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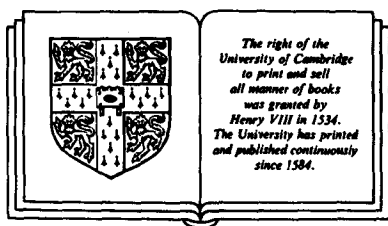
Musica Asiatica

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Editorial note

With this volume the publication of *Musica Asiatica* moves into a new phase. Having conceived and edited the first four volumes, Dr Laurence Picken has handed over responsibility for further volumes to an Editorial Board. With the generous support of Cambridge University Press, which took over publication of the series with volume 4, the Board hopes to publish further volumes, at approximately two-year intervals: prospective contributors are invited to read the 'Notes for authors' on p. 269. As in the past, *Musica Asiatica* will continue to reflect an interest in the history and documentation of Asian music, but it is hoped that future volumes will explore specific themes. Meanwhile the Editors would like to take this opportunity of expressing their indebtedness and appreciation to Dr Picken, and to the University Presses of Oxford and Cambridge, for making past, present and future volumes of *Musica Asiatica* possible.

D.R. Widdess

*Centre of Music Studies
School of Oriental and African Studies
London*

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Aspects of historical change in the Turkish classical repertoire

O. WRIGHT

17th-century collections of Turkish instrumental art-music include pieces that remain in the repertoire today. The high degree of melodic elaboration in the modern versions of some of these, as compared with the much simpler versions recorded in the 17th-century sources, suggests *either* that the 17th-century notations are here melodic outlines that would have been highly embellished in performance, *or* that a process of gradual amplification, necessarily accompanied by a reduction in speed of performance, has occurred. Taking a group of *pesrevs* in the rhythmic cycle *devr-i kebir* as a sample for analysis, the latter hypothesis appears the more persuasive. It is possible to formulate a set of transformational rules, by which the later embellishments can be systematically removed and the 17th-century 'originals' partially restored. The efficacy of these 'rules', however, is limited, particularly by the concomitant alterations in formal structure. The processes of change can be shown to have been under way already in the 17th century, and were largely complete by the mid-19th century. Other sections of the repertoire may have been affected by similar processes, but its complex history precludes general conclusions at this stage.

1.1 Introduction

Within the broad tradition of Middle Eastern art-music the belief that many important elements of an earlier (and high prestige) repertoire have been faithfully preserved is by no means confined to Turkey. But it is perhaps there that it is most precisely tied to the notion of the survival of specific early compositions: the modern Turkish repertoire boasts, for example, some 30 pieces said to be by the early 15th-century theorist and composer 'Abd al-Qādir Marāghī, and there are even a few that have been attributed to al-Fārābī (d. c. 950).¹ Of at least comparable antiquity, however, is the con-

¹ Examples may be consulted in e.g. Ezgi 1-5 (Marāghī: 1, pp. 198-9, 2, pp. 121-4), and Karadeniz [1981] (Marāghī: items 304, 305, 306; al-Fārābī: items 88, 163, 217, 230). Such ascriptions are not always accepted uncritically, however: the figure 30 quoted for Marāghī is that given by Öztuna (1, p. 8a) for the residual pieces he considers to be definitely or probably by Marāghī after having rejected many others as inauthentic. Important here is less the (doubtful) accuracy of the assessment (which in the absence of any explicit analytical or historical criteria may be assumed to be at least partly intuitive) than the attitude underlining

trary view, that transmission may involve alteration and loss, for we find it clearly articulated by al-Iṣbahānī, a contemporary of al-Fārābī: commenting on what he regards as the capriciousness of certain musicians who were playing fast and loose with traditional material, he concludes that it would take a mere five generations of such performers, say a century and a half, for an inherited corpus of songs to be distorted beyond recognition.² To be considered here is one small segment of the classical Turkish repertoire which seems to exhibit change of a similarly radical order, and indeed in roughly the same span of time (although not, it may be assumed, for the same reasons: in place of incompetence or willfulness as explanatory hypotheses we may propose evolution and creativity within an oral tradition). The pieces in question are nevertheless recorded in notation, so that it is therefore possible to argue concerning the nature and extent of change on the basis of comparisons between, on the one hand, notations of the 17th century (for practical purposes the earliest extant),³ and on the other hand, 19th- and 20th-century notations of the form in which the same compositions had survived in oral transmission.⁴

it. It has been suggested (Signell 1977: 4) that 'some authenticity' can be assumed for the compositions ascribed to Marāghī because he 'used a type of cipher notation in his treatises', but it is difficult to see the relevance of this in the context of oral transmission. (On the shift from oral to written sources in the modern period see Reinhard 1967.)

As for the pieces ascribed to al-Fārābī, it is significant that in the article on him by Öztuna (1, p. 215) no compositions are listed, and Ezgi's comprehensive selection likewise includes nothing attributed to him. It is thus rather surprising that Karadeniz should consider them authentic, especially when it is widely accepted – even if not easily documented – that they are the work of İsmail Hakkı Bey (1866–1927) (personal communication from Dr Cem Behar). As 'forgeries' they would be by no means unique, and it would obviously help to illuminate one aspect of the concept of tradition if it were possible to examine a composer's motives in passing off his own work as that of some illustrious predecessor.

² *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Cairo, 1927–74), 10: 69–70. The passage in question is a denigration of the talented, but to al-Iṣbahānī slapdash, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī and musicians allied with him, who were unconcerned with (or indeed opposed to) the purist efforts of Iṣḥāq al-Mawṣilī to preserve unaltered the Umayyad legacy, so that for al-Iṣbahānī the strict maintenance of tradition was still the ideal, and change to be deplored.

³ Ignoring as irrelevant the earliest specimens of notated Islamic art-music (which are Arabo-Persian rather than specifically Turkish) dating from the mid-13th to the early 15th centuries and recorded by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī (*Kitāb al-adwār*, ch. 15), Qutb al-Dīn Shīrāzī (*Durrat al-tāj*, British Library MS Add. 7694, fols. 241v–242r) and 'Abd al-Qādir Marāghī (*Maqāṣid al-alḥān*, Tehran, 1966, pp. 101–2); *Jāmi' al-alḥān*, Bodleian MS Marsh 282, fols. 93v–95r). Of these only one composition notated by Qutb al-Dīn can be said to provide something approaching a full score (Wright 1978: 231ff.). The others are in certain respects unrevealing, and in no case can they be identified with a later manifestation of the same piece.

For a historical survey of pre-modern manuscript and printed sources on Turkish music see Oransay 1964.

⁴ That oral transmission causes change has certainly been recognized by Turkish scholars, even if cautiously: Yekta, for example, discussing some of the vocal pieces in the Marāghī corpus, concedes (Yekta 1922: 2978a) that 'personne ne peut prétendre qu'ils soient intacts et strictement conformes aux originaux' – but is not prepared to challenge their ultimate authenticity. A similar accommodation of change and fidelity is provided by Oransay, for whom oral transmission facilitates 'die bewusste Abänderung (in Anpassung an den Zeitgeschmack)'

The 17th-century notations exist in two extensive collections, one by Ali Ufki (1610–75), a Pole whose original name was Albert Bobowski,⁵ the other by the Moldavian Demetrius Cantemir (1673–1723), known in Turkish as Kantemiroğlu, who came to Istanbul in 1688 as a princely hostage and was resident there almost continuously until 1710.⁶ Ali Ufki's collection, in western staff notation, but written from right to left, contains both vocal and instrumental pieces.⁷ Of the latter some 100 are also found in Cantemir's collection,⁸ which contains only instrumental pieces, recorded in a system of notation devised by the author himself according to a traditional and elegant formula using letters of the alphabet to indicate pitch with subscript numerals to define duration.⁹

while at the same time 'Stellen doch Stücke, die auf dem Gehörswege zwei, drei und mehr Jahrhunderte unverfälscht überliefert worden sind, keine Seltenheit dar' (Oransay 1966: 42). Printed versions will sometimes rely on earlier manuscript sources as closer to the originals (the prefatory note to the *peşrev* in *uşşak*, *Mevlevî âyinleri*, p. 378, speaks of an early 19th-century version as 'şüphesiz aslına daha uygundur'), and modern versions resulting from the oral performance tradition may be regarded as corrupt (Ezgi 1945: 3), but little use has yet been made of the 17th-century material, either in a quest for historically more accurate versions of pieces still in the repertoire, or (more profitably) as a source for studying the processes of change.

⁵ See Babinger 1936, Wurm 1971: 13–14 (Wurm 1971 provides a useful general account of the cultural life of the period, including music. See especially pp. 10–28 which deal with the court of Mehmet IV (1648–87)).

⁶ See Guboglu 1961 and, with particular reference to music, Popescu-Judeţ 1968, where further bibliographical references may be consulted, and Süreşan 1975.

⁷ The original manuscript (British Library Sloane 3114) has been published in facsimile in Elçin 1976, the introduction of which contains basic biographical and bibliographical information. An earlier version of the work is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale (MS Turc 292). Of Ali Ufki/Bobowski's other works mention need be made here only of *Seray-ı Enderun*, consulted in Magni 1682 (music section pp. 355–8). Elçin (1976: ii) gives in the English introductory note the date 1650 for the collection, but as the Turkish text makes clear this was the date of its commencement, not its completion, and indeed there is no reason to suppose that Ali Ufki ever considered it finished: it consists of a number of blocks pre-assigned to specific modes which were then (presumably gradually) filled in, but many blank pages remain where sections are incomplete. One composition is attributed to a certain Kantemir Han (a *peşrev* in the mode *neva* and the rhythmic cycle *sakıl*, *ibid.* p. 102), and Elçin (*ibid.* p. xix) draws the obvious conclusion that the collection contains at least one posthumous addition. There are grounds, however, for doubting this.

⁸ This dates from shortly after 1700; the original manuscript is in the Türkiye Enstitüsü, Istanbul (Y.2768). Neither collection, as far as is known, was ever used by musicians for practical purposes and oral transmission remained the norm. (That of Ali Ufki would have been largely inaccessible because in western notation, and in any case soon became unavailable: it formed part of the library of Sir Hans Sloane, d. 1753.)

⁹ Alphabetic notation goes back as far as al-Kindî (d. 873), but was used by him (and by many later theorists) for purposes of theoretical demonstration only. The earliest extant examples of alphabetic notation with subscript numerals for duration are those of Şafî al-Dîn (see n. 3), whose particular method was to be used by all major theorists down to the 15th century. The difference between Şafî al-Dîn's notation and Cantemir's is that the former designates the successive pitch levels of the gamut by single letters and pairs of letters ordered according to the *abjad* alphabetic sequence, while the latter takes for the most part the first one or two letters of the names that had by his day become conventionally assigned to the various scale degrees (thus *d* represents *dügâh* (A)).

Some of the pieces from this second collection appeared in western notation in 1911, in a study (Burada 1911) which brought together 17 compositions attributed to Cantemir himself.¹⁰ One striking point about this corpus is a clear stylistic divide between pieces that, to use a crude generalization, are melodically fairly florid and others that are relatively bare. The latter are mostly transcribed directly from Cantemir's own collection, the former from mid-19th-century sources in Hamparsum notation.¹¹ Two opposing conclusions immediately suggest themselves: one that the original notations are, as in certain European Baroque slow movements of the same period, mere outlines meant to be lavishly embellished in performance, and that the later versions incorporating such elaborations therefore provide, at least typologically, more faithful accounts of 17th-century performance practice; the other that the original notations correspond with some (although of course by no means total) accuracy to the way the pieces were originally played, while the later forms represent a much altered state brought about by the gradual accretions and concomitant prolongations resulting from oral transmission.

In certain cases, fortunately, the later form can be compared directly with the original notation; and indeed in one instance Burada includes both (considering them, by implication, to be totally separate pieces).¹² The nature of the differences between them may be illustrated by juxtaposing the first rhythmic cycle of each, the melodic outline of the former being indicated by asterisks in the latter:¹³

Example 1

(a)



(b)



¹⁰ One of the 17 had appeared previously in Yekta 1907.

¹¹ The first system of notation to be widely used in Turkey, it was devised by an Armenian, Hamparsum Limoncian (1768–1839). For details see Ezgi 5: 530–5 and Seidel 1973–4.

¹² Burada 1911: 69/147–75/153 and 42/120–44/122 (in the order given in example 1). They are thus separated in the text, and there is no suggestion that they might be in any way connected. The mode is *puselik-aşiran*, the rhythmic cycle *berefsan*.

¹³ The asterisks have been added by the present writer. The fact that the durational values in version (b) do not quite add up is of no significance in the present context. Equally unim-

On the basis of this one example it is hardly possible to decide between the two hypotheses. Assuming a fairly broad tempo there would seem to be no reason why, according to the first hypothesis, the simpler form could not plausibly be regarded as a blueprint from which a skilled performer might have been expected to derive something akin to the more complex form: despite its change of mode the melodic elaboration can hardly be dismissed out of hand as excessively ornate, particularly when we have no contemporary information, such as that provided by Quantz for Baroque practice, that might suggest stylistic criteria of assessment (no attention, incidentally, should be paid to the phrase marks in the earlier version, these being editorial additions); nor, despite a degree of compression at the end of the cycle, do the alterations to the durational values seem particularly awkward. The differences between earlier and later forms are, however, significantly wider in a second pair, taken this time from a recent comprehensive study (Popescu-Judetiz 1973) which contains no fewer than 43 compositions ascribed to Cantemir.¹⁴ Again, the first cycles of each (or rather, given their length, part of them) may be juxtaposed, with the earlier form being redrawn in alignment with the later to indicate the points of coincidence¹⁵ (Example 2).

Here, as in Example 1, the durational value 1 of Cantemir's notation is rendered by a crotchet, equivalent to which in the later version is now a minim. But more significant than any possible implications as to tempo is the fact that, viewed in the light of the former hypothesis, the degree of melodic elaboration in the later version is now so great as to render problematic the

portant is the fact that there are some minor differences in notational conventions with regard to pitch between examples. To oversimplify, modern Turkish theory combines Pythagorean and just intonation intervals, so that taking *G* as the starting point there is for example a third consisting of two wholetones, contrasting with a just intonation major third one comma below. The former is normally notated as *B*, the latter as *B*♯. However, in earlier notations (such as those of Burada) the convention was to notate the former as *B*♯ and the latter as *B*, and such sources have been left in their original form. It should also be pointed out that in certain areas of the gamut 17th-century notations do not make as many pitch discriminations as are now current, and that even where they do, a 17th-century version will sometimes be notated with one pitch value and its 20th-century equivalent with another, but since such slight shifts in scale structure are not being examined here a certain lack of rigour may be allowed. Of the now current symbols the most frequent are *♭* = -1 comma, *♮* = -4 commas, *♯* = -5 commas; *♮* = +1 comma, *♯* = +4 commas, *♯* = +5 commas.

¹⁴ Since the list of compositions by Cantemir is ordered alphabetically according to mode the two versions are there juxtaposed (p. 134, nos. 23 (the later) and 9 (the earlier)), but as these numbers suggest the versions are separated in the notation section. Again, no reference is made to a possible relationship between them. No. 23 had already been published in Burada 1911: 75/153-86/164). The mode is defined as *isfahan* (for the earlier version) and *isfahan-icedid* (for the later); the rhythmic cycle is *remel*.

¹⁵ Popescu-Judetiz notates the earlier form with *c*♯ while retaining Burada's *c*♯ for the later. The substitution of *c*♯ in the earlier form for (the probably historically more accurate) *c*♯ is merely to facilitate comparisons. One other change is however a textual correction: Popescu-Judetiz has as the first crotchet in the third line of the earlier form *c*♯ rather than *e*, but the latter value (quite apart from fitting better with the later version) is unmistakably that given in Cantemir's original notation (Y.2768, p. 142).

Example 2



relationship between a composition and its realization in performance: that is, to call in question the degree to which the composed outline might actually be thought to determine the end product. Thus while the relationship of the first three notes to the beginning of the elaborated form (as far as the dotted crotchet *d*)¹⁶ seems reasonably close, the latter not adding more than a single extra pitch step adjacent to each original note, the ensuing passage relating to the third note is so free that the following three notes in the original form (*d c# B*) would appear for practical purposes to be redundant, since the corresponding material in the elaborated version could just as easily have been generated merely by a prolongation of the third note. The second hypothesis, that of gradual melodic accretion accompanied by gradual retardation, would here seem more persuasive.

Equally striking are the transformations in a number of *peşrevs* in the rhythmic cycle *devr-i kebir*, all of which occur as the first *peşrev* of the

¹⁶ The octave beginning on middle *c* will here be represented throughout as *C-B*, the octave above as *c-b*, followed by *c'-e'* (*e'* being the upper limit of the 17th-century gamut).

Mevlevi ceremony.¹⁷ For these the first half cycle of C234/H25 may serve in illustration (the 14/4 of the former being equivalent to two 28/4 measures in the latter):

Example 3



For Cantemir *devr-i kebir* has 14 time units, with the following pattern of heavy (*düm*) and light (*tek*) beats, rendered by upward and downward pointing stems respectively:¹⁸

Example 4



¹⁷ For the Mevlevi ceremony in general see Ritter 1933, Thibaut 1902.

Two and sometimes more modern versions of these *peşrevs* exist, the principal sources being *Mevlevî âyinleri* and Heper 1974. The former, printed between 1934 and 1939, is generally considered the more authoritative, but the latter may be presumed to represent the latest stage in the development of the tradition, and will for that reason be taken as the first point of departure. Reference to the *Mevlevî âyinleri* will nevertheless be made where appropriate, and consideration will be given later to the differences between the various modern versions.

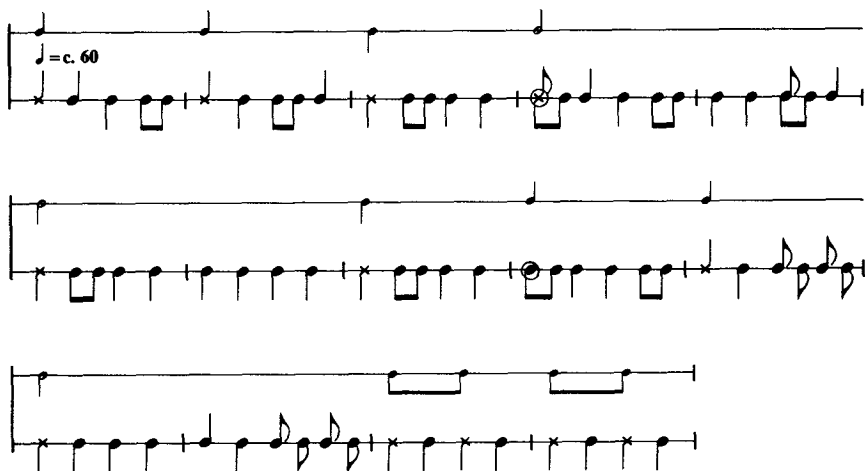
The four examples to be considered are, in the Cantemir collection, items 122 (p. 67, in the mode *rast*, called *gül devri*), 175 (p. 94, in *segâh*), 201 (p. 107, in *uşşak*), and 234 (p. 123, in *hüseynî*). To these correspond in Heper 1974 the *peşrevs* on pp. 55–6, 41–2, 69–71, and 25–6 respectively. They will be referred to henceforth as C122/H55, C175/H41, C201/H69 and C234/H25.

For only two does Cantemir name the composer (dates, here and below, are from Öztuna 1–2, some being clearly conjectural): C201 is said to be by Solakzade (d. 1658) and C234 by Kul Mehmet (d. ?1650). Heper ascribes both the others to Nâyî Osman Dede (c. 1652–1730), while for him (C234/) H25 is anonymous and (C201/)H69 is again by Nâyî Osman Dede. Although a contemporary it is possible that Cantemir was not familiar with all Nâyî Osman Dede's compositions, so that the ascription to him of pieces for which Cantemir names no composer cannot be dismissed out of hand. However, Cantemir's ascription of C201 to Solakzade must receive preference, especially when it is confirmed by Ali Ufki, so that H69 should be regarded as a posthumous enlargement of Nâyî Osman Dede's output.

¹⁸ For present purposes the distinctions between *tek*, *te ke* and *tek ka* (all of which belong to the 'light' category) may be ignored.

In modern performances of the Mevlevi ceremony it may take the following form:

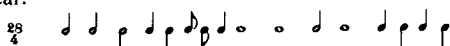
Example 5



(Cross note heads indicate where the modern form maintains the 17th-century pattern, circled note heads where it differs. The 17th-century pattern is displayed above the modern version.)¹⁹

As Example 3 shows, *devr-i kebir* is now normally notated as 28/4 (with internal 4/4 barring), but in relation to the cycle represented by the recurring pattern of light and heavy beats as given above should more appropriately be 56/4. The crucial point in the relationship between the two forms in Example 5 is not so much the extent to which the second has been filled out with supplementary percussions, a feature which, it could be argued, is relatable to a particular performance style called *velvele* which embellishes a barer basic (*aslı*) pattern, as the fact that the 20th-century version is what in modern Turkish theory is termed *muzaaf* (i.e. 'doubled') *devr-i kebir* and construed as

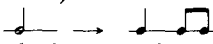
¹⁹ Where two stems are given the upper (*düm*) is the version given in *Mevlevî âyinleri*, p. 302 (see also example 9 in the final table in Seidel 1972–3, which presents a full analysis of the various forms of *devr-i kebir* and the relationships between them), the lower (*tek*) from the performance on, and the sleeve-notes by B. Mauguin to the UNESCO record *A musical anthology of the orient: Turkey I*, Bärenreiter BM30L2019. It is from the tempo of the performance on this record (♩ = 60) that the metronome mark supplied in example 5 has been taken. The *Mevlevî âyinleri* version thus changes only one stroke from the original. It is specified for the *peşrev* in *uşşak* (no. 230, pp. 378–80), which is given a 14/2 time signature, the percussion pattern being written out over two cycles. Elsewhere, however, a single-cycle *devr-i kebir* pattern may be specified, the relationship of which to the 17th-century form is clear:



(All the semibreves belong to the *tek* category.)

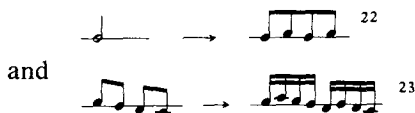
two (juxtaposed) *devr-i kebir* cycles (hence the $(2 \times) 28/4$ notation).²⁰ But, as is clearly shown both by the general maintenance of the 17th-century pattern of percussions and, equally importantly, by the melodic equivalences as mapped against the structure of the cycle, this should properly be viewed as an augmented form of a single *devr-i kebir* cycle,²¹ implying, therefore, other things being equal, a halving of the tempo of the melody, which now has twice its former span. (An even greater degree of retardation is of course suggested by adherence to the crotchet as the equivalent of Cantemir's 1, for if we attempt to apply to Example 3 the hypothesis that the original notation is a skeletal outline generating a melodic product similar to the modern one and, presumably, having a similar tempo, the consequence will be that Cantemir's crotchet will have a metronome mark of c15. Further, to take C201 (see Example 6) as another example, it will follow that a single note or pitch instruction could relate to some 20 seconds of melodic elaboration, and that the whole piece would last for some 45 minutes.)

1.2 17th-century notational practice

But the hypothesis of elaboration and retardation is not to be preferred on the above grounds alone, for a number of other arguments may be adduced in its favour. We may consider first the common ground between Cantemir and Ali Ufki. The notations of the latter are basically very similar to Cantemir's, but sometimes fuller, showing therefore (on the assumption that the tradition remained relatively stable during the approximately 50 years covering their two collections) that certain performance conventions may indeed be understood to apply to at least some of the pieces as represented by Cantemir. But these would be in no way comparable in degree to the melodic amplification in Example 1, let alone that in Examples 2 and 3, for the differences between the two 17th-century versions (ignoring obvious changes in the melodic line itself) amount to little more than rhythmic subdivision so that, say  (a substitution that might in any case simply reflect the playing technique of a particular instrument, in Ali Ufki's case the *santur*) and occasionally what were in all probability commonplace melodic embellishments whereby e.g.

²⁰ Where the other single-cycle form is indicated juxtaposition inevitably follows in the specific sense that two cycles are required to cover the same melodic ground as one 17th-century cycle. The necessary differentiation between the two juxtaposed cycles making up the compound *muzaaf devr-i kebir* form is recognized by Ungay (1981: 180-5) and Özkan (1984: 666). *Muzaaf devr-i kebir* is otherwise generally omitted from modern accounts of the *usul* system (Thibault 1906, Yekta 1922, Ezgi 2, Arel 1968 (which only deals in any case with the shorter cycles), Karadeniz 1981) although it presumably goes back at least to the 19th century. It is not, of course, listed by Cantemir.

²¹ That the relationship is one of augmentation rather than juxtaposition is correctly perceived (without recourse to the melodic evidence) in Seidel 1972-3.



Far more significant is the extremely high degree of congruence between the two, which may be illustrated by reference to the beginning of C201, a version of which is also included by Ali Ufki:²⁴

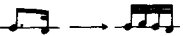
Example 6



(The upper line is Ali Ufki, the lower Cantemir.)

Since there is nothing to suggest that Cantemir knew Ali Ufki's notations,²⁵ the near identity of the two versions is most easily explained by the common sense conclusion, which would support the second hypothesis, that they are both reasonably faithful accounts of the piece as performed. For the first hypothesis to be accepted one would need to assume either that both authors had access to the pre-composed outline or, if they were notating from per-

²² This figure appears throughout the example of notation (a *semai* in *hicaz*) appended to Toderini 1787.

²³ Remarks on the relationship between modern scores and their realization in performance may be found in Reinhard 1967. A more detailed analysis elaborating the concept of 'Kern + Wendung' is contained in Oransay 1966: 36-40. With reference to the illustrative examples there adduced one may note that the kind of elaboration presented in Example 3 has become a score which in its turn may be further elaborated in performance. Comparison of the scores in Heper 1974: 471-81 with the performance on the UNESCO record (see n. 19) shows retention of the melodic outline as given, but with frequent additional grace notes in the instrumental (*ney*) parts, and amplifications of the type .

²⁴ Elçin 1976: 132

²⁵ Cantemir's theoretical treatise makes no mention of them, and however close Cantemir's notations sometimes are to Ali Ufki's one would have expected fewer or no divergences had he been using them as a source. Moreover given the large number of compositions common to both it is difficult to understand, if Cantemir were familiar with Ali Ufki's notations, why he should have omitted certain pieces in the earlier collection. This is especially so because one of the catalogues he provides lists titles of unknown (*nā ma' lūm*) pieces for which he was

formances, that the techniques of melodic elaboration were so stereotyped that the outline was readily recoverable by someone familiar with the idiom. It may be noted, moreover, that despite the long-established conceptual division in Islamic art-music, going back at least as far as the 9th century, between composition and embellishment, there is no evidence for any period, and certainly not for 17th-century Turkey, to indicate that a composition was ever transmitted in a form so widely at variance with its performance realization. For his own pieces at least Cantemir might be said to be providing the composer's score, and while these exhibit varying degrees of complexity some of them certainly do present a type of melodic outline hardly to be differentiated from that given by Ali Ufki who, to judge by his own remarks, was skilled at musical dictation,²⁶ and must be presumed to have recorded actual or memorized performances.

Ali Ufki also refers to choral singing,²⁷ in which there may have been a well-established tradition,²⁸ and the kind of elaboration entailed by the first hypothesis would only be conceivable in an ensemble if it were totally predictable, or if complex heterophony were the norm. It is true that the pieces being considered here are instrumental rather than vocal, but the likelihood must be that the relationship of composition to performance was similar in both contexts. Evidence for this may be drawn from the many *mehter* (military band) pieces notated by both authors,²⁹ for which, as iconographical sources demonstrate, ensemble performance was the norm, the melody being played in unison by the *zurnas*.³⁰ It may be concluded therefore that the *mehter* pieces were set down in a form relevant to ensemble performance, that is one which can have permitted only a very minor element of embellishment: yet apart from occasional fanfare-like passages suitable to the melodic limitations of trumpets, and the use of certain rhythmic formulae, in general they

evidently still searching and only some of which were eventually located and included in the notation section. Yet among the undetected pieces are some (e.g. in *hüseyini, alay düzen devri kebirî*, and a *darbeyn* by Solakzade; and in *neva* two *düyek* pieces by Beyazıt and Ahmet Bey) the descriptions of which match exactly pieces in Ali Ufki's collection, and while not all of these may have been the ones Cantemir had heard of it is inconceivable that none of them were, so that only ignorance of the Ali Ufki work explains his inability to locate them.

The full title of Cantemir's theoretical treatise is properly *Kitâb 'ilm al-mûsîqî 'alâ wajh al-hurûfât*, but it will be referred to by the more common, if spurious title *Edvar*. It is contained in the same manuscript as the notations (Y.2768), but with separate pagination. (Other manuscripts, in which the order of materials is altered, are to be found in İstanbul Üniversite Kütüphanesi T.1856 and T.5636.) The greater part of it has been published by B.Mensi (=H.S. Arel) in *Şehbal*, nos. 66–85, and the whole work became available in facsimile (with accompanying transcription and a version in modern Turkish) in Tura 1976. A translation (in Rumanian) may be consulted in Popescu-Judetzi 1973.

²⁶ Magni 1682: 356

²⁷ *ibid.* 355

²⁸ Uzunçarşılı 1977: 82 notes that Ahmet (d. 1513), son of Beyazıt II (1481–1512), had a salaried chorus ('maiyyetinde maaşlı koro. . .') while governor of Amasya.

²⁹ See for a general study of these Sanal 1964.

³⁰ This is also explicitly stated by Toderini (1787: 240). On the iconographical evidence see Reinhard 1981, which also includes material on art-music ensembles.

are not readily distinguishable from the art-music or Mevlevi pieces notated alongside them.³¹

It might nevertheless be argued that the *peşrevs* singled out for consideration here could have constituted a special sub-class relating to a particular performance context, requiring an exceptionally slow tempo, and hence both augmentation of the rhythmic cycle and elaboration of an otherwise too plain melodic line. But ensemble rather than solo performance was also the norm for the *peşrev* in the Mevlevi ceremony,³² so that anything approaching the order of elaboration exhibited by the 20th-century versions is hardly conceivable. One may point out further that there is no observable stylistic differentiation in the 17th-century notations between these pieces and many others in the same rhythm: nor is there any indication in Cantemir's theoretical writing of the subdivisions and concomitant extra percussions that the rhythmic cycle would almost certainly have been subject to had the tempo been as slow as it is now. The great majority of *devr-i kebir* pieces have similar melodic profiles, and must reasonably be thought to have been performed within the same broad tempo conventions. (It may be noted in this connection that *devr-i kebir* forms part of the compound rhythmic cycle *zencir*, in which at the tempo implied by the modern *muzaaf devr-i kebir* a single cycle would last for some four minutes, and a whole *peşrev* almost an hour.)³³

Such a tempo would also appear unrealistic when considered in relation to the notational practice of Ali Ufki. Whereas in the first 278 pieces in his collection Cantemir consistently employs the numeral 1 for each time unit in all rhythmic cycles, thereby providing no indication internally as to possibly normative tempo differentiations, Ali Ufki has in some cases a crotchet and in others a minim; and although more than one factor may well have been in-

³¹ Sanal (1964: (91–121) attempts to analyse the style of *mehter* pieces, but it is by no means clear that, fanfares apart, the main features examined would be sufficient to identify them unequivocally as such, since in many cases (particularly with regard to melodic parallelism) they can also be found in non-*mehter* pieces. The safest labels are perhaps still the external ones of title (e.g. *sancak* 'banner', *alay düzen* 'regimental/marching array', *hünkâr* 'emperor') and identification of the composer as *zurnazen* 'zurna-player' (as contrasted with e.g. *neyzen*, 'flautist' or *santurci* 'santurist').

³² Although for the 17th century iconographical confirmation is lacking. One may note, however, that 19th-century European representations of the Mevlevi dance show an ensemble: and that an 18th-century witness (Toderini, 1787: 241) comments 'I Dervis Meveli. . . Usano strumenti da fiato, e timpani, como vidi trovandome presente alle turbinose lor danze, ove celeramente s'aggirano quasi un palèo. Suonano finalmente il Nei. . .', which is theoretically interpretable as a generalization based on several solo performances, but is clearly much more likely to refer to group performance. That modern writers also consider ensemble performance to have been the norm in the late 17th century may be deduced from their use of the title *neyzenbaş*, designating the leader of the flute ensemble, in relation to Nayi Osman Dede, Cantemir's contemporary.

³³ Or sometimes even longer: the first piece in *zencir* in Cantemir's collection (p. 60, in *rast*, by Şerif) contains a total, with repeats, of 18 cycles. Rather briefer is Ezgi 2: 164, a transcription from Cantemir's notation of another piece in *zencir* (in *hüseynî*, by Muzafer, pp. 93–4) which suggests for Cantemir's 1 the value ♩ = 116, at which a single cycle lasts just over half a minute.