

# 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 culture-historical research, is extremely diverse. In Germany, the discipline has been conceptually developed principally by the *Gesellschaft für Musikforschung* (Musicological 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 interpretation, but also religious music and studies on musical instruments, ethnomusicology and comparative musicology, sociology and the social history of music or systematic 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 represented 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 universities and state conservatories. *Dârü'l Elhân*—the first Turkish conservatory in the actual sense—was established in 1917 in Istanbul. The founding members included Cemal Reşit Rey (1904-1985) and Zeki Üngör (1880-1958) who were responsible for *batı müziği* (western music). Influential music scholars Rauf Yekta (1871-1935) and Ahmet İrsoy (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* (Monuments of Turkish Music) was published under the guidance of Rauf Yekta Bey. As a conscious counterpoint to *Dârü'l Elhân* the *Ankara Devlet Konservatuarı* (Ankara 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 hümayûn*, 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<sup>1</sup>: 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.

\* \* \*

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.<sup>2</sup> 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-

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Zeynep Helvacı (Würzburg) for providing an overview of recent Turkish publications on music.

<sup>2</sup> Exemplary texts indicating different approaches are Ergun 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 20<sup>th</sup> 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 'Abd al-Qâdir Marâghî (1353-1435) who, though active in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, still bears the honorary title of "*hoca*" in the musical tradition of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and is considered a central figure in Turkish music history.<sup>3</sup> 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 Safiüddîn 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 *Dari'îl-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.

<sup>3</sup> Yekta 1318/1902 (Reprints of Ahmed Mithat's, Nuri Şeydâ's and Necib Âsım Bey's earlier publications about 'Abd al-Qâdir Marâghî 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.<sup>4</sup>

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.<sup>5</sup>

A comparative model also forms the basis of modern European music research since its establishment in the late 18<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> Unlike in Turkey, the systematic documentation of music-practical sources evolved in Germany to become a central concern of musicological research.<sup>7</sup> Little more than a century after Forkel, Robert Eitner's *Biographic-Bibliographic Source Encyclope-*

<sup>4</sup> 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).

<sup>5</sup> In this context his major writing *Türk Müsiki'si Kimindir?* has to be mentioned, which, originally published as a series of essays, was edited in 1969 by Milli 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*.

<sup>6</sup> Johann Nicolaus Forkel, *Allgemeine Litteratur der Musik*, Leipzig, 1792.

<sup>7</sup> This statement does not refer to the different music bibliographies that exist in Turkey. Onur Akdoğan, *Türk Müziği Bibliyografyası (9.yy-1928)*, İzmir 1989, as well as Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (ed.), *Osmanlı Müsiki Literatürü Tarihi*, İstanbul 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:<br><i>Esâtîz-i Elhân</i> , I. Volume, <i>Hoca Zekâî Dede Efendi</i> , İstanbul 1318/1902                                 | <i>Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke</i> , Leipzig 1802 |
| <i>General History of Oriental Music</i> :<br><i>Şark Mûsikisi Tarihi</i> , İstanbul 1924                                                                                              | <i>Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik</i> , Leipzig 1788 and 1801                 |
| <i>Selected Monuments of Turkish Music</i> :<br><i>Türk Musikisi Klasikleri</i> , İstanbul ca. 1926                                                                                    | <i>Denkmale der musikalischen Kunst</i> (Due to war not published)             |
| Music Theory and Notation:<br><i>La Musique Turque</i> , in: <i>Encyclopédie de la Musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire</i> I/5, est. by Albert Lavignac, Paris 1922, p. 2945-3074 | <i>Ueber die Theorie der Musik</i> , Göttingen 1777                            |
|                                                                                                                                                                                        | <i>Allgemeine Litteratur der Musik</i> , Leipzig 1792                          |

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

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 453                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Scarlatti, Aless.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <p><i>Arianna e Teseo. The favourite songs in the opera ...</i> (ein Pasticcio von Gáluppi, Cocchi, Jomelli u. Sc.). London, Walsh (1760). P. fol. [br. Mus. 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. Drama 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 Anien im Kataloge. Clearco in Negroponte, op. in 3 atti. Ms. P. [Modena.</p> <p>Excerpt from Robert Eitner, <i>Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon</i>, Vol. 8, 1903, p. 453: Works of Alessandro Scarlatti (1659-1725), Operas.</p> | <p>1) Mirâciyye (aşâğıya bk.). - Mevlevî Âyin-i Şerifleri: 2) Çargâh, 3) Hicâz, 4) Râst, 5) Uşşâk.- 6) Arazbâr Peşrevi (Ağır Dîyek), 7) Beyâtî Peşrevi (Devr-i Kebîr) ve 8) Sâz Semâisi, 9) Bûselik-Aşîrân Peşrevi (Devr-i Kebîr) ve 10) Sâz Semâisi, 11) Bûzürg Peşrevi (Darbeyn) ve 12) Sâz Semâisi, 13) Çargâh Peşrevi (Devr-i Kebîr), 14) Dilkeş-Hâverân Peşrevi (Devr-i Kebîr "Dilkeş Devri"), 15) Evci Rûy-i Nevâ Sâz Semâisi, 16) Geveşt Peşrevi (Dîyek) ve 17) Sâz Semâisi, 18) Hicâz Peşrevi (Devr-i Kebîr "Gül Devri") ve 19) Sâz Semâisi, 20) Hüseyinî Peşrevi (Fâhte Küll-i Külliyyât (b. bk.) yâni bütün makamları içeren peşrev), 21) Muhayyer-Sünbûle Peşrevi I (Devr-i Kebîr) (kendisi notaya almış: Osmân Dede, no.54, "Nigâr") ve 22) Sâz Semâisi (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 Semâisi I "Gül Devri", 27) Râst Peşrevi III (Çenber "Dilârâ") ve 28) Sâz Semâisi "Dilârâ", 29) Râst Peşrevi IV (Dîyek "Dilâbâd") ve 30) Sâz Semâisi III "Dilâbâd", 31) Segâh Peşrevi (Devr-i Kebîr) ve 32) Sâz</p> <p>Excerpt from Yılmaz Öztuna, <i>Türk Musikisi Ansiklopedisi</i>, Vol. 2, 2006, p. 165: Works of Nâyi Osman Dede (ca. 1652-ca. 1730).</p> |

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

*Türk Musikisi Klasikleri,*  
Darü'l-Elhân (ca. 1926):  
Dellâzade İsmail Efendi,  
*Ferâhnâk Kâr, Usul*  
*Muhammes*

Ms. İÜko Y.208/6, S. 1

Ferâhnâk Kâr, [Usul] Muhammes

Tesseldichter: Sakir ?

Dellâzade İsmail Efendi

Usul Muhammes

Critical transnotation  
of the most probable  
source from Darü'l-  
Elhân's manuscript  
collection (Ms. İÜko  
Y.208/6, p. 1)

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 investigated 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 editions 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.

\* \* \*

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.<sup>8</sup>

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*.<sup>9</sup>

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

<sup>8</sup> Ludwig Finscher (1973) mentions that, on the contrary, in Western music history during the 18<sup>th</sup> 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.

<sup>9</sup> For a detailed analysis see Jäger 1998.

<sup>10</sup> Cantemir, Demetrius: *Kitâb-ı ‘İlmü’l-Mûsıkî ‘alâ Vechi’l-Hurûfât*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Türkîyat 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> 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:

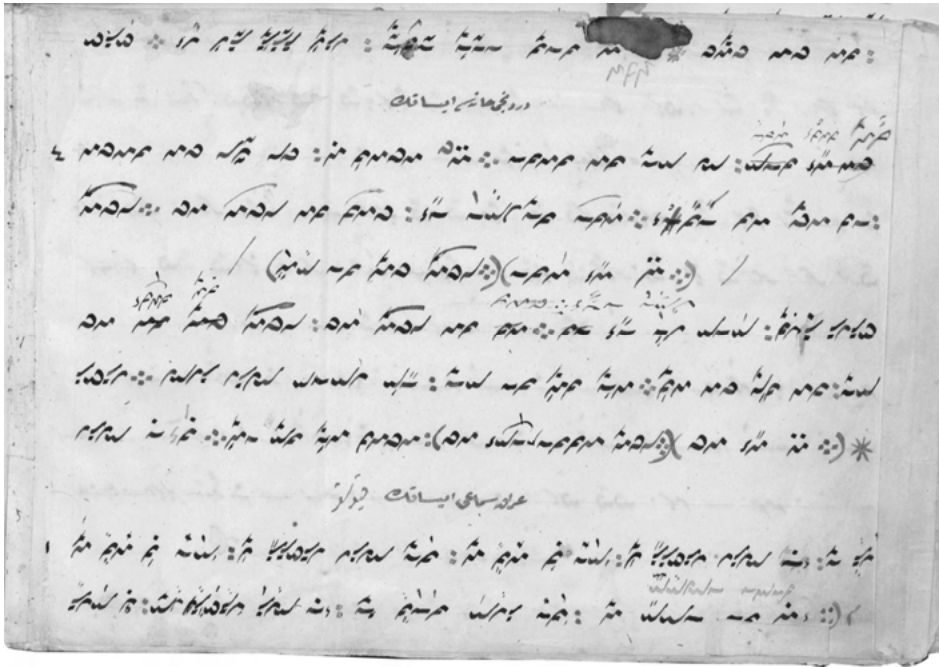


Fig. 4: Istanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, Y.211/9, fol. 16 [*irak elçi peşrevi, usûl çifte düyek*] – *dördüncü hane İsakın*

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.

<sup>11</sup> The manuscript belonged to the collection of *Dârü'l-Elbân* 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:<sup>12</sup>

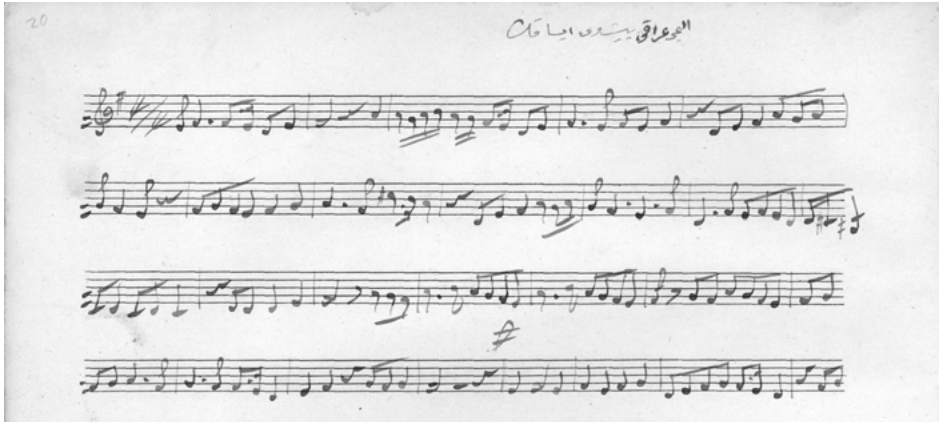


Fig. 5: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Münster, Ms.or.2, fol. 20 – Beginning of *Elçi iraki peşrevi, İsakın*

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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup> Through their transcription they somehow gain an

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

<sup>13</sup> 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 Nakşî 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*.

<sup>14</sup> 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) 20<sup>th</sup> 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.

\* \* \*

---

tion moved from *Istanbul Üniversitesi Devlet Konservatuvarı* in Kadıköy to the present library in Beyazıt.

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 existent 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.<sup>15</sup> 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

<sup>15</sup> 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 nefiz eserlerin ziyâdan (kayıpdan) muhâfazası maksadıyla bunların selâhiyetdâr bir Hey’et-i İlmiyye tarafından (yetkili bir kural tarafından) gayet sahib (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:

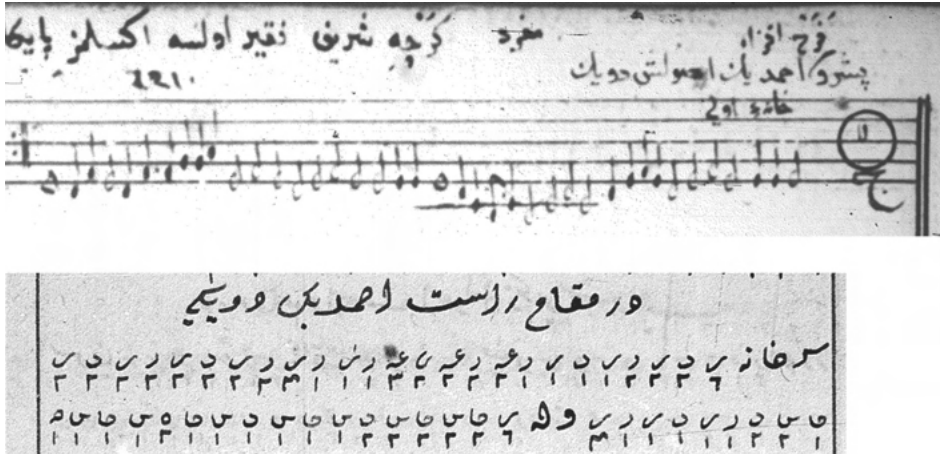


Fig. 6: Comparison of Ali Ufkî, Sloane MS 3114, fol. 110r (No.221) – *peşrev-i farah afzâ* [*dermakamı rast*], Ahmed Beg, *usûleş diyyek* (upper figure) and Cantemir, p. 59 (fol. 96r) – *dermakâm-ı râst Ahmed Beg diyyek'i* (lower figure)

In addition to the remarkable similarities some substantial differences can be determined.<sup>16</sup> 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-

<sup>16</sup> 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 feralifeza* which was derived in the later 18<sup>th</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> century writers often copied existing notations. A typical example is offered again in two notations of *irak elçi peşrevi*:

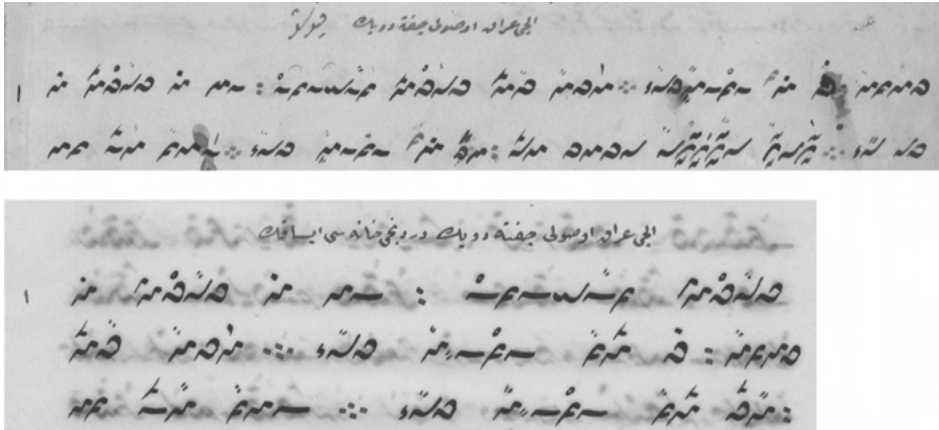


Fig. 7: Comparison of Y.211/9, fol. 14 – *irak elçi peşrevi*, *usûl çifti düyek* (upper figure) and Y.205/3, fol. 35 – *irak elçi peşrevi*, *usûl çifti düyek*, 4. *hâne İsak* (lower figure)

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 Üfkî engage with these aspects,<sup>17</sup> as well as Yalçın Tura's, Eugenia Popescu-Judet's or Owen Wright's considerations on Cantemir and his work.<sup>18</sup> 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.

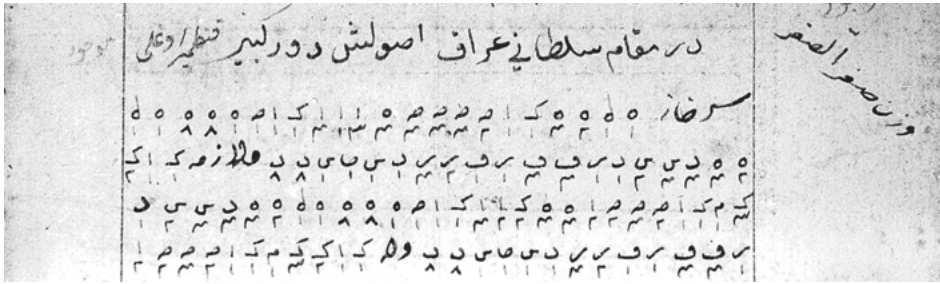


Fig. 8: Cantemir, *Kitâb*, p. 152 (fol. 143v) – *der makâm-ı sultânî-irâk, usûleş devr-i kebîr*, *Cantemir* (Detail view)

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 17<sup>th</sup> century to write down the *usûls*. 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 *kbaz*-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-

<sup>17</sup> In most of Cem Behar's publications the problem is discussed, see Behar 1990, 2008.

<sup>18</sup> Yalçın Tura (ed.), *Kitâbu 'İlmî'l-Mûsikî '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-Judet, *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-Judet 2002, and Popescu-Judet & Sirlî 2000, touch on the problem.

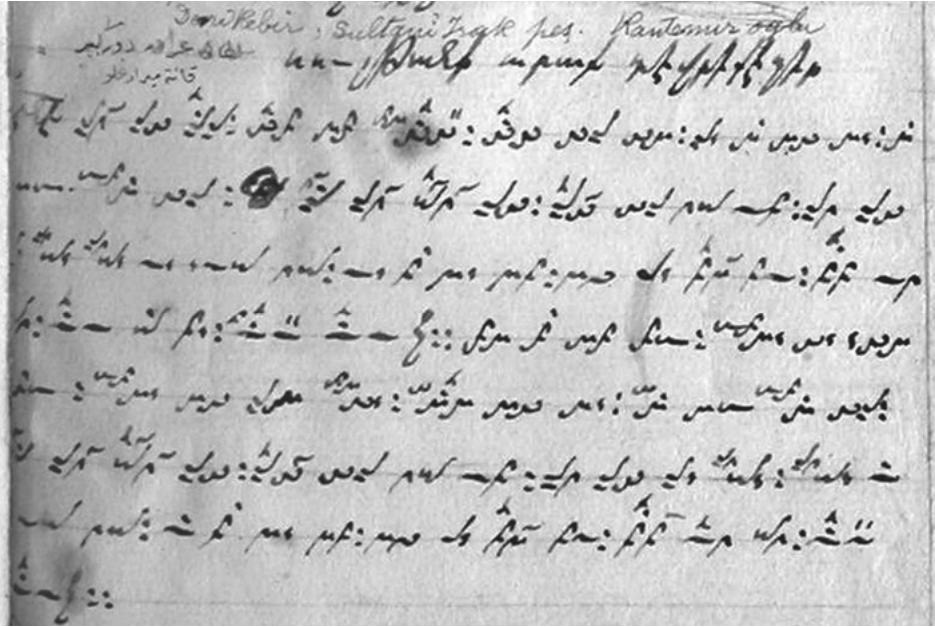


Fig. 9: Y.203-1 (Y.86-01), fol. 1 – *Sultani arak devr-i kebîr* [*Cantemir*] – (Detail view with transcriptions of the title by Refik Fersan [Ottoman writing] and Suphi Ezgi [Latin writing])

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 18<sup>th</sup> century by Greek musicians such as Petros Peloponnissios [turk. Hırsıs Petro, Tanbûrî Petros] (d. 1777).<sup>19</sup>

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.

<sup>19</sup> A useful description of the notation in the context of Greek music theory of the 18<sup>th</sup> century gives Popescu-Judetzy & Sirli 2000.

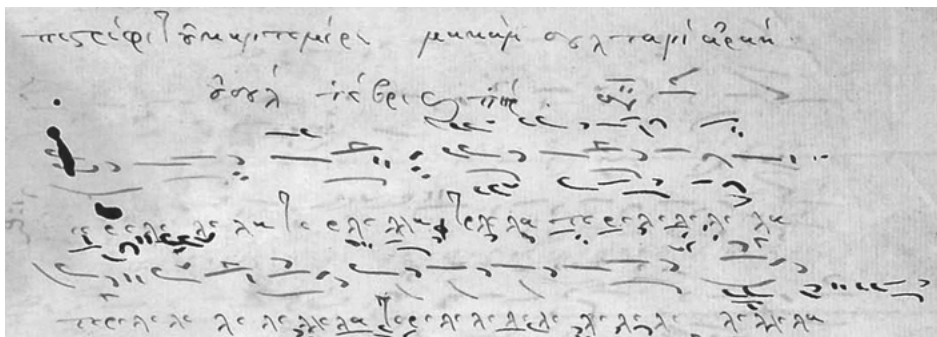


Fig. 10: Gritsanis Ms. 3, fol. 14r (Petros Peloponissios): *pistrifi tō kantemira makām sultanī árāk úsûl devri k[e]bîr* (Detail view)

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.<sup>20</sup> 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-18<sup>th</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>21</sup> 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 Ufki), 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.

<sup>20</sup> For pointing out this not unimportant detail I thank Eckhard Neubauer (Frankfurt/M.).

<sup>21</sup> 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:

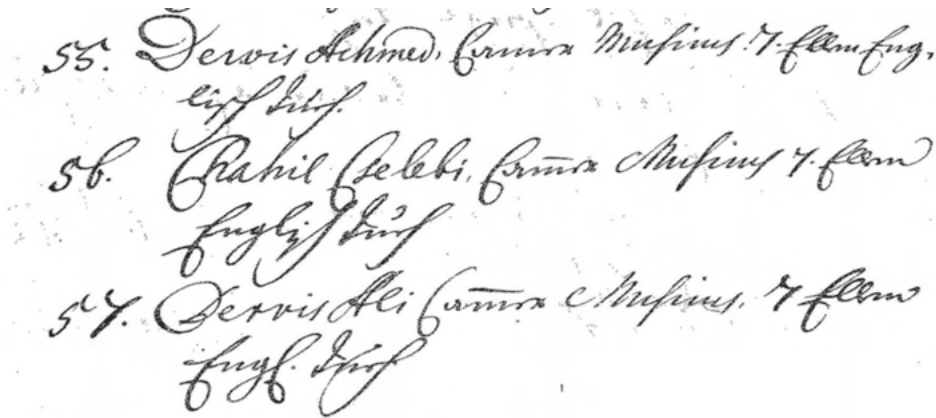


Fig. 11: Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Wien, Türkei I (Turcica. Alter Bestand), Karton 175 (1700 X – XII, Varia), Konv. C: Turcica 1700, Varia & s.d., fol. 138r – 142v: *Entwurff [/] Wie die Türckische Groß Pottschaft bey ihrer abreiß von hier zu beschencken sein wirdt*, here: fol. 141v-142r. (Detail 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 18<sup>th</sup> 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,<sup>22</sup> the ethno-scientific literature,<sup>23</sup> numerous archival resources from East and West (see above), or private writings unintended for publication,<sup>24</sup> is by no means completed. The same is true for the documentation of the oral tradition, whose significance for the historiography 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 reliable 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 indexed in this way.

The future of “Writing the History of Ottoman Music” will depend on the development of new approaches. Scientifically viable questions and conceptions independent 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.

---

<sup>22</sup> For example Schweigger 1608, Niebuhr 1774.

<sup>23</sup> For example Toderini 1787, Sulzer 1781:430-454.

<sup>24</sup> For example the biography of Süleyman Fa’ik Efendi (1784-1837).