18th century with Ufkî in the 17th century; thereafter Kevserî emerges and brings the music to the mid-18th century. Abdülbâkî Dede takes us to the end of the 18th century and the Hamparsum manuscripts transmit music of the 19th century to us. The compositions in these sources encompass a period extending from the 17th to the 20th century, although naturally they have gaps.

(iii) If a composition lacks an objective existence, it cannot be subjected to analysis. The form in which it reached us today cannot be called the work of the same composer. We cannot talk about a personal style anymore. It reaches today with a creativity that can be called "collective". Of course, the structure of any composition can be analysed, but one cannot regard the composition as the personal product of its composer. Therefore, if compositions cannot be analysed, periodization also becomes a meaningless framework. However, instead of periods such as "classical", "romantic," or "neo-classical" that are fictional and a reflection of an inferiority complex in relation to Western music, in a more realistic manner at least the following periods could have been distinguished:

The period between the 14th and 16th centuries was characterised by a common style in the main centres of the Islamic world. In this period the compositions of Marâghî and those which, under the name *acemler* (Persians) and *hindliler* (Indians), had been introduced by neighbouring countries were performed at the Ottoman court, as well as epics sung by the *ozan*s (Anatolian folk bards).

The 17th century was characterised by a rejection of this common style, the formation of an own style, and the development of an own characteristic taste. The 18th century was a period when this Istanbul style was further developed, and in the 19th century it reached its culmination. Finally, in the last period the influences or traces of Western music became visible as we can see, for example, in some of the compositions of Şakir Ağa or Dede Efendi.

I have already mentioned that the separation of Ottoman-Turkish music from pre-Ottoman *makam* music has not has not been dealt with yet. This ongoing lack of clarity is symptomatic. The official approach has seen this music from its very beginnings (hence pre-Ottoman times) as "Turkish music" and labelled it accordingly. The emergence of a perception of an Ottoman musical style with its own identity has thus been taken out of consideration. In his book *History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire* Cantemir refers to this situation by noting that the music of the Turcs had developed in the times of Sultan Murad IV. Later some European orientalists also touched on Cantemir's original note. Poor answers were given to this question in Turkey during the 20th century. Today, some foreign musicologists who study Ottoman music return to this issue equipped with an amount of information that is incomparable with that of the past and write comprehensive studies. As Owen Wright pointed out recently, "the specifi-

cally Ottoman tradition, which lies at the basis of present-day classical music in Turkey, can be traced back no further than the early 17. century" (Wright 1992: 284). We can conclude that Cantemir's remark has not been meaningless.

(iv) Basing the history of Ottoman-Turkish *makam* music on oral tradition may lead us to study the music of the élite community as if it was folk music. The history of Ottoman-Turkish *makam* music can only be written on the foundation of written material and to the extent that these sources allow us to do so. This means that orally transmitted material should always be evaluated with caution. Material based on oral tradition which is not verified by recorded sources cannot be considered to be historical fact.

(v) I am not arguing that we should completely ignore the repertoire of the oral tradition. It is not true to say there are absolutely no facts that we can infer from the oral tradition, but if they become the only reference point, mistakes become inevitable. From this point of view, there is a great advantage in placing the oral repertoire data within brackets, not in order to ignore them, but rather acting as if we have ignored them for some time.

Conclusion

Now that a historical study of Ottoman-Turkish music had already begun, it should be sustained. Why should it not be? First of all, there is an increased interest in the topic. Claiming without any consideration that it is impossible to write the history of this music, can again lead us back to the holistic historical perspective. If we compare the knowledge on musical history available in the early 20th century and at the end of the same century, we will see a substantial difference. However, historiography needs (metaphorically speaking) an "archaeological" examination similar to digging a well with a needle. Even an outline of the past, based on such a research strategy of putting the sources under the microscope, is more valuable than the fictional history that we have in Turkey today. Our first task should be to concentrate on the incoherencies of this fictional history. Examining every delusion and mistake in this so-called history and drawing attention to its contradictions, faults and gaps will pave the way for a new historiography. Some people have adopted formerly written texts without any question, spread faulty information and misdirected others after them, hence blurring history. Worse than that are those who distort the historical record deliberately, and such people should be detected and exposed. The historical perspective should be purged, not only of an attitude that tends to generalisations based on the oral repertoire, but also from ideological prejudices, legends, tales and superstitions. Thus, there is a dire need for a general cleansing. This can be put into practice only with effort being devoted to working on the "micro" level.

There are still many steps to be taken; the scarcity of material at hand and the inadequacy of the sources should not prevent us from thinking about a more convincing history of Ottoman-Turkish music. History books have never represented history itself or its factual existence. They are just the interpretation of history from individual perspectives. The important thing is to be able to think about history. Every work, even the smallest one, which leads us to contemplate the past is valuable. Generally, I believe all that can be said for historiography is also a valid statement for Ottoman-Turkish music.

Notes

(1) see Köprülü 1964: 649-650; in this anthology Köprülü provides the lyrics of a *buselik düyek şarkı* starting with the line "*Kerem kâni efendim gel gül yüze*" in *koşma* form and those of a *muhayyer aksak şarkı* starting with "*Hâlâ gönlüm bir güzelde*", both by Tanburî Mustafa. See also Ergun 1930: 56-57.

(2) I wrote the musical articles for *Türk ve Dünya Ünlüleri Ansiklopedisi* (*Encyclopedia of the Famous People of Turkey and the World*, published by Adam Yayıncılık) which started to get published in fascicles, during the year 1983. I wrote the Abdülali article, consulting Suphi Ezgi as a source. After the fascicle, which included this article, was published, Gültekin Oransay sent a letter to Prof. Oya Köymen who was the chief editor of the encyclopaedia. After having pointed out the anachronism in this article, he shared information about the biography of the composer showing some books as evidence and also interpreted this information. As I would not like this warning that is based on a serious examination to stay hidden in my hands, I transcribe the relevant part of the letter:

> [...] this manuscript which Suphi Ezgi took into consideration (Bağdatlı Vehbi in Süleymaniye 1002) consists of three parts.
> a) 64 folios from the beginning of the manuscript, which might have been copied from an older *mecmû'â*, encompass composers such as Ali Sîtaî, Usta Bayezîd, Cüneyd, Gazanfer, Hace 'Abd al-Qâdir (Merâghî), Rıdvan Şah and Şeyh Safa who are included in the collection) "*nevbet-i müretteb*" (in Nuruosmaniye) that dates back to the mid-15th century.
> b) In the next 78 folios, composers of the 16th century, among them Kastamonulu Mevlânâ Şavur (the writer of the *mecmû'â*), become prominent. According to the fact that Şaver, as Turkish literary historians call him, but who is also sometimes spelt as Şâbûr or Şâpûr in the collection, had died before Latîfî wrote his *tezkire* (biographical dictionary) in 953 AH, he must have lived in around the period of Süleyman I and Selim II. On folios 1-162 the name of Abdulali is never mentioned.
> c) Regarding the current folio numbers, 143-166. folios of the manuscript, the folio without an ordinal at the beginning, and the front face of the first folio, as it may be inferred, remained empty for seventy or eighty years and thereafter were filled with cramped and careless writings in the second and third quarters of the 17th century. In this part, the name Küçük İmam is mentioned once, Itrî four times, Nazîm once,

Koca Osman four times, Şerîf once, Şeştârî once, Hâce thirty five times, and apart from the latter also the name Hâce Abdulali ten times. It is not clearly known if the lyrics which are presented as being composed by Hâce, actually belong to 'Abd al-Qâdir or Abdulali. If we omit this, we confirm, briefly speaking, that in the third part of the collection that was written in the mid-17th century, there is one lyric each of which by Koca Osman and Şeştârî from the Murad IV period, one lyric of Şerif, who is known to have lived before 1650, and four lyrics of Itrî, one lyric of each by Küçük Mehmed and Küçük İmam from the Mehmet IV period. In other words, the fact that there are three lyrics from before 1650, and six lyrics from after 1650, proves that this part was written in the third quarter of the 17th century. My examinations of the collections of lyrics duplicated for my "Küğsel Yapraklar" series prove the given number of the compositions provide enough evidence.

Dr. Suphi Ezgi is a well-meaning, honest person but as a writer he does not have methodological understanding and his knowledge particularly falls short with regards to history. Hence in his theoretical compendium *Nazarî ve Amelî Türk Musıkisi*, after talking about 'Abd al-Qâdir who died in the period of Murad II, and Abdülaziz b. 'Abd al-Qâdir who wrote a book in the period of Mehmet II, Ezgi transfers the composers mentioned in the first two parts of Bağdatlı Vehbi's manuscript from the 16th century back to the 14th century, and separated Abdül Ali, without giving any reason from Itrî and Nazîm – who are mentioned together – and placed the former one hundred years earlier, at "the end of the period of Süleyman the Magnificent." However, as I have briefly explained before, when the manuscript is examined, it becomes clear that Abdül Ali was not a 18th century composer, but rather a 17th century one and even if he had led a long life (we have no information about his birth and death dates) at best he could have been only a baby during "the end of the Süleyman the Magnificent period."

The quotation that the encyclopaedia used as a source is cited from the second page of *Nazarî ve Amelî Türk Musikisi*, vol. 4. The part that exposed Ezgi's ignorance of history are to be found on page 262 of the first volume: "Based on the fact that Abdülaziz offered his work *Nekavet-ül Edvâr* to Süleyman the Magnificent, it becomes clear that this *mecmû'â* was written in the latter's lifetime. The existence of works ascribed to Itrî, Nazîm and Hoca Abdül Ali in a different chirography from the writing in the first part of the *mecmû'â*, might convince my readers that Abdül Ali appeared towards the end of the Süleyman the Magnificent period."

However, 1) the *Nekavet-ül Edvâr* was dedicated not to Süleyman, but to Mehmed II, forty years earlier, that is, in the second half of the 15th century. 2) As a result of this, Itrî and Nazîm, were also supposed to have "appeared at the end of the times of Suleyman the Magnificent".

We can see that the examination based only on the Bağdatlı Vehbi manuscript bears a clear result, considering the information about Ali Kulu's biography: Ali Kulu (Ali bin Nâsır bin Rahmet-ul Huveyzî) was a poet and a writer who died in 1643/1644 in Basra. He recited poems in Turkish, Persian and Arabic, some of which were composed by him. Ali Kulu called himself "Kel Ali" (Kelb-ü Ali) because he was a shiite, and again he used to call himself Abd-ı Ali in Persian and Abd-ü Ali in Arabic. He is known as an author of two books of commentary (*şerh*) on religion, other than his collected poems (*divan*).

Concepts of Western and Ottoman Music History

Ralf Martin Jäger

Preliminary Considerations:
Concepts and Institutions of Contemporary Music Research
in Germany and in Turkey

Today musicology, one of the core subjects of culture-anthropological and cul-ture-historical research, is extremely diverse. In Germany, the discipline has been conceptually developed principally by the *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung* (Musico-logical Society) whose foundation in 1868 in Berlin goes back to an initiative of the music scholar Robert Eitner (1832-1905). Since its reestablishment in 1946 by Friedrich Blume (1893-1975) in Kiel a variety of musicological disciplines have emerged which were (and are) represented by specific study groups. The researches focus on historically-oriented areas such as performance practice and interpreta-tion, but also religious music and studies on musical instruments, ethnomusicol-ogy and comparative musicology, sociology and the social history of music or sys-tematic musicology and gender studies. All major German universities have musicological departments where (ideally) the three major areas of musicology—historical musicology, systematic musicology and ethnomusicology—are repre-sented by specific professors. Outside the universities, a not insignificant part of musicological research is conducted by approximately 50 free research institutes. The scope of their work includes medieval studies at the Würzburg Bruno Stäblein Archive, the Digital Mozart Edition in Salzburg, the development of RISM in Frankfurt (Main) or the collecting and documentation activities of the German Folk Song Archives in Freiburg (Breisgau).

In Turkey, musicological research has found a place for over a century at uni-versities and state conservatories. *Dârü'l Elhân*—the first Turkish conservatory in the actual sense—was established in 1917 in Istanbul. The founding members in-cluded Cemal Reşit Rey (1904-1985) and Zeki Üngör (1880-1958) who were re-sponsible for *batı müziği* (western music). Influential music scholars Rauf Yekta (1871-1935) and Ahmet Irsoy (1869-1943), also founding members of the *Dârü'l Elhân*, were ground-breaking innovators in the study of traditional art music. In both areas of research, *Dârü'l Elhân* contributed pioneering work. It was here that the first and—until today—best edition of the *Türk Musikisinin Klasikleri* (Monu-ments of Turkish Music) was published under the guidance of Rauf Yekta Bey. As a conscious counterpoint to *Dârü'l Elhân* the *Ankara Devlet Konservatuvarı* (An-kara State Conservatory) was founded in 1934 in the new capital of the Republic of Turkey on the initiative of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938) and from the

suggestions of Paul Hindemith (1895-1963). This dualistic orientation of Turkish music research with its focus upon western and traditional art music originates in the Ottoman *Mızıka-i hümâyûn,* was institutionalized by the *İstanbul Dârü'l Elhan* and is influential up to the present day.

While an organization comparable to *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung* did not develop in Turkey as in Germany, there exists, in addition to the established professorships at universities and conservatories, some independent research and documentation centres such as *Osmanlı Müzikleri Araştırma Eğitim ve İcra Merkezi.* In addition, publishers like *Pan Yayıncılık* and foundations such as *Yapı Kredi Kültür Merkezi* promote individual projects. In accordance with the infrastructure that exists, much of the innovative research on traditional art music does not take place within a discursive university community, but was and is bound to the private initiative of individual researchers. Another meaningful difference, which is based on the diversity of concepts of musicological research in Turkey and in Germany, is revealed in a comparison of recent publications[1]: A majority of the current Turkish-language literature on music consists of biographies of musicians. The material most easily accessible for researchers are unrevised reprints of older writings on music theory, biographies and printed music as well as song text anthologies. Reference works are largely missing and general music histories, writings on music theory, as well as methodologically convincing studies on the history of music, are scarce. More recently there is increasing research on the history of music schools or other institutions related to music (such as TRT) rather than on music itself.

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Therefore a comparison between the musicological institutions conducting substantial research in Turkey and Germany, as well as a review of the current productions of music publishers, would show numerous conceptual similarities. However, one can also observe some substantial differences: Methodically and scientifically well-founded and source-based research of pre-1900 music and music history, which still remains the dominant field of musicological research (with great diversity) in the West, is extremely rare in Turkey.[2] Even major researchers' significant studies of prominent topics are merely case studies which, however, exhibit remarkable scientific and descriptive depth.

Nevertheless, is the concept of a source-based musical historiography not unfamiliar to Turkish music research? On the contrary, apart from music theory the demand for studying music history, the importance of musicians' identities (biog-

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[1]   I would like to thank Zeynep Helvacı (Würzburg) for providing an overview of recent Turkish publications on music.

[2]   Exemplary texts indicating different approaches are Ergan 1994, Keskiner 2009, and Kalender 1978. Even Recep Uslu's valuable book *Müzikoloji ve Kaynaklar* (2006) is in principle an annotated systematic bibliography concentrating on Turkish writings, while basic English literature is mentioned, fundamental publications in other languages have been neglected.

raphies) as well as the historical repertoire, is a first stage in the formation of modern Turkish musicology in the early 20th century.

As an example I would like to refer to the writings of Rauf Yekta, which clearly reveal his concept of Turkish historical musicology:

1. At the beginning of the musicological publications are biographical writings with personalised editions of selected opera. In 1318/1902 the first of three volumes of *Esâtîz-i Elhân* was released. It was dedicated to Rauf Yekta's mentor Zekâî Dede (1825-1897) who had passed away five years earlier. The second volume was published in the same year and dealt with ʿAbd al-Qâdir Marâghî (1353-1435) who, though active in the early 15th century, still bears the honorary title of "*hoca*" in the musical tradition of the 19th century and is considered a central figure in Turkish music history.[3] After a delay of more than two decades the third volume finally appeared, which was dedicated to Hammâmî-zâde İsmâîl Dede Efendi (1778-1846) (Yekta 1341/1925). Other planned titles in the series dedicated to Safiyüddîn Urmevî (ca. 1224-1294), Cantemir (1673-1723), Nâyî Osman Dede (1652-1730), Kazasker Mustafa İzzet Efendi (1801-1876), Hacı Ârif Bey (1831-1884), Hüseyin Fahreddin Dede (1854-1911) and Tanbûri Cemil Bey (1871-1916) remained unpublished.

2. The second research area within Yekta's musicological concept is characterized by his general *Music History of the Orient* (*Şark Mûsikîsi Tarihi*), published in 1924. This work includes chapters on the origin of music, the music of the ancient Egyptians, Assyrians, Phoenicians, Greeks and the Arabs and Persians. With this publication Yekta designs a counter-concept to the general European musical historiography and develops an evolutionary model that is a suitable vehicle to integrate Turkish music into a larger historical context.

3. The third research area consists of the classical editions *Türk Musikisi Klasikleri*, with more than 180 issues published by *Darü'l-Elhân* around 1926 under the guidance of Rauf Yekta, Ali Rıfat Çağatay, and Ahmed Irsoy. It is quite innovative for Turkish music publications when the editors claim in a programme note added on to the publications that: "Our establishment started to publish the beautiful pieces inherited from the most famous Turkish composers in order to conserve them. These publications are checked by a scientifically responsible council and found as quite correct" (Alaner 1986: 91). The reference to the (historical) validity of the printed pieces is also an indication of the fact that the editors at least proceeded from concern with the centrality of an *opus*, which favours a specific variant of a composition over other, "wrong", variants. The judgment quoted here is based – apparently – on written or oral sources.

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3   Yekta 1318/1902 (Reprints of Ahmed Mithat's, Nuri Şeydâ's and Necib Âsım Bey's earlier publications about ʿAbd al-Qâdir Marâgî as well as Yekta's explanations with the title *İfâde-i Mahsûsa*).

4. At the centre of Rauf Yekta's fourth research area is the study of theoretical and systematic musical issues. These works are also innovative and of importance for the development of modern Turkish musicology, for they develop an explanation of the tonal system and the resulting requirements of a notation system as well as outlining some analytical problems.[4]

The overall concept of Yekta's music-historical research is based, if we neglect music theory as a systematic discipline, on three pillars: composer, *opus*, and (latent) source. The same could also be observed regarding the music-historical model of Hüseyin Sâdeddin Arel, as he (as had Rauf Yekta) systematically collected historical, music-theoretical, and practical sources and evaluated them in his writings.[5]

A comparative model also forms the basis of modern European music research since its establishment in the late 18th century. Johann Nikolaus Forkel, the pioneer of the discipline, had already left a musicological oeuvre whose concept amazingly equals that of Rauf Yekta. These include a biography of Johann Sebastian Bach in 1802, the *General History of Music* from 1788 and 1801, the previously completed though – in the turmoil of the Napoleonic wars – never released classic *Monuments of Musical Art*, and *On the Theory of Music* published in 1777. The categories are identical. Or rather, they are identical up to this point, because further comparison reveals a significant difference.

Unlike Rauf Yekta or Sâdeddin Arel, Forkel had written an additional comprehensive inventory of musical sources which he published in 1792, totalling 540 pages. It is noteworthy that Forkel mentions not only the recorded titles, providing information regarding the composers, and cites the sources, but, at least for the listed music theory manuscripts, also specifies the owners of the collections.[6] Unlike in Turkey, the systematic documentation of music-practical sources evolved in Germany to become a central concern of musicological research.[7] Little more than a century after Forkel, Robert Eitner's *Biographic-Bibliographic Source Encyclope-*

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[4] Rauf Yekta Beys summarized his musicological knowledge, and especially his theoretical competence, in his pioneering article, "La Musique Turque", *Encyclopédie de la Musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire*, edited by Albert Lavignac and Lionel de la Laurence (1922:2945-3074).

[5] In this context his major writing *Türk Mûsikîsi Kimindir?* has to be mentioned, which, originally published as a series of essays, was edited in 1969 by Millî Eğitim Basımevi Devlet Kitapları in form of a book and has seen several new editions since then. Arel's remarkable collection remains largely unresearched in the library of *İstanbul Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü*.

[6] Johann Nicolaus Forkel, *Allgemeine Litteratur der Musik*, Leipzig, 1792.

[7] This statement does not refer to the different music bibliographies that exist in Turkey. Onur Akdoğu, *Türk Müziği Bibliyografyası (9.yy-1928)*, İzmir 1989, as well as Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (ed.), *Osmanlı Mûsikî Literatürü Tarihi*, Istanbul 2003, not only lists books on music theory and anthologies, but also mentions selected manuscripts with music notation. However, these manuscripts are not catalogued properly or in detail, and in many cases the information has been copied from older sources without verification and is outdated and obsolete.

Rauf Yekta	Johann Nikolaus Forkel
Biographic writings with included editions of selected works: *Esâtîz-i Elhân*, I. Volume, *Hoca Zekâî Dede Efendi*, İstanbul 1318/1902	*Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke*, Leipzig 1802
General *History of Oriental Music*: *Şark Mûsikîsi Tarihi*, İstanbul 1924	*Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, Leipzig 1788 and 1801
Selected *Monuments of Turkish Music*: *Türk Musikisi Klasikleri*, İstanbul ca. 1926	*Denkmale der musikalischen Kunst* (Due to war not published)
Music Theory and Notation: *La Musique Turque*, in: *Encyclopédie de la Musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire* I/5, est. by Albert Lavignac, Paris 1922, p. 2945-3074	*Ueber die Theorie der Musik*, Göttingen 1777
	Allgemeine Litteratur der Musik, Leipzig 1792

Fig. 1: Comparison of the publication concerns of Rauf Yekta and Johann Nikolaus Forkel

453   Scarlatti, Aless.

Arianna e Teseo. The favourite songs in the opera ... (ein Pasticcio von Galuppi, Cocchi, Jomelli u. Sc.). London, Walsh (1760). P. fol. [br. Mus.

Attilio Regolo, opera 112, dat. 1719. Ms. 309. P. [br. Mus. C. P.

Bernesca, op. in 2 a. (Napol. c. 1701.) Ms. P. [Brüss. Cons.

La caduta di Decemviri, 1698. Ms. 308. P. [br. Mus.

- La Caduta de' Decemviri. Dramma 1723. [Neapel Turch. Brüssel. Neapel: Napoli 1700.

Cambise, opera in 3 atti, Napoli 1719. Ms. P. [Neapel.

Ciro riconosciuto, opera in 3 atti. Roma 1712. Ms. 2351 Autogr. P. [Brüssel Cons. mit dem Verz. der Arien im Kataloge.

Clearco in Negroponte, op. in 3 atti. Ms. P. [Modena.

Excerpt from Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon*, Vol. 8, 1903, p. 453: Works of Alessandro Scarlatti (1659-1725), Operas.

1) Mîrâciyye (aşağıya bk.). - Mevlevî Âyîn-i Şerifleri: 2) Çargâh, 3) Hicâz, 4) Râst, 5) Uşşâk.- 6) Arazbâr Peşrevi (Ağır Düyek), 7) Beyâtî Peşrevi (Devr-i Kebîr) ve 8) Sâz Semâîsi, 9) Bûselik-Aşîrân Peşrevi (Devr-i Kebîr) ve 10) Sâz Semâîsi, 11) Bûzürg Peşrevi (Darbeyn) ve 12) Sâz Semâîsi, 13) Çârgâh Peşrevi (Devr-i Kebîr) ve 14) Dilkeş-Hâverân Peşrevi (Devr-i Kebîr "Dilkeş Devri"), 15) Evc-i Rûy-i Nevâ Sâz Semâîsi, 16) Geveşt Peşrevi (Düyek) ve 17) Sâz Semâîsi, 18) Hicâz Peşrevi (Devr-i Kebîr "Gül Devri") ve 19) Sâz Semâîsi, 20) Hüseynî Peşrevi (Fâhte Küll-i Külliyyât (b. bk.) yânî bütün makamları içeren peşrev), 21) Muhayyer-Sünbüle Peşrevi I (Devr-i Kebîr) (kendisi notaya almış: Osmân Dede, no.54, "Nigâr)" ve 22) Sâz Semâîsi (3 hâne), 23) Nevâ Peşrevi (Devr-i Revân), 24) Râst Peşrevi I (Darb-ı Fetih 4 hâne), 25) Râst Peşrevi II (Devr-i Kebîr "Gül Devri") ve 26) Sâz Semâîsi I "Gül Devri", 27) Râst Peşrevi III (Çenber "Dilârâ") ve 28) Sâz Semâîsi "Dilârâ", 29) Râst Peşrevi IV (Düyek "Dilâbâd) ve 30) Sâz Semâîsi III "Dilâbâd", 31) Segâh Peşrevi (Devr-i Kebîr) ve 32) Sâz

Excerpt from Yılmaz Öztuna, *Türk Musikisi Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 2, 2006, p. 165: Works of Nâyi Osman Dede (ca. 1652-ca. 1730).

Fig. 2: Comparison of the *Encyclopedias* of Robert Eitner and Yilmaz Öztuna

Fig. 3: Comparison of a *Darü'l-Elhân* publication with the manuscript source most probably
used by the editors

dia (1900–1904) is the apex of this field of research. Over a total of 10 volumes
and 4,792 closely printed pages he compiles the biographical data of all investi-
gated composers and theorists, lists their works and provides reliable information
on the locations of sources. It is this important detail, which distinguishes Eitner's
Source Encyclopedia from Yılmaz Öztuna's *Türk Musikisi Ansiklopedisi* (1990), since
both are otherwise fundamentally similar. The observation that in Turkey, which
has more music-practical sources than any other music culture in the Middle East,
has until today no systematic and methodologically adequate documentation of
the music-practical sources is substantial consideration for a deeper understanding
of the concepts of Turkish Musicology.

It could be due to this observation that in Turkey no satisfactory critical edi-
tions of sources have emerged so far. On closer examination this can already be
detected in the publications of *Darü'l-Elhân*: It is true that the editions in many
ways are very accurate and meet superbly the requirements of Ottoman art music,
such as through the consistent addition of the rhythms and the printed notes that
contributed to the underlying tonal system and the notation method. However, at
the same time the notations prove not to be accurately based on the underlying
source, but are rather a compilation of various hand-written documents, which
were moreover adapted and changed by the editors. From the perspective of
modern musicology *Türk Musikisi Klasikleri* does not meet the requirement to
serve as an authentic source for music research. Yet they have promoted the

emergence of a "Canon of Classical Works" and likewise pushed for the formation of a musical historicism in Turkey.

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Given the contexts outlined above there arise questions that are of fundamental importance for an understanding of the concepts of *composer*, *opus*, and *source* and thus for the central objects of study for any musicological research, even in Turkey. If Turkish musicology has not pursued research in the three sectors with comparable intensity as Western music research so far, this must not necessarily refer to a musicological deficit. It is rather likely that the concepts of composer, *opus*, and source are different in Turkey and thus a music-historical research would have to proceed not only on a different methodological basis, but also would have to develop fundamentally different issues.

The future of "Writing the History of Ottoman Music" will be substantially influenced by this problem. By means of select examples I will attempt below to develop the concepts connected with the music-historical parameters *composer*, *opus* and *source* in the Ottoman-Turkish context.

On the Concept of Composer

A "composer" in the Ottoman context is not an "original genius", who by himself creates anew. He is rather a person experienced in the musical tradition, who – within certain rules – through the combination of basic elements of form, rhythm and melodic models, creates a new derivation. This derivation passes on to the transmitting community who continue to compose and revise coequally with the composer and adjusts his original "derivation" to ever-changing aesthetic standards.[8]

Within this concept it is possible that a specific composition, whose author has been forgotten over the course of time, was later revised by another composer, under whose name the piece was then handed on. An informative example of this process is the historic transmission of the *irak elçi peşrevi, usûl düyek*.[9]

The earliest known version was passed down by Cantemir, who wrote down the notation around 1700.[10] This most famous variant was made known to the public by Haydar Sanal (1964:234-236) and is still performed today. Kantmiroğlu handed down the "work" without mentioning the name of a "composer".

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[8] Ludwig Finscher (1973) mentions that, on the contrary, in Western music history during the 18th century the place of *tradition* or the context of transmission from one generation to the next was overtaken by the new concept of *genius*, which means no less than a change of paradigm.

[9] For a detailed analysis see Jäger 1998.

[10] Cantemir, Demetrius: *Kitâb-ı 'İlmü'l-Mûsıkî 'alâ Vechi'l-Hurûfât*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, Arel Kütüphanesi Nr. 2768, fol. 165 (original numbering).

This "composition" for *mehterhâne*, whose author was already unknown in 1700, passed down over the 18th century into the repertoire of the *ince sâz*. The oldest currently known notation of this new variant is found in a Hamparsum manuscript, which was owned by Nayi Ali Dede.[11] An analytical comparison would demonstrate that this variant of *irak elçi peşrevi* has been substantially changed in terms of musical time, *makam*-realization and form, but is nevertheless based on the variant, transmitted by Cantemir. For an understanding of the *composer*-concept, however, another detail is important:
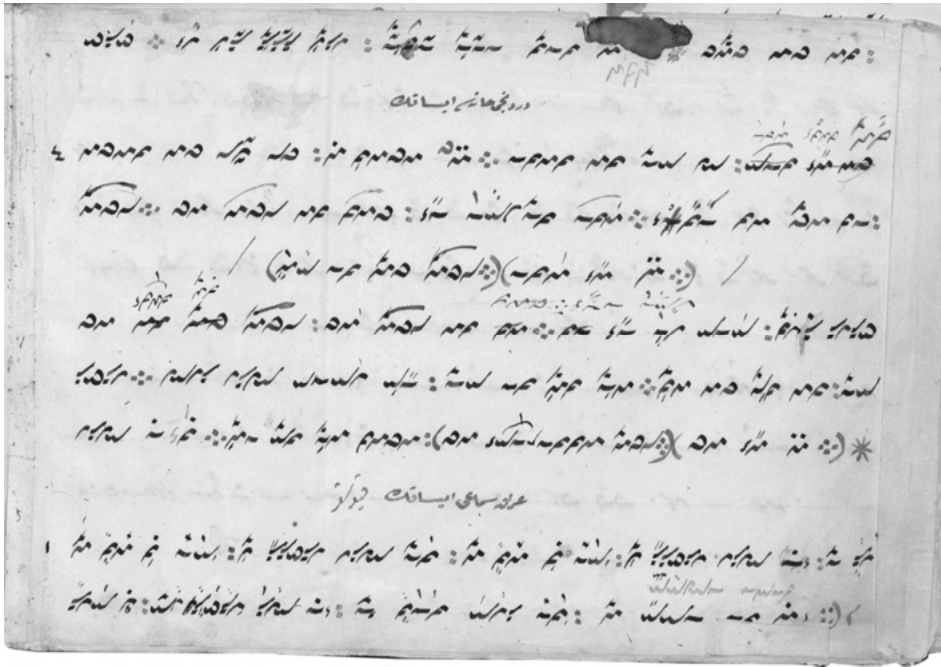
Fig. 4: Istanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, Y.211/9, fol. 16 [*irak elçi peşrevi, usûl çifte düyek*] – *dördüncü hane İsakın*

Tanbûrî İsak, who died in 1814, is referred to as the composer of the fourth *hâne*, which is missing in Cantemir's variant, and may probably be regarded as the originator of the whole variant which was written down before 1820 by Hamparsum himself.

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[11]   The manuscript belonged to the collection of *Dârü'l-Elhân* and is today owned by *İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi*, sign.Y.211/9. *Irak elçi peşrevi, usûl çifte düyek*, is found on pp. 14-16.

The following notation from the time of Kemânî Tatyos Efendi (1858-1913) shows how inseparable the name of the composer is connected with the *peşrev* in the later tradition:[12]
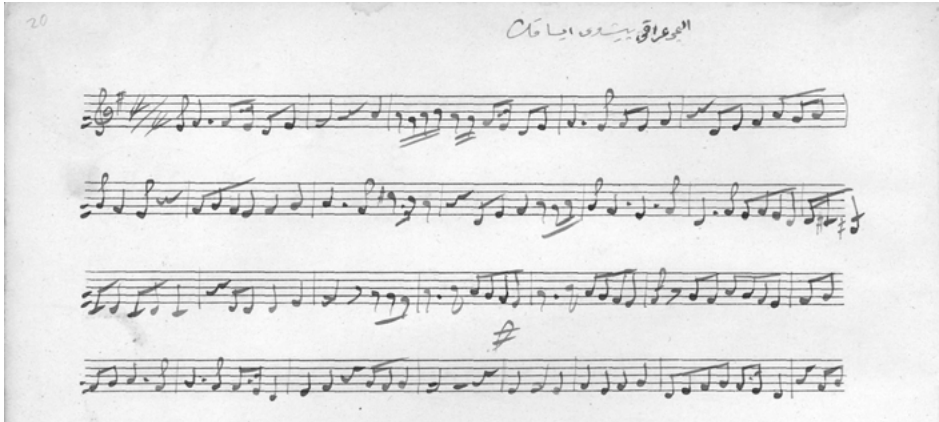
Fig. 5: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Münster, Ms.or.2, fol. 20 – Beginning of *Elçi irakî peşrevi*, *İsakın*

Here the entire piece is attributed to Tanbûrî İsak. It is quite interesting that in this late notation the fourth *hâne*, i.e. the only part completely composed by İsak himself, is entirely missing. There are indications that the mentioning of the composer's name is originally intended to give a composition on its way through the transmitting community a particular weight. After 1850 a second element is added: the awareness of a personal style that distinguishes the individual composers.[13] This concept can be further enforced. The Istanbul composer Raşid Efendi (1820-1892) is probably the first to systematically hand down his own compositions in manuscript form.[14] Through their transcription they somehow gain an

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[12] Today the manuscript belongs to the collection of Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Münster, sign. Ms.or.2. The contents represent the late 19ᵗ century Istanbul instrumental repertoire with a mixture of historical and contemporary compositions, among them many works of Tatyos Efendi.

[13] A good example is available in MS Ankara, Dil ve Tarih Fakültesi, 38726, which was originally owned by Mahmud Celâleddin Ef. (1839-1899) and collects together the instrumental repertoire of the *Mevlevî* in *hamparsum-notası*. The manuscript contains two *bestenigâr peşrev* by Nûmân Ağa (ca. 1750-1834), one of which was written in the "style of Nakşi Dede [-1854]" (p. 88), while the other adopts the "style of Salin Bey [-1885]" (p. 89). The still outstanding detailed analysis would reveal that the two "styles" in fact are two variants of Nûmân Ağa's *peşrev* and represent two performance branches which were initiated by the named interpreters. Feldman (1996:450 ff.) describes a similar phenomenon regarding the attribution of a *nihavend peşrev*.

[14] One of the first "personal" manuscripts of Raşid Efendi is *İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi* Y.216/14, which contains 24 of his instrumental works (Jäger 1996a). The other and far more important manuscript, Y.212/10, was catalogued in 1996 (Jäger 1996c:xlix-lii), but could not be found again in March 2004, when the manuscript collec-

authoritative form; the composition thus advances from "diversion" to a "personal derivation", in some cases even to an "individual piece of art", which is separate from the collective transmitting community. This process, which takes place against the extremely complex background of the general transformation of Ottoman art music and the Europeanization of music, means nothing less than a paradigm shift. This also refers directly to the understanding of the concept of the "composer" on the part of Lem'i Atlı and others during the late period of the Ottoman Empire and the early Republic. But even in the (early) 20th century a Turkish composer never assumes the function of a musical creator in the Western European sense.

On the Concept of Opus

The detection of the concept of the composer in Ottoman art music has already made clear that the understanding of a musical *opus* is entirely different from the Western concept. All examined notations of the *elçi irakî peşrevi* however different they may be, are variants of the same. They form a quasi-field of musical criteria that define whether a variant is appropriate or not.

I define the concept related to the term *opus* as follows:

1. The *opus*, here the *irak elçi peşrevi*, has in its earliest variant a characteristic, but not an individual basic form (as handed down by Cantemir).
2. On the fundament of the basic form many variants arise. The *transmitting community*, but also *composer personalities* take a changing hand in the transmission of the *opus*. They adjust it to the respective aesthetic demands.
3. The variants may not be arbitrarily performed – even if they are within the limits of the systems of *makam* and *usûl*.

The product, resulting from these three points, I would call "*opus*-cluster". In the centre of the cluster is the basic form, surrounded by many variants that however are never arbitrary. The boundaries of the cluster result from aesthetic and interpretative guidelines in the way they are represented by the transmitting community. The concept of the "*opus*-cluster" characterizes Turkish art music culture until today, even if the borders of the clusters are becoming narrower and, particularly influenced by the media, more specific performance variants are established as binding.

The "*opus*-cluster" has nothing in common with the classic European concept of a musical work of art.

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tion moved from *Istanbul Üniversitesi Devlet Konservatuarı* in Kadıköy to the present library in Beyazit.

The understanding of both the Ottoman concept of "composer" as well as that of "*opus*-cluster" is fundamental to answering the question regarding what relevance a source of musical practice can have for current research in the field of Ottoman art music and what is expected from the study of the sources. The discussion of this question might also explain why Turkish music research thus far is documenting primarily the historical music-theoretical as well as textual sources, but is still, with the exception of the writings of Ali Ufkî and Cantemir, neglecting numerous existant music manuscripts.

On the Concept of Source

To say it right away: The term "source" is not a category for the practice of traditional Turkish art music. This seems to be due to the oral tradition, which considers many variants within the "*opus*-cluster" as equivalent and does not require the written fixation of a more or less binding variant, i.e. the production of the source. On the other hand such a process of codification is contrary to the often mentioned premise, significant for Islamic-motivated cantillation, that performances should always (or whenever possible) occur anew.

These guidelines have already influenced the editions of *Darü'l Elhân*. The *House of Melodies* has never started a critical edition of the complete works of a composer, but limited itself to the publication of a consciously non-critical classic edition.[15] Future research must contribute to create a novel access to existing, but not yet examined, music-practical sources. This requires not only the systematic indexing of these writings' contents in an inventory of musical sources and the development of critical transcription methods. Independent approaches, which reflect the characteristics of the Ottoman sources, have to be developed, while existing methods and concepts of European music research can be used in only limited and special cases.

For this central paradigm shift I would like to give some suggestions.

On the Scribe of the Source

In European art music, at least since the beginning of the modern era, it is the composer himself who writes down an increasingly authoritative variant of his

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[15] To mention this again: In an advertisement the editors claim that they publish the works of "the most famous Turkish composers in order to conserve them" and that the edited versions "are checked by a scientifically responsible council and found as quite correct" ("*Müessesemizin en meşhur Türk bestekârlarından yâdigâr kalan nefîz eserlerin ziyâdan (kayıpdan) muhâfazası maksadıyla bunların selâhiyetdâr bir Hey'et-i İlmiyye tarafından (yetkili bir kural tarafından) gayet sahih (doğru) notalarını tab ettirmeye (yayınlamaya) başlamış*", see Alaner 1986:51. It is not the source but the judgement of the editorial board that is the decisive factor for the character of the printed version.

works. Led by a conductor, the musicians intone the work to the exact specifications of its composer. This context is different in Near Eastern art music, where, as shown previously, the work is of a diverse character. The scribe is usually a musician or composer, who selects his preferred variant of the "*opus*-cluster" and writes it down. But in fact there is evidence that the selection of the variant can follow testable concepts. A characteristic example is a *peşrev* of Ahmed Bey, which is transmitted both by Ali Ufkî and Cantemir:
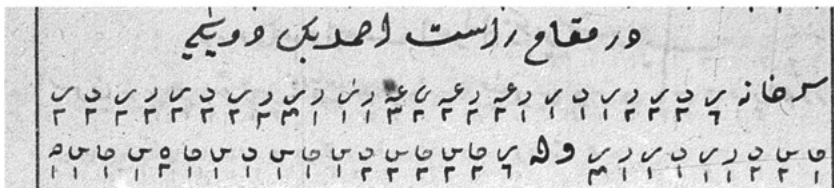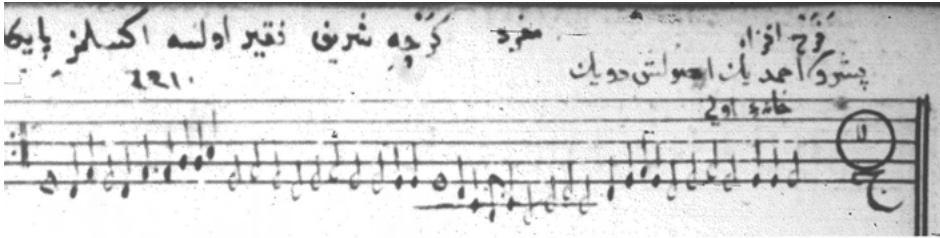
Fig. 6: Comparison of Ali Ufki, Sloane MS 3114, fol. 110r (No.221) – *peşrev-i farah afzâ* [*der-makamı rast*], *Ahmed Beg, usûleş düyek* (upper figure) and Cantemir, p. 59 (fol. 96r) – *der makâm-ı râst Ahmed Beg düyek'i* (lower figure)

In addition to the remarkable similarities some substantial differences can be determined.[16] The most striking difference appears first at the very beginning of the *peşrev*, when Ali Ufkî writes down a 4-tone rhythmic repetition phrase (duration structure 2-1-1-2), while Cantemir noted a long tone with an overall duration of 6 beats. Comparing the two variants, it is striking that Ali Ufkî quite frequently uses the 4-tone phrase at positions where Cantemir prefers sounding long tones. Obviously Ali Ufkî wrote down the variant of a *santûr* player with numerous repeated tones. Cantemir at the same place records the variant of a *ney* player with long sustained notes. Since he could play both the *ney* and the *tanbûr*, it may be assumed that Cantemir preferred the *ney* for the intonation of this particular *peşrev*. This observation will also open perspectives for historical performance prac-

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16   It has to be noted that Ali Ufkî and Cantemir choose different initial tones for the beginning of the melodic line and it is not impossible that they have different understandings of the *makam* structure. However, a closer analysis reveals that both variants clearly show the characteristics of *rast*. This means, that "*farah afzâ*", a later addition to the title, is an attribution of the *peşrev* meaning "mirth increasing" and has nothing to do with the *makam ferahfeza* which was derived in the later 18th century by Seyyid Ahmed Ağa (ca. 1728-1794).

tice. If they were indeed instrument-specific variants, it is possible to combine both notations, and provide a performance score.

Furthermore, even in a superficial review of the existing manuscripts it should be noted that at least 19th century writers often copied existing notations. A typical example is offered again in two notations of *irak elçi peşrevi*:
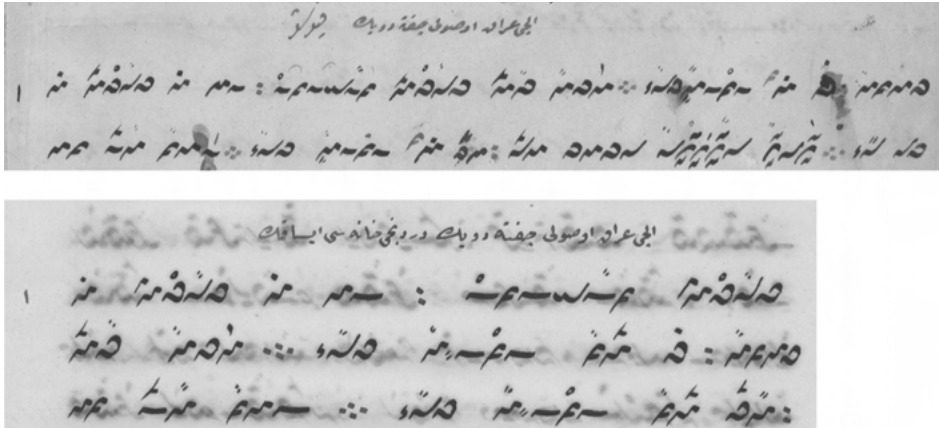
Fig. 7: Comparison of Y.211/9, fol. 14 – *irak elçi peşrevi, usûl çifte düyek* (upper figure) and
         Y.205/3, fol. 35 – *irak elçi peşrevi, usûl çifte düyek, 4. hâne İsak* (lower figure)

Comparing the two sources it can be stated without doubt that Y.205/3 has been copied from Y.211/9. During this process the rhythmic errors or inaccuracies in the "secret notation" from Y.211/9 have been corrected by the copyists of Y.205/3 in both manuscripts. The additional entries in pencil in Y.211/9 reveal the use of the manuscript and provide a reference for music practice. In the showpiece-manuscript Y.205/3 they are missing.

The comparison of the sources provides evidence that each notated variant of an *opus* has an individual character. It is this parallel transmission of variants within the "*opus*-cluster", which accounts for the peculiarity of the Ottoman sources. It is not the search for the "original text", i.e. the binding form of the *opus*, but the determination of the synchronous individual variants which could be a central point of investigation in the study of these sources.

The associated methodological concept differs fundamentally from the approaches and aims which had been developed for research and documentation purposes, and ultimately for the creation of critical complete editions of European music of modern times.

On Notation Methods

It has long been known and extensively researched that diverse methods of notations have been used for the transmission of Ottoman art music. There are studies,

such as a remarkable work by Ruhi Ayangil (2008), pointing out the technical capabilities and shortcomings of different methods. Cem Behar's studies on Ali Ufkî engage with these aspects,[17] as well as Yalçın Tura's, Eugenia Popescu-Judetz's or Owen Wright's considerations on Cantemir and his work.[18] These technical aspects inherent to the system limit the writer's precision in transcribing a pre-existing performance variant. However, this limitation is not a deficit, but rather an intentional component of the notation: The notation method, always developed against the background of the perspective of a specific music culture, is capable of writing down exactly the musical parameters that seem to be essential to the developer of the notation.
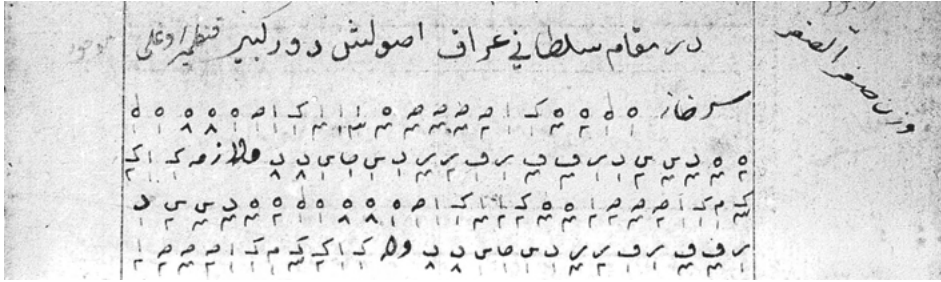
Fig. 8: Cantemir, *Kitâb*, p. 152 (fol. 143v) – *der makâm-ı sultânî-'ırâk, usûleş devr-i kebîr, Cantemir* (Detail view)

A glance at the details clarifies the concept related to the notation method: The notation uses letters and numerals to write down the quality and quantity of the tone on two interconnected levels. The method parallels the one used already in the 17th century to write down the *usûl*s. Cantemir's notation is appropriate to notate the course of a melodic line in parameters of pitch and rhythm.

The notation method of Hamparsum Limonciyan, a century later, is based largely on the same conception that Cantemir used: quality and quantity of the single tone are notated on two interconnected levels. *Hamparsum-notası* proves to be a method that emerged in the context of older Ottoman notations. However, it differs from Cantemir's notation in important details: instead of letters and numerals, it uses abstracted graphical signs (derived from Armenian *khaz*-notation) which are combined into groups of equal duration. It develops additional signs for the graphical depiction of the groups. More important is the dif-

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[17] In most of Cem Behar's publications the problem is discussed, see Behar 1990, 2008.

[18] Yalçın Tura (ed.), *Kitâbu 'İlmi'l-Mûsîkî 'ala vechi'l-Hurûfat*, 2 vols., Istanbul 2001. Owen Wright, *Demetrius Cantemir: The Collection of Notations*. Part 1: Text, London 1992b (*SOAS Musicology Series*, Vol. 1). Eugenia Popescu-Judetz, *Dimitrie Cantemir, Cartea tiin ei Muzicii*, Bukarest 1973, and *Prince Dimitrie Cantemir. Theorist and Composer of Turkish Music*, Istanbul 1999, but also her publications Popescu-Judetz 2002, and Popescu-Judetz & Sirli 2000, touch on the problem.
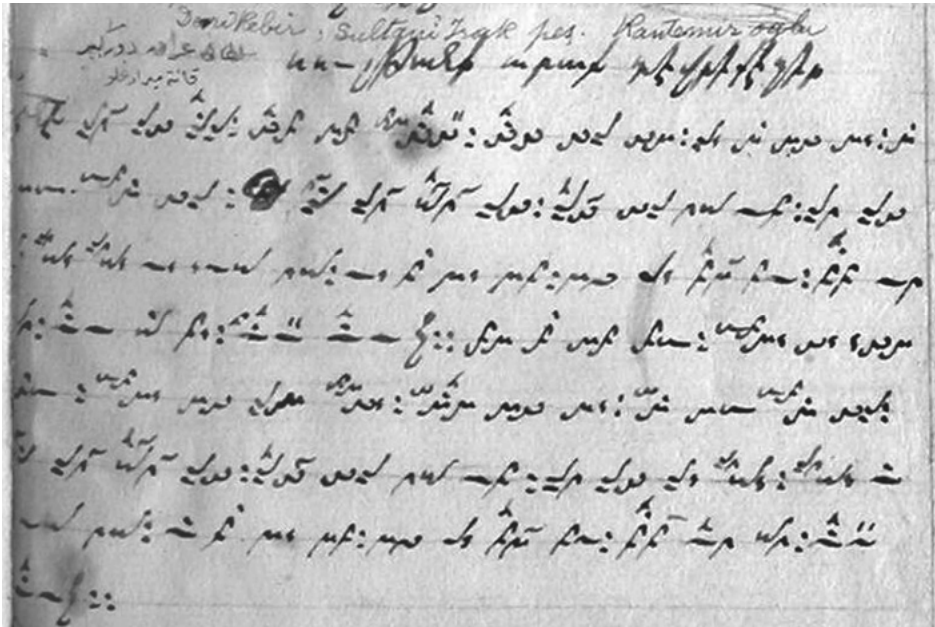
Fig. 9: Y.203-1 (Y.86-01), fol. 1 – *Sultani arak devr-i kebîr* [*Cantemir*] – (Detail view with transcriptions of the title by Refik Fersan [Ottoman writing] and Suphi Ezgi [Latin writing])

ferentiation in major line and additional tones, which complement the melodic line in the form of grace notes. Moreover, Hamparsum's notation allows the notation of rests for the first time. It is also suitable to write down performance details to a limited extent, along with the melodic line (Seidel 1973/74, Jäger 1996b:235-270).

A third notation method should be mentioned, which has been used in the Ottoman context as well, but is (until today) unresearched in Turkish musicology: the post-Byzantine, Greek neumatic notation as it was used in the 18th century by Greek musicians such as Petros Peloponnissios [turk. Hırsıs Petro, Tanbûrî Petros] (d. 1777).[19]

Both the notation and the notes focus entirely on details other than the two Ottoman methods. Tanbûrî Petros did not write down the single tones of the melodic line, but rather their melodic flow in intervals: neume notation emerged to set a music which serves to deliver texts. Thus, only a part of the signs notates the melodic progression and its rhythmical structure, while another – for instance the 7 *Achrona* – captures the style of performance and indicate rest, tremolo, sforzato, mordent, legato, the intonation of a caesura or the "humming" of a tone.

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[19] A useful description of the notation in the context of Greek music theory of the 18th century gives Popescu-Judetz & Sirli 2000.
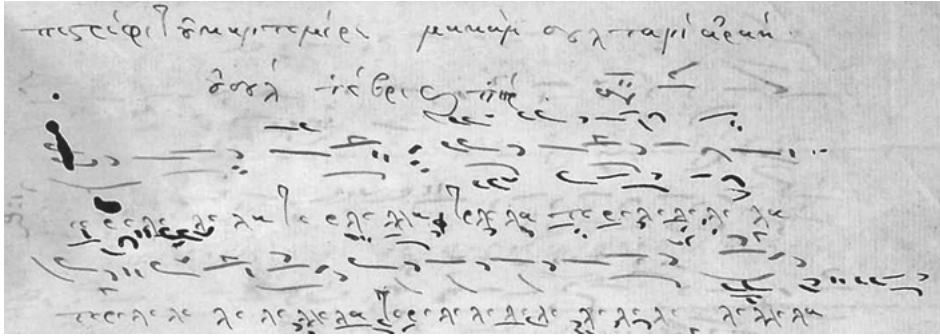
Fig. 10: Gritsanis Ms. 3, fol. 14r (Petros Peloponissios): *pistrífi tô kantemira makám sultaní árák ûsúl dévri k[e]bír* (Detail view)

The manuscript of Tanbûrî Petros presents a second feature in most of the notations, as the pieces are written according to the vocal *peşrev* style, which was already cultivated in the older Persian music culture.[20] Neume signs are accompanied by onomatopoeic textual phrases, allowing a vocal performance of the instrumental pieces; a practice still current among Turkish musicians in the mid-18th century, though not documented in available sources. At the same time the binding of the neumes with the performance of a text is retained.

* * *

It has to be briefly mentioned that the concept to be developed for the evaluation of a piece of notation written with a diversity of methods will find it difficult to draw on previous writings concerning European music research. The notations can offer more than just providing three different perspectives on Ottoman art music. In the case of Cantemir's *sultânî irak peşrevi, usûl devr-i kebîr*, they represent substantially different historical versions of the composition.

It has been shown in individual studies, independent of one another, that Ottoman art music changed fundamentally in regard to musical time, realization of *makam* and musical form between 1700 and the beginning of the 19th century.[21] Research can now, on the basis of music-practical sources, be extended to the processes of change, by investigating the stages of transmission from 1650 (Ali Ufkî), 1700 (Cantemir), 1750 (Tanbûrî Petros) and 1815 (Hamparsum) onwards. It is by the way interesting to ascertain that the variants transmitted in the records of Hırsız Petro, according to the current state of deciphering, are remarkably closer to that of Hamparsum than to those found in Cantemir's autograph.

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[20]   For pointing out this not unimportant detail I thank Eckhard Neubauer (Frankfurt/M.).
[21]   Wright 1988, Feldman 1996:303 ff., Jäger 1998.

Conclusion

In the present study many research approaches used in the past few years had to be neglected. Written and printed historical sources of European origin have, for instance, become available thanks to Bülent Aksoy's (2003) research activities. However, many unknown and interesting details from European sources have not yet been discovered.

Documents from Viennese archives, for example, give the names of the *ince sâz* musicians in the pay of Great Ambassador İbrahim Paşa who played for distinguished guests in the Habsburg metropolis during the years 1699 and 1700:
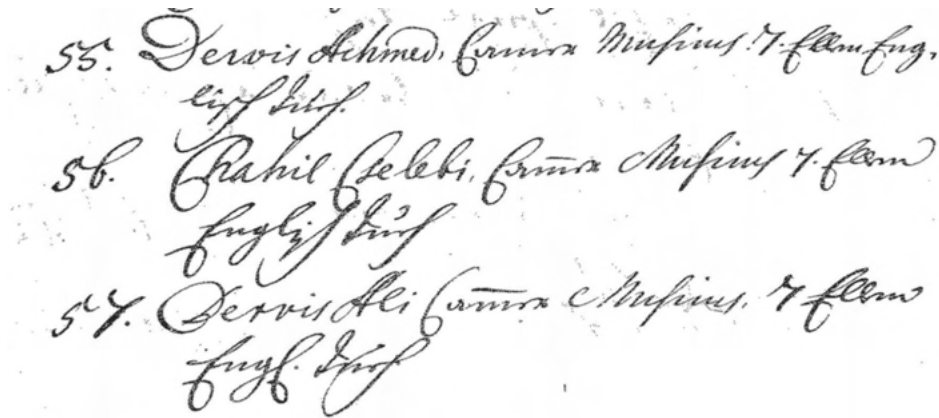
Fig. 11: Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Wien, Türkei I (Turcica. Alter Bestand), Karton 175 (1700 X – XII, Varia), Konv. C: Turcica 1700, Varia & s.d., fol. 138r – 142v: *Entwurff* [//] *Wie die Türckhische Groß Pottschafft bey ihrer abreiß von hier zu beschenckhen sein wirdt*, here: fol. 141v-142r. (Detail with the names of *ince sâz* musicians)

The complete list gives the names of five musicians:

"[...] *Dervis Achmed*, Camer *Musicus* [...], *Chahil Cselebi*, Cammer *Musicus* [...], *Dervis Ali* Cammer *Musicus* [...], *Mechmed Agà* Camer *Musicus* [...], *Sachin Cselebi*, Camer *Musicus* [...]".

In combination with other records it can be reconstructed that the *ince sâz* ensemble İbrahim Paşa brought to Vienna consisted of *santûr*, *rebâb*, a *hanende* who plays *def* and *bendir* and two *ney*. The information is not only of relevance for the reconstruction of Ottoman music ensemble types of the early 18th century or for the research on Ottoman musicians, but also for a better understanding of the knowledge Europeans could have had about Ottoman music at that time. Apart from the spectacular *mehterhâne*, the *ince sâz* might also have exerted a certain degree of influence at least in Vienna, an issue which has not been considered so far.

The evaluation of the ethnographical literature,[22] the ethno-scientific litera-ture,[23] numerous archival resources from East and West (see above), or private writings unintended for publication,[24] is by no means completed. The same is true for the documentation of the oral tradition, whose significance for the histo-riography of musicology in societies with an important oral tradition should not be underestimated.

This paper has focused mainly on new concepts of research related to music manuscripts. The most urgent tasks of Turkish musicology are:

1. Indexing each one of the single notations that have been handed down in a re-liable catalogue,
2. Developing methods for the critical transnotation of diverse notation practices,
3. Publication of the extant manuscripts as single critical editions.

The substantial printed repertoire that grew since Hacı Emin should also be in-dexed in this way.

The future of "Writing the History of Ottoman Music" will depend on the de-velopment of new approaches. Scientifically viable questions and conceptions in-dependent from Western musicology should be developed, in order to finally be able to plumb the depths of Ottoman-Near Eastern music's history on the basis of the entire body of source material still available today.

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[22]   For example Schweigger 1608, Niebuhr 1774.
[23]   For example Toderini 1787, Sulzer 1781:430-454.
[24]   For example the biography of Süleyman Fa'ik Efendi (1784-1837).

Thoughts and Suggestions on Writing Turkish Music History

Ruhi Ayangil

Overview

The endeavours to systematically write Turkish music history began in the late 19th century. We can see that these struggles became more and more evident as empires disappeared from history, thereby ceding the way to nationalism and the establishment of nation-states. This is particularly the case given the political and socio-cultural transformations and developments of the 19th century when the gradual dissolution of the Ottoman Empire under the influence of European imperialism assumed a distinctive and dominant role.

It is possible to categorize these political and socio-cultural transformations and developments into two issues: echoes of the struggles to weaken or destroy Ottoman-Turkish culture in North African countries that emerged in the course of British and French colonization can be seen in the works of writers such as Hatherly, Kiesewetter, Voilloteau and Baron d'Erlanger in their contributions to musical theory and history. The common ground for all these works is that they emphasized Arab and other nationalisms in their musicological approach (among other techniques) over the Ottoman Empire, thereby excluding and ignoring the existence of Turkish music. The adoption of this and other Western approaches and perspectives led to the result that today in the contents of musical history books among subtitles such as "Music of the Far East", "Oceania", "South America", "Africa", "the Middle East" and so forth, it is almost impossible to find information about Turkish countries and dynasties and their music – in other words Turkish music – that dominated Asia, the Middle East, North Africa and Europe for centuries.

On the other hand, as a result of the Europeanization taking place around the same time (to be concise, in 1826, during the reign of Mahmud II), a "East-West" binary opposition was engendered, with a notion of "degradation by Turkish hands" whose implications are still evident today. This development has delayed the emergence of pioneering work on Turkish music.

Pioneers of the re-establishing of Turkish musicology include Rauf Yektâ Bey, Sadettin Arel, Subhi Ezgi, Muallim İsmail Hakkı Bey, Ali Rifat Çağatay and Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal. Their works on theory, musicology and history are the first national examples of a modern approach to musicology. The works in this field were affected by multi-faceted and multi-dimensional scientific issues and coincided with a socio-political period of turmoil during which the Ottoman

Empire dissolved and the Republic of Turkey was established. The fact that the government's preference favoured Western music, in both the Republican period as well as during the Ottoman Empire, has caused an interruption of tradition and thus the latter's destruction.

   The basic cultural preferences of the Turkish Republic (1923) and the resultant approach to the educational system that excluded all issues of Turkish music as well as its teaching, has remained an unresolved problem to this day.

Issues and their Practical Perspectives

The issues experienced in writing a qualified Turkish music history can be categorized under these headings:

Terms, Definitions and Terminology Issues Associated with Periodization

a) Nomenclature

Designations like Ottoman, Seljuk, Ilkhanat, Gaznavids etc. are the proper names of the dynasties that established a specific government, hence they imply a limited periodisation when these dynasties appeared on the scene of history. Hence, a nomenclature based on using their names cannot be regarded as true in terms of historical authenticity. The attribution "Ottoman Music" only encompasses 622 years between 1300 and 1922. If the goal is to write a Turkish music history, it must also include the time before and after that period (correct example: "Music in the Land of the Seljuks" [Uslu 2010]). The main drawback of the nomenclature is the result of the founders of the Turkish Republic's ideological rejectionist approach which was cautious about the distinction between "Pan-Turkism" and "Ottomanism". In particular, during the last 30 years writers who think of themselves as "left-wing" or "liberal left-wing" perceived and promoted the attribution of something being "Turkish" as an extension of a chauvinist nationalism. This does not mean anything other than the attempt to overshadow the scientific field with political and ideological concerns. The only ideological principle of every scientific endeavour including the science of history is "rationalism." Apart from that, the general designation "Turkish music," refers to an elite cultural designation such as "Russian novel", "French cuisine", and "American cinema." Similar attempts to establish a nomenclature emerged after the first years of the Republic. However, consistently avoiding the term "Turkish," they instead used terms such as "Music of the Divan poetry" (*divan mûsikîsi, divan küğü*), "Music of the theoretical treatises" *(edvâr mûsikî),* "Alaturka music" *(alaturka mûsikî),* "traditional music" *(geleneksel müzik),* and lastly "Ottoman music" (excluding folk music sub-distinctions in an incomprehensible or slightly incomprehensible way), and espe-

cially *makam*-based Turkish music (*makam temelli türk mûsikîsi*). On the other hand, there are no acceptable scientific arguments for the insistent use of a designation such as "Ottoman music". Comparable examples include "History of Turkish art"; "History of Turkish literature"; "Turkish architecture"; "Turkish calligraphy" etc.)

b) Definitions

Defining an area, a topic or a problem is only possible with a correct designation. Incorrect or missing designations are the most important obstacles before correct identifications of the area/topic/problem. From an outside perspective, a definition is a form of description that is a direct result of a "correct identification" and thus helps to generate a correct perception. Evident examples are Tanbûri Cemil Bey and Selim III who are mistaken for Arab musicians in Baron d'Erlanger's *La Musique Arabe* (1930-1959). The correct title of the work should have been *La Musique d'Orient*. Other examples are the connection between Sumerian Music and Turkish Music, or the Systematist Tradition and their representatives, etc.

Correct nomenclature: subsections of the general *Eastern Music* should be "Turkish Music of the Seljuk Empire period"; "Turkish Music of the Ottoman Empire period"; "Turkish Music of the Republic of Turkey". Definitions should be made accordingly.

c) Issues of Periodisation

Specifically some recent writers on music made efforts to apply such Western academic musical distinctions as classical, romantic, and modern to Turkish music, and imitating these categories by resorting to a periodization of Turkish music such as the "early classical", "late classical", "romantic" and "reform" eras, all of which are based upon presumptions without scientific criteria. These concepts have been turned into encyclopaedic knowledge and included in the educational system. Designations related to this periodisation are imitative; the definitions are unscientific, even ridiculous.

Methodological Issues Concerning Identification and Interpretation of Sources

Writing an accurate music history cannot be achieved without general historical methodological rules. Thus, before anything else, we need to classify the sources, interpret them, organise them chronologically. For these tasks we need an "absolute fidelity to historical methodology" (Togan 1981).

The sources related to Turkish music can be categorized as:

a) Written Sources

1. Iconographic sources:
   Relics, mural paintings, frescoes, gravures, miniatures and so forth (e.g. Hümâyûnnâme, Van Moure, Levnî).

2. Manuscripts as primary sources:
   Author manuscripts or replicated texts specifically related to music (theory manuscripts (*edvâr*, *risâle*), lyric collections (*güfte mecmû'âsı*, *cönk*), notation books, letters, memories, e.g. *Makaasıd'ül elhân*, *Hâfız Post Mecmû'âsı*, *Kevserî Mecmû'âsı*, *Hamparsum* notations etc).

3. Manuscripts as secondary sources:
   The sources indirectly related to music are in this category (e.g. tax census registers, poetry collections (*dîvan*s, *cönk*s), histories, biographical dictionaries (*tezkîre*s), *menâkıb*s, *vefiyyatnâme*s etc).

4. Printed primary sources
   Sources specifically related to music, especially those appearing after the introduction of the printing press (before and after the introduction of Latin script in 1928, e.g. *Hâşim Bey Mecmûası*, the notations of Notacı Hacı Emin Efendi (1845-1907), *Esâtîz-i Elhân*, *Hoş Sadâ*, *Türk Mûsikîsi Antolojisi*, theory books, magazines & musical sheet publications etc.)

5. Printed secondary sources
   Again, the sources indirectly related to music which were printed after the introduction of the printing press (before and after the introduction of Latin script in 1928, e.g. the *Seyahatnâme* of Evliya Çelebi, *Atâ Tarihi*, history of Turkish literature etc).

6. Auditory, visual and communication technology sources
   These include phonographs, gramophones, photographs and technological products available after the introduction of motion pictures, which are indirectly/directly related to music.

7. Incorporated here are personal and institutional archives, music sheets included in collections, books, photographs, vinyl records, collections of instruments (e.g. Arel Library, *Dârü'l Elhân* archive, E. Üngör collection etc).

b) Oral Sources

Oral histories such as sagas, stories, tales, memoirs of prominent figures, anecdotes, interviews, surveys, video records.

c) Interdisciplinary Approach Regarding the Comprehension and Interpretation of Sources

1. Need for a basic musical education: It is necessary to have experts who have graduated from master or PhD programs in musicology and who are familiar with research techniques that can determine the quality of the sources.

2. Need for Languages: Apart from English as the most important language here, the knowledge of a second Western language is necessary, in addition to Turkish, Ottoman, Arabic-Persian, Greek, Armenian, Kurdish, Chinese and Russian.

3. Need for co-operation with experts in relevant fields: Besides music, co-operation with experts in turkology, archaeology, sociology, anthropology, geography, theology etc. is necessary.

4. Need for institutional organization: An international and autonomous "Turkish Music Research Centre" should be established.

5. Need for inventory and information network: An inventory-information network is necessary to make it possible to identify national and international sources and works, especially those bibliographical works which will determine the Turkish music corpus.

6. Need for publications: It is necessary to have publications accepted in international refereed periodicals and non-periodicals.

d) Problems Caused by Subjective Approaches:

Information about Turkish music history appears in general as a totality of inferences ridden with subjective opinions and judgments. Beyond information, documents and analytical thinking Turkish music history has been framed by a (sometimes paranoid and largely ideological) perspective which is prone to heroic discourses and narratives, mythologiations, even fictive scenarios where the inferences are not supervised and scientific discourse is uncommon.

"Disloyalty to the document is essential." A few examples: *rast kâr-ı nâtık;* abridgements made for *Mevlevî âyin*s and other compositions; Fârâbi's *peşrevs;* years of birth and death of some composers*; meşk* chains; Ali Ufki's *ırak ilâhî* etc.

History is a science based on facts. Scientific writers should have sincerity, honesty, impartiality, and respect for scientific and general ethics (Gökyay 2007; Erdem, 2010).

Conclusion:
An "Essay of Contents"

Turkish Music History

Introduction: Information about Turkish music history's place in General Eastern Music, its geography, sources, basic features, similarities and differences regarding the music of other cultures and the influences it has exerted or received.

First period:

A) From its initial periods until the adoption of Islam
B) From the adoption of Islam until the conquest of Istanbul
C) From the conquest of Istanbul until 1829 (the founding of *muzıka-i hümayun* [the Imperial Military Band])

Second period:

D) From 1829 until today (incl. the Republic Period)

Under these main categories general accounts can be given concerning the sub-categories of folk music, urban music, religious music, military music, educational music.
   Further sub-categories include (in accordance with which centuries they belong to):

– theoreticians and their recommended tonal systems, *makam*s, *usûl*s, forms (for every era);
– composers, lyricists, performers (together with their biographies, works, composing techniques, performance characteristics, regional styles etc);
– instruments (technical features);
– teaching methods (master-student, *meşk*, musical notes, notation methods, etc.);
– characteristics of style (*tavır*, *üslûp*) (for every era and region);
– educational institutions;
– performance methods and venues;
– bibliography, discography, compilation notes examples etc.

As a result of such categorization, we can achieve a comprehensive work on Turkish music history. Hence, by means of abandoning a subjective perspective on musical history which is determined by an oral tradition, and focusing on sources of a written culture, based only on scientific research, it is certain that we can attain the intended objective result.

Neither Dates nor Sources:
A Methodological Problem in Writing
the History of Ottoman Music

Ersu Pekin

Endless reasons could be put forward to justify why a study of any artistic field calls for the necessity to analyze the work of art. First of all, one needs to understand that it is the work of art (e.g. a composition) that gives an artistic field the reason for its existence. However, within the context of "Ottoman Art," what is the uniqueness of a work of art? We need to answer this question in order to determine the methodology for history of art that includes music. A structural analysis of a work of art allows us, on the one hand, to gain knowledge about that art and thus compile data while, on the other hand, comprehend the relationships and interactions involved as the works of art progress through time. The writing of history of art depends on the possibilities of examining the relationship between works of art and time.[1] The question that this article thus dwells upon is: Is it possible to conduct a historical study in the field of Ottoman music based on works of art, hence on compositions?

The notion of work of art refers to the artist him- or herself. However, in Ottoman culture the artist who "creates" a work of art does not seem to be a subject of a particular domain, since such a particular "creative domain" did not exist.[2] Everyone in contact with the society who ended up in the role of an Ottoman painter (*musavviri*, *nakkaş*), calligrapher, architect, poet, or composer creates his or her works of art according to the *a priori* aesthetic rules of their respective artistic field. We can say that the work of art is the result of these aesthetic rules, and not the other way round. Therefore we cannot anticipate the change of meaning in a work of art, its renewal and its variations. In Ottoman arts the criticism of a work of art by another work of art or its positioning against another one was never an issue. Conservation instead of change, repetition instead of renewal, and refinement instead of variation are the qualities that define the parameters of a work of art. Critiques remain in a competitive framework of fine/coarse and secret/open. Competition did not intend to develop a new aesthetics containing new meanings by means of criticism, but rather to improve, to increase the existing beauty and excellence. At this point the fundamental question should not be the "crea-

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[1] I refer to time, not in the sense of rhythmic characteristics, which are part of music's inner dynamics, but as defined by the science of history.

[2] In addition, it is necessary to deal with the concept of the "creative artist" in the context of Ottoman culture. As it is beyond the limits of this article, for now it is more appropriate to only mention this epistemological subject.

tive level" of a work of art. The question is about the relationship of a given work of art to all the works of art preceding it and about the artist's resources and sources. The meaning of a work of art will – possibly – be found in the elements of information one receives whilst searching for the answer to this epistemological question.

The relationship between music and composition, between the composer and the performer, has to be seen in this context. The correlation between composer and performer implies that the performer is also considered among the creators of a work of music. This implication is correct. The grounds on which this article is based on include the fact that the creative process can be endlessly sustained through performance, an issue I will touch upon later.

Please allow me to state this right from the beginning: I see it as necessary to emphasise the distinction between art/music itself and the writing of its history. Both fields should not intermingle. An attitude which might be right and perhaps necessary in music, might lead the researcher/historian in researching and writing history of music along the wrong path and to incorrect conclusions. From this perspective I need to underline that our research of music only refers to the field of "Ottoman music history". My aim is to point out a problematic area on the methodology regarding the research and writing Ottoman music history. An engagement with history cannot be one-dimensional. Archaeology, for instance, with its methods of excavation, tries to understand civilisations erased from cultural memory long ago by looking at de-contextualized objects and putting them in relevance with similar findings. This is one of dimensions of history. Another one emerges by the observation that the recent past, which lives on in the cultural memory of particular groups – possibly relating to a given group's violent history or political history – has a unifying function. Another dimension related to this article's topic would be: certain groups, in spite of the "floating gaps", believe that Ottoman music is still alive, and for that reason alone we have to consider this music in the framework of "communicative memory".[3]

Taking a word which used to refer most of the time and in most places, from Asia to Middle Europe to special peoples, in a different period of time to nations, or at again different places and times and loaded with ideological connotations for races, and making it the adjective of a vague noun phrase that is "Turkish music", carries a potential to create prejudices especially in historical studies.[4] Many articles written under the heading "Turkish Music History" could not escape the trap of this definition, which compels writers to be biased. In the light of social ruptures caused by economic, military and political reasons many writers had the desire to take the notion of "Turkish music" under protection, as if music would

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[3] Regarding the concepts "*floating gap*", "cultural memory" and "communicative memory" see Assmann 2001:51.

[4] For a discussion of the notion of "Turkish music" see Aksoy 2008:133-138. For a discussion of the problem of the roots of Turkish music see Aksoy 2008:139-156.

have suffered from such ruptures as well. To be able to speak historically about compositions created in a cultural environment characterized by religious and cultural diversity, however, might require an objective approach. Moreover, when we talk about what we call the "Ottoman" period, we obviously talk about the past. When we look at a certain period in history, at a certain geography and at the people from this period who jointly created certain developments, aren't we simultaneously constructing a cultural framework? Looking at music first-hand and analysing the features of a composition can only be achieved by remaining within the boundaries of this cultural framework and staying away from ideological and political concerns.

* * *

Compositions in Ottoman music are data that are transmitted through an oral transmission from the master to his/her apprentice.[5] Whilst this description appears to be correct considering the form of teaching and transmission, it comes up short when the music itself is at stake. It evokes the fallacy that there was another way of transmission but that oral transmission was only chosen from other options. In fact, the Ottoman mentality enabled the existence of a composition only through its performance. For a composition no other form of representation existed, such as writing, or to use musical terminology: notation. A composition, just like a work of art in any other artistic field, exists only through itself. However, this basic question only becomes visible in art forms with a difference between the "creator" and the "performer" of a work of art . For this reason we will not refer here to art forms such as painting, poetry, calligraphy, or sculpture, where the works of art are created by the artists themselves. Architecture, however, reminds us of music in this context; just as architecture requires executive masters, music would not exist without an instrumentalist and a singer. Architecture, like music, does not require a written schematic plan to represent its product.[6] The difference between architecture and music is that the building is finished once the master builders have completed it; even if there are interventions later, the work's initial state is fixed. In music, however, performers repeat a composition by changing it endlessly according to their own aesthetic understanding. The composition of art is thus forever open to alterations. However, the society[7] does not permit boundless changes and prefers to control the parameters of change. One way to do this is to create methods for educating those who produce the composition, in other words by teaching art students by the means of *meşk*.

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5 In his repeatedly reprinted book Behar (2006) emphasized the importance of oral transmission with the *meşk* as method of teaching.
6 On this subject see Köksal 2009:28-40.
7 When I refer to this abstract notion of "society," it evokes a set of values which belong to people ranging from sultan to peasant.

Meşk

Meşk is a method that is practiced in music as well as in calligraphy. In calligraphy, by definition, writing is compulsory, but there are no written rules about calligraphy's *meşk*. In music as well in calligraphy the relationship between master and apprentice, teacher and student, the one who gives the *meşk* and the one who receives it, is characterized by concepts such as talent, hard work, competence and commitment that all indicate an esoteric structure. Today we can speak about an authoritarian formation in this context; one cannot even think about stepping out of what has been taught. No student would have this intention anyhow. What catches one's attention is that both fields are *spontaneous* arts: the "practicing artist" creates these arts by him- or herself in the very moment. The student who fulfills the *meşk* of calligraphy receives from his or her teacher a certificate (*icazetname*) and thereby commits him- or herself to not changing the new writing of the calligraphy. Music has to be like that as well! Although we do not have any information regarding the existence of a written certificate for the field of music, to receive the master's *meşk* should serve as a guarantee for the protection of the music's structure. The fact that the calligrapher is the one who writes the Qur'an – a practice bound to very strict rules – and has his/her signature under his/her works is the evidence that he or she carries the responsibility of his or her works in front of the society and the whole history by means of the lineage of the *meşk* he or she belongs to. Although in music no signature can guarantee that a given music is definite and fixed, the student who accomplishes the *meşk* accepts his or her responsibility towards his or her master and the art.

Is a musician who makes this promise really able to remain loyal to the commitment of protecting the structure of the music? Does not, in fact, a method, which relays a collective memory prone to amnesia already entail transformation? Jean-Jacques Rousseau believes early languages "were first sung with melodies and emotional languages" and claims that "the writing which seems to be determined by language is something that affects it; it doesn't change its words but its way of thinking, and replaces narration with accuracy" (Rousseau 2007:22). It is obvious that a notation that aims to write down all subtleties of a composition as much as possible also fixates this work as such. Moreover, the musical notation is a compulsory means for a European composer who wants his/her composition to be played as he/she imagined it, is something unavoidable when composing a *polyphonic* orchestral work. Mesut Cemil, who claims that the writing, the notation "is only something consisting of half signs that help musicians who work with an educated ear and auditory methods to express something" deplores the loss of the musical works that were not notated with the words "how great would it have been if only some more of Şeyh Abdülbâkî Dede's compositions would have been written down" (Cemil 1940:125-130). This is the articulation of the sadness of an artist, Mesul Cemil, who played a very important role in the formation of music in the

20th century, when looking at the state of music history and the lack of sound re-cordings of compositions. Besides that, I assume that he is of the opinion that the character of music as performed live necessarily implies changes. How can it oth-erwise be explained that his composition, *nihavend saz semâ'isi*, was constantly played in different versions by musicians, including himself? These were the words that a music-loving friend. He replied in a radio programme in which Hafız Os-man, accompanied by Tanburi Cemil Bey, performed a *hüseynî gazel* starting with the line "*Her zaman bir Vâmık u Azrâ olur, alem bu ya!*" ("There is always a lover and a maiden, this is the world"), continuing that "for some musicians the *makam* be-comes a heavy burden on their back, given which they can barely walk. And there are such musicians who climb on the back of the *makam* and walk away lightly […] Tonight, perhaps, the musicians are the cavalry on the back of heavenly horses!"[8] Let us continue with Rousseau who speaks about language that gains life through speech and which, once written, would lose its musicality: "If you think that ac-cent marks [in the text] can substitute for the emphasis in the sound, you're mis-taken. The stress marks were found when the emphasis in the sound had already disappeared" (Rousseau 2007:27). The beginning of the practice of writing inflicted some losses that affected both music and language, each of which were developed by humans to express themselves and exercised by means only of bodily talents (such as, for instance, articulation). Music in Ottoman culture was not notated, because – similar to jazz musicians – no one was willing to accept such loss.

Amongst the notations of the same songs, which were written during different periods of time, we can detect an increasing elaboration in the newer ones. This development cannot be limited to changes in their external form. Nayi Osman Dede (1652-1729), in his work *Rabt-ı Tâbirat-ı Mûsıkî*, wrote that he titled his *risale* with musical terms "binding and definition" following the suggestions of his friends. The network of the sheikh of the *Mevlevi* lodge in *Galata*, Nayî Osman Dede, which comprises musicians of that period were concerned that music could be corrupted and believed that the correct musical information (*makam, şu'be* etc) should be written down by experts. According to Osman Dede, it would be neces-sary to consult the books of ʿAbd al-Qâdir Marâgî (d. 1435) as a source.[9] Obvi-ously the persistent structural changes in the music disturbed Osman Dede and his network, contemporaries of Cantemir (1673-1723), who themselves introduced a new perspective to the theory of Ottoman musical culture.

By means of *meşk*, it becomes possible to transmit a composition to the follow-ing generations. Apart from its vertical formation that has been continued dia-

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8   Taken from a talk given by Mesut Cemil about Hafız Osman on Istanbul Radio. This was
     published in the first volume of a two series CD album under the title *Gazeller*, arranged
     by Cemal Ünlü (Kalan Müzik, CD067, Istanbul 1977). Furthermore, it was broadcasted on
     a program that Bülent Aksoy made for Mesut Cemil: Musiki Arşivi Programı (Açık Radyo,
     30 April 2006).
9   Akdoğu 1991:8-9, 16-18, 42, 48.

chronically, synchronically speaking a composition also finds other settings of performance in different societal networks. The most common and prevalent venues for performance are gatherings (*meclis*) and the *Mevlevi* lodges. The gatherings (*meclis*) that the Ottoman higher classes and refined people assembled was another formation which had its own rules due to its ceremonial quality[10] and social positioning, although they did not adhere to a strict discipline like *meşk*. On the one hand, a "vocational" training was practiced by means of *meşk*; on the other hand, the presence of music in Ottoman culture became widespread on a horizontal level through the gatherings practiced in every strata of society. The place where music compositions lived was this point of intersection where vertical and horizontal platforms overlapped. These numerous intersections formed in time and space (*zemin ü zaman*) justified the structural changes in compositions.

Constant Reproduction

The composer, who submitted his/her song to this legitimate field, started an open-ended process of reproduction.[11] This process had the potential to anonymise the composition over a period of time. For example a composition created in the 17th century which reaches the 20th century, becomes so estranged from its original form that we cannot detect its traces and initial qualities and it gains a cumulative quality. The reasons are due both to its transformation over time and the separation between the differing styles. Both the structural elements of all performed "older" compositions that have been obtained in the intervening period, and the "new" composed structural characteristics are accepted. The process of constant regeneration that enables this accumulation, results in the loss of the original source. Although this constant regeneration could yield different and efficient outcomes in terms of the inner dynamics of the music, this brings about a deficiency which is a matter of concern for a historian: the original form of the song gets lost and we are confronted with a "lack of sources." The old composition after giving birth to a new one disappeared. We thus also face a state of being timeless, a situation in which we have to comprehend these compositions in the context of Ottoman musical accumulation – that burns to a cinder – synchronically. The concept of being "original" in Ottoman music can only exist in the context of this "cinder," not in specific compositions. Because the original form of the

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[10] For more details on the cultural structuring of the play, consult Huizinga 2006.

[11] We should not overlook the fact that "re-creation of a composition by the performer" formed according to a traditional societal structure and devoid of a personal style at first reminds one of the *open work* (*opera aperta*) of Umberto Eco. As I mentioned above, because an artist can perform a song in a "narrow area" which was limited by aesthetic rules that only exist alongside the preconceptions of the given society means that we cannot talk about "freedom" in terms of the song and its performance. This terminology does not belong to the Ottoman musical field.

composition has disappeared, we cannot compare it with its new form. Yet, an analogy applied to other fields of art may be useful in defining how changes of imagery in Ottoman art have affected the concept.

Structural and Functional Transformation

Fig.1 a-b: Nakkaş Osman encountered Western European painting methods based on *raccourci*, which systematizes the front-rear relation in paintings (perspective). It was imported by Bellini during the period of Mehmet II the Conqueror and afterwards introduced in Istanbul along with the paintings of the Veronese school. Nakkaş Osman acknowledged the style, but did not adapt it. He chose a method suitable to the old traditions (we do not know whether such a choice was made in music, but we have evidence of such a method dating back as late as the 19th century). One of the sultan portraits in *Zübdetü't-tevârih* (The Essence of the Histories) – all of them painted by Nakkaş Osman – is this portrait of Murad III (1574-95), dated 1583.

Konstantin Kapıdağlı was an artist who worked in the palace and painted many portraits for Selim III (1789-1807). 220 years after Master Osman, miniature art was no longer exercised and painting methods were completely altered. Meaning was no longer sought by being based on a depiction painted on a surface in two dimensions, rather it was sought in the creation of a third dimension that did not exist merely in two physical dimensions. Although we can perceive a difference in iconographic features between these two pictures, the structure that is used in the depiction of the concept of the royalty remained unchanged. The things that changed were the structural features of the imagery. Since the time of Abdülhamid I (1774–89), the function of painting also changed: it was taken out of the pages of books and transformed into objects that were publicly exhibited and hung on walls.[12]

The Transformation of the Appearance of Composers

Fig. 2a-b-c: In 1720 circumcision ceremonies were held for the children of Ahmed III (1703-30). The ceremonies continued for fifteen days and nights and took place in Okmeydanı and Haliç. The conductor of the *fasıl*, which was performed a few times during the festival, was Burnaz Hasan Çelebi (Enfî Hasan Ağa, poet Hulûs). I recognized Burnaz, who was in charge of music affairs, by his characteristic nose in the paintings of Levnî and İbrahim in two copies of the *Surname* written by Vehbi. In these artworks Burnaz was sitting in the front, facing the *fasıl* ensemble and conducting the *fasıl* with a *def* (framedrum) in his hands. When we

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[12] For Ottoman works of art cf. Anonymous 2000; Bağcı et al. 2006.

Fig. 1a: 1583: "Sultan III. Murad", Nakkaş Osman, miniature, *Zübdetu't-tevârih* (TİEM 1973) fol. 88b.

Fig. 1b: 1803: "Sultan III. Selim", Kostantin Kapıdağlı, oil painting on canvas (TSM 17/30).

Fig. 2a:1720:
"Burnaz Hasan Çelebi / Enfî Hasan Ağa", Nak-
kaş İbrahim, miniature, *Surnâme-i Vehbi* (TSM
A3594) fol. 80a.

Fig. 2b: 1720:
"Burnaz Hasan Çelebi / Enfî Hasan Ağa",
Levnî, miniature, *Surnâme-i Vehbi* (TSM
A3593) fol. 115b.

Fig. 2c:
The second half of the 19th century:
Performer: Hacı Arif Bey.

compare the pictures of two musicians who worked in the palace, Burnaz Hasan Çelebi, who was in the palace pantry (*kiler koğuşu*), and Hacı Arif Bey (1831-85), who gave music lessons to slave women (*cariye*) in the palace of Abdülmecid and was a member of *Muzika-i Hümayûn*, we have the opportunity to see differences apart from those involving their respective appearances.

Transformation of Attire

Fig. 3 a-b: It is interesting to witness the transformation in a sultan. Mahmud II (1808-39) always exercised revolutionary changes on himself first which would in turn change the wider society: even his style of beard changed.

The Road Leading to the Transformation of Music

Fig. 4a-b: The event that had a significant effect on music was the abolition of the Janissary bands (*mehterhane*) together with the Janissaries in 1826. I put two pictures side by side. One of these was painted in 1720 and the other one 100 years later. But this transformation should not be taken as a process that happened gradually, but rather it was a "shock" that happened over a very short time. In fact, the event did not directly affect the music of "civilian" life, instead the fact that music was influenced by this change should be attributed to changes in Istanbul lifestyles.

"Modernization" of Lifestyles

Fig. 5a-b-c-d: The fact that Sultan Abdülmecid (1839–61) moved the government's administration building from Seraglio Point (*Sarayburnu*) (on the historical peninsula) to the opposite side of the Golden Horn and Pera where foreign embassies were located, to the Dolmabahçe Palace which was built by Garabed Balyan, is a good indicator of the changes in lifestyle in Istanbul. The Golden Horn that physically separates the European side of Istanbul in two, formed a boundary between two different cultures: firstly, the south of the Golden Horn where old Istanbul is located and traditional culture still survived and, secondly, Beyoğlu or Pera where "modern" lifestyles started to affect the lives of Istanbul's Muslim society. Western European, and specifically French architectural style (İrepoğlu 1986), was studied during the Ahmed III period and was applied extensively only after the mid-19th century in Istanbul.

Returning to the topic of musical historiography, we can say that if we would examine the compositions that reached today in terms of performances, this examination would not be different from examining Abdülmecid's Dolmabahçe
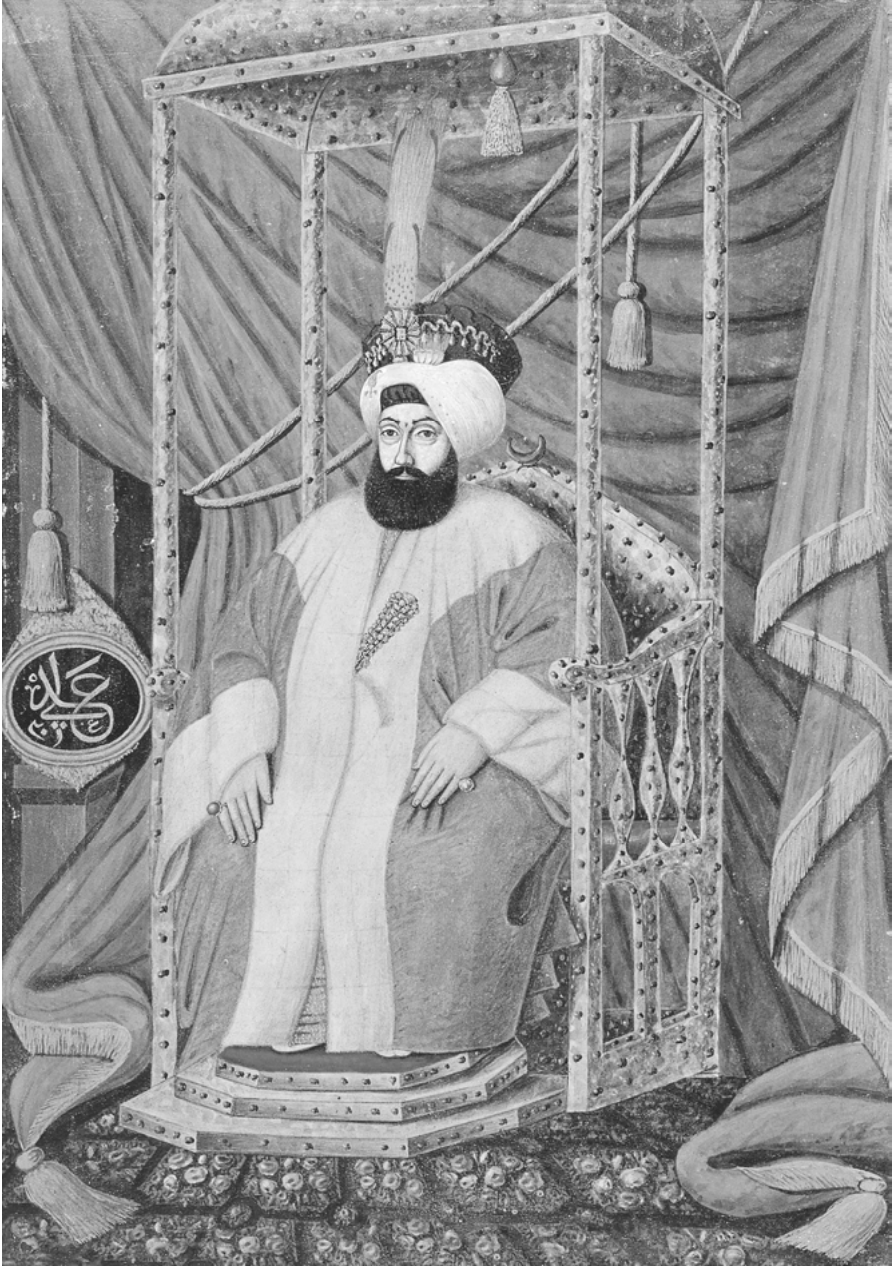
Fig. 3a: Before 1829: *Sultan II. Mahmud*, anonymous, gouache painting on paper (Suna-
İnan Kıraç Collection).

Fig. 3b: End of the 19th century: *Sultan II. Mahmud*, Wilhelm Reuter, oil painting on canvas (TSM 17/36).
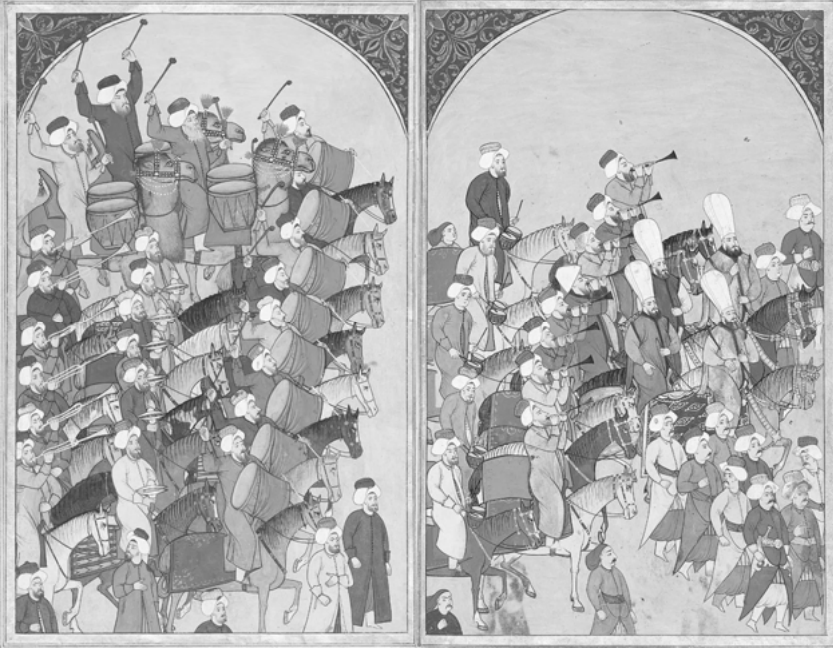
Fig. 4a: 1720: "Mehterhane", Levnî, miniature, *Surnâme-i Vehbi* (TSM A3593) fol. 171b–172a.
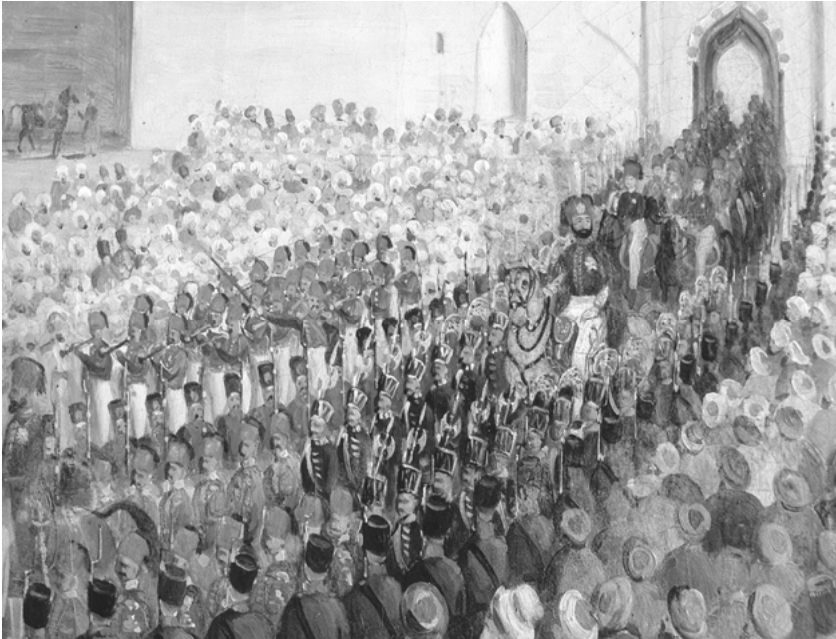
Fig. 4b: First half of the 19th century: "Muzika-i Hümâyûn", *Selamlık Alayı*, detail, François Dubois, oil painting on canvas (İRHM).

Fig. 5a: From the 15th century: Topkapı Palace. The buildings seen in front of the palace were constructed by Fatih Sultan Mehmet. Today a large portion of the Ottoman treasury is exhibited in the palace.

Fig. 5b: 1856: Dolmabahçe Palace. It is an example of an architectural style that the Ottomans were trying to adopt until the mid-19th century.

Fig. 5c: 16th century: Topkapı Palace "Bâbü's-selâm". A plain middle pe-
    riod work.

Fig. 5d: 1856: ornate door of Dolmabahçe Palace, Luigi
    Querena, 1875, oil painting on canvas (private
    collection).

Palace, which came into service in 1856, in order to find results on the Topkapı Palace, which was constructed from the mid-15ᵗʰ century onwards after an initiative of Mehmet II.

The Work of Ottoman Music History

Are the written sources such as the existent theory books (*edvâr*) and the collections of lyrics (*mecmû'â*) able to fill the gap that exists due to the loss of sound? The answer to the question is negative. The *edvârs* provide information about *makam* and *usûl*. If we look at the state of musical scales over time with the help of information found in *edvârs*, and syntactical changes of notes – if there are any – we could attempt to find the original form of compositions. However, the results that we would achieve would certainly be debated. It is also possible to come across texts like Cantemir's that can bring new perspectives to the issue and help us to discover the musical practice of his time. But none of these enable us to find the original composition. Needless to mention, the *mecmû'âs* consist merely of poems. Perhaps they can help in the detection of the repertoire, but it is not possible to find the music itself in these books.

For the project of writing a history of art, which necessitates both a chronology and analysis of compositions, we have to face an anachronism and an absence of compositions as a methodological problem. Although they harbour many other questions, the musical content in the "written compositions" that Ali Ufkî Bey and Cantemir bequeathed to us are the first written documents of Ottoman musical works of art.[13] We need to examine them, perform them with all available musicological insights and discuss them. But we should not forget that the education of the musicians who performed these songs was acquired from musical knowledge that reached today by changing over time. In studies about Ottoman music history we need not only theoretical works but also the performances of artists using their individual styles and with a musical sensitivity. I believe that the musical interpretations will become richer with time, given the stylistic differences between the performances of Yalçın Tura and *Bezmara* and, in a different category, the performance of the *Ayangil Orkestra ve Korosu* (Ruhi Ayangil Orchestra and Choir). Restricting the researches to only some styles of interpretation impoverishes the data generated. It is the sensitivity of the artist that will bring the music that is hidden in the notation to the surface.

I do not know if we can discover information about a musician of a period that tradition brought to us. But I know we should search for this information. I pre-

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[13]   For the songs in these books to be indubitably correct, they need to be performed. Naturally we do not have any idea about how they were performed at the time. If the fact that Ali Ufkî played *santur* and Cantemir played *tanbur* leads us to assume that this was a factor that effected the form of their respective notations style. As their contemporary performances are a matter of assumption as well.

sume that advancing by combining the original musical work, the "cinder" paradox and methods of musicological historical research may shape theoretical studies. But, as a first step, cataloguing in a virtual space every version of the compositions at hand along with their existent performances will enable a researcher to reach the material at any given time. Although it would not take us to the original song, the examination of sources that are outside the musical context, like chronicles, *sûrnâmes*, *divans*, would help us to establish a societal context for the music and provide us with pictures of lost musical instruments. It would help minimize our lack of information. Linking the concepts which are obtained from different branches of art allows us the possibility to grasp concepts from the Ottoman mind-set. I am convinced that the interrelation between Ottoman musical compositions will be more comprehensible by recourse to interdisciplinary studies in terms of being "intersemiotics."

It is obvious that Ottoman musical history cannot be written only on the basis of compositions. But, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that we need to develop a specific method that re-defines composition.

2.
Periodization of Ottoman Music

From Anatolian *Edvâr* (Musical Theory Book) Writers to Abdülbâkî Nâsır Dede: An Evaluation of the History of Ottoman/Turkish Music Theory

Nilgün Doğrusöz

When we look at the adventure of a history of Turkish music, the first person who comes to mind is Rauf Yekta. In the "Turkish Music" article which he penned for the *Encyclopédie de la Musique Lavignac* in 1913, Yekta starts his history from al-Fârâbî and he continues with Ibn Sînâ, Safî al-Dîn, and Kutb al-Dîn al-Şîrâzî. Yekta points out the fact that there are no documents that give any practical information about those centuries as a reason for mentioning theorists and their works, and he goes on to write history on the basis of these theorists and their works. In the same article, Yekta seems to categorize theorists into two groups: *akvam-ı kâdime* (Ibn Sînâ, al-Kindî, al-Fârâbî) and *müteahirin* (Safî al-Dîn, Hatip Erbîli, Şîrâzî, Mahmud Âlmûli, Hasan Kâşânî, 'Abd al Qâdir Marâghî, Kırşehrî, Şukrullâh).

As can be seen in other history books, written sources – in other words, music theory books – can be referred to as sources or evidence for the history of Ottoman/Turkish music. As history is based on written sources, it is apparent that theorists and music theory books have an important place in historical narratives. Categorizations similar to Yekta's can be also seen within the written sources themselves (in the context of the history of theory). The 18th century theory writer Hızır Ağa, for example, uses expressions such as *edvâr-ı kadime* (old theory books) and *fi zamanına* (in our time) to describe older musical theory books and books from his own period (the 18th century) respectively. Despite the fact that Hızır Ağa used these expressions, he writes exclusively about the *makam* concepts that he preferred according to his era (Uslu 2009:53). Moreover, the names of theorists are not mentioned in this categorization. Another perspective in this period's trends can be gleaned from the theorist and musician Abdülbâkî Nâsır Dede who developed a categorization in his book *Tedkik ü Tahkik* (Observation and Investigation, 1794) by taking the history of theories into consideration. However, Nâsır Dede did not specify any dating in this categorization, but he used distinguishing adjectives to state that the formations that he mentioned were created by people who lived during different periods. For instance, he uses adjectives like *akdemun* (the oldest ones) and *kudema* (the old ones). It can be guessed from clues in his book that the period he designated as "the old ones of the subsequents" (*kudema-i müteahhirin*) refers to the theorists of the eras of Murad II and Mehmet II the Con-

queror. The authors of the music theory books (*edvâr*) of Anatolia in the 15th cen-
tury mention some of the important theorists of the pre-15th century period using
adjectives such as "philosopher" or "master" in their prologues. Al-Fârâbî, Ibn-i
Sinâ, Muhammed Rebâbi, Kemal Tebrîzî and Safî al-Dîn Urmavî etc. can be cited
as examples of these names. Yûsuf Kırşehrî, Kadızâde Tirevî, Şükrüllâh Çemiş-
gezekî and Mehmet Ladikî that we view as 15th century *edvâr* writers, are some of
the theorists of that time. Anatolian music theory tradition within the framework
of these theorists will be the primary concern of this study, after which the music
theory books of Nayî Osman Dede, Cantemir and Abdülbâkî Nâsır Dede and
their differences in terms of the music theory tradition will be examined.

In brief, in this article, the alterations and transformations in the history of
theories of Ottoman/Turkish music will be reviewed, basing on the music theory
books of the 15th century, in other words the Anatolian *edvâr* tradition until the
period that Nâsır Dede lived in.

Anatolian Edvâr *Writers*

From the time of Yıldırım Bayezid who reigned until the early 15th century on-
wards, the Ottoman palace became an important centre where music lovers, poets
and scientists were protected. Henceforward, the Ottoman palace retained this
identity (Uzunçarşılı 1977:79, 144). At this stage, Murad II contributed to the
translation of many works into Turkish. Uzunçarşılı explains this issue using these
words: "In parallel to the expansion of the Ottomans in Rumelia and Anatolia
during the first half of the 15th century, Turkish language became a scientific lan-
guage as well and thus many scientific and literary works were translated into
Turkish; in particular Murad II struggled for the growth of Turkish language and
literature and safeguarded the music as well" (Uzunçarşılı, 1995:528). It was not
only Murad II, but also Mehmet the Conqueror and Bayezid II, who established
educational institutions in locations they had conquered, and helped science and
art to thrive.

For music theory books the 15th century was a fruitful period. Süreyya Agayeva
regarded the music theory books of the era as Turkish music theory works and
classified their authors as Anatolian writers (Agayeva & Uslu 2008:7). Popescu-
Judetz together with Neubauer made a similar evaluation in their book *Seydî's
Book in Music: A 15th century Turkish Discourse* where they transcribed and analysed
Seydi's *el-Matlâ* (Popescu-Judetz & Neubauer 2004:xiv). As I outlined in my PhD
thesis titled "A Review of Hariri bin Muhammed's Translation of Kırşehri Music
Theory Book" (Doğrusöz 2007:6-7-9), I prefer to use the term "Anatolian *edvâr*
writers". The first known work on music theory in Anatolia was written by Kırşe-
hrî. It was initially written in Persian, but this original version is lost. Its first
known Turkish translation was by Hariri bin Muhammed. Other Anatolian music
theory writers generally lived during the reigns of Murad II and Mehmet II the

Conqueror and most of them wrote in Turkish, e.g. Kadızâde Tirevî, Şükrullah Çemişgezekî and Ladikî. Some of the writings composed in the 15th century and belonging to different theories include:

Kırşehrî Yusuf: *Kitâbü'l Edvâr*, 1411 (Hariri bin Muhammed's translation of Kırşehrî Edvar, 1469);
Bedr-i Dilşad: *Muradnâme*, 1427;
'Abd al Qâdir Marâghî: *Makâsıd al-Alhân*, 1435;
Hızır bin Abdullah: *Kitabü'l Edvâr*, 1441;
Kadızade Mehmet Tirevî: *Risâle-i Mûsîkî*, 1492?;
Lâdikî Mehmet Çelebi: *Zeynü'l Elhân*, 1494;
Hace Abdülaziz: *Nekavetü'l Edvâr*, 15th century;
Ahmedoğlu Şükrüllâh: *Tercüme-i Kitab-ı Edvâr* (?);
Fethullah Şirvanî: *Mecelletün fi'l-Mûsîka*, 1453;
Harîrî Bin Muhammed: *Kırşehrî Edvârı*, 1469;
Seydî: *El Matlâ fi Beyân el-Edvâr ve'l Makamât*, 1504.[1]

Theorists who explain octaves and intervals by dividing them into segments also use alphabetic notation, called "*ebced*" in theory explanations, for example Lâdikî Mehmet: *Zeynü'l Elhan* (1494), Hace Abdülaziz: *Nekavetü'l Edvâr* (15th century), Ahmedoğlu Şükrüllâh: *Tercüme-i Kitab-ı Edvâr* (15th century), Fethullah Şirvanî: *Mecelletün fi'l-Musika (*1453), and Seydî: *el-Matlâ fi Beyâni el-Edvâr ve'l Makamât* (1504). All other Anatolian *edvâr* writers fail to provide mathematical explanations using *ebced*. Apart from this issue, it is necessary to reflect the understanding of the time by searching for an inter-textual relationship between Hızır's *Kitâb-ı Edvâr* (1451) and Seydi's *el-Matlâ* (1504), both dependent on the information in *Kırşehrî* (1451). The common features evident in the Anatolian *edvâr* writers are given below.

Characteristics of the Anatolian Edvâr *Authors' Works:*

– *Makam, âvâz, şu'be* and *usûl* are explained with circles; besides *terkîbs* are explained using rulers. In other words, schematic explanations are used.
– *Makam*s classified in 12 *makam*s, seven *âvâz's*, four *şû'be*s and *terkîb*s. *Makam* and *âvâze*s explanations are made through *seyir*.
– 12 *makam*s, seven *âvâz's* and four *şû'be*s which do not exist in the theories of al-Fârâbî and Sâfi al-Dîn are associated with 12 zodiac signs, seven stars and four main elements. Pythagorean understanding prevails in the cosmology classification and numbers by Anatolian music theory writers.

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1 For 15th century music theories, see Akdoğan 1999 and Uslu 2000. For music theories until the 20th century, see Uslu 2002.

- Although Safi al-Dîn is mentioned, the mathematical explanation of the pitch system according to Safi al-Dîn's theory is absent and not even mentioned. Therefore, in these periods one does not make use of *ebced* music notation in explaining the tone system.
- The importance of music is stressed and it is stated that music is an honourable discipline, stories are told to demonstrate this (for ex. the camel story). Mentioning Ibn Sinâ and Saf al-Dîn in these stories is a historical mistake.
- *Usûl*s are related to *aruz vezni* and they are explained referencing the rules of *aruz*. *Usûl*s are categorized in two groups: *sakîl* and *hafîf*.
- The importance of masters in musical education is often stressed. It is understood that, in education, *meşk* is essential.
- There are layouts of *ud, ney, çeng* (harp) and *miskal* (pan flute).
- *Rast makam* and the tones of *rast* are taken as a basis in *makam* explanations and instrument layouts. The explanation of 12 *makam*s starts with *makam rast*.
- *Nevbet-i mürettep* is mentioned as a genre, together with further sub-genres.
- Pitch names are introduced.

Although Seydî's book represents the theories of the 16th century, content-wise he can be classified under the Anatolian *edvâr* writers of the 15th century. Hence, it seems possible to speak of an era in the theoretical approaches of the 15th and 16th centuries.

The main examples for music theory writings in the 17th and 18th centuries are:

Nayî Osman Dede: *Rabt-ı Tâbirât-ı Mûsikî*, 17th century;
Cantemir: *Kitâbu 'İlmi'l Mûsîkî 'ala Vechi'l Hurûfât*, 1691;
Abdülbâkî Nâsır Dede: *Tedkik ü Tahkik*, 1794.

As a common feature these three works all include both music notation and theoretical writings. I will try to draw attention to these aspects and transformations, specifying the features of the writings in the section headings.

17th Century Music Theory Writing:
Nayî Osman Dede's Rabt-i Tâ'birât-i Mûsikî
(Determining the Musical Expressions)

The first example for the writings of the 17th century is Nayî Osman Dede's *Rabt-ı Tâbirât-ı Mûsikî* (Akdoğu 1991). Beside this treatise, there is a collection (*mecmû'â*) with music notation, owned until his recent death by Yavuz Yekta, which includes the music of the time with around 70 instrumental compositions (*peşrev* and *saz semâ'î*) in alphabetic notation (Popescu-Judetz 1996b:38). Although there are still twelve *makam*s in the theoretical work of Nâyi Osman Dede, in their designation differences become visible. The classification concept can be seen below and in the explanations of notes and intervals attributions to Marâghî are made.

- *Makams* (12 *makams* (they start with *rast* but they are different from the 12 *makams* in the tradition));
- *Şu'bes* (24 *şu'bes*);
- *Terkîbs* (44 *terkîbs*);
- *Perdes* (33 perdes, i.e. tones, from *yegâh* to *tiz evc*).

Characteristics of the theory book of Nayî Osman Dede:

- In particular in the explanations of the tones and intervals reference is made to Marâghî;
- names of *perdes* (notes) are mentioned;
- introduction of a new classification concept for the *makams*;
- absence of *âvâzes*, *usûls* and genres;
- educational qualities;
- musical notation.[2]

17th and 18th Century Music Theory Writing:
Cantemir: Kitâbu 'İlmi'l Mûsîkî 'ala vechi'l Hurûfât
(Book on the Science of Defining and Performing Music
with Letters)

The other important book of the time is the one which is also known as *Cantemir's Edvâr* (Cantemir 2000). Cantemir describes his own ideas as a new theory, literally "new words" (*kavl-i cedid*) as opposed to "old words" (*kavl-i kadim*). By *kavl-i cedid*[3] he means his music theory in general (see Popescu-Judetz, 2000:37). Cantemir's theory is thus *new word, new theory*, and it is designated accordingly by many musicologists. The theory part of the book is grouped under eight main headings. In the explanation of theory, the *tanbur* is accepted as the main instrument. This is the most characteristic feature of the 18th century.

- The signs of notes (*perde*), introduction to the science of music
- Music theory
- *Makams* of high register
- Pseudo-*makam*s
- Explanations of *terkîbs* in use
- Consonance and dissonance in music
- Music theory according to older authorities
- Science of defining and performing of *usûl* according to *vezin* and numbers.

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2   For the music writing, see Doğrusöz 2006:47.
3   Previous theorists sometimes used the term *cedid* for a new *usûl* form or a *makam*. In his work *Fethiye* (1483), Ladikî explains the differences between the perspectives of the new and old *makams* (Popescu-Judetz 2000:38).

I.   There are seven *makam*s in low-pitched whole notes: 1. *ırak*, 2. *rast*, 3. *dügâh*, 4. *segâh*, 5. *çârgâh*, 6. *nevâ*, 7. *hüseynî*

II.   There are three high-pitched notes: 1. *evç*, 2. *gerdâniye*, 3. *muhayyer*

III. As we progress from the low-pitched notes to high-pitched notes, we see four *makams* of half notes: 1. *kürdî*, 2. *sabâ*, 3. *bayâtî*, 4. *ʿacem*

IV.   There are five *makams* of half notes that we see progressing towards high-pitched notes: 1. *şehnâz*, 2. *hisar*, 3. *ʿuzzâl*, 4. *bûselîk*, 5. *zîrgüle*.

V.   There are five compound *makams*: 1. *sünbüle*, 2. *mahûr*, 3. *pençgâh*, 4. *nik-rîz*, 5. *nişâbûr*.

VI.   There are two pseudo-*makams*: 1. bestenigâr, 2. yîrefkend

VII. There is one *makam* which has a name but does not really exist: rehâvî

VIII. There are *terkîbs* which everyone mistakes for *makams*.

Characteristics of the Theoretical Explanations of Cantemir:

– Inclusion of performance;
– "New" classification concept to *makams*;
– Explanation of *usûls* with *düm-tek*s;[4]
– Educational approach;
– Development of a musical notation;
– Use of a basic scale concept;
– *Makam rast*, as in the case of Anatolian *edvâr* writers consists of whole notes.

In my opinion Cantemir's *edvâr* provides both a new approach and includes issues from the older *edvâr* books. In other words, there is detailed information about *makams*, *usûls*, forms and even though he does not give information about instruments, while explaining the vocal *fasıl* (*fasl-ı hanende*) he gives the names of the instruments of the period. Besides, the fact that Cantemir took *tanbur* as the main instrument for his theory and the explanations of some musical terms (like accompaniment) is interesting and important.

18ᵗʰ Century Music Theory Writing:
Abdülbâkî Nâsır Dede's Tedkik ü Tahkik
(Observation and Investigation)

Among the 18ᵗʰ century theory books, Nâsır Dede's *Tedkik ü Tahkik* (mentioned above) includes his theoretical explanations about *makams* and *usûls* in a manner that is closer to our day. We have to add that Nâsır Dede also wrote another work

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4   In manuscript no. 292 which is located in the Paris National Museum, the expressions " *dümtek*" are mentioned. This means that this trend started in the 17ᵗʰ century (Behar 2008:131).

called *Tahririye* (1794) in which he developed the old alphabetical notation system "*ebced*" which was used in the music history of the Islamic era (Doğrusöz Dişiaçık & Uslu 2009). In this manuscript he explained his new notation system and notated a *Mevlevi ayin* of Selim III, the sultan of the time. Just as with Nâyi Osman Dede and Cantemir, it is an alphabetic notation system.

Abdülbâki Nâsır Dede was occupied with the theory of Turkish music. As Yalçın Turan observed, he deserted the explanatory traditions of the old *edvâr* writers, and he was occupied with the performance of the music of his time, thus putting practice before theory (Tura 2006:15). Tura characterises his approach as similar to Cantemir's. Thus, in the last part of the book *Tahririye*, he emphasizes that "nothing could be explained with what the old generations tried to express by strumming on a string and it is unnecessary to explain music theory with this method" (Doğrusöz & Uslu 2009:65). Turning back to the music theory, I shall summarize the expressions used in Nâsır Dede's theory book:

– Notes (*perde*): How we can produce 37 *perdes* playing the *ney*.
– *Makams*: 14 *makams*, notes of *makams*, additionally the presence of ornamental notes, the *seyir* (melodic progression) of *makams* (with intro, *seyir*, ornamentation, ambitus and finalis (*karar*)), consonance between notes and *makams* and *makam*' effect on humans, *terkîb*s (125 *terkîb*s), 6 or 7 *âvâze*s which are mentioned in categorizations of older *edvâr*s, 24 *şu'be* as constituting branches and calling them *terkîb* and, finally, 11 additional *terkîb*s.
– *Usûl*s (21 *usûl*s), explanation of "*düm-tek*", the implementation of three levels: *hafîf-i evvel, hafîf-i sâni and sakîl.*

Characteristics of the Theory Explanation of Nâsır Dede:

– Priority on practice.
– Nâsır Dede details who arranged *makam*s and *terkîb*s and/or in which period it took place. New names are given in these cases.
– Ornamentations.
– Educational qualities.

An Outlook on the Concept of Periodisation in Nâsır Dede's Theory History

As I stated above, in my study of the theory books from the Anatolian *edvâr* writers up to Abdülbâki Nâsır Dede, we can find nominations about the approaches of the different periods in some theory books. However, the most comprehensive one among them is in *Tedkik ü Tahkik* of Nâsır Dede who is one of the last representatives of the *edvâr* traditions. It seems to be necessary to present his classification and the estimated classification of Yalçın Tura and compare both. This set of classifications is as follows:

Nâsır Dede	**Yalçın Turan**
– *Akdemun* (The oldest ones)	Until Fârâbi
– *Kudema-i mütekaddmimîn* (The old ones of the predecessors)	?
– *Kudemâ* (The old ones)	Safi al-Dîn and his followers
– *Kudemâ-i müteahhirin* (The old ones of the subsequents)	Period of Murad and Mehmet II the Conqueror
– *Müteahhirin* (The subsequents)	Lâdiki
– *Mütekaddimîn-self* (The ones before that ones that precede the present day)	The successors of Lâdikî
– *Eslâf* (The ones that precede the present day)	The latter ones
– *Müteahhirin-i Self* (The latter ones that precede the present day)	Osman Dede and Cantemir
– *Fi zemanına* (The present day)	Selim III period

Having made this classification, Yalçın Tura stated that "in spite of the fact that it seems possible to make a categorization examining the periods during which *makams* and combinations were arranged, there are contradictions and incoherencies in the information on this issue, any categorization that may be conducted cannot be far from an estimation" (Tura 2006:23).

There are such statements of Abdülbâki Nâsır in his book as "possibly an invention by *müteahhirin*" or "appeared in the *edvâr*s that we have seen" (Aksud 1988).

Let's prove this with an example based on what I stated above. For *sâzkar* Nâsır Dede gives the starting rule by making *segâh*, cadencing on *rast* and pacing like *mâye*. He stated that this combination belongs to "the latter of those that precede the present day" (fol. 32b.), thus *müteahhirin-i self*. According to Yalçın Tura's classification, this *sazkâr* description should have been seen in the theories of Osman Dede and Cantemir. However, this description fits descriptions of the Anatolian *edvâr* writers. In Kırşehrî, (fol. 15b.), the *sazkâr terkip* is described as "beginning with *segâh*, showing *mâye* and *karcigâr*, and ends on *rast*". Hızır described it using these words: "beginning with *segâh* and descend, show *mâye* and ends in the house of *rast*" (fol. 144a). The descriptions made by Seydî (fol. 15b) and Tirevî (fol. 180a) are similar. In short, this description is that of *kudemâ-i müteahhirin* (the old ones of the subsequents). According to Tura's classification, it is the description of the writers during the reigns of Mehmet the Conqueror and Murad II.

For this study, it should be necessary to look at other examples. However, it might be sufficient to get an idea of the issue.[5] Inferring from *makams*, we certainly can consider a historical periodization. One of the two basic elements in Ottoman/Turkish music theory books is *makam* and Nâsır Dede developed a categorization basing on *makam*s. The other one is *usûl*, but a categorization of *usûls* is not included in Nâsır Dede. In addition to that, issues in other theory books such as form or instruments could add important contributions to the issue of periodization.

So far, form and content transformations in the selected theory books have been taken into consideration. Let us briefly review some points we need to consider in order to develop a historical periodization, as emerged from this study of a few theory books and which reflects on their respective periods:

Makam categorization: The categorization of *makam*, *âvâze*, *şû'be* and *terkîb*; most of the categorizations of the new theorists with a different approach are made in the form of basic *makams* and *terkîbs*.

Terminology: Terms like *âgâze etme* (beginning), vibrating notes (*perdeyi titretme*), dissonance-consonance (*arbede-ünsiyet*).

Notation: Reflexions on the fixation through notation by Europeans such as Ali Ufkî and Cantemir in theory books; musical notations written with the support of those sultans who were in favour of innovation; at the behest of Selim III, Nâsır Dede developed a system of musical notation.

Instruments: Instruments of the 15th century like *ud* and *çeng* gave way to *tanbur* in the 18th century (as in Cantemir); theorists who emerged from the Mevlevi tradition explained notes via the *ney* (as in Nâsır Dede).

Genres: While in the works of the Anatolian *edvâr* writers of the 15th century *nevbet-i mürettep* was an issue, Centemir explanations forms such as *semâ'î* and *kâr*.

Notes: The denomination of notes, beginning in the 15th century, varied over time. In the comparisons of notes mentioned in the theory books musical notation should also be taken into consideration, for instance the theory book and the *mecmû'â* which uses the musical notation of Nayî Osman Dede. Meanwhile in the theory book, the note *nikriz* is not mentioned, yet it exists in his notation.

Usûl: For *usûl* the expression *tenen* was used and set up in association with poems and *aruz*; beginning in the mid-17th century, and in particular after Ali Ufkî, the expression *dümtek* was implemented, taking percussion instruments as a new basis. These are the main parameters that we have to take into consideration in order to determine an approach to a history of Ottoman/Turkish music theory.

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[5]   For a comprehensive study on Nâsır Dede's categorization, see Yarman 2008.

If we look at the history of theory concerning Ottoman/Turkish music we might conclude as follows: while following Anatolian *edvâr* writers in the 15th century there is hardly anything worth mentioning in the 16th century, the 17th and 18th centuries form a distinct period, in that the Ottomans internalized theories and brought them to maturity.

The Musical "Renaissance" of Late Seventeenth Century Ottoman Turkey: Reflections on the Musical Materials of Ali Ufkî Bey (ca. 1610-1675), Hâfiz Post (d. 1694) and the "Marâghî" Repertoire[1]

Walter Feldman

Introduction:
The Musical Documents of Ali Ufkî Bey as Part of the History of Musical Change and Musical Erosion in the Perso-Turkic Cultural Sphere

By the early 17th century the study of the music of the entire Middle Eastern region takes on a rather different character as the Ottoman musical sources become much richer, for the first time, including substantial musical notations. In addition, a portion of the repertoire preserved in the later Turkish oral tradition shows stylistic affinities with this early period and probably reflects aspects of contemporary compositional style. The musical picture, while far from complete, takes on a new specificity. For earlier centuries and other regions of the Middle East, the researcher must be content to study the history of musical theory, with some reference to the social position of music. For the most part, in the music of the Islamate civilization, it is only at this point in time—the early 17th century—that one can begin to wrestle with those musicological issues that are properly termed historical.

The currently available history of Ottoman Turkish music—starting with the early 20th century publications of Rauf Yekta Bey—display an unreconciled mixture of mythos and logos. One of the pillars of the mythic history of Ottoman music is the vocal repertoire attributed to the early 15th century Azerbaijani composer 'Abd al-Qâdir Marâghî (Abdülkadir Merağî, d. 1435), a repertoire already mentioned by Prince Cantemir in his *History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire* (1714/1734-37) as the compositions of "Hoja Musicar," and in slightly earlier musical anthologies—such as that of Hafiz Post and the anonymous Revan

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1723–attributed to the "*hoca*", i.e. "The Teacher." A closer examination of both the Ottoman and Safavid musical sources–which will appear later in this paper–may give us some clues as to the cultural and historical conditions within which these compositions, and their attribution to Maraghi, may have arisen.[2] Thus the compositions of "The Teacher" became part of the mythic history of Ottoman music, which was related to the Frenchman Charles Fonton in the middle of the 18th century, and which still endures in some form in popular pedagogic materials in Republican Turkey. This "history" displays the logic of myth rather than that of history and may be analyzed profitably in those terms. It also acquired new mythic aspects, thereby accounting for a "national" conception of the emergence of an Ottoman Turkish musical style and repertoire. But either in its older pre-national form, or in its newer nationalist guise, this story has little to tell us about what actually may have happened to music and musicians during the formative periods of Ottoman music.

Prior to the creation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, this musical mythic history was a way through which members of Ottoman civilization understood their own past and their role in the world to which they belonged. Their understanding of cultural history was based not on actual musical documents–although these may have existed at times–but rather on a consensus among members of an educated group of musicians who were viewed as authoritative. However, it so happened that the development of an independent Ottoman musical style and repertoire coincided with increased contact between Ottoman Muslim musicians, local or foreign Ottoman Christians, and Western Europeans. Both Latin Westerners and Ottomans belonging to the Eastern Orthodox Church were heirs to separate traditions of musical notation, which placed their understanding of musical history on a far more empirical basis than that of Muslims. By the 17th and especially the 18th century, myth-making was not the only process at work in the formation of an Ottoman musical history–increasingly the field was cluttered with actual notated musical documents as well as new theoretical works, written in Ottoman Turkish, Armeno-Turkish, or Greek. However disturbing this confrontation between myth and documentary history may have been for members of the Ottoman civilization, this very conflict is part of what produced the mentalité of post-17th century Ottomans.

Muslim intellectuals writing in Arabic, Persian or Turkish generally tried to balance an appreciation of the "novelty" of their own age with the broader continuity of the Great Tradition of the civilization to which they belonged, which, in their view, went back to the Persians and Greeks. Moreover the Ottoman cultural myth and modern conceptions of "world history" can in part agree on the position of an Ottoman civilization within a broader "Islamicate" civilization in a

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[2]   As early as 1953 Yekta's follower, Dr. Subhi Ezgi, had voiced doubts about the attribution to Marâghi, preferring a 16th century Ottoman source for most of them. See Feldman 1991:93. For the actual music of Marâghî, see Wright 1994-95.

"Persianate" form, to use Marshal Hodgson's terminology. In his magisterial work *The Venture of Islam* Hodgson characterizes the essential conservatism of all pre-industrial, agrarianate societies–that is, urban civilizations where wealth was still primarily based on land, in which "the past, was per se, authoritative" (Hodgson 1977:109). Agrarianate civilizations typically underwent alternating periods of growth and decline, with the occasional and usually brief "golden age" or local "renaissance," followed by a return to a more common cultural standard.[3]

Among all the arts prevalent under the conditions of agrarianate civilization, music was the most vulnerable. In the absence of widely used musical notation, sophisticated repertoires and performance techniques had to be preserved, transmitted and developed in each and every generation. A single generation of neglect or experience of political or economic turmoil might spell the loss or erosion of generations of development. In certain Asian civilizations where the artistic music of a rather distant past had high cultural status, enjoyed the support of several segments of society, and may have used various forms of notation as an aide memoire, real continuity–even of specific repertoires over several centuries–might have been possible. Certain classical Chinese repertoires are examples of this process[4]. Northern India from the 17th to the early 19th centuries shows a complex interaction of classical texts as well as older and newer musical genres and instruments (Miner 1993). Within a liturgical context considerable continuity of repertoire and style was possible in post-Byzantine civilization, ongoing under Ottoman rule whose rather sparse notation was based on a continuity of oral transmission under the conditions of a centralized method of musical pedagogy in the church.

In the Islamicate cultures the sheer physical continuity of urban life did not ensure the survival of a particular urban musical repertoire for long periods, especially the sophisticated repertoires sponsored by the elite classes. Islam brought with it moral/religious factors, which at times could put all sophisticated music at risk if a puritanical school of religious interpretation were to take hold within a particular state. In earlier times, in the Islamic Middle Periods, and especially in the post-Mongol era, artistic music held a position of some prestige over a wide geographical area. For these periods the sources sometimes allow us to view considerable continuity, development and diffusion of particular musical styles and forms. Thus, despite the disruptions of the Mongol conquest, the ensuing Pax Mongolica and its aftermath in the successor states offered very favourable condi-

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[3]   The concepts underlying this paragraph are indebted to Karl Jaspers (1953), *Vom Ursprung und Ziel der Geschichte* (1949, *The Origin and Goal of History*). Marshal Hodgson supplemented these concepts with a much fuller appreciation of the role of Islamicate civilization than appears in the work of Jaspers, to whom the historical role of "Hither Asia" was largely obscure: "This is an intermediate region possessing unique historical fascination–but it is of such a kind as to render simple, clearly discernable analysis in terms of universal history impossible" (Jaspers 1953:74).
[4]   A brief survey of these written sources can be found in Lam 2002.

tions for the development and diffusion of the Islamicate high musical tradition across a broad geographical zone, comprising areas where Persian, Arabic as well as Turkic was used. But, as is well known, puritanical interpretations of religion had grown in popularity since the 17th century in many parts of the Muslim world. In addition, European economic and then political expansion had gradually weakened the elite social classes on which artistic music had depended (Powers 1979). In these latter periods (and perhaps somewhat earlier, in some cases), even states that patronized architecture, painting and poetry may not have approved of, or patronized, artistic music. Certain musical techniques, modalities, and tendencies in microtonal intonation, might well persist for several centuries, but Islamic societies after the 17th century usually lacked the political continuity, socio-cultural stability and cultural consensus required to preserve compositional forms, much less whole repertoires over a period of more than one century.

During the high points of Islamicate civilization, encouragement from the court, from the Sufi orders, and through other inter-regional contacts may have led to both preservation of older "classical" norms and repertoire, in addition to the creation of new items, as well as the expansion of the technical means available, through new developments in modality, rhythm and compositional form.[5] Under less favorable conditions–which were probably more common–much of the "classical" repertoire and norms would be forgotten or neglected, leaving in their stead some of the less demanding items from the older courtly repertoire together with aspects of the modal and rhythmic systems, song types derived from folklore, and the urban entertainment music associated with alcoholic consumption and erotic dance. The basic forms of male hospitality and social conviviality, plus the customs of entertainment within harems of the wealthy, ensured that these musical practices would always find both practitioners and audiences. Nevertheless, this should not be seen as an absolute dichotomy between "artistic" and "popular" repertoires, in which one would replace the other. In time more sophisticated items might become simplified, and more rudimentary musical forms could take on a degree of musical and poetic sophistication. Even in the same generation, more or less sophisticated, more conservative or more innovative versions of the same musical elements (such as modus and rhythmic cycle) or musical genre might coexist within different strata of the same society. And–as some of the Safavid and Ottoman evidence suggests–small circles of elite musicians and their students might preserve and develop a sophisticated musical style without much official encouragement. The erosion of older repertoire and compositional forms might actually facilitate the development of improvisatory playing, which was less dependent upon prolonged master-pupil relationships for the learning of complex

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[5]   Within Ottoman civilization the *Mevlevi* Order of Dervishes became the most stable institution fostering the preservation (and to some extent also the creation) of artistic repertoire, only after the middle of the 17th century, principally in Istanbul and Edirne.

repertoire. Under new social conditions these in turn might form the basis for a new kind of artistic music.[6]

During periods in which patronage for artistic music was functioning smoothly, new composition was at least as important as the transmission of older repertoire. As both John Bailey and I have noted for the musicians of the Timurid Babur-nameh, the profession of composer (*musannif*) was recognized as distinct from that of a performer, although both might be combined in a single individual (Feldman 1996:40-44). Elite musical patrons were not uninterested in the preservation of certain musical "landmarks" connecting them with their cultural past, but preservation alone could not outweigh the importance of new compositions. It would appear that only when conditions for new artistic composition were less favourable–as for example in 19th century North Africa or urban Central Asia–that the preservation of a large fixed "classical" repertoire assumed great importance. Correspondingly, within late Ottoman and early Republican Turkey, when new composition in the traditional high prestige genres was in decline, the fixing of a "classical" repertoire assumed critical importance in a more urgent way than it had been conceived in earlier eras.

In 17th century Turkey, within this complex of cultural factors and musical sources, the work of the Polish convert Wojciech Bobowski (Albertus Bobovius)–who became the Ottoman Ali Ufkî Bey (ca. 1610-1675)–occupies a position of great importance. In addition to his notated musical anthology *Mecmû'a-i Saz ü Söz*, which has been the object of study by several Turkish and foreign scholars–including the present writer–the recent publication of a study of the Bobowski materials in the Bibilothèque Nationale de Paris (notably Turc 292) allows us to draw many new conclusions regarding the repertoire's musical substance (Behar 2008). As a practicing musician, Bobowski documented much of the music played at the Ottoman court, while he also acted as a private music teacher, principally, it seems, for Europeans in Turkey. In that capacity he created musical notations and written materials, which he never organized into a book. Considered as a whole, Bobowski's writings represent the earliest corpus of notations of Ottoman music.[7]

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[6] This statement is not meant to deny purely musical/aesthetic causes for the development of improvisation, or "performance generation" as I term it elsewhere. For an Ottoman example see the chapter "The Taksim and Modulation" in my 1996 monograph (see below). Nor can the situation described here in late 16th century Turkey and Iran be applied in this form to different societies such as India, for example.

[7] Concerning Ali Bey's biography, is sufficient to note that, after being captured–probably by Crimean Tatars in the course of Ottoman/Polish hostilities near his native Lemberg (Lwow)–Bobowski was sold as a slave in Istanbul. Early on in his captivity he converted to Islam, taking the name Ali Ufkî Bey. His musical talent was soon recognized and he became a court musician, playing the *santur*, related to the East European *cimbalom*. Hereafter he signed himself "Santuri Ali Beg." After some years his knowledge of languages led him into the court service as an interpreter, in which position he became acquainted with many European ambassadors. Altogether he spent nineteen years in the court service. His

The next substantial corpus of Ottoman musical notations were created by the Moldavian Prince Demetrius Cantemir (1673-1723), which is comprised exclusively of instrumental pieces (*peşrev*s and *semâ'î*s).[8] Whereas Bobowski treated mainly the musical repertoire created within his generation, Cantemir had a broader aim, and so included many *peşrev*s which had been written down roughly fifty years previously by Bobowski, but in the form in which they were played in his time, as he did not have access to Bobowski's collection. Thus, the commonalities of the two collections have tended to obscure the real musical differences separating the period from 1620 to 1700, roughly two generations. While earlier I had attempted to create a stylistic differentiation between the *peşrev*s composed in what I had termed "period 3" (1600–1650) and "period 4" (1650–1690, which could certainly be extended to ca. 1700, when Cantemir wrote his treatise), here I would like to deepen and broader this idea by introducing material from the Ottoman vocal repertoire and from contemporaneous Iranian musical and historical sources. In the course of this comparison I will attempt to interpret what this stylistic change may mean in creating a periodization of Ottoman music (Feldman 1996:339-391).

The Musical Situation in Ottoman Turkey
in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century

The problematic of the present work was articulated as far back as 1992 by Owen Wright in his groundbreaking study of the Hâfiz Post *Mecmû'âsı* and its antecedent musical anthologies (Wright 1992a). After his exhaustive study of four musical anthologies dating from the 15th and 16th centuries, he notes the almost total break in repertoire and genre with the appearance of the *Hâfiz Post Mecmû'âsı* of the later 17th century. It is worth quoting part of his conclusion:

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religious and cultural allegiances were complex, and he was probably connected with the Calvino-Turk movement, seeking Ottoman support for Protestant opposition to the Habsburgs. To this end he was entrusted with the translation of the Bible into Turkish, and the publication of the Geneva Psalm hymnal of 1572 into Turkish, with the original music arranged according to Turkish makams (modes). See Judith I. Haug's unpublished paper: "Surmounting religious, musical and linguistic frontiers: 'Ali Ufki's translation of the Genevan Psalter (c.1665) as a transcultural achievement" and her published dissertation (Haug 2010). Since then Dr. Haug's work on Bobowski has continued.

8   Demetrius Cantemir–in Turkish, Cantemir–(1673-1723) was a major Eastern European intellectual figure. Having spent most of his life in Istanbul, he became Voivode of Moldova for one year (1711) before fleeing to Russia after the failure of Peter the Great's attempted invasion. Around 1700 he wrote his groundbreaking treatise on Ottoman music, to which he appended a collection of 350 *peşrev*s and 50 *semâ'î*s in his own musical notation. His famous *History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire* was written while in exile in Russia, but published in English, 1734-37. For his notations, see Wright 1992b, and Feldman 1996. Among the many sources on Cantemir as a musicologist and as part of the history of Eastern Europe, we may note Popescu-Judetz 1999; Eşanu 2008.

> What is at issue, however is not the pre-history of the court-music repertoire, but the problem of its quite sudden disappearance, to which one may add the question of the extent to which, viewed specifically in relation to the emergence of the Ottoman tradition, the musical system through which it was articulated survived it. Despite the undeniable existence of many common elements, the evidence reviewed above indicates that the seventeenth-century Ottoman system differed from its predecessor to the extent that if the two were juxtaposed we would need to speak of musical diglossia, and given the brevity of the time span involved it is difficult to conceive that the idiom of the earlier court-music repertoire could have been relinquished (at the earliest during the third quarter of the sixteenth century) before the initial stages of the evolution of the its successor into a form recognizably Ottoman (the process being completed at the latest during the second quarter of the seventeenth century) (Wright 1992: 285).

Before closing his study, Wright puts forward some brief suggestions related to the "sociological axis" that must have allowed the newer populist Turkish repertoire to have come into existence while the older courtly international "Persianate" repertoire had not yet disappeared:

> Here, in the absence, yet again, of appropriate evidence, we can only put forward as a plausible hypothesis that the sixteenth-century court music recorded in the antecedent collections could have been precisely that, a corpus of songs largely in languages other than Turkish enjoying high prestige but only limited diffusion, performed often by professional musicians trained elsewhere and employing a specialized idiom that may not have enjoyed wide currency beyond the confines of the court. Alongside and in a certain sense beneath this one could well imagine the development of an indigenous Ottoman tradition of urban music-making, which would be characterized by its emphasis on Turkish texts avoiding the prominent panegyric strain of court poetry and, since it existed outside the patronage system of the court, would rely very little on the professional performer but depend, rather, on wider participation (op. cit., 285).

In his study Wright based his description of the contours of the early Ottoman repertoire both on the *Hâfiz Post Mecmû'âsı* and on the notations in the somewhat earlier *Mecmû'a-i Saz ü Söz* of Ali Ufkî Bey (ca. 1650). In the past four decades, during which period the notations of Ali Ufkî Bey as well as other Ottoman musical sources have been subjected to increasing scholarly scrutiny, it has become clear that his work is important, not only because it is the earliest substantial corpus of musical notation of Ottoman music, but also because it documents the earliest phases of what was to become a distinct Ottoman musical culture. As I noted earlier, this was a "complex of events which resulted in the creation of new modal structures, a new series of musical genres, a more extensive cyclical performance, a new relationship between composed items and performance generation, a new instrumental ensemble, new social patterns of professionalism and new relations with the non-Ottoman musical world. That is, Ottoman Turkish music properly speaking came into existence" (Feldman 1996:46). But in the light of subsequent research—this statement from 1996 telescopes, as it were, a series of discrete musical processes that had occurred over a period of perhaps 70 to 80 years—most of what it describes was in place only after approximately 1670 or 1680. Ali Ufkî's musical career lay squarely within an earlier generation in which

this process was far from complete, whereas Prince Cantemir lived in a world in which it was well underway.

It would be a mistake to view this new "Ottomanism" as the outcome of a long cultural evolution, whereby a medieval "international" musical style was replaced by a newly self-confident "national" school, to use a Western European cultural paradigm. There is no evidence to show that the Ottomans viewed their musical situation in this way, and quite a lot of evidence suggests the opposite. As Wright argues above, the new "national" style was the result of the partial collapse of an earlier, more sophisticated musical style that was indeed "international" (i.e. Persianate of the Eastern Islamic culture). Evidently local musicians were forced to search for local musical sources to combine with the remnants of the earlier international art music in order create a new musical style and repertoire. For Wright in 1992 it was a moot point whether this musical change was brought about primarily by the collapse of the earlier court repertoire, or by a cultural shift that rendered it somehow culturally irrelevant. The temporal proximity of the two styles suggested to him that a major cultural shift had occurred, which brought the more populist "Turkish" repertoire to the fore, even while the older international repertoire was still recalled to some extent. It now appears—at least to the present writer—that the *Mecmû'a-i Saz ü Söz* and the *Hâfız Post Mecmû'âsı* actually document two fairly distinct phases in this musical shift. In the former the populist element has come to the fore, with the courtly style more evident in the instrumental *peşrev* than in the vocal repertoire, while the latter documents the beginning of the new "courtly" vocal repertoire. Once this second process had begun in the second half of the 17th century, a period of artistic "progress" and development did indeed commence and continued with little interruption well into the middle of the 19th century—a period of a full two hundred years.

The main focus of the present paper is to synthesize the results of research on Ottoman musical sources since the early 1990s, so as to highlight the gradual nature of this process, a development which now seems to have only begun to gather momentum in the last third of the 17th century, that is, after Ali Ufkî Bey's lifetime. In the light of the current state of our knowledge, Ali Ufki/Bobowski's notations appear to document a transitional stage between the decline of earlier, international musical norms, and the creation of the mature Ottoman musical style and repertoire, between roughly 1670 and 1800. While, as I noted as early as 1996 (and more clearly in later publications), there were significant structural differences between the music created in the earlier and in the later half of this later period, there was no real break or lack of continuity. The basic technical and broader aesthetic features of the music of the second half were clearly built on those of the first half of this period. That is, although the period from 1670 to 1800 witnessed the most rapid technical development in the entire history of Ottoman music—certainly surpassing the 19th century in that regard—these developments were never rejections of earlier musical practice. They were rather incremental developments

of the principles evident in the earlier repertoire and its theory. Looking at the beginning and end of the broad era from 1670 to 1800, the changes appear to be prodigious, but they probably would not have seemed that way to participants experiencing these musical developments. At no point in this later period do we see the radical break in musical conceptualization that underlies the theory of Prince Cantemir, and all theorists that went before him.

Cantemir, writing in the early 18th century–but in Latin for a Western readership–stated clearly that the middle of the 17th century represented not continuity, but a significant break and the start of a local "renaissance" for Ottoman music. In his *History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire*, Cantemir wrote the following about music during the reign of Sultan Mehmed IV (1648-1687), in Tindal's charming English translation: "The art of musick almost forgot, not only reviv'd, but was rendered more perfect by Osman Efendi, a noble Constantinopolitan" (Cantemir 1734, I. 15-52). Cantemir himself had studied with Osman's student Buhurîzâde Mustafa Itrî–whom he quotes in his book of theory–but Cantemir was a *tanbur* player, not a vocalist, and in his *History*, among his teachers he noted only instrumentalists: Koca Angeli, Eyyubi Mehmed Çelebi, Tanbûrî Çelebi ("Chelebico"), Kemânî Ahmed and Neyzen Ali Hoca. And as we shall see below, the instrumental repertoire did not undergo the same degree of generic change as the vocal repertoire had; there seems little chance that it had been "almost forgot." Cantemir mentions five of Osman's eminent students: Hâfız Kömür, Buhurcuoğlu (Itrî), Memiş Ağa, Küçük Müezzin and Tesbîhçi Emir. Hâfız Post (d. 1694) was yet another major student of Osman's. Cantemir himself was among the second generation of Osman's students (through Itri), and he mentions two of his own students–Taşcıoğlu Mehmed and Bardakçı Mehmed Çelebi–thus tracing the direct influence of Koca Osman through three further generations of musicians, a period of an entire century. Behar also notes the important fact that Es'ad Efendi fails to mention these master-student relationships which were so crucial in transmitting the "classical" musical techniques and repertoire, whereas the few remarks by the outsider/insider Cantemir are much more revealing (Behar 2010:126).

Earlier, Evliya Çelebi in his Seyahatname had placed "Hânende Kasımpaşalı Koca Osman Çelebi" as the first in his list of eminent singers (*hânende*): "he was a perfect master, a venerable imam, who resembled an angel in the heavens."[9] This "Osman Efendi" or "Koca Osman" ("Osman the Elder") is one of the earliest Ottoman composers to appear in the 17th and early 18th century Ottoman sources. Osman was the teacher of Hâfız Post (1630-1694), who included several of his compositions in his famous anthology (*mecmû'â*). The biographical dictionary of Es'ad Efendi (ca.1725)–who was contemporary with Prince Cantemir–lavishes the highest praise upon Osman, calling him "the saint of the *tarikat* (Sufi order) of

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9   Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi, I (1996:302), quoted in Behar 2010:125.

mastery and the guide in the valley of connoirseurship, he was the master (*üstad*) of most of the masters of Rum." He also notes his specialization in composing the most serious compositional forms (the *murabbaʾ, kâr* and *nakış*) as well as the *şarkı,* and mentions his "over 200 compositions" (Behar 2010:263). Es'ad Efendi's entrance for him is among the longest in his book, and begins:

> Osman Efendi. His birthplace and residence were both in the Kasım Paşa neighborhood (of Istanbul), and he was known as "Koca Osman." He was one of the masters of music who became famous around the year 1030 (1620). He came from the *müteferrika* group of the *'askeri* class… (Mekteb no. 10, p. 401).

An early manuscript of the same text specifies that Osman's fame had already begun in the time of "Sultan Murad Han," that is Murad IV (1623-1640).[10] This illustrates that Osman Efendi was an influential musician some twenty years before the accession to the throne of Sultan Mehmed IV, as mentioned by Cantemir, thus making him contemporary with the period in which Ali Ufkî was a court musician for Sultan Murad. Koca Osman–evidently a "noble" member of the military bureaucracy–was part of the first generation of Turkish composers whose works are remembered in the later Turkish oral tradition, along with his contemporaries Ama Kadri and Sütcüzade Isa, and his students Buhurcioğlu (Buhurîzâde) Itrî, Hâfiz Kömür, Küçük Müezzin and Hâfiz Post. We know from Evliya Çelebi that Murad IV was an active patron of music, but Koca Osman was not a court musician. His influence seems to have passed largely through his students, who were more involved with courtly patronage. Koca Osman is represented rather more substantially in the anonymous *mecmûʾâ* Revan 1723, and in the most prominent positions. For example the "*fasl-i uşşak*" begins not with *kâr*s by "the hoca", i.e. Marâghî–as is usual in this mecmua as well as in the *Hâfiz Post mecmûʾası*–but with three pieces by Koca Osman: *kâr uşşakname, hafîf; nakış, zarb-ı feth* and *nakış türki-zarb,* two of them not incidentally in the heaviest of the *usûl*s and with Persian texts.

The evidence of the Hâfiz Post anthology, Revan 1723 and *Atrab ül-asâr* of Es'ad Efendi suggest that the last third of the 17th century represented a stylistic break with the past. Wright describes the repertoire documented by Hâfiz Post:

> Assuming that those included by Es'ad Efendi provide a representative cross-section of the composers in HP [Hâfiz Post] the emphasis is, therefore, very much on Istanbul as the major cultural centre, and on a repertoire which is predominantly an assemblage of what had been produced within one or at most two generations, for apart from the particular categories of the Persian language *kâr* and *nakış,* generally attributed to legendary composers and evidently considered to be the representatives of an ancient tradition, the great bulk of material will have been produced by composers active in the third quarter of the century, with only a relatively few pieces surviving from composers of the preceding generation, such as Koca 'Osman, Hâfiz Post's own teacher (Wright 1992: 203).

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[10] Istanbul Universitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, Türkçe Yazmalar 6204. See Behar 2010:262.

Es'ad Efendi, perhaps trying to present as balanced a picture as he could, is considerably more generous to Koca Osman and his students, but the contrast in musical creativity between the first half of the 17th century and its third quarter is striking: the reigns of Sultans Ahmet I, Murad IV and Ibrahim (comprising the years 1603-1648) can boast only nine well known composers, whereas the reign of Mehmet IV alone (1648-1687) has 59 (Behar 2010:138)! This was the period when the great compositional and teaching activity of Koca Osman (as well as that of Sütçüzade 'Isa and Ama Kadri) bore fruit, along with that of several other native and imported musicians of note. Es'ad Efendi wrote his *tezkire* almost 25 years after Cantemir's defection from Turkey–neither mentions the other–but they must have shared rather similar views of the relative musical significance of the first as opposed to the second half of the 17th century.[11]

Cantemir based his judgments of Ottoman musical history upon his teachers and informants' views such as Tanburi Angelos, Tanburi Eyyubi Mehmed Çelebi, Kemani Ahmed, Kemani [Neyzen] Ali Hoca, Buhurîzâde Mustafa Itrî, and Çömlekçîzade Receb, who were the authoritative sources of his time. For the Turkish musicians of the later 17th century, the crisis through which their music had passed less than a century earlier, and the heroic efforts made by certain musicians one or two generations before them, were still part of living memory. It is highly significant that Cantemir's teachers did not relate to him only the mythic view of the history of music–going from Pythagoras (*Fisagor*), through Ibn Sina to 'Abd al-Qâdir Marâghî, Gulam Shadi and the court of Hüseyin Bayqara–but also communicated the specific local history, which centered on the early to mid-17th century as its crucial phase.

In Cantemir's little phrase "the art of musick, almost forgot," lies an unwritten history of musical decline and erosion that master musicians like Tanburi Angelos or Kemani Ahmed must have indicated to their young Moldavian student either through actual examples or via knowing silences. Perhaps due to the fact that they and their princely pupil were all of Orthodox Christian origin (Kemani Ahmed was a Greek convert to Islam), they may have been more willing to explain to him what they knew of the actual history of music in Istanbul, and not only the Islamic/Ottoman mythic history. Nevertheless, although Es'ad Efendi does not express himself as categorically as Cantemir–in his *tezkire* the *'ilmül-mûsîkî* is never "forgot"–yet the *Şeyhülislâm* and the Moldavian prince are in substantial agreement about the musical history of the preceding century.

By the middle of the 18th century the more conservative Ottoman view reasserted itself, as we can see in the book by Charles Fonton (1751). For Fonton's Turkish informants, the continuity of Ottoman music from medieval Persian

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[11] Behar 2010, chapter V–"'Eskiler' ve 'Yeniler' Meselesi: Osmanlı/Türk Musikisinin Öz-bilinci" (The Ancients and the Moderns: the Self-Definition of Ottoman Turkish Music), treats some of these issues, including Cantemir's reference to Koca Osman and the question of Ottoman pseudographia.

practice is the dominant theme and the early 17th century does not signify anything special or unique. Evidently, having undergone the crisis of the later 16th century, Turkish musicians living in the 18th century, after a new repertoire and performance practice had come into a secure existence, and music was rather well supported, had no desire to dwell on the problems of the past. It is also possible, of course that Fonton's Ottoman informants (whom he does not name) did not choose to share this kind of problematic local history with an outsider.

To conclude, it would appear that factors were at work during the 16th century that prevented the entire musical system of the previous era to be preserved and transmitted. Thus, the earlier 17th century represented a period of both decline and innovation. It is this conclusion that must be the starting point for any evaluation of the significance of the musical materials documented by Ali Ufkî Bey.

Stylistic Change

Starting with the last third of the 17th century through to the middle of the 19th century, Ottoman Turkish music presents a picture of steady development, although the chronology of these developments is as yet unclear. They may be summarized as follows:

1) decrease in overall tempo, allowing for longer and more intricately ornamented melodies.
2) growing sophistication of the system of rhythmic cycles and their increasingly complex relationship to the melodic line.
3) development of the modal system, with increasing emphasis on subsidiary modal entities and compound modes.
4) increasing use of modulation, both in compositions and in improvisations (*taksîm*).
5) differentiation between related modal entities through the development of increasingly specific melodic progressions (*seyir*).
6) finer distinctions in intonation, leading to a larger number of named and accepted pitches.
7) rather sharp distinction between musical genres admitted within the courtly *fasıl* cycle and other forms of music.
8) development of a fixed order for the performance of items within a concert (*fasıl meclisi*).
9) specific instrumentation for the courtly repertoire.

Of these nine major elements that characterized Ottoman music from the later 17th century until the mid-19th century, how many of them can be seen in the repertoire and other musical sources of the first half of the 17th century as preserved in the contemporaneous notations of Ali Ufkî? The most evident are nos. 2, 4, 5 (to some degree) and 9.

No. 2: While the vocal repertoire is overwhelmingly in the simpler folkloric rhythms *semâ'î* (6/8), *düyek* (8/8) as well as some in *hafîf* (16/4) and *evfer* (9/4), the instrumental *peşrev* does feature many longer *usûl*s, especially *sakîl* (48/4) and *darb-i feth* (88/4). This suggests greater continuity in the *peşrev* than in the courtly vocal repertoire.

No. 4: One area of continuity with the later practice is in the *taksim* improvisation, which is already mentioned in the poetry of the first half of the 17th century, in Evliya Çelebi and then extensively in Cantemir. While for Cantemir modulation was a basic feature of high level *taksim* playing, there is relatively little use of modulation in the *peşrev* and *semâ'î* repertoire that he documented, and even less in that of Ali Ufkî Bey.

No. 5: *seyir* (melodic progression). While distinctions between related *makams* (e.g. *muhayyer* and *hüseynî*) are often not as clear as in the repertoire from the late 17th century and beyond, some of the *murabba*'s and most of the *peşrev*s display an awareness of *seyir*, although often in a rudimentary form. The *seyir* aspect comes out more clearly in comparison with the folkloric repertoire of *türkü* and *varsağı*, where it is largely absent.

No. 9: instrumentation. The *ney* and *tanbur* do have a significant role in performance, although they still share a place with the *ud, şeşhane, çeng*, and the somewhat enigmatic *şeştar*. It does seem clear that all of these latter instruments are on their way out, and indeed none of them will be played at court by the end of the 17th century (Feldman1996:110-176). This radical change in instrumentation was not based primarily upon technical improvements (although those did occur as well). Rather it points to equally radical changes in musical style.

Cantemir's earlier 18th century generation was something of a pivot—facing both back to the 17th century and anticipating the mid-18th century. The increasing stability of musical life at the court allowed the earlier 17th century instrumental repertoire to be remembered for as much as two generations or more, so that Cantemir was able to document somewhat variant versions of much of the instrumental repertoire that had been played and then notated by Ali Ufkî Bey. As Wright observes, the vocal repertoire collected some years earlier by Hâfiz Post in his anthology contains less of the early 17th century repertoire, and concentrates more on the author's own generation. It seems unlikely that Hâfiz Post, who was a student of Osman Efendi, and born 43 years earlier than Cantemir, lacked access to more of his teacher's compositions as well as those of the latter's contemporaries. Evidently they interested him less than pieces by his own contemporaries. *Mecmû'â* Revan 1723 does include more compositions by Koca Osman and other early to mid 17th century composers, such as 'Ama Kadri, Sütcüzade 'Isa, and the Iranian Aqa Momin (Agha Mumin). Cantemir's inclusion of a relatively large instrumental repertoire from the mid- and even the early 17th century can probably be explained by his scholarly approach, which dictated that he record as much early repertoire as he could. This attitude is also suggested by his table of

contents, which includes the names of *peşrev*s that he had heard about, but whose actual melodies he was unable to learn from any living musician. This fact suggests that–unlike Hâfiz Post–Cantemir was not simply collecting pieces that he liked, but rather, like a true scholar, he was attempting to document the entire known instrumental repertoire. Cantemir's own compositions–which have been analyzed at some length by Wright, Popescu-Judetz and myself, among others–show little affinity with the *peşrev*s of the early to mid-17ᵗʰ century. Rather they point to momentous changes that were already underway in Cantemir's time and would emerge with greater clarity in the following generation.[12]

Looking back at the repertoire of the early 17ᵗʰ century–as notated by Ali Ufkî Bey and partly by Prince Cantemir–we can say that it lacks almost every musical element that gives the later tradition of Ottoman music its characteristic aesthetic. For repertoire, the instrumental *peşrev* and *semâ'î-i sazende* were already in use, as well as rudimentary forms of the vocal *murabba'* and *semâ'î*, alongside a number of folkloric forms, such as *varsaği* and *türkü*, which would be removed from the sphere of courtly music by the end of the century. There is a range of development within the songs named *türkü*, which is the largest folkloric genre in the collection. While most are created within the simple *usûl* patterns of *semai* in 6/8 or alternations of 7/8 and 14/8, others create a 9/8 pattern by adding 3/8 to the *semâ'î usûl*, yet others are binary.[13] It would appear that some of the *türkü*s on religious themes or connected with warfare were created by semi-professional *aşıks* or *ozans*, and are thus somewhat more sophisticated.[14]

Among the features of artistic music found in the *murabba'* repertoire is the use of a fairly wide number of *makam*s, the occasional use of longer *usûl*s–such as *sakil* and *çenber*–and the presence of a *miyan* ("middle") section in both *murabba'* and *semâ'î*, which are often lacking in the folkloric *türkü* (although sometimes present in the *varsaği)*. Quite common in the *murabba'*s are the popular *usûl*s *düyek* and *sofyan*, while most in the *Mecmû'a-i Saz ü Söz* or the Paris MS are notated without specific mention of their usûls. A count of the length of the *murabba'* melodies often suggest the *usûl hafîf* (16/4), but often the phrasing could just have well be considered *düyek* (8/8). The absence of a named *usûl* suggests that in this repertoire the difference between the "popular" *düyek* and the "courtly" *hafîf* was minimal in practice.

The numerous instrumental *peşrev*s in the *Mecmû'a-i Saz ü Söz*, on the other hand, are usually created in the longer *usûl*s and they show a much longer and more developed formal structure than anything in the vocal repertoire. In searching for a possible explanation for the still "courtly" nature of the *peşrev*, as opposed to the partly "populist" character of the vocal repertoire, one probable

[12] See Feldman 1996:408-441, "Transmission of the Ottoman Peşrev Repertoire".
[13] A handy collection of the folklore of the former is Uludemir 1992.
[14] See Gültekin Oransay's unpublished study of the religious repertoire of the Mecmû'a-i Saz
      ü Söz: *Ali Ufki ve Türk Dini Musikisi.* Ankara, Ilahiyat Fakültesi, 1972 (Y. 16566).

source was the continued function of the *peşrev* within the official *mehter* ensemble, used both for military and for ceremonial functions. For example Evliya Çelebi mentions a specific *peşrev* in the long *usûl sakîl* (48/4) by the contemporary court composer Solakzade in a public mehter performance before Sultan Murad IV (Özergin 1972:6050). It would seem that both the tradition of the Ottoman military and the ceremonials of the Ottoman rulers, viziers and military governors (pasha) insisted on the preservation and new creation of a "courtly" instrumental repertoire and not the adoption of quasi-folkloric forms related to dance music, which was the main function for instrumental music among the people (although the more popular *semâ'î* form was also used within the *mehter*).

In addition we should not overlook the fact that most of the *peşrev*s in the *Mecmû'â* are by named composers, while many *murabba'*s are anonymous; this in itself would suggest that the *murabba'* was closer to popular taste than the *peşrev*. It appears that the structural differences between items bearing a "courtly" or a "folkloric" name are not nearly as great as these differences would become later. Wright has noted: "The differences between *semâ'î*, *murabba'* and *türkü* as recorded by Ali Ufkî lie less in features of musical form or melodic style than in textual conventions..." (Wright 1992:160). But this judgment may in fact be overly schematic, for we may note several stylistic differences between *murabba'* and the purely folkloric genres. These differences relate to overall scope, extension of the melodic line beyond basic *usûl* boundaries, and what I have termed "*seyir*-consciousness," i.e. demonstrating an awareness of modal/melodic progression. Many of the items named *türkü* and *varsağı* appear to be truly folkloric, sometimes echoing modern Anatolian Turkish folksongs, or more minimal and evidently archaic styles.

Let us compare briefly two *murabba'*s and one *ilâhî* as written down by Ali Ufkî in the same *makam*. The first *murabba'* (from the Paris MS) is in the shortest *usûl–sofyan* ("*sufiyane*"), and the second (from the London MS) in *sakîl*, one of the longer *usûl*s.

Saklı Mecmua

V MURABBA' NEVA USÛLEŞ SÛFÎYANE

148a

Mes ta ne ol dum aş kın e lin den yar ba na bir ça

re yar ba na bir ça re----------------

Music Example no.1: *Murabba' neva usûleş sufiyane*, Paris MS 148a (Behar 2008:230).

The lyric of this *murabba'*, while incomplete, places it squarely within the *aşık* (folk bardic) style, neither a courtly *gazel* nor a folkloric *türkü*: "*Mestane oldum aşkın elinden/yar bana bir çare yar bana bir çare*" (I have become drunk from love, o beloved give me a cure, o beloved give me a cure!). While the *usûl* is given as *sufiyane* (4/4), the melodic line extends for 16/4, much as in *usûl hafîf*. The *zemin* section (first two lines) demonstrates a use of the *seyir* of *nevâ* as found in many other vocal and instrumental items in Ali Ufkî as well as Cantemir. The melody clearly focuses on the note *nevâ* (d), but with significant movement below as far as the sub-tonic *rast* (G), before resolving on *dügâh* (A). The *miyan* section changes its modal emphasis by stressing *hüseynî* (e) and the flattened sixth degree (*acem*/f), before resolving on A. While still rudimentary by the standards of the 18th century and later, this melody is not to be confused with any of the *türkü*s in the collection. It also differs somewhat from the *ilâhî*s in that its rhythm is more "*usûl*-like" and not suitable for dancing, whereas Ali Ufki's *ilâhî*s create simpler rhythmic groupings which are more reminiscent of *usûl sofyan* as it is used in the *zikr* ceremony. As an example we may take the following *ilâhî* (evidently in *makam nevâ*) from the Paris MS (Music Example no. 2).

Music Example no. 2: *Ilâhî*, Paris MS 251b (Behar 2008:233).

The *murabba'* in *makam nevâ*, *usûl sakîl* on page 111-12 of the London MS (Music example no. 3), described as *beste-i nevai*, is one of Ali Ufkî's few *murabba'*s in a long *usûl* and by a named composer. Not surprisingly, it is more complex than most of his other *murabba'* melodies, and may be taken as occupying a middle stage between the dominant semi-folkloric or *aşık* style *murabba'* and the later 17th century *murabba' beste*.

As a harbinger of the later *beste* style we may note the appearance of word repetitions in the *miyan* section (beginning in line 4), and the extension of the melody to twice the length of the *zemin*, comprising one full cycle of *sakîl* in 48/4. The lyric of the *miyan* utilizes similar topoi as ex. No. 1, the *nevâ murabba'* in *sufiyane*, but its syntax is clearly courtly: "*Mest iken yare dila gaflet idersin yoksa*" (While drunk, oh heart, have you ignored the beloved?).

A comparison of the vocal repertoire recorded by Ali Ufkî with that in the anthology of Hâfiz Post created roughly 30-40 years later (as well as Revan 1723), reveals significant differences. In Hâfiz Post the largest genre is the "unnamed" one, which Owen Wright and myself have understood to be the *murabba'* or *murabba' beste*. The fact that it was gradually termed the *murabba' beste* or simply *beste* (the composition) indicates its central position. Cantemir terms it the *beste*, while his contemporary Es'ad Efendi retains the earlier *murabba'*. However, both by the

Music Example no. 3: *Mecmû'a-i Saz ü Soz* 111-112 (Cevher, no. 174).

evidence in the *Hâfiz Post Mecmû'âsı*, *Mecmû'â* Revan no. 1723, and in the detailed description of Cantemir, we can see that the *beste* cannot be accounted as the identical genre as the *murabba'* of the first half of the 17th century for the following reasons:

1) It employed a variety of both long and short *usûl*s—among the former *sakîl* (48/4), *remel* (28/4), *çenber* (24/4), *muhammes* (32/4), *hafîf* (16/4), as well as *zincir* (*çifte düyek+fahte+çenber+devr-i kebîr+berefşân*) and among the latter *devr-i revan* (14/8), *evfer* (9/4) and *düyek* (8/8/);

2) It could be composed both with or without a lengthy section of syllables termed *terennümat*, but always with a modulating *miyan* section. The use of *terennümat* furnishes an important link with the earlier courtly compositional form *kâr* as well as with the *naqsh*, both of which had developed these wordless sections as a virtual hallmark of the courtly vocal compositional style;

3) It employed texts taken from *gazel*s by the major Ottoman poets, usually of the same or the previous century such as Nabi, Vecdi, Neşati, Naili, or Şehri, and never had the popular/*aşık* character of the *murabba'* texts in Ali Ufkî.

While we cannot be entirely certain of this, it is probable that the seriousness of the texts plus the length of the *usûl*s suggested the use of the slower tempos that Cantemir indicates was a characteristic of some of the *peşrev*s of his own time. Cantemir states this rather explicitly in his first chapter (on musical notation), while explaining his use of varying "meters" to notate melodies of different speeds and melodic density: "The reason for this is that in some *terkîb*s [sections] the meter of the *usûl* is taken very slowly (*aheste aheste alınur*)…" He also specifies *terkîb*s which are composed according to a "slow moving" (*ağır hareketlü*) *usûl* (Feldman 1996:333/Cantemir 1700:I:15). Indeed in later Ottoman Turkish the idiom *aheste beste* emerged, meaning "slow as a beste." In another work of his (on the "Muhammadan" religion) Cantemir describes the intricacy of the relation of *usûl* and melody in the Turkish "songs." While in this work (which is not generally concerned with reference to musical technicalities) he does not specify the names of vocal genres, rather his reference is to "twenty-four kinds of meter—which are called *usûl*s"—can only indicate the *beste*, for no other vocal genre employed such a wide variety of *usûl*s:

> There are twenty-four kinds of meters (which are called *usûl*s) by which the pace of time is measured. Henceforth, there is great difficulty in singing correctly the songs on an instrument because every author strives to compose songs at his pleasure with the meter and rhythms he likes, and because they are so intricate, those who do not know the meter cannot play the songs at all, even though they were to hear that song a thousand times (Popescu-Judetz, 1981:103).

He goes on to explain that it is for this reason that the Turks do not employ musical notation "which are of extensive yet easy usage among Europeans", because: "solely the unique person who masters the *usûl* would be able to sing without error unless he were to hear it from the author or his teacher." Yet fifty years earlier Ali

Ufkî Bey felt little diffidence in writing the *murabba'* tunes in Western staff nota-
tion, and indeed there is no insurmountable difficulty in fitting the melodies to
the usûls and to the texts as we find them in the *Mecmû'â-i Saz ü Söz* or the Paris
MS. The difference, I would suggest, is in the nature of the relationship of *usûl*,
tempo and melody as they had developed together over the fifty odd years separat-
ing these two East European Ottoman musicians. In other words, most of what Ali
Ufkî was writing down was the semi-folkloric/*aşık murabba'*, while what Cantemir
had in mind was the more technically developed courtly *beste*. This was the musical
form abundantly documented by Hâfiz Post and by the anonymous compiler of
Mecmû'â Revan 1723, and it was this form that it was composed by Buhurîzâde
Mustafa Itrî and other composers of his time. Cantemir's mention of the "intri-
cate" relationship between melody and *usûl* strongly suggests that even in his time
a somewhat melismatic performance technique existed, one of whose hallmarks in
the repertoire documented later on was the repetition of syllables of the poetic text
in a pre-composed manner, set in specific places within the *usûl*.

Next is the genre termed *semâ'î*, which according to the conventions of the
concert suite called *fasıl*—as described by Cantemir—had to succeed the *murabba'*.
The most sophisticated and difficult vocal form of the music of the 16th century,
the *kâr*, occurs rather rarely.[15] Likewise the somewhat lighter Iranian courtly form
the *naqsh (nakış)* appears with lesser frequency. Popular forms, such as the *şarkı*
and the *savt*, appear infrequently as well. The folkloric forms *türkü* and *varsaği*ɨ are
excluded. Thus, while the ponderous *kar* is rather rare, the central genres of the
fasıl, the *murabba' beste* and the *semâ'î* are dominant, while the *nakış* makes a re-
spectable appearance. All lesser forms are either marginal or excluded entirely.
Wright has published a comparison of the vocal genres found in the "*fasıl-i
hüseynî*" of Hâfiz Post and of Ali Ufkî (*Mecmû'a-i Saz ü Söz*), and the difference is
striking. Hâfiz Post's original collection contains 51 *murabba' beste*'s in this
makam, 32 *semâ'î*s, seven *nakış*, two *kâr*s, three *şarkı*s and one *savt*. Ali Ufki in-
cluded 10 *murabba'*s and only three *semâ'î*s. There are no *kâr*s or *nakış*. But the
largest group by far are the *türkü*s, numbering 16. There are five *varsaği*s, four
dance-songs called *raksiye*, and two *ilâhî* hymns (cf. Wright 1992:159).

In Ali Ufkî's texts it is probably necessary to connect the total absence of *kâr*
with the absence of the *nakış* and the very small number of *semâ'î*s, on the one
hand, and with the very large number of *türkü* and considerable number of *var-
saği*'s and *raksiye*'s on the other. Ali Ufkî was indeed a trained court musician, but
it would appear that the repertoire required of a court musician in his time was
quite different from what would be required 50 years later. This is not to say that

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[15]   Wright treats the *kâr* in some detail (1992:167-72). He concludes, on the basis of the tex-
       tual appearance of the *kâr*s in Hâfiz Post and of Cantemir's detailed descriptions in his
       work of theory (chapter 10), that the form was closely connected with the earlier genre
       'amal, and that therefore shows considerable continuity with the "antecedent," i.e. sources
       earlier than those dating from the mid-17th century.

the older and more complex courtly genres had been totally forgotten. According to the statement of Evliya Çelebi, when he performed before Sultan Murad IV in 1636 he sang one *kâr* and one *türkü*. Since Evliya and Ali Ufkî were contemporaries, this would seem to show that some *kârs* were still known. But the juxtaposition of the *kâr* and the folkloric *türkü* would suggest that this sultan was not interested in a full classical concert, but something more like a variety show. By the time of Hâfiz Post, barely one generation later, such a performance would not seem to have been acceptable at the Ottoman court, and by the time of Cantemir, 60 years later, totally out of the question. Despite the low profile of the *kâr* at the court of Murad IV, and with it the probable loss of older repertoire in the genre, the fact that it reappears in Hâfiz Post and in Cantemir suggests that some items as well as the structural principles had survived, most likely among aristocratic "amateur" singer/composers like Koca Osman, even while they were not in much demand at the court. We will treat this issue further below.

Cantemir chose to notate only instrumental items–mainly *peşrev*s–and among these there was both a high level of correspondence between his repertoire and that of Ali Ufkî. As I show in my book of 1996 (pp. 350-58) even within these identical *peşrev*s, while Cantemir's version occasionally shows characteristics of the later style of composition, on the whole the preservation of instrumental repertoire from the early to the late 17th century is remarkable. But this speaks only to the stability of this *peşrev* repertoire, which had its own official means of support. Even without notations, the vocal repertoire presents a very different picture. As we have seen, both the *Hâfiz Post Mecmû'â*, Revan 1723 and Cantemir's *edvâr* reveal a fundamentally different repertoire, which is neither the same generically as the pre-17th century "international" courtly repertoire, nor identical to the folkloricized repertoire of the first half of the 17th century. This would strongly suggest that while the army and other official institutions were committed to preserving the *peşrev* genre, no corresponding means of preservation were in place for the vocal repertoire performed at the court.

In comparing the instrumental repertoires (especially *peşrev*s) in the collections of Ali Ufkî Bey and Prince Cantemir, Wright states:

> Indeed, comparison with the mid-century collection of 'Ali Ufki Bey suggests, despite a number of significant changes, a generally high level of continuity in the many pieces common to both. The most striking differences between them relate, rather, to the nature of the repertoires they contain. Whereas the various types of vocal and instrumental music included by 'Ali Ufki give a fair idea of the wide range of vocal and instrumental music that would have been encountered at court, from lengthy and complex peşrevs to strophic folksongs and dance pieces, Cantemir is narrower in his approach…implying a distinction that may have been unknown to 'Ali Ufki, his concerns are restricted to what may be described, however awkward the term, as the art-music end of the spectrum (Wright 2000:7).[16]

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[16]   While there is much continuity between the instrumental repertoires in these two musical collections, a closer examination of pieces in the Cantemir Collection which are attributed

The Issue of Art-Music

How can we interpret this difference? More recently Behar sees this as a function of the social background of the two East European Ottoman authors: "In Cantemir's mind, if the expression is permissible, there was a 'class consciousness' with regard to music. Because, before all else, the Moldavian Prince Beyzade Demetrius Cantemir was a European aristocrat" (Behar 2008: 66). There is no doubt that Demetrius Cantemir was brought up as an aristocrat, a Moldavian *boier* and the younger son of the ruling Voivode. His private education in Moldova in his father's palace was extensive, but it did not seem to include Western music. While Cantemir's fortunes in Istanbul as a princely "hostage" were far grander than Bobowski's, as a slave-musician or even as court interpreter there is reason to suggest—as Behar does—that Bobowski was also from an aristocratic background before he was captured in warfare and sold into slavery. Bobowski's knowledge of musical notation and his great facility with European languages—in this regard in no way inferior to Cantemir's—does not suggest a lower-class autodidact, especially considering the class divisions in the Eastern Galician province of the Polish Commonwealth into which he was born in 1610. If Bobowski ignored social distinctions between musical repertoires, it is doubtful that this was because his lowly social origin and current status in Turkey rendered him uninterested in them. But could it be, as Wright suggests, that he was "unaware" of them—i.e. that they did not exist in Turkey? His contemporary Evliya Çelebi compiled great lists of musical genres that he or other musicians performed, ignoring any distinctions between courtly and popular, or religious and secular categories. Obviously Evliya, who began as a Qur'anc cantor, knew the structural and cultural differences between Qur'anic *tevcit* and courtly *murabba'*, or between folkloric *varsağı* and Sufi *ilâhî*, but to him they were all parts of a single musical continuum. Perhaps all that the performer needed to know was when, where and for whom each was appropriate.

Yet in Bobowski's own description of the Ottoman Seraglio, written in 1665 in Italian—and hence for a European readership—he makes the following distinction while speaking about Turkish musical instruments. One group of instruments were used to "accompany the delicate songs," while another group—mainly of the long-necked lute *saz* family, such as *çagana, çöğür,* and *tanbura*—were the "other instruments to accompany the common songs called turkey [*türkü*]." Anyone who wrote such sentences could not have been totally "unaware" of the distinction between art music and folk music. Significantly, he wrote this speaking as a Westerner addressing other Westerners, assuming that his educated readers would have known and expected a distinction to exist between the "delicate songs" of the court and the "common songs" of the people. We should also note that this text

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to composers of the earlier 17th century often display the structural characteristics of Cantemir's own generation. See Feldman 2012.

is later than his notated collection, a good 25 years after the death of Sultan Murad IV, and was written during the reign of Mehmet IV in whose time the "art of music" was becoming more formalized at the court, and where a great many composers were active in the "classical" genres.

It seems clear that the court of Murad IV, at any rate, allowed for a broad mixture of these different musical types. This can be seen also from some of the notes in Bobowski's own MS. Turc 292, where he lists *türkü*s to be performed. The sheer numbers of *türkü*s and *varsaği*s in the two Bobowski manuscripts—113 in the *Mecmû'a-i Saz ü Söz* alone—show that these "common songs" enjoyed a considerable place in the performances at court. While it is true, as noted above, that there was rather little structural difference separating "courtly" from "folkloric/popular" songs in his generation, greater sophistication in language and poetic style, probably coupled with differences of instrumentation and perhaps vocal ornamentation and timbre—in addition to the kinds of small but significant structural differences noted above in section 3—might have been enough to distinguish the "courtly" from the "folkoric" genres. Did the order of performance depend largely on the tastes and whims of this musical but rather strong-willed sultan? While we do not have definitive answers to these questions, they are suggestive of the "mood" in which music of different types may have been performed at the court at that time.

Fifty odd years later, Prince Cantemir does not want to acknowledge any musical continuum between "delicate" and "common songs", because for him there are first and foremost the concepts of *'ilm-ül mûsîkî* (the science of music), and *usûl-i mûsîkî* or *mûsîkî kaidesi* (the rules of music)—which became "the art of musick" in his later Latin/English text—and which prevents him from considering anything but a courtly, and hence "art-music" repertoire. In his chapter on musical forms—although he fails to mention the once omnipresent *türkü* and *varsaği*—he begins by dismissing the rude folkloric *ırlayış* and *deyiş*, which are accompanied by the *çöğur*, as unworthy of serious attention as they are outside of the rules of music (Cantemir, ca. 1700, chapter X:97). He does mention the urban popular *şarkı*, which had come to be accepted even by courtly poets after the middle of the 17th century—hence they were no longer strictly folkloric, and also appear in the Hâfız Post Anthology. The older folkloric repertoire is almost totally absent from Revan 1723 as well, except for one *varsaği* in *usûl devr-i revân*, *makam eviç* by none other than Osman Efendi(!). It is not unlikely that its status as a composition by the venerable Osman allowed it to survive within the new musical conditions.

It is doubtful that Cantemir could have acquired this point of view in Moldova where, despite his aristocratic upbringing, such distinctions between musical repertoires could not have been very deeply ingrained, and where the basic distinction was between the "esoteric" music of the Orthodox church and the "exoteric" (i.e. secular) music of every other kind. It is far more probable that Cantemir learned this distinction from his music teachers in Istanbul—whether Orthodox Christian, Jewish or Muslim—because this distinction was part of the "art of mu-

sick" that had been "revived" since the mid-17th century, but which may not yet have been a dominant concept when Ali Ufkî and Evliya Çelebi were musicians at the court of Murad IV. It is highly probable that this distinction between an artistic and folkloric/popular repertoire had been part of the development of music in Istanbul since the time of Koca Osman and his students, such as Buhurîzâde Mustafa Itrî and Hâfız Post. Meanwhile, Sultan Mehmet IV (with a forty year reign from 1648-1687) seems to have approved of and furthered the development of generic distinctions by patronizing composers in these "serious" genres. Moreover this generic distinction itself was nothing new, but simply a return to earlier Islamicate courtly practice, and hence part of a local musical "renaissance."

As I noted in my larger work (1996), one rather extensive treatment of the repertoire of the antecedent Turco-Iranian musical tradition is the chapter on the musicians at the court of the Timurid Huseyin Bayqara (1469-1506) in the Baburnameh (ca. 1530). This chapter comments in some detail on the leading musicians of that court, on the instruments they mastered, and the repertoire that they performed and composed. As I noted then: "The compositional genres mentioned are few; only the vocal *kâr, savt* and *naqsh*, and the instrumental *peshrav*. This indicates that the courtly repertoire concentrated on a few items, implying a clear distinction between an art and a popular repertoire...popular genres were not the responsibility of the performers or composers of courtly music" (Feldman 1996: 42-44).

The musical text anthologies (*mecmû'â*) dating from the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries studied by Wright–to be discussed in detail in the next section and apparently all of Ottoman provenance (the last is the Hâfız Post anthology)– concentrate on the established courtly genres of their respective eras (Wright 1992a). The same is true of the earlier treatments of repertoire, including notation by the 13th century Iranian Qutb al-Dîn Shirâzî, and the 14th century Tunisian musician Al-Tifashi, who comments on a classical art repertoire. Examples could be multiplied from several periods and regions of the Islamicate civilization, but they all point to the same conclusion, namely that once a distinct artistic repertoire began to be created, certainly by the 9th century, and a largely shared art music practice and repertoire came to be elaborated, eventually breaking up into a predominantly Eastern school in the Fertile Crescent, Iran and Transoxiana, and a predominantly Western school in the Maghreb and Spain, with Tunisia as the border territory between them. In both regions there was considerable continuity in the theory and practice of music for many generations over a rather wide area of linked urban and courtly centres. Even the catastrophe of the Mongol conquest did not result in a major musical regression, as the new rulers soon proved to be avid patrons of music, and the Pax Mongolica provided enhanced geographical mobility for musicians. Nor was a possible negative clerical reaction a major issue for most of the relevant courts, as the Mongol dynasties tended to exalt the position of art and artists in their service.

Bearing all this in mind, the situation described by Evliya Çelebi and exemplified by Ali Ufkî Bey in earlier 17th century Istanbul, appears as something of an anomaly. Despite his European origin, Cantemir's attitude at the beginning of the following century fits better into the normative attitude of any court in a more productive era of Islamicate high civilization, although certainly not for every era. The weakening of distinctions between courtly ("artistic") and popular genres–which we see in the works of Evliya Çelebi and Ali Ufkî Bey–implies a degree of cultural loss, however much a ruler such as Murad IV enjoyed and participated in music.

A related issue is my eighth point in defining the Ottoman musical tradition–namely the ordering of all repertoire items into a specific sequence during performance, which is seemingly implied by the term *fasil*. This issue, which has come to be termed "cyclicity" in much of the musicological discussion of Islamicate art musics of the past 25 to 30 years, has been raised with regard to repertoires as diverse and geographically distant as the *nauba* of Morocco and the *Shashmaqom* of Bukhara (in present-day Uzbekistan and Tadjikistan). In particular, musicologists from the former Soviet Union have come to stress this practice (in Russian "*tsikl'nost*") of grouping the concert items into a "cycle"; Western musicologists have often used the term "suite" for this phenomenon. The advantage of the rather unusual neologism "cyclicity" over "suite" is that it does not carry with it the baggage of Western musicological associations. Almost all modern art musics of the Islamicate world conceive of their repertoires in terms of large "cycles," employing varying rhythmic structures, usually grouped from the longest to the shortest. Even the *âyîn* of the *Mevlevi* dervishes follows the cyclical principle, although without the absolute progression from long to short rhythms. However, despite the near unanimity of virtually all modern repertoires on this point (including those of Iran and Caucasian Azerbaijan, which almost totally lack compositions per se, but whose partly improvised repertoire items are grouped cyclically), the historical record is less easy to interpret.

It would appear that through much of the history of Islamicate art musics, various considerations in performance practice may, at times, have overrode the principle of strict cyclicity. Moreover, the medieval sources pay little attention to compositional forms, much less to cyclical arrangements. At various periods and places in post-Abbasid culture the Arabic word *nawba* (turn) has been used to refer to a cyclical performance of composed items. Wright summarizes the situation in his article on Arab Music in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Wright 2000b:809):

A similar obscurity surrounds the emergence and evolution of the most extended form, the *nawba*. In the 13th century, five constituent parts were reported, and in the 14th, three. However, it is clear that for most of the 14th and 15th centuries the eastern *nawba* consisted of a cycle of four songs, all in the same mode, and using a restricted range of rhythmic cycles...For 'Abd al-Qadir, the *nawba* was clearly the most important form (he attempted, unsuccessfully, to enlarge it by

adding a complex fifth element). By the late 15th century, however, it was evidently in decline, and soon afterwards it disappeared.

The *Baburnameh*, written in the early 16th century, uses the word *nawba* in its original, non-technical meaning, as a "turn" at performance (in this case). This would imply that by this time the technical usage—as an extended cyclical performance—was becoming obscure or even obsolete. It is difficult for us to interpret the cultural significance of the decline of the *nawba* cycle. In general it would seem that if the principle of extended cycles were falling into disuse, that would suggest a musical decline or erosion, unless a new principle came to take its place. Such a new principle does not seem to appear until the emergence of the *taksîm* improvisation at the beginning of the 17th century in Istanbul (or somewhat earlier). But in viewing the 15th century Timurid court in Herat, where music was evidently held in such high esteem that leading courtiers studied musical theory and composition, and even utilized musical notation, "decline" and "erosion" are hardly appropriate descriptions.[17]

In this regard, Cem Behar's recent observation in *Saklı Mecmua* (2008:157-160) about the relative status and order of repertoire items in Ali Ufkî's work is well-taken: "But it is necessary to note that neither in the Turc 292 manuscript, nor in the Mecmua-i Saz ü Söz is there any clear expression as to in which order such musical forms as *kâr, semai, nakis* were or should be performed within the *fasıl*." While Behar accepts that a clear order of items within the fasil was already established in Cantemir's time, he says "It is not possible to know exactly how and when the order of items that Cantemir gives as the standard *fasıl* of the beginning of the 18th century came into being. Cantemir himself gives no clue on this topic." While it would seem that the *fasıl* as such must have been established by the time of the Moldavian prince's first sojourn in the capital (1685-1693)—or else he surely would have remarked on its novelty—how far back into the century we can push this development is unclear. It would seem that my earlier (1996) acceptance of the existence of an internally ordered *fasıl* as an institution already in 1630-1640—based on the use of the term *fasıl* by Evliya Çelebi—probably does not accord with the musical practice of the time of Murad IV (1623-1640). At any rate, the *fasıl* must have become accepted at the court sometime between 1650 and 1685, during the musically creative reign of Mehmed IV. Thus, while the existence of a fixed musical cycle cannot be taken as absolute evidence for the "artistic" nature of music at a court in all cases, in 17th century Turkey it does seem to go together with the recreation of a norm of a restricted group of courtly musical forms, even though these were only partly similar to the forms employed in the previous two centuries.

Evliya Çelebi does use the word *fasıl* to describe the performance of a solo instrumentalist. For example, when citing the names of several masters of the

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[17] See Owen Wright, "'Abd al-Qadir al-Maraghi and 'Ali B. Muhammad Bina'i: Two Fifteenth-Century Examples of Notation," Pts. 1 and 2. Oxford University Press: The School of Oriental and African Studies, vol, LVII, 1994 and LVIII, 1995.

kanun, he states: "All of these are excellent masters who can perform a fasıl on the kanun in the presence of the Padişah" (Özergin 1972: 6032, trans. Feldman 1996:156). But in instrumental music there were only three genres—*peşrev*, *taksîm*, *saz semâ'îsi* (or *semâ'î*) —so this usage does not reveal a structuring of an entire concert with its primary vocal genres.

The evidence of both Ali Ufki and Evliya Çelebi prove that the word *fasıl* already possessed a technical, musical meaning early in the 17th century. This *fasıl*, however, was not yet a kind of *nawba*. At this time *fasıl* did imply that the items to be heard together were all connected by *makam*, but not that there was a fixed order in which they would be performed. The use of the term *fasıl* by Ali Ufkî as a means of grouping his repertoire items in the *Mecmû'a-i Saz ü Söz* would seem to imply his acknowledging modality (*makam*) as a principle in grouping pieces, even in performance, but not that these pieces in the same makam needed to be performed in a fixed order according to genre. It would seem that this looser usage was rather short lived, as the time between the emergence of *fasıl* as a technical term connected with common modality, and the creation of a *nawba*-like suite or cycle out of it could not have been more than fifty years.

Historical and Social Factors

Turning from this close analysis of the repertoire and its musical terminology, we must ask the broader question: how can we integrate the musical changes we have observed with known patterns of Ottoman history and society? In trying to evaluate where to place the early 17th century Ottoman repertoire within some sort of historical continuum, there are only a few historical signposts to direct us. During the early 15th century the Eastern Islamicate civilization—of which the Ottomans and the other Anatolian Turkish dynasties were a part—was still capable of producing a major composer and theorist in the person of 'Abd al-Qâdir Marâghî. The Ottoman rulers were avid patrons of music, as were some other Anatolian states. The Ottomans took both the son and the grandson of Marâghî into their service, and there is every indication that they viewed themselves as part of this broader Eastern Islamicate musical world. Musical lyrics at the court were still in Persian and Arabic, even though the rulers patronized poets writing in Turkish. The Ottomans were also aware of musical creativity taking place in the Timurid courts of Eastern Iran and Central Asia, which continued well into the later 15th century, and which became a kind of legend in Turkey. Thus, for the Turco-Islamic courts of Greater Iran and of Anatolia the 15th century was very much a continuation of the artistic (including musical) renaissance typical of the Islamic Mongol Courts.[18]

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[18] The general political and cultural conditions under such states are described by Hodgson (1977) in Volume 2, "Mongol ideals: the potential for renewal in the military patronage state." For musical life, the classic study is Neubauer 1969.

Nevertheless, all this activity in the 15th century did not lead to a great musical efflorescence anywhere in the Eastern Islamicate world in the following century, except for India under the Moghuls. The later Ottoman musical tradition passed over the entire 16th century in trying to link up the memory of 'Abd al-Qâdir with Ottoman composers and musicians of the mid- and later 17th century. From the 16th century it was mainly the Crimean Tatar Ghazi Giray Khan who remained and who was not an Ottoman by education. Thus, from the point of view of the later Ottoman tradition, not much of musical significance happened during the 16th century.[19]

To date, the most in depth study of any 16th century Ottoman musical source was accomplished by Owen Wright in his 1992 book *Words Without Songs*. Here Wright focused on five musical lyric anthologies, one of which (preserved in the Bodleian Library of Oxford University, with another copy in the Süleymaniye) dates from mid- to late 16th century Turkey.[20] Wright scrutinized every aspect of this record of the musical repertoire to determine how it relates to an antecedent anthology of the 15th century, and how the later 17th century Hâfiz Post collection relates to it in turn. As usual his methodology is extremely precise and meticulous, and we cannot enter into it here in detail. But his conclusions are relevant to our questions about the nature of courtly musical life in 16th century Turkey. In comparing the 15th century and 16th century texts, he is able to arrive at some conclusions. In brief they may be summarized as follows:

1) The 15th century anthology shows considerable evidence of contemporary musical creation, along with some preservation of older pieces, although the *nawba* cycle is not fully preserved;

2) The 16th century anthologies show a complete breakdown of the *nawba,* and also highly variant arrangement of the verbal and structural elements in pieces bearing the same text and mode as in the earlier anthology–i.e. which must have been considered as the "same" piece–indicating that the musical form in

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[19] We should note Amir Hosein Pourjavadiy's recent edition of the 16th century Iranian treatise: Nasimi, *Nasim-I Tarab, The Breeze of Euphoria (a Sixteenth Century Persian Musical Treatise)* (Pourjavadiy 2007). The terminology of Nesimi's treatise points to certain commonalities in musical thinking from 16th century Iran to 17th century Turkey.

[20] Wright is characteristically cautious about attributing any but the *Hâfiz Post Mecmû'âsı* unambiguously to an Ottoman source, although he admits that "Ox and the other antecedent collections could justifiably be termed Ottoman too" (Wright 1992:7-21). But it would seem clear (to this author, at any rate), on the basis of the references to Ottoman rulers, the Turkish names of some composers, and the use of Turkish in the margins, that the 16th century (ca. 1550-1570) anthologies that he terms Ox (Oxford) and S (Süleymaniye) could only have been produced in a Turkish-speaking city of the Ottoman Empire. The later 15th century (ca. 1480) anthology termed NO (Nur Osmaniye) and G (Gotha) is more ambiguous, but is also probably Ottoman. But even were it not, it needed to have been created in another Persianate court whose repertoire must have had many similarities with the one performed in contemporaneous Bursa or Istanbul.

which they had been "preserved" is rather suspect. That is to say, the 16th century "version" is very likely a totally different piece than the reputed 15th century "original";

3) The 16th century anthologies show a growth in the number of pieces assigned to much earlier composers–often two to three centuries earlier–as compared with the 15th century text, whose creator was closer in time to these early musicians. Wright's conclusion is that this attests to the emergence of pseudographia–spurious works falsely attributed to much earlier and prestigious composers–precisely at the time when the actual works by these musicians were falling into oblivion. The reasons for this oblivion are evidently two-fold: on the one hand the relative complexity of the earlier compositional forms rendered them unwieldly for the musicians of the later 16th century; and gaps in the process of transmission–probably due to lack of patronage or interest on the part of the court–prevented the newer generations from gaining access to the works of earlier composers. Thus Wright concludes that, as compared with the 15th century, and also the later 17th century (Hâfiz Post), the 16th century source attests to a decline and erosion in musical standards; a kind of cultural stagnation which was disguised in part by the creation of pseudographia to give the impression that the musical culture was still wholly intact.

It is possible to supplement the evidence of these *mecmua* anthologies through the instrumental *peşrev* repertoire that Ali Ufkî and Cantemir attribute to musicians of the 16th century, such as the anonymous *Acemler* (the "Persians") or the mehter Nefiri Behram, and works imitating or inspired by these (in Cantemir's Collection they sometimes appear on the same or succeeding pages). The instrumental repertoire surviving from this era generally shows a rather simple structure. Absent are the wide-ranging modulations typical of antecedent art music (as documented by Qutb-u Dîn Shirâzî for 13th century Iran and Baghdad and Bina'I for 15th century Herat), nor do we see the sophisticated melodic progressions of later Ottoman music.

In my work of 1996 I characterized the instrumental *peşrev*s of that era as follows:

> *Hâne*s [sections] composed of one or more *terkîb*s [sub-sections]. Melodic unit is usually the *usûl* cycle or the half-cycle (in short *usûl*s). Repetition and imitation are fundamental compositional techniques. Cycle or half-cycles are often structured in AAAB or ABAB sections. There are no developed melodic progressions. Modulation is not essential, but when it appears it may involve entire *hâne*s or *terkîb*s, but not smaller units or single note alterations (Feldman 1996:325).

While we cannot always prove the correctness of the attribution of each item, the stylistic integrity of this group of pieces seems quite clear. The impression they give is of a kind of simplification, perhaps a folklorization of the repertoire. This assessment would apparently correspond to the poverty of both transmission and new creation in the 16th century source.

The breakdown of the older art music led to an entirely novel situation by the early decades of the 17th century. The *nawba* was forgotten entirely, but gradually–probably not until after mid-century–a new form of concert-suite was created under the name *fasıl*. This consisted of the classical Persian forms *kâr* and *naqsh* plus developments of the Turkish folkloric forms known as *murabba'* and *semâ'î*. Melodically the minor-like mode with dominant fifth degree (termed *kürdî* or *hüseynî*)–which is the mode par excellence of Anatolian folk music–took pride of place, and the entire courtly repertoire thus drew closer to Anatolian Turkish folklore. Perhaps by default–i.e. with the decline of the older Persian courtly repertoire, and the lack of a new one–a sort of "national" Turkish style was in place at court. It seems that a number of musicians of Iranian origin took part in this Turkish repertoire formation. Most of these individuals were native Turkish-speakers and were undoubtedly familiar enough with folkloric styles to participate in the creation of a new musical "koine."

Toward the end of the 16th century the one major musical innovation, and perhaps in part as a compensation for the loss of a complex and sophisticated composed repertoire–was the emergence of developed improvisation, both for voice and instruments, which earned a new name–the *taksîm*. In time the taksim allowed for a new freedom in modulation and more developed conceptions of melodic progression. Thus, although it could not leave any record in the anthologies or collections of repertoire, the *taksîm* played a very important role in the development of courtly Ottoman music. As I had noted in 1996 (p. 293), a *gazel* of the poet Cevri (1595-1654) clearly alludes to this modulatory function of the taksim:

> *Eylese şevk ile taksim-I dü-beyti ağaz*
> *Gösterür cümle makamatı be kavl-I edvar*

> "When he commences to passionately sing a taksim of two couplets
> He demonstrates all the makams according to the theory of music."

To sum up, the Ottoman repertoire and performance practice of the first half of the 17th century–the music that was played and documented by Ali Ufkî Bey–was not simply one generation within a steady evolution and development of the Islamicate art music of the previous centuries. Even given the highly incomplete state of our knowledge of the art music of the 15th-16th centuries, enough evidence survives to prove that the early 17th century vocal repertoire and performance practice–aside from the important development of the improvised *taksim* –was simpler and less "artistic" than that of the past in many respects. Yet it was not a total break from the past, as it still utilized a fairly rich modal system, and quite a complex system of rhythmic cycles, while some of the older compositional forms–notably the instrumental *peşrev*–still survived and were productive.

It is by no means easy to account for this musical decline in Turkey, especially as it is not long after the era of the greatest expansion and wealth of the Ottoman state. For historians of the visual arts and architecture, the 16th century is an ex-

tremely rich period, during which some of the most impressive monuments of Ottoman civilization were built. Up until the very end of the 16th century the Ottomans patronized major poets in the Turkish language, to the extent that this century is regarded as the classic era for Ottoman literature. Nor were the Sufi orders in decline. Several of them were influential at the court and also patronized music. The *Mevleviye*–who were still largely based in Konya–were elaborating their ritual and its music. It is true that the two strongest rulers–Selim I (1512-1520) and Süleyman I (1520-1566)–were relatively uninterested in music, and this period of over fifty years without any great royal interest in itself could have produced a negative effect. In this era–when court music was still largely reliant on the pages educated at the court itself and on foreign experts, not on the more numerous musicians of the city as would become the case later in the 17th century–this royal neglect could have serious results. The limited scope for art music in 16th century Ottoman society–a context in which musical education was mainly confined to the slave-musicians of the palace service–did not permit these foreign (usually Iranian) musical masters to effect a fundamental transformation of Ottoman musical life. Court records survive for the musicians of both Ottoman rulers and we know that Süleyman employed an Iranian, Hasan Can, as his leading musician. Indeed some of his compositions appear in both the Bobowski and Cantemir Collections, and in his reign 'Abdülali is noted as a leading composer of vocal music. The Süleymanie and Oxford anthologies of the later 16th century contain a handful of composers' names that indicate unambiguous or probable Anatolian Turkish origin. Among the former is Bayazid Akşehirli and Seyyid Ali Çelebi, and among the latter is Öksüz Ali and Salğur Şah (Wright 1992: 20). But these few Anatolian Turkish musicians are a small minority among others of probable Iranian or other origin, and in any case all were totally forgotten by the following century–not one appears either in the *Hâfiz Post Mecmû'âsı* or in *Atrabül Asâr*. Thus Wright's characterization of the Ottoman courtly repertoire of the 16th century as being of "high prestige" but "limited diffusion" and purveyed by "professional musicians trained elsewhere" would seem to be accurate.

Despite the earlier development of music in some of the Eastern Anatolian cities in pre-Ottoman times, the shift of the political and cultural center to the extreme northwest of the country, far from the more thoroughly Islamicized regions of the east–first to Bursa and then to Istanbul–rendered the Ottomans more dependent on foreign, mainly Iranian, musical expertise. We must also recall the depopulation of Constantinople at the end of Byzantine rule and hence the need for Sultan Fatih Mehmed to repopulate the city. The broad diffusion of art music among the urban middle classes of all religions, including the Muslim *ulema* which was to occur after the later 17th century, had not yet begun.

A major contemporary literary source offers some complementary information. The well-known biographical dictionary (*tezkire*) of Aşık Çelebi, written in 1565, contains data about 26 individuals who were known both as poets and musicians.

These were all men who attended the private *meclis* gatherings of the Ottoman elite, and recited their new poems in the Turkish language. While a few of them— such as Meşrebi and the appropriately named Makami—were considered experts in musical theory, most composed songs, and the nature of their repertoire is revealing. The *kâr*—with its Persian-language text—is not mentioned, although there is occasional mention of the related *'amel* form. The instrumental *peşrev* is never mentioned. Not uncommon is the form *nakış*. We know from Wright's study of the nearly contemporary Oxford Mecmû'â (Ouseley 127) that in that document the *nakış* is the only vocal form using Turkish texts. And almost all of these *nakış* (84 out of 90) were composed by a single composer named Karaca Ahmet. The *Oxford Mecmû'â* contains a more strictly courtly or "classical" repertoire, based largely on *kâr* and *'amel*. The *nakış* stands out as being a "lighter" form of classical song, and so is composed in the Turkish rather than the Persian or Arabic languages. It was known for using a middle range of rhythmic cycles (*usûl*) and to feature long *terennüm*s (syllabic sections), without any poetic text. Thus, in the Oxford Memua, the *nakış* represents a "light" classical repertoire.

However, in Aşık Çelebi's text the most common vocal form seems to be called indifferently *murabba'* and *türkü*. The latter has retained its meaning as the general appellation for a folk song of Anatolian Turks. Recently Ersu Pekin (2012), concludes that "it is clear that, as a musical term *türkü* is used, while as a literary term *murabba'* is used." In Aşık Çelebi's text *türkü* is frequently associated with a popular song, even a dance song.

Examples include the following:

– Tabi: "The *türkü*s that he composed in the *makam hüseynî* were common on the tongue of both the great and the humble in *Arabia*, *İrak* and *Hijaz*, in Persia in *İsfahan* and *Shiraz*."
– About *'Ilmi*, who composed a *türkü* about a Frankish boy named Levize: "At one time the singers would chant it, and even the harp-playing dancing women would sing it."

The text that Aşık Çelebi gives for this *türkü* tends to confirm Pekin's judgment about its identity with the *murabba'* form, in that it seems typical of the literary style of the *murabba's* in the Ali Ufki Collection, and is not as folkloric as the *türkü*s in the latter source. Thus we should not equate the situations of the mid-16th century with that of the mid-17th century. Aşık Çelebi wrote his *tezkire* over 80 years earlier than the *mecmû'â* of Ali Ufkî, so it is not surprising that in the latter source the forms *türkü* and *murabba'* show some musical differentiation. It is possible that the *murabba'* in the mid-17th century was already beginning the process that would lead to its further development as the *murabba' beste* at the end of the 17th century. Asik Çelebi may represent the first stages of the incorporation of the *murabba'* as a musical genre standing in between an older artistic and a current folkloric/popular repertoire.

Wright has repeatedly stressed the evident lack of structural and other continuities from the *Nurosmaniye Mecmû'â* of ca. 1480 and the two later 16th century Ottoman anthologies. Thus, for whatever reason, by the middle of the 16th century Ottoman music making had taken a decidedly populist turn. On the whole these vignettes of the entertainments of the Ottoman elite in the middle of the 16th century may tie in with Wright's hypothesis of an "indigenous Ottoman tradition of urban music-making" which was also patronized by that very elite but in less formal settings. While similar informal *meclis* gatherings had also occurred earlier, what must have been new was that the older courtly repertoire apparently lost its currency even among the courtly elite in stages that we cannot easily reconstruct today. What is crucial for our purposes is that in the mid-16th century the *meclis* gatherings of the aristocratic/bureaucratic elite emphasized musical forms tending toward the middle to the lighter range of the classical repertoire, as well as a substantial repertoire that could only be described as popular/folkloric. This would suggest that, although the classical forms and repertoire were still known to some extent (as seen in the contemporary Oxford Mecmû'â), they were not receiving much encouragement at the highest social level.

Thus, a process of musical erosion and simplification occurred in Turkey, leading to the cultural situation at the court of Murad IV, as documented by both Evliya Çelebi and Ali Ufkî. As I attempted to demonstrate in my earlier study (1996), it was only the fundamental societal changes within Ottoman Turkey after the middle of the 17th century that allowed artistic music to reach a much larger segment of the urban population. This led both to its greater cultural grounding and to official encouragement for artistic experimentation and innovation, which in turn produced the many changes and developments of the first "classical" age of Ottoman music, from the beginning to the final third of the 18th century.

The Iranian Factor

Through much of their earlier history the Anatolian Turks were still rather dependent on musical developments in the Iranian world. Since internal events and cultural situation within Ottoman Turkey do not fully explain the reasons for the partial break in musical continuity at the end of the 16th century, it would seem legitimate to look at the contemporary situation in neighboring Iran. The available evidence, thanks to several histories, biographical dictionaries and musical treatises, while not inconsiderable, does exhibit contradictory features that would seem to bear more than one interpretation.[21] Nevertheless, I would contend that these features are relevant to the contemporaneous Ottoman situation.

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[21] Several basic sources on the history and theory of music in Safavid Iran were presented by Amir Hosein Pourjavadiy (2005), to which I refer frequently in this section.

At the beginning of the 16th century the brilliant musical life of the Timurids in Herat and Central Asia was brought to an end, and continued on a much less elevated level after the Sheybanid Uzbeks drove them from power. While initially the Iranian Safavids sought to preserve the musical heights that had been reached by the Timurids, by the following generation, the Safavid ruler Shah Tahmasp decreed an absolute ban on music in 1533, even murdering some of the leading musicians. This ban seems to have been enforced throughout western and central Iran for five decades! Even toward the end of his reign, in 1571-72 Tahmasp "ordered a royal *farman* to kill instrumentalists and singers of all the cities and in particular Ostad Qasem Qanuni."22 Only the Safavid princely governors of Khorasan and the semi-independent rulers of Gilan on the Caspian Sea still patronized music openly, thus allowing the Timurid repertoire and style to flourish for almost a century longer. Judging by the descriptions of music and musicians written by Safavid writers like Prince Sam Mirza (1517-75), author of *Tohfa-yi Sami* (1550), and Eskandar Beg Munshi, the years of intense persecution by Shah Tahmasp had perceptible effects on the following generation. The damage was clear in the new capital Qazvin during the brief reign of Tahmasp's successor Esmail II (1576-77), whose musical life was described in some detail by Eskandar Munshi. While Esmail did patronize both singers and instrumentalists, there is no mention either of new compositions or of the performance of the instrumental *pishrow*. As Pourjavadiy suggests, if *pishrow*s were performed at the Safavid court in Qazvin, they must have originated with musicians from Khorasan. According to Darvish 'Ali Changi, who wrote in Bukhara in the last third of the 17th century, *pishrow*s as well as vocal *naqsh* and *sowt's* by the unfortunate Qasem Qanuni of Mashhad were still performed. Vocal music was divided into the mainly religious (and metrically free) genres performed by the *hâfez* or *guyanda*, and the primarily metrical courtly genres sung by the *khananda*. According to Eskandar Munshi the religious *guyandagi* repertoire was sung mainly by singers from "Iraq" (western Iran) and the secular *khanandagi* by singers from Khorasan (Pourjavadiy 2005:74-77). Technically this meant that the complex, composed vocal repertoire (the *kâr, naqsh and sowt*) were preserved and developed mainly in Khorasan (and to some extent in Gilan).

Nevertheless, this negative situation cannot be accepted categorically. The musician and treatise writer Mir Sadr al-Din Mohammed Qazvini (d. 1599) was credited as a composer of all the serious classical vocal genres, such as *qawl, 'amal, kâr* and *naqsh*. His date of birth is not known, but as his father died in 1561 and Qazvini was already a music tutor at the court of Sultan Mohammed Khodabanda (1577-1587), he was probably born between 1530 and 1540. He later became a boon companion (*nadim*) of Shah Abbas I. Thus his years of musical education corresponded to the period of Shah Tahmasp's ban on music. Because his

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22 This information comes from the 17th century history Tarikh-e 'Alamara 'Abbasi by Eskandar Beg Torkaman, as translated by Amir Hosein Pourjavadiy in chapter 3 of his dissertation, p. 62.

family were *seyyed*s (descendants of Mohammed) and had served as courtiers and poets for generations, his family evidently found ways to continue his musical education despite the ban, which was strongly in effect in their region. Mir Sadr al-Din Mohammed's career is more typical of the life of a respected aristocrat than that of a musician, and it is difficult to assess how widely heard his classical compositions were during his lifetime.

Probably more typical are the careers of two musical figures of the mid-17th century, Na'ini (1592-1640) and Aqa Momin (c.1600-c. 1655). Born in central Iran, Na'ini studied with a well-known local poet. Rather than attempt to enter the court of Shah Abbas in Isfahan, he moved to Khorasan (Mashhad and Harat), where he was able to perfect his musical art and education. Thereafter he emigrated to India, where he first served Jahangir in Ajmir, and then Shah Jahan, who acceded to the Moghul throne in 1628. Na'ini spent the rest of his life in India, where he became proficient also in Indian art music, and wrote the treatise *Zamzama-ye Vahdat* which he presented to Shah Jahan. The treatise treats both Persian and Indian art music. The biographer Nasrabadi even states that he became a follower of Hinduism in Banaras, before finally making the pilgrimage to Mecca and dying shortly thereafter in Iran. One Persian biographer who had met him in Patna states that he composed mainly in the lighter classical *naqsh* genre, as well as Indian music (Pourjavadiy 2005:22). While of course we cannot gauge the culture of an entire era by the career of a single individual, it is at least suggestive that a talented musician from a non-aristocratic family found it more appealing to pursue his musical interests first in Khorasan and then in India, rather than attempt to enter the court in Isfahan. The biographer Nasrabadi mentions another important Iranian composer, Saber Shirazi, who moved to India and died there in the middle of the 17th century.

Perhaps the career of Aqa Momin can suggest more about the musical situation at the court in the first half of the 17th century. While his exact dates are unknown, Aqa Momin was a singer, instrumentalist and composer who became the *chalchi bashi* (chief musician) at the courts of Shah Safi and Abbas II in Isfahan. His first piece was evidently composed in 1622 (to commemorate the taking of Qandahar), while he seems to have been in the royal service until perhaps 1655. Toward the end of his life he wrote a musical treatise to which he appended a list of all the songs that he had composed during his career. Many of them were occasional pieces, directly commissioned by the ruling shah. In some cases the shah gave him the poem for him to set to music, in other cases the words were his own. We may also surmise that he was an instrumental composer as well, as four *peşrev*s (*pishrow*) bearing his name are included in the notated Collection of Prince Cantemir (ca. 1700). Several of his *nakş* compositions are also recorded in the nearly contemporary anonymous *mecmua* Revan 1723 (ex. *fasl-i saba*: *fer'*, *nakş* Ağa Mumin).

While, like all other Safavid theorists, he employed no musical notation, and indeed seems to have known relatively little musical theory, his treatise is a very

significant document for the state of musical life at the court in Isfahan in the first half of the 17th century. In the theoretical part of the unnamed treatise, Aqa Momin demonstrates an adequate knowledge of the distinctions between the classical and folkloric vocal genres, as well as the theory of the modal entities. Nevertheless, his list of his 54 vocal compositions reveals a rather different picture. Similar to his Turkish contemporary Ali Ufkî, the heavier classical genres *kâr* and *'amal* are absent. Only a single item contains a modulating section (*miyankhana*), and belongs to the *qowl* genre. Aqa Momin employs the general term *tasnif* for all vocal items. According to a later Safavid source of Amir Khan Gorji (see below), *tasnif* was equivalent to the folkloric Turkish *varsaği*. In Ali Ufkî's collections *varsaği* usually has a modulating section, which Aqa Momin's pieces lack. Pourjavadiy concludes that the majority of them are *sowt*. This was also a quasi-folkloric genre, and in his *fasıl-i hüseynî*, Hâfiz Post includes only a single *savt*. But the very fact that Aqa Momin feels no need to specify the genre beyond the term *tasnîf*, without the rhythmic cycle, (although with the *maqam* or other mode), seems to indicate that, despite his statements to the contrary in his treatise–de facto in the music which he composed and performed at the Safavid court–these distinctions made little difference, as all were simply "songs" with a relatively simple structure.[23] In addition, looking at the modality of his songs 14 of them were either in *maqam hoseyni* or in related entities like *mohayyer* or *dugâh*. This concurs with all 17th century Ottoman sources, from Ali Ufkî and even to Cantemir. It is, of course, no accident that *hoseyni* (*hüseynî*) is the *maqam* closest to both Anatolian and much of Iranian folk music, being particularly widespread among the Kurds on both sides of the border. In older Turkish usage the *maqam* was indeed named *kürdî*.

Unlike Sadr al Din Mohammed, who was an aristocrat and courtier, and Na'ini, who was a poet and what we would call today a "spiritual seeker", Aqa Momin composed and performed the musical styles that were in demand at the Safavid court. It is almost uncanny that the repertoire he presents seems so familiar from that of Ali Ufkî, who is the major contemporary Ottoman source. As the *chalchi bashi* of the court in Isfahan he was a respected and well-known figure, to the point that four of his *peşrev*s were preserved in Turkey for almost 50 years, and a number of *kâr*s and *nakş* appear in Revan 1723. Assuming that at least some of these attributions are accurate, this would attest to his knowledge and skill in the older courtly repertoire. While there is no doubt that he, and other more or less learned musicians knew the rules defining the courtly vocal genres, in his generation there must have been little professional demand for them.

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[23]   The fact that Agha Momin composed many poems given to him by the Shah, suggests that he was using popular forms, in that classical forms probably demanded that the poem be set to a pre-composed melody (see Aksoy 2008:17-35). Aksoy mentions the reference of the Venetian ambassador Giovanni Battista Donado, to Turkish courtly songs that he heard in Istanbul during the 1680s.

The last major Safavid source on music from the 17th century, the treatise of Amir Khan Gorji written in 1697, presents an equally enigmatic picture. The treatise was commissioned and presented to Shah Sultan Hoseyn, despite the fact that two years previously, in 1695 (only one year after ascending the throne), the new Shah banned music, along with all other "non-sharia" activities, such as wine-drinking, prostitution, gambling, backgammon, chess, opium and other drugs. In addition to the treatise being created at all in these circumstances, equally surprising is that it contains a thoroughly "classical" repertoire, emphasizing the forms *kâr* and *'amal*. In the theoretical section, and for the first time in 17th century Iran, the rhythmic cycles (*usûl*) are given numerical time values. Previous Safavid treatises had not given details of the *usûl*s, except for the Nasim-I Tarab, written in Gilan by a certain Nasimi in the first half of the 16th century. As noted by Pourjavadiy (2007:xxiii), there is some alignment with 16th century Ottoman rhythmic terminology and structure. However, in comparing Amir Khan's treatment with that of Nasimi almost a century and a half earlier, we can see that their *usûl*s are almost never in agreement, and moreover his are not simple expansions or developments of Nasimi's. The latter gives 33 *usûl*s while Amir Khan gives only 16. The names of only five of Amir Khan's *usûl*s appear in Nasimi's work, and of these five, only one has the same number of beats: *mukhammas* in 20 beats. Given this fundamental disagreement, it is very unlikely that any classical repertoire could have survived from Nasimi's time to that of Amir Khan. This information from Amir Khan Gorji's treatise would suggest that, on the one hand, a courtly repertoire was in use toward the end of the 17th century–and this despite the new ban on music–but that this "classical" repertoire had been created mainly by composers of his own generation. This is also borne out by the few biographies of composers whose works are represented in his collection.

From the information cited above–incomplete and sometimes contradictory as it is–we may conclude that the persecutions of Shah Tahmasp, probably along with other less well-documented cultural dislocations, created an atmosphere unfavourable to serious art music, except for aristocratic individuals who could avoid many of the official strictures. By the first half of the 17th century the level of music at the Safavid court in Isfahan had become largely an "entertainment" repertoire. During this interval most of the older classical repertoire, along with many older rhythmic cycles were forgotten. Some knowledge of the principles of composition survived among aristocratic amateurs, so that a musical "revival" could come about in the second half of the 17th century. But it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the evident decline in the creation of new artistic compositions in Iran could only have had a negative effect on the same repertoire in Ottoman Turkey. During the 16th century this was still a "high prestige" repertoire of "limited diffusion" (in Wright's terms) partly performed and overwhelmingly composed by foreign born, largely Iranian professional musicians, not by Turkish musicians trained at the Ottoman court.

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If we attempt to integrate this relatively new information into the few but significant facts already known about musical relations between Iran and Turkey in the first half of the 17th century, we may arrive at a more refined view of these connections. Turkish sources agree 1638 was important in this regard, because in that year Sultan Murad IV conquered both Erivan and Baghdad, retaking the latter from the Iranian control under Shah Abbas I that had been in place only since 1623. Both Evliya and Es'ad Efendi mention a number of outstanding musicians (Es'ad Efendi puts them at twelve) whom Sultan Murad had captured in Baghdad and taken back with him to Istanbul. These are referred to as Persians (*acemler*). This would suggest that Baghdad had retained something of an older Persianate artistic style and musical repertoire, despite the persecution of musicians in Isfahan and Qazvin. This is not very surprising, as Baghdad had been under Ottoman control from 1534 until 1623, and moreover had a culturally active *Mevlevihane*. Art historical research indicates that the *Mevlevîye* there were active patrons of painting in the last part of the 16th century (Milstein 1990). This being the case, we would expect them also to patronize and encourage both mystical and secular art music, as they did elsewhere. The connection of Baghdad with the cities of the "Jazeera" (northern Iraq) and south eastern Anatolia were close through the caravan trade, which was still significant through the 16th and first half of the 17th centuries. All of this would link this broad region in a Persianate musical style, but, more significantly, would allow the older Persian courtly repertoire and performance practice to survive better than in western Iran proper.

Es'ad Efendi (writing roughly a century later) includes the names of many composers coming from the largely Kurdish cities of Diyarbekir, Mardin, Urfa and 'Ayntab. As I noted in 1996, this group accounts for the largest number of composers originating outside of Istanbul. While it is true–as Behar has noted more recently–that Es'ad Efendi sometimes adds belittling remarks to their biographies, this is not always the case (Behar 2010:159). The fact remains that the notable musicians hailing from this region far outnumber those coming from the more "central" European provinces of the Empire, such as Macedonia, Bulgaria or Serbia. The condescending tone very likely comes from the newly re-established preeminence of Istanbul as a musical capital, which was certainly evident by the generation of Es'ad Efendi and Cantemir. Both Es'ad Efendi and Evliya Çelebi consistently apply the term *acemane* (in the Persian manner) to musicians from this Eastern region. But Evliya, who had actually travelled and worked there as a musician roughly a century before Es'ad Efendi wrote his *tezkire*, never uses a condescending tone in describing these men. On the contrary, he links *acemane* to the revered "style of Khorasan" and the "*fasıl* of Hüseyin Baykara" (Timurid ruler of Herat). This usage alone suggests that Istanbul did not have the centrality in the patronage and composition of music in the early 17th century that it would attain by the early 18th century, and that might justify Es'ad Efendi's condescension toward some of the provincial "Easterners."

Both Evliya and Cantemir stress the importance of Emirganoğlu, the former governor of Erivan and who had gone over to the Ottoman side, as a connoisseur of music. In his *History* Cantemir relates an anecdote in which he stops to interview a passing Greek aristocrat who had been singing a "Persian air," praising his expertise. We may assume that Emirganoğlu had been an effective patron of music while still in Erivan, and this seemingly unusual and anomalous fact may help us to understand the careers of two of his Caucasian countrymen–Şeştâri Murad Ağa and Amir Khan Gorji. Es'ad Efendi speaks at length about a "Murad Ağa" who had been born in "Persia" (*diyar-ı acem*) but was captured by Sultan Murad in Baghdad and brought to Istanbul. Evliya Çelebi mentions a "Nahçevenli Murad Ağa" who was a player of the *şeştâr* and had come with Emirganoğlu from Erivan. Es'ad speaks only of Murad Ağa's singing, but then it was his policy to focus on vocal and not instrumental music and musicians. The later Ottoman tradition contains a few vocal compositions attributed to "Şeştari Murad." While it is possible that these were two different musicians, it seems more likely that they were one and the same person. Es'ad Efendi was writing almost a century after the fact, while Evliya had known Murad Ağa, and even mentions in which neighborhood he was settled in Istanbul.[24]

We can compare this with contemporary Persian data. Writing in 1697 (he was born in 1620) Amir Khan states that he was a native of Georgia and had grown up speaking Turkish and Georgian. He had evidently learned Persian and entered the Safavid service. As we have seen, his treatise is distinguished by a thorough knowledge of the classical Persian genres and the ability to compose in them. It might seem anomalous that a musician coming from as far to the northwest as Georgia would be in command of a courtly Persian repertoire, but if we take this information in conjunction with the Safavid governor's court in Erivan–whose influence certainly extended into Nahçevan and possibly to Georgia as well–we may perhaps discern a pattern that would have been favourable to music, even during times of persecution in more central areas of Iran. Whether this patronage began with Emirganoğlu, or had already existed somewhat earlier is at present moot. But even it if had only begun with him that would suffice to explain the prominence of musicians such as Şeştari Murad and Amir Khan Gorji.

In trying to compare the situation of courtly or "artistic" music in Ottoman Turkey and Safavid Iran from the middle of the 16th until the end of the 17th century, periods of patronage and encouragement alternate with neglect and persecution (the latter only on the Safavid side). Shah Tahmasp's prolonged official persecution of music and musicians, culminating in the physical liquidation of many prominent performers and composers, could not but have a chilling effect on the following generation. While "music" as such certainly did not disappear, the evi-

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[24] See Feldman 1996:66-67, Behar 2010:74-78. The present discussion assesses Murad Agha's significance for Ottoman music rather differently than Behar does in these pages.

dence of Aqa Momin's career and repertoire–as well as those Iranian musicians who emigrated to India–would suggest that professional musicians were discouraged from pursuing the more demanding "classical" repertoires and styles. This must have been true of the central Iranian provinces, but less so in the East (Khorasan) and in the West (South Caucasus). At present we cannot be certain whether the evident contemporary decline in musical standards in the Ottoman court was a reflection of the Iranian situation or of local official neglect; probably it was a mixture of both factors, as well as others that have not yet been discovered.

But equally important as this pattern of decline and erosion is the striking "revival" that took place more or less simultaneously in both Turkey and Iran. In Turkey Cantemir clearly identified one aristocratic amateur composer–Koca Osman–and his students as the principal agents in this musical renaissance. While Es'ad Efendi–in keeping with his principles as a writer of a biographical dictionary–never makes such sweeping judgments, the position he allots to Koca Osman also suggests the latter's pre-eminence in his generation. Behind the hyperbolic praise of Osman by his contemporary Evliya Çelebi–who was not known for carefully calibrated opinions–there seems to be a real recognition of his special position with regard to courtly music. In Iran neither Amir Khan nor other writers mention a single individual as being so influential, but the overall effect must have been rather similar. The only individual whom we can pinpoint would seem to be Mir Sadr al-Dîn Mohammed Qazvini, a *seyyed* and descendent of poets and scholars, who was a composer in the serious genres and the author of a musical treatise. However his work also included an unfinished biographical dictionary of poets, and he was the music tutor of a royal prince and later a boon companion of Shah Abbas I (r. 1587-1628), a position which he held only in the last twelve years of his life. Most of his career was spent in more private and intimate pursuits, and unlike Aqa Momin or Amir Khan, he could not be described as a "court musician". With both Sadr al-Dîn and Koca Osman the paradigm seems to be that of an aristocratic "amateur" who has mastered both theory and composition.

Unlike Sadr al-Dîn, Osman never held any official position at the court. Rather he had a wide circle of students, some of whom were performers for the reigning Sultan. Through these students, and especially Mustafa Buhurîzâde Itrî, his influence reached Prince Cantemir, and is therefore reflected in the latter's musical treatise. By Cantemir's generation the Ottoman court had become a great centre of patronage for music, especially during the famous Tulip Period, ending in 1730. Most of the 18th century saw the continuation of this lively patronage for music, which indeed led to the most rapid and varied developments in the entire history of Ottoman music. We know of a great many composers, some of whom also wrote treatises in the Turkish, Armeno-Turkish and Greek languages. Both the practice of, and the discourse about, music become far livelier than in the previous two centuries, and for the first time both involved all of the urban communities in the

major Ottoman cities, including the non-Muslims. Thus, in assessing the significance of the 17th century, the 18th century cannot furnish a cultural model. For heuristic purposes it may be more useful to turn to a later era, the second half of the 19th century, to gain some perspective on these earlier developments. In particular we need to focus on the interplay of the court and the "amateur" musical establishment in both its secular and Sufi zones. Without entering into much detail concerning this relatively well-known history, I would like to point out a couple of key patterns. For this we will need to "fast-forward" from the 17th to the 19th century.

The Function of Pseudographia in Later 19th Century Turkey

The year 1839 marked a turning point in the history of Ottoman music. In that year Mahmud II, the last sultan who may be taken as a serious and knowledgeable patron of Ottoman music, died and he was succeeded by Abdülmecid (1839-1861), the first sultan to openly support Western music at the court. Seven years later, in 1846, Ismail Dede, the greatest composer of the 19th century, left the court, saying "this game has lost its taste", and died on the pilgrimage to Mecca. From this point on–until the end of Empire–Turkish art music suffered from official neglect. While Western music had official status at the court through the Italian teachers Donizetti Pasha (Giuseppe Donizetti, 1788-1856) and Guatelli Pasha (1819-1900), it did not receive the kind of high level dissemination through (at least) the upper levels of society that would be sponsored in Egypt by the Khedive Ismail or in Republican Turkey by Kemal Atatürk. After the accession of Sultan Abdülhamid II in 1876 the dominant movement in urban music became not Western, but the "middle-brow" version of art and popular entertainment music associated with the new nightclubs known as *gazino* (It. "casino"), in which Western music played a minor role. Some of the musicians from aristocratic and bureaucratic backgrounds continued to work at the court, but a number of them, notably the composer Şevki Bey (1860-1891) and the multi-instrumentalist and composer Tanburi Cemil Bey (1871-1916), avoided the court and accepted aspects of the *gazino* style as part of the creative flux of the musical tradition. However, a major group of aristocratic "amateur" musicians and composers, most of them associated with the *Mevlevi* Order, were less accepting of this popularization and attempted to preserve an older courtly performance standard. To their number should be added several outstanding cantors of the Greek and Armenian churches as well as the major synagogues, who were also important connoisseurs and composers of secular Ottoman music. Without much coordination several of these musicians and music teachers attempted to preserve and transmit what they regarded as most valuable in the courtly music of the past. Their task was aided by the strength of the immediately preceding generation, so that literal transmission of their style and repertoire (known as *meşk*) could be practiced effectively. But the

popularization of a somewhat hybridized performance and compositional style complicated their task. A highly significant new factor was the appearance of printed Western musical notation of Turkish music, a development that allowed "unauthorized" versions of classical pieces to circulate without the approval of traditional masters. Some of these publications openly advertised that the repertoire they contained had been notated "in the commercial style" (*piyasa tarzında*)–and not in the style in which their original composers had created them.

In general the response of the heirs of the courtly tradition was two-fold. Led by the *Mevlevi* musician and student of the great *Mevlevi* composer Zekâî Dede (1825-97, himself known as "the Teacher", *hoca*), Rauf Yekta Bey, Western notation was employed to fix–often for the first time–masterpieces of the courtly repertoire. Other, in a sense more "traditional" musicians, such as the court musician Ismail Hakkı Bey and even Rauf Yekta's colleague Dr. Subhi Ezgi, utilized modern notation to create "pseudographia." These were of two general types: Ismail Hakkı Bey claimed to have discovered ancient pieces, such as a *peşrev* by Cellalüddin Rumi's son, Sultan Veled, or the *peşrev*s by "Farabi" (d. 950) all of which bear a striking resemblance to items in the Cantemir Collection, to which he had access.[25] Dr. Subhi Ezgi did not resort to such "traditional" methods; rather he, together with his teacher Şeyh Abdülhalim, "reconstructed" ancient pieces according to their "intuition" of how they should have been performed. In his publications Ezgi never presented these as his creations, they were rather "scientific" reconstructions of the proper form of antiquity. Like Ismail Hakkı Bey, Dr. Subhi was a serious and successful traditional composer in the style of the later 19th century. These new or "reconstructed" pieces by Ismail Hakkı Bey and Dr. Subhi Ezgi are fundamentally modern, but they do make significant gestures to the musical style of several generations earlier, but not to the time of the reputed composers. That is to say, they are the kind of "antiquity" that acts as a foundation for the currently known musical style. The earliest starting point for this "antiquity" can only be the oldest notated examples, in this case the early 17th century repertoire notated by Prince Cantemir. So in this case Cantemir's Western inspired effort to notate the earliest surviving repertoire was put to use two centuries later in order to buttress a thoroughly traditional, emic perception of an indigenous repertoire. Without the existence of this early collection, created by a European in an Islamic notation system, neither Ismail Hakkı nor Subhi Ezgi would have had sufficient criteria for judging antiquity. The latter seems to have developed his critical abilities to the point that he was probably sensitive to internal musical data to some degree, but for the former "antiquity" was a catch-all concept from which he could dig out items to be labelled "10th century", "13th century" or "17th century", as the need arose.

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[25]   I discuss the issue of Ottoman pseudographia in Feldman 1990-91.

At the same time both Ismail Hakkı and Dr. Subhi passed down other sorts of pieces–some of them fairly accurate versions of mid- to later 18th century musicians, others were obvious 19th century pseudographia bearing the name of a 17th century or even earlier composer. Nowhere do they indicate any principles of musical changes that could have validated or invalidated the attributions of these items. Looking at these three musicians–as well as many of their contemporaries, such as Ahmed Avni Konuk, Zekâîzâde Ahmed İrsoy, and Abdülkadir Töre–we can see a variety of responses in their attempt to preserve both the repertoire and the creative means of Ottoman music against the twin challenges of Western music and that of the "commercialized" (*piyasa*) style of Turkish music.

In his numerous publications Rauf Yekta never criticized his two contemporaries for their manipulation of musical sources. At the same time he must have understood that such methods ran counter to his own attempt to place the transmission and study of Ottoman music on a more empirical basis. Indeed it was only his writing–and not that of Ezgi–which appeared in a Western language for a Western public. Yet, when we look more closely at the apparent "empiricism" of Rauf Yekta Bey, it appears always to conform to the general mythic history of Ottoman music that we know from much earlier sources. While Yekta initiated an important series of booklets called "The Masters of Music", in which he dealt with the life of his own teacher Zekâî Dede, and of his teacher Ismail Dede, but the first book in the series is the life of none other than 'Abd al-Qâdir Marâghî, the mythical *hoca*, the "Teacher" who "founded" Ottoman music. Although he owned the manuscript of Cantemir's treatise and Collection as well as that of Mustafa Kevserî, and had access to the principal sources of Ottoman music, Yekta never attempted to create a history of Ottoman music that indicated any principle of change. His goal–like that of his colleagues and followers–was to present a description of an essentialist music, that had been passed down at least since medieval Islam to the Ottoman Turks. At times, however (mainly in his footnotes), he does indicate structural changes that he observes in the repertoire. But he never generalizes about how these changes could have effected major structural differences between older and newer items or entire musical eras. Evidently it was only a monolithic, essential and unchanging music that was judged to have a chance to withstand the onslaughts of both elite Westernization and popular vulgarization. By the following generation–that of Sadrettin Arel–this essentialist music would be renamed "Turkish Music."[26] It is perhaps surprising that Prince Cantemir, in 1700, was more empirical in describing both the music he worked with and its history than Rauf Yekta was writing in 1922. However, despite his immersion in Turk-

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[26] Despite the fact that he entitled his famous French essay "*La musique turque*" (in the Lavignac Encyclopedia vol. 5, article from 1922), this was to aid in its identification by a European readership. In the text itself the music under discussion is "*la musique orientale*." In the historical part of his text his sources are drawn variously from medieval theorists writing in Arabic and Persian. No earlier Turkish source is adduced.

ish life and culture, Cantemir was at heart a man of the European Age of Reason, whose deepest cultural (and certainly political) identification was not Ottoman, whereas–despite his involvement with French language and culture–Rauf Yekta's certainly was.

Despite the vast differences in historical circumstances, my assessment of the motivations of key musicians and musicologists of the late-19th-early 20th century in Turkey display patterns that seem to be quite comparable to those of a previous period of musical erosion and consolidation–the 17th century.

Pseudographia and the "Marâghî" Repertoire in Iran and Turkey

Going back to the 17th century in either Ottoman Turkey or Safavid Iran, we will not find most of the cultural factors that loomed so large in later 19th century Turkey. Even the role of the *Mevlevi* dervishes–who were just beginning to become a significant presence in the life of the elite in the Ottoman capital during the reign of Murad IV–was not really comparable in these two eras. Nevertheless, what seems striking about both eras, even encompassing 17th century Turkey and Iran, is the ability of highly cultured aristocratic individuals to effect a "revival" of an older courtly style, even when the court was hostile, indifferent or moving toward "popular" taste. Within this revival the role of theoretical knowledge, transmission of older repertoire, reconstruction or outright fabrication of ancient repertoire, as well as high level performance practice are deeply interconnected. In our terms, the roles of performer, composer, musicologist and music theorist are combined or even confused. Given the cultural instability that often surrounded secular music, the absence of widely used notation, and the agrarianate principle that "the past was, per se, authoritative," there was apparently no other way that a learned musician of aristocratic background and tastes–hence with no immediate concern about the acceptability of his music at court or in society at large–could participate creatively in his own culture, than by occasionally blurring the distinction between "transmission" and "composition," to create not simply a new "version" of an older piece, but a full-blown pseudographic item.

Thus, in assessing the repertoire attributed to 'Abd al-Qâdir Marâghî (d. 1435) in later Ottoman sources we must note where and how he is cited, as well as what evidence we may have to relate these references to his actual compositions. Wright presents a thorough analysis of the relationship between one piece notated by Marâghî himself with its "reincarnation" in the Nurosmaniye anthology created 50 odd years after his death. His conclusion is: "Thus, while it cannot be proved that the two pieces are not related, the lack of a single demonstrable common element means that it would be reasonable to conclude, after all, that they are more likely to be completely independent and separate pieces..." (Wright 1992a:226). But it is clear from his analysis of this piece in NO (pp. 220-226) that the later 15th century version was in many ways expanded, and not reduced.

The *Cemaat-i Mutriban* list of 1525 mentions 'Abd al-Qâdir's grandson, the *ud*ist and theorist Derviş Mahmud bin Abdülkadirzâde (Feldman 1996:72). While it is not impossible that he possessed some of the courtly songs of his grandfather, this is not stated clearly and we do not know the subsequent fate of these songs. In the anthologies of what Wright terms the "antecedent tradition" he appears as either 'Abd al-Qâdir or "*Khoja*" (*hoca*—the "Teacher"), but he is not the only earlier composer to be mentioned. Safi al-Din is cited numerous times in both the later 15th and 16th century sources (NO/G and Ox/S), along with "Ali Şitai." In the two 16th century anthologies the otherwise unknown Gazanfar Mirza holds a prominent place with nearly one hundred compositions! Thus, even though it seems unlikely that 'Abd al-Qâdir's songs were still known 50 years after his death, much less 150 years after, he was remembered as one of a handful of major early composers. It was only in the 17th century, and probably in the latter part of that century, that he was turned into a near-mythical exemplar of musical virtue.

One early Ottoman document is the *tasnîf persikon* attributed to Marâghî in a Greek manuscript of 1572, recently published by Kalaitzidis (2012:268). The published transcription utilizes in part the "modern" form of the *makam hüzzam*—unlikely for a piece from this era—but this seems to reflect the assumptions of the modern transcriber, given the lack of written indications, as Kalaitzidis admits.[27] While the *usûl* is apparently not given, the structure of the piece suggests the 16/4 meter supplied by the transcriber. The structure of the piece is consistent with the *murabba'* melodies recorded by Ali Ufkî roughly one century later, except for the appearance of lengthy sequences, which instead resemble some of the 17th century *peşrev*s recorded by Cantemir. It would seem to have nothing in common with melodies composed by or from the era of Marâghi, and thus forms a tantalizing link with the semi-folkloric vocal repertoire of the early 17th century, while still showing evidence of a more sophisticated style. It also bears no particular resemblance to the "Marâghi" pseudographia current in the 19th century. While other "*persikon*" items appear in these Greek sources, Marâghi's name is dominant in the 18th century manuscripts, such as that of Petros Peloponnesios (d.1778). On the other hand, Marâghi fails to appear in the repertoire collected by Ali Ufki Bey, nor is he a prominent figure for Evliya Çelebi, for whom the locus classicus of Persian music is the court of Hüseyin Baykara in Herat (1469-1506).

Behar notes that the text of one "*kâr*" attributed to Marâghi in modern Turkey ("*Ey Şehinşah-I Horasan*" in *makam segâh*) appears on page 305b of Ali Ufkî's Paris MS, but without either music or attribution, as "*segâh kâr hafîf*" (Behar 2008: 68). This reference in the Paris MS does demonstrate that Ali Ufkî was indeed aware of the *kâr* form—as was Evliya Çelebi—even though it was not a staple of the courtly repertoire in their time. But the appearance of this form and text without any composer's name is in itself negative evidence for the status of Marâghî in the

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27   *Hüzzam* is described by Cantemir (chap. VI), see discussion in Feldman 1996:246.

first half of the 17th century. Dr. Subhi Ezgi had already written in 1953 (Ezgi, vol. 4) that several of the *kâr*s attributed to ʿAbd al-Qâdir appeared in 16th century *mecmua* collections under the name of ʿAbd al-ʾAli (ʿAbdülali), "Hoca-i Sani", the "Second Teacher." He also seems to have been the earliest Turkish musicologist to categorically reject the possibility that the known repertoire of "Merağı" could possibly have been created by the historical ʿAbd al-Qâdir Marâghî (Ezgi, vol. 4, 239-40, 255-56).[28] Of course the coincidence of the text, *usûl* and makam with the 19th century repertoire of Marâghî is no accident. While not bearing any necessary connection to the composer ʿAbd al-Qâdir, whether it might bear an antecedent relationship with this later repertoire is (at present) a moot point, which may be somewhat better understood after a thorough analysis of the whole of this modern repertoire.

In both Turkey and Iran in the later 17th century a repertoire of vocal compositions, attributed to the composer and theorist ʿAbd al-Qâdir Marâghî were essential parts of the musical revival. In discussing the repertoire attributed to Marâghî in the Hâfız Post Anthology in the context of possible continuities between the repertoires documented in sixteenth and seventeenth century sources, Wright concludes:

> Discontinuity in the repertoire thus appears not merely radical but total. The kâr may correspond, directly or indirectly, to some of the other earlier forms, but none of the pieces in the antecedent anthologies can be identified in HP, so that there are no earlier versions that can be compared with the many examples of this form in HP attributed to ʿAbd al-Qadir al-Maraghi. Any consideration of the mid-seventeenth century ʿAbd al-Qadir al-Maraghi corpus should be based on the premise that these are pieces which had by then achieved the status of 'classics', deserving therefore to be attributed to a venerable figure of authority whose authorship would confirm their worth, but which in purely chronological terms were unlikely to be older than the century itself: that among them might be found survivals from the antecedent tradition is most unlikely (Wright 1992a:227).

By the last third of the 17th century the canonicity of this "Marâghî" repertoire in Turkey is confirmed by its position in the Hâfız Post Anthology, in Revan 1723, and is remarked upon by Cantemir in his *History*. Since Cantemir did not notate any vocal items, and as they do not appear at all in Ali Ufkî, we have no contemporaneous document with which to compare the modern repertoire of this type. However, Wright's comparison of one item–the *rast kavl-i muhteşem*–confirms his judgment that "they were unlikely to be older than the century itself":

> … it may be said in general the melodic style of this piece, in a rhythmic cycle that has retained the same morphology as in the seventeenth century, is not too dissimilar to what we encounter in ʿAli Ufki and Cantemir. (Wright 1992, 235).

Thus these pieces had become "classics" with remarkable rapidity. As Wright confirms, continuity from the repertoires of the 16th century was nil. Where might

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[28]   Behar (2010:71) also stresses the significance of Ezgi's position, quoting him at some length, and I had noted Ezgi's unusually critical judgment in my *Asian Music* article (1990:93).

these new "classics" have originated? In the Istanbul of the previous generation, the outstanding master of the *kâr* form was none other than Koca Osman. While Es'ad Efendi mentions the over 200 items he had composed in the *murabba', kâr, nakış* and *şarkı* forms, he singles out his *kâr-i musanna* in the *makam buselik usûl türk-darb* for special praise, bringing in the figure of Marâghî's "slave" Gholam Shadi. Clearly Osman had transmitted his own kâr repertoire, most probably along with another, apparently "older" repertoire. For this there only two possibilities—either he composed them himself, as pious pseudographia, or he had them from another, probably foreign, source. In this case the former seems less likely, because Osman was a well-known figure with many prominent students. It is hard to imagine that he could have "discovered" such a repertoire while occupying such a public position. The foreign source seems more likely, and if there was one, it must have lay within Greater Iran or its peripheries. This brings up the status of the purported "Marâghi" repertoire in Iran.

Hâfız Post's contemporary, Amir Khan Gorji discusses Marâghî explicitly. As noted by Pourjavadiy:

> Amir Khan mentions first that the best examples (and probably the most classic) of vocal compositions known in his day was the *kâr* "*rokhsar*" composed by Marâghi which was written in three rhythmic cycles of *zarb al-fath, mokhammas, khafif*. This *kâr*, as Amir Khan states, was the best model of composition against which all composers could test their ability and skill. Subsequently, he claims that he could outrank Maraghi by composing a *kâr* in four *osul* cycles, adding the *ravani* to the three other *osul*s used by Marâghi (Pourjavadiy 2005:161.)

Since Amir Khan adduces this famous *kâr* "*rokhsar*" of "Marâghî" as a well-known model, within the broader public sphere of the educated musical public it cannot be his own creation, and it is very likely older than one generation prior. Even though the *kâr* had little currency at the court in the previous generation, as the leading court musician Aqa Momin failed to include any in his own *mecmû'â*, the Turkish tradition, at any rate, remembered him as a composer of *kâr*s, among other forms. The author of Revan 1723 noted Aqa Momin as the composer of two *kâr*s: *çargâh düyek*, and *evç hafif*, as well as two *nakış*: *şehnaz evfer* and *segah türki-zarb*.

The biographical notices of Mir Sadr al-Dîn Mohammed (d. 1595) indicated that he composed in the *kâr* form, but (not surprisingly) they do not mention Marâghi in this connection. Quite possibly in this earlier generation—a century before that of Amir Khan and Hâfız Post—there was no need to link the *kâr* form only with Marâghî. Had some of Mir Sadr al-Dîn's *kâr*s become known as compositions of "Marâghî" by the mid-17th century? Might they have travelled up to Emirgan's court in the South Caucasus or to Baghdad? While we have no documentary evidence, these are surely among the possibilities. Since there was evidently a functioning repertoire of *kâr*s at least in some aristocratic circles in Greater Iran during the 16th century, it is quite conceivable that they would have formed part of the repertoire brought to Turkey by Murad Agha or other of the *acemler*

musicians coming either from the South Caucasus or from Baghdad in 1638. Thus they would have formed part of the musical revival beginning to brew at that time, in which both the native Koca Osman and foreign born Murad Agha were major figures. By the next generation–that of Hâfız Post and Itrî–the "Marâghî" repertoire of what were termed *kâr* would have been an established part of the musical canon in Istanbul. Therefore, despite problems in musical transmission in both Safavid Iran and Ottoman Turkey during the 16th century, it would seem that the much greater decentralization of Persian music, as compared to the centreing of music within Istanbul and the Ottoman court, enabled the more esoteric and erudite element of the Persianate courtly repertoire to survive in various locations in Greater Iran, so that they could then reach Istanbul at a given point and help to effect a musical revival there. Of course much of the above argument is hypothetical, and it is unlikely that complete textual documentation will ever emerge in sufficient quantity to enable us to create a clear "narrative" of musical creation and transmission. Nevertheless, it seems worthwhile to combine the known facts about the varying status of the *kâr* repertoire in 16th and 17th century Iran and Turkey–as well as the better known conditions leading to musical pseudographia in a later era–in order to create a theoretical model that might help to explain how this repertoire was created, why it retains the musical shape that is currently has (in Turkey), and what cultural function it has served over time, thus bringing the entire topic into the sphere of historical ethnomusicology.

Conclusion

The central dilemma addressed here concerns what can be known about the technical stages through which the Turkish repertoire and performance practice passed in the course of the 17th century, leading to a system that, while not identical to the one documented in the Hamparsum notations of the early 19th century, was directly antecedent to it. It would seem that enough documentation of various types have been identified which demonstrate a process that can be schematized in the following manner. But–as Wright has observed–we cannot assume a neat chronological succession, as some features must have coexisted among different social strata for some time:

1) Decline or marginalization of the older "Persianate" courtly repertoire (starting in the second half of the 16th century).
2) Increasing acceptance of semi-popular Turkish repertoire, even at the court and among the elite.
3) Musical "revival" or "renaissance" during the second half, and especially the last third of the 17th century, whose groundwork had been laid by certain musicians earlier in the century.

Specifically this new system contained the following:

a) Expansion of the *murabba'* into the *murabba' beste* by introducing a wide variety of *usûl*s, slower tempos and serious Turkish poetic texts, as well as the *terennümat* section, linking the *beste* to the older *kâr* and *naqsh/nakış* forms.

b) Reinstatement of the "classic" *kâr* with Persian texts as well as the *nakış* with either Persian or Turkish texts.

c) Creation of the *ağır semâ'î* form out of the older vocal *semâ'î*.

d) Elimination of all folkloric genres.

e) Elevation of the urban popular *şarkı*.

f) Fixing of the order of performance in the *fasıl*.

g) Increasing development of *peşrev*s with slower tempos and greater melodic density.

h) Creation of the newer form of *semâ'î-i sazende* in *aksak semâ'î* (10/8).

i) Greater expansion of the improvised *taksim* form both for instruments and voice, with wider use of modulation within it.

The musical phenomena listed above all have their own inner logic in purely musical terms. How this "musical logic" related to social and historical facts is another matter, for which purely musicological analysis cannot suffice. A deeper understanding of the cultural "meaning" of the musical facts presented above must take into account many social, religious, ethnographic and political factors both within Ottoman Turkey and Safavid Iran. This is not the kind of question that can be "solved" by summing up the arguments listed above, but rather can only emerge as the result of much deeper multi-disciplinary research.

But as a first step, we might note that the sources for the history of music in Safavid Iran are becoming more accessible, and so it is possible to attempt to integrate this history into the Turkish developments. As we have seen, during most of the 16th century the factors affecting music in Iran were quite negative. For the Ottomans to lose the support of their principal musical source–Iran–proved to be problematic for the maintenance of older standards of artistic musical practice and the older repertoire. We may conclude at this stage that a series of interlocking historical events in both Ottoman Turkey and Safavid Iran led to a partial stagnation of musical creation in the second half of the 16th century at the level of the court. Within Greater Iran, however, aristocratic individuals acted both as composers and patrons to ensure the survival of the principals of courtly music. This process must have been characterized by a mixture of new composition in traditional forms and transmission of older items. However, within a relatively short time some of the new compositions must have become part of a pseudographic repertoire which would become canonical, mainly under the name of the late 14th-early 15th century Iranian composer 'Abd al-Qâdir Marâghî. The importation of major "peripheral" Iranian musicians to Istanbul following the conquest of Erivan and Baghdad in 1638–most importantly Murad Agha–facilitated the transmission of an older Ira-

nian courtly repertoire that had been lost in Turkey (and partly in central Iran as well) and also the relatively recent pseudographia of "Marâghî." This somewhat older and more sophisticated Iranian element proved critical to the burgeoning group of serious musicians in Istanbul, apparently clustered around Koca Osman. The new compositions of Osman, his contemporaries 'Ama Kadri, Sütçuzade Isa, and his students Buhurîzâde Itrî, Hâfız Post and several others set the stage for the further development of a native compositional style–which would now diverge significantly from the earlier Iranian standards and from the Turkish folkloric style that had succeeded it–by their students, among whom the Moldavian Prince Cantemir and the Mevlevi dervish Osman Dede were among the most eminent. This pairing of the Greek Orthodox Moldavian aristocrat and the *Mevlevi* dervish is not fortuitous. After this point there occurred a steady development and expansion of the newer musical principles, very probably with new practices and concepts entering through the other great musical tradition of the Ottoman capital, that of the post-Byzantine tradition of the Greek Orthodox church, as well as those of the highly esteemed *neyzens* and composers of the *Mevlevi* dervishes. While the term may perhaps be overly grand, it may not be inappropriate to speak of a musical "renaissance", in which the older principles of musical composition (especially *usûl*) were reformulated along with newer principles to create a new genre system and a novel repertoire that embodied it, whose creators were almost exclusively musicians trained within the Ottoman culture–and not foreign Iranian musicians, even though some of them–like Tanburi Angelos, Tanburi Çelebi (Chelebico), and Prince Cantemir, as well as other contemporaries such as Yahudi Harun (Aaron Hamon), "Ermeni Murad" et al.–were non-Muslims.

In Iran, although there was a similar "revival" of classical musical practice in the second half of the 17th century, this revival did not have the required political stability or social encouragement to continue for long. Nevertheless, when the Ottoman Armenian Tanburi Harutin visited Iran with an official delegation to Nader Shah in 1736–fifteen years after the fall of the Safavid Dynasty–he found that Persian musicians still knew of the Ottoman composers and compositions (including *beste*s), and among the composers, Buhurîzâde Mustafa Itrî.[29] But, by the early 18th century–and for the first time in their long mutual relations–cultural developments in Iran had no effect on Turkey, a striking contrast to the musical situation exactly a century earlier. While the current Persian musical system–known as the *radif*–had its inception in the middle of the 19th century, and is associated with one family of Tehran musicians–the Farahanis–the antecedents of this system were developed over the course of the second half of the 18th century, even while remnants of the older *maqam* system and compositional forms may have still existed. As shown recently by Hooman Asadi, this transformation of the practice and con-

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[29]   Tanburi Harutin, *Rukovodstvo po vostochnoi muzyke* (Handbook of Oriental Music), edited and translated by Nikoghos Taghmizian. Yerevan: Akademia Nauk, 1968:121.

ceptualization of music took place over several generations, beginning in the early Qajar period (after 1787) (Asadi 2001). While the revival of musical thought did produce some novel theoretical outlooks in relation to the concepts of *gushe* and *radif*, the political disaster of the sack of Isfahan and the fall of the Safavid Dynasty rather quickly spelled the end of continuity in Persian court music, at least at the level of repertoire and compositional form. Among the casualties of this cultural rupture in Iran were the pseudographic vocal compositions of "Marâghî," along with all other complex metrical compositions.

The combination of diverse social, political and religious factors that combined to weaken the older courtly repertoire within 16th century Ottoman Turkey require still require further research. But from both the Ottoman and the Safavid materials presented here an important social phenomenon emerges that has not received sufficient attention in previous scholarship. Namely, this involves the ability of well-educated and prestigious musicians–especially when their musical ability was combined with social position–to preserve elements of an older and more high-prestige repertoire and to create new works combining these older principles with newer musical ideas, even without the overt support of a courtly patronage system. Both in Turkey (and probably also in Iran for a time) the students of such individuals were able to transform the musical landscape to a substantial extent. Much more research on existing sources is needed in order to further elucidate the complex relationship between older repertoire and practice, newer musical concepts, and the creation of a pseudographic repertoire of "classics" and their function in legitimizing the newer music under the agrarianate cultural principle of the authoritativeness of the past.

Among many other pseudographic compositions in the Ottoman repertoire, the so-called "Marâghî" corpus holds a special place. They probably represent a mixture of simple misattributions from the actual repertoire of the Ottoman 'Abd al-'Ali or several Iranian musicians, plus purposeful pseudographia created in Turkey and/or Iran, apparently between the later 16th and the early 17th centuries. Unlike other Ottoman pseudographia they do display a high degree of stylistic integrity which, while certainly not identical to anything of the above temporal provenance, makes clear gestures to musical principles known in that era, while differentiating themselves from the dominant semi-folkloric vocal style dominant at the court and documented by Ali Ufkî Bey. By the generation of Hâfiz Post and then of Cantemir they were accepted as genuine exemplars of an earlier high style of Iranian courtly composition. While having no relation with the historical Marâghi, this corpus is of both great beauty and interest, and is worthy of investigation from several points of view as an evident "blend" of compositional practices of the 19th and the 17th centuries.[30]

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[30] It is not unlikely that some of the notations of the pieces attributed to "Marâghî" in 18th century Greek manuscripts (referred to or published by Kalaitzidis 2012) may help to explain the stylistic evolution of these items.

In Turkey Ali Ufkî Bey, like Evliya Çelebi, lived through an era in which new and creative musical ideas were in an inchoate form. While we are grateful for the quirk of history that allowed Wojciech Bobowski (Albertus Bobovius) to acquire the identity of Ali Ufkî Bey and to utilize his Western musical training to document the music of Ottoman Turkey, it is important to recognize the unique and transitional nature of the musical culture in which he participated. By the second half of the 17th century musical developments in Istanbul were moving along two interrelated tracks: on the one hand the more sophisticated vocal repertoire originating in later 16th and early 17th century Iran was being integrated into the music of Istanbul, and on the other, new compositional principles were being developed. Together these set the stage for the musical "renaissance" or "first classical age" of the turn of the 18th century. The next era in the more mature development of "the art of musick" in Turkey would be documented by Demetrius Cantemir, the Mevlevi Osman Dede (d.1730), and several Constantinopolitan Greek musicians and cantors such as Panagiotis Khalatzoghlou (d. 1748), Kyrillos Marmarinos (d. 1756) and Petros Peloponnesios (d. 1778). Among the rich new repertoire that their generation of musicians would create and transmit, there would also be the beloved compositions attributed to "Marâghî," which formed a real stylistic link with the beginning of the living musical tradition within the Iranian artistic repertoire of the first half of the 17th century, but which were conceptualized as a link with their still earlier, medieval musical forebears.

Post-Byzantine Musical Manuscripts as Sources for Oriental Secular Music:[1] The Case of Petros Peloponnesios (1740-1778) and the Music of the Ottoman Court

Kyriakos Kalaitzidis

Secular Music in the Post-Byzantine Manuscript Tradition

From the middle of the 10th century, or, perhaps a little earlier, Byzantine music teachers developed a system of music notation based on neumes (phonetic signs). About 7,300 Byzantine and post-Byzantine musical manuscripts survive today, scattered throughout publicly and privately owned collections in Greece and the rest of the world. This article deals with the phenomenon of the use of this Byzantine system of notation in the writing of secular music, whether of Greek, Persian, Ottoman or Arabic origin (Fig. 1).

Post-Byzantine musical manuscripts constitute a very important written source for the secular music of the Middle East. We find in them a rich quantity of material, over a long period, a multitude of genres comprising, the *echoi* (modes), *makams* and *usûls*, together with the names of composers and other information. This source material covers a time span that ranges from the end of the 14th century to the beginning of the 19th, or circa 1830 when there appeared the first printed collection of secular music.

The amount of the material is impressive: fourteen complete manuscripts, twelve manuscript fragments and many isolated leaves (folios) dispersed in codices of religious music, in all about 4,400 pages containing secular music compositions. There are 53 eponymous composers, Greeks, Turks, Persians, Arabs and Jews, together with many unattributed composers, making a total of 950 complete compositions. The material preserves Greek traditional songs, genres of the Ottoman court music, Phanariot songs and other compositions of an unspecified form. New musical compositions appear together with new versions of works already known.

From the formal point of view, the material offers new elements which enlarge our knowledge concerning structure, terminology and other topics. We can follow

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[1] The paper is an abstract of the doctoral thesis written by Kyriakos Kalaitzidis and it was defended at the Musicology Department of Athens University (Kalaitzidis 2012). Due to this there are footnotes and references missing from the text.
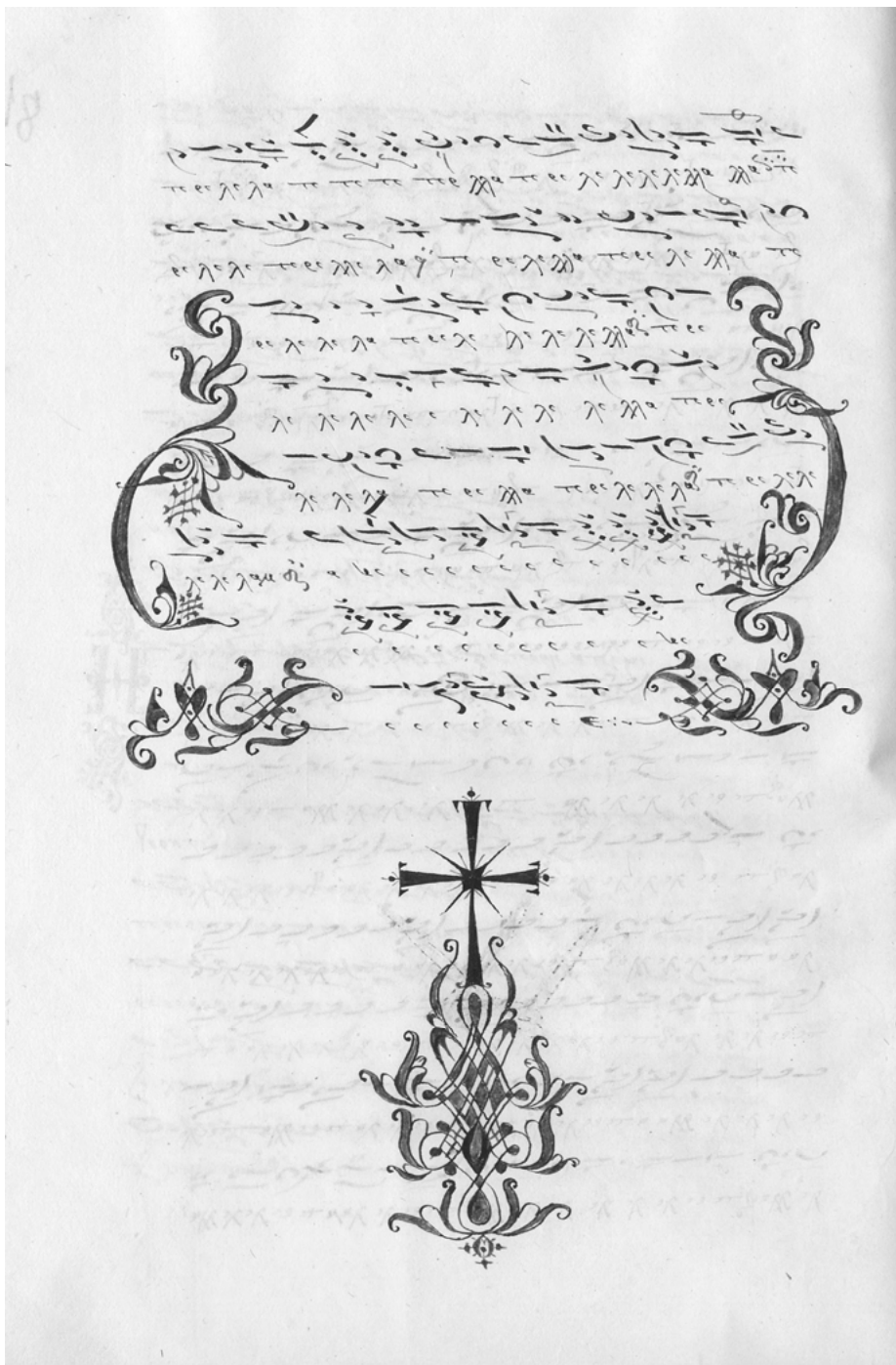
Fig. 1: Saint Paul Monastery / Mont Athos 132, fol. 816: [*rast beste*] *Ησακηϊα ζαντέ //*
τολτουρκτζελούμ πατέ [K o s m a s   M a k e d o n], *ēchos plagal 4th*.

tendencies and developments in different periods included in this manuscript, in other words a secular musical tradition extended over a time-span of four centuries.

The scribes (40 in total) are working on codices of Byzantine Chant as well: Protopsaltes and Lampadarii of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, music teachers and cantors, members of the clergy, monks and lay musicians. In the case of well-known personalities, their position lends authority and special value to the works.

Due to the lack of space, we omit reporting on (even if it is a summary) the Greek traditional songs, the Persian musical pieces and the genre of Phanariot Songs, and we focus on the case of Petros Peloponnesios and his relationship with the musical reality of the Ottoman court.

Petros Peloponnesios (1740-1778) is considered one of the leading personalities of ecclesiastical music, with a variety of narrations dealing with his legendary life. He served in high music positions in the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople (Domesticos (1764-1771) and Lampadarios (1771-1778)), whereas recent research has revealed more and more clues which prove that he was a great personality in terms of 18th century secular music in Constantinople, both as performer (*ney* and *tambur*), composer, and scribe of codices. In one example, Petros is identified with Petraki or Tyriaki in the Turkish sources.

He is the author of the first complete collections of secular music[2]**,** preserving the bulk of the Ottoman instrumental repertoire. He is the first to give, systematically, for each composition, the *makams*, *usûls* and genres, also mentioning many composers by name. It also seems that he was the first to introduce the Phanariot song genre and was responsible for the first collections of such songs.

Petros' manuscripts were written down in the third quarter of 18th century and they are valuable because of their content. The fact that they are written in Petros' hand, a leading music personality, and are mostly related to our subject, an important and experienced writer of codices, increases their importance. The preparation of analytical catalogues and their study offer many significant clues.

More specifically, the codex Gritsanis 3 (Fig. 2) has already attracted the attention of the scientific community without, however, having been studied previously in any detail. It is worth indicating that two works of Petros' recordings have been published from "En Chordais" in the CDs of the series *Great Mediterranean Composers*. These are the *bestenigar peşrev* of Hânende Zacharias and the *terkîbs* in several *echoi* (*makams*) of Petros in a *peşrev* of Yorgi in a transcription by Thomas Apostolopoulos.

The codex is very significant for many reasons, due to: a) its size (250 folios) and dimensions (23×5×17), allowing the recording of a great number of pieces

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[2]   Gritsanis Library 3, K. A. Psachos Music Library Collection, Gregorios Protopsaltes Archive folder 2 / sub-folder 60 & folder 6/ sub-folder 137 and Romanian Academy Library 927.
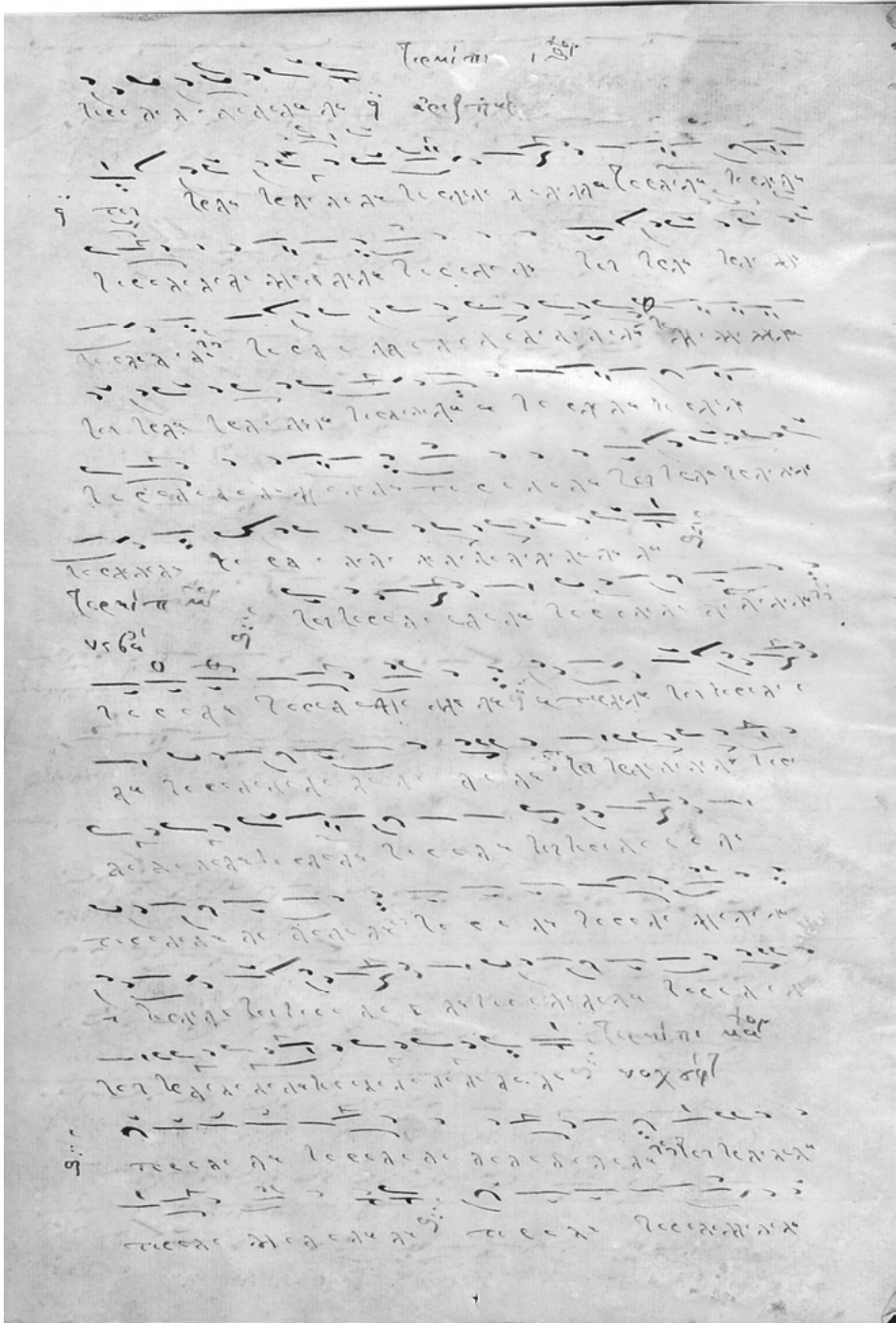
Fig. 2: Gritsani 3, fol. 198v: [Petros Peloponnesios *terkîbs* in several *makams* in *hicaz
nev kislât pesrev* of Tzortzi, (*ēchos plagal* 2nd), *fahte*].

(approximately 200 works of art music), thereby revealing the range of the repertoire that Petros had and also his deep knowledge of this music; b) Its content covers a great chronological span, from the 15th century at least, maybe earlier, until the period in which the code was written, specifically in the third quarter of the 18th century, allowing researchers to delve into the past through the means of written sources; c) It preserves works of known and unknown composers and also many other anonymous works, broadening significantly the repertoire of the music of the Ottoman court; d) In addition, it is of special interest for the study of the morphology and the theory of music, due to the richness of the information it contains.

From the compositions that are included in the codex, some are mentioned using the name of the composer, while many others are anonymous. During our survey, many of them were identified and as a result they were attributed to their composers, a small contribution to the further documentation and delineation of the personality and the work of the composers of Oriental music. These included:

'Abd al-Qâdir Marâghî (1353-1453), Mehmet Ağa [Kul] (d.1580?), Hasan Can (1490-1567), Gazi Gıray Han II (1554-1607 and Seyf el-Mısrî (16th c.), Hacı Kasım (d.1600?), Emir-i Hac (d.1600? or second half of the16th c.?), Ağa Mu'min (17th c.?), Ali Beğ (17th c.?), Rıza Ağa (d.1650?), Solakzâde Mıskalî Mehmed Hemdemî Çelebi (d. 1658), Murad Ağa [Şeştârî], (1610-1673), Şerîf (d.1680), Küçük Hatib (d.1700?), Reftâr Kalfa (d.1700?), Itrî (Buhûrîzâde Mustafa Efendi and/or Çelebi) (1638?-1712), Dimitri Cantemir (1673-1723), Kasım [Mehmed] (d.1730?)], Abdurrahmân Bâhir Efendi [Arabzâde] (1680-1746), Es'ad Efendi [Şeyhülislâm Mehmed, Ebû-İshâk-zâde] (1685-1753), Hânende Zacharias (18th c.), Hızır Ağa (d.1760), Tanburi Haham Musi (Moshe) (d.1770?), Kemânî Yorgi (early-mid 18th c.), Ahmet Ağa [Musâhib Seyyid, Vardakosta] (1728?-1794).

Apart from the above-mentioned twenty six composers who were identified, Petros records the works of at least nine more composers, still unidentified from other sources, including:

Papas, Usta Yesefin, Ismail Caus, Antoninin, Tanburi Atrizin (or Arizouni), Peligracoğlu, Tanburi Haci Omer Ağa, Ciohacoğlu, Hocanmasisin.

The fact that these composers are not known from other direct and indirect sources, but they are clearly referred by Petros, provides a research perspective that suggests that the study of these personalities linked to the development of a deep music heritage will continue. Besides this, a large amount of the repertoire is constituted of anonymous works, many of which may be by Petros himself.

As for the genres, the content of the manuscript consists mostly of instrumental compositions, *peşrev* and *semâ'îs*, confirming the turn towards instrumental music during the 17th century. Vocal compositions are limited to a few fragments of Phanariot songs in the first and the last leaves of the codex (1v-3r, 7r, 254r-255r) and in approximately ten eponymous and anonymous works, that is to say *kârs*, *bestes*, *yürük semâ'îs* and others of an still indefinite form.

The manuscripts, Psachos (folder) 60 and Psachos (folder) 137, come from the archive of Gregorios Protopsaltes and they have not been studied or introduced to music or musicological society. Regarding Psachos (folder) 60, despite its relatively small size it is of special interest because it contains special and rare types of compositions, many of which have unusual names and which do not appear in other manuscripts and also offers performing information (Fig. 3).

1r   The *küll-i külliyât hüseynî*, *usûl akşak*
15r   *Saba değişme*, the *ser hane hafîf*, from *dugâh*
18r   *Beyâtî devri kebîr*, beginning from *neva* and *beyâtî*, his name is *mehram*
39v   *Hüseynî* şükûfezâr, *nazîre*, *düyek* from *dugâh*
47r   The *büyük nevâ çenber*, from *nevâ*

The manuscript Psachos (folder) 137 is generally badly written and untidy regarding the structure of its content. Most of the pieces that are recorded are vocal, and they may be *bestes*. The majority of the works are anonymous, and of course many of them are probably the compositions of Petros himself. The other composers mentioned are: Behrâm Ağa [Nefiri] (d. 1560?), Rıza Ağa (d.1650?), Muzaffer (Sâatçî Mustafa Efendi) (d. 1710?) and Hasan Ağa [Benli, Tanbûrî, Musâhib-i Şehriyârî] (1607-1662).

It is notable that the content of these three manuscripts is not identical nor does it overlap. No composition that exists in one code exists in the other two, therefore every manuscript is complementary to the other two. Despite their dissimilarity in terms of their appearance and content, it is fair and logical for the three manuscripts to be treated as a very important source of approximately three hundred and fifty manuscript folios which constitutes a large part of the classical music of Petros' time.

In these three manuscripts Petros records the repertoire that in general is heard at the Ottoman court, exposing at the same time his deep knowledge of this tradition. Petros recorded what he had heard, what he was taught, and what he composed and sang or performed on his *ney* or with his *tanbur*. He recorded his own works, his contemporaries' works and also some of those much earlier than him, as preserved by the oral tradition of the Ottoman court. In conclusion, we can certainly say that these three manuscripts of Petros form a valuable source for the study of Ottoman music. Together with the collections of Bobowski and Cantemir, they are the most important sources of the repertoire of Ottoman court music, from the 15th until the third quarter of the 18th century.

In general, in post-Byzantine musical manuscripts there are preserved in Byzantine notation 144 *peşrevs*, 45 instrumental *semâ'îs*, 12 *taksîms*, 71 *seyirs*, 9 *kârs*, 38 *bestes*, 27 *semâ'îs* and 36 *şarkıs*.

Except for two *peşrevs* that Gregorios Protopsaltes records in Psachos Library 2/59a and one of Ioannis Protopsaltes from the unknown writer of Iviron 1038, all others come from the Petros Peloponnisios Gritsanis 3 and Psachos (folder) 60
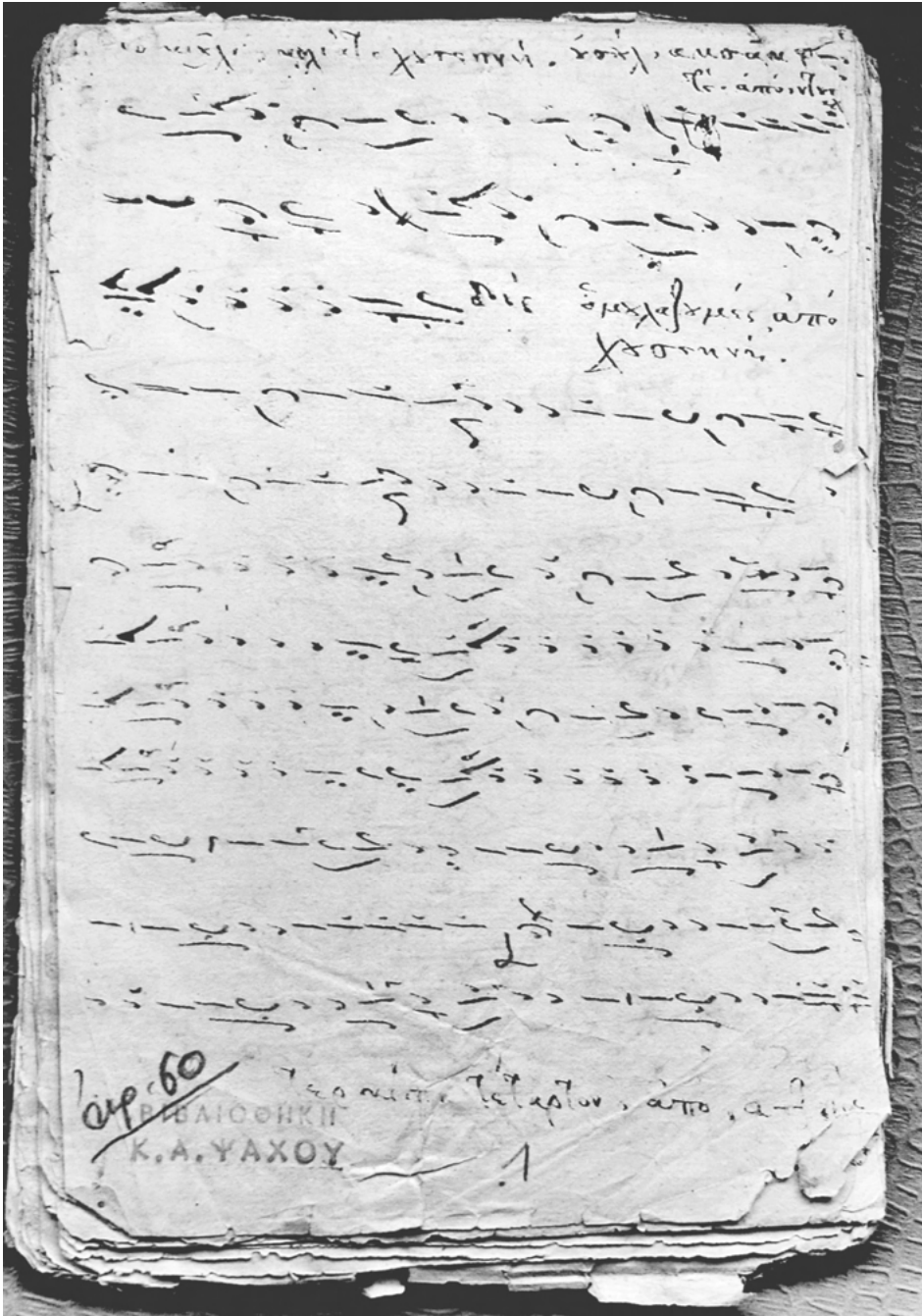
Fig. 3: Psachos (folder) 60, 1r: *Küll-i külliyât* [*peşrev*] [a n o n y m o u s].

mss. In the first we find in total one hundred and twenty works of art music, whereas in Psachos (folder) 60 there are (approximately) twenty four. They all date from the mid-16th century to the mid-18th century. Of course the anonymous and unidentified pieces are difficult to date accurately. The eponymous and/or identified *peşrevs* come from the 16th (11 *peşrevs*), 17th (25) and 18th centuries respectively (26). Regarding the 18th century, due to the fact that there are no *peşrevs* preserved in other written sources, these 26 written *peşrevs* are of genuine significance for the study of this specific genre. Some of these compositions are also found in the collections of Bobowski and Demetrius Cantemir, including:

Seif miseyn naziresi, makam arak, touyek, Gritsanis 3, 61v → *Irak naẓire-i seyfü'l-misri, düyek*, Cantemir, f. 103-104, work 194.

Asik huseini, touyek, Gritsanis 3, 148r → *Aşik hüseynî düyek*, Cantemir, f. 46-47, work 84.

Muhayer douyek kioutsouk Ali Pei, Gritsanis 3, 154v → Pişrev-i 'Ali Beğ, der maḳâm-ı muhayyer, uşûleş *düyek*, Bobowski, 70-1.

Neva [*peşrev*] [P e r s i a n], [*echos* plagal II], *feri mouhames*, LKP (dossier) 60, 25v. → *Nevā 'acemler fer'-i muḥammes*, f. 37, work 68.

Gioulistan pentziougiah [*peşrev*] [P e r s i a n], [*echos* plagal IV tetraphonic], *douyek*, Gritsanis 3, 146v. →*Pencgāh gülistān düyek*, Cantemir, f. 17-18, work 27.

Houseini [*peşrev*] [I n d i a n], [*echos* plagal I], *devri revan*, LKP (dossier) 60, 52r. → *Ḥüseyni dev-i revān hindliler*, Cantemir, f. 93, work 172.

[*Rast*] *gioul tevri pesrefi* [u n s p e c i f i e d c o m p o s e r], *echos* plagal IV, *devr-i kebîr*, Gritsanis 3, 231v. → *Rast gül devr'i devr-i kebir*, Cantemir, f. 67, work 122.

Houseini gamzekiar naziresi pesrefi [u n s p e c i f i e d c o m p o s e r], [*echos* plagal I], *douyek*, Gritsanis 3, 246v. → *Ḥüseyni naẓire-i gamzekār düyek*, Cantemir, f. 170-171, work 314.

Houseini soukoufezar naziresi [*peşrev*] [u n s p e c i f i e d c o m p o s e r], [*echos* plagal I], *douyek*, LKP (dossier) 60, 39v. → *Ḥüseyni naẓire-i şükūfezār düyek*, Cantemir, f. 50, work 90.

Hitzaz tourna, [*peşrev*] [u n s p e c i f i e d c o m p o s e r], [*echos* plagal II], *sakîl*, LKP (dossier) 60, 22v. → *'Uzzal turna sakîl*, Cantemir, f. 176-177, work 324.

Segâh [*rouhban peşrev*] [u n s p e c i f i e d c o m p o s e r], [*echos* IV legetos], *douyek*, Gritsanis 3, 60v. → *Segâh ruhban düyek*, Cantemir, f. 97-98, work 182.

Beyiati [*peşrev*] [Behrâm Ağa (Nefiri)], [*echos* IV], *devr-i kebîr* LKP (dossier) 60, 18r. → *Pisrev-i behram nefiri*, Bobowski f. 69-1.

Neva bougiouk [*peşrev*] [u n s p e c i f i e d c o m p o s e r], [*echos* IV], *douyek*, LKP (dossier) 60, 26r. → *Büyük nevā düyek*, Cantemir, f. 38-39, work 70.

Rast mourasa pesrefi [*unspecified* composer], [*echos* plagal IV], *douyek*, Gritsanis 3, 218v & Gritsanis 3, 220v. → *Rast muraşş'a düyek*, Cantemir, f. 113, work 214.

Neva bougiouk [*peşrev*] [u n s p e c i f i e d c o m p o s e r], [*echos* IV], *tsember*, LKP (dossier) 60, 47r. → *Büyük neva çenber*, Cantemir, ff. 102-103, work 191.

Some also have in their headings characteristic names:

Ασίκ [*Aşik*] (Lover), Gritsani 3, 150r.

Γαὶζεκιάρ [*Gamze-kâr*] (Arrogant look), Gritsani 3, 251v.

Γγελικντζίκ [*Gelincik*] (Little bride), Psachos (folder) 60, 32v.

Γγιουλιστάν [*Gülistan*] (Garden of roses), Gritsani 3, 148v.

Γκιούλ τέβρι [*Gül Devri*] (The era of roses), Gritsani 3, 235v.

Κιαηνάτ [*Kaynat*] (Existence), Gritsani 3, 252v & Psachos (folder) 60, 38r.

Κιοχ παρέ [*Kūh-pāre*] (Mountain), Gritsani 3, 23v.

Μπουγιούκ [*Buyuk*] (Great), Psachos (folder) 60, 26r & 47r.

Ρουχπάν [*Rouhpan*] (The monks), Gritsani 3, 60v.

Σαλιντζάκ [*Salıncak*] (Swing), Psachos (folder) 60, 45r.

Σοϊλού [*Soylu*] (Majestic), Gritsani 3, 238v.

Σουκιουφεζάρ [*Şükûfezâr*] (Garden in blossom), Psachos (folder) 60, 39v & 27v /
    Gritsani 3, 112v.

Σουλεϋάναιε [*Süleymân-Nâme*], Gritsani 3, 173v.

Σούπχου σαχάρ [*Subh-i Sahar*] (Dawn), Gritsani 3, 189v.

Τουρνά [*Turna*] (Gray heron), Psachos (folder) 60, 22v.

Χαπχάπ [*Haphap*], Gritsani 3, 105r.

Some of them are also already known from other sources. Additionally, Petros does not limit himself to the recording of the parts, but he also gives performance instructions using the music terminology of his time.

Gritsani 3:

42v   *Segâh makam, usûl muhammes, echos* IV legetos. *Ser hâne, orta hâne, terkîb, ser hâne* and *mülazime, Son hâne usûl sofyan.* 2nd *terkîb,* 3rd *terkîb.* Then *ser hâne mülazime* .

218v   *Peşrev murasa, makam rast, usûl diiyek. mülazime,* 2nd *terkîb,* 3rd *terkîb, orta hâne,* 2nd *terkîb,* 3rd, 4th, then the last *terkîb* of the *mülazime* and later from the beginning of the *mülazime* until the end, then the *son hân[e], Son hâne,* 2nd *terkîb,* 3rd *terkîb,* of the *orta hâne,* then the last *terkîb* of the *mülazime* and immediately following *mülazime* from the beginning and it then finishes.

and Psachos (folder) 60:

6v   The *irak darbeyn,* from *irak, mülazime* from *dügâh,* 2nd *terkîb* from *nevâ,* 2nd *terkîb* from *irak,* the *orta hâne* from *nevâ,* 2nd *terkîb* from *muhayyer,* the *mülazime* from the beginning, the *son hâne* from *rast* (and indications, *bûselik, sabâ*).

47r   The *büyük nevâ çenber,* from *nevâ, mülazime* from *hüseynî,* 2nd *terkîb* from *segâh, orta hâne* from *nevâ, mülazime,* the *son* from *nevâ* with *nihavent, beyâtî.*

Similar descriptions, some more summarized or more detailed, accompany the recording of almost all the *peşrevs.* These signs are valuable and their use and utili-

zation does not fit within the limits of this paper. In general they allow: a) A clear understanding of the morphological structure of each work, supplying at the same time the requirements for an accurate performance; b) The realization of the structure of every composition in parts and the comparative study with other available sources of that time, thus enriching our knowledge of *peşrev* structure; c) The descriptions also allow the drawing of more general conclusions about the structure and layout of the basic music genres at the time of Petros, regardless if there are works in the collection dating from much earlier. At the same time, given the fact that Petros recorded not only the parts of the *peşrev*, but also the performance instructions that he was most likely instructed, they offer a serious indication of the way this music was taught.

Moreover, it emphasizes the special structural parts in the *peşrev* like *zeyl, tolap* and very often the term *terkîb*, either by the meaning of modal entity, or the meaning of the structural part in *peşrev*. Rarely is the term *teslîm* also found with its old meaning, of course.

Additonally, the *değişme* phenomenon is pointed out and the special types of *peşrev nazire, kulli kolliyat, karabatak an*d *murassa*.

Staying on the instrumental compositions, in our sources there are approximately forty five *semâ'îs* in thirty one different *makams* recorded. This number, in conjunction with the written *peşrevs*, reveals their importance and their position in the music scene of the Ottoman court. Nineteen of them are given eponymously or we have just identified their composer, while twenty six of them remain unidentified, with two of them having the indication of "old". Apart from the two *semâ'îs* that Gregorios Protopsaltes records in Psachos 2/59ª, all the rest are saved by the hand of Petros Peloponnesios in the manuscripts Gritsani 3 and Psachos (folder) 60.

Another interesting aspect that we owe to Petros is the oldest notated *taksims*. They are found in the codices Iviron 997, Xeropotamou 305 and Xeropotamou 299. They are not saved in any autograph code of Petros, but in the codes of other writers, who, however, refer to him as the composer. This is a series of twelve *taksims* in the eight *echoi* of Byzantine music: one in each *echoi* except for two in 2nd *echoi*, two in 3rd, two on *varys* and two on *plagal* 4th.

The lack of space does not allow us to expand on the details sketched above. For example, we can also glean interesting information concerning the use of *makams* in the period, as well as ascertaining the equivalence between Byzantine *echoi-makams* and the function of the rhythmical cycles (*usûls*) in the process of composition. A critical appreciation of their relation should be worked out, or else, to establish the fact that Petros was the first writer that gave clarity to the *usûls* of every composition (Fig. 4).

I believe that these diverse and open issues are relevant to everyone devoted to the study of a great common musical heritage. This includes repertoire, morphology, theory of music, *makams* and *usûls*, as well as the study and analysis of the
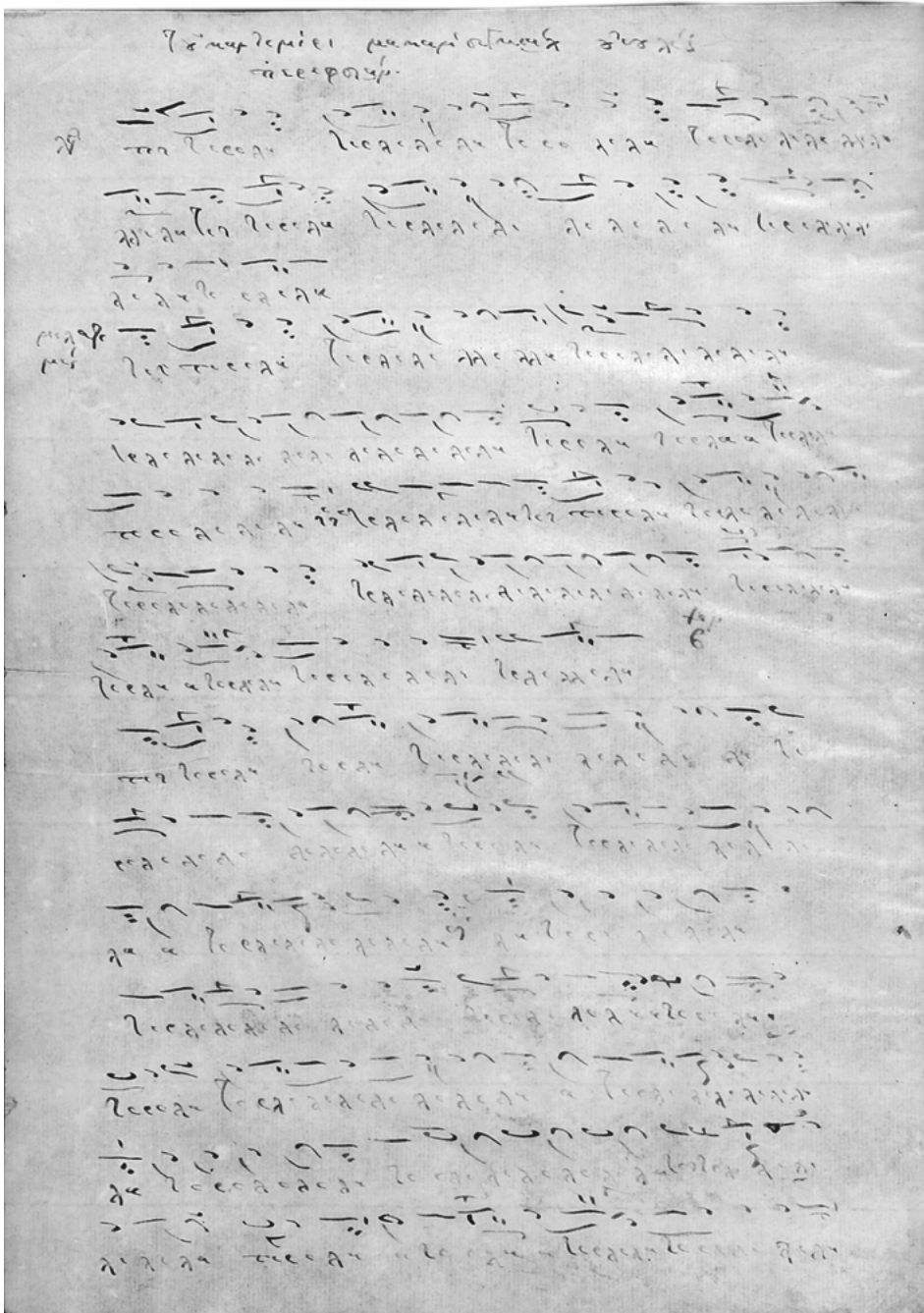
Fig. 4: Gritsani 3, 109v: *Segâh peşrev* D i m i t r i C a n t e m i r, *ēchos 1ˢᵗ, berefşân.*

reasons and causes that influenced the writers of this impressive work, the perceptions of the writers, the sociocultural context, and so on.

Given our laborious work over all these years, I do hope it offers a safe tool of study. However, the magnitude of the source material and the completion of its research requires the collective work of many people.

Changes in the Field of Turkish Music during the Late Ottoman/Early Republican Era[1]

Gönül Paçacı

Music theory and notation complement each other. Yet, we can say that any information written on paper does not go beyond being just a hint. Only if both detailed theoretical knowledge and a sophisticated notation method exist can we gain slightly better results. In our music – which depends on oral transmission – prior knowledge and *a priori* recognitions are even more important. In this music, *perde* mean more than just music notes and *makam*s mean more than scales. Priority has to be given to the issue of style (*üslûp*).

As it is known, over time Ottoman-Turkish *makam* music, in order to define itself, has made use of different theoretical explanatory and notation methods (as alphabetical notation has spread over a long time). The problem of how these elements were perceived in their time and following on from this, will always remain present. This issue should be considered regardless of the transformation of music itself. If we could consecutively play the music samples, which Cantemir qualified as "old" and "new," to music listeners or even the musicians of our day, and sounding as authentic as possible, we would barely notice the fine distinctions between them. It has been mandatory to accept the qualifications of Cantemir until today (owing to chronological priority).

We can detect historical transformation not by such personal inferences and repeated common consent, but rather from documents that we can actually see and follow up. Considering that we have scant a limited number of written sources and that inter-textual studies are still a new and modern approach, we might conclude that the period in which one can most clearly observe a supposed "change" is the time when publications on music started to be published, in other words, when knowledge on music and compositions spread. We should remember that such a dissemination of information means engaging a greater part of society as an active part of this process. Printed music materials from the beginning of musical prints on are intended as a continuation of previous periods, but, on the other hand, also form something different. They represent a period after a certain point in history, and hence in fact they imply a kind of "change". Let us look into some details evident in the material in general.

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[1] This article was written while working on the book entitled *Osmanlı Müziğini Okumak: Neş-riyât-ı Mûsıkî* (Paçacı 2010), and by using the documents which were covered in this text.

Disappearance of Concepts in Music Theory
and their Replacement by New Ones

The prototypes of *makam* concepts like *âvâze*, *şû'be*, terkîb which are covered in *Kitabu'l kebîr* of Fârâbi (10th century), with some changes by Anatolian *edvâr* writers continued to exist until the 19th century.

In the *Kitabu'l kebîr,* for example, we find this expression:

> "Towards morning, *râhevî;* in midday, *zenkûle*; after the night prayer, *büzürg*; in the time of sleeping, *zirefkend*."[2]

These elements were mirrored with some changes until the *Mûsıkî Tekâmül Dersleri* (1926), one of the last books printed in the Ottoman Turkish alphabet – although later printed in the Latin alphabet as well – written by Muallim İsmail Hakkı Bey, a renowned performer, teacher and composer during the Second Constitutional Era. The novelty in this book that needs to be emphasised is that the *seyir* of *makam*s are first described and then exemplified with musical notation.

Fig.1: Muallim İsmail Hakkı Bey: *Mûsıkî Tekâmül Dersleri*

4 şu'bes – 12 makams – 7 âvâzes

Names of four *şu'bes*:
yegâh – dügâh – segâh – çargâh

Names of twelve *makams*:
rast – irak – isfahân – kûchek – bozorg – zîrgüle – rehâvî – hüseynî – hicâz – bûselik – nevâ – 'uşşak

Names of seven *âvâzes*:
geveşt – nevrûz – şehnâz – mâye – gerdâniye – selmek – hisar

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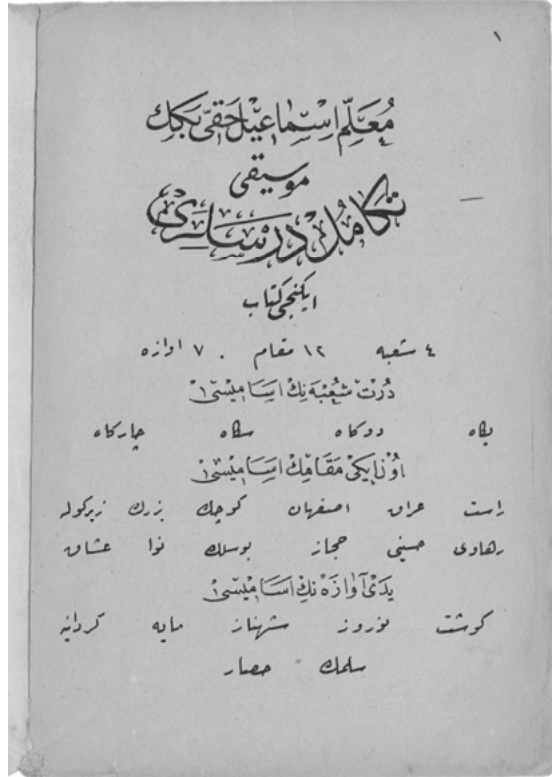
[2] "Subh-i kâzib vaktinde RÂHEVÎ / Nısfü'n-nehâr vaktinde ZENKÛLE / Yatsı namazından sonra BÜZÜRG / Vakt-i nevmde ZİREFKEND".

The concept of *makam* after Rauf Yekta, Arel and Ezgi, then based on tratrachords and pentachords and divided into the categories of basic (*basit*) – compound (*mürekkep*) – and transposed (*şed*) *makam*s goes beyond the concept of change.

The Juxtaposition of Old and New Knowledge

The most well-known collection of lyrics of its period, the *Haşim Bey Mecmû'âsı* (first printed in 1269 AH/AD 1853, second printing in 1280 AH/AD 1864) contains in its beginning a section on music theory. After a description of a total of 89 *makam*s starting with *rast*, further sentences are added, that describe *makam* in the "*ala franga*" (European) style. For example for *rast makam* the following phrase is added: "Because this *makam* exists in the European style (*alafranga*), it is defined as basic scale (*usûl ton*). See notation in appendix". Obviously, in addition to this different approach, the traditional knowledge is also preserved (see Fig. 2).

   This dual approach continued to exist until a later time, as it is understood from the following phrases in the small theory book *Mebâdî-ı mûsıkî* ("Basic knowledge of music") which was published in 1326 AH (AD 1910):

> "*Third part: music (*müzik*) and vocal (*vokal*), major (*macör*), minor (*minör*), notation of the scales of the* makam*s (*gamm-ı makamâtın*)"

In this part Turkish translations are suggested for western musical terms:

"*Ronde: Müdevver; Blanche: Beyzî; Noire: Siyah; Croche: Çengelli; Double croche: Çifte çengelli; Triple croche: Üçer çengelli; Pause: Tevakkuf; Demi* (half) *pause: Nim tevakkuf; Soupir: Nefes; Demi* (half) *soupir: Nim nefes; Quart soupir: Rub' nefes; Demi Quart: Nim rub.'*"

"*Largo: Âheste; Larghetto: Âhestemsi; Adagio: Muhteşem; Andante: Âdetâ; Allegro: Sür'atli; Presto: Serî, cimnastik.*"

(See Fig. 3)

The dosage of the different concepts can change according to the amount of time passed and the writers. For example, it is stated that "this is written according to the program of "*Mekâtib-i Sultâniye* in the year 1339 AH (AD 1920)" on the inner cover of *Mûsıkî Nazariyatı* (music theory) of Kâzım (Uz) Bey and in its introduction he writes "acknowledging Western music theory as essential, this book covers the theory that corresponds to the Eastern music."

Fig. 2

"Influences of the hours of the night on melodies and their
relationship with the seven planets."
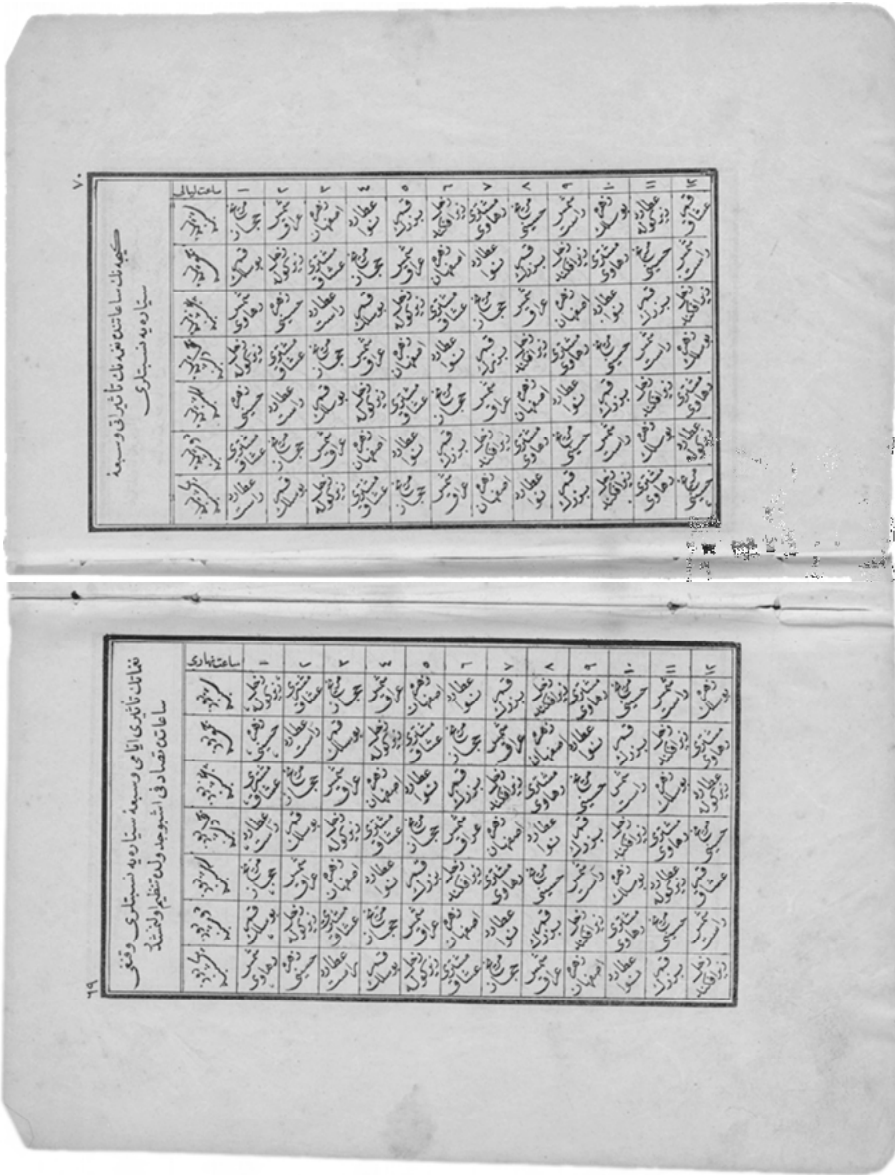
"This scale disposes the relationship of melodies to the days
effecting them and the seven planets, and at what time they
coincide"
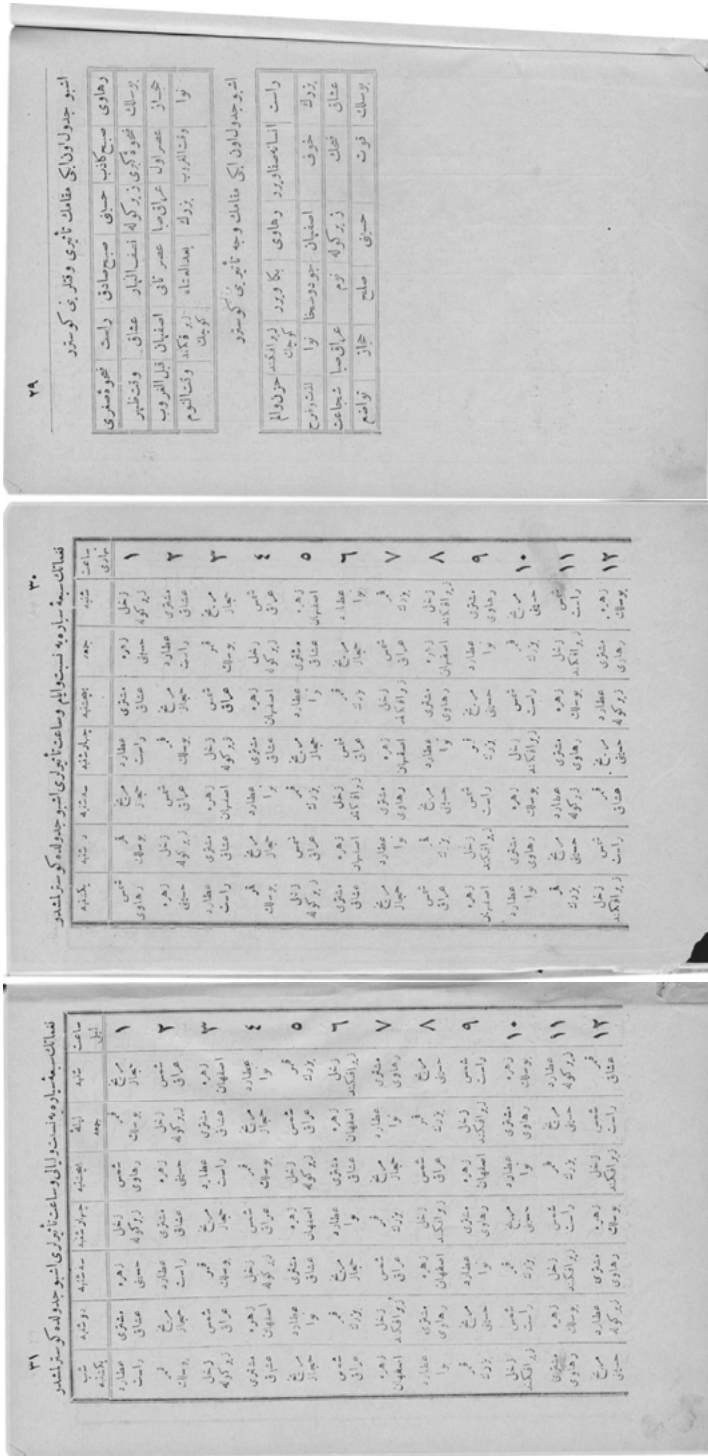
Fig. 3

(pg. 29 above) "This table shows the effects of times on the twelve *makams*"; (below) "This table shows the form of effects on the twelve *makams*."

(pg. 30) "This table shows the relationship between the melodies and the seven planets, and the daytimes and hours of effects."

(pg. 31) "This table shows the relationship between the melodies and the seven planets, and the night times and hours of effects."

Approaches Changing Alongside Music Theory

The most prominent issues that can be observed in printed musical publications are the changes of genres and forms, the signs that represent notes and intervals in Turkish music and the basic scale. It should be noted that the idea that the material in question appeals to the public plays a decisive role. The purposes of transferring music, teaching music, composing and performing a composition gradually changed. A noticeable issue in these publications is the particular emphasis on "accuracy" and "authenticity." Hence we see that the dissemination of information is considered important. In addition the fact that both the existing theoretical knowledge and the repertoire is about to become permanent in this way gives rise to a feeling of responsibility.

For example, similar sentences were written in the opening of the publications made by the brothers Şamlı Selim, İskender and Tevfik who published sheet music in Istanbul since the 19th century:

> It is known that I all along printed and distributed all the corrected notations of the unique works of our music in the form they reach us, by their circulation from instrument to instrument, with the purpose to protect them against mistakes and mixture by oblivion. (Collection *Sazende* – Şamlı Selim (ed.))

> "Our notations are printed after having been corrected by talented masters" (excerpted from a public announcement for Şamlı İskender's shop).

> By virtue of the demand and kindness of our dear customers, our store publishes every week *peşrev*, *saz semaîsi*, *şarkı* and *kantos* including every *makam* and free of mistakes and inaccuracies. (From the back cover of *saba fasıl*, published by Onnik Zadoryan)

Such expressions can be found frequently from the 1870s onwards when the use of Western notation grew like an avalanche, hence the local musical note publications using only one flat or sharp. The notations published by Notacı Hacı Emin Efendi as a supplement to the magazine *Ma'lûmat* created a growing number of followers. On the one hand the necessity to learn musical notes gradually became felt more. As Emin Efendi openly expressed in his book *Nota Muallimi* (1302 AH/ AD 1884):

> ### Advantage of Notation
> In our country the science of music is taught by two ways, one of which being *alaturka*, hence the memorisation of the names of notes and *düm tek*, the other being European notation. If a person who is enthusiastic about learning the science of music with Turkish method starts his education in his youth with a talented music teacher and engages in it to the utmost, he/she can acquire considerable amount of knowledge about it. However, a student who starts his/her education in the *alafranga* way, thus with notation, can within some month acquire the notes and the beats of the *usûl* by reading notations. Within a few years he/she will learn on which notes the *makams* of *peşrevs*, *semaî* and *şarkıs* he/she performs are build upon, and how the notation of a *şarkı* he/she had listen to has to be arranged. In the end he/she will learn the science of music perfectly."

We find similar expressions in sheet music publications which gained distinctive characters with their differing layouts and ornaments. They found acceptance in social life, and made the repertoire and the *fasıl*s of the *Direklerarası* entertainments tangible:

> Although the dissemination of the music that cannot be denied to cheer people up and clear the consciences is thought to happen owing to amusements and entertainments, the fact that it happens entails gratitude. In fact our music has been advanced previously. However, because notation was not in use it could not be disseminated. If it was, even the most simple *şarkı* would have been spread with distortion. And within a very short time it would be forgotten. Now that the scripture of the musical language, which means the rules of notation are appreciated by the public, many works devoted to music have been published and disseminated. (The back cover of *kürdilihicazkar faslı* by Arşak Çömlekçiyan)

Towards the end of the 19th century a discussion had begun regarding how to define a genuine Turkish music theory and the natural intervals inherent to this music according to changing trends. The *Dârü'l Elhân* as the first music institution, was connected with the results of this discussion.

The article *Notalar Hakkında İhtâr-ı Mahsûs* (Special Information about Music Notes) by Ali Rıfat Bey can be taken as the first proposition on this topic. It was printed on the back of the 47th issue of the sheet music supplements of *Malumat* and starts with these words:

> The biggest and the most respected feature of the *alafranga* (Western) music is that an *alafranga* melody can be played with every note. As a matter of fact the most biggest shortcoming of the *alaturka* (Turkish) music is that such practice is impossible! So with the future notation signs, that word "impossible" would disappear.

After all the propositions, it is known that a system was developed that tries to describe our music using Western-based terms. Until Yekta, and even including him, instead of the *makam rast* (which was known as the "mother of the *makam*s", *ümmü'l-makamât*), *çargâh* was adopted as a basic scale and accepted as equivalent to a pure do major. *Makam*s were defined on the basis of tetrachrods and pentachords and so forth. We can call this period and trend the "*Tevhîd-i Tedrîsât* (The Unification of Education Law) of Turkish music."[3]

The striking point is that in the following years this approach became widespread without any enforcement or similar efforts. The fact that the Arel-Ezgi system made perception easier and simpler in the beginners' stage played a big role in this phenomenon.

Another issue we need to point out is the problem of tuning caused by the use of notation and its dissemination even though it is not understood from the printed compositions. As it is known, an incorrect practice that dates back to

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[3] A part of the Kemalist reforms of the early Turkish republican period the "Unification of Education Law" from 3 March 1924 unified the Turkish school system and introduced western education as a general rule.

Donizetti created a difference between the notes of Turkish and Western music, and as a result the notes of contemporary Turkish music are not played or sung according to the places they are located in the notation. A note notated for a "*mansur ney*" for example will sound a fourth lower than written.

The Differentiation Caused by Musical Training

One of the results of the increasing publication efforts was that musicians began to write practical method books in Turkish musical education. As generally known, violin methods were brought from abroad and translated into Ottoman-Turkish, Turkish violin teaching books began to be published from the end of the 19th century, e.g. *Alaturka Muallimi* ("Alaturka Teacher") by Kemanî Zafırâki and *Usûl-i i Ta'lîm-i Keman* ("Method and Education of the Violin) (1331 AH/AD 1913) by Seyyid Abdülkadir Töre.
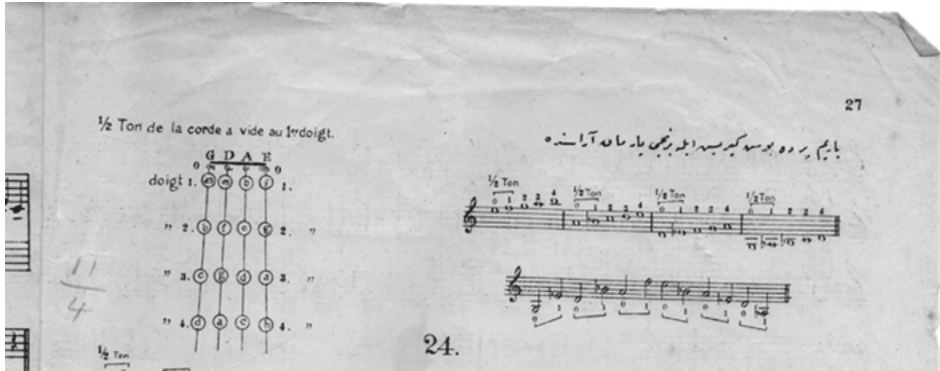
Fig. 4: *Ecole de la Téchnique de l'Archet* (The School of Bowing Technique) violin teaching book signed by *Christides*.

In the introduction to his teaching book Kemani Zafıraki emphasises the different nature of his approach:

> Some people – in order to learn to play violin in an regular and orderly manner – want to continue *meşk* practice with European methods. However, because the bowing techniques as shown in European methods are not suitable for Ottoman tunes, most of these people are not successful at playing a *peşrev* or a *beste*, and they are not able to perform the beauty of the masterworks of our music, nor the famous art of sophistication of a *taksim*.
> As I understood from my experiences regarding this shortcoming, this obstacle can only be overcome by arranging a method that shows the rules of *alaturka* tunes being applied to notation. Hence in order to show the tones of the *seyir* of the mentioned *makams* together with their fingering position, I created this humble book based on my 12 years of experience and research.

In the method of Seyyid Abdülkadir Töre, the sensibility about teaching how to play violin in accordance with Turkish music notes is striking:

> (...) as I thoroughly believe that my modest book is preferable to the violin methods which are not sufficient to the needs of our music and are inconsistent with the regulations and the theory of the Eastern music, I believe my brief explanations on this issue should be included in books in a short form and explicated further.

In the beginning of the method, there is a table with "old and new names of the notes" as edited and having been ascribed to the collection *Hânende Mecmuası* by Abdülkadir Töre.

We can further see that since the early 20th century, *ud* teaching books have also begun to be published. Examples can be cited: *Ud Muallimi* (Selanik 1308 AH/AD 1902) by Hâfız Mehmed Bey, *Hocasız Ud Öğrenmek Usûlü* (1326 AH/AD 1910) by Ali Salâhî Bey', *Nazarî ve Amelî Ud Dersleri* (1336 AH/AD 1920) by Udî Mehmed Fahri (Kopuz) Bey.

Fig. 5: Photos of Ali Salahi Bey showing how to hold an *ud* and its *mızrap* (plectrum)

In addition to the teaching books, the increase of books devoted to the musical education of children is remarkable. In the beginning the old information as well as traditional melodies known in everyday life only by ear were included in these publications. As a typical example we can give this school song, in which we can feel the impression of *kâr-ı nâtık*s that conveys information particular to our traditional music.

The children's songs in the school book titled *Medhâl-i Mûsıkî* ("Introduction to Music", 1330/1924: 29f) by M. Sahib makes use of the names of the notes while singing/playing the same note. Additionally various musical terms are included in the lyrics.

In this row, the natural scale thogether with the names of accidental are given:

Musical Accidentals (ârıza-i mûsıkiyye): *all sharps and flats*
Natural scale (silsile-i tabiîyye): *do re mi fa sol la si*

The lyrics with a melody in two lines and with a sign of fast (*sür'atli*) *Allegro* in the beginning (see Fig. 6):[4]

1. A group of clouds in the sky, a group of goose in the court
    Where are their notes? *La sol fa mi do re si*
2. The arms of my shirt, the mingling you did
    Where is its makam? *La sol fa mi do re si*
3. *Do re mi fa sol la si*, a music booklet
    Where is its scale? *La sol fa mi do re si*
4. *Sol la si do re mi fa*, in the beginning a dry head
    Where is its tonic? *La sol fa mi do re si*
5. *La si do re mi fa sol*, left there is a clef in *sol*
    Where is its hat, where is its head? *La sol fa mi do re si*
6. A creek on a high mountain, the *fasıls* are always on trust
    Where is its rest, *la sol fa mi do re si*

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[4] 1. Gökte yıldız küme'si, avluda kaz kümes'i
         Nota bunun neresi? la sol fa mi do re si
     2. Gömleğimin kolası, ettiğini bulası
         Makam bunun neresi, la sol fa mi do re si
     3. Do re mi fa sol la si, bir nota risalesi
         Iskalası neresi? la sol fa mi do re si
     4. Sol la si do re mi fa, başta bi'kuru kafa
         Reis bunun neresi, la sol fa mi do re si
     5. La si do re mi fa sol, solda bir kledir sol
         Fesi, başı neresi? La sol fa mi do re si
     6. Yüce dağlar deresi, fasıllar hep veresi
         Fasılası neresi, la sol fa mi do re si
     7. Çengelli mi karası? Opera maskarası
         Macör minör neresi? la sol fa mi do re si
     8. Rıhtımın iskelesi, si bemol ıskalası
         Arızası neresi? la sol fa mi do re si
     9. Operetle dramı, mûsıkinin porgramı
         Şed ve îka neresi? la sol fa mi do re si
     10. Kaval koyun havası, evfer oyun havası
         Valsi, dansı neresi, la sol fa mi do re si

Fig. 6

***Lesson 26*: evfer (*usûl* with nine beats)**
16 – A Masquerade Ball
Türkü form
Makam gerdaniye = Bb major
Usûl evfer = 9/8
Zemin (Couplet)

7. Is the black one a quaver? Masquerade ball
    Where is major and minor? *la sol fa mi do re si*
8. The framework of the rhythm, the scale of b flat
    Where are the accidentals? *la sol fa mi do re si*
9. Drama with operetta, the program of music
    Where is the transposition and where is the îka? *la sol fa mi do re si*
10. A shepherd melody on the *kaval*-flute, evfer oyun havası
    Where is the waltz, where is the dance, *la sol fa mi do re si*

The lyrics with a melody in two lines and with a sign of *Larghetto – Âhestemsi* in the beginning (see Fig. 7):[5]

1. My beloved music lesson: Knowledge of music
    Thousand thanks to the author: *do re mi fa sol la si*
2. I will apply the usûl: stop, rest;
    I will separate the notes: *do re mi fa sol la si.*
3. One round two ovals, a crotchet is half of a minim
    One crotchet two quavers, *do re mi fa sol la si*
4. Our steps are really regular; almost slowly;
    Gymnastics, speed, splendid; *do re mi fa sol la si*
5. Musical accidentals: all sharps and flats
    the natural scale: *do re mi fa sol la si*
6. I know the makams; both major and minor
    I know the rests: *do re mi fa sol la si*
7. I love beautiful notes: the enthusiasm to excite
    I read and dance: *do re mi fa sol la si*

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[5] 1. Sevgilim muzıka dersi: Mebâdi-i mûsıki
         Müellifine mil mersi: do re mi fa sol la si
     2. Usûle tatbik ederim: tevakkuf, teneffüs;
         Notayı tefrik ederim: do re mi fa sol la si.
     3. Bir müdevver iki beyzi, siyah beyaz yarısı
         Bir siyah iki çengelli, do re mi fa sol la si
     4. Hatvemiz gayet muntazam; adeta ahestemsi;
         Cimnastik, sür'at, muhteşem; do re mi fa sol la si
     5. Ârıza-i mûsıkiyye : diyez, bemol hepisi
         Silsile-i tabiîyye : do re mi fa sol la si
     6. Makamlarını tanırım; macör, minör ikisi
         Fasılalarını bilirim: do re mi fa sol la si
     7. Güzel sadâyı severim: tahrik eder hevesi
         Hem okur hem dans ederim: do re mi fa sol la si

Fig. 7
Twenty fifth lesson: sol minor with two accidentals
15 – Music Table
Koşma form
Makam nihavend = G minor
Usûl nim düyek = C (polka)
Zemin (Couplet)

The Differentiation of Music Terms and Approaches

It is striking how much the form of traditional explanations is changing between these publications, and sometimes even this change was not enough. For example, Mehmet Baha Bey covered explanations of *makam*s in his article titled "*Tim-sâl-i Makamat*" ("Symbols of *makam*s"), published in his magazine *Âlem-i Mûsıki* in 1335 AH/AD 1919, in Bursa. Some of these explanations include:

Rast: He is a real philosopher with the deep lines of the life, bushy and grey moustache on his clean, pure face.

Hicaz: He/she is scorched in his/her own misery and misfortune without expecting any consolation from anywhere.

Hüzzam: His/her orphanage grievances rouses a feeling of despondence and pain even in stony hearts.

We can conclude that a search for such different explanation styles which seem unsophisticated today were very popular, just by looking at the following complimentary statement in a letter which was sent to the magazine where this article was published by Rauf Yekta Bey. The latter claimed to be the founder of modern Turkish musicology and was unquestionably one of the music authorities:

> I was so touched by the lines about the spiritual characteristics of the makams *rast*, *'uş-şak*, *hicaz* under the title of *Timsâl-i Makamât* that I cannot describe it. If you continue this peculiar style which you have the honour of initiating and give your best efforts to write about how these makams in question impressed, you would add an immortal book to our literature of music.

As a matter of fact, we can see in the article titled "*Kökler*" ("Roots"; translated again by Rauf Yekta Bey) that the explanations in this style could be practiced until ʿAbd al-Qâdir Marâghi, in other words until the 14th and the 15th centuries. He used the following similar words to explain a section which he cited from *Züh-detü'l Edvâr*:

> Because the *makams 'uşşak*, *nevâ*, *bûselik* increase and fortify the courage in the soul, the Turks and the Mongols who have such characters out of their inherent disposition, use most of the time music in these three *makams* in particular in their singing.

As we look at the issue from our times, we can say that in the publications and compositions a transformation and simplification of the language began to be implemented, leading to a general impoverishment. The following definition can be given as an example of this: "The music is a science that informs about the notes of paramour and speaks of the sounds of feelings. The sounds of music can be called 'the sounds that express feelings'."

In his article titled "*Dârü'l Elhân'da Alaturka Konser*" (The Concert in Turkish style at the Conservatoir Istanbul) (February 1340/1924), Muharrir Osman Cemal Kaygılı wrote these sentences:

> I can think of a musical entertainment without alcohol, but is it possible that music in Turkish style goes without any moans or sighs? (…) As I am sure the teachers would forgive me, I argue that the names of makams should be simplified. There are more than 200 *makams* in Turkish music, but there are hundred and fifty compositions that one can bask in listening to. Do you know what it is like? Do you remember that there were hundreds of offices, thousands of editorial offices and clerks but despite that there was no work done in these offices. Our music is in just the same condition today. Many regulations were made in the offices and this last time many people were put out of work and retired. Our music-lovers too should actualize the same regulations in *makams* and at least 3/4 of this more than 200 *makams* should be deemed ineffective and put out of work.

Finally another important point needs to be remembered: When in the early 20th century sound-recording technology began to become widespread, it added another dimension to the printed materials devoted to music. As oral tradition, so to speak, began to be used again and – if I may say so – music notation fell back to secondary importance, then even the performer got involved as a middleman and compositions moved further away from their original state. Compositions which were notated in order to save them permanently and were disseminated by printed publications gradually suffered because under these conditions memorization was no longer in use, and the music became alienated from itself. On the other hand, sound-recordings lead to the immortalizing of the last period of traditional music in its authentic conditions, in a state where it happened to be "not correctly played because it was not precisely notated."

3.
History of Anatolian Folk Music

The Quest for "National Music":
A Historical-Ethnographic Survey of
New Approaches to Folk Music Research

Arzu Öztürkmen

As a folklore historian, I had the opportunity to focus on diverse national cultures over many years. When I was writing my dissertation during the 1990s, "nationalism studies" were at its peak and it was a common tendency for many of us to study the historical structures of the nation-states in which we were born. Reading the works of Benedict Anderson, Eric Hobsbawm, Ernest Gellner, Anthony Smith and Homi Bhabha with great enthusiasm, we were discovering how each each of them contributed a new perspective to discussions on nationalism. My own primary focus in these years, was to examine the formation of a national culture from the perspective of the history of folk dances.

In time, I developed more interest on the processes of nation building and its relation to the invention of new cultural forms. There, I observed that the historical dynamics seen in the building up of folk dancing since the early Republican years bore resemblance to other cultural forms as well. As Selim Sırrı Tarcan's search for a "national dance" (*milli raks*) proved to be a quest for a national dance to be performed nationwide, many other fields such as music, theatre and architecture had similar aspirations to be national cultural forms. In recent years, I give more thoughts on the emotional historical processes of how we experience, classify, remember and transmit these national cultural forms. I want to dwell upon two basic contexts here:

1. The historical process: The discovery, invention, and interpretation of folk music in Turkey and its acknowledgement as a national genre;
2. The historical transformation of our perception of folk music, including our institutions of music and the genres and discourses produced in these institutions.

First of all, it should be underlined that the construction of national cultural forms is not a historical phenomenon specific to Turkey. The same quest for national cultural forms also existed in the European context and other neighbouring countries, such as Greece, Bulgaria, Egypt and Iran. In fact, the emergence of ethnology and folklore as new academic disciplines happened in close interaction with nationalism. Besides ancient history and regionalism, folklore has always been seen as one of the most important elements in the invention of a national culture. This approach is also evident in the Young Turks movement. Rıza Tevfik, Ziya Gökalp, Fuat Köprülü, Selim Sırrı and Yusuf Akçura wrote articles on folklore and pointed

out that this field was a source of material to take advantage of. Rıza Tevfik stated that folklore may include historical information and with its strong expressive power conveys levels of encounter with it, which historical narratives are unable to provide. In his article on folklore, he chooses the folk song *Zincirli Han* as an example:

> Amid these lines which seemingly are not related, are not myriad lines more implicit and more meaningful at the same time? These short five lines almost sing an epos of the events. As soon as we hear the first line, we understand that a roughneck, a young man is subject to a sorrowful accident. Presumably, he was shot and seriously wounded. As he did not die yet, he can even report the merciless: Yakup shot him! Maybe, he is his rival. However, he takes a vow: "If my wound gets healed, upon God's generosity, I shall not let this go!". The person who inferred this meaning from these lines, necessarily recreates the event and describes an image which suits both the protagonist's and Yakup's situation and reputation. One even imagines the ill-tempered grey horse tethered to the caravansarai Zincirli Han, pawing the ground impatiently and willing to see his wounded owner. Then to frame this painting and to elaborate it, he imagines Zincirli Han, the *şadırvan* (fountain) in the middle, the courtyard around it, the good old plane tree, the drinking fountain lacking a tap with its wide basin, a crowd of men in clothes proper to this view, the blacksmith's shop and, many more similar things. He imagines, invents, portrays, and creates a splendid huge picture, even if these maay not have actual accuracy. So this mesmerizing effect is what we call "evocation".[1]

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, folklore began to be identified as a fruitful source in the service of nationalism, and "collecting" was seen as a national mission, assigning important meaning to fieldwork in the nation building processes. "Collecting" was followed by "archiving" and by using these archived material for the construction of a new national culture. During the transitional period from the late Ottoman to the Republican context, one other attempt for "collecting" came from the Istanbul Municipal Conservatory (*Dârü'l Elhân*). In 1924, Yusuf Ziya Demircioğlu and Musa Süreyya, directors at the Conservatory,

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[1] The original quotation is as follows: "*Zahiren pek ilintili görünmeyen şu dizelerin arasında nice cümleler daha saklı ve anlamlı değil midir? Şu beş küçük satır adeta olayların bir destanını söylüyor. Birinci dizeyi dinler dinlemez anlıyoruz ki bir kabadayı, bir yiğit geliyor ve teessüfü gerektiren bir kazaya maruz olmuş, galiba vurulmuş ve tehlikeli bir yerinden yaralanmış… Henüz ölmemiş, hem kendisine kıyanı da biliyor. Yakup vurmuş! Belki de rakibidir. Lakin "Besa" veriyor: "Yaram iyi olursa Allah kerimdir. Ben bunu onun yanına komam!" diyor. Şu cümleler aracılığıyla bütün bu anlamı çıkaran zihin, bizzarure olayı ihya ediyor ve "musavvir-i endişe" gerek olay kahramanının, gerekse Yakup'un durum ve ününe uygun birer çehre resmediyor. Zincirli Han'da bağlı duran kır atın bile, hırçın bir sabırsızlıkla yerinde eşindiğini ve yaralı olan Ağası'nı görmek istediğini insan tasavvur ediyor. Sonra bütün bu levhaya bir çerçeve yapıp onu süslemek için artık Zincirli Han'ı, ortasındaki şadırvanı, etrafındaki meydanı, yıllardan kalmış çınar ağacını, geniş yalaklı ve musluksuz çeşmesini ve bu çevreye yakışır kıyafette bir sürü adamları, nalbant dükkanını hasılı her şeyi düşünüyor. Gerçekte aslı olmasa da tahayyül ediyor, icad ediyor, resmediyor, mükemmel bir büyük tablo yapıyor. İşte evocation denilen o büyüleyici etki budur.*" The above-mentioned part of the folksong (*türkü*): "*Kır atı bağladım Zincirli Han'a/ Kırk yılda bir yiğit gelmez meydana/ Doğuran anaya rahmet okuna.../ Vurma Yakup vurma! Yaram derindir/ Yaram savulursa Allah kerimdir!*" See Evliyaoğlu & Baykurt 1988:105-112.

sent questionnaires to researchers in Anatolia to report back about folk songs. Other institutions founded in the initial years of the Republic, such as the Turkish Folklore Association (*Halk Bilgisi Derneği*), People's Houses (*Halkevleri*) and Village Institutes (*Köy Enstitüleri*) also promoted the collecting and archiving of folk songs in their surrounding. Among these early Republican institutions, one should note the founding of Turkish Folklore Association, established in 1927. The association was the first initiative to make direct research on folklore, with an independent status of governmental organizations.[2] Halil Bedii Yönetken (1899-1968), one of the influential intellectuals of the early Republican era, recounted the establishment of the association via with his passion for folk music. According to this account, one day around the Süleymaniye Mosque Halil Bedii ran into the Hungarian ethnographer Dr. Mészáros, who had an effective role in founding the Ethnography Museum of Ankara:

> On that day, I explained Mészáros, with all my sincerity and excitement, what I understand of Turkish National Music, and my belief in folk music. I saw that he shared my belief. When I told him it was time to gather people who shared the same ideas and to take action to found a "Turkish Folklore Association," to collect Turkish folk music and dances, Mészáros shook my hand and said, in this very moment the foundation of this association was laid down. We planned the first project there that day, and we started to search and admit members to the association. (Yönetken 1960: 2197)[3]

One of the first publications of the Turkish Folklore Association was *Halk Bilgisi Toplayıcılarına Rehber* (A Guide to Folklore Collectors), prepared during 1927-28 and intended to guide the way in collecting folklore. The guide followed the framework developed by European folklorists such as Arnold Van Gennep, Achille Millien and Eduard Hoffmann-Krayer, and aimed to present detailed information on the scope of folklore and its diverse genres, along with its goals and methods. According to Nail Tan, the folklore genres included in the guide, the "*folklor kadroları*" as he puts it, covered the areas of material and oral culture, beliefs and theatrical forms as well as the domains of storytelling and musical and dance performances. Laying out a wide range of folklore genres, the guide gave a particular focus only to language, music and folk crafts. The additional information on music was prepared by Mahmut Ragıp[4] (Tan 1988:8).

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[2] Turkish Folklore Association held a very active position in the "collecting" of folklore, until the establishment of the People's Houses in 1932, which required all independent organizations to be abolished.

[3] "O gün ben milli Türk Müziği anlayışımı, halk müziğine karşı olan inancımı bütün samimiyet ve heyecanımla Mesaroş'a anlattım. Kendisinin de aynı inançta olduğunu gördüm, o zaman, bu konuda aynı düşünceleri taşıyan insanlarla bir araya gelerek bir "Halk Bilgisi derneği" kurmak ve Türk halk müziği ve oyunlarını toplamak hususunda harekete geçmek zamanının gelmiş ve geçmekte bulunmuş olduğunu söyleyince Mesaroş bu derneğin temelinin o saat ve o dakikada atılmış olduğunu bildirerek elimi sıktı. İlk projeyi o gün orada beraberce yaptık, sonra derneğe üye aramaya ve kaydetmeğe başladık."

[4] Mahmut Ragıp took the family name Kösemihal as his lastname in 1934, to change it to Gazimihal in the 1940s. See *Diyanet Islam Ansiklopedisi Vol.13, p. 477.*

With the founding of the People's Houses (*Halkevleri*) in 1932, the process of nation building entered into a different phase. The history and culture of Central Asian Turks, a matter which had remained in the focus during the period of the "Turkish Hearths" (*Türk Ocakları*), were now being taken under the structure of the Turkish Language Association (*Türk Dil Kurumu*) and the Turkish Historical Society (*Türk Tarihi Kurumu*). The duty of the construction and spreading of the new national culture, however, was given to the People's Houses, which were also organized throughout Anatolia. The main distinction of the People's Houses was their particular focus on "Anatolia" as a new cultural space. It is worth noting here that until the Republican era, "Anatolia" was not seen as a historical-geographical site *per se*. Archeologist Aslı Özyar draws attention to the problematic process of defining archaeological findings as "Anatolian civilizations," stating that the term is in fact a "Turkish invention":

> By referencing the multi-layered cultural heritage of Turkey to as "Anatolian civilizations," an analogy is made to "Mesopotamian civilization," "Egypt civilization" and even "Western civilizations" on a verbal/intellectual level. In this context, the feature that literally defines "Anatolian civilizations" is that these civilizations lead their physical existence in Anatolia, almost a synonym for Turkey. In other words, while the term "Anatolian civilizations" maintains characteristics of the above-mentioned civilizations, which are unique to Anatolia, it also seemly meets the implicit demands of Turkey to become the inheritor of the cultural success of this early period. (…) Concepts such as Greek and Rome civilizations, Western civilization and Near East Civilization have been settled, accepted and confirmed inventions of the Western historical narrative for a long time. "Anatolian Civilizations", however, is an invention of the Turkish Republic (Özyar 2005:40).

Besides the cultural layers of the ancient eras, the approach of the People's Houses to Anatolian geography, now the only homeland of the Turkish Republic, was also problematic. The first thing that comes to mind is the research areas, which have been developed around the notion of "Anatolian Folklore." Localities of the early Republican era consisted of a population who had a strong experience of displacement through wars and force migrations. These localities had lost their own non-Muslim populations, while migrants coming from Caucasia, the Aegean region and the Balkans were relocated to areas very different than their own local topography.

The basic function of the People's Houses here was to collect samples from local cultures to feed the national culture, and also to present and popularize Western cultural forms within the context of the Republic's desire of Westernization. A department for Fine Arts was founded under the People's Houses in order to draw the public's attention to areas such as Western music, painting, sculpture and architecture, to promote skilled people to specialize and produce in their particular fields. The main idea was, in their own words, to create an "understanding of high art." The initial ordinances of the People's Houses had two articles about this issue, which are rather important. According to these, one of the most important tasks of the Fine Arts Department was "to help all people to learn the modern national an-

thems and songs and to make sure that they would be sung altogether during national holidays." The other one was related to a function of encouraging the collecting of folklore: "The department is charged with determining national dances as well as notations and lyrics of folk songs (*halk türküleri*), as sung by the people, especially in village communities." (CHP 1935:11)

A review article on a classical music concert which had taken place in Izmir People's House in 1943, is in fact a good example of the passionate aspiration for Western music:

> Abdi Aksunar was first to show up on a pea green stage, illuminated by a beautiful light behind colourful glass. When he began to play a sonata by Händel with his viola, the fingers of Salahattin Göktepe started to flutter on the piano keys like the wings of a bird. We were in a slow, solemn and reassuring rhythm. Both amateurs were in accord with each other. This harmony felt like it was not only between themselves, but also between them and the understanding or the perception of the composer. (Işıldak 1943:32)

Besides the mission to endear Western music to the people, the People's Houses hastened the collection of folk music. They hence promoted music as the representation of the new nation-state, using local – thus folk music – as the main source. However, most of the collections and publications of the People's Houses in the area of folk music were limited to transcribing the lyrics of the *türkü* genre, and only in a few exceptions their notated melodies were also published. The journal *Çoruh* published melodies of Artvin folk dances, for instance, *Fikirler* journal did so for *türkü* collections from Tire and Kozak, and *Uludağ* covered collections from Balıkesir and Bursa.[5] Besides these collections, People's Houses journals covered topics such as the history of and theoretical approaches to music in Turkey. *Ülkü*, the prominent journal of Ankara People's House, also published review articles about the visit of Béla Bartók and his speeches as well as some proposals regarding how national music could be constructed.[6] Additionally, *Ülkü* proposed the People's Houses should concentrate on folk and Western music rather than on classical Turkish music as performed on *ud, tambur* and *kanun*, associated with Ottoman ways of entertainment.[7] The articles of Mahmut Ragıp Kösemihal which were published in *Yeni Türk* in Istanbul, offered a comparative perspective to local music traditions in Turkey with those of other countries. Kösemihal regarded the People's Houses as "local conservatories" and emphasized that both music competitions and radio broadcasts would have an important role in the development of music.[8] The People's Houses journals also covered portraits of musicians. For ex-

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[5] See "Çoruh'un Milli Oyunlarından Sarı Çiçek," and "Deli Horon," *Çoruh*, April 1938, vol. 1, issue 2, 8-9; "Ata Barı," August 1938, vol. 1, issue 4, 37; *Fikirler* 1939, issue 182, 12 and 1942, issue 234, 6; *Uludağ* 1940, issue 27, 35 and issue 28, 25.
[6] See Tarcan 1935, Salcı 1938.
[7] See "Fasıl Musikisi Hakkında Bir Cevap," *Ülkü*, July 1941, issue 101, 468-469.
[8] See Gazimihal / Kösemihal 1938b. For studies on regional music by the same author see "Artvin ve Kars Havalisi Müzik Folkloru Hakkında," *Yeni Türk*, 1938, issue 67, 253-255

ample, in an article published in *Ün*, Isparta People's House journal, the biography of a local musician named Çopur Ali and its relation to his songs was narrated. *Taşpınar,* Afyon People's House journal, published photographs of the folk music collection committees.[9]

A similar approach to music could be observed in the circles of the Village Institutes (*Köy Enstitüleri*). Mahmut Makal, the reputed novelist trained in Village Institutes, wrote in his memoir how dancing and singing folk songs collectively in their morning ritual created a special bond among the students:

> Daily life in the Village Institutes used to begin with wake-up drums during red dawn. It was all the same whether it was hot or cold, winter or summer. As people would wake and mingle in the open field, the day would turn into *halay* and *türkü*. The sound of mandolin and accordion would resonate across the mountain and a circle of a thousand people would start to perform a *halay* dance with "hey, hey" utterances, as if they were one foot and one arm. During this process which was the true education of the spirit and the body, from Sivas *ağırlaması* and Tatar *kırması* to *harmandalı* and *bengi*, every dance you can think of would be performed. Eventually, everyone would gather in the vast fields and the departure for their work places or schools would start. (Makal 2009)

Be it within the context of the People's Houses or in the Village Institutes, the Republican regime adopted until the 1970s a strategy of detaching Anatolian geography from its historical demography, to reconstruct an imagined Anatolian culture. Historically speaking, similar music genres sung in different languages existed in Anatolia. These were discarded when national folk music collections were made and archives were compiled through the nation building era. For several generations of the Republican era, people in general believed that *saz* is exclusively a Turkish instrument, and that the minstrel (*aşık*) literature was entirely an element of the Turkish culture. This is why a familiar folk melody sung in a different language, would surprise them. Many would associate themselves with Karacaoğlan, but would have no idea of his contemporary Sayad Nova.

As the People's Houses were closed in 1951, many cultural activities which were performed under their roof were taken up by other institutions founded during the Republican period.

The most basic type of ceremony that the People's Houses had created was the "*müsamere*" (a ceremonial entertainment), which became the most effective cultural form re-created and presented to the public by national education institutions. A significant shift in the field of music, specifically in that of folk music happened via radio. The latter, which had been a state monopoly since 1926, featured many *türkü*s collected during the People's Houses era, in its choir *Yurttan Sesler* ("Voices from the homeland"). The approach of *Yurttan Sesler* is the most obvious example for the re-invention and performance as a "local richness and diversity", as one form of the new concept of "Anatolian Culture" during the Republican era. The

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9   See Demirdal, Sait 1943, "Çopur Ali,", *Ün*, issue 106, 1479-1481. See also "Mahalli halk türkülerini toplama komitemiz çalışırken," (1937).

concept of "richness" was assigned more to different localities than different ethnic communities.

Another manifestation of the Republic's aspiration for Westernization was the interpretation of the Western music with folkloric melodic themes. In Turkey, folk music which represented an important aspect of the quest for "national music", was also seen as an important source in the Republican approach towards classical Western music. The compositions by the Turkish Fives (*Türk Beşleri*) who re-interpreted certain folk songs were pioneering examples of this quest. However, like in the example of "national dance" type of Sırrı Tarcan, it is hardly possible to say the Western music with folkloric melodies was accepted as successfully as it was imagined in the early Republican era.

What happened in this historical process that took us to the 1950s and 1960s? What was settled and which cultural patterns and approaches came out? The institutions for national education played here an effective role. The compulsory primary education made a great impact on the homogenization of Turkish language, the internalization of Western musical education, putting flute and mandolin in the classrooms, and thus on the process of getting people used to hear orchestral and chorale folk songs with "reduced dialect." These songs were broadcasted nationwide through the radios. The fact that the Republican regime defined localities not on the basis of their ethnic communities but through the new provincial (*il*) administrative system, allowed also all ethnic associations and their linguistic implications to disappear.[10] This way, there emerged a new sense of regionalization, where singers like İzzet Altınmeşe, Ümit Tekcan, Özay Gönlüm were popularized with the help of the radio, and happened to be identified with particular regions (Eastern Anatolia, Black Sea and the Aegean). The 1970s where the Marxist movement domineered can be seen as a breaking point. This movement promoted folklore and folk culture as a universalist rather than a nationalist perspective, and many cloaked identities such as Alevism, Kurdishness, being an Armenian or a refugee (*muhacir*), found their ways to express themselves in this protest culture. The visibility of the Kurdish issue that was sustained with the domestic migration, re-introduced the identity problem after the 1980s as a discussion area which could not be ignored be anymore. In the 1990s, so to speak, the Pandora's Box was opened. And what had come up from that box, was not only the ethnic or religious identity issues, but also the feminist movement and the lost memories of non-Muslims showed up, which began with nostalgia of old Istanbul (Gürbilek 1992). These years also witnessed an increase on the publication and communication on these issues. Since the late 1990s with the Turkish-Greek rapprochement and in the 2000s with increasing exchange programs like the Erasmus, a new generation of researchers were raised. Among these, there are many young researchers

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[10] For example, Tirebolu and Espiye which had completely different identities during the Ottoman period, became parts of the same province during the republican period.

in the field of music: Melissa Bilal, Merih Erol, Seren Akyoldaş, Burcu Yıldız, Al-tuğ Yılmaz studied the music of the Ottoman period in different cultural aspects.[11] We should also not ignore the transformation of the social sciences, caused by studies on nationalism which had begun in the 1980s, and the paradigm shift brought about by these to historical writing.

Within this context, what we call "Ottoman music" today covers a much wider world. As new researchers are working in Asia Minor Center archives in Greece, in the archives of the National Academy of Armenia in Yerevan, or doing ethno-graphic research on the Kurdish "*dengbêj*" tradition in the South-East, the study of folk music is extending beyond the paradigm of national culture. When one ex-plores the journey of folk music through Republican institutions, it is important to mark the increasing role of Turkish Music Conservatories.

Over the last 20 years, the communication of music has also changed. While during the early Republican years Western music was just an aspiration, over the time, it transformed into a creative platform where folk music could be re-interpreted. When we listen to "*Uzun İnce Bir Yoldayım*" by Pentagram, "*Hey On-beşli Onbeşli*" by Handan Aydın, "*Demedim mi*" of Pir Sultan Abdal by Hayko Cepkin, it is possible to understand this new platform. Listening to Aytekin Ataş or Toygar Işıklı, the stars of the soundtracks for Turkish television series, their mu-sical domain carries the traces of the folk and classical Turkish music while at the same time it is "new" and "western". Similarly "*Mecnunum Leyla'mı Gördüm*" sung by Seren Akyoldaş and her *Cazova* band in a jazz club, now, feels like our music, as well.

To conclude, let us draw attention on how we re-interpret folk music with its different versions in new genres. In the 1970s the singing of an Alevi *deyiş*, the Köroğlu epic, or a leftist political song could happen in the same cultural sphere. Today, we see that the *türkü* genre, touching to Turkish sensibilities, is used in dif-ferent cultural forms. We can refer to this as the construction of wholly new gen-res, or as the transition of folk culture into new cultural forms. For some time many television series featured popular singers in the main roles, in order to in-crease their ratings. In recent times, Beren Saat and Engin Akyürek sang "*Evlerinin Önü Mersin*" in "*Fatmagül'ün Suçu Ne*" (What is the guilt of Fatmagül) and Mer-yem Uzerli sang lullabies with her own voice in "*Muhteşem Yüzyıl*" (The Magnifi-cent Century). Likewise, in "*Kuzey-Güney*" ("North-South"), Kıvanç Tatlıtuğ took his *saz*, playing it and singing at the same time. *Türkü* as a part of prison culture, *türkü* as the sound of unspoken love, *türkü* in a jazz club, *türkü* in the "*Rock & Coke*" festival… These new fields are outgrowing the old paradigms and entail new approaches within the frame of performance theory.

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[11]   Bilal 2004; Erol 2009; Akyoldaş 2010; Yılmaz & Kerovpyan 2011; Yıldız 2012.

An Effective Means for Representing the *Unity of Opposites*: The Development of Ideology Concerning Folk Music in Turkey in the Context of Nationalism and Ethnic Identity

Okan Murat Öztürk

> "Everything is what it is, and not another thing"
> *Joseph Butler (1692–1752)*

In this article, my goal is to identify the role and the impact of ideological interventions which – from the perspective of Ottoman music history – led to a break and a transformation of the tradition. I will focus on the concept of Turkish folk music, the ideology which has been embodied by this concept on a discursive level and the continuity of this ideology in Turkey. In this context, I will dwell on the necessity to reconsider the conditions behind "the scientific paradigm" that the contemporary Turkish music academic world follows. For this purpose, my questions will include: How and why issues such as folk/people (*halk*), language, history, folklore, music, and especially folk music in Turkey are rendered as elements of Turkification? How can folk music be deemed as national, pure, intact, and essential? What does "folk" (*halk*) mean when it is thought to symbolize a "national essence" and who constitutes it? Is this folk a homogeneous or commingled community? Why is music, being interpreted as a representation of ethnic or cultural elements which lead to the emergence of the folk, considered as a threat to nationalistic discourses such as "political integrity" or "unity and solidarity?" There is a habit of reducing the field of music in Turkey to a "repertoire of memoirs" (or "sacred narrative") that revolve around Ziya Gökalp and Atatürk. Does this habit function as a concealing agent when it comes to understanding and questioning the ideological background of the issue? In this context, to what extent do the dominance and decisiveness of the ideology affect the perception, approach and use of Turkish music? Based on these and similar questions, in this article I aim to discuss national and ethnic identity aspects of Turkish folk music from historical, social and ideological perspectives. Within the frame of orientalism and nationalism that make up my conceptual base, I will try to analyse the connections of the "founding ideology" of the Republic. I estimate the analysis of this ideology will make a contribution to understanding experiences in the field of Turkish music in its Republican period from an historical perspective. Thus concepts like folk (*halk*), nation (*millet*), folk music (*halk müziği*), national music (*milli müzik*), development,

evolution, advancement, Turkish folk music (*Türk halk müziği*), and Turkish music (*Türk müziği*) will constitute the basic elements of my discourse analysis.

The Music of "The Turk" and "The Folk": Turkish Folk Music

Turkish folk music, as a concept and in terms of its employment, is a basic element in the history of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, the creation of a new Turkish identity and the foundation of a new, national (*milli*) Turkish state, namely the Turkish Republic. The first discussions and works in this field were started by Turkist circles during the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. The folk (*halk*) concept and associated issues which had played an active role in the early years of Turkism, were seen as a basic method in terms of imagining and creating a nation. However, studying the Turkish folk music concept academically, we should also deal with premises such as romanticism, patriotism and a propensity towards a folk culture as well as with concepts and subjects relevant to contemporary musicology and ethno-musicology. These include, for example: orientalism; nationalism; nation-building, national spirit, national essence, national music, revivalism, invention of tradition, national culture, traditional culture, identity and affiliation. All of these concepts are essentially connected to the notions of ideology and hegemony. From an ideological perspective, we need to analyse how the concept of folk music is perceived, interpreted and for what purpose it is used as an ideological tool rather than to ask what in fact folk music is.

Before we deal with Turkish nationalism, we need to take a look at romanticism which constitutes one of the roots of nationalism. Isaiah Berlin developed a historical method to analyse romanticism in his book *The Roots of Romanticism* (2004). Berlin (2004), takes history to be "dominant models." According to Berlin, these models describe developments as transformations of consciousness. The models can be explained by collective consciousness, opinions, outlooks and deeds, rather than by pure perspectives on ethics, politics or aesthetics; they begin as liberators and end in some sort of despotism (2004:21). Actually, Berlin's concept of the "dominant models" shows striking parallels with Thomas Kuhn's notion of "paradigm" and Michel Foucault's "episteme". From this point of view, romanticism, as an intellectual movement, caused a gigantic and radical transformation in Western consciousness after which nothing was the same (Berlin 2004). The romantic movement, especially from the point of view of nationalism, constitutes an important moment of origin because of its interest in the concepts of "folk" and "popular culture."

Halka Doğru *("Towards The Folk"): Populism, Nationalism and Founding Turkism in Turkey*

One of the basic features of nationalisms is their interpretations of the concept of "folk" or "people" (*halk*). The folk is the "essence/spirit" of a nation; it forms the nation. In nationalist ideology there is, therefore, a basic orientation which can be interpreted as "towards the folk". *Halka Doğru*, a magazine which started its publication life during the period when Turkish nationalism began to emerge, can be cited as a typical example of such a trend, as can be seen in its title. But who is the *halk* (folk, people) (Bearman, 2000)? In one of his articles in *Halka Doğru*, one of the founders of the ideology of Turkism, Yusuf Akçura clearly explains what "folk" meant to him and his peers: "By folk, we mean farmers in rural areas who own small or no lands at all, and in the cities shopkeepers, day-labourers, workmen" (Üstel 1997:112). However, Turkism was a movement of intellectuals and the elite. Hence what we see here is an intellectual group who do not belong to the folk, but who are trying to assign themselves missions like "building the folk up," "teaching the folk who they really are," "convincing the folk that they act in the name of them," "representing the folk," and "making a decision in the name of the folk." There is a clear hierarchy in the relationship between the elite and the folk. One of the statements that communicates the elitist aspect of this Turkist movement is contained in Hamdullah Suphi's (one of the most important leaders of this movement) declaration on admissions to the Turkish Hearths (*Türk Ocakları*):

> The Turkish Hearths are missionary establishments. Once you accept the admission of a labourer, the next day the Turkish Hearths turns into a socialist club. […] Because Turkish Hearths is an organization which promotes specific ideals so far, it can only accept the admissions of those who would be instilled with their intentions. Turkish Hearths have missions for the villager, the labourer and the soldier. But the Turkish Hearths cannot share their works with them. This establishment cannot indiscriminately affiliate people from the streets. The Centre is not uninterested in the farmer or the labourer. On the contrary, it always assumed itself as being in service for them. […] But we enrol as members only persons who are able to serve to our purposes. (Üstel 1997:155-156)

Of all the ideologies that developed before the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, such as Islamism, Ottomanism and Turkism, Turkism certainly gained exceptional power. The most basic characteristic of Turkism is that it is an entirely Occidentalist movement. The concepts of Turk, Turkishness and Turkism had, at this point and time, only began to be influential in relatively small communities. However, after the foundation of several associations, these concepts were heatedly discussed. Turkishness is an outcome of the process of building an identity and ideology. It is remarkable that most people who pioneered this process were politicians, Orientalists or Turkologists with Russian and Hungarian origins. In the early 20th century, the fictional connection between Turkishness and the *Turan* concept argued for the political necessity to build a Turkish identity based on Central Asian

origins. Thus, in the early period of this movement, the Turkist groups in the Ottoman Empire obviously did not have a concrete definition or perception regarding what was meant by "Turkish." As a matter of fact, the regulations of the "Turkish Association" (*Türk Derneği*) in 1908 state that the goal of the association is to learn and to teach the old works, history, languages, and social status of all peoples (*kavim*) which are known as Turk (Üstel 1997:22). As these typical and vague statements show, the issue of Turkishness as an idea imported from the outside into the Ottoman Empire, and overlapping with the political developments and objectives of that time, is manifested in accordance with the *zeitgeist*. It is remarkable that – especially in the many groups and movements that developed in the Ottoman state during the short period following the Second Constitution (1908) – there was an intensive impetus for Turkist, Turanist and pan-Turkist politics and intentions. Ideologically speaking there was a progression and an operational "organic" link between movements, parties or societies like *Genç Kalemler* ("Young Pens"), *Ittihat ve Terakki* ("Committee of Union and Progress"), *Türk Derneği* ("Turkish Association"), *Türk Yurdu* ("Turkish Homeland") and their antecedents, such as the "Young Ottomans" and "Young Turks"[1]. As a matter of fact, it is no coincidence that most of the people who gathered around *Halka Doğru* consisted of the ideologues and intellectuals of the Turkist movement who are also on the editorial board of the *Türk Yurdu* (Turkish Homeland) magazine.

According to François Georgeon (1999:108-109):

> As a matter of fact, *Halka Doğru* was a derivation of *Türk Yurdu*. Most of the authors in *Halka Doğru* were also on the editorial board of *Türk Yurdu*: Halide Edip, Ahmed Ağaoğlu, Celal Sahir, Hüseyinzade Ali, Akil Muhtar, Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad, Ziya Gökalp, Mehmed Emin, etc. As seen, the pioneers of the nationalist movement were also the pioneers of populism in Turkey. 'To aggrandize a nation is to aggrandize the folk!' This formula expresses both the idea which sheds light on the movement, and the organic link between Turkish nationalism and populism that has existed from its beginnings.

This is an important point. As we retrace this founding ideology on a discursive level, we can see it has been in existence as a basic and unchanging paradigm, and is still influential in Turkey today. However, here we find another intriguing point. Turkist ideology seems in practice to have always been connected with the concept of "the unity of opposites."[2]

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[1] Mardin 1962; Zürcher 1992, 2003; Ahmad 1993; Hanioğlu 1995; Shaw and Shaw 1997; Lewis 2001; Berkes 2008; Tunaya 2010.

[2] In the history of philosophy, the principle of "the unity of opposites" which has been associated with Heraclitus (BCE 540-480) is based upon an understanding that everything in nature has an opposite and the existence itself is an outcome of this opposition (Rıfat 2004). The expression can be summarized by such aphorisms and quotations: "what opposes unite"; "the way up and the way down are one and the same"; "that which is in opposition is in concert, and from things that differ comes the most beautiful harmony"; "things which are put together are both whole and not whole, brought together and taken

This basic formation represents completely opposing political positions, and caused Turkey to have a double-personality, not only politically but in every other field as well. It is remarkable that this formation has been shaped according to the paradigm that all is "one and the same". This typical trait enabled populism and nationalism to melt together, as evident in the example of *Halka Doğru*. Furthermore, it was influential in the emergence of a peasantist movement within the Turkish Hearths, and again in the transformation of the Turkish Hearths into *Halkevleri* (community centres, literally "People's Houses"). During the latter process, in terms of political appearance and discourse, the concept of "folk" (*halk*) became a notion that also included democratic tendencies, while "nation" (*millet*) became a term representing conservative and nationalist ideology. However, from the point of the basic founding ideology, the way was Heraclitus's "one and the same" (Rifat, 2004).

Turkist Ideology and Constitutive Myths of Turkish Folk Music

Turkist ideology created a number of constitutive myths about Turkish folk music. All of these myths were connected with the notion of Turk, which the Turkist ideology intended to construct. For example, as a reflection of the "Turkish History Thesis", pentatonicism was claimed to have been the "origin" of Turkish folk music. None of those making such claims had any direct information about how the music in the territories they had named as "Turan" actually might have been performed. They did not go into the field, instead creating phantoms as "armchair musicologists", simply in order to destroy Ottoman identity and to help invent a new Turkish identity. Advocates for this 1930s discourse included Ahmet Adnan Saygun (1936), Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal (1936) and Feruh Arsunar (1937). The Anatolian *bağlama* was fastened to the Central Asian *kopuz* by Fuad Köprülü, a prominent academic and one of the most important Turkist ideologues. No one went into the field to observe the shape and characteristic of the *kopuz*, no one become interested in the question whether a *kopuz* actually existed in "Turan" or not. They just claimed that it did. At the same time they suggested that there was no connection between Ottoman music and folk music in terms of *makam* and *usûl*. In the end, Ottoman music was seen as already damaged as a mixture of Arabic, Persian, Byzantine and Greek musics. Foreign experts were also included in this process. For example, Paul Hindemith issued a "scientific" report that within the music history of the world can be judged as an exemplary case of writing for ideological purposes, a report in which he spoke openly of Ottoman mu-

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apart, in harmony and out of harmony; one thing arises from all things, and all things arise from one thing"; "*cold* warms up, *warm* cools off, *moist* parches, and *dry* dampens". I use this principle to show how political parties and their policies stay in harmony with each other in terms of folk music and Turkish identity and their dependency on a founding ideology.

sic as Arabic music. Besides this, and based on some polyphonic examples, he underlined that folk music can be taken as a foundation for Turkish school of compositions, thus stressing their difference from Ottoman music. A. Adnan Saygun, having been influenced by the analysis and classification methods of Béla Bartók with whom he had collected folk songs, preferred to use Greek tetrachords and modes in his naming of the scales employed in Anatolian folk music.

In his book *Türk Halk Musikisi Usûlleri* (*Usûls* of Turkish Music, 1962), based on the belief that the metro-rhythmic structure of Turkish folk music is unrelated to the *usûls* of Ottoman music – thus serving the idea of a basic difference of folk music – Muzaffer Sarısözen invented and classified measures that he claimed to be particular to folk music.[3] Official and administrative representatives of folk music as well as prestigious teachers, such as Nida Tüfekçi and Yücel Paşmakçı, adopted his approach, and transformed it into a system covering every field, from performance to education.[4] Furthermore, these circles started to use the term *ayak* as a folk music counterpart for Turkish music *makams*. H. Saadeddin Arel and Suphi Ezgi adopted an approach which ignored historicism regarding issues such as division of the octave, naming of notes, classification and definition of *makam* and *usûl*, and thus invented a so-called modern theory. They included scarcely any analysis or comparison related to folk music.[5] The worse thing is that the circle around Arel almost prevented any public access to sources related to the history of music, although many of these sources were located in their libraries. Instead they ensured that the ideology that they were associated with dominated musical theory, performance and education. All of these works were based on a belief in the necessity of handling and arranging Turkish music according to European model and thus to attach it to the European system. During this period an Orientalist outlook and

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[3] During symposium discussions, one of the leading researchers of Turkish folk music, Mr. Süleyman Şenel, explained that the measures I criticized here and that are still used in education and performance, were not invented by Muzaffer Sarısözen, but taken by Sarısözen from the Bulgarian musicologist Stoyan Dzhudzhev (1902-1998). This explanation of Sarısözen's definition and classification of folk music measures, which until today have been known, used and taught as a basic source, raise new questions. Since Muzaffer Sarısözen did not gave references in his book, showing the measures as his own inventions, his approach would – if Süleyman Şenel is right – be called plagiarism. It is noteworthy that although Şenel knew about this significant fact, he never explained it on scientific grounds nor did he issue any supporting publication. It is desirable that Şenel would explain the sources for this hypothesis concerning a sensible issue of Turkish music and in particular folk music. Here I write as a footnote that he should perceive that this is a sensible course of action and that he should do what it is required for such responsibility.

[4] The way these circles follow the definitions of measures is open to subjective interpretation, and is based on many faulty examples (Öztürk 2006b, 2007). Nevertheless they are still in use in folk music education in Turkey and are seen as one of the basic topics of folk music.

[5] The modern theories of Arel and Ezgi lack basic analyses and comparisons. This new theory which has been created by western and positivist mentality, is patchwork-like. Basic concepts are taken and adapted, mainly from the West, namely from Safî al-Dîn, Cantemir, Nâsir Dede. This system is very common in Turkish music education and performances although it bears dozens of shortcomings.

evolutionary ethos were the dominant paradigms in Turkish music circles. Turkism, as a basic ideology, became at the same time a means for the introduction of a discourse of Western superiority, and it played – and still plays – a dominant role in establishing this "hegemony" in the field of music.

One of the most interesting applications and indicators of Turkist ideology in the field of folk music in Turkey is the period before and after the gathering of folk music collections. Its first examples can be found among the works of institutions like the "Turkish Association" (*Türk Derneği*) and "Turkish Hearths" (*Türk Ocağı*) active in the pre-Republic period, and in the collections of folk songs started by the *Dar'ül Elhân* and the "Municipal Conservatorium Istanbul" (*Istanbul Belediye Konservatuarı*). It was in particular during in the years 1936-1952 that the "State Conservatorium Ankara" (*Ankara Devlet Konservatuarı*) organized folk music collections and founded a serious folk music archive. It is interesting that no scientific studies have been conducted so far, although the archive is still located in the Conservatory of Hacettepe University. When we look at the goals, expectations and even the fuss concerning Turkist ideology put forward during the beginning of the folk music collecting activities, it is strange that the outcome of dozens of collections has never been subject to any academic evaluation. This is an obvious "anomaly". The fact that these studies still have not been conducted, in spite of a supposed democratic atmosphere and academic culture, has to be seen as a major problem for an archive of this magnitude. Potential research projects on folk music conducted with the help of today's technologies will present significant information and evaluations hitherto unavailable. As someone who has been performing research and analyses in this field – and as I have emphasized in various publications – research on folk music will provide important analytical materials for Ottoman music and the writing of its history, the theme under discussion here. For instance I presented many existent examples of *makam* and *terkîb* which were thought to have been forgotten, identifying them among "alive" Anatolian folk melodies or within the traditional repertoire.[6] Many studies on folk music – on issues such as *usûl*, musical genres, musical instruments, scales, performing music, transference of music, composing etc. – will possibly add information regarding Ottoman music and the differentiation between the two different performance styles. While many new opportunities for scientific studies exist today, among them contemporary computer and sound technologies, the reasons for these not to be used should always be taken into consideration. To find a reasonable excuse for not tending towards such studies seems in fact impossible while there are universities, conservatories, institutions in Turkey. When it comes to music archives, this issue is entirely left to oblivion, almost under a thick cover.[7]

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6   Öztürk 2006c, 2008, 2009a, 2010a, 2010b.
7   In this context, I propose that a recommendation should be prepared with the opportunity of this symposium that international experts and researchers should be able to access this matchless archive and it should be open to every type of academic research.

As we try to interpret these points as an indicator, it is obvious that the discourses that were put forth with purely political interests always presented new issues to a nonsensical degree and were made use of for given ideological interests during particular periods of time. The issue of pentatonicism is a phantom. As the dozens of academic or hundreds of musicians who work on folk music in Turkey openly express, pentatonicism is not one of the basic or main themes or materials of Anatolian local musics. On the contrary, nearly all Anatolian musics are based on *makams* and *usûls* which can be interpreted as indicators for "deformed" Ottoman music. The claim that *kopuz* is a precedent of *bağlama* does not have any scientific basis, but is entirely ideological. The prevalence of long-necked string instruments in this area in the depths of Anatolian cultural history has been – and still is – the subject of many international publications. However, there are no similarities between *bağlama* and the instrument known as *kopuz* or *komıs* among Turkic peoples. Historical sources like Dede Korkut and Evliya Çelebi have always depicted *komuz* as a member of the *ud* family. Also the contemporary instrument known as *cobza* in regions like Hungary and Romania belongs to the *ud* family. As a result, the identity of *kopuz* and *bağlama* shows that the ideology of the establishment left its mark on certain mindsets.

The "School for Music Theachers" (*Musiki Muallim Mektebi*, 1924), "Istanbul Municipal Conservatory" (*Istanbul Belediye Konservatuarı*, 1925), *Gazi Terbiye* (1928), the "Ankara Conservatory" (1936), "Izmir Conservatory" (1954) and the "State Conservatory for Turkish Music" (*Türk Musikisi Devlet Konservatuarı*, 1975) were considered as important milestones in terms of the institutionalization of musical life. Thus in Turkey, one single type of education based on Western lines, but two types of conservatories were established: conservatories for Western music and those for Turkish music respectively. Moreover, even Turkish music conservatories, for their basic programs, were equipped with a structure and functions that imitated Western musical conservatories and adopted the latter as role models. A remarkable number of the programs were based on Western musical education. In fact, Western ideology founded a hegemonic and hierarchical model and this model was appropriated politically by everyone. Here we see a superior-subordinate relationship and the West is definitely assumes the superior role. In all conservatories and musical education departments which were built after those mentioned here, the same structure was taken as a role model and applied. This discrimination has been in existence until today. It is obvious that the central position of the West, its hegemony, hence its Orientalist perspective, play decisive role in the perception of Turkish music.[8] In both folk music and Turkish music, the

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[8]   According to Edward Said (1999), Orientalism is a way of thinking based upon an ontological and epistemological discrimination which is made by Europe between the concepts of East and the West. Onur Kula (2010) speaks of Orientalism as a situation of the West dominating the East. To understand what orientalism really means, the archaeological method intended for deconstructing the concepts of "discourse," "knowledge," and "regimes

perspective has always been a product of an approach that places the West at the centre and perceives music through the West. The effect of the Ottomans' efforts to promote modernization based on Turkist ideology is the adjustment of music according to Occidentalist models. It is as if a "Music Regulation Institute" was almost established.[9] Paul Hindemith penned a report in 1936 with the intention to make Turkish musical life thrive. As a typical example, his words in this report are very intriguing:

> Although it is sad to leave the Arabic influenced music with its grand tradition and charming genuineness in favour of form with a more productive future; for a musician who does not follow only historical interests and who believes in the obligation to turn to polyphonic music, once he/she adopts the right tuning system, he has nothing but to search the folk music which will form a strong basis for his/her works. Turkish composer will find what he/she seeks in the old rural musical styles of his/her country. (Hindemith, 1983:99)

Unity of Opposites: *"Turkish Hearths"* (Türk Ocakları), *"People's Houses"* (Halkevleri) *and Folk Music*

The "six arrows" of the "Republican People's Party" (RPP) is basically exactly on what the Turkist movement presented as its principles: republicanism, populism, nationalism, secularism, statism and reformism. The first four articles of these tenets are the basic foundations of Turkist ideology. In terms of its basic ideologies Turkism is completely Occidentalist. Hamdullah Suphi stated that the *Türk Yurdu* magazine is the indoctrination tool for those who "adopt the Western civilization

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of truth" of Foucault has a great importance. Thus Said stated: "My contention is that without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – and even produce – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period" Said, 1978:3). According to Said, "because of Orientalism the Orient was not (and is not) a free subject of thought or action" (Said 1978:3) The European culture created its power, identity and ultimately itself by positioning itself in front of the East (Said, 1999). Said examines the power relationships by means of Gramsci's models of "hegemony" and "consent". According to this, "in any society not totalitarian, then, certain cultural forms predominate over others, just as certain ideas are more influential than others; the form of this cultural leadership is what Gramsci has identified as *hegemony*, an indispensable concept for any understanding of cultural life in the industrial West. It is hegemony, or rather the result of cultural hegemony at work, that gives Orientalism the durability and the strength I have been speaking about so far" (Said, 1978:7). "The cultural hegemony of Europe is based upon the thought that it is superior to people and cultures which are not from Europe" (Kula, 2010:4). In fact the idea of Orientalism is an outcome of a Eurocentric ideology and ethnocentrism peculiar to Europe. This discourse is based on the acceptance that Europeanness is superior to all when Europe is compared with other cultures and civilizations. Hence hegemony gives birth to a civilizational hierarchy. Europe is naturally at the top of such a hierarchy.

9   An allusion to Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's novel *Time Regulation Institute*, 1962.

and see the transmission of this culture to Turkish culture as a solution and want to make Turkish nation a member of the Western nations" (Üstel, 1997:157):

> The music that the Turkish Hearths will publish and circulate is hundred times more suitable to express the characters of Turkish nation than our old music. Apparently the music which is played with various instruments like *saz*, *def*s, *kudüm*s cannot express all excitements that Turkish people feel in their hearts. As it is impossible to compose marches in our old music, our old musical instruments do not have the strength and the timbre which a military melody would require. Prospective Turkish music will evolve into the Western music which we know as universal and grand. We do not mean that old music should be excluded from the Turkish Hearths. But the music that the Turkish Hearths will provide will be European music. Genuine Turkish music is not in our past, but in our future. We will find a way to reach the Turkish music we've been yearning for with Western instruments and with Western rules (Üstel 1997:223-225).[10]

These populist and peasantist concepts and movements arose from the Turkish Hearths. The Russian *Narodniks* movement, populism and peasantism of the Balkans had a great effect on the origins of populism. Thus, magazines like *Türk Yurdu* and *Halka Doğru* became the most effective publications of these movements (Çınar, 2007). Halide Edip, who chaired the "Peasantist Society" (*Köycüler Cemiyeti*) and defended the populism movement, emphasizes that the movement should be not only intellectual but should also be active, and the best examples for this were to be found in the United States. According to Halide Edip, populism in America is an example of how the people can be educated and prosperity and social works performed (Üstel, 1997). Dr Reşit Galip, who was one of the most effective politicians and bureaucrats of the Republican period, took responsibility for the actual leadership of the movement at the time. The idea of transforming the Turkish Hearths into *Halkevleri* (People's Houses) and merging them with the RPP was first expressed in 1925. However, this was realized only in 1931 when the Turkish Hearths were replaced by the *Halkevleri*. In this process, it is remarkable that the assignment of Dr Reşit Galip for the presidency of the *Halkevleri* provided a paradigmatic continuity.

> The *Halkevleri* began to take action with two important missions. One of them is the social reform mission which stretches out to the "Young Turk Revolution", like the "Turkish Hearths" and "*Köycüler Cemiyeti*" (Peasantist Society). The second one is to launch and carry out the artistic and cultural activities that would actualize the project of Westernization. The most important dilemma of this second mission is that it has to reconcile the efforts to introduce and promote Western cultural forms with the dependency upon regional folk music collections in order to create a national cultural repertoire. In this context, the activities of the *Halkevleri* towards a cultural reform can be seen as a project in which the "culture" (*hars*) and the "civilization" (*medeniyet*) concepts of Ziya Gökalp are brought to life (Öztürkmen, 1998:1).

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[10] It is known that the same discourse is expressed by H. S. Arel (1948:4) many years later, with these words: "I'm captivated not by today's appearance of Turkish music, but the vision of its future."

The principles effective in the founding of the *Halkevleri* includes the reflections of this basic ideology: instilling the revolution, deleting traces of the past, creating an integrated mass, vitalization, secularism, education, indoctrination, giving and honouring reliability etc. (Yeşilkaya 1999). Tanıl Bora states that the other image of Turkish nationalism and national identity is that of an old civilization in which a religious worldview is common, namely the Ottoman Empire (Bora 1998). According to Yeşilkaya (1999:73), "In the *Halkevleri*, the traces of the past and especially of the Ottoman Empire are attempted to be removed." Because they reflect the discourse of Turkist ideology, it is necessary to cite Ceyhun Atuf Kansu's words: "While in one room of the *Halkevleri* you can hear folk songs, in another room you will hear Mozart but you will not hear *gazel* in any room at all" (Yeşilkaya 1999:73).

> "It is stated in the regulations that violin, *ud*, *cümbüş*, *kanun* and *ney* cannot be employed in folk songs which were freed from the captivity of *fasıl* and *saz* music" (Yeşilkaya 1999:87). In the instructions that the RPP proposed for the *Halkevleri*, there are statements which express the "civilization plus nation" formula of Ziya Gökalp, emphasizing international music and folk songs will be the basis (Yeşilkaya 1999).

In the regulations of 1940, it was stated that the "Main task of the musical activities in the *Halkevleri* is to arrange folk songs, which have been living in the depths of the national spirit as a treasure trove, with the western techniques; to collect them with loyalty and care for prospective composers; to introduce polyphonic music to the tastes of the people while a new kind of Turkish music is emerging; for that purpose, make people listen to Western music taking advantage of many opportunities" (Yeşilkaya, 1999).

In fact, the music called *Türk Sanat Müziği* (Turkish art music) at the time, which was introduced as a new form during the Republic period, has at least been as effective as folk music on the destruction or the transformation of the Ottoman identity. Since the term "Ottoman music" as a characterization does not have sufficient supporters from even academic circles of today, it is seen as ideologically defective. One of the biggest successes of Turkist ideology is that it indoctrinated into the collective consciousness that Turk and Turkishness has always existed, thereby constituting a "nation" throughout history. Hence, the term "Turkish art music" (*Türk Sanat Müziği*) has been adopted more than "Ottoman music" (*Osmanlı Müziği*) and is preferred in academic usage. The issue has lost its historical context on many levels.

Folk Music as Representation of the Nation (millet) *and Ethnic Identity*

Folk music has a significant representative quality from the viewpoint of nationalism and ethnic identity. Around the world folk music has other meanings than just being a musical genre. As Nettl emphasized (1973:6): "The idea that folk music is closely associated with a people, a nation, or a culture and its characteristics

has long been widely accepted. In some languages, the words for 'folk music' and 'national music' are the same. This popular notion is, of course, quite opposed to that which deems music a 'universal language.'" According to Nettl (1973), the idea of folk music reflecting the inner characteristics of a national culture is the origin of the concept that associates nations with musical styles. This concept causes folk music to be seen as a political issue from a nationalist perspective and is sometimes used as an effective tool for aggressive and racist politics. The most typical examples of this issue can be seen in the various traditional music applications deployed in National Socialist Germany and the Soviet Union during the 1950s. Such examples are testament to the necessity to research and understand the importance that folk music has in terms of politics and culture.

Folk music can be symbolic of countries, nations, ethnical units, society or communities, just as much as language, national anthems, flags, homelands, uniforms, and maps. Its representation of identity is the main factor in its employment as an ideological tool.[11]

A nation before anything else is a political formation and unity. Anthony Smith (2002:22) states that the concept of nation is formed or built by myths and memories. Moreover, according to Smith, these are *sine qua non* of a nation. Memory is one of the basic factors of identity formation. Nations provide a repertoire of memories for the individuals. Myths as constitutive and sanctifying narratives, help to construct common goals. Building up a nation as a political formation entails the political project we used to call nationalism. Nationalistic discourse has a constitutive, shaping and idealizing frame. It does not come into life all by itself but by founders and masterminds of a certain political project and its implementers, namely a certain ideological group or community. In this context, the emergence of nationalism without a group that has a political project, is impossible. Even though it may be developed, it is not impossible to promote, actualize, perpetuate and adopt it without a certain organization. So concerning the concept of nationalism and the qualifying of any cultural element as national, the standpoints of the circles which direct this political project is the issue; their

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[11] Ideologies are imaginations and designs of different worlds and societies (Mardin 1982). As a design, an ideology needs new tools in order to exist and promote itself. For example, national states and national identity are completely ideological concepts and depend on tools that represent the unity of the "nation" concept. Language, homeland, religion, culture, history are the prominent ones. In his book *The Invention of Tradition* (1983) that he collaborated with Terence Ranger, the historian Eric Hobsbwam analysed these unifying tools in a comprehensive manner. In this context, among other tools related to cultural traditions, we can see that also folk music and folk dances are effectively used. In fact the notions of nation (*millet*), citizen (*vatandaş*) and people (*halk*) which are used in similar meanings in Turkish, can also be used interchangeably as identical key concepts in terms of nationalism. Turkish people (*Türk halkı*), means the same thing as Turkish nation (*Türk milleti*) or Turkish citizens (*Türk vatandaşları*). In this context, people and nation have almost the same content and they both symbolize the same "imagined community" (Anderson 1993).

perceptions, the symbolizations of the respective cultural element, and their interpretation of it in accordance with their intentions and interests. This last issue entails an ideological structure, realization of a world of meanings and with a more general expression, establishing a political hermeneutic. Smith (2002:23) talks about ethnicity as a phenomenon which depends on the perspective of the beholder, changes according time and context, and which is slippery, variable, misleading, and completely situational. The mission of the nationalists encompasses thus to make nations – which had existed since unknown time – their existence aware; to awake them from their long and deep sleep and to enable them to take their places among the other nations (Smith, 2002). The perception that has become common in our day in terms of nationalism, is concentrated upon the comprehensiveness and multi-dimensionality features of nationalism. "Nationalism is first a concept that shapes our consciousness and helps us make sense of this world; in other words, a perception and interpretation that determine our collective identities, everyday conversations, and directs our attitudes and behaviours" (Özkırımlı, 2008:15).[12]

The first tools that Turkism developed during the period of nation-building was the simplification and purism of the Turkish language. Thus simplification efforts in the linguistic area and purist approach comprise one of the most important elements of the establishment phase of Turkist ideology. The magazine "Turkish Association" (*Türk Derneği*) put a perceptible emphasis on Turkish language. A magazine writer, Ahmet Hikmet Müftüoğlu states "the language is the prerequisite of creating a nation and a fluent language shelters and protects a nation as much as a neat military army" (Üstel, 1997: 29). Smith argues that a language is a form of cultural nationalism that yields political results concerning the fundaments of nationalism.

These politics towards the field of linguistics started to include folk songs in a short period of time. An example for the process of compiling folk songs, among the eleven points activity proposal that the "Turkish Association" recommended for its headquarters, there is even a recommendation for keeping special notebooks to write down "the old local songs that Turkish people sang in the villages, proverbs and stories" (Üstel, 1997: 24). While the unity of Ottoman elements are frequently mentioned in the manifesto of the "Turkish Association", a Turkist policy is favoured in the cultural area and especially the language issues. H.S. Arel, who has an important position in the "modernization" of Turkish music and took part on the discussion on a "national music" by "turkifiying" some Ottoman expres-

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[12] The roots of nationalist school of thought can be traced back to Herder and Fichte in the late 18ᵗ century (for some writers, even to Kant and Rousseau). However, the issue became a subject to social sciences only by the works of Carleton Hayes and Hans Kohn in the first half of the 20ᵗ century (Özkırımlı, 2008). Scholars such as Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm, Anthony Smith and Benedict Anderson made great contributions and provided new expansions for academic research on nationalism.

sions, obviously was highly influenced by this linguistic nationalism. He reflects this in his work *Türk Musikisi Kimindir?* (To Whom Does Turkish Music Belong?) which was originally published as a series of magazine articles:

> However, after I realized some books written by foreign writers attribute some *makam*s to the Arab and the Persian for they are named in Arabic or Persian, I felt sorry as we cannot save these genuinely Turkish inventions. Since that day, I decided to name everything in Turkish. Our national responsibility is to shelter our country under Turkishness, against people who took it upon themselves not to leave an artistic bit that is attributed to us. (Arel 1988:2)

Turkish Folk Music between Dissociation and Unity

From the point of view of Turkism, the constitutive ideology of the Republic, the issue of folk music has been seen as the cement of the new Turkish identity and nation which was supposed to be purged of Ottoman identity, and hence as national essence. But although its roots extend back further in the past, with the understanding of Turkish-Islam synthesis which is almost a revised version of the constitutive ideology as it began to be evident in the 1970s and to become an official opinion in the 12 September 1980 coup d'ètat, folk music in Turkey has become involved in micro-nationalisms and deployed to represent various ethnic identities.

The cultural and musical variety which had been labelled as "regional" (*yöre* and *bölge*) during the "radio years", gained a character associated directly with ethnical identities in the period following the 1980 coup d'ètat. In this new situation, folk music that could function as a mean for integration in terms of nationalism and ethnical identity, now became an obvious discriminator for the "others". In this new era, the concept of "one" Turkish folk music and its "regional" characteristics was replaced with an understanding which is centred around the ethnic identities as in expressions including Kurdish, Alevite, Laz, Roman, Gypsy, Abdal, Arabic, Azeri, Yezidi, Assyrian, Pomak, Bosnian, Tatar, Armenian, Circassian, Abkhazian, Jewish and Rûm musics etc.[13] In this process, the issue which were most criticized and analysed in terms of official ideology, is the practice of the TRT to change language and expressions of the lyrics of folk songs. In the official repertoire of TRT the Alevite expression "*şah*" (a word used for Ali as well as for Persian leaders) for example was changed to "*dost*" (close friend) or "*can*" (beloved, soul), and songs with Kurdish or Laz lyrics were completely translated into Turkish. In the aftermath of the 1980 coup d'ètat, the transformative concept that dominated the economic and political scene was also the original cause for the transformations in the cultural and ideological arena. In a process that has con-

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[13]   At this point, it will be enough to skim over the folk and traditional music albums published by *Kalan Müzik*, to understand the mentioned transformational and evolutionary line.

tinued to this day, Turkey has adopted developments that emerged in the name of democratization and feels a need to question its constitutive ideology. In this process, folk music has become perceived as one of the cultural symbols which does not represent the "national essence" anymore but rather "ethnical identity" and "local culture". For example, in the 1970s, when I grew up as a performer of traditional music, me and almost everyone around me believed that there was "one" Turkish folk music. But today, to put it in the words of Ziya Gökalp, it is clear that a plurality of musics, an *ittihat-ı anasır müzikleri*[14] exists.

Nationalist ideology, inherently with its features and discourses that create its antithesis, make use of folk music as an effective tool in accordance with its own intentions and interests. In this context, it orients communities and masses in terms of cultural, individual and political identities. While in this ideological frame folk music is perceived as an indicator of diversity in terms of cultural and individual identity, politically it becomes an issue of freedom, independence, justice, demand and representation. After all the point that we reach is this: folk music is as slippery and unstable as the issue of ethnicity is, and it gains the characteristics that people want to see or show in it.

Aside from the fact that this context has led to the use of folk music in Turkey for ideological goals, its decisiveness regarding informative, scientific, inquiring and educational functions in the academic field if seen from a paradigmatic perspective creates a certain continuity and validity. Parallel to Foucault's approach to intellectual history, in Turkish musical "academia" there is a hegemony that reflects "opinions rather than of knowledge, of errors rather than of truth, of types of mentality rather than of forms of thought" (Foucault 1999: 175). From the perspective of historicism, it is obvious that future research on folk music in Turkey will provides important materials concerning the nationalistic period. In this regard, the example of Turkey is a case in point to understand instrumentalism in all its detail.

Turkish music communities still did not leave aside the cultural evolutionist approach which was a common paradigm during the early phases of ethnomusicology in the late 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th century, a framework called "comparative musicology." The idea of evolution is still seen as a basic paradigm by circles interested in Turkish music.[15] The understanding of evolution assumes history to be a continuity and is based on the principle of a unidirectional process of evolution and progress. This understanding lacks a dimension of historical relativity and pluralism. It is obvious that in Ottoman music such an out-

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[14] *Ittihad-ı anasır* was a political concept of the late Abdülhamit II and Second Constitution period, emphasizing ethnicity instead of religious plurality.

[15] One of the most striking examples – among many others – for the validity of this attitude in academic circles is the book titled *From Past to Presence, from Presence to Future* (*Geçmişten Günümüze, Günümüzden Geleceğe*) by Ali Uçan, one of the most prominent scholars for contemporary Turkish music education. The book can also be featured as a college textbook. The first chapter of the book is titled "Cultural Evolution and Turkish Music" (*Kültürel Evrim ve Türk Müziği*).

look creates an insufficient, shallow and prejudiced framework. Writing the history of Ottoman music is an issue that concerns completely those elements which made up Ottoman culture. Therefore the nation-states which are an outcome of the process of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire are directly related to this history.

Conclusion

In fact, folk music is what it is. It has its place within culture, life and together with men. Approaching folk music in terms of nationalism, national spirit, national essence etc. and associating it with these concepts is the outcome of the ideological approach in general, specifically that of nationalism. In this context, folk music is an ideological tool used for the construction of an identity of national or subnational ethnic entities. Especially in the case of Turkey, the interest in folk music obviously lies in the issue of identity and the construction of associated policies. From the perspective of Ottoman music history, the issue of Turkish folk music was introduced as a key concept in a period when this history was ideologically debated. A similar determination is valid also for the term "*Türk sanat müziği*" (Turkish art music). However, there is an transformation from an understanding that Turkish folk music represents a nation via a folk music that represents specific ethnicities. Hence, from a historical point of view, the content of the concept of Turkish folk music has changed. It has lost its meaning peculiar to the founding ideology and it is on its way to move into history in this new direction.

When we approach the field of Ottoman music history from the point of view of folk music research, we can introduce some important issues. Before anything else, the field of musical historiography is not a scientific branch which can only be worked on, simply relying on historical documents and knowledge. On the contrary, collections of, and material from, oral culture and folk/traditional music can provide significant information for such a history. As we can be excited by the plethora of material available in Turkey, it is also baffling to see the apathy, the indifference, the inefficacy and impractability caused by a systematically perpetuated ideological domination which has been sustained to this day.

Folk music can make many contributions to the historical arena. Several researches have proved that we can discover many *makam*s, *şu'be*s, *âvâze*s and *terkîbe*s which were explained in Ottoman sources by analytical studies and comparisons on folk music repertoire. The same situation is also valid for *usûl* researches. For example, comparisons of rhythms for *halay* and *oyun havası* that are still actively performed in Anatolia using historical data can provide important contributions, particularly regarding the study and analysis of Ottoman *mehter* music. For this reason it can be claimed that folk music repertoire and practice will make great contributions to academic studies on musical historiography.

The issue of folk music is an international research field for various reasons. Basically, it is obvious that Anatolia is in a central position within a wider region which was dominated by great empires. Therefore this historicity and interculturality provides an important and leading position for Turkey in regards to regionally designed research projects on folk music. It is my aspiration that international academic research projects on folk music should be developed that could be beneficial to all countries and cultures in the region and that they might contribute to the transformation of our perspectives and understanding, thus shaking the very roots of our contemporary consciousness in terms of a musical and historical symbiosis.

Ottoman *Türkü*

Süleyman Şenel

The term *türkü* was discussed intensively in terms of identity, purpose and re-
search techniques during the last ten years of the Ottoman Empire and the initial
years of the Republic of Turkey. Field work among the people, however, only be-
gan with the official collection trips during the second quarter of the 20th century
and their results was transmitted to music circles in printed notation collections.
Additionally, these collected *türkü*s were introduced to mass audiences by means
of vinyl records and radio broadcasts, sung especially by local (*mahallî*) and pro-
fessional musicians. The use of the term *türkü* by science-art communities as a
technical caption also contributed greatly to this process. Perhaps the term *türkü*
won its greatest fame during this period. Moreover, it became widespread, having
been attributed new meanings and perceptions.

Terms such as *Chant populaire*, *Volkslied* or *folk song* as used in folklore studies,
which developed in the second half of the 19th century in Europe where initially
translated as *halk şarkısı* by Turkist/nationalist Ottoman intellectuals – especially
musicians – who followed the printed sources in this field. During the 1920s this
term was turkified to *türkü*. In addition, they transformed the word into a term for
a musical subform under the general headline of "folk music", as well as into a
technical term including all elements of the repertoire.[1]

According to artists from Istanbul society influencial among music communi-
ties during the first quarter of the 20th century *türkü* had an unnoticed place in the
daily city life. Moreover, the term *türkü* met folk songs and especially anonymous
songs sung by folk singers who came from different parts of the Empire territory,
especially from Anatolia. They lived mostly in the suburbs in Istanbul, and used
to perform in recreation spots, coffeehouses, taverns, country weddings and spor-
tive recreational areas like jereed, footraces and wrestling; also they were invited
to parties of reputable mansion owners. Within this context, *türkü* met traditional
music genres, forms, types and variations. However, the term did not encompass
particular cultural characteristics, such as a distinctive poetic form, lyrical topics,
their metric-rhythmic or metric-melodic structures; their musical styles and forms,
phonetic/dialectic features; traditional instrument timbres; performing locations
or religious contexts.

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1   Mahmut Ragıp (Gazimihal) (1928:7) explains the process of defining anonymous songs as
    türkü, that have been notated after vocal or instrumental folk music performances or col-
    lected with different recording techniques, with these words: "We used this term to mean
    chant populaire but as the Germans call their songs *Lied*, we called our folk songs generally
    türkü. The term *şarkı* (song) is not known in Anatolia."

As *türkü*s entered the agenda and the *fasıl*s of musicians from Istanbul, also compositions whose lyrics described village life with words such as village square, peasant girl, shepherd, kohl, henna, fountain, sheep-lamb, *davul-zurna*, wedding etc. began to be defined as *türkü*. They were performed in *makam*s like *hüseynî, muhayyer, nevâ, tâhir, uşşak, hicâz, mâhur, rast, müstear, gülizâr, karcığar. Türkü* was even designated as one of the musical genres or forms[2] like *kâr, kâr-ı nâtık, Mevlevî âyini, beste* and *şarkı*. For this designation, no distinctive musical structure and idea of form was taken into consideration.

After the first quarter of the 20th century, the term *türkü* which became widespread by means of printed, auditory and visual publications, was used in order to acquire a meaning acceptable to different disciplines of social science and different types of music as well as in public memory. The fact that literary researchers tried to apply a technical and terminological standardization of folk poems impacted on this process. However, over time, *türkü* lyrics was removed from being purely a literary topic. Primarily the recognition and identification of genres and forms of folk literature/*âşık* literature, together with many other topics, started to be explained in association with music.

In the last quarter of the 20th century, hundreds of written documents and tens of thousands of oral and musical reference sources provided by local witnesses were collected in libraries and archives, thus making it an obligation to study *türkü*s in an interdisciplinary manner between literature and music.

This process started in the Ottoman period, but was not carried into effect. In other words, there was an attempt to compile Ottoman *türkü*s via the field works of the 20th century and in the following 90 years, and they made substantial progress.

Aside from field works, written historical sources where discovered and based on these exemplars knowledge grew, primarily due to the efforts of literary researchers. The latter included the discovery and identification of the literary sources of *türkü*s, and the dissemination of information among the scientific/artistic communities. However, these did not garner much attention among music circles, and thus were not studied to a sufficient extent. At least some issues had enough value to enter music literature and also attracted interest within the musical field.

One example is the *Kâbûsnâme* written in the 11th century by Kaikâ'ûs Ibn-Iskandar, the Ziyarid Emir, who dedicated it to his son Gilân Şâh. It was translated from Persian into Turkish by İlyasoğlu Ahmed (Mercimek Ahmed) at the behest of Ottoman Sultan Murad II in the first half of the 15th century (Keykavus 1974).

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2   Titles such as *peşrev, taksim, saz semâ'î*" and *Mevlevî ayini*, have been mostly defined as a "form" (tr.: *form*) in classical Turkish music circles. Among some of the music lovers in recent periods, the terms *forma* and *tür* (genre) can also be encountered. This issue is a problem of terminology and study of forms, fields that Turkish music researchers have not discussed sufficiently thus far.

While Mercimek Ahmed was translating according to some of the advice of Keykavus on how to make delicate music, he used the words *ırlamak*, *ır ırlamak* and *türkü ayıtmak*.[3] In the text, the verb *ayıtmak* means making audible a set of words that were built upon a melody, while the verbs *ırlamak* and *türkü ayıtmak* were used to mean "making music with lyrics." Instrumentalist (*sâzende*) was defined as an artist who put into practice the verbs *ırlamak* and *türkü ayıtmak* by using instruments. Most importantly, the expressions *ırlamak/ır ırlamak* and *türkü ayıtmak* were used in the same sense in the source (Keykavus 1974:259)[4].

At the end of the 15th century, in his work *Mîzânu'l-Evzân* (The Measure of Metres), Ali-Şîr Nevâyî mentioned a poetical/musical genre that came to be known as *türkî* in Hüseyin Baykara's gatherings and was inordinately admired and seen as relaxing to the soul, beneficial to people who were fond of pleasure and metaphorically embellishing gatherings. The *türkî*s were arranged in the *remel-i müsemmen-i maksur* metre (*fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilün*). Their singers were called "*türkî-gûy*" and reputable *türkî-gûy*s were kept under the auspices of sultans.[5] In the *Mecâlisü'n-Nefâyis* he names some *türkî-gûy*s, e.g. Mevlânâ Atâyî, Mevlânâ Mukîmî, Mevlânâ Kemâlî, Mevlânâ Gedâyî, Mevlânâ Haydar and Emir Rüstem.[6]

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[3]   It is understood that this term transformed into *türkî*, *türkü çağırmak/söylemek* in Anatolia over time. For example, the term *türkî* and the idioms *türkî söylemek*, *türkî çağırmak* can be seen in two anecdotes recorded in *Latâ'if-i Hâce Nasreddin* (Dersaadet: İkbal Kütübhanesi, Hilâl Matbaası), a compilation from an 18th century manuscript by *Bahâ'î* (Veled Çelebi İzbudak) which was printed for the first time in 1325/1909 (Dersaadet: İkbal Kütübhanesi, Hilâl Matbaası) (in addition see: Boratav 1995:199-213).

[4]   "When you learn a song, savour its taste, sing it while it is still warm, so that it would be tasteful, rather than when it is cold and has lost its taste. ... If you sing songs, do not sing them in only one emotion. Sing them with feeling. For example, sometimes out of beauty, sometimes out of a reigniting, sometimes out of separation, sometimes out of loyalty and sometime out of sorrow so that the things you said would be emotionally effective." In the transcription into Latin letters by Orhan Şaik Gökyay (Keykavus, 1974:259): "…*Ve her bir ırcuğaz ve türkücük ki öğrenirsin, zevkini sakla, yani ısıcak ayıt, tâ ki tatlı ola, soğuk ayıtma, tâ ki bîlezzet olmaya. (…). Her ırı ki ırlarsın yendek bir manada ayıtma, her birini bir manada ayıt, yani geh hüsniyyet, geh visâl, geh firak, geh vefâ ve geh cefâdan türküler ayıt, tâ ki sohbetin müessir düşe…*".

[5]   Ali-Şîr Nevâyî 1993:58-61. For the works of Ali Şîr Nevâyî, see: Levend 1968: 117. For comprehensive information on the biography, art, character and compositions of Ali Şir Nevaî, see: Levend 1965; Levend 1966; Levend 1967; Levend 1968. For the text in Chagatai that Agâh Sırrı Levend and Kemal Ersaslan transcribed into Latin alphabet see: Ali-Şîr Nevâyî, 1993:58-61; Levend 1968:117:

"*Ve yana tuyuk sürüdıdur kim, anı 'türkî' dipdürler. Ve bu lafz anga 'alem boluptur. Ve ol gayetdin taşkarı dil-pesend ve rüh-efza ve nihayetdin mütecâviz, 'ayş ehliga suud-mend ve meclis-ârâ sürüddur. Andak ki selaatin anı yahşı aytur ilhi terbiyetler kılıpdurlar. 'Türkî-gûy' lakabı bile meşhurdur. Ve ol Türkî dagı remel-i müsemmen-i maksur* [read as "*mahzuf*" by Kemal Eraslan] *veznide vakı'dur…*". (There is also another type of poetic recitation which they have called *türkî*, and this name has been fitting for it. And it is exceedingly delightful and heartening, and extremely moving; it is a recitation which is beneficial and promoting of conviviality for men of leisure, so much so that Sultans praised it and has cultivated the nation (with it). The *türkî-gûy* are well-known. This *türkî* also exhibits the (poetic) meter of *ramal-i musamman-i maqsûr*.)

[6]   Levend, 1968:74, 75, 80, 81, 86.

In the *Mîzânu'l-Evzân*, Ali-Şîr Nevâyî also mentioned some genres known among the Turks of the 15th century, like *tuyuğ*, *koşuk*, *çenge*, *ozmağ*, *buday-buday*, *muhabbetnâme*, *arazvârî* and *müstezâd* which are defined according their metre, purpose of performance and their geography. Additionally, in *Mîzânu'l-Evzân*, the expressions *türkî/türkü ayıtmak* are met with the expressions *ır* and *ır ırlamak* in parallel with *Kâbusnâme*.[7]

In the 16th century, the expressions *türkü yakmak* and *türkü yakıcı* are encountered also in the Arabic–Turkish glossary *el-Bâbûs fî tercemeti'l-Kaamûs* (*el-Bâbûsü'l-vasît fî tercemeti'l-Kâmûsi'l-muhît*) by Merkezzâde Ahmet Efendi.[8] These idioms are used widespread in Anatolia, probably they are the oldest idiomatic evidence that have a musical meaning.[9]

Besides these materials, Evliyâ Çelebi's *Seyahatnâme*, the most often consulted written source in literary and musical circles, is more evidence for the existence of *türkü*s in the 17th century. In the *Seyahatnâme*, the terms *türkî* and *türkü* are both used to mean *folk song*, and again *ırlamak/yırlamak* for "singing folk song".[10] Another noteworthy point in the *Seyahatnâme* is that the expressions *türkî/türkü* are used for the folk songs of Albanians, Greeks (*Rûm*), Serbians, Croatians, Bulgar-

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[7] Following this information, it becomes mandatory to investigate if the musical/poetic examples called *türkî/türkü* has reached our time in Anatolia or in the Turkic geography, either in written sources or via the oral tradition of the people. Actually, *türkü*, *atma türkü* and *uzun türkü*s, composed of seven syllable *mâni* verses built upon fast-paced rhythmic melodies, are popular among the people living in the Eastern Black Sea region of Turkey. The literary and thematically similar counterparts of *çenge*s with "*yâr yâr*" *redif*, with or without prosodic metre, emotionally effective, who are stated in *Mîzanu'l-Evzân* to have been sung at *zifaf* (wedding night) and wedding feasts, still continue as songs with *yâr yâr*, *yor yor*, *car car*, or *jâr jâr redifs* and/or with a refrain, as in the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Khazars vicinity up to Anatolia (see: Halıkzâde, 1997:192-203).

[8] See: TDK Tarama Sözlüğü, 1971a:3875. According to the information given by Prof. Dr. İsmail Durmuş, *el-Bâbûs fî tercemeti'l-Kaamûs (el-Bâbûsü'l-vasît fî tercemeti'l-Kâmûsi'l-muhît)* by Firûzâbâdî was translated into Turkish for the first time by Merkezzâde Ahmet Efendi (d. 963/1556). The son of Merkez Efendi, the sheikh of *Halvetî-Sünbülî*, Merkezzâde Ahmet Efendi prepared the text according to the Denizli accent and completed it in 950/1543. According to Durmuş' information, the manuscript of the work is kept in the Atıf Efendi Library in Istanbul (No. 2692). Various other copies are located in different libraries (for more details, see: Durmuş, 2004:206-207).

[9] *Türkü yakıcılık* is a kind of folk music composing. The verb *türkü yakmak* means the creation of sets of words with melody by folk artist composers, under the impression of the time, location and emotion that one is currently in, while still adhering to the lyrical and musical patterns and structures of the tradition. In these circumstances, the folk compositions that emerge are called *yakma*.

[10] For the terms *türkî* and *türkü* in *Evliyâ Çelebî*'s *Seyahatnâmesi*. M. Sabri Koz took the translation and edition made by Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman, Robert Dankoff, Zekeriya Kurşun and İbrahim Sezgin as a basis, which was published in 10 volumes by Yapı Kredi Yayınları (1999-2007). In this corpus, the spelling *türkî* can be seen in Vol I: 115-2, 340-1, 340-2, 354-2, 355-2, 357-2 and Vol VII: 141-1, 284-2, 286-2; the spelling *türkü* can be seen in Vol I: 280-1, Vol V: 142-2), Vol VII: 271-2 and Vol X: 185-1.

ian-Mazedonians (*Voynık*), Latins, Bulgarians, Bosnians, Circassians, Armenians, Nogai Tatars and Egyptian Fellahs (Koz, 2009:252).

At this point, let us focus on the expressions *ır/yır* and *ır+lamak/yır+lamak*. The usage of "*ır/yır*" in the same meaning with *türkî/türkü*, as in *Kâbusnâme*, *Mîzanu'l-Evzân* and Evliyâ Çelebi's texts, can be dated back to the 11th century as proved by the *Dîvânu Lugâti't-Türk* by Kaşgarlı Mahmud. These expressions are known to be used with *yır/yir, cır/cir, jır/jir* utterances in almost all Turkic areas, in particular in Anatolia, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Tartary, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan and mostly in musical texts.[11] The existence of these words might be interpreted as expressions of cultural continuity and the frequent reinforcement of this continuity.

The oldest notated evidences of *türkü* are seen in one of the written sources of the 17th century Ottoman period, the *Mecmû'a-i Sâz ü Söz* which was written by Polish-born Ali Ufkî (Albert Bobowski) in the 1650s. In this song collection, the word *türkî* is mentioned more than 90 times, in *fasıl*s of *hüseynî, muhayyer, nevâ, uşşâk, beyâtî, acem, sabâ, çargâh, segâh, rast, mâhur, eviç* and *ırak makam*s (Ali Ufkî, 1976; Ali Ufkî, 2003). Almost all of them were notated in European staff notation written from right to left.

The *türkî* in the song collection carry a kind of identity as music with lyrics, just as one of the other frequently mentioned vocal, instrumental or vocal-instrumental genres such as *beste, ceng-i harbî, ilâhî, murabba', nağme-i 'acem, nakş, oyun, pîşrev, raks, raksiyye, savt, semâ'î, [saz] semâ'î, şarkî, tekerleme, tesbîh, tevhîd, varsağı* and *yelteme*. However, the notated songs do not seem to have an unchanging literary and/or musical form and structure, and several genres/styles as well as differences with their counterparts are perceptible. This difference leads to the presumption that the songs referred to as *türkî* harbour a certain musical diversity and variation.

The *türkî*s in the song collection consist of lyrics written in syllabic verses or in *arûz* metres: with regards to their syllable numbers, almost all show a style close to the *âşık* genre. They deal partially with religion but on a large scale deal with topics other than religion. Almost all of the 90 *türkî*s are anonymous folk poems in either the *koşma* rhyme style, or in the *âşık* style and/or are under the influence of this style. They are mostly written in 11 and 8 syllables prosody, or more rarely using the *arûz* prosodies *fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilün, mef'ûlü mefâ'îlü mefâ'îlü fe'ûlün, mefâ'îlün mefâ'îlün mefâ'îlün mefâ'îlün* and *müstef'ilâtün müstef'ilâtün müstef'ilâtün müstef'ilâtün* which correspond to 14, 15 and 16 syllables. Almost every verse is in the *murabba'* format and the *gazel* format is used rarely. The number of stanzas varies between one and six, most consist of four or five stanzas. Additionally, most of

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[11] These expressions can be encountered with *ır/ir, yır/yir, cır/cir, jır/jir* sayings and most frequently as musical articles in many *lügât*s, *sakinâme*s, *surnâme*s, *cönk*s etc. aside from the *Dîvânu Lugâti't-Türk*. For Anatolia, Azeri, Kyrgyz, Kazakh, Tatar, Turkmen, Tajik dialects and written sources that Besim Atalay referred to for *ır/yır* expressions, see: Kaşgarlı Mahmut/TDK 1986:217, 786.

the lyrics exhibit a nom de plume (*mahlas*). However, dance songs and compositions called *raks/raksiye/raksiyye* do not carry a *mahlas*, while compositions called *türkî oyun*, *türk oyunu* and *türkî oyunu* do. It might hence be a characteristic attached to the term *türkî*. In *türkî* lyrics, additional lines connected to verses as a refrain are not seen frequently and rarely can an additional set of words in one or two lines or non-lexical words (*terennüm*) be found. The function of refrain was mostly left to the last lines of the stanzas, especially lines with *redif* (a common word at the end of lines). Lyrics depict and narrate the rich topics of human life, like birth, death, love, passion, praise, or historical events like religious or worldly advices, bravados, accession to the throne (*cülûs*), mobilization, war, or loss of territory. Some of the poems are written in a conversational style.

Almost all notated songs in the *Mecmû'a-i Sâz ü Söz* have a certain vocal music characteristic, with lyrics written according to the melodies. Some groupings of words and the attachment of an *aranağme* after words remind one of the existence of both vocal and instrumental music in the song collection. Melodies that lyrics were built upon are rather short and plain, their vocal range covers one octave or less and their modulations are negligible. The music generally consists of motives corresponding to one line each, a melodic styles with more or less small divisions, and forms composed of these, with only one single section. *Meyân* parts never appear, or only rarley and in calm and close formation, and in the form of narrow and low volume melodic extensions. Distinctive features in the melodic style are the *seyir*-movement within a narrow range as well as the sharp descent of the *seyir* towards the finalis. The fact that some styles show some variation being carried onto different notes within the melody or which repeat themselves in different melodies is one of the noteworthy structural features. Although verses with refrains are rarely seen in the lyrics, the fact that some melody lines by means of repetitions in cadences give the impression of functioning as a refrain, is almost a reflection of a certain parallelism between melody and lyrics. The fact that some lyrics are built over melody patterns which are almost similar to one another recalls of singing within framework melodies (*teğannide inşâd*) which is frequently seen in anonymous folk music or *âşık* music styles.

Probably one of the most important meanings attached to the terms *türkî/türkü* in *Kâbusnâme*, *Mecmû'a-i Sâz ü Söz* and Evliyâ Çelebi's *Seyahatnâme* is that they represent an element of the social structure in an urban environment. Within this context, it can be said that the word *türkü* defines the melodic, metrical and formal format of literary and/or poetic-musical songs which are in Turkish and represent the traditional style of Turkish elements. In other words, the term *türkü* as is seen in these sources describes both songs either created in an urban environment or which came from the countryside, and demonstrate a unity of genre and style.[12]

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[12] Boratav 1995:199-213; Şenel 2005:279-333.

This opinion is backed by two Nasreddin anecdotes of the 18th century in which the expressions *türkî çağırmak/türkî söylemek* are mentioned. One of the anecdotes relates:[13]

> Nasreddin was trying to seek his lost donkey and at the same time he sang a *türkî*. Some called him and said: "Whoever lost his donkey does not sing *türkî* but wails with grief." He answered "My hope left is the back of this mountain; if I cannot find him there, there you will hear me wailing."

The second one is this:[14]

> A *subaşı* (a rank in the Ottoman military) lost his donkey. His henchmen saw Nasreddin while he was going to his vineyard and said "Sir! We will all split apart and seek the donkey. As you are heading to the vineyard, may you inspect there too?" Following that, Nasreddin began to wander around the vineyards and singing a *türkî* at the same time. As someone encountered him and understood the situation, he said "What kind of seeking a lost donkey is this?" Nasreddin's respond was "a stranger seeks the donkey of another stranger singing *türkî*."

In these anecdotes Nasreddin does not only sing *türkü*s, he also reminds us of the fact that singing *türkü* while wandering around the mountains, or among the vineyards according to the urban imagination, is an act peculiar to the countryside. In these anecdotes, the expressions *türkü söylemek/türkü çağırmak* are used to denote both the old and new meanings at the same time. On the other hand, the commonality between the *türkü* expression and the *türkü* çağırmak/söylemek act in these two anecdotes is that they are used as the opposite to "wailing with grief" (*feryâd etmek*). According to this, they mean "melody/melodies crooned or sung in a joyful, carefree, light-hearted manner."

It can be said that the information compiled from written/printed sources of the period between the 15th century and the 20th century, such as *dîvân*, *sûrnâme*, song sollections (*mecmû'a*), miniature paintings, folk poem collections (*cönk*) etc. and those from dialect researches of the 20th century, match up with each other. In Kastamonu, for instance, *türkü* is defined as a "master property" or "being put into practice without having been prepared": as one of the 24 *koşma* variations with 6+5=11 or 5+5=10 syllables that can be sung with a melody; *türkü* occurred in the old *âşık fasıl*s. This matches up with information on literary forms in folk poem collections (*cönk*) in the 17th, 18th and the 19th centuries.[15]

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13 Boratav 1995:199 [Bahâ'î 1926: 10].
14 Boratav 1995:213 [Bahâ'î 1926: 193].
15 For detailed information, see: Ozanoğlu 1940:22-28; Ozanoğlu, HAGEM Arşivi, Bant No: 75.0039. According to our observations, Anatolian people's use of the term *türkü* is more related to its lyrics than its music. Yet, the verb juxtaposed to the term indicates the existence of music: *Yakım/yakım yakmak, diş/diş okumak, beyit/beyit söylemek, türkü/türkü yakmak, mâni/mâni atmak, deyiş/deyiş demek, koşma/koşma koşmak* etc. During our field work in various regions of Anatolia, however, when we asked informants, especially women who had never left the vicinity that they resided in to sing a *türkü* or *beyit*, they generally recited a poem without melody. Only when we wanted them to sing a *türkü* with *hava* or *kâide*,

The comingled religious communities can be added to this information and also the ways they use the term *türkü*. An example is the use of the word *türkü* on the covers of story books in Armenian, or those in Turkish using Greek letters (*Karamanlı*). Here the term refers to episodic poems that are based on narration and that evoke lyrics with melody. The expression "along with its *türkü*s" on the cover of the treatise of *Hikâye-i Âşık Garib*, which was printed in Turkish with Armenian and Greek letters in 1872, and the story titled as *Hikâye-i Âşık Garib and Şâh Senem* (1928) can be counted as other noteworthy evidence in this context (Koz, 2010:241-254)[16].

One of the important points that we need to dwell upon is the fact that the production and consumption areas of these evidences is mainly Istanbul and its language is Turkish. Within this context, we should note that the *Mecmû'a-i Sâz ü Söz* is one of the written sources based on Turkish language, and includes music genres and their subcategories that are in accordance with this. It is even possible to interpret Evliyâ Çelebi's use of the word *türkî/türkü* to refer to the folk songs of

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kayde, kayda, gaide, gayda, gada, etc., the local terms that were associated with melody, we witnessed that they sang the same poem with a melody. The melody that the lyrics were built upon was generally the melodic patterns genuine to the region. Moreover, no matter how many verses were sung, generally they were sung with the same melodic pattern or a melodic variant that is close to that melody. Sometimes a regional melodic pattern with a unity of lyrics and melody was sung automatically. If this was an anonymous poem which is built over special melodic patterns; it was not more than a set of words which had been transformed according to time, location, events or skills. Most of the time, we could find similar examples in nearby areas.

Sometimes interrelated terms emerge deliberately, or not among the people, or are kept recorded: *müstezâd dîvân, müstâzed gazel, ibrâhimî dîvân etc.* Some words (person's name, location names, tribe [*aşiret*] names, any event etc.) in lyrics can be given as titles to the melodies. These titles, according to our opinions, are not associated with melodies in a direct manner; rather according to whatever might be wanted to be remembered, a melody that bears a unity with the expressions reminding one of that style thereby emerges. This case is the same with melodies with lyrics or without. For example, the entitlements of compositions like *Köroğlu, Ceng-i Harbî/Çeng-i Harbî, Cezayir, Hey Gaziler* that are played by drum and *zurna* as a *peşrev/güreş havası* (wrestling music) in an instrumental style, are associated with some events etched into the memory of the public, such as heroic themes. As a matter of fact, examples of these with lyrics can be encountered in distant or close regions, and sometimes the people do not even need to name these popular songs. In brief, for either poem or melody, the practice of their titling cannot be mentioned as a common practice in Anatolia. Additionally, there is no rule to attach an expression to indicate a common regional style to the titles of songs.

On the other hand, we see in some regions of Anatolia that some songs are entitled with compound words. For example, *Köroğlu ve Solağı, Osman Paşa ve Yerişmesi, Kandilli Kerem ve Zahması, Tokat Divanı ve Sağması, Yalı Havası ve Düzerlemesi* etc. The terms used here, like *solak, yerişme, zahma, sağma, düzerleme* mostly refer to melodies regardless of the melodies that the first terms refer to. For a similar example to these, in Konya *koşma* is used juxtaposed with the first term in titles like *Hicaz Divan ve Koşması, Yenikapı Divanı ve 1. Koşması … Divan ve 2. Koşması,* but this is an exception and mostly it corresponds to *âşık* style. For more information, see: Şenel 2009: Vol. 1: 220, 221, 222.

16   *Hikâye-i Âşık Garib* 1872, 1872b. Both books were scanned by M. Sabri Koz and taken from this article: Balta 1987:67, 71, 158.

various nations and communities that lived in the Ottoman Empire as an approach that is based on Istanbul and the Turkish language.

As I mentioned Istanbul, a few things need to be said about the city. Istanbul became the capital city of the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the 15th century, and had without a doubt an important role in terms of the music history of the Ottoman period. With its demographic structure and socio-cultural identity constantly changing over time, Istanbul was one of the most prominent crossroads of culture and art around the globe. Again, there is no doubt that there was a rich cultural life over thousands of years; in the Eastern Rome and Byzantine as well as in the Ottoman period folk art was present in Istanbul, which made contributions to the social mingling of Istanbul and the settling of the socio-cultural order. As a branch of this folk art, there was a folk music that represented various social strata.

I, too, shall put into words what everyone thinks. Of course, the historical folk music of Istanbul has been brought to life anew in every era, progressed, protected and diversified by means of a memory bridge between generations and cultures. And of course, this circle also happened before the eyes of the writers who saved the sources of Ottoman music for history. Therefore, the folk music of Istanbul served as a source for the historical music writers who were located in Istanbul. However, the written sources which were based on incomplete pieces of information regarding the daily life of Istanbul, could not but be perceived as the music of the wider Ottoman territory and covering all cultural developments over more than 600 years; or from being ignored by the writers who are displeased with the fruitless information about daily life. In other words, Ottoman writers could not do what western travellers did to the Ottoman *türkü*.

Aside from exhibiting Istanbul as the centre of music within the cultural area of the Ottoman Empire, even the task of identifying and defining the existence of older cultural and musical traditions in a city like Istanbul, which is cosmopolitan and a centre for migration, requires extensive and tiresome research. Additionally, it would have been necessary to document the persistent aspects of the tradition in urban life and the contributions of the inhabitants of Istanbul to the tradition and its products. However such researches have not been made. Instead, people took comfort in the illusion of thinking of Ottoman *türkü* as *türkü* of Istanbul. Therefore, Istanbul has become the meeting point for most Ottoman *türkü*s, however its traces were found in different periods of time and distant regions.

Immigrants came to Istanbul from every corner of the world, especially Anatolia and its adjacent geography, while other migrants left the city. Thus, although *türkü*s of every era and city are different, the ones who were carried into the historical city, written in the city, produced and cherished in the cultural atmosphere of Istanbul or the ones which were moved from Istanbul introduced themselves to different regions, song by song. On the other hand, not every Ottoman city was as lucky as Istanbul, because none of them had as many writers as Istanbul. Moreover, in every corner of the Ottoman Empire, dozens of smaller artistic and cultural environ-

ments emerged, similar to Istanbul. Some of them gained potential during early eras; some of them became an intercultural co-mingling centre only later, and over time, were abandoned to their fates as a hidden garden behind the mountains.

Maybe, we should imagine a historian and musicologists that aims to enlighten the history of music and identify the cultural-artistic athmosphere of Istanbul. In this case, should we not see it as a natural choice to take the *türkü*s of Istanbul as Ottoman *türkü*s? In particular, one point in this picture needs to be emphasized: It is impossible to understand or interpret any written, printed or visual evidence from Ottoman times that include musical information while ignoring the sources based on Istanbul and its vicinity.

For example, it is necessary to examine the traces of the music information recorded in the *Kitâb-ı Dedem Korkut* with the help of the information in the *Mecmû'a-i Sâz ü Söz* regardless of the fact that the *Mecmû'a-i Sâz ü Söz* was written in Istanbul and deals with information related to the musical life of Istanbul. The reason is that these are the two books that cover the most important information related to the *ozan* and *çöğür şâirliği* periods of the *âşık* tradition. On the other hand, to be able to follow the path of these two evidences over the 18th and 19th centuries, one needs to consult the biographical dictionaries of poets (*şair tezkireleri*), *sûrnâmes*, *cönk*s, miniature paintings or in particular the information that one of the last remainders of *semâ'î* coffeehouses, Âşık Fevzî Efendi passed onto to M. Fuad Köprülü. It could be necessary to consult Turkish sources written with different alphabets, and witnesses from other cities of the period, written or printed evidences that belong to non-Muslims, and of course the accounts of eastern and western travellers. As long as all these informations are not compared and contrasted with the vinyl records of the 20th century, knowledge gained from field works and living cultural carriers, it will be difficult to achieve satisfactory results. More examples can be given.

However, it is essential to seek out the effects of the cultural atmosphere created in Istanbul, in distant or near regions as well. For instance, what does *makam* mean for the legacy of Anatolian music? If one chases the *makam*s that are thought to have been forgotten, can they be discovered in folk music collections? Or can one identify the ways that the Anatolian-style *ezân* recitation is nurtured by the local cultures drawing on a folkloric reflex? Can we find the *peşrev* with only one *hane*, whose traces where lost in the 15th century, in the local music of any Ottoman region? Does *zahme*, the name given to the two drumsticks of the *kudüm*, exist in former residences of Sivas, too? Or via what kind of transformation did the janissary band open up new working areas for themselves in public life? Above all, the issue of illuminating *türkü*s in terms of dialect/language, religion, difference and variety of cultural identities entails huge efforts. The analytical, panoramic and interdisciplinary approaches that encompass this diversity will make the silhouette of the Ottoman *türkü* clearer, but will never thoroughly illuminate it.

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The partially-notated written or printed documents and few vinyl records that we encounter searching for the Ottoman *türkü* will eventually lead us back to the Istanbul of the 19th and 20th centuries. Additionally, the perspectives of artists from Istanbul and some intellectuals on *türkü* will direct us in our journey.

For example, the people of Istanbul were introduced to the sound recording technology towards the end of the 19th century and visual technology in the early 20th century. In the first half of the 20th century there was not one house or *meyhâne* that phonograph and gramophone records were not introduced to. Moreover, most of these vinyl records were produced in Istanbul. In short, first, the perception of *türkü*s among the people of Istanbul developed and changed. As time passed, in urban or radio *fasıl*s, *türkü*s followed after *kâr*s, *kâr-ı nâtık*s, *beste*s, *ağır semâ'î*s and *yürük semâ'î*s, and the audience started to call for an encore again with *türkü*s. The music researchers who opened up towards Anatolia in the 1920s, began to search for the Ottoman *türkü* there and they spread what they found among the musicians of the music market in Istanbul. The music world was substantially directed by the perceptions and nominations which developed in Istanbul. Local musicians who came to Istanbul first started an information exchange with musicians of Istanbul and some players of *ud*, *tanbur* or *kemençe* from Anatolia began to bring *türkü*s to Istanbul which they learned in small towns. However, it remained impossible to question the perception of the urban contributions that gave these songs their identity, or the additions and formations people of the city made to these foreign, anonymous or composed music.

Moreover, it remained unnoticed that most of the songs that enriched the repertoires of the singers and that where easily labelled as "Istanbul", were formed by the emotional and aesthetic understanding that emanated from the 19th century to the 20th century. It was forgotten that it was mainly the entertainment life of Istanbul which created the atmosphere and the conditions necessary for this process.

For example, researchers did not consider sufficiently the entertainment programmes of Istanbul, which were filled with musicals, operettas, duettos, *kanto*s, *kuartito*s, mimics, *karagöz*, *ortaoyunu*, puppet, improvisational theatres, vaudevilles; nor the music life which was coloured by *semâ'î* coffeehouses, *tulumbacı* coffeehouses with live music, *âşık fasıl*s, military bands, or *dîvân*, *kalenderî*, *semâ'î*, *koşma*, *yıldız*, *mâni*, *destân* and *mu'ammâ*. Researchers could not trace back the melodies of *davul-zurna* and clarinet music, or the noises of the *ince takım*s in wrestling, jereed, wedding, fair and recreational areas, or the transformations of the music labelled as *türkü*s which were formed in the revelries, held in venues from *Naum Theatre* to *Kazablanka Gazinosu*, from theatre troupes to country weddings with music.

Some *türkü*s would have needed to be defined within the dynamism of daily life. These include episodic music depending on seller or shopkeeper characters, obviously montaged to a scenario or theatrical narratives, or formed according to dialogues or the music itself; songs that mention neighbourhoods, streets, dead-end streets, or the mostly anonymous songs which were sung by and shaped for

theatre characters in Anatolian, Armenian, Greek, Jewish, Albanian, Kayseri, Laz, Persian, Kurdish, *Külhanbeyi* dialects, or which were drunken. It was not properly interpreted how the masses acknowledged these and even the most ordinary citizen memorized customs and traditions ascribed to towns in an era when transportation and a comfortable life was still limited. Singing *türkü* styles which were caused by the broken Turkish but sympathetic accents of the non-Muslim artists of Armenian, *Rûm*, Jewish descent where not comprehended sufficiently; they left their marks on the memories of not just the people of Istanbul but every corner of the world and even in vinyl records and movies.

The Istanbul phenomenon which left its mark on Turkish society and which was dominant among cultural life and traditional music remained unnoticed. Furthermore, the existence of an oral folklore repertoire in the name of Istanbul, but created in the vast territory of the Ottoman Empire, in Anatolia, the Balkans, the Caucasus, North Africa, the Aegean islands, Cyprus and Crimea was ignored.

It was not comprehended enough that in Turkish folk music compilations often important expressions are encountered, such as "Istanbul style" (*tarzı*), "Istanbul accent" (*ağzı*), "Istanbul music" (*havası*), "made in Istanbul" or the detection of "Istanbul *zeybek* from Erzurum", "*dîvân* in Istanbul accent from Kastamonu", "*âşık ayakları* in Beşiktaş style" and "*adam aman*" *mâni*s particular to *semâ'î* coffeehouses.

Ottoman music-lovers did not realize the fact that folk singers sang the *sâkinâmes* of Dertli, the renowned head of Tavukpazarı *âşık* coffeehouses, also in Anatolia; or that the *şarkıs* and *köçekçes* of Hammâmizâde İsmail Dede Efendi were spread thousands of kilometres away; or that the *Kâtibim türküsü* was sung and performed in both Anatolia and the Balkans; or that the *mevlîd-i şerîf* of Süleyman Çelebi was seen in distant regions as a folkloric element; or that the well-known *segâh salât-ı ümmiye*, which was attributed to Buhûrîzâde Itrî, spread over three continents.

Yet, the Ottoman *türkü* was hidden in the songs of a mother who whispered words of love to her baby in the sombre room of a palace, a mansion with forty rooms or a wooden shanty and in the memories of the children who played *Aç kapıyı bezirgânbaşı* in the backyards of their houses crooning an *Arapbacı* nursery rhyme, or in the *türkü*s, *koşma*s, *tekerleme*s, and *mâni*s of the daily backstreet *salep* sellers, sugar-coated apple sellers, *simit* sellers, *boza* sellers, water sellers, *macun* sellers, cotton candy sellers, ice-cream sellers, pickle sellers, fortune tellers and roasted chickpea sellers. In the melodies of *destân* singers who sold them on their own, the infants who walked in *âmin alay*s singing a hymn and the reed whistle sellers who dragged the children along behind them blowing their whistles… In the sounds of coloured *tef*s, whirligigs, reeds and the pitchers whose spout sang like a bird when some water was poured.

In the fiddler of a troupe who set up a circus among vineyards during holidays and played the *zeybek* "*Harmandalı*" to their acrobats; in the belly dancing of

köçeks/çengis (female or effeminate male dancers) who perform at weddings; in the *davul* (drum) rumble which was beat by the wedding door; in the *gelin çıkarma* (taking the bride from her house) songs that *zurna* players played incessantly; in the henna ceremony songs in the house of the bride; in the *türküs* for *gelin övme* (when the bride is brought to the house of the groom, two women sing *türkü*s to the bride), *gelin oynatma* (the bride is encouraged to dance towards the end of the ceremony), the *türküs* sung during the Turkish bridal bath; in the young girls who make their mother-in-laws dance and peoples' hearts race with *heyamola* (heave ho) exclamations.

In the melodies for wrestling, jereed or *Köroğlu* played with two *davul*s, two *zurna*s in the squares; in the songs of *Ceng-i Harbi, Cezâyir, Hey Gâziler, Genç Osman* and *Sevastopol*.

In the songs of instruments such as clarinet, *çifte, çığırtma, kaval, bozuk, çöğür, beştelli, altıtelli, bulgarî, nağara* and *zilli maşa* which were aligned on the walls of mansions and coffeehouses.

In the *sinsin* dances where people circle around a bonfire; in *halay*s where people are arm in arm; in the hymns (*nefes, ilâhî, mersiye, mirâciye, bahâriye*) of the *Bektâşî, Halvetî* and *Rufâî* lodges.[17]

The fact is that Ottoman *türkü* flew away like a bird as the life of yesterday flew away and there are little fragments left from a great Empire as a local souvenir, a magnificence that ruled three continents.

Conclusion

– Written and printed evidences from the 15th until the 20th centuries document the existence of *türkü*; other terms covering the same meaning even open the doors for historians up to the 21st century. Obviously the term *türkü* has changed its meaning over time, and it is necessary to trace this shift in *türkü*s' meaning by investigating cultural remnants.

– *Türkü* is defined as particular songs that the Turkmens and their fellow Turkic people sang in their native tongues; however, together with its synonyms the term shows rich formal identities depending on its functions. These different kinds of *türkü*s do not have a single type of melody or formal structure; moreover their role in social life is defined by cultural carriers, depending on the conditions of the respective situations.

– Although in the early 20th century the terms *türkî/türkü* were tried to be revitalized in association with their historical meanings, the major meaning that intellectuals gave to these terms is that of an attribute for an upper identity encompass in Turkish folk music as a whole. Since the last quarter of the 20th century,

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[17] See: Şenel (2011), *İstanbul Çevresi Alan Araştırmaları* (with CD).

the social phenomenon of new communication tools as well as academic approaches developed a very different perception of *türkü*s in the memory of professional music communities. The reasons for this development also need to be discussed.

– Yet, writing the history of Ottoman music cannot be achieved using the approaches of today's music genres. Moreover, it is an intricate and complicated issue that entails interdisciplinary studies. On the other hand, it would be wrong to approach the sources of the Ottoman period with notions of a general "music genre" like "Turkish Folk Music," or "Anatolian Folk Music" and a narrow "musical geography." One must approach these terms with a holistic notion of the culture of the period in which they existed, and hence try to understand the Ottoman *türkü* by analysing the sources of the Ottoman period in their own terms.

– Within this context, it is impossible to describe the scope and history of production and distribution of the Ottoman *türkü* using the concept of "Anatolian Folk Music". In fact the Ottoman *türkü* has existed in a wider geography, and this geography is even bigger than the geography of the political and administrative Empire that reached three continents and got smaller throughout its history. In terms of historical bonds this cultural geography includes the Turkic geography covering every corner of Asia Minor, Middle Asia and the Far East.

– The main difficulty in identifying Ottoman *türkü* is to find the sound of the history. Although we can reach some of its clues in the 17th century by means of *Mecmû'a-i Sâz ü Söz*, we should also make use of notations, wax phonographs and vinyl records which were published in the 19th-20th centuries; field work recordings of the Republic period as well as contemporary dynamics reflecting the centuries-long life of the people. In other words, on a large scale, there was an attempt to compile Ottoman *türkü* based on recordings made either by the recording industry or during field works conducted during the period of the Republic; those having again been performed by musicians left their mark in the public memory. This process continues even today.

– The necessary connection between the *türkü* of the Ottoman period and that of the Republican era can be achieved not only by examining the insufficient Ottoman notation sources, but also by means of stylistic and formal analysis of literary and musical genres and by giving more importance to the long-neglected musical terminology of the people.

– Istanbul's importance for the cultural life in the Ottoman period, can also be portrayed via the Ottoman *türkü*. Within this context, Istanbul should be seen with its metropolitan identity that grinds and forms and thus assimilates Ottoman *türkü* rather than taking it under its roof and protecting it. For instance, for Istanbul *Rumeli türkü*s or *serhad türkü*s mean nothing more than a historical memory, although they are not even the memory itself.

– Finally, Ottoman *türkü* is an important social source that covers the *türkü*s of many non-Muslim groups, such as Armenians, Greeks, Assyrians, Jewish that lived within the same area, as well as Albanians, Bosnians, Pomaks, Tatars, Circassians, Arabs, Kurds, Persians and others. Our society and art dynamics did not take enough advantage of these rich sources and could not share it with the music world. When this is achieved, our cultural assets will be further enriched and this richness will cement and generate a prospective socio-cultural commingling.

4.
The Reconstruction of Historical Ottoman Music

Do Early Notation Collections Represent the Music of their Times?

Fikret Karakaya

Reflections upon Writing Music History

Writing history implies to evaluate, or, to use a contemporary phrase, it means making an assessment. Without this, the simple narration of events or phenomena in accordance with their chronological order would not entail writing a history. The task of the historian is to determine the relationship between periods and people and – as the topic is music – the genres and the styles with the totality which they belonged to over the course of time. It further involves identifying their place in this totality, and differentiating them from their predecessors, successors, and peers. A historian of music hence should know all the details of the music. The evolution of genres and forms indubitably falls into the remit of the historian, but the historian should also know the transformations of the *usûls* and *makams* over time. That means that they have to acquire at least some basic knowledge of the history of music theory.

   Not only in our music, but rather in all traditions that are based on oral transmission, every composition has reached today with minor or major transformations owing to elements that musicians added to them, at least until the moment when written notation became a common practice. As an inevitable consequence we have several different versions of many compositions. The orally-transmitted music metaphorically resembles water carried in a sieve. The water keeps dripping out along the way and the water carriers compensate for this loss by filling it from his or her own sources. For some compositions this results in a loss of quality, but sometimes it makes them more delightful. While writing a Turkish music history it is thus incorrect to talk about certain styles as characteristic of certain periods or composers. Most compositions that were notated in the late 19th century bear the stylistic features of that time, while some compositions still continue some retrospective or comparatively older elements of styles. However, only a small minority of the songs that were passed down orally have been preserved in their 17th and 18th century styles. Some poems were recorded in the song-text collections (*mecmû'â*) as lyrics to songs of particular composers. But we cannot claim that the composer combined those lyrics with the composition at hand. The real composers of these works that we have today possibly will remain unknown forever. There are two reasons for this: (1) attributions might be wrong; (2) even though the attributions are right, the composition has lost its authenticity as it underwent changes. In this case, what should a historian engage with? The answer is certainly

the compositions. We can examine the compositions at hand in thousands of different ways, for example analysing the versions of the same composition one by one, and thus compare their differences. It suits scientific prudence to avoid evaluative judgments about composers and periods, particularly based on the results of these examinations.

Two Europeans, Ali Ufkî and Demetrius Cantemir, allow us to make evaluations about the periods of their *mecmû'â*s, though not about composers. These two chroniclers, unfortunately, made differing attributions, even for compositions written by their contemporaries. Despite this fact, they notated the compositions they heard in their environment with great loyalty. The strongest evidence for that is the fact that the notations that both collections provide for the same composition are pretty much identical to each other, even though Cantemir did not know the *mecmû'â* of Ali Ufkî. Owing to them, we have a comprehensive knowledge of 17th century Ottoman music. However, we know almost nothing about 18th century music, even though it is closer to the present day.

We should examine Ali Ufkî and Cantemir to understand to what extent they represent the music of their periods.

Do Early Notation Collections (Mecmû'â) Represent the Music of Their Time?

Actually it would be better to phrase the question as "Does notation represent music?" A symposium could be arranged to scrutinize this question, but for now it should be sufficient for me to say: Notation is nothing more than symbols written on paper. In order to create music that is alive out of these symbols, background knowledge of the music is necessary. This knowledge does not consist only of rules about the notation system. A musician also needs to know the particularities and the subtleties of the music tradition to which the composition belongs to, which is estimated to be represented by the notation. It is not possible to play the "right" music without knowing the musical notes and intervals, and even that is not enough. The musician needs at least the foundations of the performance style of the respective tradition. In the end, even if all this knowledge is available, the question will always remain as to whether the music performed from notation is the same music its composer or creator had in mind.

The first notated *mecmû'â* in Ottoman music is the *Mecmûa-i Sâz ü Söz* of Ali Ufkî Bey. This compilation covers compositions both with and without lyrics. Most instrumental compositions are *peşrev* and *sazende semâ'î*. Religious/*tasavvufî* songs also hold an important place among the notated vocal music. Most of the songs in this category are *ilâhî* and *tesbîh*. Ali Ufkî Bey notated songs in a more simple way than he did instrumental music, almost without adding any elements of melodic embellishment. Whereas *peşrevs* and *sazende semâîs* can thus be played

without any further elaboration, the songs remain uninspired if performed without embellishments. We do not claim this because of present day musical taste, but rather we draw this conclusion from a comparison of the styles of *peşrevs* that Ali Ufkî Bey notated. Unfortunately, because we do not have any sources that would provide us with hints regarding the performance style of the period, therefore we believe that we ought to invent embellishments based on the compositions in the *mecmû'â*.

In fact, these are all incidental details. Even before that, there are other, more basic, issues to brood over.

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Everyone with knowledge of the language of a given period can read its literary works. Mediators might be necessary to modernize the language of sources written in a more or less old language. However, the help that these mediators provide to literature readers is not enough to eclipse the literary work itself. For those who want to look at an old painting, a sculpture, or a piece of architecture just to enjoy it aesthetically, no mediator or other help is needed (apart from knowledge of art history and philosophy). Of course the meaning that everyone attaches to the materials they read or see, and the pleasure that they experience from it varies. The situation with older musical works, however, differs. Music listeners – and composers – already need a mediator, which is the performer. When it comes to music, that was been written with an obsolete notation system and forgotten afterwards, even this performer needs to be equipped with special knowledge. It is not enough for the performer to only decipher the notation system. S/he has to have a comprehensive wealth of knowledge to perform the music, thereby doing justice to its historical authenticity in front of an audience. However, however deep the musicians' knowledge is, and what approach will be used to bring this "different" music back to life, there is no escape from it being an "interpretation" of the composition than the "original" music.

There are essentially two approaches that we can take for the musical notations that belong to music, which was notated and forgotten:

1. Discovering the authentic character of the music within its own period and demonstrating as much loyalty to the historical data as possible.
2. Aiming at presenting the music in question according to the taste of a contemporary audience, far from the attempts at finding out their historical values and meanings.

Prior to developing an understanding about these two opposing approaches, let us take a look at some excerpts from the article entitled *Yaşayan Mazi* ("Living Past") of the writer and translator Sabahattin Eyüboğlu (1908-1973), a savant who made many contributions to the Turkish intellectual world:

What we need is, aside from historical information, a historical mind set or, in other words, a historical consciousness. You could argue these two things go together. Yet this is not necessarily so. History has always existed. But historical consciousness did not exist even in Europe until modern times.

[…] Historians generally move away from historical thoughts because they are bound to see the history in its own atmosphere and mind set, detaching it from contemporary reality. Historical consciousness, however, interweaves the reality of today with that of the past. The reference point of historical consciousness is the present time, whereas the reference point of the historian is the past. While historical information only cherishes the past, it is historical consciousness that experiences it.

Historical consciousness is nothing more than a realistic view upon the world, also encompassing the past. In Europe this world view has stimulated an adoration for the past during the Renaissance, a curiosity for science and rationalism during the 18th century, and eventually established the realism of the 19th century.

Historical consciousness does not necessitate enthusiasm for the past. Looking back to the past should not be a turn back to older times. If we forget that we are alive while we are wandering around the dead, we in a way become dead too. We should not live in the past, but the past should live inside us.

Turning back to the past should not be a turn back to a bygone mentality. Historical consciousness does not mean keeping the past alive. We have to assess the values of the past from a present day perspective. What keeps the past alive is its interpretation. Old beauties should be filled with new meanings. Otherwise, the past is nothing more than an ancient antique. In order for the past to become a contemporary value, it should be sieved through a new consciousness.

I mentioned in my article *Frenkten Türke Dönüş* (Transformation from European to Turkish)[1] in the first volume of the collection *İnsan*, the necessity to re-consider the Turkish past from a contemporary perspective in order, for example, to understand, appreciate and adopt Fuzulî or any other work of art from our own artistic viewpoint. But some of my friends did not agree with my opinion.

Some of the judgments of dissident friends that seem to be right, are, briefly: Historical consciousness should keep the past alive only in relation to its images and mind sets. We cannot detach anything from the past. The past is a whole entity. We have to understand Fuzulî in his world, from his perspective. We have to attach to his versus the same meaning as he did. The goal of history is find out about the past with the entirety of its material and spiritual values. A past stripped of its mind sets can simply not exist. We cannot take only the poem of Yunus Emre and leave aside his worldview. We cannot take only the mosque of Mimar Sinan and leave apart his architectural viewpoint. It is necessary to evaluate every artistic work in its own environment. Otherwise we would put forth claims that are not compatible with the historical facts. Interpretation is the enemy of factuality. It is commonly known that the Middle Ages are in a state of blindness due to its interpretations.

This objection is a characteristic expression of the above-mentioned viewpoint of historians about the past, and in terms of historiographic methods it is true. But I am convinced that it is this mind set that leaves no crumb of the past, keeping it completely in

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[1]   This article is essentially about Yahya Kemal Beyatlı and was first published in 1938. But in this article, Eyuboğlu also gave answers to claims that Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı (without mentioning him directly) made in his treatise *Divan Edebiyatı Beyanındadır* (1945). It is understood that Gölpınarlı had explained the positions of this treatise previously, in a speech or written document.

the field of science and research. I do not speak here of the writing of history but its relation to our spirit. […]

Uncovering the past is something very different from what I just dwelled upon. History as a value that lives in our spirit is different from history seen as a reality that has been researched. We should not confuse living history with dead history. I speak of living history, a history that we have internalized. Dead history is a matter of research and the examination and the exploration of historical facts.

France moved beyond Racine's world view already long ago, and also Racine's viewpoint of humanity has long been obsolete. However, if Phedre and Athalie still remain full of fresh excitements, it is not his soul that makes this miracle possible, but ours. Classical literature is one of the elements of the past, which is living, and thus transforming and thriving. Is a past that does not gain a new characteristic in every new era different from a mouldy drawer? The only stable things about an artistic work are its materials and forms. The excitement that it carries always renews its content. Finding the initial content of an art work and loving and adopting it with its initial content means only turning its dead side back to life. This is the job of archaeologists.

The interpretation of the past does not mean to spoil the taste of an old work of art by attached meanings. The goal is to sift it through a new spirit and refill it with fresh tastes. Interpretation means that the new spirit appropriates the old world.

To use an example from Nedim while referring to depictions of nature in literary works is an interpretation, because depictions of nature were never one of the artistic concerns of Nedim's world.

It is an interpretation to place Jeanne d'Arc's sculpture in Paris, on a square where people who follow brand new ideals mingle. The meaning, that the new spirits attached to it have, are not those of the Middle Ages.

It is thus interpretations that keep the past alive. A past left with its old clothing, old mind sets and historical facts is nothing but a mummy, a document and its place is in museums. If we want a Turkish school of thought to be European, we have to nurture it with our past. The secret of European civilization is its past that still lives on in its every word, and its history that turns to life in its every move. In Europe, no idea, no beauty remained buried six feet under; any new case has become the interpretation of an old case.

If I speak of my personal interest, I chose to take the compositions in the compilations of Ali Ufkî and Cantemir, just as Eyüboğlu put it, in the manner of an archaeologist, and to present them to a contemporary audience with their historical contents. As I mentioned above, even musicians sharing the same understanding might end up with different performances of this music. Of course these compositions can also be interpreted from different perspectives. Even polyphonic versions might be created. However, I believe that works that are almost unknown in the circles of classical Turkish music, should at first be presented to the audience in its historical context, and only afterwards also in modernized versions.

Demetrius Cantemir and the Music of his Time: The Concept of Authenticity and Types of Performance

Şehvar Beşiroğlu

In French "*authentique*" ("authentic") means "true" or "genuine" and *authenticité* ("authenticity") means "accuracy" and "genuineness". Folklore experts employ the term "authentic" to denominate something that is true to its origins. "Authenticity" is used in many senses in Western musical history, in particular in the context of performance. A concept which is deemed as important in performance has been described as a "historically informed performance" and a "performance paying attention to original instruments and techniques of that historical period." This concept was developed after music was approached scientifically in the 19th century, and after this musicology became a scientific discipline, taken as a positive science along with the philosophical movements of the time. As music history was re-evaluated from a positivist point of view, the terms "authenticity" and "authentic performance" were examined again. Until the 1970s, however, authentic performance was outside the focus of Western music history.

The question might be to what extent folkloric materials is true to its origin. In fact the notion of authenticity will not be attached to folkloric materials as long as we do not know the reasons for its emergence, their ways and realms of dissemination, neither their diversification. However, one of the basic principles of folklore is "authenticity" and the other one is "anonymity." Authenticity defines its basic structure, while anonymity means that the material is living because the material is also adopted, known and taught in new eras by the society in the context of time and place. These materials, which were created in the past, kept alive today and will be sustained in the future, determine the identity and the distinct characteristics of a society. With these principles, these materials will be memorized as cultural tradition by being watched, desired and listened to with a bodily pleasure and a spiritual excitement over a long time. The material is transferred from generation to generation by the same collaboration between the spirit and the body, and due to this demand and memorization pressure and enforcement are impossible. Thus materials which are the goods of every era and society are appreciated as folkloric materials. If these materials cannot be taken separately from the concept of time, time is also related to the concept of authenticity. If asked for the authenticity of folk dances and popular culture, we might state that this is "the oldest inaccessible history." The most important characteristic of authentic materials is that they also encompass materials which go back to an un-
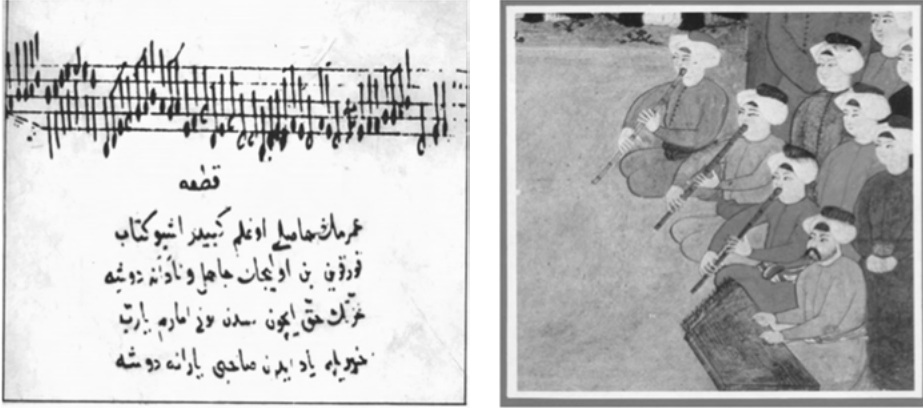
Fig. 1:   Ali Ufkî, *Mecmû'â-ı Saz ü Söz* (left) and a miniature belonging to the era of Ali Ufkî
          (right)

known historical depth, even pre-historical times and whose creator and time pe-
riod cannot be detected.[1]

Based on this concept, this article will focus on the question of what authentic-
ity means in the context of 16th and 17th century Ottoman-Turkish music and how
the latter can be performed and interpreted. I will take the explanations of De-
metrius Cantemir on the repertoire and performances in his first theory book as
basis, with his understanding independent of Arabic and Persian music theory.
This theory book and music compendium which was created in the late 17th cen-
tury and presented to Ahmet II was *Kitâb-ı 'İlmü'l-Mûsıkî 'alâ Vechi'l-Hurûfât* (The
Book of the Science of Music through Letters) written by Demetrius Cantemir, the
prince of Wallachia and Moldovia. This book is the second work which records the
instrumental repertoire of the 17th century. The first one was *Mecmû'a-ı Saz ü Söz*
by Ali Ufkî (Albert Bobowski). Because this book was written using Western staff
notation, it can be seen as the first notated musical collection. *Mecmû'a-ı Saz ü Söz*
by Ali Ufkî Bey (of Polish descent) (1610-75) is a significant work due to the fact
that it uses Western musical notation for the first time, and recorded both instru-
mental and vocal compositions of its time in one single collection. Ali Ufkî Bey
wrote the Western musical notes from right to left (instead as usual from left to
right), to adapt them to the Arabic alphabet, which was the first attempt to use this
notation system on Ottoman-Turkish music.

The real name of Ali Ufkî Bey, who was born in Poland in 1610, is Wojciech
Bobowski. He was kidnapped by Crimean Tatars and brought to Istanbul. As we
do not know exactly when Ali Ufkî was brought to Istanbul, it is estimated that
he lived in the palace for 19 years. He learned to play *santur* and joined the in-
strumentalists at the court. As a result of his talents, Ufkî became an *erbaş* (super-

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1   Authenticity, *Oxford Dictinory*, www.oxforddictinoryonline.

visor and teacher of the palace music slaves) in the palace music school (*enderûn meşkhânesi*) and wrote several books. His books on music are *Mecmû'a-ı Saz ü Söz, Mezamir* (*Mezmurlar*, Psalter) and *Saray-ı Enderûn*. Under the pen name "Ufkî", he wrote hymnal poems (*ilâhî*) close to Turkish folk poetry, was occupied with miniature and attended all classes offered in the *enderûn*. In his book in which he notated 505 pieces of music, the forms he implemented were instrumental *semâ'î, ilâhî, murabba', raks* and *raksiyye,* vocal *semâ'î, pişrev, şarkı, tekerleme, tesbîh, türki* and *varsağı.*

Ali Ufkî classified his songs in *fasıls* and the number of notated *fasıl* was 25. Among these *makams* are 'acem, 'acem-'aşirân, 'aşirân-bûselik, beyâtî, bûselik (also known as *bûselik-'aşirân* in our day), *çârgâh, evç, evç-huzi, gerdâniye, hisar, hüseynî, irak, mahur, muhayyer, nevâ, nihavend, nişâbûr, rast, sabâ, segâh, sünbüle, şehnâz, tahir, 'uşşak, 'uzzal*. In addition the names of 16 different *usûls* can be found. Some *usûls* are described in more than one way. These *usûls* are *berevşân, çenber, fahte, darb-ı feth, devr-i kebîr, devr-i revân, düyek, evfer, fer'i, hafîf, havi, muhammes, nîm devir, nîm sakîl, sakîl, semâ'î*. For the first time, Çağatay Uluçay announced this music to the world during his researches at the British Museum in 1948. After the facsimile edited by Şükrü Elçin in 1976, Hakan Cevher's doctoral studies (1998) on the *mecmû'â* were among the most important works on this issue. Cem Behar (2008) published a study of another manuscript by Ali Ufki which is located in the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* in Paris.

Dimitri Cantemir (1673-1723), a statesman, scientist, historian, musicologist, composer and the prince of Wallachia and Moldavia, is the author of the most important manuscript on Ottoman-Turkish music, written in the first half of the 18th century. Because his father was the prince of Wallachia and Moldavia, as one of the provisions of a treaty, he was brought to Istanbul as a hostage at 14 years old. Suleyman II was the ruler of Ottoman Empire at that time. Cantemir studied history, literature, the Ottoman language, Arabic, and Persian at the *enderûn* school and worked on Western cultures with Ottoman-Greek teachers at the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate. He accepted Istanbul as his second homeland and worked to complete the construction of the palace located at Sancaktar in the Fener neighbourhood, which had been initiated by his father-in-law. Because he was a cultured man who was fond of art and science, in a short time he transformed the palace into a meeting place for artists and scientists. He continuously made researches and endeavoured to learn the customs and traditions of the country which he resided in, and he took notes for the books that he planned to write. He obtained extensive information on Ottoman-Turkish music during his time in the *enderûn*, learned to play *tanbur* and *ney* very well and even lent assistance to most *singers* and instrumentalists in musical terms. He observed that musicians did not utilise any music notation during their performances, wrote a scientific study on the theory of Turkish *makam* music and developed a notation system for the latter with musical values written in Arabic and time units repre-

Fig. 2:   Notation in Prince Demetrius Cantemirs *Kitâb-ı ʿİlmü'l-Mûsıkî ʿalâ*
Vechi'l-Hurûfât (The Book of the Science of Music through Letters)

sented by numbers. He notated more than 350 compositions using this notation-system. As a theoretician, he initiated an understanding of Turkish *makam* music independent of Arabic and Persian musical literature and took an important role in this development. Cantemir's two volume book *Kitâb-i İlmü'l mûsiki ʿalâ vechi' l-Hurûfât*, written aproximately in the early 18th century, is an important work because it brought a performance-focused, analytical and systematic understanding to the theory of Turkish *makam* music; also because of the letter notation used in it, a compound of the initials of the names of the notes, and invented by Cantemir himself, and because he wrote down more than 350 compositions of that era with this notation.

According to Cantemir, musical performance consists of two types: vocal and instrumental performances. While vocal forms are *taksîm*, *beste*, *nakış*, *kâr* and *semâʾî*, the instrumental forms are *taksîm*, *peşrev* and *semâʾî*. He categorized the *tak-sîm* form into vocal (*hânende*) and instrumental (*sazende*) forms; the *semâʾî* form

into instrumental and vocal *semâ'î*. According to Cantemir, *fasıl* performances can be categorized into three: vocal *fasıl* (*fasl-ı hânende*), instumental *fasıl* (*fasl-ı sazende*) and mixed *fasıl* (*karma fasıl*). The order of the performance in *fasl-ı sazende* is first instrumental (*sazende*) *taksîm*, then *peşrev* and *semâ'î*. In a *fasl-ı hânende*, after a vocal (*hânende*) *taksîm*, *beste*, *nakış*, *kâr* and *semâ'î* are performed in order. As to *karma fasıl*, after a instrumental (*sazende*) *taksîm*, *peşrev*, vocal (*hânende*) *taksîm*, *beste*, *nakış*, *kâr* and *semâ'î* are performed, the *fasıl* ends with instrumental and a vocal *semâ'î*.

On these works, Walter Feldman wrote the following remark:

> In the case of Turkish music, these "curious and isolated exceptions" form a considerable corpus documenting at least one major musical genre (and with it the system of modes and rhythmic cycles) over a period of almost four centuries. The sources for Ottoman Turkish art music in the 17th and the first half of the 18th century are unique among West Asian musics because they include extensive notations in addition to treatises, historical, biographical, literary and organological documents. The Turkish treatises also have a special ethnomusicological value because they are based on contemporaneous practice more than on earlier theory and because they reflect a continuous musical development which can be linked up with the music known from modern times. (Feldman 1996:20)

If we examine the book in detail, we can separate two sections. The first part includes the essence of the theory, the explanation of the notation, the definition of the origin of music, the categorization of *makams* and their analyses, the melodic progression of *makams*, consonances and dissonances, description of *taksîm*, the ory of the systematist school, rhythmic circles, forms and a list of the instruments which existed at that time. The second part consists of over 350 songs that Cantemir notated with the alphabetical notation invented by himself.

When a study of Ottoman-Turkish music is the issue, only intervals, notes, the modal system and sound come to the mind, whereas musicians or groups of performance and interpretation of these sounds hardly seem to exist. Studies on this latter issue have hardly been published. Another important issue, in addition to the spread of the musical language, is the necessity of a definition, interpretation and a methodology. Definitions and interpretations that would make the music inventory accessible and might spread it among society, are only made by composers, performers and music writers. Although the 17th and early 18th century musical aesthetics in their written and sensory meaning cannot be achieved as a whole, they are connected to contemporary Turkish music through elements of stability in the musical structure and style. Contemporary performers tend to concentrate more upon differences rather than similarities. However, the ones among them who can express their thoughts best easily detect similarities between the music of 17th century documents and that of their own tradition.

In traditional Ottoman-Turkish music, "traditional" does not mean the same as "authenticity." Besides, "authenticity" does not mean a "good performance." In our day, a new style of performance belonging to the 20th century is popular and is applied for the performances of the entire Turkish *makam* music repertoire. This
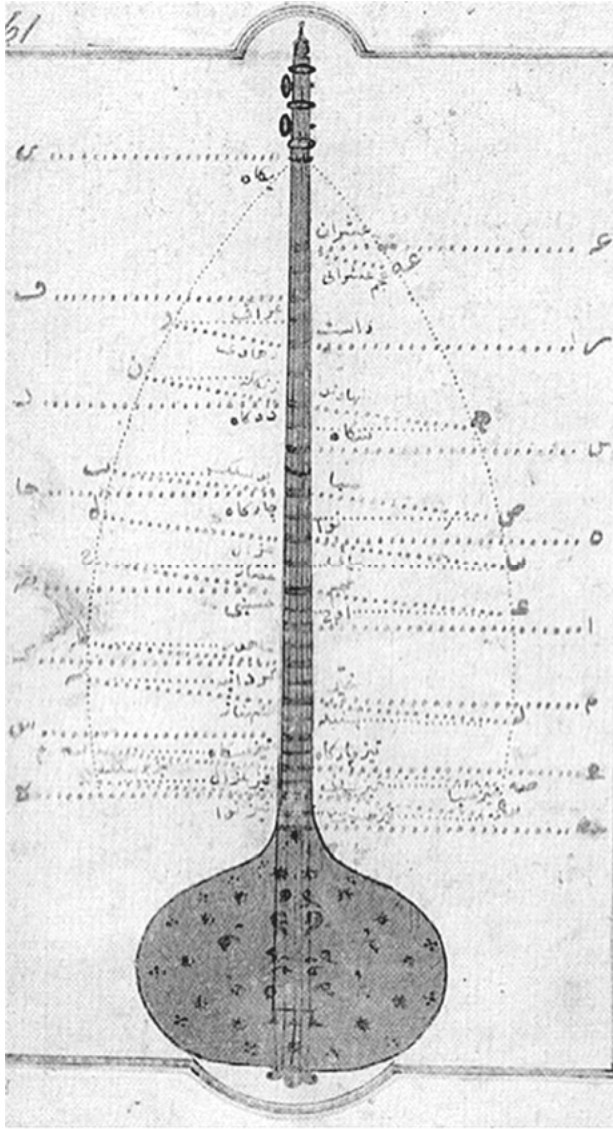
Fig. 3:   Cantemir explained the *perdes* (notes or frets) used in
         the sound system with demonstrations on the neck
         of a *tanbur*.

new style has been transferred from the 19th century by oral tradition with *meşk*, after this it become widespread with the help of the 20th recording technology and is assessed as traditional. The Arabic term *meşk* denotes the practice of imitation and repetition. During their education calligraphy learners were requested to re-write a text which was written by their teachers. Learners continue this process until they are able to do it similar to their teachers' best version and earn the lat-

ter's approval. Similarly, students in music education need to repeatedly sing and play until they are appreciated by their masters. It is impossible to know with certainty when the *meşk* education began. Some historians put forth that the *meşk* technique is as old as music. The historical records also indicates the *enderûn* school which was founded during the era of Mehmet II the Conquerer. The *enderûn* school encompasses issues like science, literature, theology and art. We can presume the *meşk* system was started to be employed in the Ottoman Empire as early as the 15th century. But the *enderûn* was not the only institution that gave music education. Because their religious ceremonies were accompanied by music, the musical education in most dervish lodges (*tekkes*) was based on the *meşk* system. These two institutions, *enderûn* and the *tekkes*, were the main sources of musical education. Since in the music schools there were no techniques to transcribe and record music notation from the 13th century on, people made use of the *meşk* system. This situation continued until the adoption of the modern school system in the 19th century, the availability of written materials, and the development of recording techniques.

In the context of music education, *meşk* covers all aspects of music education including theory, instrumentation, vocal performance, the stylistic approach of the teacher, performance techniques and interpretation. However, the area of *meşk* in performance is not limited only to musical works. Almost every vocal composition in the classical repertoire was taken from the poems which are written in a rhythmic structure (*aruz*). This rhythmic structure has to be in concordance with the *usûl* of the music. The study of poetry hence became one of the foundations of music education. For the religious music repertoire, this gives rise to the need to teach students issues like theology and mystical philosophy during an education with the *meşk* system. This multidimensional aspect of the music education usually results in an education conducted over a long period of time, and leads to a unity of student and master for their whole life. For the beginner students, *meşk* was performed one-to-one or in small groups. Although there was no age limit for admission into a *meşk* community, the beginners were mostly young students who had been inclined towards music during their early education years. Commitment and inclination to music were not the only things they needed. The candidate's character, his/her specific attitudes and their commitment to the ethics of *meşk* were also important preconditions. After their initial education, individual gatherings were preferred and this situation were transformed into a productive dynamic for both teacher and master.

The most prominent characteristic of the *meşk* system is that it does not utilise a musical writing system. We do not encounter any of the notation systems developed and used over 400 years except the *ebced* system and then the notation system of Ali Ufkî. But none of them were preferred by any student or master. It is a fact that today's repertoire exhibits changes according to the periods because notation was not constantly in use and the repertoire has been passed to our gen-

eration through the *meşk* system. Thus only a small fragment of the repertoire was written down by means of a musical notation.

Turkish and foreign musicologists, as well as western travellers, made extensive and varied suggestions to explain the refusal of musical notation. As music performer and teacher I see Cem Behar's approach as the most feasible. Cem Behar (1987: 38) states that:

> We can observe this issue from a different perspective. When we take into consideration the whole Classical Turkish Music tradition, we can come to this conclusion: Notation is the standard version of the song and this standardization inevitably limits self-expression and interpretation that musicians love.

It is possible to find different versions of almost every song in the repertoire from various periods of time. While this difference results from the changing sources, hence the teachers and their schools in the *meşk* system, the main problem originates from this: According to both the sources and teachers of the *meşk* no source is more reliable than careful teachers or masters. The real problem is that the compositions are notated only many years after the death of their composer, and hence different versions of the compositions are accepted as belonging to the same composer. Since there is no possibility to compare the recent versions with the original compositions, it is generally misleading to accept the performances of compositions which were composed before the 19th century as testimony to the ideas of their composers. The performance of any composition depends on the initiative of the performer, his/her mood during the performance, the social status of the audience and their immediate requests. These different versions are performed according to the musical taste of their respective era. Thus, studying Ottoman-Turkish music, it is impossible for a researcher to analyse the repertoire according to centuries, composers and the characteristics of the era in which the composer lived.

Musician and musicologist, Eugene Borel commented on the various performances of different songs, in his article published in 1923:

> We can observe the Turkish melodies are disseminated with a certain loyalty. But we have to put aside our prejudices on this issue, and we have to try to understand the perspectives of the oriental musicians. At first the makam and rhythm do not change. The periods of rhythmic forms do not change. The tonal and melodic progression, rests, the proportions of poems and aranağmeler do not change, and also the main melody remains constant. Everything except for these is free to change. It is possible to use two eight note or triplet instead of a quarter note. The composition is a sketch where a performer exhibits his/her talent and elaborates it in every performance.

Since the old times, techniques have been proposed to write melodies down, either by evoking the movements of the melodies through rising and descending lines, or by representing the two basic elements of music, the notes and their duration. In the musical writing systems of old Greeks and Arabs, the notes were signified with letters and the durations either with some symbols or with numbers.

When the musical collection of Cantemir was consulted as a main source, the basic question that comes to mind about how a repertoire of a period can be performed, is: while interpreting the Ottoman-Turkish repertoire of the 16th and the 17th centuries, how should we interpret the explanations in the theory book of Cantemir and how can the musical collection be interpreted and performed?

Elements of the Music Theory: Frets for the Notes, Intervals, Makams, Sounds, Tuning

The pitch system used in Cantemir's music theory is based on Safî al-Dîn's definition of seventeen intervals and eighteen notes. Cantemir divides the scales into whole tones (*tamâm perdeler*) and half tones (*nîm perdeler*). Whole tones are the basic scale notes which constitutes a *makam*. Half notes rarely assumes this function.

As a result of this analysis, some notes, intervals and *makams* that Cantemir defined do not bear resemblance to the Arel-Ezgi-Uzdilek tone system which is in use today. Examples for such *makams* include *sabâ*, *'acem-'aşirâni*, *nühüft*, *bestenigâr* etc., and examples for such notes are *beyâtî*, *sabâ*, *segâh*, *eviç* etc. Performing a composition of Cantemir's period using the Arel-Ezgi-Uzdilek tone system deployed today without corrections would affect the performance or interpretation of notes, *makam* and sound, and hence not reflect the style of Cantemir's period.

Tempo, Rhythm, usûl Elements: Metronome, Rhythmic Forms (usûl)

When we think of Cantemir as a person well-informed regarding Western music and the Western terminology, it leads us to the suggestion that he took both the metres he used for the perception of tempo and metronome, and the Western understanding of rhythm as a basis for the use of rhythmical forms and their explanations. Thus the time units that determine tempo and rhythmic forms will also be valid for the text. It was stated that this unit should be determined by the fastest pace that a plectrum can strum a *tanbur* and has to be divided into a large metre, a small metre and the smallest metre. For a larger metre one needs to move slowly as it is equivalent to an eighth note. The tempo of the small metre equals a quarter note, and the tempo of the smallest metre equals a half note. Despite these, the rhythmic forms in use today have been changed over time which led to differing transcription of the sources. While the performance style of the 20th century accentuates different issues, according to Cantemir's explanations the rhythmic patterns have to be implemented in the performances in order to balance between the melodic and rhythmic forms. When the accordance between the melodic and rhythmic forms is broken, the song becomes different.

Fig. 4:   The table of *usûl*s Yalçın Tura used in his transcription of the
          notations of Ali Ufkî and Cantemir.

Miḳdār-ı Ruḳūm-ı Vezn-i Usūlāt-ı Mūsiḳi ʿalā Vech-i Tecdīd

Ḍarb-ı Fetḥ	Vezn-i kebīr	88	Vezn-i ṣaġīr	176	Vezn-i aṣġarü'ṣ-ṣaġīr	352
Ḥāvī	Vezn-i kebīr	32	Vezn-i ṣaġīr	64	Vezn-i aṣġarü'ṣ-ṣaġīr	128
Ṣaḳīl	Vezn-i kebīr	48	Vezn-i ṣaġīr	96	Vezn-i aṣġarü'ṣ-ṣaġīr	192
Çenber	Vezn-i kebīr	24	Vezn-i ṣaġīr	48	Vezn-i aṣġarü'ṣ-ṣaġīr	96
Remel	Vezn-i kebīr	28	Vezn-i ṣaġīr	56	Vezn-i aṣġarü'ṣ-ṣaġīr	112
Ḥafīf	Vezn-i kebīr	16	Vezn-i ṣaġīr	32	Vezn-i aṣġarü'ṣ-ṣaġīr	64
Nīm Ṣaḳīl	Vezn-i kebīr	24	Vezn-i ṣaġīr	48	Vezn-i aṣġarü'ṣ-ṣaġīr	96
Muḥammes	Vezn-i kebīr	16	Vezn-i ṣaġīr	32	Vezn-i aṣġarü'ṣ-ṣaġīr	64
Ferʿ-i Muḥammes	Vezn-i kebīr	16	Vezn-i ṣaġīr	32	Vezn-i aṣġarü'ṣ-ṣaġīr	64
Berevşān	Vezn-i kebīr	16	Vezn-i ṣaġīr	32	Vezn-i aṣġarü'ṣ-ṣaġīr	64
Derv-i Kebīr	Vezn-i kebīr	14	Vezn-i ṣaġīr	28	Vezn-i aṣġarü'ṣ-ṣaġīr	56
Nīm Devr(i)[139]	Vezn-i kebīr	9	Vezn-i ṣaġīr	18	Vezn-i aṣġarü'ṣ-ṣaġīr	36
Evsaṭ	Vezn-i kebīr		Vezn-i ṣaġīr	26	Vezn-i aṣġarü'ṣ-ṣaġīr	52
Devr-i Revān	Vezn-i kebīr	7	Vezn-i ṣaġīr	14	Vezn-i aṣġarü'ṣ-ṣaġīr	28
Fāḫte	Vezn-i kebīr	10	Vezn-i ṣaġīr	20	Vezn-i aṣġarü'ṣ-ṣaġīr	40
Düyek	Vezn-i kebīr	8	Vezn-i ṣaġīr	16	Vezn-i aṣġarü'ṣ-ṣaġīr	32
Frenkçīn	Vezn-i kebīr	16	Vezn-i ṣaġīr	32	Vezn-i aṣġarü'ṣ-ṣaġīr	64
Evfer	Vezn-i kebīr	9	Vezn-i ṣaġīr	20	Vezn-i aṣġarü'ṣ-ṣaġīr	40
Semāʿī-yi Raḳḳaṣ[140]	Vezn-i kebīr		Vezn-i ṣaġīr	10	Vezn-i aṣġarü'ṣ-ṣaġīr	20
Semāʿī-yi Ḥarbī	Vezn-i kebīr		Vezn-i ṣaġīr	12	Vezn-i aṣġarü'ṣ-ṣaġīr	24
Hezec	Vezn-i kebīr	22	[Vezn-i ṣaġīr]	44	[Vezn-i aṣġarü'ṣ-ṣaġīr]	88

Fig. 5:   Table in the theory book of Cantemir: Metres (*vezn*) of the *usûls* that determine the metronome.

To conclude, compositions which were transferred by means of *meşk* and, beginning in the 19th century, were notated in Western staff notation show the same style of the 19th century. They are performed without taking their century of origin into account, and without thinking about any concept of "authentic performance". However, one of the most important concepts in the field of Turkish musicology that needs to be studied is early music studies, hence the style and the interpretation of these early periods is significant. In Turkish musicology studies, beginning with the transcriptions of Ali Ufkî and Cantemir and later with the performances and the interpretations of these compositions, will develop forward-looking points of view and comments. They will develop with further discussions of the sources, and thus clarify the place of the concept of "authenticity" in the performance of Ottoman-Turkish music.

Reconstructing Western "Monophonic" Music

Andreas Haug

To have been invited as a specialist on Western monophonic music to a conference on "Writing the History of 'Ottoman Music'" and to speak to an assembly of such eminent experts on that field is certainly a great honour and a pleasure. Yet, I met with one principle difficulty when preparing the present paper: I had to try to understand why, that is, based on what presumptions, and with what expectations in mind, you might have asked me to contribute to your discussions. Instead of finding answers to given questions, I felt I had to figure out the questions my contribution might be expected to provide some answers to.

I suppose your presumption was not that pre-modern Western monophonic music confronts us with cultural conditions similar to what we meet in Ottoman music, but rather, that it might confront us with conditions dissimilar to what we find in modern Western music. Thus, my task should be to describe and to discuss these dissimilarities, in order to problematize the musical paradigms of modern Western culture as a model for a philological, historical, aesthetical, and artistic reconstruction of music from cultures that do not conform to modern Western conditions. By doing so I hope to supplement the considerations offered by my colleague Ralf Martin Jäger in his article in this book.

In the first section of the present paper I wish to point out some of the basic dissimilarities between the pre-modern culture of Western monophonic music and the modern culture of Western music. After having outlined the historical circumstances of Western monophony in the paper's second section, in the final section I wish to talk about some of the consequences these dissimilarities may have for a reconstruction of Western monophonic music in philological, historical and artistic terms.

* * *

Western monophonic music has to be historically reconstructed: (a) without falling back on modern Western categories as "composer", "composing", "composition"; and hence (b) without falling back on the category of "improvisation" as the opposite of "composition"; (c) without the modern privileging of "novelty" and "innovation"; (d) without the concept of a "written work"; and (e) without a diametric opposition between "oral" and "literal" transmission; (f) without relying on the modern Western distinction between "monophonic" and "polyphonic" music; and even (g) without a concept of "music" equivalent with the Western modern one. To be sure, none of these concepts and oppositions seems to have been entirely absent from the culture of pre-modern Western music. Most likely these concepts were altogether current, but without being either privileged or preemi-

nent, without either the implications or the emphasis of a modern Western point of view, and without being evaluated as an identifying characteristic of this culture, as its cultural "self". Let me illustrate these points through some examples from the period between circa 800 and 1100, which – arguably – are both the most productive period within the realm of Western monophonic music and a formative period of Western musical culture.

(a) Regarding the notions of composer and composition, there is early evidence for the idea that single persons invent and shape individual musical products that are to be remembered exactly and repeated without alteration. In a text from circa 1030 we find the statement that around the year 900 a monk, whose name was still remembered, had shaped melodies with features so distinctive that more than one hundred years later, anyone capable could tell that they were made by him and not by others. Nevertheless, a closer look at the context of that passage shows that this is perceived by the storyteller as a phenomenon of local knowledge: The melodies, as well as the name of their maker, are subject to local memory, and their distinctive features set them apart from other contemporary creations of the same monastery, without turning their maker into a composer.[1] In the same text we find a story about two Roman singers who, around 800, created text-less melodies to be sung in church during the Mass. Here we encounter such expressions like *fecerat* (he made), *excogitavit* (he invented), and *de suo* ("all by himself" or "out of his own capacity") for the act of music making.[2] These expressions have been mistaken as evidence for the notion of an "original genius" in a modern sense. Again, a closer examination of the text and of its context tells something different. The difference that is negotiated in this narrative is the (very medieval) difference between Roman music with papal authority, and "self-made" music lacking such authority, and not the (very modern) difference between mere making and composing in an aesthetically eminent sense (Haug 2005). The Latin word *componere* was used merely as a vocable, to be translated as "to put together," not a term to be translated as "to compose".

(b) A music culture that did not esteem the concept of composition as a privileged mode of making music, as a cultural "self", also could not consider the opposite of composition, that is improvisation, as its cultural "other". Bruno Nettl has once made the following suggestion: "It seems most appropriate to reserve the term improvisation for cultures and repertoires in which a distinction from non-improvised and pre-composed forms can be recognized" (Nettl 2000:95). Pre-modern Western music culture seems to be a culture where this distinction can be recognized, but the difference between modes of music making that we classify as improvisation and modes that we classify as composition was not as important to

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[1]   Ekkehard IV., Haefele 1980:104. Cf. Björkvall & Haug 1993:119-174, and Wulf 1995.
[2]   Idem, 108.

pre-modern Europe as it has become to us. The term "improvisation" is a modern term. In pre-modern musical contexts we find the word in adverbial form only (there is no Latin noun such as *improvisatio* in medieval writings related to music) and as a vocable only, used in a non-terminological sense: the expression *ex improviso* does not translate as "improvising" but rather as "unsuspectingly" or "unprepared". For example, around 1000 the expression *ex improviso decantare* refers to an unprepared performance from a written score – that is, to sight-reading, not to improvisation (Bandur 2002). More importantly, it does not mean that medieval musicians never improvised, as we understand the term, it only means that improvisation was not an opposite of composition. It also does not mean that medieval music manuscripts do not contain in written form countless instances of music which are not the results of composition in a modern sense, but rather of other modes of music-making with or without a very restricted participation of notation. However, we have no appropriate designations for this plurality of modes, and therefore the term "improvisation" is often used as a term for something we are unable to grasp. In examining the extant written traces of foreign modes of unwritten music production, we often cannot discern from the written record just exactly what that mode was (Haug 2008).

(c) What about the concepts of musical novelty and innovation? On the one hand we find a document from around 900 describing the musical capacities of an ideal cleric (an *incomparabilis clericus*): He knows ecclesiastical as well as secular song, he has a sweet voice, and he has the knowledge of the composition of new songs or, more accurately, of the "new composition of songs" (*nova carminum compositio vel modulatio*).[3] On the other hand, around 1100 we find the conflicting claim that "by now no new songs are necessary within church" (*novae modulationes nunc in ecclesia non sunt necessariae*).[4] Around 1000 a maker of new music disclaims that new music should be permitted to be different from the old. In contrast, he demands a *similitudo veteris cantus* for new songs.[5] The different statements do not contradict each other, as long as we do not consider the abstract criterion of novelty as a positive value in itself. More typically "medieval" would be an evaluation of music under more concrete criteria than novelty; criteria like aptness to function or perfection, lack of competition between the New and the Old, the coexistence of New and Old (Reckow 1981).

(d) There is early evidence, too, for the idea that notation, that is a written record, can function as a reliable connection between the intention of "the composer" of a melody and its performer. Around 900 we find the observation that notation (*nota*) without pitch-content is unable to communicate to the singer how to sing an in-

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[3] Notker Balbulus, *Gesta Karoli Magni Imperatoris*, Haefele 1959:45.
[4] Johannes Affligemensis, *De musica cum tonario*, van Waesberghe 1950:116.
[5] Letaldus Miciacensis in the dedicatory epistle of his Vita Sanct Iuliani, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 139, 784.

terval "as it is constituted by the composer" (*sicut a compositore constituta est*).[6] What is not apparent from the context of that statement is, first, whether the term "compositor" relates at all to an empirical person or rather to the distant figure of Pope Gregory, promulgated as the legendary originator of church music by the Carolingians from the late 8th century on; and secondly, what status the written record had. The idea of reading a written record of a melody as an expression of the intentions of its maker, and the readiness of a reading singer to repeat the melody, to reproduce it, rendering its written form, does not turn the melody into a "written work". In other words: performance as a reproduction of a pre-composed musical formulation seems to have been one possibility among others, but not a leading paradigm. Cases where notation was actually considered and respected as a normative prescription for performance were mostly due to factors other than those of purely musical value. It tells us little about the aesthetic status of the music, or about the status of notation as "prescriptive" or "descriptive", but much about the religious or political reputation of the music or the cultural prestige of books and writing. To sum up what has been shown so far: the ideas of a single composer, of individual and unique composition, and of notation as a medium for preserving the musical intention of a composer and communicating them to a performer – these ideas were not foreign to pre-modern musicians, authors and their readers, but they were not as ideologically charged as they are now.

(e) The ambiguity of the written record is related to the absence of an antipodal relationship between "oral" and "literal". Of course, one might identify the musical conditions prior to the emergence of music writing around 900 as conditions of "orality". But all music of that period we know, we are acquainted with from written sources, from manuscripts containing notation of melodies, which might be products of oral composition. Whereas ethnologists can and do deal with written sources, historians cannot approach past oral traditions as long as they remain oral. And as soon as there are written sources, the primary question of the historian is not to what extent they preserve the unwritten status of music. Rather, the historian wants to understand why the written record emerged at all; what its function was within the context of an oral tradition; and how notation interacted with memory (Haug 1990). The work of Leo Treitler (1981; 1982; 1992) has contributed greatly to our understanding of the semi-oral music culture of the Middle Ages. More helpful than the common distinction between "prescriptive" and "descriptive" notation is Treitler's understanding of notation as a kind of "vicarious performance" (Treitler 1982:49). The reading singer, who reproduces a melody, exactly rendering its written form in front of his eyes, is not necessarily performing a written work. He might be repeating another realization of that melody. Notation in this context is not "prescriptive", because the recorded performance does not necessarily have more authority than the actual performance of the singer

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6   Hucbald von Saint Amand, *De harmonica institutione*, Traub 1989:62.

himself. The text is not a normative text. Nor is the notation "descriptive", as it is not the visual rendering of a sounding performance, but a performance in itself, a silent performance by pen. The title of Treitler's book *With Voice and Pen* (2003) refers to this model of understanding.

(f) Obviously, in a "monophonic" music culture, there was no need to distinguish between monophonic and polyphonic music, nor will such categories have a built-in opposition. Indeed, the earliest extant definition of these two terms, corresponding to our modern understanding of them as a dichotomy, is not found until 1495, as printed in the earliest Western music dictionary. What we call monophonic is defined under the lemma *cantus simplex*, and what we call "polyphonic" under the lemma *cantus compositus*. The *cantus simplex* (translated as "simple" chant) is defined as lacking "relations" (it is *sine ulla relatione*), unlike the *cantus compositus* (translated as "composite", "compound" chant).[7] The "relations" lacking in monophonic music are those between the different parts (*partes*) of the polyphonic composition. On the one hand, the dictionary reflects the modern Western perception of monophony. That is, in its negative definition of monophony as the opposite of, the "other" of polyphony, the definition implies that monophonic music is non-relational or merely self-relational, a sort of one-dimensional "mono-music", "another" music, a musical "other", or, related to non-Western music cultures, the music of "the others". On the other hand, at the same time the definitions of the dictionary are still reflecting aspects of an older, medieval understanding of monophony, as it states that the *cantus simplex* can be either *figuratus* or *planus*.[8] The first of these two attributes, *figuratus*, relates to music featuring different note values indicated by different graphic figures (*figurae*) within its notation. The second attribute, *planus*, relates to music featuring a "plain" movement; that is, with un-measured note values. Since the emergence of a "mensural" notation that differentiated the durations of pitches, in Western Europe (that is, from about 1200 at Paris), polyphonic music has been perceived primarily as a "measured" or "measurable" music (*musica mensurabilis*). Its "measurability" has been its primary criterion, not the plurality of voices per se (Reckow 1973). There was in essence no medieval term equivalent to the modern term "polyphonic", nor a term equivalent to the modern term "monophonic". The following conclusion can be drawn from these observations: the dissimilarity between pre-modern and modern Western music is not that pre-modern music was monophonic, whereas modern Western music is polyphonic, but that in pre-modern Western music culture the two were not diametric opposites.

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7   Tinctoris 1495, *sub voce cantus simplex* and *cantus compositus*.
8   Idem, *sub voce cantus simplex planus* and *cantus simplex figuratus*.

(g) Even the seemingly fundamental term "music" itself deserves to be put within quotation marks when we are speaking about Western monophonic music.[9] During the Latin Middle Ages the term *musica* refers to a form of reflection and of speculation rather than to a form of practical music. The medieval term for what we call "monophony" was *cantus* (singing).

* * *

Let me now turn to the second section of my paper and give you a brief outline of the historical circumstances of Western monophonic music.

As just mentioned, the earliest form of monophonic music to appear on the stage of Western music history has been called *cantus*, "singing", in the language of the Latin Middle Ages. This term refers to the practice of singing texts, more exactly, to the singing of written texts, texts transmitted essentially in written form, primarily sacred writings, the Bible in its Latin translations. The vocal performance of their sacred texts has been a practice common to all three revealed religions ("book religions") of medieval Europe. The members of such religions, who are "owners of a book" (in the well-known expression from the Quran, *ahl al-kitab*) are, at the same time, those "who sing from the book" (*qui de codice canunt*, to use an expression from an ancient ecclesiastic context). Thus, the sacred text is present in a dual form in these religions, both as "what is written" and as what is sung. As the written word, the sacred text belongs to the book; as the sung word, it belongs to the voice.

When the word is sung, it gets attached to the tone. The musical tone is the non-verbal and non-semantic element of vocalism: It is produced by the human voice without belonging to human language. Nevertheless, a crucial concept of the Western discourse on music was the idea of a structural similarity between music and language, of an analogy between the melodic fabric of music and the verbal fabric of language. It has been inherited from antiquity and adopted by early medieval music theory. The idea of the similarity of music and text fulfilled itself in the idea of the readability of music. This idea, too, had been inherited from antiquity (Atkinson 2009).

The emergence of notation and notated books in the West can be understood as the realization of the idea of music's readability. Notation made the melodic parameters of the vocal performance of texts visible and readable, as visible and readable as the texts themselves, and together with the text within manuscripts. The work of the voice entered into the book. That happened in the West during the 9th century, within the cultural context of the Carolingian educational reform and the political theology of the Frankish kingdom. Among the members of the three religions of the European Middle Ages based on books, only Christians adopted the practice of making the parameters of vocal performance of their sacred texts visible

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[9]   As has been done by Max Haas (2005).

and readable by entering them into the book. Muslims and Jews did not do so. Max Haas has drawn attention to this significant interreligious and intercultural difference, a difference not easily explained. Neither the reasons for such a fundamental break of musical tradition nor its consequences can be examined here more closely. Perhaps the Western concept of composition, in the specific sense of an individual and original musical creation fixed by notation, can be seen as a response to that break, as a compensation for the loss of musical tradition caused by the introduction of notation.

The kind of notation regularly used in chant books since around 900 made music visible without making it readable. It visualized the melodic movement, aspects of the melodic articulation of the text, the action of the voice, without indicating intervals or pitches (Arlt 1987). The notation employed the so-called neumatic notation, which was a notation of the voice, a vocal notation in a twofold sense, one which was simultaneously a notation of the *vox* (the voice) and a notation of the *vocales* (the vowels). According to Latin grammar, vowels have a twofold capacity: they "sound in themselves" and they "form a syllable in themselves" (*per se sonant et per se syllabam faciunt*). The signs of the neumatic notation depict the melodic motion of the sounding vowels. Neumatic notation is a notation of the singer (the *cantor*) and of the chant (the *cantus*). It was able to support the memory of the singer without replacing it. According to a statement of Walter Ong, "writing serves to distance and to separate the knower from the known." Neumatic notation, one might say, distances the singer from the song without separating the song from the singer. Only later manuscripts, copied from the 11th century onward, present the melodies in a way that is readable to us. In these manuscripts the signs of neumatic notation are positioned on horizontal lines referring to specific pitches and thus determining the pitch content of the melody. From such a notation one could sing without having heard and learned the melody from a teacher (*sine magistro*). Neumatic notation, with or without the presence of staff lines, with or without pitch-content, was in a profound sense a manuscript notation, a notation of hand-written books, sharing and reflecting the uniqueness of the manuscript.

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The third section of my contribution will be very short. Music that was not created as a written work; music that has neither been composed nor improvised; music that exists in written records neither being simply prescriptive nor simply descriptive, but equivalent to single sounding performances; music that has survived in handwritten records and frequently in a plurality of different transmissions of the same; music that is the product of a music culture neither entirely oral nor entirely literate; music that is monophonic without conforming to the modern Western concept of monophony; music that has not been conceptualized as music, but as singing, as a mode of vocal production, as the work of the voice: As musicologists how can we respond to the conditions of such a musical reality? What conse-

quences might we draw from these dissimilarities between pre-modern mono-
phony and the paradigms of modern Western music culture for a reconstruction of
that music in (a) philological, (b) historical, and (c) artistic, i.e. musical terms?

(a) Philological reconstruction of monophonic music will result in editions meet-
ing the demands of historical-critical editions; based on the long-term experience
of the tradition of classical philology, but at the same time reflecting the new in-
sights of the New Philology during the last two decennia (since the 1990 issue of
the journal *Speculum*).[10] This new philology is new insofar as it intends to be a
"philology in a manuscript culture" in a radical sense, a "material philology" inso-
far as it uncompromisingly takes into consideration the material, the codicological
and paleographical aspects of the manuscript (Nicols 1997). Editions of Western
monophonic music will pay attention at the same time to the conditions of a
manuscript culture and to the conditions of a semi-oral music culture. Since the
editor of such music does not encounter a "strong" author, he or she also favors
taking a "weak" position as an editor (Gumbrecht 2002). He or she respects the in-
dividual versions of single manuscripts, avoids emendation, does not remove vari-
ants, and does not intend to construct an ideal or original text.

(b) Historical reconstruction or construction will also take into consideration that
all we can ever know about medieval music is what we know from single manu-
scripts (Dillon 2011). It will acknowledge the singularity of the hand-written book;
it will recognize the inevitable tension or contradiction between the irreducible
singularity of the manuscript and the legitimate claim for generalization we make
for our historical constructions; moreover, it will appreciate the deconstructive
power of the manuscript, its subversive effects against the historical narrative's
tendencies to move toward generalization and homogenization.

(c) Artistic reconstruction of monophonic music and its historically informed per-
formance, will, on the one hand, attempt to render the historical text as exactly as
the philologist has reconstructed it. But it will go beyond, or rather behind that,
following a model suggested by Wulf Arlt (1983). According to that model, his-
torically informed performance is based on the reconstructed text and on a recon-
struction of historical conventions, conventions that have been valid for the his-
torical makers of the music, as far as they can be reconstructed from the written
records of past performances and of related theoretical writings. Based on their
knowledge of these reconstructed conventions performers learn the language of
the music they perform, actively, and reaching a level of perfection where they
would be able to go beyond the transmitted text, where they could reactivate the
creative matrix that once produced the music they perform. If modern performers
deny themselves the opportunity go beyond the text, it is because they appreciate
the experience of historical restriction as an aesthetical experience, not because

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10   Nichols 1990. See also Strohschneider 1997, and Cerquiglini 1989.

they claim historical truth for their performance. As the historian Valentin Groebner once remarked[11]: "The past is something we always have too little of." Thus, reconstructive performances of pre-modern monophonic music will not diminish the value of the past by the use of simulations.

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[11]   During a discussion with the author of the present paper.

Is an Echo of Seljuk Music Audible?
A Methodological Research

Recep Uslu

It is impossible to consider Ottoman music history independent from Ottoman political history. Today, everything has begun to be questioned, from formal history discourses that the historians of our day are querying, to the theories of political history. As a result of these questionings old truths as well as new understanding and writing of history will remain. Approaches that need to change will be examined and new theories will emerge.

Obviously it is necessary to re-examine Ottoman political history with a new perspective, as historians of the early 21st century (Mustafa Armağan, İlber Ortaylı, Ahmet Akgündüz etc.) have discussed in their works. The same is true for the issue of Ottoman/Turkish music history. However, is there any book tthat we can call "Ottoman Music History" in Turkey or even in the world? I think this is the first question that we need to answer. Since no such book exists as yet, here the real problem leads to these questions: "Why has an Ottoman music history not been written? Why has writing the Ottoman music history been so delayed?"

Music in the Territory of the Great Seljuk Empire

Before writing an Ottoman music history, we first need to bring the pre-Ottoman period into focus. In this article, we are going to concentrate on the sounds of the music of the countries before the Ottoman Empire, the Anatolian *beyliks* and the Seljuk Empire. Before I studied the music of the Great Seljuk Empire, the Turkish Seljuk dynasty and Anatolian *beyliks* I was occupied with the music history of the era of Mehmet II the Conqueror.

My answer to the question "Why this era?" was: Ottoman music history must have started in the area of Sultan Mehmed II. Besides, I considered that there are not enough sources to fill a book on the period between Osman I and Mehmet II. However, during my research on the time of Mehmet II problems emerged that pointed out a need to investigate the music of the Great Seljuk Empire and Turkish Seljuk dynasty period.

Among the musical findings of the era of Mehmet II I considered *makam*s and *usûl*s as most important. However, in the music theory books of the era there are several points missing. Trying to complete the missing information made me think of the necessity to study the music of the Seljuk era.

The latter is as important to Turkish music history as Ottoman music history is. The most important reason for this is the fact that the *Mevlevi* music that later be-

came important in the emergence of Ottoman music was deemed central. However, it seems impossible to talk about just one Seljuk music. Within the frame of the sources, the issue extends from Turkish music to Ilkhanate music and from Ilkhanate music to Abbasid music. When we think about the Turkish, Persian, Arabic, Rûm and Assyrian communities who lived in the territory of the Seljuks and in addition to those living in Middle Asia, Mesopotamia and the Anatolian territories, could this music be pure "Persian" or "Arabic music"? The situation during the Abbasid Caliphate is similar. While we were thinking about a solution to this problem, the notion of "Seljuk music" necessarily turned into "Music in the Seljuq Empire territory" (Uslu, 2011:12)[1]. I think this is a better, even more realistic and scientific approach, than to speak about "Persian" or "Arabic" music theory, as some writers do. In this context, the first problem is to name an era correctly.

Some of the methods used by musicology are similar to those of historiography. Serious researches were already conducted on the political history of the Seljuk Empire era which I concerned myself with. *The History of the Seljuk Empire* by Osman Turan was the first of these important research works. Turan's book also includes a section (albeit a short one) on music. Later historians left the music of the Seljuk era to musicologists and never handled the subject or even touched on it. This is a reasonable choice, since otherwise we come across many mistakes in interpretations and information. Examples include the designation of Abbasid music as "Arabic music", or the interpretation of the music represented in Kutbuddîn Şirazî's book as "Persian music", simply because the book is written in Persian. In fact it is known that even though he was from Shiraz, Kutbuddîn Şirazî wrote his book in Tabriz which was densely inhabited by Turkish people. Before that he travelled to Iran, Anatolia, and Damascus where different people lived, and spent time with musicians in these regions (Uslu 2011:178). Additionally, the source that he based the songs on is Safî al-Dîn's *eş-Şerefiyye*. Marâghî calls him the "Translater of the *Şerefiyye*" (*Tercüme-i Şerefiyye*). In that case, how can one suppose that his book represents solely "Persian music"[2]?

Lost Musics

Bülent Aksoy discusses the compositions of 'Abd al-Qâdir Marâghî in his article "*Kayıp Musikiler*" (Lost Musics), stating that Marâghî's compositions "were composed by 17th century Ottoman composers, but under the influence of 'Abd al-Qâdîr and other pre-Ottoman compositions." He characterises this type of re--

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1   The title *Selçuk Topraklarında Müzik* (Music in the Seljuq Empire Territory) is discussed in the book itself.
2   The title of the book of Owen Wright (1978) is *The Modal System of Arab and Persian Music, A.D. 1250-1300*.

created songs as "both lost and not lost" (Aksoy, 2008:231). In the same book, Aksoy interprets the efforts of Fikret Karakaya, founder and musical director of the ensemble *Bezmara*, to revitalize lost instruments as "first and positive efforts."

On this point, it is necessary to examine the music of the Anatolian *beyliks* and the Seljuk Empire to a greater extent in order to understand better the history of "Ottoman music" or – as for me – "Classical Turkish music". In fact, when I came to this conclusion after my research on the music of the era of Mehmet the Conqueror, Bülent Aksoy's book was not yet published. It was even a difficult task to compile information on Seljuq music from reference books. Almost no history book had a separate section devoted to music. One needed to bring together a lot of scattered information on music, by scanning the sources line by line. Even more important than that, in the music theory books there were missing pieces of information that cannot be explained using the perspective of our day. In fact when I began to study the Seljuk Empire era, the first pieces of information were those that shed more light on the music of the era of Mehmet the Conqueror, and my monograph on this issue was already in print (Uslu 2007). Immediately I stopped the print and made additions to the book. For the publisher this was a difficult situation, since everything had to be done anew. The layout was changed and for the publisher that meant an increase of the costs.

The starting point in writing my book *Music in the Seljuk Empire Territory* (*Selçuklu Topraklarında Müzik*) was the same idea as Bülent Aksoy's. The question was if there was a possibility to find the lost music of the people that lived during the Seljuq period. As a first step it was certainly necessary to bring together information from history books. An article that emerged out of this process was first presented to musicologists during a symposium in Konya.[3]

The head of the Cultural Affairs Department of the governor of Konya, Dr. Mustafa Çıpan, who had invited me to the symposium, encouraged the investigation of the issue and the efforts to revitalize the music. Given that, the information gained from history books and also from music theory works was examined. There was an attempt to update information that had remained unclear, and I tried to develop a methodological approach. After writing a music history of the Seljuk Empire, however, I re-considered how the problem was framed: Would an echo of Seljuk music be audible at the end of a method to be pursued in order to re-create the music?

Is an Echo of Seljuk Music Audible?

While the music in the Seljuk territory was being investigated, during the first phase Turkish history sources were examined. Secondly, information about the

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[3]   The article on the issue was published in *Türkler* (Uslu 2002b) and following that it was presented during the symposium on Seljuk held in Konya in 2008.

music of the transitional period from Anatolian *beyliks* to the Ottoman Empire was sought in music theory writings. Information about the basic elements of music, instruments, *makam*s and *usûl*s was compiled from music theories and historical sources. Following that, the question was asked regarding what kind of method could revitalize this music. The answer was based on the following five basic concepts:

1. People of that time were the same as people of our time, only the pronunciation of the language was different. In order to apply this observation to the music of the Seljuk period, Turkish poems which are the closest to that period, as well as Persian poems which are known to have been composed then, were chosen. A music repertoire was created out of poems from the *Divân-ı Lugat al-Türk* by Mahmud Kaşgari, the *Divan* of Yunus Emre and some Persian lyrics from the *Mecmû'â-i Güftes* (Uslu 2007a; 2011: 248-259) which were known to have been composed during the period.[4]

2. The understanding of *makam* which reflects the musical taste of the people of that time is explained in theory books. For the revitalization of music these *makams* were taken into consideration. Dissertations were written on the transformation of *makams* from the music theory book by Safî al-Dîn which was composed in the period of the Seljuk Empire, to the theory book of Yusuf Kırşehrî which belongs to the Anatolian *beyliks* era. Arguments which were put forward in these dissertations were reviewed. One of these arguments was that "during the period from Safî al-Dîn to the 15th century both the theoretical framework and the principles which were mostly set by Safî al-Dîn, as well as some *makams* like *rast* stayed the same".[5] Starting from theoretical works, *makams* whose definitions had not changed since the 13th century were identified, e.g. *çargâh* (old), *hisar*, *hüseynî, ırak, ısfahan, muhayyer, niriz* and *rast* (Uslu 2011:122). Hence the positions of the notes, mentioned in explanations of *makams*, presumably remained the same (according to the system with 17 notes per octave), even if their names changed (Doğrusöz-Dişiaçık 2007a:13). In addition new *makam*s which emerged during the Seljuk era where identified, e.g. *'acem, bayâti, mahûr, müberka, müstear, türkihicâz* (Uslu 2011:122).

3. The other feature of the music in the Seljuq territory is *usûls*. Music theory books provided information about *usûls*, however, it did not make enough sense to contemporary readers. The question thus arose: How should one understand those *usûls*, in order to revitalize the music? This question has been a challenge to the musicologists of our time, without coming to a sufficient explanation. It was

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[4] Two song collections have been considered important to shed a light on the issue: Uslu 2007; Şems-i Rumi, *Mecmû'â-i Güfte* (see: Uslu 2007a:121ff).
[5] Levendoğlu 2002: 211; Levendoğlu 2004:131-138; Çelik 2001:302; Doğrusöz-Dişiaçık, 2007:161

necessary to develop a new method, and to interpret the *usûls* of that period. In order to understand this issue I took lessons in *usûl*.[6]

An article that I wrote to explain how one needs to interpret *usûls* was published in the journal *Musikişinas* (Uslu 2010:177-206; 2011:131-135). *Usûls* were interpreted with this method, by comparing them with present *usûls*. The *usûls* *hafîfsakil* and *türkiseri* can be interpreted as *nîmsofyan*, while *amel*, *sedarb*, *muzaa-fremel* can be interpreted as *semâ'î* (Uslu 2011:126-164).

4. For the sound of the instruments which were used in revitalizing the music, the ones that belong to that period were used as much as possible, e.g. *çenk*, *şâhrûd* (ibid. 57-74).[7]

5. After all these articles, the only thing left was to address the taste of people of the period. Theoretically, the notes, *usûls*, *makams* as well as forms and lyrics of the theory books were used (ibid. s. 79-101, 222-238). The revitalization of the "audible lost music" which people of that period could have listened to was made possible with the help of the compositional talent of Asst. Prof. Emrah Hatipoğlu, *ud* player and academic member of Gazi University; and of *ney* player Dr. Ali Tan, academic member of the ITU conservatory, as well as with anonymous music. An "audible music that reflects this time" was favoured more than an "artful music". The musical works on the CD attached to my book (Uslu 2011) are not the musical taste of the Seljuk era. Here we have the final question concerning this issue, which is "How can we find out the musical taste of that time?" The answer is that this will only be possible when we invent an instrument to record the sound that has not been lost in the air.

You might hear different aspects of *makams* when you listen to this CD. A musical form different from the ones that exist today, the *amel* is both a music genre and an *usûl*. In addition to the genre and the *usûl amel*, other examples have been performed on CD, such as new created military music, hajj music, religious music or music for amusement.[8] Another different music genre in those days was *nevbet-i müretteb*, a verbal art which was frequently performed by Turkish Seljuk people and Anatolian *beyliks*. However, efforts to revitalize this music genre still continue.

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[6] I thank Demet Uruş informing me on *usûls*. For their supports during the process of developing a method to interpret *usûls*, I thank the rhythmic teacher of the ITU conservatory Engin Baykal; academic teacher and *ney* player Dr. Ali Tan; Assist. Prof. Sibel Karaman, rhythm teacher at the Selçuklu University; researcher Ömer Tulgan; Timuçin Çevikoğlu, artist and researcher.

[7] My thanks to Fikret Karakaya for his help on this issue.

[8] Remarkable pieces on the CD (Uslu 2011) include, for example, track 2: *sedarbkasir gaza* song (Middle Asia military music); track 3: *evsatsagir hikmet-I ilahi* (Middle Asian religious music); track 5: *Parça neva semai eğlence* (Middle Asian entertainment/folk music); track 10: *rast amel* (art music); track 12: *hikmet-i ilahi* (Anatolian religious music); track 19: *çargah-saba hazı uğurlama* (Anatolian pilgrimage music).

Conclusion

Finding this lost music was more difficult than the reconstruction of the music of Ali Ufkî and Cantemir, which at least existed in written from. Therefore, with this project we tried to develop a method and to draw a route for prospective music researches. This might be seen either as a method or a dream. At least we might clearly state that we strove to write the music history of the Seljuk territory and searched for the music of the Seljuk period. Inferring from that, I believe that we can at least hear the echoes of Seljuk music.

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Contributors

B ü l e n t A k s o y graduated in English Philology and subsequently in Art History (PhD) in the Faculty of Letters at Istanbul University (1974). In the 1970s and 1980s, Aksoy published translations on literary theory and politics in various art and culture magazines. From the 1980s onwards, Aksoy's focus shifted towards the study of Ottoman-Turkish music history about which he published research, reviews and essays. He also worked as a writer and editor for several encyclopaedias. Since 1995 he broadcasts a weekly *musiki* programme at the Açık Radyo (Open Radio, based in Istanbul, Turkey). Bülent Aksoy was the winner of the Sedat Simavi Radio Award in 1998. He prepared over twenty albums of archival music recordings for publication on CD for Kalan Müzik. Aksoy is a lecturer at Boğaziçi University's Department of Translation and Interpretation Studies. He is the author of *Sermüeezin Rifat Bey'in Ferahnak Mevlevî Ayini* (1992), *Avrupalı Gezginlerin Gözüyle Osmanlılarda Musıki* (1994, 2003) and *Geçmişin Musıki Mirasına Bakışlar* (2008).

R u h i A y a n g i l studied kanun with Teoman Önaldı. In 1979 he graduated from the Faculty of Law at Istanbul University. At the same time, he was a student at the Istanbul Municipal Conservatory and studied harmony and orchestration with Cemal Reşit Rey. Between 1973 and 1981, he conducted the chorus of Robert College in Istanbul. In 1979-1980, he joined the humanities faculty at Robert College, where he taught music. Between 1976 and 1986, he was a member of the faculty at the Istanbul University State Conservatory. In 1983, he founded the Ayangil Turkish Music Orchestra and Chorus, comprised of 60 musicians playing both Turkish and Western instruments. He has conducted many concerts together with his orchestra and performed either with celebrated Turkish musicians or as soloist, both in Turkey and abroad. In 1988 the Ayangil Turkish Music Orchestra and Chorus made the first recording of "*Uyan Ey Gozlerim*" ("Awaken, O My Eyes!", Ottoman Sufi Music), compiled by Ali Ufkî (1610-1675). His articles on music have been published in many magazines and newspapers. Ayangil has served as the dean of the Arts and Design Faculty, Istanbul Yıldız Technical University. Currently, he teaches at the conservatory at Fatih University in Istanbul.

Ş e h v a r B e ş i r o ğ l u is a *kanun* and *çeng* (Turkish harp) player and musicologist. She graduated from the State Conservatory of Turkish Music at Istanbul Technical University in 1986. She received her MA degree in 1998 and her Doctor of Musical Arts degree in 1994 in Turkish music from ITU's Social Science Institute. Since 1993, Beşiroğlu has conducted workshops, organized summer schools, taught classes on Ottoman and Turkish music at numerous international universities, and performed at several international concerts. In 2000, Beşiroğlu and the

Cantemir Ensemble recorded two albums for Yalçın Tura's book, *Kantemiroğlu Edvarı*. She also performs with the Hattusha Ensemble in Turkey and abroad, playing reconstructed Hittite lyre and harp. In 1999, Beşiroğlu served as a visiting scholar at Harvard University's Center for Middle East Studies and at the Musicology and Music History Department of the New England Conservatory. She worked on a post-doctoral project with Professor Cemal Kafadar at Harvard University. Since 1986, Beşiroğlu has been teaching at the ITU State Conservatory for Turkish Music and the Social Science Institute's Dr. Erol Üçer Center for Advanced Studies in Music (*Müzik İleri Araştırmalar Merkezi*, MİAM). She is currently the director of MİAM.

Nilgün Doğrusöz was born in Izmir, Turkey. In 1989, she graduated from the Turkish Music Conservatory at Ege University in Izmir. She received a master's degree (1993), proficiency in fine arts degree (1997), and Ph.D. (2008) from the Social Science Institute at Istanbul Technical University. In 2000, was as a fellow at the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston. In 2001, Doğrusöz served as a visiting scholar, giving lectures on Ottoman/Turkish music at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies (CMES) at Harvard University. She has published several books and articles and given papers on musical notational systems, theory and history of Ottoman and Turkish music. Currently, Doğrusöz is a professor of the Turkish Music Conservatory in the Music Theory Department at ITU.

Walter Zev Feldman is a leading researcher in both Ottoman Turkish and Jewish music. His book, *Music of the Ottoman Court: Makam, Composition, and the Early Ottoman Instrumental Repertoire* (Berlin, 1996) is taught as a basic text worldwide. In 2004 he co-directed the successful application of the Mevlevi Dervishes of Turkey as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity for UNESCO. He contributed the "Ottoman Music" and "Klezmer Music" articles to the *New Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2001), and has four articles in the *Garland Encyclopedia of Word Music* (2002). He is also a percussionist in the Ottoman tradition, having accompanied leading Ottoman performers such as Necdet Yaşar, Cinuçen Tanrıkorur, Ihsan Özgen and the Lalezar Ensemble. In the 1980s he had also studied tanbur with the master musician Necdet Yaşar. He is currently finishing his book *Klezmer: Music, History and Memory* (Oxford University Press), and is researching a new book on the transnational klezmer tradition of Moldova, utilizing field work and archival research in Moldova, Romania, Greece, Turkey and Israel. Having taught at Princeton University and the University of Pennsylvania, since 2009 Feldman has been a Professor of Music at New York University in Abu Dhabi (UAE).

Martin Greve is a research fellow at the Orient-Institut Istanbul. His doctoral thesis is about the history of Turkish Art Music in the 20th century. His *habilitation* is a study of Turkish music in Germany. Dr. Greve has taught various courses on ethnomusicology and Turkish music at several universities and music academies

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A n d r e a s   H a u g was born in 1958 in Ulm, Germany. Haug studied musicology, philosophy, and German philology at Tübingen University. He finished his doctoral work in 1985 and held various academic posts at the universities of Tübingen, Stockholm, and Erlangen. After completing his *habilitation* at Tübingen University, Haug served as professor at the Center for Medieval Studies at the University in Trondheim and, since 2001, as *ordinarius* professor of musicology at Erlangen University. Since 2008, he has occupied the Chair of Musicology II (Music of Premodern Europe) at the Institute for Music Research at Würzburg University. His main field of research is the history of medieval European music, in particular various forms of monophonic music and the ways they were notated.

R a l f   M a r t i n   J ä g e r (Ph.D. 1993: "Turkish Art Music and its Manuscript Sources from the 19. Century", habilitation 1999: "Europe and the Ottoman Empire in Music, ca. 1500 to 1800") is Professor of Ethnomusicology and European Music History at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster. He started his academic career in 1999 as Visiting Professor of Musicology at the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn. From 2000 until 2004, he deputized the Chair of Musicology at the WWU Münster and from 2005 to 2009, he was Lecturer and Senior Researcher both at the Musicological Department of WWU Münster (where he is since 2008 professor) and at the University of Music "Franz Liszt" in Weimar. From 2009 to 2011, Prof. Jäger held the Chair of Ethnomusicology at the Department of Music Research, Julius-Maximilians-Universitaet Würzburg. He has been lecturing in Göttingen, Istanbul, Mainz, Saarbrücken and Zürich. From 2000 to 2004, he was vice-president of the German national committee of the *International Council for Traditional Music*. From 2002 to 2005, Jäger acted as Deputy Chair of the study group *Ethnomusicology* (German Musicological Society). He directed the projects of the *GfM* in the *Virtuelle Fachbibliothek Musikwissenschaft* (ViFa Musik).

K y r i a k o s   K a l a i t z i d i s is the artistic director of "En Chordais". He holds a PhD in Byzantine musicology from the University of Athens. Together with his scientific interest, Kalaitzidis is an active musician, composer and oud player. As a member of "En Chordais" and as soloist he gave over 2000 concert in 40 countries at major festivals and venues. He have been awarded with the "Radio France Prize for World Music 2008", the "Prix Academie Charles Cros" in 2014. He was also honoured with the official nomination for the Sharjah Prize (UNESCO) for the promotion of Arab culture. From 2002 until 2005, Kalaitzidis was the artistic

director of the *MediMuses* project, which is dedicated to celebrating the Mediterranean's shared classical musical heritage. In October 2012 he published his latest book *Post-Byzantine Music Manuscripts as a Source for Oriental Secular Music (15th to Early 19th century)* in collaboration with the Orient- Institut Istanbul.

Fikret Karakaya studied *usul* and repertoire with Kemal Batanay and *kemençe* with Kâmran Erdoğru. In 1981, he began work as a *kemençe* artist for Istanbul Radio. Between 1994-1996, Karakaya focused on the *Bezmârâ* project which aimed to recreate the sound of forgotten instruments of the 16th and 17th centuries. Based on miniatures and written sources, Karakaya either reconstructed historical instruments himself or instructed Sacit Gürel to make them. Karakaya has performed in several concerts both in Turkey and abroad. With the *Bezmârâ* ensemble, he recorded the following albums: *Splendours of Topkapi*, *Yitik Sesin Peşinde*, *Mecmûa'dan Saz ve Söz*, *Tanbûrî İsak* (2005), *Fasl-ı Kadim 1* and *Fasl-ı Kadim 2* (2008), *Ali Ufkî Bey'in Tanıklığıyla 17. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Musiki* (2010), *Enderun'da Bir Polonyalı* (2014). Between 2000-2005, Karakaya taught *kemençe* at the Sakarya University State Conservatory, and between 2005-2009, he taught organology at Mimar Sinan University State Conservatory. In 2013 he joined the faculty of the Center for the Research and Performance of Ottoman-Era Music (OMAR). In addition to several articles and stories, Karakaya published two books in 2010 on the occasion of "The Year of Ali Ufkî": *Ali Ufkî Bey* and *Unutulmuş Osmanlı Sazları*.

Okan Murat Öztürk currently works as a lecturer at the Başkent University State Conservatory in Ankara. His research focuses on the *makam* concept in Ottoman and/or Turkish music, musical modernization in Republican Turkey, and traditional performance styles for Anatolian and Turkish long-lutes (*bağlama* family, *lavta*, *tanbur*). He has performed in concert in many countries on different continents, recorded many solo albums, and written several books and articles on traditional Turkish music.

Arzu Öztürkmen. Trained in folklore studies (MA, Indiana University; Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania) Arzu Öztürkmen is professor of folklore, oral history and performance studies at Boğaziçi University. She is the author of *Türkiye'de Folklor ve Milliyetçilik* (Folklore and Nationalism in Turkey, 1998) and the co-editor of *Medieval and Early Modern Performance in the Eastern Mediterranean* (Brepols, 2014) and *Celebration, Entertainment and Theater in the Ottoman World* (Seagull, 2014). Öztürkmen has published several articles on the cultural history of Turkey, including the memory of national holidays and the history of stylized folk dance. Her oral history research consists of fieldwork conducted both in Turkey and Greece to explore the memory of ethnic conflict in a Black Sea town, as a historical multi-sited ethnography. Her contemporary research looks at television drama as a sector ethnography.

G ö n ü l   P a ç a c ı completed six years of study in Turkish music theory at the Istanbul Municipal Conservatory and in the Department of Foundational Studies at the Istanbul Technical University State Conservatory of Turkish Music. Between 1986 and 1994, she completed her master's degree and her fine arts qualifying degree (doctorate) at the Istanbul Technical University Institute of Social Sciences. In 1983, Paçacı passed an examination to become an artist-in-residence among the Istanbul Municipal Conservatory's Turkish Classical Music Ensemble. She has taught courses and led the Turkish Music Club at Boğaziçi University since 1992. She has published or recorded dozens of compositions, books, albums, and articles. In 2011, she became the conductor for the Turkish Classical Music Ensemble. In 2012, Paçacı founded the Ottoman-Era Comparative Music degree program in Istanbul University's State Conservatory Musicology Department as well as the Center for the Research and Performance of Ottoman-Era Music (OMAR) at Istanbul University. She is currently the director of this Center.

E r s u   P e k i n was born in Istanbul in 1946. In 1971, he graduated from the Advanced Painting Department of the Istanbul State Fine Arts Academy. Between 1967 and 1981, he taught at the Cinema-Television Center at Mimar Sinan University and also served as its general secretary. Pekin has been involved with music for more than thirty years. Focusing his research on Ottoman music and instruments, Pekin has published articles and reviews in numerous journals and newspapers. Pekin organized an exhibition on Ottoman instruments at the Aynalıkavak Kasrı, one of the properties supervised by the Turkish Directorate of National Palaces. Between 1995 and 2003, Pekin, together with Bülent Aksoy, prepared and hosted a music radio program called "Saz ve Söz" on Açık Radyo. Pekin currently works as a book designer and editor.

S ü l e y m a n   Ş e n e l was born in Istanbul in 1964. He studied at the Istanbul Municipal Conservatory (1981). After graduating from Istanbul Technical University's State Turkish Classical Music Conservatory in 1986, Şenel completed his master's degree in the field of Turkish folk music in the Music Fine Arts department at ITU's Social Science Institute in 1988 and his proficiency in fine arts degree in 1992. Şenel has presented papers in a wide variety of congresses, symposiums, panels, and seminars, both in Turkey and abroad. He has published in various journals, bulletins, yearbooks, newspapers, and encyclopedias. He has conducted fieldwork in Thrace and Anatolia in Turkey, as well as Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan. Şenel has collected more than one thousand folk songs and other folk and ethnographic material. He notated 400 of the songs he collected and has published a portion of them. Şenel currently teaches at ITU's State Conservatory of Turkish Classical Music. His books include *Trabzon Bölgesi Halk Musikisine Giriş* (1994), *Béla Bartòk Panel Bildirileri: Türkiye'ye Gelişinin 60. Yıldönümü Anısına* (edited by Süleyman Şenel, 2000); *Kastamonu'da Âşık Fasılları: Türler/Çeşitler/Çeşitlemeler* (2 volumes, 2007); *İstanbul Çevresi Alan Araştırmaları* (2 volumes, 2011).

R e c e p   U s l u is an assistant professor and chair of the Musicology Department at the State Conservatory for Turkish music of the Gazi University in Ankara. His research focuses on the historical music of the Balkans, Turkey, and the Middle East from 15th to 18th centuries. After working as a researcher and writer for the Turkish Encyclopedia of Islam project in Istanbul, he joined the Musicology Department at Istanbul Technical University as a lecturer in 1994, upon the invitation of the renowned composer and professor Yalçın Tura. In 2000, Uslu was promoted to an assistant professorship in the Musicology Department. He founded the Musicology Department at Gazi University State Conservatory in 2012. Uslu has written several books and more than 70 articles on the history of Turkish music and music theory. The Turkish Cultural Ministry awarded Uslu as outstanding music writer of the year in 2013. His books include *Müzikoloji ve Kaynakları* (2006), *Fatih Döneminde Musiki* (2007), *Abdülbaki Nasır Dede'nin Müzik Yazısı: Tahririyye* (with Nilgün Doğrusöz, 2009), and *Selçuklu Topraklarında Müzik* (2010).

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