Cycles and Peripheries: An Ottoman Kitâb el Edvâr

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Cycles and Peripheries: An Ottoman *Kitâb el-Edvâr*[1]

Deniz Ertan

> There are literary, artistic, musical works which remain closed or only superficially accessible to even the most welcoming of perceptions. In short, the movement towards reception and apprehension does embody an initial, fundamental act of trust. . . . But without the gamble on welcome, no door can be opened when freedom knocks (George Steiner, *Real Presences*).

Introduction

Collections of Ottoman music theory treatises dating from the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries include *Edvâr*s,[2] also common to the traditions of Arab and Persian musics. The study of such treatises often ensures the link between the past and the present. Due to their interdisciplinary nature, *Edvâr*s invite philosophical/cosmological discussions, merging theoretical knowledge and aesthetic/ethical views by covering such diverse domains as music, language, poetics, astrology, theology, spirituality, numerology, and psychology. The present article examines a *Kitâb el-Edvâr* ("Book of Cycles"), a treatise on the theory of Ottoman-Turkish art music dating from 1477, housed at the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, Deansgate, as Turkish MS.148. This three-part study includes: (i) an exploration of the relevant socio-cultural background by briefly commenting on the literary and musical cosmography of Ottoman tradition; (ii) a presentation of a bibliographical description of the manuscript; and (iii) a consideration of the treatise from the perspectives of form and content. Inviting discourse on Ottoman-Turkish music, the article ultimately attempts to connect these areas by drawing together various aspects of context and idea.

As the material considered is a form common to other examples of *Edvâr*s, the present evaluation does not intend to constitute a unique class of its own, nor does it necessarily intend to be compared with other treatises on music theory. Further, it does not aim to eventually emphasize the *what* as much as to understand the *why* (*through* the written text), i.e. focusing on a deep-seated symbolic flow and perpetuity of substance rather than quantity. By doing so, the author hopes to link the network of musical, cosmological, and socio-cultural values

and concepts through an exploration of the philosophical ramifications of the notion of cyclicity. As Paul Ricoeur comments, "[t]o understand is not to project oneself into the text; it is to receive an enlarged self from the apprehension of proposed worlds which are the genuine object of interpretation" (1981, 182; cited in Trix 1993, 21–22).

It is also hoped that an investigation of another fragile and disremembered[3] music treatise encourages further research of Ottoman musicology and helps illuminate the musical and literary cosmography in relation to bibliographical features of such manuscripts. The audience of this article would primarily include area specialists in Ottoman music, regional specialists in the music(s) of Islamic and Near Eastern traditions, and theoretical specialists who are interested in intertextual relations.

The subject of this article, *Kitâb el-Edvâr,* belongs to the "Bibliotheca Lindesiana" collection of the library; this collection was purchased by Mrs. Rylands in 1901 from the Lindsay family whose bibliographical interests have a long history (1530–1930). The inception of this collection "is generally ascribed to John Lindsay, Lord Menmuir (d.1598)" (Matheson and Taylor 1976, 6). The fact that the Near Eastern manuscript collections of the John Rylands University Library came in large measure from other libraries and were "assimilated in whole or part into the Bibliotheca Lindesiana of Lord Crawford" (Hodgson 1999, 33), complicates the acquisition history of Turkish MS.148. Lord Crawford explained that the manuscripts, which had been collected by Nathaniel Bland (a member of the Royal Asiatic Society), "were purchased *en bloc* through Mr Quaritch" in 1866. While this rich collection consisted of 204 Arabic, 364 Persian, and 63 Turkish works, there was another large addition in 1868 with "the greater portion of the manuscripts collected by Colonel G. W. Hamilton, H. E. I. C., consisting of 303 Arabic, 407 Persian, and 7 Turkish MSS" (Crawford 1898, ix).

The manuscript is in good condition. The writing on the second of the binder's leaves is in French:[4] "*Kitab el adwâr* | traité de musique | en vers turcs | ____ | jolie écriture." The title page dedicates this "Book of Cycles" to "the Mighty Sultan." Although the name of the Sultan is not indicated, the date of completion stated in the colophon of the manuscript suggests that the Sultan mentioned on the title page is Mehmed II ("the Conqueror"), who reigned 1432–81. The colophon informs us that the treatise is by [Seyyid] Muhammed bin Abdullah el-Tirevî.

I. Socio-cultural Background

For thousands of years, Asia Minor has been a land of borders, of "in-betweens," as well as a bridge of cultural contact and exchange in opposite directions—between Asia and Europe, between north and south through the Caucasus to the

regions of North Africa. In view of present multiculturalist contexts, it may be particularly relevant to consider Ottoman musical culture as the sum of practices subsequently broken down into independent cultures and nations—such as the Balkans, the ex-Soviet Turkic countries and the Middle East. Having founded numerous states and nations—such as the Uighur Empire, the Ghaznavid State, the Mamluks, and the Seljuks—the definition of the identity of Turks alone can be a perplexing task. It has been argued that the "multinational demographic composition" of the Ottoman Empire accommodated "a broader perspective of the world and a higher interest in tolerating and accepting influences from outside," resulting in "a backdrop against which new ideas were projected with more freedom and audacity than in any other Islamic country." Eugenia Popescu-Judetz further notes that it was this "elaborate mark of complexity" that led to a Turkish identity (1996, 11). However, given that the term "Ottoman" has monolithic implications, caution is necessary—particularly due to "the potential inappositeness of a dynastic or political vocabulary for the classification of artistic phenomena" (Wright 1992, 21).

Kitâb el-Edvâr is written in Ottoman-Turkish.[5] One observes a multilingual flow: while the section titles throughout the manuscript are written in Persian and the main text is in Turkish, the title page and the colophon are written in Arabic. In Arabic the word *adwâr*—the plural of *daur*—refers to cycles, circles as well as to the phases of the moon. The influence of Persian and Arabic on Ottoman-Turkish and the use of the Arabic script generally present scholarly problems of citation and interpretation of the verses. The characters in the Arabic alphabet are ill-suited to Turkish, which has eight short vowels while Arabic distinguishes three. The consonant systems of these languages are also different. Because the study of surviving theoretical Islamic writings on music tends to present a number of difficulties—such as (i) vagueness of definitions, (ii) inconsistent, fluid, and ambiguous terminology, (iii) copying mistakes, (iv) heavily-eloquent poetic writing style, (v) omission of punctuation and/or short vowel signs—they "require long and thorough examination before definite statements can be made" (Shiloah 1993, IX: 20, 41).

Another conspicuous reason for the emergence of problematic definitions stems from centuries of bustling musical interactions between these cultures. As early as the tenth century, the Ikhwân al-Ṣafa, the group of scholars from Basra,[6] considered that

> every people of the human race possesses its own melodies and rhythms. . . . This is the case with the music of the Daylamites, the Turks, the Arabs, the Armenians, the Zenj [Ethiopians], the Persians, the Rûms [Byzantines] and other peoples who differ from each other in language, nature, character and customs. . . . All these are a function of the variety of the mixtures of the humours, of the diversity of natures, of the constitution of the body, of places and of periods (Shiloah 1993, III: 25–26).

While musicological comparisons between different Middle Eastern art musics have been subjected to broad generalizations, oversimplifications, and misconceptions,[7] it is true to say that their development has seen a high degree of reciprocal influence. Little is known about the roots of traditional Turkish art music, especially that of pre-Ottoman times (pre-1383). Further, during the period between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, a broadly understood art-music idiom prevailed "in all the major urban cultural centres of a region not easily defined with precision"; according to Owen Wright this idiom formed "the basis of the art-music patronized by the Ottoman court from the fifteenth century on" (1992, 6).

As a medium for the continuity and survival of tradition, Ottoman music ensured ritualistic, collective, and metaphysical contexts by blending the neoplatonic philosophy with communal identity. Hence, it carried within its complex multicultural setting a dialectical "dance" between commonality and difference. The Islamic neoplatonic notion that all returns back to the Source, the transcendent, the Absolute or the Unity of Being was developed particularly through the doctrines of al-Fârâbî (870–950), Ibn Sina (980–1037), and Ibn al-Arabî (1165–1240). Although neoplatonism hinted at the supremacy of the qualitative over the quantitative in the understanding of the universe, in essence, it attempted to connect the fundamentally mathematical, quantitative or atomistic viewpoints with the qualitative and the metaphysical to access the Divine. For the neoplatonists, the heavenly bodies exerted "their influence on the earth (and vice versa)" according to principles connected to the physical and mathematical properties of music (Gouk 2004, 102). In the East, the tradition of relating music to the celestial bodies could be traced back to the Ikhwân al-Ṣâfâ, who frequently highlighted the relationship between man and cosmos. While an intricate system of cosmological and numerological ideas were assimilated through a dynamic interaction between territories and cultures, such designations as the seven planets symbolizing the "voices"[8] of the celestial spheres became part of the collective imagery. Popescu-Judetz explains that the "allegory expresses in metaphoric imagery the essential truth that man stands in the center, and receives and conveys the higher truth through a network of musical entities" (2002, 165–66).[9]

To the medieval Turks, music represented a universal source of knowledge and wisdom, beyond the boundaries of geography, nation, and race: while Ottoman musical culture could be perceived as comprised of a delta of musical streams, its people embraced "an ideological superstructure which united the Ottoman element and the mythological non-Ottoman element with the international Muslim conception of the Science of Music and its 'lineage,' reaching back to medieval Islam and to Hellenic antiquity" (Feldman 1990, 1, 84). Because Ottoman art was primarily communal, i.e. marked by collective ownership, it aimed "to

expand awareness of the relatedness or integratedness of existence within those limits" (Andrews 1985, 184–85). Further, Ottoman music remained open toward and echoed other Middle Eastern discourses of cosmological symbolism—as reflected through the writings of such figures as Ikhwân al-Şafa and (the medieval philosopher, astronomer, and mathematician) Nasir al-Din Tusi (1201–74).

*Edvâr*s on Ottoman art music were often duplicates of or based on previous models. *Kitâb el-Edvâr* of Safî al-Dîn al-Urmawi (1230–94),[10] who is often referred to as the founder of the Systematist School, was a highly influential treatise in the Middle East.[11] The models of Abdülkadir Meragi (135?–1435) and of Hızır bin Abdullah (1421–51), for example, displayed the tendencies to borrow, reformulate, and/or filtrate, exemplifying an approach which nourished on a locus of musical experience. Hızır bin Abdullah combined speculative and practical knowledge, extracting "the discoursive configurations from Safiyüddin's models and placed them into a revaluated context" (Popescu-Judetz 1996, 69–71). The Turkish theorist Meragi's *Kitâb el-Edvâr* (written in Turkish) has also been acknowledged for its close ties with Safî al-Dîn's work. Among other significant theorists from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries were Ladikli Mehmet Çelebi, Emîr Şemseddin Zekeriya, Mevlânâ Celâleddin Fazlullah'ul-A'bidî, Hacı Râziyeddin Rıdvanşâh, Ömer Şah, and Şeyhü'l İslam Es'ad Efendi.

According to Walter Feldman, the years between 1450–1580 mark the "Transitional Era" of written Ottoman treatises—with Şirvânî, Seydî, Bedr-i Dilşad, Hızır bin Abdullah, Ahmed bin Şükrullah, and Şeyhî—as they began to "show both a new system of correlation of the notes names and mode names, and a new term for mode, *makam* . . . [and] the note/*makam*-note system was not part of classical Muslim musicological theory, whether written in the Arabic or the Persian languages" (1996, 36, 199).[12] However, Popescu-Judetz argues that Dimitrie Cantemir's [Kantemiroğlu] *Edvâr* (c. 1700) was "the first treatise on authentic Ottoman music" unlike previous Ottoman authors whose theoretical work, she adds, was largely based on "the idea of reproducing Systematist models and establishing a reconciliation between the Systematist approach and Ottoman musical experience" (1999, 9). Within the context of these treatises, particularly prior to the eighteenth century, it is possible to speak of an interplay between two forces, which can be regarded either as a healthy dynamic (a "dance") or, more pessimistically, as a "clash": a networking between subordination and equality, which could be ambiguous or elusive.

Cem Behar emphasizes an obstacle against any musicological study of traditional Ottoman music regarding the question of the reliability of *Edvâr*s. They were written neither by historians, nor by composers, nor by performers in most cases, thus, these music "theorists" and/or scribes often approached music in an abstract and speculative manner, aiming at a formation and maintenance of an ideal taxonomy (1987, 9–10). Such a gap between the composer/musician

and the theorist is likely to affect definitive readings on these writings as well, leading to historical misconceptions of the period in question. To illustrate, Behar questions why the names and types of *perde*s considerably differed from theorist to theorist, and whether this stemmed from the inevitable schism between performance practice and theory or was related instead to the variability of the names and numbers in question (2005, 77). *Perde,* generally referring to "fret" or "interval," is highly complex even as a term, since it was closely associated with the *makam* system but underwent much diffusion and amalgamation across the Middle East.

One major aspect with such primarily oral traditions as Turkish art music was loyalty: to ancestors as well as to the ideological principles and presuppositions that united different generations. The continuity of tradition constituted the basis of the *meşk* tradition of conveying musical knowledge through teacher-student relationship, which lasted from about the fifteenth [if not earlier] to early twentieth century. While it is difficult to establish a definitive platform of what is "original" or "primary," it is not possible to expect an exact word-to-word copying of knowledge among generations of scribes, either. At times, the data can be controversial with no general agreement on variants or versions—once again raising such questions and issues as loyalty, originality, correctness, and authenticity. Thus it is crucial for the researcher to consider carefully the traditionally-accepted approaches that are represented by the time, place, and culture in question.

As recent as the 1930s, Ibnülemin M. K. Inal urged *hattat*s (calligraphers) and composers in his *Hoş Sadâ* (published in 1958) primarily to serve science and not personal interests, commenting that "Science does not serve worldly pleasures and comforts (*keyf*). Pleasure has an obligation towards science" (1958, 10). The poetic text exemplified by *Edvâr*s suggests not only the acts of learning but also of contemplation. The Ikhwân aimed "to release the bonds of the reader's soul by awakening in him the knowledge of the exalted harmony and the beauty of all created things, and the knowledge that man will progress beyond material experience" (Shiloah 1993, III: 6). While *Edvâr*s tended not to adopt a predominantly didactic approach that focused on the practical, technical or theoretical aspects of music, they frequently invited the reader to contemplate on the intrinsic link between the sciences of proportions—music, planets, numbers—mirroring the basic laws of Nature.

Classical Ottoman verse functioned like a gate or a channel through which life and art could "flow," serving as a reservoir of text, signification, illustration, and knowledge. Within this literary tradition, which was fully established by the latter half of the fifteenth century, the *divân* poetry became "the poem-text sung by a whole culture—centuries in the making, the labor of many minds" (Andrews 1985, 5, 11). Further, the *manzum* (versified) style with the

rhythmic aspect of *aruz*[13] facilitated the process of learning, sustaining the cultural "memory." Poetry and music were particularly regarded as Divine art forms, often to be contemplated with respect to cosmological theories. Victoria Rowe Holbrook notes that Ottoman poetry "in general assumes a distinction between 'this world' and 'that,' this temporal world and that divine eternity . . . [and] the structure of the universe, or macrocosm, corresponds to that of the human microcosm" (1994, 5). Poets frequently raised subjective experience to the level of archetypes, embracing the general and the relatable. Poetics aimed to project the knowledge of the Divine by embracing universal symbolism. As Walter G. Andrews explains, "the focus of this type of art is on symbols that transcend the time and place of any individual work or the experiences of any individual artist, and . . . such symbols are selected because they have a lasting or archetypal relationship to an 'ideal' reality" (1985, 186). Sharing a common discourse and space, *Edvâr*s also integrated a unified structure of interrelations, implications and idealized symbols: often, more than the text itself, it was its microcosmic existence that was heavy with "meaning." Given that ritual "is the medium which conveys, re-enacts, teaches intuitively, and binds" (Trimingham 1998, 147), they may also be regarded as part of a collective ritual.

Because the notion of cycles had both theoretical and philosophical connotations, many Arab, Persian, and Ottoman treatises on music theory were entitled "Book of Cycles." *Makam*s[14] and especially *usûl*s (rhythmic modes) were often illustrated through cyclic charts. An *usûl* exemplifies "the patternization of time" and is composed of *düzüm*s. Given that *düzüm* (*ikâ'* in its old usage) represents "unity in time" (Özkan 1990, 561), *usûl* as a general notion embraces and contains both aspects of time, *viz.* fragmentation and unity. Within the context of Ottoman music, the notion of "cyclicity" has often been suggestive also of compound forms and aspects of performance practice. Particularly from the sixteenth century onwards, the development of cyclical formats became a distinctive aspect of Ottoman music: the "various types of modal combination and modulation, melodic improvisation, and composed forms all must be understood within this overarching cyclicity" (Feldman 1996, 177).

Feldman further explains that "the Ottomans were the first group in the Middle East proper to arrange their entire secular and one major Sufi repertoire as a cycle, the first group to create an independent instrumental cycle, and the only group to maintain for centuries the connection between individual cycles and/or cycle items and individual named musicians" (1990, 1, 83–84).[15] And by the late sixteenth century, two distinct concert forms for *makam* music—*fasıl* and *âyîn*—were established and characterized by their cyclical formats, distinguishing Ottoman music. One can see such an emphasis on the notion of cyclicity in the way Cantemir describes the *makam* of *çargâh* as well: "It takes its own note

as the axis of the circle, and whether ascending or descending, it announces itself by means of the note çargâh (c)" (c. 1700, *Kitâb-i 'Ilmü'l Mûsîkî ala Vechi'l-Hurûfât,* III:29; cited in Feldman 1996, 196). One can regard the cycle, hence the term *Edvâr,* as an "iconic"[16] concept, because, as a symbol, it binds and unites people, cultures, music, languages, and Nature.

The understanding of the cyclic nature of life as part of the general Eastern thought often accommodates the idea of each cycle extracting itself from a previous one, which is an aspect also found within the symbolic contexts of certain other Western and non-Western metaphysical systems. The planets and their orbital movements were highly symbolic of celestial perfection, unity, and of the transcendental—all of which were also conceived to be inherently embedded within the art of music. Frequently, the numbers four, seven, and twelve were symbolically distinguished and dignified. The number seven has had special significance in classical antiquity, in the ancient Orient, and in such holy texts as the Bible, and was often associated with the accepted seven planets of the age. While the significance of the number twelve in Middle Eastern cultures goes back to the times of Farâbî or even as early as the Mesopotamian civilizations, it carried "the wide range of macrocosmic associations that had crystallized around the signs of the zodiac," and it is "a multiple of four, the number of the strings of the lute which, from al-Kindî onwards, had been linked with several sets of phenomena or concepts arranged in fours (e.g. the humours, seasons, elements)" (Wright 1978, 86).

The number four, however, which has a much wider Islamic significance, was often linked with the four elements as well as the four seasons, corresponding to the four distinct parts of the day—(spring) morning, (summer) noon, (autumn) dusk, and (winter) night. While the Ikhwân identified three stages of self-knowledge and four degrees of human perfection, the Pythagorean symbolism—which was adopted by the neoplatonists—regarded three and four as "numbers of the cosmos, three representing the soul and four, matter" (Heninger 1974, 152–78; cited in Meisami 1997, 45). Soul and matter merge at the "sum" point of three and four, forming the sum (seven) of mankind as a microcosmic whole (Papadopoulo 1979, 102; cited in Meisami 1997, 46).

Concordantly, while the *Mevlevî* dervishes referred to each other as "*ihvan-kardeşler*" [*ihvan*-brothers] (Gölpınarlı 1953, 435), the *semâ'-hâne* (ritual-ceremony hall) is a circle in itself; the Path, uneven and unsteady, consists of ascents and descents between man and Absolute Being, between the material and the spiritual. The *semâ*s (spiritual audition) that follow the greetings symbolize the whirling of three different skies: (i) of celestial bodies, (ii) of the sun, and (iii) of the moon. The first of these cycles corresponds to the subjective cycle in the realm of the Spirits/Angels, the second to the spiritual cycle in the

realm of the Omnipotent, and the third represents the cycle of the Unknown in the Godly realm. There is one more cycle, which follows the fourth greeting and resembles no other realm: it belongs solely to man (Gölpınarlı 1953, 384). And while circling the *semâ'-hâne* three times corresponds to the three stages of knowing, finding, and being, circling four times during the *fasıla*s (intervals) symbolizes Law, Sect [Order], Truth, and Skill (Gölpınarlı 1953, 386). The subject of this article lists twelve *makam*s, seven *âvâze*s ("voice": secondary modes corresponding to planets) and four *şube*s ("branch" or "ramification": another secondary entity), which, in the context of *Edvâr*s, represent different *makam* systems.[17] Although the order and selection of each *makam, âvâze* and *Şube* could differ in every *Edvâr,* these numbers would almost always have a symbolic significance.

It would be fair to suggest that the subject of this article is a concise, non-illustrative, and simple reformulation of Systematist models (as represented by Hızır bin Abdullah)—although it does not adopt a didactic approach of question and answer, for example—as illustrated by the Hızır model.[18] While the treatise excludes any listing of or commentary on the rhythmic cycles, and any analytical discussions on forms, it also omits what Wright calls "a major element" in the Systematic writing, which is "the mathematical analysis of intervals and the consequent definition of the tetrachord species, which were perceived to be the basic building blocks of the modal system" (2000, 10). In the treatise, no terminological definitions are offered either. Providing the reader with a list of names (mainly of *makam*s), the poetic discourse excludes natural and therapeutic descriptions, correlations and charts.[19] In this respect, the *Edvâr* is more like a condensed model that does not aim a "break" within the tradition. And although the extent to which it mimics and recalls earlier Ottoman and non-Ottoman models is by no means a simple task, one can propose that it enables the continuity of a common poetic discourse that is more static than dynamic. Unlike Cantemir's treatise, for example—whose ideas are presented much less speculatively and more scientifically and didactically—what this study intends to convey is a faithful reverence whose significance is more cosmological than pedantic.

In the next section, the treatise will be considered as a physical object. How should the act of bibliographical description best be presented or justified in the case of this *Edvâr*? Laurence Picken correctly explained that the act of classifying is often an intuitive process, demanding "no conscious discrimination of characters nor verbal formulation of definitions" (1975, 558). On closer critical—as well as "intuitive"—examination, the commentary to follow intends to reflect on the set of measures and connotations, which presuppose the (often hard-to-pin-down) relationship between object and meaning.

II. Bibliographical Remarks

The *aruz* verse form stands as an important formal characteristic not only of the Ottoman *Divân* poetry but also in this *Kitâb el-Edvâr;* it mainly consists of two, four, or six lines and the rhyme works as a-a, b-b, c-c (and so on). Occasionally, additional notes have been written outside the *varak* (i.e. frames, literally meaning "leaf"). While some of these words merely refer to the content of the verse–on pages [2], [3], [20], [32], and [47b (bottom)]–others are short indications on the type of *aruz* used in that particular section–on pages [4], [10], [15], [16], [21], [22], [26], [29], [34], [43], [46], and [47a (top)]. To illustrate the first type, [47], the second inscription marks the subject matter discussed as "Concerning reciting." And an example of the second type [29] is the description of the *aruz* meter, given as *"Bahr-i Hezec Müseddes."*

The manuscript is unpaginated. The collation displays an irregular structure with the 6-leaf and 8-leaf gatherings with the additional pasted leaves of A7 and C9. (Occasionally in Islamic manuscripts, odd numbers may be produced by the tipping on of an extra sheet; sheets "folded in four or eight might also be wrapped around one another to give gatherings of 8, 12 or 16 leaves" (Bosch 1981, 38).) The collation here consists of 2 in 6s and 8s, A^6 A7, B^8, C^8 C9: with 24 leaves in total. One possible reason for the irregularity of collation is that Islamic books were frequently written on loose leaves or sheets of gatherings before they were bound: "Even quite lengthy manuscripts . . . were not necessarily sewn and bound, but after writing might be simply collated in the correct order of pages, the edges trimmed to produce an even volume, and a portfolio constructed to house the whole unit" (Bosch, Carswell, and Petherbridge 1981, 45).

The paper of the main body of the manuscript has no watermarks. It reveals no chain lines[20] and all edges are trimmed. The paper is generally in good condition despite the foxing stains possibly caused by humidity, which is particularly the case toward the end of the manuscript. Although there are no tears or damage, there is some evidence of repair. These minor reparations occur near the spine mostly with little pieces of paper pasted onto the original paper, indicating a second treatment of the manuscript pages, probably from the time of binding. (One example is at the bottom of page [18] ($B2^b$) with a pasted piece of paper near the edge of the spine, which seems to belong to a period later than the fifteenth century since it conceals a part of an additional script written at the bottom of the page.) Throughout the manuscript, added scripts tend to appear near the spine at the bottom of pages [4], [14], [16], [18], [20], [22], [24], [26], [32], [34], and [38].

The actual paper of the manuscript has a rather smooth and brilliant quality as it was common of Islamic writing papers to have a highly burnished surface. The Turks acquired a reputation for the burnishing of paper, and it is recorded that even "imported European paper was reburnished before use" (Bosch, Carswell,

and Petherbridge 1981, 37). After Islamic papers were formed and dried flat, they went through two processes of burnishing: (i) the *ahar,* and (ii) the *mühre.* There were three purposes for this: (i) to allow the pen—made of reed—to glide easily on the surface of the paper; (ii) to prevent the absorption of ink by the paper; and (iii) to avoid the appearance of ink on the verso of the paper. Then the paper would not absorb the ink and the process would help to fill in the pores of the paper; in the case of a calligraphic mistake its correction could be feasible. The paper used to be *ahar*ed through the application of a special mixture consisting of (sugar-free) starch (usually of rice flour and egg white); after this mixture was left to dry, the *mühre* process of burnishing would add a shiny, polished quality to the paper.[21]

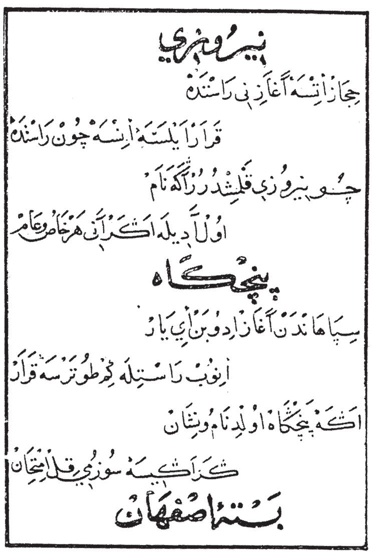
Each page has black outlined gold *varak*s, which are carefully drawn with precise alignment for the best effect of uniformity on the two sides of the leaves. Their size varies between 11½ cm × 7¾ cm and 12 cm × 8 cm. While the title page [1] consists of seven lines, the main text displays eleven lines. The approximate measurement of the margins on each page is 3–3½ cm (left), 2–3 cm (top), 1½ cm (right), and 2–3 cm (bottom). Further, with the exception of the title page, each page reveals eleven dry-point lines. In Islamic manuscripts, after the gatherings were formed, "indented blind lines could be ruled on the leaves to guide the even spacing of the lines of written text and margins and to create a unity of layout throughout the book" (Bosch, Carswell, and Petherbridge 1981, 41).

Like the *meşk* tradition of conveying musical repertory through many centuries of teacher-apprentice relationships, masters also taught scribes to make their own ink,[22] to *ahar,* to burnish paper, and finally to write in the numerous calligraphic styles of the time. (Crucially, the *Mevlevî* interest in calligraphy reflects a devotion to the Divine—the "word" of God—and points to the significance of geometry whereby each letter accomodates the notions and values of discipline, symmetry, and harmony.) The most common styles used in the art of Turkish calligraphy are generally listed as *nesih, sülüs, tevkî, celî, kufî, tâ'lik, rik'â, divânî,* and *muhakkak* (Ülker [1987], 12). Turkish calligraphers especially favored *nesih*[23] for its simplicity and straightness of line. The calligraphic style in which *Kitâb el-Edvâr* was written is *nesih,* which can be described as a more "realistic" and less decorative or romantic style than *sülüs.* However, it is the latter of these that characterizes the title page as well as the section titles of the treatise (see figures 1 and 2). The title page and the section titles were first written in an opaque gold ink, and each letter or joined group of letters was subsequently outlined in black.

The manuscript has no decorative elements. Three aspects are (i) the motifs on the title page; (ii) illuminated full stops; and (iii) the *varak*s. The title page is the only page where *all* scripts are written in black-outlined gold as well as in the style of *sülüs.* (When examined closely, it becomes evident that the gold script

هذا
كتاب الادوار
خلد ملكه
وسلطنته

Figure 1: Title page, p.[1], A1[a].



پیروزی
حجاز اتشه آغاز نی راستدن
قرارا یلسه ارنسه چون راستدن
چو پیروزی قلمشدر آگه نام
اولادیله اکرانی هر خاص وعام
پنجگاه
سپاهاندن آغاز ادوبن ای یار
ارنوب راستله کرطوترسه قرار
اکه پنجگاه اولدی نام ونشان
کزاکیسه سوزمی قل امتحان
بسته اصفهان

Figure 2: An example from the main text, p.[12], A6[b].

is applied first and the black outline later.) This is also the only page to include decorative elements using the colors blue and burgundy as well as gold in the two identical three-leaf motifs, one located at the top and the other at the bottom of the ornamented frame. (The function of the Islamic manuscript title pages "have been primarily the embellishment of the books in which they appeared" [McMurtrie 1943, 559–60].) A second type of decoration emerges with the little decorative full stops—again in black-outlined gold—throughout the main text, appearing on pp. [2], [3], [10], and [47]. *Varak*s, the third decorative element, are also in black-outlined gold, and they typically leave plenty of margin. (The *varak* of the title page, however, is drawn first in black ink and then gold.)

The manuscript is bound in black leather. Front and back covers are decorated with four gilded lines of frame with the third line being thicker in a braided pattern. Both covers and the spine are blank. It is firm with no evidence of repair. There are three blank binder's leaves; the first and the second ones appear before the title page, and the third at the very end of the main body of the text. Unlike the second blank page, the first and the last of these European papers are pasted on the decorated yellow lining papers. European paper was used frequently in the Ottoman court in the second half of the fifteenth century; Italy—especially Venice—and France supplied much of the imported paper with watermarks of Ottoman and/or Muslim significance, such as the crescent, the star, and the crown (Bosch, Carswell, and Petherbridge 1981, 30). The only watermark in *Kitâb el-Edvâr* appears in its single blank binder's leaf. Because of the different and relatively much newer quality of the leaf and the watermark—which reads "F I N D E" in Latin script—one can identify this particular paper as European. (It is probable that the paper dates roughly from the eighteenth or the nineteenth century, and that the watermark refers to either initials or a name.) The lining papers consist of colored papers decorated with silvery dots: those that are pasted on both of the inner covers of the binding are pink, whereas those facing the pink lining papers are in yellow. Because they have a relatively new look, both the binding—which is not typically Ottoman[24]—and the binder's leaves may suggest that the document was perhaps [re-]bound in Europe.[25]

The sewing of the book appears to be Ottoman, however. Two clues may suggest this: (i) the stitching technique, and (ii) the use of colored silk threads. The sewing of the binding displays the "chain stitch" technique.[26] Colored silk threads are used for the sewing (the endband is in red silk, the other, running through the middle of the spine, is in blue.) Noteworthy in Islamic manuscripts is "the frequent use of a sewing thread, of linen or often silk (frequently colored), which is much too thin for the binding function it should perform, and which characteristically breaks down" (Bosch, Carswell, and Petherbridge 1981, 46). There is a broken (blue) thread in this manuscript, as well, in its third gathering (C^8–C9).

III. Transcriptions, Structure, Content

The book is in seven main parts:

1. Title page;
2. Prayer and praise to God;
3. Introductory verses to *makam*s, *âvâze*s, *şube*s and *terkip*s;[27]
4. List of compound *makam*s [*terkip*s];
5. Discourses on the performance times of *perde*s, the suitable *perde*s according to personality types [human temperaments], the relationship between the twelve *makam*s and the twelve signs of the zodiac, the relationship between the seven *âvâze*s and the seven planets, the nature of *şube*s, the birth of *âvâze*s, and on the petitions;
6. Conclusion; and
7. Colophon.

The section titles are written in gold ink and in Persian (the scripts being subsequently outlined in black). Starting from page [4], they appear as outlined in figure 3.

A1[a]: [Title page] (p.[1]) |
A1[b]–A2[b]: [Prayer and Praise to God] (pp.[2–4]) |
A2[b]–A3[a]: "*Ender Nâmhâ-yı Düvûzdeh Makâm*" [Concerning the Twelve *Makam*s] (pp.[4–5]) | A3[a]: "*Ender Nâmhâ-yı Âvâzhâ-yı Heftgâne*" [Concerning the Seven *Âvâze*s] (p.[5]) | A3[b]: "*Ender Nâmhâ-yı Çihar Şu'eb*" [Concerning the Four *Şube*s] (p.[6]) | A3[b]–A5[b]: "*Ender Nâmhâ-yı Terâkîb*" [Concerning *Terkip*s] (pp.[6–10]) | A5[b]–A6[a]: "*Rubaî*" [Four-line Poem on *Terkip*s] (pp.[10–11]) | A6[a]: "*Beyân-ı Mebde'hâ-yı Karârhâ-yı Terâkîb*" [The Beginning of *Karâr*s[28] in *Terkip*s] (p.[11]) |
A6[a]: "*Beste Nigâr*" (p.[11]) | A6[b]: "*Niyrûzî*" (p.[12]) | A6[b]: "*Pençgâh*" (p.[12]) | A6[b]–A7[a]: "*Beste-yi İsfahân*" (pp.[12–13]) | A7[a]: "*İsfahânek*" (p.[13]) | A7[a]–A7[b]: "*Zirkeş Hâverân*" (pp.[13–14]) | A7[b]: "*Zirkeşîde*" (p.[14]) | A7[b]–B1[a]: "*Aşirân*" (pp.[14–15]) | B1[a]: "*Nigâr*" (p.[15]) | B1[a]–B1[b]: "*Gerdânide Nigâr-ı Rubaî*" (pp.[15–16]) | B1[b]: "*Gerdânide Bûselik Rubaî*" (p.[16]) | B1[b]: "*Muhayyer*" (p.[16]) | B2[a]: "*Vech-i Hüseynî*" (p.[17]) | B2[a]–B2[b]: "*Karcıgâr*" (pp.[17–18]) | B2[b]: "*Rûy-ı Irâk*" (p.[18]) | B2[b]: "*Müsteâr*" (p.[18]) | B3[a]: "*Nühüft*" (p.[19]) | B3[a]: "*Zavilî*" (p.[19]) | B3[a]–B3[b]: "*Müberka*" (pp.[19–20]) | B3[b]: "*Zemzeme*" (p.[20]) | B3[b]–B4[a]: "*Nevrûz-ı Rûmî*" (pp.[20–21]) | B4[a]: "*Rekb-i Rubaî*" (p.[21]) | B4[a]: "*Rekb-i Nevrûz*" (p.[21]) | B4[b]: "*Zirefkend Rubaî*" (p.[22]) | B4[b]: "*Sâzkâr*" (p.[22]) | B4[b]–B5[a]: "*Sipihr*" (pp. [22–23]) | B5[a]: "*Hüseyn-i Acem*" (p.[23]) | B5[a]–B5[b]: "*Uzzal*" (pp.[23–24])

| B5[b]: "*Nihâvend*" (p.[24]) | B5[b]: "*Humâyun*" (p.[24]) | B6[a]: "*Nihâvend-i Rûmî*" (p.[25]) | B6[a]: "*Hisar-ı Evc*" (p.[25]) | B6[a]–B6[b]: "*Rast Maye-i Ferd*" (p.[25–26]) | B6[b]: "*Nevrûz-ı Acem*" (p.[26]) | B6[b]: "*Çargâh-ı Acem*" (p.[26]) | B6[b]–B7[a]: "*Bahr-ı Nâzik*" (pp.[26–27]) | B7[a]: "*Hisâr*" (p.[27]) | B7[a]–B7[b]: "*Hisârek*" (pp.[27–28]) | B7[b]: "*Hicâz-ı Büzürk*" (p.[28]) | B7[b]–B8[a]: "*Muhâlifek Ferd*" (p.[28–29]) | B8[a]: "*Hicâz-ı Mühalif*" (p.[29]) | B8[a]–B8[b]: "*Rahat-ül Ervâh Rubaî*" (pp.[29–30]) | B8[b]: "*Nevâ-yı Aşirân*" (p.[30]) | B8[b]: "*Irâk Maye*" (p.[30]) | C1[a]: "*Segâh-ı Acem*" (p.[31]) | C1[a]: "*Dügâh-ı Acem*" (p.[31]) | C1[a]–C1[b]: "*Rast-ı Acem*" (pp.[31–32]) | C1[b]: "*Sebz ender sebz*" (p.[32]) | C1[b]–C2[a]: "*Nişâbürek*" (pp.[32–33]) | C2[a]: "*Irâk-ı Acem*" (p.[33]) | C2[a]: "*Hicâz-ı Acem*" (p.[33]) | C2[a]–C2[b]: "*Segâh Maye*" (pp.[33–34]) |
C2[b]: "*Nigâr-ı Nik Rubai*" (p.[34]) | C2[b]–C3[a]: "*Uzzal Acem*" (pp.[34–35]) | C3[a]–C5[a]: "*Güftâr Ender Beyân-ı Sâ'ât-i Perdeha*" [A Discourse on the Hours of *Perde*s] (pp.[35–39])| C5[a]–C5[b]: "*Güftâr ber Beyân-ı Münâsib Perdehâ ber Merdümân*" [A Discourse on the Appropriate *Perde*s according to Personality Types] (pp.[39–40]) |
C5[b]–C6[b]: "*Güftâr Ender Beyân-ı Ta'alluk-i Düvûzde Makâm Bedüvâzde Burûc ve der Tabi'at-ı Îsân*" [A Discourse on the Relationship between the Twelve *Makam*s and the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac] (pp.[40–42]) |
C6[b]–C7[b]: "*Güftâr Ender Beyân-ı Ta'alluk-i Heft Âvâzhâ be Heft Ahter*" [A Discourse on the Relationship between the Seven *Âvâze*s and the Seven Planets] (pp.[42–44]) |
C7[b]: "*Güftâr Ender Beyân-ı Tabi'at-ı Şu'eb*" [A Discourse on the Nature of *Şube*s] (p.[44]) |
C7[b]–C8[a]: "*Güftâr Ender Beyân-ı Cevellüd-i Âvâzhâ*" [A Discourse on the Birth of the *Âvâze*] (pp.[44–45]) |
C8[b]: "*Güftâr Ender Beyân-ı Esvile*" [A Discourse on Petitions] (p.[46]) |

C9[a]–C9[b]: "*Hâtime*" [Conclusion] (pp.[47–48]) |

C9[b]: [Colophon] (p.[48]).

Figure 3: Section headings within the *Kitâb el-Edvâr.*

The length of the main sections suggests an arch-like structure with the main areas of 1, 3, 8, 25, 12 and 2 pages:

Pages	**Section**	**Total**
1	[title page]	[1 p.]
2–4	[prayer]	[3 pp.]
4–11	[introduction to *makam*s, *âvâze*s, *şube*s, *terkip*s]	[8 pp.]
11–35	[compound *makam*s]	[25 pp.]
35–46	[all discourses—on *perde*s/hours/personality types, *makam*s/zodiacs, *âvâze*s/planets, *şube*s, *âvâze*s, petitions]	[12 pp.]
47–48	[conclusion, colophon]	[2 pp.]

Given that this is a "Book of Cycles," one may be tempted to consider a degree of structural symbolism to secure the notion of cycles as a philosophical and aesthetic basis. In Islamic ideology and geometry, the Divine Revelation frequently reflects "a visually perceptible artistic creativity of comparable unity" with a culturally normative value (Grabar 1988, 150). However, more substantial to the present study is the exemplification of a hierarchic and symbolic system; a four-fold categorization system of *perde, şube, âvâze,* and *terkip* was developed during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, embracing extra-musical phenomena. Closely linked to extra-musical significance, the division in this *Edvâr* does not depend on musical grounds, either. On a deeper level, when a mythical field "takes multiple forms like images of the same scene reflected in parallel mirrors, with each mirror possessing specific properties," for each image or unit, "a new law of symmetry emerges" (Lévi-Strauss 1984, 55). If this system indicates a certain hierarchy "reflected in parallel mirrors," the overall criteria of categorization are bound to be open-ended. Because they continued to change in meaning and usage over the centuries—as the theoretical sources are not entirely consistent in the classification of *perde, şube, âvâze,* and *terkip*—it is difficult to distinguish between these modal entities.

Such written works often contained "very little biographical data" and "no personal anecdotes" because of the "strong tendency toward mythologization . . . in favor of archetypal patterns" (Feldman 1990, 1:86). However, one inevitably needs to tackle the questions of "why" and "for what reader/audience" these treatises were written before moving on to the particularities. One can assume that the intended reader and/or student would be learned and skilled in approaching and grasping the text. It is also likely that the Sultan, to whom most *Edvâr*s were dedicated, provided the ideal "reader" model. As the Ottoman Empire continued to gain strength and power through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the support of the palace toward the art of book-making and their craftsmen also increased—particularly through an administrative system that appointed a number of protectors and benefactors/benefactresses to support the artists (Mahir 2004, 23). *Edvâr*s would typically and traditionally be dedicated to the Sultan for the honorary reception and appreciation of the content and the art of calligraphy put into the work. Murat II (1404–51) and Mehmed II (1432–81) were among the Sultans who embraced music as a medium of art and science, encouraging and welcoming the making and rendering of music treatises. (The *Edvâr* by Hızır bin Abdullah is one of the famous books that were presented to Murat II; *Fâtih Anonimi* by Abdülaziz Çelebi and *Nekaavetü'l-Edvâr* by Abdülkadir Meragi were dedicated and presented to Mehmed II, who was himself an artistically gifted sovereign.) And since "music was from the early formation of the Ottoman empire the foremost respected and beloved activity elevated to the highest dignity" (Popescu-Judetz 1996, 11–12), it is not surprising

that the Ottoman rulers "awarded special privileges to purveyors of the arts and to culture," extending "their favour and support to poets, musicians, painters, *littérateurs* and historians" (Shiloah 1995, 89).

Kitâb el-Edvâr is also dedicated to the Sultan [Mehmed II], who is glorified and praised in the title page, written in Arabic; page [1] (A1[a]) reads:

> This is the book of cycles written for the mighty Sultan who embellishes the times and the ages like no other, and the turning heavens will never bring his like again. May his reign be blessed.

The colophon section (in the second half of the final page, constituting the last five lines of the manuscript) is also in Arabic and seems to suggest an autograph copy. (And as the language shifts from Turkish to Arabic, the calligraphic style also changes from *nesih* to what appears to be *divâni*.) Due to the stained quality of the paper, possibly caused by humidity, part of the scribe/author's name and the stated date are almost illegible; it states the date of completion and the name of the scribe/author as follows:

> Praising and praying, and ever blessing [God] until the day of Judgement, the copying of this *Edvâr* was finished on Friday the 26th of the blessed [month of] Ramadan in the afternoon by the hand [*ʿalâ yad*] of the humblest of [God's] servants, Saiyid Muhammed ibn ʿAbdallâh al-Tîrawî in the year 881. May the Bountiful [God] forgive them.[29]

In the Christian calendar, the day of completion corresponds to Friday, January 12, 1477. The place where the copy was written is not indicated. "Tirevî" points to Tire (in Western Turkey) as the author's place of origin—although, in his case, he was given the name Tirevî after having established himself as a *müderris* (teacher) at the *medrese* in Tire. Muhammed bin Abdullah el-Tirevî (d.1494) is also known as "Kadızâde-i Tirevî," "Kâsım bin Kadızâde," "Muhammed Kadızâde Tirevî," and "Şakâyık." The title of *Kadı*(*zâde*) was given to him because of his father, who was a judge in Kastamonu (Uygun 1990, 15).[30]

To the present author's knowledge, Tirevî appears to have two other music treatises in addition to (John Rylands MS.148): *Der Makâle-i Mûsikî-i Edvâr* (often referred to as *Kadızâde-i Tirevî Edvârı,* housed at Ankara Milli Kütüphanesi as MS.FB563), and *Musikî Risalesi.* There are five known copies of *Musikî Risalesi* in Turkey, dating from different periods (much later, between 1676–1849).[31] *Kadızâde-i Tirevî Edvârı* (33 pp.), like *Kitâb el- Edvâr,* dates from the 1470s;[32] hence both treatises were produced during Tirevî's lifetime. The three works in question do not share an identical content; additionally, the works differ considerably in layout and presentation. To illustrate, *Musikî Risalesi* includes two stories about the effect of music on animals, references to such theorists as Pythagoras, Ibn-i Sinâ, Şerefiyye, Kâtip Çelebi, Farâbî, and Kemaleddin Buharî, and to the instruments, tanbur, çenk, kanun, miskâl, and ney. Although all three

works consider the same twelve *makam*s, seven *âvâze*s, and four *şube*s, the listed number of *terkip*s is different in each treatise: *Kitâb el- Edvâr,* 54, *Kadızâde-i Tirevî Edvârı,* 48, and *Musikî Risalesi,* 45. For *Kitâb el- Edvâr,* the variants (in relation to the common "pool" of *terkip*s from all three treatises) are as follows: while it **excludes** *Mâhûr, Türkî Hicâz, Beste Hisâr, Acem, Acem Aşîrân, Sünbüle, Nihâvend-i Kebir, Nihâvend-i Sağır, Nevâ-yı Uşşak, Nevâ-yı Acem, Hûzî, Gülizâr, Çargâh Hüseynî, Nikrîz;* it [alone] **includes** *Niyrûzî, Gerdânide Nigâr* [spelled as "*Gerdâniye*" in other treatises], *Rekb-i Nevrûz, Zirefkend* [although a *makam*], *Hüseyn-i Acem, Nihâvend, Rast Maye, Hisâr* [although an *âvâze*], *Hicâz-ı Büzürk, Irâk Maye, Segâh-ı Acem, Dügâh-ı Acem, Rast-ı Acem, Sebz ender sebz, Irâk-ı Acem, Hicâz-ı Acem, Segâh Maye, Nigâr-ı Nik, Uzzal Acem.* In layout and presentation, compared to the other above-mentioned treatises, it is *Kitâb el- Edvâr* that uses the paper most generously, and presents the content in a manner that is most appealing to the eye—perhaps indicative of a wealthy and powerful commissioner.[33]

Rather than focusing on the *what* or presenting any innovative theories of music, *Kitâb el- Edvâr* appears to embrace the *why,* i.e. quality rather than quantity or extensive specification. Through the treatise, the author/scribe acts as a mediator of the content of *Edvâr*s; since such texts would rarely emerge as entirely original models, what is paramount is the ability to hand down a ubiquitous theoretical and socio-cultural cognition. By doing so, the treatises validate both the resoluteness of the past and the pliability of the future. Popescu-Judetz comments that the predecessors and the successors were "connected through conceptions of temporal order and implicit behavioral styles" (2002, 135).[34] Thus, the meaning of authorship attributed to a particular name also can be regarded "as a semantic link to an entire line of transmission" (Popescu-Judetz 1996, 79).

Adding to the welter of ambiguities in *Edvâr*s, there is also a high potential for allusiveness and multiple meaning. This is partly because the symbols of Ottoman art were extremely powerful; Andrews explains: "(1) they persist in essentially the same form over very long periods, even predating the Ottoman Empire; (2) they are directly linked to a common world view and set of common values; (3) they are ubiquitous in the experience of all members of society" (1985, 188). The symbolic grouping of the twelve basic *makam*s and the twelve zodiac signs may be viewed also as an organization of sign-systems on an abstract level. Furthermore, psychologically, *makam*s have been linked to healing for their ability to purify the soul and to sharpen the faculties. In Tanburî Küçük Artin's musical treatise—dating from the eighteenth century—the disciples of the Seven Sages find correspondences between the human diseases and the stars, thereby establishing "the principles of music therapy, a traditional Islamic science with practical application linked to astrology and to physical human types." And since music was emphasized in medicine "for its physical influence (*tesir*) on the humans that is manifested in the correlations of melodies to the celestial

bodies and the agency of the four elements," a doctor treating a sick patient with music was expected "to be versed in astronomy and know the natural inclination and pulse of the individual to recommend the adequate type of melody and rhythm, whether *peşrev, semai* or *ilahi*" (Popescu-Judetz 2002, 122,129).

Concerning scientific and numerological grounds, the Ikhwân explained that "all the mathematical arts rest on four principles which . . . can be reduced to a unity; they go back to one common origin (the fundamental unity)" (Shiloah 1993, III: 28). Similarly, the connection between the seven *âvâze*s and seven planets—as well as the seven-year cycles[35]—points to the embodiment of the macrocosm within the microcosm, exemplifying the richly diverse allegorical tradition within musical theories. While the traditional link between music and cosmology (through such notions as the harmony of the spheres) contrasted the post-seventeenth-century systems of Western knowledge,[36] understanding the inner space of musical experience entails a qualitative approach in the attempt to realign the psychological and spiritual states of people with the cosmological, the numerological, and the calendrical. Contemporary to the author of *Kitâb el-Edvâr* (and accordant with the subject matter of this study) was Marsilio Ficino (1433–99), who, according to Penelope Gouk, was one of the first Western scholars to read rare manuscripts that had recently arrived in Venice from Constantinople around 1460. In the third book of his *De vita libri tres,* he suggested that musical sound "consists of aerial movements that imitate the motions of the spirit and soul, serves as the link between heavenly and earthly domains" (2004, 101).

The attempt to find musical metaphors for Divinity and the universe—which frequently juxtapose and entwine the signified and the signifier, the imagined and the real, or the subjective and the objective—naturally involves both philosophy and aesthetics. If ritualistic and/or universal values suggest archetypal symbolism, they also accommodate a cosmological totality in which all modal entities, temperaments, elements, and planets are interwoven, interpenetrated, and assimilated through the phenomenon of music. To comprehend the meaning(s) of such texts is no simple task: as Andrews comments on the Ottoman literary texts, "no simple extrapolation of our methods for determining the sense of a single word will ever tell us what a literary text means" (1985, 7).

Postscript

Mirroring the nature and content of *Edvâr*s, "Truth," in the East, tends to be presented not through the pressure of having to produce original or individualistic work, but rather as a collective and egalitarian service that prioritizes the continuity of tradition. Such interpretations often draw on both the intuitive aspects and the formalistic properties as the internal "order" within music

becomes a metaphor for a possible reconciliation of the mundane and celestial realms. Although the argument can be made that music should and does only signify itself, in this context, it is not regarded as something absolute but as a connective medium and a set of meanings revisited through and for the collective. In a fifteenth-century Ottoman music treatise, the relationship between music and other fields is mirrored through a tradition of poetics without "quantifying" or translating musical meaning into a definitive logical discourse; the treatise then recreates anew through poesy that encircles and taps into the "inexplicable" as a reflection of the "One." Thus, *Kitâb el-Edvâr* attempts to reflect such an all-embracing universal context that is relevant to thought, religion, science, and art.

While the notion of the circle is also a favorite symbol of Zen—because it assimilates and embraces the concept that "All is one" (Berendt 1991, 47)—Sufism unites music and dance in such a way that the bodily motion is generated in space through the act of turning, simulating both stasis and change through a predominantly cyclic aspect. This invocation also hints at the drive to transcend the ego—unlike the Western form of choreography which is more concerned with self-expression—as the act of "turning" becomes a medium for the dervish in search for the Divine Love, which, symbolically, has no beginning or end. In Sufism, God's position is like a point or a period; the cycle of Absolute Being is like a circle (Gölpınarlı 1953, 385). Sufi mystics frequently envisage the notion of the cycle within the context of unity—rather than distinction or separation—broadly suggesting infinity, timelessness, completeness, continuity, as well as non-development, ambiguity, and self-perpetuation.[37] "Here" and "there" are impertinent; the aspects of time, growth, and decay do not exist because "*true* existence is but an aspect (*vech*) of God, the One and the Unchanging" (Andrews 1985, 66–67). This perspective may be homologically relevant also in the case of *Edvâr*s since they tend to defy time, individualism, self-importance, and clear-cut rationalizations. Even *usûl*s are known to display similar metaphoric linkage, between their complex metrical-rhythms (consisting of cycles of strong, weak, and silent beats) and such cyclic realms as planets, numbers, and seasons.

The Ikhwân conceived that (within the sixth type of motion) "the biographical movement is linear (*mustaqīma*), [and] the spiritual progress is circular (*mustadīra*)" (Meisami 1997, 43). And as early as the tenth century, they spoke of the circular propagation of sound, which, they explained, was "a shock produced in the air as a result of the collision of bodies," and that this movement assumed "a circular form which expands in the manner of a glass of water that is blown upon" (Shiloah 1993, III: 18). Likewise, through the cyclic manifestation of the *semâ,* the dancing human form spiritually and symbolically "expands"; while it is "absorbed" into its physical/elemental and metaphysical aspects, music, dance, and philosophy become intertwined without being "intellectualized" in

an absolute way. This is significant, particularly because whether it is the dervish, the musician or the scribe/author, the subject becomes just another medium, a mere "object." The passage from being the subject to being an object creates a possible link between the two distinct worlds of "this" and the "other." (This is exemplified by the dervish's feet—the "root"—which are secured through a sense of fixation to the earth or the soil, and hands and arms, which extend to both the upper and the lower worlds—with one pointing upward and the other downward.) Correspondingly, a symbolic and contextual correlation between the *mehter* and the *semâ* lies in their theatrical framework: in both events, the actants become present through movement—executed in a ritual space. Popescu-Judetz points out that in the *mehter,* "the virtual theatrical time" is separated from "the ordinary chronological time," involving a "magical" surface (1996, 58–59).[38] As in the case of an *Edvâr,* these "events" are concerned with performances of ritual and symbolic experiences that unite sound, form, movement/dance, and color. (Methods used by the dervishes in opening up their consciousness have included "sacred numbers and symbols; colours and smells, perfumes and incense; ritual actions and purifications; words of power, charm-like prayers and incantations, with music and chant" [Trimingham 1998, 199].) Ahmad al-Ghazâlî's description—at the turn of the eleventh century—of the dancing during the *semâ* is illuminating in this respect:

> The dancing is a reference to the circling of the spirit round the cycle of existing things on account of receiving the effects of the unveilings and revelations; and this is the state of the gnostic. The whirling is a reference to the spirit's standing with Allāh in its inner nature (*sirr*) and being (*wujūd*), the circling of its look and thought, and its penetrating the ranks of existing things; and this is the state of the assured one. And his leaping up is a reference to his being withdrawn from the human station to the unitive station (*Bawâriq al-ilmâ';* cited in Trimingham 1998, 195).

When the actants of the *semâ* and the *mehter* deliberately choose open circles—at times quasi-crescent ones—as their spatial positions, metaphoric discourses emerge and blend with the impersonal and the ontological.

In Frances Trix's experience with Baba Rexheb, for example, concerning a couplet by the fourteenth-century poet Nesimi, the reference to cycles was "picked up and played out in the actual writing of the poem such that the whole poem was written in circles . . . done with prayers, in which the first word is in the center, and then the prayer circles round and round, just as pilgrims circle the Ka'aba in Mecca" (1993, 82). Linking the proportions of the letters and their reciprocal relationships of length and breadth in the art of calligraphy with "the most eminent laws of geometry and the rules of proportion" (Shiloah 1993, III: 53), the Ikhwân treated the act of writing as an enduring symbolic medium with its ability to unite and tie in different forms and fields. Even Ottoman garden

symbolism as a microcosmic sanctuary and Ottoman mosque architecture can mirror such references:

> the Ottoman mosque interior with its great dome decorated in star-shaped patterns, which underscore the resemblance to the dome of the heavens, and beneath the dome the trees and flowers of the earthly and paradisiacal gardens reflected in a field of floral carpets surrounded by garden-motif tiles and stained glass (Andrews 1985, 157–58).

The movement from line to circle, from the chronological to the ontological, from multiplicity to unity, behaves like the spiral; in the words of Nasir al-Din al-Tusi (1201–74; the medieval philosopher, astronomer, and mathematician), "so to the limit, where there is the abode of Unity, and there the circle of existence meets, like a curved line beginning from a point and returning to the same point" (*The Nasirean Ethics;* cited in Meisami 1997, 42). While the all-embracing cyclic character appears to remain central and pivotal in the theory and philosophy of Ottoman art music as an adhesive force and factor, this study scarcely touches the surface, merely conveying that such *Edvâr*s emerge as more than physical objects and are bound to reveal more through further study and exploration

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Notes

[1] The author would like to thank Dr. Oliver Kahl, Dr. Colin Imber, and Dr. Fikret Turan for their help with the transcriptions of the treatise, to Dr. Ertuğrul Bayraktar for many perceptive comments over the years, and to Prof. David Fallows for his encouragement and support during the initial stages of this study. The author is especially grateful to her father, Dr. Uğur Ertan, for his help in collecting some of the crucial sources in Turkish.

[2] In this article, English plural suffix (-s) is used in lieu of Turkish plural suffixes (*-ler* and *-lar*). And the transliteration system is used in the way it is commonly translated into modern Turkish (for example, â and î rather than ā and ī)—except when quoting secondary literature, in which case the author has kept the transliterated terms as they appear.

[3] This particular *Edvâr* is not included in *RISM (Répertoire international des sources musicales-B/10a: The Theory of Music in Arabic Writings [c. 900–1900])*. (Shiloah 2003). The John Rylands University Library's Special Collections department was unable to fully explain why Turkish MS.148 was omitted from the *RISM* catalogues; however, because the library has no published catalogues exclusively of the Turkish manuscripts, the limited information both to the public and the researcher(s) may have led to this. (There was a project in the late 1990s to produce such a catalogue by Jan Schmidt—"A Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester"—but it has not been published.)

[4] Although the reason this handwriting is in French is unclear to the author, one could speculate that the copy was acquired from a French source.

[5] As a language, Ottoman-Turkish was the administrative and literary language of the Ottoman Empire with extensive borrowings from Persian and Arabic. Turks had adopted the Arabic script on their conversion to Islam during the tenth century. It remained in use until the reforms of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in the early twentieth century.

[6] *The Epistle on Music* of Ikhwân al-Şafa forms a part of an encyclopedia (*Rasâ'il Ikhwân al-Şafâ*) of fifty-two epistles and a summary, covering a wide range of subjects.

[7] While Habib Hassan Touma chose to discuss the *maqam* in the broader context of the Middle East (1971), Gen'ichi Tsuge identified the Turkish, Arab, and Persian musics as separate traditions (1972); Rodolphe D'Erlanger asserted that there was no essential difference between modern Arab and Turkish musics (1949), while H. Saadettin Arel, on the other hand, attempted to completely distinguish Turkish music from Persian, Arab, and Byzantine musics (1969) (the preceding all are cited in Signell 1977). Signell agrees with all of these viewpoints, accepting both the similarities and the particularities (1977, 150–51).

[8] See Popescu-Judetz for Cantemir's interpretation of the "heavenly voices" (2002, 121–22).

[9] In similar vein, Douglas Kahn comments that since the time of Pythagoras the music's "ability to place one in the cosmos has been understood as deriving from its ability to emulate . . . the deployment of celestial bodies in its innermost operations, the relationship of pitches, delivering the order, unity and entirety that is the cosmos in an experiential form" (2004, 107).

[10] Safī al-Dīn (also referred to as Safiyyüddîn Abdü'l-Mü'min bin Yusuf bin Fahir el-Urmevî, Abd al-Mu'min ibn Yusuf ibn Fakhir, Safiouddin al-Ourmaoui) was born near Urmawi (Urmiye in Azerbaijan), was raised in Baghdad, and is often acknowledged as an Arab; such Turkish authors as Yılmaz Öztuna, however, claim that he is Turkish (1990, ii: 250). Although whether he was Turkish or Arab is irrelevant to the present discussion, this argument once again exemplifies the problematic nature of such definitions and classifications regarding national identity.

[11] Safî al-Dîn's *Edvâr* was translated from Arabic to Turkish by Ahmed bin Şükrullah (1388–1470?/82?) under the title of *Terceme-i Kitâb-ı Edvâr* (Öztuna 1990, ii: 363).

The Systematist School was particularly active between the early thirteenth and late fifteenth centuries; its influential theorists included Safî al-Dîn and Abdülkadir Meragi (d.1435). Shiloah claims that "all the sources uncovered so far support the conclusion that it was Şafī al-Dīn's system that had the chief determinant impact on the generations that followed throughout the whole Middle Eastern region" (1993, IX: 25).

[12] And "the distinction of modal entities according to the place of their finalis on the general scale, which has been an essential feature of Ottoman and Arabian music since the 15th century, may ultimately derive from musical conceptions which the early Ottomans had shared with other Turkic peoples" (Feldman 1996, 201).

[13] The fundamentals of music were presented frequently in a metrical form of prosody, called *aruz,* which was "quite in vogue in the Middle Ages among both Arabs and non-Arabs" (Shiloah 1995, 89).

[14] In Arabic, the word *maqâm*—the technical term for modal entity—refers to "place" or "position." Within the context of Turkish music, it means "seat," "state," or "spot." (For a faithful discussion of the term *makam,* see Oransay 1966, 71–81.)

Popescu-Judetz describes the *makam* as follows: "a melodic development within a specific space that is delineated by tonal limits and intervallic relationship rather than a fixed scalar formation. Every mode is a tonal-spatial framework with an aggregate of melodic patterns which outline a compositional design within a specific expansion" (1999, 51).

[15] Feldman explains that "the continuity of the Ottoman court as the standard for practice (until the last third of the nineteenth century) tended to preserve the integrity of the *fasıl* as cycle. The Ottoman preference for strictly cyclical performance of composed items, i.e. with a fixed order of items and of their rhythmic cycles, combined with non-metrical improvisation (*taksîm*) was one of the most characteristic features of the Ottoman musical culture from the seventeenth century until the middle of the twentieth century" (1990, 1: 74).

[16] "Iconic" as in Kenneth Burke's definition of the term, which is concerned with "finding the image of something in another realm" (see Becker and Becker 1995, 352).

[17] See Trimingham for a discussion on the seven stages of the soul toward the purification of the aspirant in Sufi tradition (1998, 154–57).

The twelve basic *makam*s (as represented by the Abdülkadir Meragi tradition) and their corresponding zodiac signs are *Uşşak* (Pisces), *Nevâ* (Aquarius), *Bûselik* (Capricorn), *Rast* (Aries), *Hüseynî* (Scorpio), *Hicâz* (Sagittarius), *Rehâvî* (Libra), *Zirgüle* (Virgo), *Irak* (Taurus), *İsfahan* (Gemini), *Zirefkend* (Cancer), and *Büzürk* (Leo). The seven *âvâzes* and their corresponding planets can be listed as follows: *Geveşt* (Saturn), *Nevrûz* (Jupiter), *Selmek* (Mars), *Şehnâz* (Sun), *Hisâr* (Venus), *Maye* (Mercury), and *Gerdâniye* (Moon). The four basic *şubes* of *Yegâh, Dügâh, Segâh,* and *Çargâh* correlate to earth, air, water, and fire. (However, it should be noted that such corresponding relationships are of an arbitrary nature as their equivalences in different treatises do not always match one another.)

[18] See Popescu-Judetz for a discussion of Hızır's reformulations (1996, 72).

[19] Such preoccupations with astrological, natural, and therapeutic correlations began to decline during the eighteenth century "with almost no explanation"—though in Haşim Bey's *Mecmua* (1864, 64–66; cited in Popescu-Judetz 2002), the cosmic image of man is represented "depicted from waist up, holding his arms extended upward like a tree reaching high to the sky, with the picture of the celestial sphere mirrored on his chest and the names of musical modes or rhythms inscribed onto" (Popescu-Judetz 2002, 164,127).

[20] In general, Islamic papers do not reveal clearly differentiated chain lines; while they "would appear to have been made on some sort of wove mould," figurative or epigraphical watermarks were not used in traditional Islamic paper making (Bosch, Carswell, and Petherbridge 1981, 29–30).

[21] For a detailed discussion on *ahar* techniques, see Yazır 1974, 198–201.

[22] The ink, also prepared by the scribe, usually was made by mixing soot, glue, water, and other ingredients. It was kept in an inkpot called *hokka* at the bottom of which some pure unprocessed silk was placed to protect the nib of the pen.

[23] Inal notes that the styles of *nesih* and *nesta'lik* were traditionally preferred in the texts of the Koran, in various books and cahiers, and in edicts, writs, and other formal documents (1955, 1).

[24] Regarding the layout of the cover ornamentation in Islamic manuscripts, another important feature can be "the compass used for the drawing of the suns or circles to be tooled in the center of the covers" (Bosch, Carswell, and Petherbridge 1981, 68). In addition, Davenport noted that Islamic binding tended to be rather neat, "set together with a sort of paste on the back of books, and over that they cover it with a piece of linen cloth, and with the headband the book is fastened to the cover, and all books have flaps that cover the fore-edge of the book, not unlike our vellum pocket book and almanacs, but they have no clasps to them" (1904, 19; cited in Bosch, Carswell, and Petherbridge 1981, 55).

[25] However, if one was to propose a contrary argument, it should be noted that much paper was imported from Europe to Istanbul, and it is not unusual to see the use of European papers among the binder's leaves. The decorative, colored lining papers could display a distinctly fresh oriental appearance; especially during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there was a considerable degree of Western influence on Ottoman binding.

[26] Bosch, Carswell, and Petherbridge explain that

> The principle of link-stitch (sometimes termed 'Coptic' or 'chain stitch') sewing is that, in order to connect the gatherings, at each sewing station the needle and thread are passed from the inside of the spine fold through to the outside and down so as to loop around the thread protruding from the corresponding sewing station of the gathering immediately below it, or penultimate to it in the sewing sequence. . . . [In Islamic manuscripts] from the mediaeval period to the twentieth century AD the sewing structure most frequently found has . . . a simple form of link stitch which picks up the adjacent preceding gathering (1981, 46).

[27] Here the term *terkip* ("mixture") stands for compound *makam*s.

For the history and definitions of *şube, âvâze, terkip,* and *perde,* see Feldman (1996) and Popescu-Judetz (2002).

[28] *Karâr*: Finalis.

[29] Most probably referring to himself [Muhammed] and his father [Abdullah].

[30] According to Uygun, Kadızâde Tirevî was also a mathematician and worked as a *müderris* at the *Sahn-ı Semân Medreses* of Istanbul and Bursa as well. He died in Bursa in 1494 (1990, 15).

(Uygun's biographical notes on Tirevî are gathered from Taşköprülüzâde İsamuddin Ebul'hayr Ahmed Efendi's *Eş-şakâikun numaniye fi'ulemaid-devleti'l Osmaniye* [prepared for publication by Ahmet S. Furat], İstanbul University, 1985.)

[31] Copy (i) dating from 31 October 1676 (23 Şaban 1087), 15pp., 19 ll. on each *varak,* scribe unknown, in *nesih*—located at Beyazit Devlet Kitaplığı, Veliyyüddin Efendi division, no.3181;

(ii) n.d., 15 *varak*s, scribe unknown, in *nesih*—located at Köprülü Kütüphanesi, Fazıl Ahmet Paşa division, no.275;

(iii) n.d., ??pp., 24–25 ll. on each *varak,* scribe unknown, in *tâ'lik*—located at Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Nafiz Paşa division, no. 1503;

(iv) dating from 1775 (1189), 38pp., 15 ll., scribe: Mehmed Said, in *tâ'lik*—located at Atatürk Kitaplığı, Muallim Cevdet division, K.442;

(v) dating from 1849 (1265), 42pp., 14 ll.—located at private collection of Süleyman Erguner (see Uygun 1990, 17–20).

[32] Exact date of the treatise is unknown (Hasan Soyak [at Ankara Milli Kütüphanesi], personal communication, 20 September 2005).

Halil Erdoğan Cengiz transliterated *Kâdî-Zâde-i Tirevî Edvârı* in 1987 as unpublished text, a copy that the author accessed at Ertuğrul Bayraktar's private collection in Ankara.

[33] Although one cannot be certain whether the recipient or the commissioner was indeed the Sultan—given the treatise's time of completion (Ramadan)—it may be relevant to note that scribes/authors and miniature artists (*nakkaş*) would typically present their work to the Sultan as gifts on special religious days and were rewarded either with money or with special inams (*kaftan*s, or embroidered robes) in return (Mahir 2004, 18).

[34] An example of the integration and assimilation of traditional theoretical material and ideas from past masters is Haşim Bey's *Mecmua* (1853/1864) which "combines liberal borrowings with interpolations from Cantemir, Hızır Ağa, and Abdülbaki Dede"; Cantemir's descriptions and classifications also depended on earlier models (Popescu-Judetz 2002, 135, 146).

Owen Wright also notes that one of the characteristics of such texts is that "when not anonymous are often by obscure authors" often without any evidence as to what earlier models were consulted, thereby suggesting a network of representation, or mirroring—not of divergence or eradication (2000, 11).

[35] Occult philosophies and belief systems tend to break down the lifespan of an individual into eighty-four years of twelve *seven-year* cycles—symbolizing each sign of the zodiac.

[36] Gouk explains that in pre-seventeenth-century Europe, the manipulation of natural forces and the application of mathematics to the physical world were "a recognized part of natural, or spiritual, magic" (2004, 89).

[37] In a similar vein, David Goldsworthy argues that in Indonesian music, the primary quality of cyclic music is continuity, and that cyclic properties "often impart an ambiguous, indeterminate, or timeless temporal quality to the music that is clearly related" (2005, 333).

[38] In his discussion on Badakhshani culture, O'Connell discusses the "connections between space, sound and the body that seem to contest a strict neo-platonic explanation (consistent with a West Asian worldview)" (2004, 10). Such cosmological connotations have deep roots within the past traditions of West and Central Asia. O'Connell writes that Turkic Tajik culture also displays "unstable discourses emerging and dissolving in space and time" (2004, 12).

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