

S O A S M U S I C O L O G Y S E R I E S

An **Ashgate** Book

*Demetrius Cantemir:
The Collection of Notations*

Volume 2: Commentary

O W E N W R I G H T

DEMETRIUS CANTEMIR:
THE COLLECTION OF NOTATIONS



DEMETRIUS
S.ROSSIACI
etMOLDAVIÆ
PETRI.M.RUSSORU
SENATOR,et AB IN
CANTEMIR.
IMPERII,
PRINCEPS.
Imperatoris
TIMIS CONSILII.

Demetrius Cantemir: The Collection of Notations

Volume 2: Commentary

OWEN WRIGHT

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The frontispiece portrait of Demetrius Cantemir and the image of the Palace of Prince Demetrius Cantemir are reproduced by kind permission of the British Library.

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TO THE MEMORY OF MY MOTHER



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Prelude

1.1 *Life*

A man of many and considerable talents, Cantemir has several reputations. For Romanians he is revered as a major national cultural figure; on the intellectual map of eighteenth-century Europe he has a secure position as an important historian; and in Turkey, where he is known as Kantemiroğlu, he is recognized for his outstanding accomplishments in the field of music, as performer, theorist and, above all, composer.

Born on the 26th of October 1673 at Silișteni in Moldavia, Demetrius Cantemir was the son of Constantin, Prince of Moldavia (1685-93) and vassal of the Ottomans, whose suzerainty the province had been obliged to acknowledge since the mid-fifteenth century.¹ To ensure Constantin's compliance the presence of one of his sons as a princely hostage was required in Istanbul, and Demetrius duly arrived in 1687, at the age of 14, to replace his elder brother Antioch. He stayed until 1691 and then returned two years later to remain in Istanbul until 1710, for part of the time acting as his brother's representative. In 1710 he was himself appointed Prince of Moldavia,² but promptly switched his allegiance to the Russians, forming an alliance with Peter the Great (1682-1725). Had it been successful this would doubtless

1 Despite constant but only occasionally and temporarily successful attempts to break free. For a general outline history see e.g. K.W. Treptow (ed.), *A History of Romania* (East European Monographs, no. CDXLVIII), New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

2 These bald statements in fact mask a number of rapid changes of ruler during this period. Between the death of his father in 1693 and his own accession in 1710, Cantemir himself (*Descriptio Moldaviæ* (Operele Principelui Demetriu Cantemiru, vol. 1), Bucharest: Typographia Curtii, 1872, pp. 46-7) cites no fewer than seven, including his brother Antioch twice. He also claims that he himself was poised to succeed his father, but could not obtain Ottoman backing and had to withdraw (Demetrius Cantemir, *suffragiis procerum in solium evectus, et lassius a duobus Patriarchis unctus, sed cum confirmationem ab othmanna aula impetrare non posset, coactus fuit locum cedere*).

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have been judged a shrewd rather than an impulsive move, but in the event it was confounded by the unexpected Ottoman victory over the Russians at Stănileși on the river Prut in 1711, as a result of which Cantemir was forced to flee.³ He spent the rest of his life in Russia, attached to the court, where he served as an adviser with the rank of Imperial Chancellor. He was able, nevertheless, to devote much of his time to scientific, scholarly and literary pursuits, and the resulting production, when added to his earlier writings, demonstrates his abilities over an extraordinarily wide range: he has been described as '*historien, géographe, cartographe, romancier, musicien, architecte, théologien et philosophe*'.⁴ Among the major works of this last period may be mentioned the *Descriptio Moldaviae* of 1717 and, completed in the previous year, the *Incrementa atque decrementa aulæ Othomanicæ*. The manuscript of this pioneering survey, which was to ensure for him an enduring reputation in the West as a historian, was brought to London by his son Antioch, who had been appointed Russian ambassador to Great Britain, and it was first published in 1734-5 in an English translation.⁵ Subsequently it also appeared in French and German,⁶ and it was to remain the standard source on the Ottomans until superseded by Hammer-Purgstall's *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* of 1827-35.⁷

Appended to the English translation is a biographical sketch, probably by Antioch, which gives a brief description of his working habits when he could lead what might be described as an academic life (although not, fortunately for him, in the modern sense):

3 M. Guboglu ('Dimitrie Cantemir - orientaliste', *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, 3, 1960, 129-60) offers a positive interpretation, suggesting (p. 131) that Cantemir had long wished to cultivate connexions with Russia, and that he was acting in accordance with his perceptions of the decline of Ottoman power. To this could be added that he was following a time-honoured model of trying to free Moldavia from Ottoman control and secure for it as much independence as the ever-changing pattern of relations among its more powerful neighbours would allow. Turkish views, not surprisingly, are sometimes less flattering, his actions being described as treachery (*ihanet*) and he himself as a Godless traitor (*hâin-i bî-dîn*). A rather more reserved position is taken by S. Faroqhi (*Kultur und Alltag im Osmanischen Reich*, Munich: Beck, 1995, p. 97), who suggests that his motivation may have been primarily economic.

4 G. Cioranescu, 'La contribution de Démètre Cantemir aux études orientales', *Turcica*, 7, 1975, 205-32. The present brief biographical notice draws heavily on this article, and also on:

M. Guboglu, op. cit.

P.P. Panaitescu, *Dimitrie Cantemir: viața și opera*, Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, 1958.

E. Popescu-Județ, 'Dimitrie Cantemir et la musique turque', *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, 7, 1968, 199-213.

Y. Öztuna, *Türk musikisi ansiklopedisi*, 1, Istanbul, 1969, s.v. Kantemiroğlu.

İ.B.Süreksan, *Dimitrie Cantemir (1673-1723)*, Ankara: Türk Millî Komisyonu, 1975.

The occasional differences between these sources as to matters of fact are of no particular consequence in the present context.

5 *The history of the growth and decay of the Othman Empire*, tr. N. Tindal, pt. 1, London, 1734, pt. 2, London, 1735; 2nd ed., London, 1756.

6 Both from the English. The French translation (*Histoire de l'empire ottoman, où se voyent les causes de son agrandissement et de sa décadence*, tr. F. de Joucquière, Paris) appeared in 1743, the German (*Geschichte des osmanischen Reichs nach seinem Anwachsen und Abnehmen*, Hamburg) in 1745. An Italian translation was also made, but remained unpublished.

7 One indication that he was still known as an Ottoman historian in the early nineteenth century among educated non-specialists is provided by Byron's casual references to him as an authority in *Don Juan*.

LIFE

His custom was to rise at five in the morning, and, smocking a pipe of tobacco over a dish of coffee after the *Turkish* manner, he retired to his study till dinner, which was constantly at noon ... He slept a little after dinner, and the rest of the day was spent in the study till seven in the evening.

But in later years distractions were not wholly to be avoided, for after his appointment as Privy-Counsellor

... the affairs of state, and the charms of a beautiful young spouse, frequently took him off from his studies.

His first wife, Cassandra, the daughter of a former Prince of Wallachia, whom he married in 1699, died in 1713, shortly after their arrival in Moscow; the young spouse so coyly referred to was Anastasia, the third daughter of Prince Trubezkoy, whom he met in 1718.⁸

In 1722 Cantemir took an active part in Peter the Great's Caucasian campaign, but fell ill, and died on the 21st of August 1723, shortly after his return to his estate at Dimitrovka in the Ukraine. He was survived by six children, a daughter by his second wife and a daughter and four sons by his first.

If the circumstances of the latter period of his life are fairly well known, much about the years he spent in Istanbul remains obscure. The bald dates of his arrivals and departures may readily be cited, but of what happened in between little can be said, although he must have been in constant touch with events at home and with whatever intrigues and shifts in policy on the Ottoman side might affect the situation in Moldavia. It is also clear that he took full advantage of the intellectual opportunities that his position allowed. He seems to have been fortunate in finding in his first tutor, Cacavelas, a Greek priest, a man of wide scholarship, and he was subsequently able to familiarize himself not only with the culture of the Greek Phanariot community but also with that of the Ottoman Turks, which for him involved, as well as the study of history and religion, the acquisition of practical and theoretical mastery in the field of music.⁹

His teachers, so Cantemir himself informs us, were Kemānī Aḥmed and Angeli, the latter a tanbur player four of whose compositions are recorded in the collection of notations.¹⁰ According to the biography appended to the *History*, his musical studies began during his first stay in Istanbul, between 1687 and 1691,¹¹ and he may also have been exposed to a

8 According to C. Măciucă (*Dimitrie Cantemir*, Bucharest: Editura Tineretului, 1962) they met in 1719 and married early in 1720, but 1718 is the date given in the biography appended to the *History* (1st ed., p. 458).

9 Guboglu (op. cit., p. 130) sums matters up by saying that Cantemir '*réussit à s'assimiler les trois grandes cultures de son époque: le classicisme gréco-latin, l'humanisme italien et la culture musulmane*'. For the general intellectual context see also A. Duțu, *Sinteză și originalitate în cultura română*, Bucharest: Editura enciclopedică română, 1972, pp. 103-6 and 120-2.

10 *History*, p. 151. Three (nos. 297, 304, 315) by Cantemir. 340 is a later addition in another hand.

11 pp. 455-60, where we are told: 'He remained at *Constantinople* till 1691, when ... he returned to his father. During his stay at *Constantinople*, he studied the *Turkish* language and musick.' For Cioranescu (op. cit., p. 207) he began his musical training later, with Cacavelas in Iași, but the biography is supported by the date 1690 given for Angeli's death by İ.H. Uzunçarşılı ('Osmanlılar zamanında saraylarda musiki hayatı', *Belleten*, 41, 1977, 79-114, at p. 91), if without specifying the source. Uzunçarşılı also quotes some garbled figures for the palace fees paid to Angeli for tuition, at a daily rate of 40 akçe, during 1678.

PRELUDE

certain amount of Turkish music during the following two years spent in Iași.¹² He seems to have studied solely with instrumentalists, even if he evidently knew and respected the composer 'İtrî, whom he quotes as an authority: there is no evidence of his having acquired comparable expertise in the vocal repertoire, and no songs appear among his notations.¹³ He became renowned as an outstanding tanbur player, and although his political status must in any case have provided access to senior state officials, his musical prowess no doubt helped him in cultivating and strengthening contacts with court circles:¹⁴ he was friendly with Râmi Mehmed Paşa, who rose to become Grand Vizier, briefly, in 1703, and informs us that he was asked to write a treatise on music by Dāvûl İsmâ'il Efendi, the Imperial Treasurer (*hazine-i hümayûn müdiri*), and Laîf Çelebi, Palace Treasurer (*sarây hazinedârı*), who were, or had been, his pupils.¹⁵

1.2 Context

This treatise, we may assume, is the one we possess.¹⁶ But we do not know exactly when it was written, the only other clue being the further remark that it was presented to a Sultan Ahmed, which gives us two theoretically possible candidates, Ahmed II (1691-5) and Ahmed III (1703-30). Although each has his advocates, the great majority opt for the former.¹⁷

12 Cantemir refers to Turkish music when describing procedure at court banquets (*Descriptio Moldaviae*, p. 95): *Stolnicus magnus primo opposita principi cibaria praegustat, quo facto, cum ad capiendum cibum princeps manum extenderit, tormenta exploduntur, applauditque et christiana et turcica musica.*

13 *pace* Cioranescu, op. cit., p. 208.

14 *ibid.*; Popescu-Județ, op. cit., p. 202.

15 *History*, p. 151.

16 Despite the fact that the title is given in a slightly different form (*ta'rif el-mūsikî 'alâ vech-i mahşûş* as against the *kitâb-ı 'ilm-i mūsikî 'alâ vech ül-hurûfâr* of the manuscript) which happens to be the heading of one of its sections. The same title is given by G. Toderini (*Letteratura turchesca*, vol. 1, Venice, 1787, p. 225), who claims to have seen a copy, but as he is clearly relying on the relevant passages in the *History* he may have taken the title from there rather than from the original. Popescu-Județ (op. cit., p. 203) relates this title to the manuscript containing the mid eighteenth-century Kevşeri collection, and mentions yet other titles (but perhaps of treatises derived from Cantemir). Nevertheless, the possibility of a preliminary shorter version under the title *ta'rif el-mūsikî 'alâ vech-i mahşûş* cannot be ruled out (even if Cantemir's reference to 'a little Book' is surely mock modesty). He concludes his remarks on music in the *History* by expressing his hope to compose a further work on Turkish music, but if written the work has not survived.

17 For Ahmed II are O. Akdoğan (*Türk müziği bibliyografyası* (9.yy-1928), Bornova-Izmir: Ege Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1989, p. 26), T.T. Burada ('Scrierile muzicale ale lui Dimitrie Cantemir, Domnitorul Moldovei', *Analele Academiei Române*, Mem. Sect. Lit., ser. II, 32, 1909, 79-192), Cioranescu, E. Neubauer ('Der Essai sur la Musique Orientale von Charles Fonton mit Zeichnungen von Adanson', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften*, 3, 1986, 335-76, at p. 344), G. Oransay (*Die melodische Linie und der Begriff Makam der traditionellen türkischen Kunstmusik vom 15. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1966, p. 83), Öztuna, Sürelsan, Toderini, H. Wurm (*Der osmanischer Historiker Hüseyin b. Ga'fer, genannt Hezârfenn, und die Istanbul'er Gesellschaft in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg im Breisgau: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1971, p. 16), and Rauf Yekta Bey ('Musique orientale. Le compositeur du *Péchrev* dans le mode *Nihavend*', *La Revue musicale*, 7, 1907, 117-21; which leaves for Ahmed III only Feldman and Guboglu. Popescu-Județ seems to support both, mentioning first Ahmed II (op. cit., p. 204: the first reference to Ahmed III is surely, in context, a misprint), but then switching to Ahmed III (E. Popescu-Județ, *Dimitrie Cantemir: cartea şinţei muzicii*, Bucharest: Editura musicală a uniunii compozitorilor, 1973, p. 70).

کتاب علم الموسیقی علی وجه الحروفیات

— اشارت برده های موسیقی — با اول

علم موسیقی به چند پرده و لره و منع اوله بلوریدی زیرا برجه هده
موسیقی غیر مقین اولور و هر قنق سازده با فرسقی انسانک
لو غارندن چغان آوازده تقلید اولوب پرده لره وضع اولور
بزم بلد کیم یا خود کورد و غیر ساز لودن جمله سمندن کامل و تمام
طنبور و دیگر طوری سازدر اوله که بی آد صک نفسندن ظهور

اجدن صد او نغمه بالغام و بلا تصور اجرا ایدر ساز مسفور

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نیر بوسیلک نیر چارکاه نیر صیال نیر نوا نیر بیانی نیر حسینی

اکاه اولکی ساز قومده کریم اولغدر پرده لره موجود اولور لره

لکن آوازک بر اشافه و اندسی بر بوقار و کلمه سی اولغدر نیم پرده لره

سیسی ایلده پرده لره عددینون زیاده حروف و کلمه اشارتی اقتضای

که ذکر اولشان لورده می بگاه عجم عشتران عجم عشترانی

عراق رهاوی راست زبرکله د دوکاه نهانده

سیکاه بوسیلک چارکاه صیال نوا بیانی حسینی عجم

اوج ماهور کون آینه شهنشاز محیر سینه سیکاه

نیر بوسیلک نیر چارکاه نیر صیال نیر نوا نیر بیانی نیر حسینی

H. S. AREL ARMAĞANI

PRELUDE

However, the identification is simply asserted rather than justified, and it is actually rather difficult to put up a credible case for the earlier Aḥmed. We would need to accept that by 1695 at the very latest Cantemir had not only acquired sufficient expertise and authority to have future court officials as pupils of his own, but had actually completed a substantial theoretical work in response to their request. Even for someone of evidently prodigious gifts such precocity seems intrinsically unlikely, and in fact Cantemir speaks in the same passage of a period of fifteen years of study, so that even if he had begun to take lessons immediately after arriving in Istanbul in 1687 his apprenticeship would still only have come to an end in 1702. But what is surely conclusive is that he comments (in Tindal's English translation of the *Incrementa*) on the treatise being presented to 'the present Emperor', which in a work written in the second decade of the eighteenth century can only mean Aḥmed III.¹⁸ On the natural assumption that the presentation took place after Aḥmed became Sultan the event must have occurred during the period 1703-10, and although the treatise may have been in gestation before 1703, a possible inference is that the request for such a work was not made before 1705.¹⁹

But whether or not the date of the composition of the treatise can be narrowed down to 1705-10, the compilation of the collection may well not have coincided with it. It is also clear that, unlike the treatise, the collection remained unfinished, at least in the sense that it was open-ended and could have had further additions made to it—as indeed was to happen subsequently. Nevertheless, for all practical purposes the two should be regarded not merely as complementary but as contemporary, combining a representation of the instrumental repertoire of the turn of the century with a distillation of its theoretical underpinnings. The extent to which the collection exhibits stylistic diversity will be discussed below, but it is evident that some of the pieces in it, including most obviously those by Cantemir himself, were of recent production, embodying the latest compositional trends, while others, even if somewhat altered through oral transmission, are still representative of the compositional practice of the early seventeenth century. Indeed, comparison with the mid-century collection

18 A point made by Popescu-Judet (ibid.). From the mention of his pupils (*History*, 1st ed., p. 151) the passage runs: 'Daul Ismail Effendi, first Treasurer of the Empire, and Latif Chelebi, his Haznadar. By their request, I compos'd a little Book on the Art of Music in Turkish, and dedicated it to the present Emperor.' The difficulty seems to stem from the fact that although the second edition identifies him as 'Ahmed (III)', in the first he appears as Ahmed II. As Popescu-Judet (cartea, p. 79) quotes from a copy of the original '*hodierno Imperatori Ahmed dedicavimus*', it is likely that the variable specifications in Tindal's translation are his own additions, and that the Ahmed (III) of the second edition is thus meant to correct the first. But it is from the first edition that the French translation was made, thus helping Ahmed II to become the established candidate (text quoted in Rauf Yekta Bey, op. cit.). The earliest modern scholar, Burada (op. cit., p. 6/84) also quotes a translation running '*Am compus o carte mică în limba turcească despre arta muzicii, și am dedicat-o lui Ahmed II Sultanul acum stăpânitor.*' It may also be noted that a parallel reference to 'the present Sultan', without specifying which, is made by Cantemir in a later work, the *Systema de religione et statu Imperii turcicii* (*Sistemul sau întocmirea religiei muhammedane*, tr. V. Căndea, Bucharest: Editura Minerva, 1977, p. 354/464).

19 The date 1703-4 is advanced by Guboglu (op. cit., p. 157). This seems plausible but, in the absence of supporting evidence, no more so than the following years prior to Cantemir's departure. Feldman (op. cit., p. 506, note 20) equally plausibly places the composition of the treatise between 1700 and 1710. But if Cantemir's wording is construed as suggesting that his two pupils commissioned the work when they actually held the titles he gives them, it would point to 1705 (see E. Neubauer, op. cit., p. 347) as the earliest date.

of 'Alī Ufķī suggests, despite a number of significant changes, a generally high level of continuity in the many pieces common to both.

The most striking differences between them relate, rather, to the nature of the repertoires they contain. Whereas the various types of vocal and instrumental music included by 'Alī Ufķī give a fair idea of the wide range of genres that would have been encountered at court, from lengthy and complex *peşrevs* to strophic folk songs and dance pieces,²⁰ Cantemir is narrower in his approach, and not simply because he fails to notate any vocal music: implying a distinction that may well have been unknown to 'Alī Ufķī, his concerns are restricted to what may be described, however awkward the term, as the art-music end of the spectrum. In the treatise he only discusses those categories of instrumental and vocal music with which was associated a specific theory of modal (especially), rhythmic and formal structures; and it is precisely on the grounds that they were not deemed subject to those basic structures (termed the *uşûl-i mûsikî*) that he refuses to take account of genres associated with the *karadüzen* and *çögür* folk lutes.²¹

At the same time, the corpus is not without internal divisions. Most of it, if not all, was doubtless performable by a solo instrumentalist such as Cantemir himself, either as individual pieces played separately, or selected for inclusion within a cyclical form consisting of a prescribed sequence of instrumental or vocal and instrumental pieces (see 1.3.2). Such sequences would include examples of the two instrumental genres in the collection, *peşrev* and *semai*, and specific pieces in both would also have been included in two other and quite distinct repertoires: that of the Mevlevi rite (where the ney would have been the dominant melody instrument),²² and that of the *mehter*, the Janissary military band (where the equivalent instrument was the *zurna*).²³

Of his musical apprenticeship Cantemir tells us only its length, fifteen years, and the identity of his teachers. Any musicological literature that he might have examined would have had no effect on the practical acquisition of repertoire and technique, and on these crucial matters he remains silent. Both his teachers, Kemānī Aḥmed and Angeli, were Greek, the former a convert to Islam, the latter Orthodox, but this does not mean that his training in the theory and practice of the Ottoman musical tradition was in any way unorthodox: Angeli was a competent composer, and moreover sufficiently expert as a performer to have been hired alongside Kemānī Aḥmed as a teacher in the Palace School.²⁴ Although, inevitably, the taste (and patronage) of the urban Muslim élite was a major determinant of the direction that

20 Further such evidence can be gained from his contemporary Evliya Çelebi (see Feldman, op. cit., p. 22).

21 *edvâr*, p. 97: بونلردن ما عدا قره دوزن وچغور هوالری واردر که کرچه دیشیله ایرلایش اولورلر لکن اصول موسیقیده کیرمدکلی سببی ایله موسیقی قعیده سندن خارج اولوب تعریفلرینی ایلمک بیهوده زحمتدر.

22 Cantemir gives a fairly precise and full account of the Mevlevi *mukabele* (*Systemul*, pp. 399-400), but while he was no doubt personally acquainted with musicians and composers who were members of the order he nowhere indicates which pieces were so used.

23 A considerable number of pieces from Cantemir's collection have been identified as part of the *mehter* repertoire in H. Sanal, *Mehter musikisi. Bestekâr mehterler—mehter havaları*, Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1964.

24 İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, op. cit.

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musical culture would take, non-Muslims (or converts) were able to play a significant rôle, especially as performers, but also as teachers,²⁵ and occasionally as composers: those represented in Cantemir's collection include, in addition to Angeli, a Jew (Hārūn Yahūdī) and an Armenian (Ermenī Murād Çelebi). Indeed, it is quite possible that the distinctly Ottoman repertoire and idiom that had evolved during the sixteenth century was an amalgam of several cultural strands, and to the extent that this is so such non-Muslim musicians and composers may be regarded as continuing an earlier process, not merely working within a common tradition but actively contributing to its development.²⁶ In general, it appears to have been the case that both during and after Cantemir's years in Istanbul there was a permeability and openness about Ottoman society²⁷ that allowed gifted musicians unimpeded access to court patronage irrespective of origin, and no doubt incidentally helped reinforce a unity of musical culture among Muslim and non-Muslim communities alike: it is clear that the idiom of what is conventionally termed Ottoman art-music was to be adopted as normative among Greeks and Jews, the result being not only a continuing flow of performers and composers from these communities but also the creation of parallel vocal repertoires which conformed to shared compositional rules but set texts in Greek or Hebrew.²⁸

1.3 *Text*

It is said that in 1710, when Cantemir was at last offered the throne of Moldavia, he expressed his gratitude to the music-loving Aḥmed III by composing for him a semai which

25 Popescu-Județ, op. cit., p. 201, also mentions a Jewish musician, Halisar, who was a teacher at the Palace School.

26 A brief summary of changing social patterns of music making during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries (with particular reference to the sacred/secular divide) is given by Feldman, op. cit., pp. 21-3. Among the various strands alluded to would be elements of the increasingly marginal Persianate art-music repertoire; provincial styles including significant Anatolian elements (Feldman refers (p. 48) to the fascinating case of one of Cantemir's contemporaries, a chief müezzin known for his instrumental playing in Türkmen style); and even if there is no confirmatory evidence, it is reasonable to assume that local Istanbul styles would have absorbed Greek elements (H.S. Arel (*Türk musikisi kimindir*, Istanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi, 1969) will have none of this, but by concentrating solely on the problems of deciphering Byzantine notation largely misses the point).

27 For the important role played by non-Muslim instrumentalists see Feldman, op. cit., pp. 48-9; and pp. 62-4 for a characterization of attitudes during this period (which have provoked such labels as 'secularism', 'materialist' and even 'atheist'). For a general account of cultural contacts between Muslims and non-Muslims in the seventeenth century, see also Wurm, op. cit.

28 For the Greek community, even if dealing with a later period, see M. Bardakçı, *Fener Beyleri'ne Türk şarkıları*, Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1993. For Jewish participation see E. Seroussi, 'The Turkish makam in the musical culture of the Ottoman Jews: sources and examples', *Israel Studies in Ethnomusicology*, 5, 1990, 43-68; and 'The peshrev as a vocal genre in Ottoman Hebrew sources', *Turkish Music Quarterly*, 4/3, 1991, 1-9. A major source for sixteenth-century contacts is A. Tietze and J. Yahalom, *Ottoman melodies Hebrew hymns: a 16th century cross-cultural adventure*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1995. Given the immigration history of the Sephardi communities it seems clear that this period was essentially one of Jewish borrowing resulting in the creation of a large number of Hebrew *contrafacta* and the adoption of Ottoman modal and rhythmic norms and nomenclatures: the emergence of Jewish composers within the Ottoman tradition is essentially a seventeenth-century phenomenon.

was warmly appreciated by the Sultan.²⁹ But there is no indication of the nature of Aḥmed III's response to Cantemir's gift of a treatise, although assuming that he actually read the work an equally positive response is rather unlikely: given its novelty and relative complexity when set against earlier Ottoman texts on music he could be excused for finding its contents if not abstruse then at least occasionally puzzling. As for the collection of notations, he would probably have found this at best a curiosity; he can certainly have had not the slightest inkling of its historical importance. But there is no reason to suppose that he was ever confronted with it, for despite the intimate relationship between treatise and collection which would certainly have made it logical for Cantemir to present both together he does not mention having done so, and there are grounds for assuming that he did not: the collection, unlike the treatise, cannot be located within a tradition that the Sultan might have been expected to recognize and appreciate; in the form in which it survives it could be regarded as incomplete and hence inappropriate as a gift (and it is most unlikely, given the nature of its contents, that Cantemir would have made or commissioned another copy in a more polished and seemingly more finished form); and if, experimental early drafts apart, the version we have is the only one Cantemir made, the inclusion within it of materials in different and presumably later hands suggests not that it was left to accumulate dust on a palace library shelf but that it was entrusted on his departure from Istanbul to a pupil or other close musical colleague to whom he had taught his method of notation and who subsequently added further compositions to it.

In the one surviving manuscript the notations are preceded by the treatise, and it is clear that whatever was presented to Aḥmed III was not this particular copy of the text, for it lacks any dedication or eulogistic preamble. One might also have expected someone of Cantemir's status to have commissioned a calligrapher and perhaps also an illuminator to prepare the presentation copy, but the text as we have it, in a clear and bold but not particularly elegant hand, is presumably an autograph. The treatise is often given, for ease of reference, the generic designation *edvār* ('[Book of] cycles'), a practice which will be followed here. It has, however, the disadvantage of diverting attention from the very explicit and at the same time unusual title that Cantemir himself chose, *kitāb-ı 'ilm-i mūsīkī 'alā vech ül-ḥurūfāt*³⁰ ('Music theory through notation'). But although this underlines the clear conceptual link between the treatise and the appended notations, the importance of the *edvār* does not reside in the relatively small, if indispensable, amount of factual guidance it gives towards establishing and confirming a correct reading of those notations. Rather, it is an extensive and wide-ranging document providing information available from no other source on the conceptualization of the seventeenth-century Ottoman art-music tradition: it outlines salient features

29 Both the anecdote (for which no authority is given: it does not come from the *History*) and the putative composition are to be found in Burada, op. cit., pp. 62/140-65/143. There is no suggestion that this musical offering coincided with the presentation of the treatise, which may well have taken place somewhat earlier. The style of what now passes for the piece in question is at some remove from the compositional norms of Cantemir's day, and the thorny question of what might justifiably be ascribed to him from among the corpus of compositions that bear his name today is one that can only be approached after analysis of the collection as a whole. It will be addressed, briefly, in the Appendix (at 5.4).

30 In the original (p. 1) *ḥurūfāt* (Cantemir quite often writes *ḥ* in place of an etymologically correct *h*).

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of the pitch system; delineates the structure of individual modes; gives a precise description of the rhythmic cycles; provides an analytical survey of the major instrumental and vocal forms; explores concepts of modulation in the particular context of the improvised instrumental taksim; and, for the first time, describes the arrangement of the large-scale cyclical forms, the vocal and instrumental fasıl.

To explicate and evaluate this work as a whole lies beyond the scope of the present study, still less to trace the nature and extent of its impact on later theorists, even if it is clear that its influence, albeit rarely acknowledged, has been extensive and profound, lasting at least until the second half of the nineteenth century.³¹ All that can be attempted here is to review those aspects most directly helpful to an understanding of the notations. They will be considered at the appropriate juncture, so that it is specifically the introductory material on pitch, scale and mode that will be commented on in this section.

1.3.1 Background

That a work of such richness must contain echoes of earlier formulations is obvious, yet even in the one area where Cantemir explicitly acknowledges his indebtedness by reproducing material from elsewhere it is by no means easy to pinpoint the exact source(s), and in general the *edvâr* is rather difficult to situate within the tradition of writing on the theory of music in the Islamic Middle East. The so-called Systematist school, which dominated the field from the early thirteenth century until the end of the fifteenth, had by Cantemir's time long since vanished from the scene, leaving behind little more than the names of one or two authors who had become legendary as composers but whose theoretical works were largely if not completely forgotten.³² Particularly striking is the complete disappearance from later treatises, the *edvâr* included, of a major element in Systematist writing, 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, in ratio form (the Pythagorean diatonic tetrachord, for example, being expressed in terms of the intervals 9/8 9/8 256/243).

That later writers may have felt this to be complex and needless ballast need occasion no particular surprise. But that they should also have jettisoned the neat and efficient form of alphabetic-cum-numerical notation by which scales had been defined in Systematist treatises in favour of cumbersome circumlocutions is much harder to credit, so that one may suspect either a break in the tradition, with the later texts being written largely by practising musicians lacking the intellectual formation of their forbears and being simply unacquainted with earlier theory or, more likely, the coexistence of parallel streams of theoretical discourse, with one

31 For a full account of the manuscript and its contents see E. Popescu-Judet, *cartea*. For later reworkings of material from the *edvâr* within the Ottoman tradition see E. Popescu-Judet, *Meanings in Turkish musical culture*, Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1996, pp. 77-80. Cantemir's influence is still discernible in the mid-nineteenth century: works dated 1279/1863 (*teşrih-i makâmât-ı müsiki*, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi MS TY 804) and 1864 (Haşim Bey, *mecmû'a*) are still heavily reliant upon him; and as late as 1881 P.G. Keltsanides (*Methodike didaskalia theoretike te kai praktike*, Istanbul) was proclaiming the importance of Cantemir's work for an understanding of Greek music (I am indebted to Dr. R.M. Jäger for this reference).

32 Safî al-Dîn al-Urmawî (d. 1294), the earliest Systematist theorist, and, in particular, 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Marâğî (d. 1435), both of whom figure prominently as composers in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century song-text anthologies.

surviving long after the other, for reasons that are not wholly clear, had disappeared. Preference for the second interpretation is justified not merely because it accords less well with the unthinking assumption of long-term intellectual decline or, at best, stasis, but also because it accounts more readily for the production, already during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, of a number of texts which may well make ritual obeisance to the authority of al-Urmawī, but ignore the analytical content of Systematist theory in favour of providing a codification of the modes the essential characteristic of which is less musicological than cosmological: its various ramifications are articulated around the core structure of the zodiac, and it projects derivational relationships that are seemingly arbitrary to the extent that they do not accord with any observable criteria of intervallic structure or other modal features.³³

An unhelpful characteristic of various similar texts that are presumed to be later is that for the most part they are difficult to date. They usually lack a colophon, and when not anonymous are often by obscure authors, so that there are few treatises that can be assigned with any confidence to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In any case, the treatises that have the most obvious affinities with the *edvār* are not among them and it is, therefore, not readily demonstrable that they are earlier and could have served as models.³⁴ The fact that these texts are in either Arabic or Persian also raises the question of what theoretical writings were available—and for Cantemir presumably more readily accessible—in Ottoman Turkish. But those that are extant³⁵ have less rather than more in common with the *edvār*;³⁶ and the one contemporary work that has often been considered a likely potential influence, the hitherto inaccessible treatise by Nāyī ‘Oṣmān Dede, has recently been revealed to be just as distant as earlier Ottoman writings.³⁷ The reason for suspecting that Cantemir may have been familiar with it is not merely its proximity in time, but the fact that Nāyī ‘Oṣmān Dede also developed a similar system of notation. It might be argued that Cantemir could have conceived his own on the basis of the model provided by Systematist texts, but there is no evidence that he consulted these, and the parallels with Nāyī ‘Oṣmān Dede’s system are sufficiently close to make it too much of a coincidence for the two to have been created in total isolation one from the other, even if the relationship between them may have been one of emulation rather than

33 An early fourteenth-century model for such verbal descriptions is provided by the treatise by Ibn Kurr, *ġāyat al-maṭlūb fī ‘ilm al-aṅgām wa-l-ḍurūb*, BL MS Or. 9247. The cosmological association of the main set of twelve modes (*ṣudūd*) with the signs of the zodiac first appears in al-Ḥaṭīb al-Irbilī, *urjūzat al-aṅgām* (written 729/1328), *al-maṣriq*, 16, 1913, 895-901.

34 The difficulties of dating emerge clearly from the useful preliminary survey of the internal relationships between a group of such texts made by A. Shiloah, *The theory of music in Arabic writings (c. 900-1900). Descriptive catalogue of manuscripts in libraries of Europe and the U.S.A.* (Répertoire international des sources musicales: B X), Munich: Henle, 1979, no. 302.

35 For a general bibliographical survey see G. Oransay, *Die traditionelle türkische Kunstmusik*, Ankara: Küg-Veröffentlichungen, 1964, and O. Akdoğru, op. cit.

36 With respect to the specific area of modal description, a very clear indication of the contrast between Cantemir and his predecessors (and successors too, for that matter), is provided in G. Oransay, *melodische Linie*, pp. 83-5, where are juxtaposed descriptions of the makam uzzal taken from ten different sources from the mid-fifteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. That by Cantemir is much the longest and most detailed.

37 Nāyī Osman Dede, *Rabt-ı tâbirât-ı mûsikî*, transcribed F. Hariri, ed. O. Akdoğru, 2nd impr., Izmir, 1991. Like the *edvār*, this work is dedicated to Aḥmed III, and could therefore have postdated it.

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derivation.³⁸ But whether or not Cantemir was indebted to his older contemporary on the notation side, it is now clear that Nāyī 'Osmān Dede's verse treatise (incidentally in Persian), which deals with mode names, groupings, and a few abbreviated modal definitions, can have exerted no influence upon the development of Cantemir's own ideas. Indeed, Cantemir is quite contemptuous of those who have written on music, claiming not only that their knowledge is purely practical but that they actually dismiss theory.³⁹ This remark should not necessarily be taken at face value, but it is certainly possible that he gained as much from the views of his fellow musicians as he did from whatever texts he may have consulted.⁴⁰

A list of the notational symbols that Cantemir employs in his collection (displayed in Part i) is set out in the *edvār*. But he does not, strangely, have recourse to this much more efficient method of presentation in his analysis of the structure of individual modes, using instead verbal descriptions of melodic movement within which are embedded not symbols for but the names of the various pitches—exactly the type of description found in the earlier texts mentioned above and, presumably, that used by his contemporaries in their verbal definitions. Where Cantemir departs quite radically from the thematic range of the antecedent literature is in simply ignoring the whole tradition of cosmological speculation, represented in its most extreme form in one of the earliest extant Ottoman texts, the treatise by Seydī,⁴¹ where the whole first half is concerned with cosmology. He may on occasion resort to an astronomical metaphor, but there is now no trace of the complex series of associations which provided a rationale for integrating music into a world of cause and effect, so that it could have ascribed to it, say, ethical and therapeutic properties: he nowhere makes equations of the traditional type according to which mode *a* corresponds to heavenly body *x*.⁴²

38 Nāyī 'Osmān Dede used his notation to record some 70 instrumental pieces. E. Popescu-Judet, the only scholar to have had access to this manuscript, which remains in the private domain, notes its contents and compares the two systems of notation (*Meanings*, pp. 31-5). Their general principle is the same, and although in many cases quite different letter combinations are chosen there are also several pitches for which they use the same symbols.

39 *edvār*, p. 17: بلکلی بو آنه دکن شرح مقاماتی وادوار موسیقی، ایجاد و پیدا ایدنلر یالکز عملی کوروب قواعد علوم و شروط قوانین (کذا) اوزره بر نسنه تصنیف ایتمیشلر ... علمی انکار ایدوب عمله قناعت قلمیشلر .

40 Relevant here is to note that the material explicitly repeating earlier definitions (pp. 68-77) is introduced not by a reference to any specific textual source or sources but by the phrase *rivāyet ederler ki* ('it is related that'), which suggests oral transmission, and the authority then referred to is not any known theorist but a construct at once mythical and vague.

41 *hāzā el-maṭla' fī beyān el-edvār ve-'l-makāmāt ve fī 'ilm el-esrār ve-'l-riyāzāt*, Topkapı Sarayı, Ahmet III, no. 3459.

42 The omission was clearly deliberate, as he was certainly aware at least of the traditional linkage between a group of twelve makams and the signs of the zodiac (*Systema de religione et statu Imperii turcicii* (*Sistemul*, tr. V. Căndeia, loc. cit.), and one can detect the faintest after-echo of this form of conceptualization in his comparison (*edvār*, p. 78) of the four basic percussion symbols with the four elements. But more striking is to note that where (*edvār*, pp. 6-7) he does launch into an extended cosmological simile the context is again, unexpectedly, rhythm rather than mode, and the causation rational rather than magical:

عارضی اولان وزن موسیقی / بورجلر ایچنده حرکت شمس کبی که هر بر درجه ده بنوب اینمه سی ايله قمر التده اولان هواک تبدیل و تغیر اولسنه سبب اولور . ('Supplementary beats are like the motion of the sun across the constellations, which with each degree it ascends and descends causes change and alteration to the sublunary atmosphere.')

1.3.2 *Contents*

The following is a brief chapter-by-chapter outline sketch of the contents of the *edvār*: the information supplied on core areas will be examined in more detail below under various thematic heads.

Chapter 1 ('Defining notes' (*işāret-i perdehā-yi mūsikī*)), pp. 1-16, is both long and wide-ranging. But it begins without an introduction or any indication of the scope of the treatise or the reasons for its composition: Cantemir plunges straight into practicalities, and further betrays his distance from his major Systematist predecessors by making no attempt whatsoever to offer initial definitions, whether of the nature of music itself, of the concept of a note, or of the size of the intervals which constitute the general set of pitches with which he is initially concerned. We are simply presented with a list of the names of the notes of the gamut, and there follows a corresponding list of the symbolic shorthand representations of these various pitches which (although this is not said) will subsequently be used in the notations. Using these symbols, Cantemir then distinguishes (p. 2) between 'complete notes' (*tamām perdeler*) and 'incomplete notes' (*nā-tamām perdeler*)—for which terminology 'main notes' and 'secondary notes' will be substituted henceforth—and adds another classification according to octave register. Reverting to the main vs. secondary discrimination, further comments are made on functional differences and relationships between specific pitches. The next section ('Introduction to musical notation' (*medḥal-i 'ilm-i ḥurūfāt-i mūsikī*), p. 5) emphasizes the need to represent also duration, in order to reflect the rhythmic cycle, and introduces a concept which, much earlier, had been standard in theoretical writing, that of an unvarying underlying pulse (*vezn-i şubūtī*).⁴³ There is, finally, a reference to the potential of notation for accuracy of transmission.⁴⁴ The ensuing section (pp. 8-16) is concerned with introducing and describing in some detail the three notational codes for duration discussed in Part i, *vezn-i kebīr*, *vezn-i şağīr* and *vezn-i aşğar uş-şagīr*, and with providing representative examples.

The importance of the topic of notation is further underlined by the fact that it is only after it has been expounded at length in Chapter 1 that we come, in Chapter 2 (pp. 16-21), to an introduction to the science of music in general (*dibāce-i 'ilm-i mūsikī*). This begins with the claim that the topic is limitless (*ğayr-i nihāyet bir 'ilmdir*), in favour of which is argued the existence of infinite creative possibilities at the level of the *terkīb*, although at this stage no definition is offered for this term. To conclude the first section (p. 17), there is a brief discussion of the defects of previous scholarship, which for Cantemir was concerned solely with surface description and ignored underlying causes and systems, followed by a statement of his intention to define first music (*mūsikī*) and then its key constituents *perde*, *ağāze*, *nağme*, *terkīb* and *makām* before turning to an analysis of individual modes.

43 It is first elaborated by al-Fārābī, *kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr* (ed. Ġaṭṭās 'Abd al-Malik Ḥaşaḇa; rev. and intro. Maḥmūd Aḥmad al-Ḥifnī), Cairo: dār al-kitāb al-'arabī li-l-ṭibā'a wa-'l-naşr, [1967], pp. 438-40.

44 Since it allows the piece to be performed as the composer intends: *ورقم وزن ايله خرفك التده بند ايروب لازم اولان* / *پشوری یاخود بسته شرط مصنف اوزره اوچور*. Precisely the same point about fidelity to authorial intentions had been made by al-Marāḡi in his discussion of notation (*jāmi' al-alḥān*, ed. Taqī Biniş, Tehran: Mu'assassa-i muṭāla'āt wa-taḥqīqāt-i farhangī, 1366/1987, pp. 237-8.)

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This programme is then carried out in two sections devoted to definitions (*ta'rif*), the first (p. 18) termed general ('*alā vechi 'l-'umūm*), the second (pp. 19-21) particular ('*alā vech-i maḥṣūṣ*).⁴⁵ The former, accordingly, deals with music itself, defined as a melodic movement, rhythmically organized, limited in duration and arriving at a particular final cadence, which gives pleasure to the sense of hearing.⁴⁶ Various arguments are then put forward in defence of this definition, stress being laid on the guiding principles of modal and rhythmic structures. The latter then reintroduces the above list of key terms, adding to them references to forms (*beste*, *peşrev*) and rhythm, although these last do not reappear in the subsequent definitions, which provide an ascending hierarchy from note, through undefined melodic movement, to the final form of a completed melody to which can be assigned a particular modal identity. The definition of the term makam itself (pp. 20-1) is not so much of the concept (which is, in effect, the precipitate of the previous definitions) as of the various types or subdivisions that Cantemir recognizes: there is first a binary division into 'simple' (*müfred*) and 'compound' (*mürekkebi*), and then other categories are distinguished: high-register modes (*makām fî perde-yi a'lâ*), transposed modes (*şedd-i makām*), pseudo-modes (*şüreta makām*) and marginal modes (*mevcūd ül-isim ma'dūd ül-cisim*).

Chapter 3 (pp. 22-32) is the first of a group of four which map out the structures of the individual modes. Setting the programme for this core block, it has the comprehensive title 'The number and names of the modes' ('*aded ve-tesmiye-i makāmât*'), set centre-page, with, surrounding it, an additional second general title 'The musical modes according to the author' that both invokes tradition through the use of the term *edvâr-i mûsikî* and at the same time stresses that the definitions to come are Cantemir's own ('*alâ kavl-i ḥakîr*) and therefore potentially non-traditional. The first page enumerates the makams according to a sevenfold categorization congruent but not identical with the above, and also lists those *terkibs* generally considered makams, after which the remainder of the chapter analyses the makams belonging to the first and evidently most important category, those on low-register main notes.

The following chapters cover the other categories: Chapter 4 (pp. 33-45) deals with the high-register makams,⁴⁷ those using secondary notes⁴⁸ (which make up a further two of the seven) and the compound makams, while Chapter 5 (pp. 45-50) covers the pseudo and marginal categories, and also discusses transposition; and Chapter 6 (pp. 50-5) rounds off the group by giving a comparable account of the structure of those *terkibs* which are commonly categorized as makams.

In Chapter 7 (pp. 56-67) we move to the broad topic of modulation, beginning with the concepts of consonance and dissonance indicated in the title (*hiss-i ünsiyet dâdd-ı 'arbade-i mûsikî*). This assesses both vertical relationships (consonances at the octave, fourth and fifth; and also dissonant intervals) and linear movement, whether from note to note or mode

45 i.e. the section heading which is given by Cantemir himself, and later Toderini, as the title of the treatise he presented to Sultan Aḥmed.

46 موسیقی آوازك حركتيدركه وزن اصول اوزره زمان موقت ايله مكان محدوده قرار واستراحت ايدوب قوت سامعه به لطافت كتور[ر]

47 Here called *makāmât fî perdehâ-yi tiz*.

48 Here called *el-makāmât el-nisf el-perdehâ*.

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to mode, including a catalogue of modes listing for each those for which it lacks affinity.⁴⁹ The point is made that mastery of such relationships is necessary in order to create multiple modulations, and the chapter concludes with an outline route map of a complex modulating taksim.

Chapter 8 (pp. 68-77) quotes from earlier authorities, giving mode lists and abbreviated definitions. These are occasionally useful in relation to certain terkibs so marginal that Cantemir fails to provide a description, but do not otherwise need to be taken into account.

Chapter 9 (pp. 78-86) deals with the rhythmic cycles, first listing them and then providing definitions in the form of circles around which are inscribed both the quality and the duration of the various attacks.⁵⁰

From p. 86 there is a gap in the pagination, the next page being numbered 97, and even if Chapter 9 actually ends at p. 86 it is clear that material has been lost, for p. 97 begins with the heading not of a chapter but of a section, 'The fasıl and musical performance according to form' (*faşıl ve icrâ-yi mûsikî 'alâ vech-i nev'*). The forms considered are first the vocal genres *taksim*, *beste*, *nakış*, *kâr* and *semâ'î*, and then (p. 102) the instrumental *taksim*, *peşrev* and *semâ'î*, after which Cantemir reverts (p. 103) to the vocal *şarkı* before enumerating the various elements making up first the vocal fasıl (the above vocal genres, in the order given, but without the *şarkı*), then the instrumental (again, the three genres in the order given), and finally the rather more formal (*faşl-ı meclis*) combination of the two, which consists of the core vocal fasıl framed, with intervening pauses, by the instrumental fasıl, now separated into two parts, and of one further element to conclude. The whole sequence thus consists of: instrumental taksim, one or two peşrevs, pause, vocal taksim, beste, nakış, kâr, semai, pause, instrumental semai, and a final vocal taksim with instrumental bourdon accompaniment.

The final and quite extensive section (pp. 105-141) is made up of indexes and tables, aspects of which will be considered in 5.2 and 3.7 respectively.

1.3.3 Pitch

The first subject to be treated in the *edvâr*, pitch is dealt with essentially by enumeration rather than definition: the text supplies no information, at this point anyway, about relative interval sizes, so that the values implied by the representations given here are extrapolations.⁵¹ Cantemir first lists in ascending sequence 30 notes spanning a two-octave + wholetone gamut (from *yegâh*, *D*, to *tiz hüseyinî*, *e'*) which are at the same time the names of the open string (*yegâh*) and the various frets on the tanbur that produce them. This might suggest the notion of an abstract pitch set (*Generalleiter*), but it is important to observe that already at this initial stage Cantemir introduces a hierarchical distinction, indicating graphically that certain notes

49 Cantemir characterizes the relationship as one of 'coldness' (*bürüdet*). It is interesting to note that the modern Turkish equivalent, *soğukluk*, is also used in relation to jarring modulations (personal communication from Cem Behar).

50 Further details are given in the Introduction to Part i, pp. xix-xxi, where it is also pointed out that this chapter is incomplete, pp. 81-2 being missing.

51 See Part i, Introduction, pp. xiv-xviii.

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are of secondary status.⁵²

There follows a list of symbols for the various pitches which contains not 30 but 33 entries, for it includes c^\sharp , d^\sharp and c^\sharp' , absent from the fretting. The rather opaque linking comment implies not that these are extra pitch discriminations required over and above the basic tanbur fretting, but that for secondary notes more names than frets are needed, different names being used in different melodic contexts.

Using these 33 symbols, Cantemir then (p. 2) distinguishes between main notes (*tamām perdeler*) and secondary notes (*nā-tamām perdeler*). The former are stated to be 16 in number, being listed as:

$D \ E \ F^\sharp \ G \ A \ B^\flat \ c \ d \quad e \ f^\sharp \ g \ a \ b^\flat \ c' \quad d' \ e'$

while the latter are stated to be 17 in number, and are listed as:

$F \ F^\sharp \ G^\sharp \ B^\flat \ B \ d^\flat \ e^\flat \ d^\sharp \ f \ f^\sharp \ g^\sharp \ b^\flat \ b \ d^\flat' \ c^\sharp' \ e^\flat'$

that is, with c^\sharp omitted. One further note (and symbol) is then mentioned, C , which on the tanbur has to be produced by stopping a lower-pitched string.⁵³

There follows a section providing a different classification, this time dividing notes into three types (*nev'*) according to register. Thus among the main notes, $D \ E \ F^\sharp \ G \ A \ B^\flat \ c$ are classified as low register (*nerm*), $d \ e \ f^\sharp \ g \ a \ b^\flat \ c'$ as high second register (*tiz ikinci perdede*) and $d' \ e'$ as high third register (*tiz üçüncü perdede*); and reference is again made to C , which is assigned to an extra-low register (*ikinci perdede nerm*). The evidently implicit notion of octave reduplication is then spelled out, the notes from D to d being regarded as primary, with d marking the commencement of the second register.

Cantemir next (p. 3) seeks to distinguish between the main and secondary note sets, observing that in the former whether one moves up, e.g. from A to B^\flat , or down, e.g. from c to B^\flat , one arrives at the same note, whereas in the latter one may not, for e.g. the next secondary note up from d is e^\flat , while the next secondary note down from e [the next main note above d] is [not e^\flat but] d^\sharp . Important here is not the bizarre logic of this proposition, but what it reveals of the status of the main notes, their importance being such that in dealing with them as a set the existence of intermediate secondary notes can be ignored, while when dealing with the secondary notes as a set the notion of excluding the main notes is not even entertained.

The various pitches are then (pp. 3-5) reviewed in ascending order, starting from D . The

⁵² By writing beneath them *nim* ('half').

⁵³ بونلردن ما عدا بر پرده دخی یکاهک اوزرینده وضع اولتور که نرم چارگاه پرده سی اولور ھا اشارت مرقومک طنبروده پرده سی اولمغله لازم کلور که دوکاهک اهنک تلته باصوب راست پرده سینک اوزرینده نرم چارگاه صداسی اجرا اولتور .

Exactly the same definition is given again, in only slightly varied form, on the following page. In relation to a main melody string tuned to *yegâh*, represented here as D , another tuned to (the octave below) *dügâh*, \underline{A} , would yield D if stopped at the *rast* fret, a fourth above the open string: what is needed is to stop it at the minor third (*acem aşiran*) fret, and the phrase *rast perdesiniñ üzerinde* must be understood accordingly, as a circumlocution for the appropriate fret 'above' *rast* on the string, that is, lower in pitch. Although not mentioned in the expository material, it emerges from the discussion of individual makams that there was also an occasional call for C^\sharp , which likewise could not be produced on the main melody string of the tanbur.

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absence of a secondary note between *D* and *E* is attributed to the non-existence of any mode needing one, and comment on *F* is also mode-specific: normally called *acem aşiran*, when used in the context of the *makam irak* it has, rather, the status of a cadential grace note.⁵⁴ That name is determined by function is again emphasized in the next remark, to the effect that in relation to *irak* the next secondary note (*F#*) has no name, i.e. it is never used in this context, whereas in descending from *G* (i.e. in the context of the *makam rast*) it is called *rehavi-yi cedîd* (although previously it had been referred to simply as *rehavi*). Below *A*, as we would expect from the previous list, is *G#*, called *zengüle*, but Cantemir also mentions a hypothetical pitch above *G* which he terms a transposition (*şedd*) of *saba*, *db*, suggesting therefore the value *Ab*. The differing functions defined for *F* then recur in relation to *Bb*, called *nihavent* if the secondary note above *A*, but not if the cadential grace note (*tetimme*) below *Bb*, in which function it may be called *maye*. Even greater terminological variation occurs above *Bb*: the one fret between *Bb* and *c*, which Cantemir always symbolizes by the first letter of the name *buselik*, is called *rehavi-yi 'atîk* when considered a secondary note above *Bb*, but *buselik* in relation to *c* and *nişabur* in relation to *c#*, evidently pointing to the principal modal affiliations of the intervals *B - c* and *B - c#* respectively. The discussion of *F* is repeated for *f*, which is termed according to context *acem* or, in relation to *f#*, the *tetimme* of *evîç*. On the remaining and somewhat abbreviated material the only point worth noting is the inadvertent omission of any reference to *f#* as *mahur*.

1.3.3.1 Interval sizes

The notes symbolized by these 33 signs, Cantemir says, encompass the whole range of *nağme*, *ağāze*, *terkîb* and *mağām*. But before turning to the meaning of these terms it might be helpful to go back over one or two points about the intervals to which the note symbols correspond. These are nowhere defined by Cantemir, but a number of uncontroversial conclusions can still be reached, and a general outline has been provided in Part i.⁵⁵ Within the main-note set the one problem concerned the intonation of *Bb* and *f#* (and their corresponding octaves), but fortunately the lengthy further discussion threatened in the Introduction to Part i can now be dispensed with thanks to Feldman's detailed examination of the issues involved, and the main points may be summarized briefly as follows:⁵⁶

If we begin by accepting the representation of *yegâh* by *D* as an arbitrary convention derived from modern Turkish notational norms it seems sensible to make a further gesture towards modern habits by representing the remaining main notes of the octave as *E F# G A Bb c*. But there are no grounds for assuming that the seventeenth-century intonation of

54 The term used is *tetimme* 'supplement'. The translation 'leading note' would not be wholly appropriate since, as Cantemir is at pains to point out in a clarificatory comment, this extra note is introduced as a cadential elaboration after the finalis has been reached:

اگر عراق پرده سندن نرمه واروب نیم پرده ده باصرسک اول زمان عجم عشیرانی اولز وتتمه پرده و اغازه عراق اولور. اکاه اولکی تتمه پرده اولدر که بر پرده نک قرارینه واریلدوغی زمانده التنده اولان نیم پرده دوقنوب کنه تمام پرده ده قرار قمر و تمام پرده نک مقامی اجرا اولنور .

55 Introduction, pp. xiv-xviii (which includes a list of Cantemir's note names and symbols).

56 op. cit., pp. 202-13, 216-7.

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F^\sharp and B^\flat was the same as that of their modern Turkish counterparts. Cantemir here uses only one symbol to cover an area where modern Turkish practice distinguishes three discrete pitches, and his tanbur, like the modern Persian setar, had only one corresponding fret. It seems clear that this was placed more or less at the intermediate modern value (which is considered, in relation to a theoretical whole tone of 9 commas, to be 2.5 commas flat), and produced approximate threequartertone intervals in relation to the neighbouring main notes ($E - F^\sharp - G$ and $A - B^\flat - c$). We thus have a main-note set incorporating neutral intervals and resembling both contemporary Persian and Arab norms and those that can be disengaged from the earlier theory. Accordingly, if we use the current Persian symbols *koron* (ک) and *sori* (س) to indicate, respectively, a lowering or raising by an approximate quartertone, the intervallic values of the $G - g$ rast scale of Cantemir's day can be represented as:

G	A	B^\flat	c	d	e	f^\sharp	g
1	2	3 ^ک	4	5	6	7 ^س	1'

and assuming that the secondary notes flanking 3^ک and 7^س are approximately a quartertone higher or lower (and therefore a semitone below or above the next main note) we arrive at:

1	2	3 ^ب	3 ^ک	3	4	5	6	7 ^ب	7 ^س	7	1'
---	---	----------------	----------------	---	---	---	---	----------------	----------------	---	----

where the divided whole tones, e.g. 2 - 3 ($A - B$) or 3^ب - 4 ($B^\flat - c$), consist of a semitone and two quartertones, in the first case ascending, in the latter descending.

These values seem relatively secure. Problems arise, rather, with the other wholetones where there are two internal divisions, for here values are less easy to establish. In the case of $G - A$ we are offered both a secondary note below A , called zengûle, and a hypothetical note above G , but when we turn to, say, $c - d$ and $d - e$ there appears to be nothing hypothetical about the existence of a secondary note above c , called saba, alongside another below d , called uzzal, or of a secondary note above d , called beyati, alongside another below e , called hisar. It might be thought, by analogy, that, say, the series $c - saba - uzzal - d$ and $d - beyati - hisar - e$ should correspond either to 1 2^ب 2^س 2⁵⁷ or, conceivably, to 1 1^س 2^ب 2:

1	2 ^ب	2 ^س	2	1	1 ^س	2 ^ب	2
c	d^\flat	d^\sharp	d	c	c^\sharp	d^\flat	d
d	e^\flat	e^\sharp	e	d	d^\sharp	e^\flat	e

but there is little evidence to support such a view, and more that runs counter to it.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Feldman makes the same point, but the following discussion follows a rather different course from his (op. cit., pp. 213-6), and is consequently more detailed than hitherto.

⁵⁸ It might be argued that Cantemir's account of transposition (pp. 39-40) implies that $d - beyati - hisar - e$ should correspond to 1 2^ب 2^س 2, for it speaks of a transpositional relationship between rast (G) and çargâh (c), so that corresponding to $G - B^\flat$ one should encounter $c - e^\flat$. However, such evidence is inconclusive, for it may be that Cantemir is speaking rather of a cross between transposition and modulation, in which case there need be no such implication. His series of relationships includes, for example, acem (f) and buselik (B), and it is inconceivable that he means that the core scale of acem, $A - B^\flat - c - d - e - f$, was to be, or indeed could be, transposed down an augmented fourth, so that what is probably to be understood in this case is that the scale of buselik, suitably extended into the lower register, would allow acem to be transposed down a perfect fourth.

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Assuming that both wholetones had the same internal structure, the second arrangement of intervals can certainly be excluded, for among the perfect fourth and fifth relationships listed by Cantemir (pp. 56-7) we find *sünbüle* ($b\flat$) and *beyati*, which must therefore be $e\flat$ and not $d\sharp$. With regard to the 1 $2\flat$ $2\sharp$ 2 arrangement we may begin by observing a distributional contrast: whereas the sequences $A - B\flat - c$ and $A - B\sharp - c$ both occur, one may note a tendency for *beyati* ($e\flat$) to occur between d and f to the exclusion of *hisar*.⁵⁹ A further and more crucial mismatch is that whereas e.g. $B\flat$ and $B\sharp$ (that is, $2\flat$ and $2\sharp$ within the $A - B$ wholetone) may co-occur in certain contexts, this never happens with the pitches called *saba* and *uzzal* or those called *beyati* and *hisar*, and one reason that suggests itself is that the interval between them was too uncomfortably small for them to be juxtaposed. It is interesting to observe in this connexion that when (p. 58) giving an example of a dissonant succession of notes Cantemir begins $A - B\flat - B\sharp - B$, including every possible step, but then continues $c - uzzal - d - beyati - e$, omitting *saba* and *hisar*, possibly because the idea that they might co-occur with *uzzal* and *beyati* respectively was simply too outlandish. Accordingly, it would be reasonable (and also, incidentally, in conformity with modern Turkish norms of analysis, if not of nomenclature) to think of these two wholetones not as parallel to those with a 1 $2\flat$ $2\sharp$ 2 internal structure, but as divided optimally into L (limma) + C (comma) + L:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} c & d\flat & (\text{saba}) & c\sharp & (\text{uzzal}) & d & e\flat & (\text{beyati}) & d\sharp & (\text{hisar}) & e \\ L & & & C & & L & L & & C & & L \end{array}$$

In the absence of any positive definition of interval sizes further evidence that such may have been the case again needs to be sought in Cantemir's material on consonant relationships, some of it implied in his treatment of transposition. Unfortunately, the latter turns out to be inconclusive, despite the fact that the framework is primarily of straightforward relationships at the fourth or fifth, as exemplified by the first secondary-note pair (p. 50), *nihavent* and *acem*, which clearly points to a perfect fifth relationship between $B\flat$ (*nihavent*) and f (*acem*). The series also includes *uzzal* and *şehnaz*, and *uzzal* and *zengüle*, again pointing to perfect fifth ($c\sharp - g\sharp$) and perfect fourth ($c\sharp - G\sharp$) relationships, but as it fails to offer any anchorage for these to one of the main notes the size of, say, the $c\sharp - d$ interval cannot be determined. Disconcertingly, however, the second pair, which immediately precedes *uzzal* and *şehnaz* ($c\sharp - g\sharp$), is *saba* and *şehnaz* ($d\flat - g\sharp$),⁶⁰ and that this is not just an aberration is shown later by the inclusion in the list of consonant relationships (p. 57) of *hisar* - *nihavent* ($d\sharp - B\flat$). These two cases thus seem to indicate either that Cantemir was prepared to include in his scheme fourths and fifths that were a little less than perfect, or that rather than being small the interval between *saba* and *uzzal* and *beyati* and *hisar* respectively was in fact non-existent, in other words that these pairs provided no more than contextually determined terminological variants for the same pitch. It would be tempting to cite in support of the latter conclusion the analyses of the *makams*, where *saba* is defined (p. 36) as the half note (*nim perde*) between c

59 While *hisar* generally occurs between c and e to the exclusion of d , and often appears to function as a leading note to e .

60 Cantemir distinguishes the two pairs by the direction of the relationship, *uzzal* and *şehnaz* descending, *saba* and *şehnaz* ascending.

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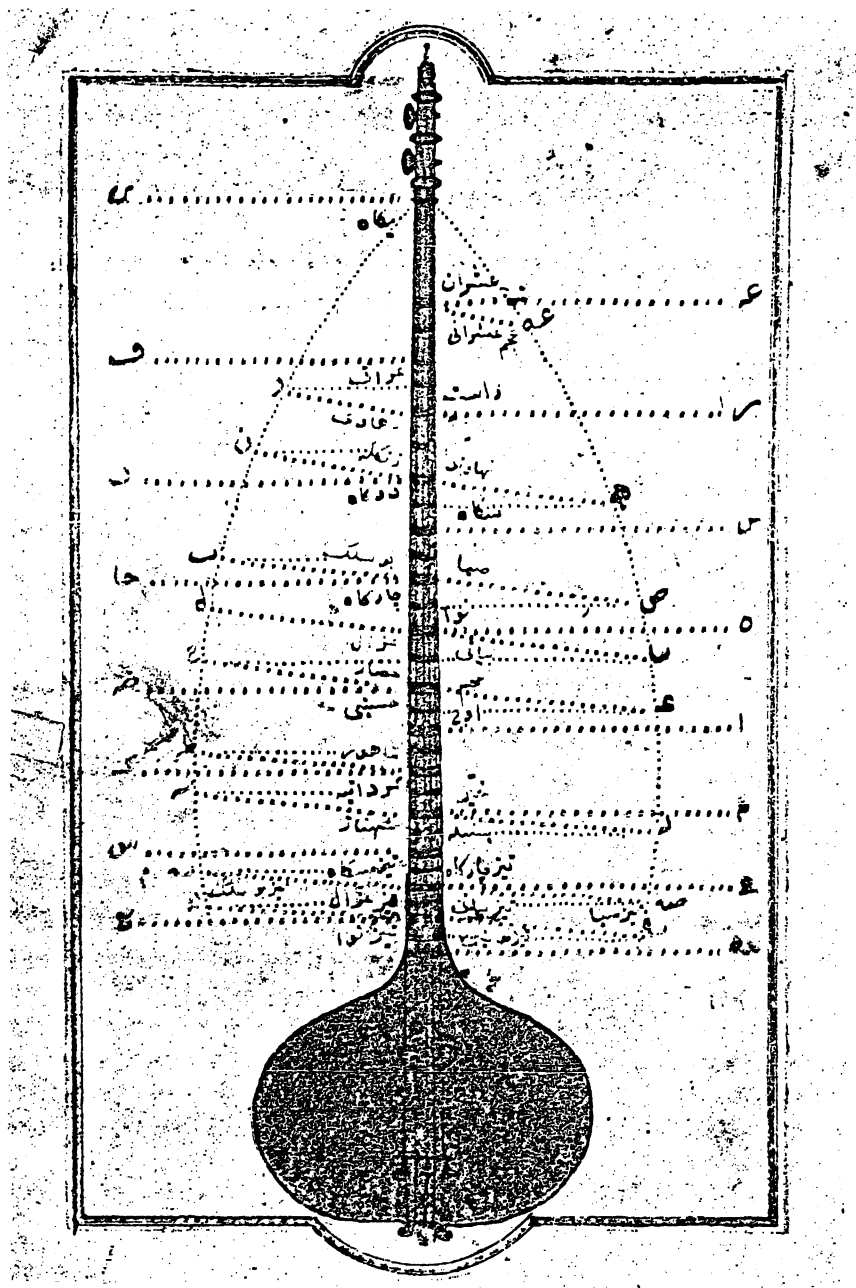
and *d*, uzzal (p. 39) as the half note between *d* and *c*, beyati (p. 37) as the half note between *d* and *e*, and hisar (p. 39) as the half note between *e* and *d*. But as buselik (*B*) is similarly described as the half note between *c* and *B* the half-note terminology cannot be taken as a precise indication of interval size (the point rather is the order or direction of the definition, the second member being in each case the pitch which the note being defined replaces in the eponymous makam). Nevertheless, it is certainly the case that elsewhere Cantemir does provide alternative names for the same note (e.g. maye for nihavent), and even more telling is to recall the reason for his omission of *c*[♯], *d*[♯] and *c*[♯]' from the initial statement of the global pitch set, which suggests that as in the above definitions of the half notes the direction of the melody dictated which name should be used for them, so that there was a surplus of symbols to pitches. Accordingly, over the two octave *D* - *d*' range one could postulate a system with rather fewer functional (i.e. phonemic) pitch discriminations than symbols and names, with several whole tones being divided simply into two semitones (indicated in table 1 arbitrarily by 1 2 2):

<i>D</i>	yegâh	<i>d</i>	neva
		<i>e</i> ^b	beyati = hisar (<i>d</i> [♯])
<i>E</i>	aşiran	<i>e</i>	hüseyini
<i>F</i>	acem aşiran	<i>f</i>	acem
<i>F</i> [♯]	ırak	<i>f</i> [♯]	eviç
<i>F</i> [♯]	rehavi (-yi cedîd)	<i>f</i> [♯]	mahur
<i>G</i>	rast	<i>g</i>	gerdaniye
<i>A</i> ^b	(şedd-i saba) = zengüle (<i>G</i> [♯])	<i>a</i> ^b	(Ø) = şehnaz (<i>g</i> [♯])
<i>A</i>	dügâh	<i>a</i>	muhayyer
<i>B</i> ^b	nihavent/maye	<i>b</i> ^b	sünbüle
<i>B</i> [♯]	segâh	<i>b</i> [♯]	tiz segâh
<i>B</i>	rehavi-yi 'atîk/buselik/nişabur	<i>b</i>	tiz buselik
<i>c</i>	çargâh	<i>c</i> '	tiz çargâh
<i>d</i> ^b	saba = uzzal (<i>c</i> [♯])	<i>d</i> ^b '	tiz saba = tiz uzzal (<i>c</i> [♯])
		<i>d</i> '	tiz neva

Table 1

There is nothing intrinsically odd in, say, *d*^b having one name in the context *c* - *d*^b (which excludes *d*), and another in the context *d* - *d*^b (which excludes *c*), but it may well have been the case that slightly different intonational norms were felt appropriate to each, and it would make quite reasonable sense for most of the repertoire to think in such instances of a single semitone fret on the tanbur the position of which could be adjusted (by, say, a comma up or down) to arrive at the optimum value for the mode in question. Later such differences would crystallize into discrete pitches with a fret each, and it is tempting to deduce from Cantemir's own tanbur illustration (fig. 2) that this development had already taken place, for it includes uzzal alongside saba and hisar alongside beyati. But within the *c* - *e* range the number of note names is in excess of the number of frets marked in on the neck of the instrument, and it

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Cantemir's tanbur illustration

may be added that the illustration also includes *tiz uzzal* as well as *tiz saba*, for which separate frets were unlikely to have been introduced before the second half of the eighteenth century.⁶¹ There is, therefore, nothing here to contradict the information, given on the very first page of the treatise, that the fretting of the *tanbur* as Cantemir knew it did not include more than one secondary note between each two main notes.⁶²

To revert to the pitch symbols used in the transcriptions, one final clarification is needed. Within the set of main notes \sharp , which occurs only with *F* and *f*, denotes an approximate quartertone raising, but elsewhere there are a few instances where it appears with *A* (*A* \sharp being used as an equivalent for *B* \flat) and *e* (*e* \sharp being used as an equivalent for *f*), and here \sharp denotes a semitone raising.⁶³

1.3.4 From note to mode

If one or two details are debatable the broad picture of Cantemir's intonational standards thus seems reasonably clear. More complex and interesting is how he conceives the basic elements of pitch combining to form musically meaningful wholes, and here we come back to the key terms *perde*, *ağāze*, *nağme*, *terkib* and *makām*, which are presented (pp. 19-20) in an evidently hierarchical sequence.

However,

- (1) The term *perde* is not really defined; rather, he simply reverts to his previous distinction between the different functional loads of main notes (*tamām perdeler*) versus secondary notes (*nim (= nā-tamām) perdeler*), the former viewed as unvarying in value, the latter as contextually determined.
- (2) It is thus only with the second term, *ağāze*, that Cantemir begins to make the nature of the series clear, for from the implied notion of a single (even if not context-free) note, we move to that of an inchoate and unfocused melodic movement insufficiently specific to be assigned to a given mode.⁶⁴
- (3) With *nağme* we arrive at the next stage, that of a clearly profiled melody the modal identity of which, in the absence of a finalis (*karār-ı istirāhat*), can still not readily

61 Fonton provides a parallel discrepancy: his drawing of the *tanbur* has, alongside, the fret names, and these include e.g. both *tiz beyati* (*e* \flat) and *tiz hisar* (*d* \sharp), but in the text he says that above *e* 'il n'y a plus qu'un demi-ton entre les intervalles' (Neubauer, op. cit., fig. 2 and p. 294/46).

62 Accordingly, in the Introduction to Part i (p. xiv) it would have been more accurate to speak of 'various pitch designations' rather than of 'various pitch levels', while on p. xvi the comments on *saba* and *uzzal* may be regarded as anachronistic.

63 A further instance of the same value is provided by the *c* \sharp in piece 284, an inadvertent reflex of modern Turkish habits of notation. The original has *d* \flat , but the context is the tetrachord 1 2 \flat 3 4, which in the lower octave Cantemir always notates *A B \flat c \sharp d*, and could have notated here *a b \flat c \sharp d'*. The unorthodox choice of *d* \flat here may therefore be taken as a further pointer to there having been just a two semitone division of the *c* - *d* wholetone.

64 آغازہ اولدر کہ کرک تمام کرک نیم پر[د]ہ نک اوزرینده آوازی حرکتسز طوتسک کرچہ اول پرده نک صداسنی واغازہ سنی ویر ، لکن نہ مقام اولدوغی بیان ایتمز .

be determined.⁶⁵

- (4) The definition of *terkib*, unfortunately, does not build on that of *nağme* but is essentially dependent on that of *maḳām*. It nevertheless fits in appropriately at this point in a series of increasingly goal-oriented structures, being defined in terms of a melody that may touch upon various makams but eventually settles on the finalis of one, being then regarded as a *terkib* of that makam and subordinate (*tābi'*) to it.⁶⁶

On the basis of the above it might have been anticipated that *maḳām* would be described quite simply in terms of a clearly profiled melody the modal identity of which is clinched by its finalis. However, rather than provide a general definition of this type Cantemir launches directly into a discussion of the various categories of makam, and in most cases consideration of his definitions may usefully be delayed until particular instances are encountered. It is, nevertheless, worth noting here that the first and evidently most important category comes full circle by linking up with the initial distinction between main and secondary notes:

- (5) A simple makam (*müfred maḳām*, here contrasted with *mürekkeb*, 'compound') is one which has the following features: it selects one of the eight main notes as characteristically prominent (*kuṭb-ı daire*), thereby showing, whether in descent or ascent, that it is the makam associated with that note, and distinguishing itself from other makams; it subordinates to itself those *terkibs* associated with its notes; and it confirms its identity through arrival at a particular finalis.⁶⁷

Thus although recognition is accorded, as anticipated, to the crucial role of the finalis, what receives greater stress is the notion of prominence within a given pitch set as a determinant of modal identity. There is no mention of any particular melodic profile and the implication is, indeed, of the lack of any restriction beyond what is implied by the prominence of a given note. The point is again made that *terkibs* are subordinate to makams, but at this stage there is insufficient evidence to determine whether the relationship is based on objective criteria or is arbitrary.

1.3.4.1 Systemic creativity

Related to this hierarchy is a set of ideas which stresses the notion of creative potential, and thereby extends considerably the semantic field of the term *terkib*. In Chapter 2 Cantemir adduces in favour of his initial claim that music is limitless a rather muddled analogy with the

65 نغمه اولدر که کرچه آوازک حرکتی اولور لکن قرار استراحتی ایتمدن نه مقامده اولدوغی فصل ایتمیوب کوش ایده نی شبهه ده طوتر . قرار استراحتی ایلدیکده اول زمان فلان وفلان / مقامک نغمه سی دینلور .

66 ترکب اولدر که آواز بر قچ پرده نک اوزرینده حرکت ایدوب ویر قچ مقامک یرلرینه اوغرایوب کچر بعده اوغراووغی مقاملرک بریسیپنک قرارگاهنه واروب واندۀ قرار استراحتی ایلوب اول مقامک تراکیندن اولوب واول مقامه تابع اولدوغنه بیان ایدر .

67 مفرد مقام اولدر که سکز تمام پرده لک اورتۀ سندۀ اولان پرده قطب دایرۀ پرده ها ایدوب کرک تیزدن نرمة کرک نرمدن تیزه واریلسه قطب مزکور اول پرده نک مقامی اولدوغنه بالذات کوستر ، وسایر مقاملردن بلا شبهه فصل وتغریق اولنور ، واول پرده لره منصوب اولان ترکیباتی کندویه تابع ایتدیر ، ومحصوص اولان قرارگاهنه واردقندنصره اجرای تتمۀ مقام ایلدیکنه بیان ایدر .

PRELUDE

productive capacity of a small set of letters (*hurūf*, i.e. sounds or, in more recent parlance, phonemes) in relation to language. He begins by referring to the open-ended (*nā-mahdūd*) nature of the *terkibs*, which is very specifically contrasted with the closed (*maḥdūd*) *makams*, thus obviously suggesting a contrast between open and closed sets of modes. The immediately ensuing linguistic analogy points, however, in a rather different direction, for the *terkibs* are next compared with the 24 letters (of the Arabic alphabet) which create the syllables (*hece*) which combine to form the words (*luḡat*) of various languages, the implication being that the *terkibs* are not so much a set of entities separate from and contrasted with the *makams* but are in some way constitutive of them. But there is then an immediate change of tack, for the following statement equates with the 24 letters the set of 33 pitches that, we are now told, have the potential to generate a limitless number of *terkibs*, which would again accord with, although it certainly does not require, the interpretation of *terkib* as a particular form of mode.

In fact, the further development of the argument allows for another interpretation. Here Cantemir presses two parallel claims: that just as speech is possible (and, by implication, infinitely variable) within the limits of a given language, so within the confines of each one of a limited set of *makams* drawn from the whole set of pitches several *terkibs* are combined within each composition; and that just as in a language there may exist neglected and obsolete words created from the 24 letters, so within the limited set of *makams* drawn from the 33 pitches an infinite number of *terkibs* can be created.⁶⁸ The reference in the second claim to obsolete (*nā-mūsta'mel*) words seems gratuitous, but lurking here is an analogy with what Cantemir will later classify as obsolete *terkibs*. These are most definitely modes, but it is clear from the main thrust of this argument, as equally from the first, that Cantemir is now invoking a formal framework for the term *terkib*, that of a subsection within a composition, so that from an initial opposition which strongly suggested a conceptual discrimination or hierarchy between two classes of modes we have moved to a fundamental statement of the infinite creative possibilities available within the limited confines of a single mode. Using a slightly different terminology, Cantemir's language/music parallel in this latter formulation may be stated as:

finite:	set of phonemes	set of pitches
infinite:	utterance	<i>terkib</i>
finite:	(frame of individual) language	(frame of individual) <i>makam</i>

But to conclude this section Cantemir produces a similar set of equivalences of his own, and here a further musical term is introduced to fill a gap and complete the four-term homology by providing at last an equivalent to the intermediate level, between letters and words, of the syllable:

68 The text (pp. 16-17) reads:

ونه دگلو جمله ملّترك لسانلری تحدید اولوب هرکس کندو لسانی اوزره مکالمه ایدر ، او دگلو جمله پرده لرك مقاملری محدود اولوب هر بر بسته یاخود پشرو / بر مقامک اوزرینده تصنیف اولوب بر قچ تراکیدن مرکب اولمشدر . و نه شکل یکریمی دورت خروفتدن دخی نیچه نیچه حدّ وحساب یوق که بر لسانه بکزمیه مهمل ونا مستعمل لغتار ایجاد اولنالور ایدی ، اول شکل اوتوز اوچ پرده دن ومحدود اولان مقاملرك ایچنده بی نهاییه تراکب تصنیف ومركب اوله بلور ایدی .

MODE

letters	pitches
syllable	agāze
word	terkib
language	makam ⁶⁹

The analogy is now exact, and the positioning of agāze captures precisely its intermediate character as a constituent of a larger structure that is in itself incomplete.

But there is at the same time an apparent paradox. The word→language relationship, where combinatorial creativity resides ultimately in the latter (so that Cantemir's sequence is, on the language side, precisely cumulative), seems to be the opposite of the terkib→makam one, where it is at the level of terkib that unbounded creativity is stressed. The paradox may be resolved if we understand language to mean not the endless flux of utterance but, essentially, its underlying grammar. The analogy is thus with makam conceived of as a finite set of generative rules of infinite productive power;⁷⁰ and it is to a discussion of musical grammar and its creative potential as manifested specifically in the rich instrumental repertoire recorded by Cantemir that we may now turn.

69 p. 17:

ایمدی خروفه پرده لر ، هجه یه اغازه ، لغتده (sic) ترکب ، لسانه مقام ، تشبه ایدوب کتج موسیقینک مختارینی اله المی مقید
اوله سن .

70 As with so much else in the *edvār*, the origins of this fascinating speculation on the parallels between music and language are not readily apparent. There is no obvious antecedent in the surviving Ottoman musical treatises, which do not seem to touch upon the music/language relationship at all. On the European side one can point already in the *Musica Enchiriadis* to an equation of letters and sounds, and to syntactic analogies between language and music (see H.S. Powers, 'Language models and musical analysis', *Ethnomusicology*, 24/1, 1980, 1-60), but Cantemir cannot have been aware of such mediæval sources. He may, on the other hand, have been aware of Renaissance humanist views on the importance of the appropriate setting of words, but these envisaged a union of verse and song expressly designed to recreate the ethical powers of music as understood from classical authorities, and this could hardly have suggested to him such a dynamic concept of music and language as equivalent creative systems. Equally distant is the Baroque development of ideas on the relationship between rhetoric and music (*Affektenlehre*). On the Islamic side there is also a commonplace emphasis on the notion of appropriateness in matching words and music, but apart from a general comparison drawn by al-Fārābī between music and language as being both rule-governed systems (*kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr*, p. 488, a source that in any case may not have been known to Cantemir) there is nothing in the theoretical literature that further develops the analogy between the two, and certainly not in the way Cantemir does.

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