

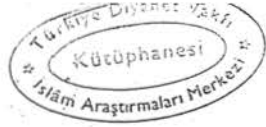
SUFISM MUSIC AND SOCIETY

IN TURKEY AND THE MIDDLE EAST



Edited by Anders Hammarlund, Torbjörn Olsson, Elisabeth Özdalga
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Structure and Evolution of the Mevlevî Ayîn: The Case of the Third Selâm

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Probably somewhat earlier than the appearance of the courtly *fasıl*, the Mevlevî dervishes had developed a liturgy employing a cyclical concert format. While sharing a general function with the *semâ'* of medieval Sufis and the general cyclical (suite) principle and a few items with the Ottoman courtly *fasıl*, the Mevlevî *âyîn* has developed into a musical structure of such originality that it must be discussed as a sui generis phenomenon.

The early history of the two genres - courtly *fasıl* and Mevlevî *âyîn* - is quite divergent. While courtly music seems to have received considerable patronage in fifteenth century Anatolia, the imperial conquests of Selim I and of Süleyman I inaugurated an era of musical stasis and even decline as the Ottoman court attempted to pattern itself on the music of the Safavids, excluding indigenous instruments and preventing the development of indigenous musical genres. It is only in the last third of the sixteenth century that Ottoman instrumental music shows new independent development, through expansion of the *peşrev* form and the creation of the *taksîm*. At the beginning of the next century the characteristic Ottoman vocal compositional forms, the *beste* and *semâ'î*, make their appearance, in a cyclical format, employing Turkish-language texts, composed by Ottoman composers and performed on distinctively Ottoman instruments, such as the *tanbûr* and the new form of *ney*.¹

The importance of the Mevlevî order within Ottoman Turkish music must be assessed from several points of view. An organized ritual, known as *âyîn* or *mukabbele*, based on musical compositions emerged in the fifteenth century under the direction of Pîr Adil Çelebi (1421-1460).² Mevlevî tradition, which will be discussed below, offers some compelling evidence that the basic structure of the *âyîn* was already in place at some time prior to the seventeenth century. This musical structure, while adopting the essential modal and intonational principles of the contemporaneous art music, resisted the adoption of all the composition forms, either of sixteenth century Iranian art music or of the nascent Turkish art music of the seventeenth century. When an independent Anatolian Turkish art music emerged again in the early seventeenth century, the Mevlevî dervishes interacted in several significant ways with this newly developing music. By the middle of the century Mevlevî *neyzens* constituted more than half of the master flutists named by Evliyâ Çelebi, and by the turn of the century they occupied an equally prominent position at the court. Furthermore, their instrument, the reed-flute *ney* becomes the second instrument of the courtly ensemble, a unique development within Islamic art music.³

¹ This paragraph summarizes the argument presented in Walter Feldman, *Music of the Ottoman Court: Makam, Composition and the Early Ottoman Instrumental Repertoire*, (Berlin: 1996), ch. 1, pp. 45-64.

² Ekrem Işın, "Mevlevîlik", *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 4, 1994, p. 423.

³ Feldman, *Music of the Ottoman Court*, pp. 136-142.

Most of the constituent items of the *fasıl* and the *âyîn* have different lineages, but during the sixteenth century a degree of mutual borrowing seems to have occurred - those structural features held in common by *fasıl* and *âyîn* must predate the seventeenth century. During the later seventeenth century, the composers of *âyîns*, such as Mustafa Dede, Osman Dede and Mustafa İtrî, were also composers of the courtly *fasıl*, but the courtly *fasıl* and the Mevlevî *âyîn* were already two distinct musical structures.⁴ After this period the only major borrowing from one genre to the other is the rhythmic transformation of the third *selâm* and adoption of the new form of *peğrev* in the new *usûl devr-i kebîr* and the introduction of some secular *semâ'î* melodies into the Mevlevî repertoire, which seem to have occurred at the end of the eighteenth century.

The Sufî origin of the term *semâ'î* also reinforces the likelihood that the *semâ'î* may have been borrowed by the court musicians from the Mevlevî *âyîn*. The sections (*selâms*) of the *âyîn* exhibit a fixed succession of rhythmic cycles but these do not follow the cyclical principles of the *fasıl*, and of most other courtly Islamic cyclical formats, i.e. acceleration of tempo and shortening of the rhythmic cycles.

Sources and Formal Structures of the Ayîn

Although it is possible and desirable to analyze the structure of the surviving *âyîn* repertoire synchronically, a diachronic analysis is hampered by the absence prior to the turn of the nineteenth century of written documents comparable to the *Mecmûa-i Saz ü Söz* of Ali Ufkî Bey (ca. 1650) or the collection of Prince Cantemir (ca. 1700). Despite this caveat, the situation is not as discouraging as it might appear. A close look at the form in which the *âyîns* exist today reveals a practice of transmission differing in several respects from that of the secular *fasıl* which may facilitate some diachronic research.

The situation of sources is the following. The earliest document of the *âyîn* is found in the *Tahrîrîye* of Abdûlbaki Nâsir Dede written in 1795 in a form of notation similar in principle, although differing in detail, from those of Cantemir and Osman Dede. Abdûlbaki Nâsir transcribed only a single *âyîn*, the *Sûzidilârâ* of his patron Sultan Selim III. This *âyîn* has been transcribed and published quite scientifically by Rauf Yekta Bey in an interlinear transcription with the form of the *âyîn* current at the beginning of this century.⁵ The next known transcriptions of the *âyîns* date from approximately 1875 in the form of a Hamparsum manuscript, formerly belonging to Mahmut Celaleddin Paşa (1848-1908) and now in the library of Ankara University.⁶ Rauf Yekta Bey and his collaborators published a series of Mevlevî *Ayînleri* in the 1930s, basing them not on any written source but rather on the musical practice of his own Yenikapı Mevlevîhâne and of his teacher, Zekâî Dede (d. 1896). A single otherwise unrecorded *âyîn* (by Sermüezzîn Rif'at Bey 1820-1896?) in Ferahnâk was transcribed in Western notation and published in 1902 by P.J. Thibaut, and recently edited by Bülent Aksoy (1992).⁷

Although the earliest notated Mevlevî *âyîn* dates only from 1795, several *âyîns* are ascribed to well-known musical figures of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including İtrî, and Osman Dede. The earliest known composer was Köçek

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 50 and 93-99.

⁵ Rauf Yekta Bey, *Mevlevî Ayînleri*, (Istanbul: 1935), vol. V, pp. 486-511.

⁶ Owen Wright, "Aspects of Historical Change in the Turkish Classical Repertoire", in Richard Widdess (ed.), *Musica Asiatica* 5, (Cambridge: 1988), p. 62.

⁷ Bülent Aksoy, *Sermüezzîn Rifat Bey'in Ferahnâk Mevlevî Ayini*, (Istanbul: 1992).

Mustafa Dede (d. 1683). The identified mecmûa (lyric anthology) documentation of the *âyîns* dates only from the early eighteenth century.⁸

Three earlier *âyîns* prior to the Beyatî *Ayîn* of Köçek Mustafa survive today and are known collectively as the “beste-i kadîmler” or “ancient compositions”. The three *beste-i kadîmler* are in the makams Pençgâh, Hüseyinî and Dügâh (the ancient Dügâh = modern Uşşak). Of these only the first is complete, having all four sections (selâm). The Dügâh *Ayîni* has three sections and the Hüseyinî only one. It is highly significant that the Mevlevî tradition did not invent composers to go along with the “ancient” *âyîn* composition. While pseudographia was a common phenomenon in the Ottoman secular musical tradition, evidently the Mevlevî dervishes were able to tolerate the existence of compositions by unknown composers, and even to allow them to remain fragmentary, without composing appropriate second, third or fourth sections. These facts, coupled with some internal evidence, suggest that the Mevlevî attribution of these ancient compositions to a period prior to the seventeenth century must be taken seriously.

Another distinctive feature of the Mevlevî *âyîn* is the attribution of each *âyîn* to a single composer. Beginning with Mustafa Dede, every *âyîn* in the repertoire is the work of only one musician. This applied to the vocal *âyîn* proper - the introductory peşrev and closing peşrev and semâ’î were taken from other, often non-Mevlevî sources. The composition of the four selâms of an *âyîn* by one individual meant that the *âyîn* became the largest arena in which a Turkish composer could expend his skill. It was the longest and most demanding of all Ottoman compositional forms. Thus, from the point of view of the development of composition, the Mevlevî *âyîn* in the seventeenth century had already reached a level of sophistication which the secular music was only to approach over a century later.

During the later eighteenth century the *âyîn* had the following structure:

- 1) Na’at-i Şerîf: a pre-composed rubato form.
- 2) a taksîm on the ney
- 3) a peşrev in usûl muza’af devr-i kebîr (56/4).
- 4) Selâm-i Evvel in usûl devr-i revân (14/8) or düyek (8/4)
- 5) Selâm-i Sâni in usûl evfer (9/4)
- 6) Selâm-i Sâlis beginning in usûl devr-i kebîr (28/4) and continuing in usûl semâ’î (6/8)
- 7) Selâm-i Râbi’ in usûl evfer
- 8) a taksîm on the ney
- 9) a son peşrev in usûl düyek
- 10) a son yürük semâ’î (6/8)

The notated *âyîns* as they exist today constitute a rich field for stylistic and structural analysis. It is also possible to make some general observations on their characteristics as a genre, and on certain features of the process of musical transmission, according to the principles of Ottoman musical transmission as enunciated by Wright (1988) and Feldman (1996). This process is discussed in some detail by these two authors, but only in relation to instrumental music. From their discussion it is evident that the instrumental repertoire attributed to musicians prior to the end of the eighteenth century must have undergone fundamental recomposition in the course of oral transmission, so that a musical item known in the nineteenth and

⁸ Mecmua, Konya Müzesi no. 1295. Dated Zilhicce 1114 (=1704).

twentieth centuries may have only a very tenuous link with any possible sixteenth, seventeenth or eighteenth century piece. However the following discussion of the *âyîn* would suggest that these conclusions cannot be generalized to cover the entire Ottoman repertoire.

The first, and perhaps most obvious, point is that the *âyîn* is a vocal genre - the instrumental *peşrev* preceding it (used now for the Sultan Veled devri procession), the final *peşrev* and the final *yürük semâ'î* are less integral to the genre. The *peşrevs* used in the processional share only a single characteristic - they must be composed in the *usûl devr-i kebîr*. Most of these *peşrevs* have been in use in the *âyîn* since the end of the eighteenth century or since the second half of the nineteenth century. Some, but not all, were composed by Mevlevî musicians for the *âyîn*. A few were composed by earlier musicians, such as Nayî Osman Dede. But the *peşrevs* could be, and were, replaced with relative ease. For example, in Rauf Yekta's edition the *Beyâtîâyîn* of Mustafa Dede is preceded by a *peşrev* attributed to the sixteenth century mehter musician Neffrî Behrâm, but by the time of Heper's edition it had been replaced by the famous *peşrev* by Emin Dede, one of the few major Mevlevî musicians of the mid-twentieth century. Attributions of the early *peşrevs* rest on shaky evidence, as several of the *peşrevs* attributed to Osman Dede in the nineteenth century were not known to be his in the seventeenth century. In addition, the expansion of the *devr-i kebîr usûl*, and the fivefold increase in the melodic material in each line, demonstrated at great length by Owen Wright (1988) renders these attributions almost meaningless as the form of the *peşrev* known today bears very little resemblance to anything Osman Dede might have composed. The *soñ peşrevs* and *semâ'îs* show a rather different pattern of transmission, as their *usûl* basis has not altered since the seventeenth century, both remaining a simple *düyek* (8 beats) and *semâ'î* (6 beats) respectively. A few of the existing pieces in this category, such as the famous *Hicaz semâ'î* and the *Neva soñ peşrev* named "Bülbül-i uşşak" can be traced through various transformations back to seventeenth century originals in the secular repertoire.⁹ It is at present not known when the custom of the Sultan Veled Devri arose, but it is difficult to conceive of such a procession being performed to the quick 14/4 rhythm of the seventeenth century *devr-i kebîr usûl*, unless it were executed somewhat like a dance movement. The fact that the *soñ peşrevs* and *semâ'îs* do demonstrate evident links with the music of the seventeenth century indicates a rather conservative pattern of transmission for these genres which is not paralleled in the instrumental music of the secular courtly repertoire. Thus the transmission of the opening *peşrevs* and the final *peşrevs* and *semâ'îs* constitute different processes, and this fact should allow us to view the process of transmission of the entire *âyîn* with greater scrutiny.

The rhythmical structure of the first, second and fourth sections of the *âyîn* employ short rhythmic cycles which were common in the *kâr* and *naqsh* genres of the late sixteenth-early seventeenth centuries. This fact indicates the courtly genres must have been a model for the Mevlevî composers at the period when the *âyîn* was formed. These particular rhythmic cycles (*devr-i revân*, *evfer*) do not seem to have been in common use prior to the sixteenth century. Neither of them are mentioned by Mârâghî, and only an *usûl* named *rawân* (but not *evfer/ufâr*) makes its appearance in the fifteenth century treatise of Ladikî. This fact would suggest that the *âyîn*, in the form in which it is known today, could not have been created prior to the early sixteenth century. The second *selâm* of the *Peçgâh* and *Dügâhâyîns* are in the *usûl evfer*, using nine beats. The second *selâm* is considerably shorter than the first. *Evfer*

⁹ See, Feldman, *Music of the Ottoman Court*, pp. 485-486, and 423-426.

was considered a lighter usûl, and it was commonly used in the nakş. After the end of the seventeenth century evfer was no longer used in the courtly fasıl at all, thus its permanent position in the second selâm indicates that the model had to have been created before, and, in all likelihood, considerably before that time. The third selâm is always created out of two large usûl movements, the first usually in a form of devr-i kebîr in 14 or 28 beats, then changing, sometimes with a short transition to the ancient semâ'î usûl in 6 beats. In some early âyîns, such as the Hicaz by Osman Dede, the second selâm commences in the 8 beat düyek. The fourth selâm always returns to evfer.

Third Selâm: Devr-i Kebîr

Although the Ottoman courtly repertoire developed along the lines of “rhythmic retardation” and increasing “melodic elaboration” as described by Wright, the vocal core of the âyîn did not undergo a similar process to the same degree. Thus the first part of the third selâm, which is usually in the usûl devr-i kebîr, provides very significant material to follow the evolution of usûl and melody within the âyîn repertoire.

The key to understanding this process was provided by Rauf Yekta Bey in a footnote in the second volume of his *Mevlevî Âyînleri*, published in 1934. Here he writes out the 14/4 usûl pattern for the 3rd selâm of the anonymous Dügâh and observes that: “As can be understood from the the peşrevs written 250 years ago in the Cantemir notation - the era when these peşrevs were composed in the quick meter called vezn-i kebîr - the devr-i kebîr usûl was written in the oldest form comprised of 14 beats, as I have written it.”¹⁰

In this statement Yekta anticipates the discovery, elaborated on more recently by Owen Wright (1988) and Feldman (1996), of the process which led to the rhythmic-melodic relations of modern Turkish music. As Wright has shown, this process led to the total transformation of all the peşrevs in devr-i kebir employed in the Mevlevî âyîn, as well as the peşrevs of the general secular Ottoman repertoire.¹¹ When we go through the 3rd selâm sections of the âyîns prior to those of İsmail Dede Efendi (d. 1846), we come up with the following pattern:

1. Pençgâh: 3rd selâm in 14/4, melody follows the internal subdivisions of the usûl, and each devir of the usûl concludes on a significant total center of the makam. There is no melodic linkage between devirs. The Heper edition obscures this structure by writing out the section in bars of 4/4 under the signature of 28/4.
 2. Dügâh: same structure.
 3. Hüseyinî: no 3rd selâm.
 4. Beyâtî (Mustafa Dede d. 1683): same.
 5. Segâh (İtrî d. 1712): same.
 6. Rast (Osman Dede d. 1730): Frenkçin (12/2).
 7. Uşşak (Osman Dede): very short 3rd selâm (7 1/2 devirs). 14/4 with internal subdivisions, but the 5th and 6th devirs are joined by the held 6th degree (f#).
 8. Çârgâh (Osman Dede): 3rd selâm 7 1/2 devirs. 14/4 with joining of 5th and 6th devirs on the 6th scale degree (f).
 9. Hicaz (Osman Dede): düyek.
- [Gap of fifty odd years in the surviving âyîn repertoire.]

¹⁰ Yekta, *Mevlevî Âyînleri*, p. 285.

¹¹ Wright, *op.cit.* pp. 71-75.

10. Irak (Abdürrahman Şeyda Dede, d. 1804): 14/4 devr-i kebîr, clear subdivisions and no linkage, but longer than previously (19 devirs).
11. Hicaz (Musahhib Seyyid Ahmed, d. 1794): 14/4 devr-i kebîr, no linkage (11 1/2 devirs).
12. Nihavend (Seyyid Ahmed): Same.
13. Suzidilârâ (Selim III d. 1808): Frenkçin.
14. Acem-Bûselîk (Abdülbaki Nasir Dede d. 1804): 3rd selâm, new devr-i kebîr in 14/2 (24/4).
15. Hicaz (Abdürrahman Künhi Dede d. 1831): 3rd selâm, new devr-i kebîr.

This chart reveals some crucial information: the old devr-i kebîr was employed right up until the turn of the nineteenth century. Two *âyîns* of the later eighteenth century continue to use it while the newer form appears only in the Acem-Bûselîk *âyîn* of Abdülbaki Nasir Dede at the end of the century. After that it was continued by his brother, Abdürrahman Künhi Dede, and then became standard in the *âyîns* of Ismail Dede Efendi and his successors until the present day. Both Abdülbaki Nasir and Abdürrahman Künhi were sheikhs of the Yenikapı Mevlevîhâne in Istanbul, so it would appear that the new form of devr-i kebîr was used first within the *âyîn* in the Yenikapı tekke. We may also note the gradual expansion of scope in the 3rd selâm sections by the later eighteenth century, a process in accord with the general tendency of Ottoman music. Of extreme interest as well is the close structural correspondence between the 3rd selâms of the Uşşak and Çârgâh *âyîns* by Osman Dede. Such a correspondence would suggest a high degree of stability in the transmission of these pieces, even without any written form. Viewed as a whole, this data from the devr-i kebîr sections of the 3rd selâms demonstrates that the transmission process for the *âyîns* was far more stable than it was for instrumental music, or, probably, for secular vocal compositions. While the peşrevs attributed to Osman Dede have been recomposed in succeeding generations to the point of utter unrecognizability, his vocal *âyîns* display many of the structural characteristics of the early eighteenth century, in which he lived, as well as internal isoglosses linking them to the style of a single composer. Thus general conclusions about the nature of the oral transmission of the composed repertoire of Ottoman music cannot be based on the instrumental peşrev and semâ'î alone, or even on the secular vocal fasıl items, but must take into account the Mevlevî *âyîn*, which demonstrates a markedly divergent pattern.

Third Selâm: Semâ'î

Following the devr-i kebîr section, the third selâm continues and concludes with a lengthy series of melodies in the usûl semâ'î, which gradually increases in tempo, being in fact the only section of the *âyîn* where acceleration is permitted. This semâ'î is a member of a broad group of Ottoman musical genres which had employed this simple usûl, and which all retained the named "semâ'î" - namely the vocal semâ'î of the fasıl, the vocal semâ'î of the Bektaşî aşiks, and the instrumental semâ'î of the fasıl and of the mehter, as well as the structurally divergent soñ semâ'î of the *âyîn*. As I have attempted to demonstrate elsewhere, all of these genres seem to have developed out of an early Anatolian Sufi genre with probable Central Asian Turkic origins.¹²

The persistent association of the rhythm semâ'î with Sufi genres lends weight to

¹² See, Feldman, *Music of the Ottoman Court*, pp. 460-465.

the etymological derivation of the name from the *semâ'* (Ar. *samâ'*), the spiritual "audition", or concert of the medieval Sufi's (*semâ'* < Ar. *sami'a*: "to hear"). While *semâ'*, which had been borrowed into a great many Muslim languages, is a venerable term in Sufism, 'semâ'î' has a much more limited diffusion. It is possible that the term may have been used for Sufi genres in several portions of the Muslim world, but its known documentation is principally within Ottoman Turkey, in seventeenth century Iran, and possibly in modern Central Asia.¹³ The only source for the Iranian *semâ'î* are some verbal remarks in Cantemir's treatise. Unlike the *peşrev*, which, as a musicological term appears as early as the fourteenth century, and, as a musical genre, can be traced to the *tarîqa*, an instrumental version of the *şawt*, mentioned by al-Farabî in the tenth century, *semâ'î* is not documented prior to the seventeenth century.

The rhythmic pattern of the seventeenth century *semâ'î* is highly distinctive in Anatolia and the rest of the Middle East. At present it is extremely rare in Anatolian folk music of any region, nor is it well known in the Arab Levant. Where it does appear there, it is clearly a reflex of the urban *semâ'î*. The entire Iranian region is rich in triple meters, but almost all of the triple rhythmic patterns found in various genres of Iranian music are foreign to Turkish music, and differ significantly from the *semâ'î*. The geographical area where a rhythmic pattern closely resembling the *semâ'î* is most widespread today is Khwarezm, (in the western part of former Soviet Uzbekistan) including the adjacent desert areas, formerly ruled by the Khwarezmian Khanate, and now part of the Turkmen Republic. In both Khwarezm and Bukhara an *usûl* known as *ufor* has a pattern which is expressed with drum mnemonics identical to or closely resembling the Ottoman *semâ'î*. In Khwarezm this is expressed as *gul tak tak gul tak* (i.e. the same pattern as Harutin's *düm tek tek düm tek*), and in Bukhara as *bum bum bak bum bak*, i.e. with a substitution of a bass for the first treble stroke. Various triple meters are common throughout Uzbekistan, but the *ufor* is the hallmark of Khwarezmian, more than of other Uzbek regional musical idioms. The centrality of this rhythmic pattern is evident in many Khwarezmian musical genres, including the *ufor*, which closes the instrumental section of the *maqom*, and in the *dutar* *maqoms* (e.g. "Ali Qämbär"), which are considered emically to be among the most ancient musical genres of Khwarezm.

The name *ufor* (<Ar. *awfar*) means "most abundant, numerous" and this may refer to the ubiquitousness of the rhythmic pattern in Oghuz Turkic music. Despite its Arabic name, this *usûl* does not appear in any Arabic or Persian musicological source prior to the sixteenth century, when it is found in the Bukharan treatise of Najm al-Dîn Kaukabî.¹⁴ There is thus little cause to doubt that the *ufor/evfer/semâ'î* *usûl* pattern is of Central Asian origin. This *usûl* name is also known in Turkey, where it is pronounced *evfer*. However, in most early Turkish sources, and in the later tradition, *evfer* is an *usûl* in nine beats, not six beats, apparently reflecting the popularity of another Turkic rhythmic pattern, the nine beat *aksak* pattern of the Yörüks of western Anatolia and adjacent regions of the Balkans, which in its turn has analogues in modern Bukharan and Western Kazakh music (*usûl-i lenk* in Bukhara). Thus the

13 In the instrumental portion (*certim yoli*) of the Khwarezmian *maqom-i Näva*, and in the corresponding section of the Bukharan *maqom-i Dugah*, there is a genre termed *säma*. Like the Ottoman *semâ'î*, it is a quick, short instrumental piece, played toward the end of the cycle. Unlike the former, it is in 4/4, rather than 6/8. The name *säma* is not identical to *semâ'î*, and at present the relationship of the Uzbek *säma* to the Ottoman *semâ'î* is unclear.

14 Angelika Jung, *Quellen der traditionellen Kunstmusik der Usbeken und Tadshiken Mittelasiens: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Entwicklung der sasmaqam*, (Hamburg: 1989), p. 132.

semâ'î/ufor usûl may actually furnish a relatively rare connection between Central Asian Turkic and Ottoman music.

The aura of sacred ecstasy that continued to adhere to the semâ'î usûl may be seen in a marginal note in the Cântemir Collection, where an anonymous semâ'î melody in the Irak makam is labeled "Sultan Veled, qadîm semâ'î" ("Sultan Veled, ancient semâ'î") indicating that in the seventeenth century there had been a tradition linking this semâ'î melody to Rûmî's son and one of his successors.¹⁵ The association of Sultan Veled with the semâ'î is also strengthened by the appearance of one of his Turkish verses at the beginning of the semâ'î section of the third selâm in all early and late âyîns, the well-known "Ey ki hezâr âferîn bu nice sultan olur", which in the pre-nineteenth century âyîns is the sole example of Turkish in the entire libretto. The use of this text at the start of the semâ'î section is evidently a tradition of the Mevlevî âyîn, which was documented by European travellers as well.¹⁶

The earliest surviving complete âyîn, the anonymous Pençgâh, features this text and it reappears in the Beyâtî âyîn of Köçek Mustafa Dede (d. 1683). Here this section of the third selâm modulates into the makam Acem-Aşîrânî, a makam of the seventeenth century concluding on the note F (*acem-aşîrân*). It is also noteworthy that the relation of rhythm, melody and text for this part of the Beyâtî âyîn corresponds very closely to that of the Pençgâh âyîn, although the actual makams are quite different. In fact these early âyîns seemed to form the pattern for which all later âyîns - that is the Turkic verses at the semâ'î section of the third selâm - always follow the identical rhythmic, melodic and metrical pattern, even in the nineteenth century âyîns of Ismail Dede Efendi.

This structure suggests that such a melody could well have been composed in the eras of these early âyîns and that at that period the semâ'î section of the third selâm was already associated with Sultan Veled and, moreover, with the use of Turkic Sufi verse. It should not be ruled out that even the sixteenth century Pençgâh *âyîn* may be following a pattern set by a now lost semâ'î hymn sung during, or shortly following, the lifetime of Sultan Veled, and that this became enshrined in this section of all later Mevlevî âyîns.

Conclusion

The third selâm presents very rich material with which to study both the evolution and the transmission of the Mevlevî âyîn repertoire. Within this third selâm the devr-i kebîr and the semâ'î sections present divergent strategies.

In the devr-i kebîr section we can observe a clear diachronic development, whereby the melodic element gradually frees itself from the constraints imposed by the concept of the rhythmic cycle, forcefully extending the latter as it expands. In the secular repertoire (as in the peşrevs of the âyîn itself) this process led to the total

¹⁵ Owen Wright (ed.), *Demetrius Cantemir: the Collection of Notations, Part 1: Text*, (London: 1992), p. 253.

¹⁶ Jean Antoin de Loir, *Les voyages du Sieur du Loir*, (Paris: 1654), p. 154. While the break-up of the text given in this source (with a caesura between each 7 syllable unit) agrees with some of the early âyîns, e.g. the Dügâh, de Loir renders the semâ'î as a binary rhythm. Thus the treatment of the text, as well as the modality of the melody, suggest that de Loir was attempting to render a melody he had actually heard. In light of the argument presented here it would seem unlikely that the semâ'î of the third selâm could have been performed to a binary rhythm in the 17th century. In that case we can only conclude that 1) de Loir misheard or miswrote the rhythm of the semâ'î, or 2) this extract is not from the third selâm, but rather represents another usage of this text, perhaps as an ilâhî.

recomposition of the older pieces in the repertoire, while in the *âyîn*, on the other hand, a number of compositions were preserved which faithfully record the stages in this musical evolution.

In the *semâ'î* section of the third *selâm*, an ancient compositional nucleus has been preserved, and this fragment of antiquity is constantly repeated in every composition of whatever historical period, and used as the introduction to an increasingly complex and sophisticated musical development. This melodic and modal sophistication is not allowed to interfere with the fundamental primitiveness of the structure of the *semâ'î* - for example, the development of the ancient *semâ'î* in 6/8 time into the more relaxed and expansive 10/8 time (*aksak semâ'î*) is not permitted in the *semâ'î* section proper, but only as a transition from the *devr-i kebîr* section. It is very likely that the retention of the ancient form of the *semâ'î*, plus the most archaic form of these melodies, which are always performed to a very early poetic text in the Turkish language, is a gesture toward the basic ecstaticism of this culminating section of the *âyîn* as a whole. This ecstasy is further aestheticized and legitimated spiritually by being cast in the musical, poetic and linguistic form of the earliest Sufis of the Mevlevî order.

In these areas two points stand out: the zeal of the Mevlevî musicians to preserve much earlier musical forms and to use them as the basis for new and expanded composition; and their interest in transmitting specific musical compositions of earlier musicians with the express intent of retaining their peculiarities rather than effacing them through the process of modernization and standardization common to the oral transmission process. This much is of great interest for musicology. For general Ottoman cultural history the broader question remains: why did the Mevlevîs adopt such an attitude?

At this stage in our understanding of the relation of the Mevlevîye to general Ottoman culture any conclusions must be tentative at best. But it cannot be coincidental that the earliest attempts by Ottoman Muslim intellectuals to develop an indigenous musical notation and to use it to preserve musical repertoire emanates from the Mevlevîye. While it is known that several court musicians of European origin (the most famous of whom is the Pole Bobowski/Ali Ufkî Bey) had put parts of the Ottoman repertoire into staff notation, and that Prince Cantemir had done the same with an Islamic cypher notation, among the Turks proper it was only Cantemir's contemporary, Osman Dede (d. 1730), who created a musical notation. Furthermore, another Mevlevî dervish, Mustafa Kevserî, copied and developed the Cantemir notation, while in the following generation, Osman Dede's grandson, Abdûlbaki Nasir Dede, reformed the Islamic notation and used it to notate an *âyîn* composition. Thus, throughout the eighteenth century, musical notation among the Muslim Turkish part of the Ottoman intelligentsia was confined to Mevlevî dervishes. While it is true that none of the three Mevlevî variants of their musical notation system ever acquired much currency among any segment of Ottoman society, and that the Mevlevîs themselves used both seventeenth century notation systems only for the secular repertoire, the fact that notation was developed at all suggests that influential elements among the Mevlevîs of the capital felt a need to preserve musical repertoire in a manner distinct from the continually changing forms of oral transmission. Until the time of Selim III none of the Mevlevî experiments had been patronized by the Ottoman court, so they must have been created in response to a need felt by the Mevlevîs themselves.

This very preliminary analysis of features of the structure of the Mevlevî *âyîn* suggests that later generations of Mevlevî musicians invested their musical compositions with a value beyond general musical form - the specific musical features of individual compositions of the past still had relevance to the present, not only in a

general mythological/symbolical sense of the validation of current praxis but as phenomena in themselves. Although we can be sure that modernization of musical detail, especially intonation, and probably aspects of modulation certainly occurred as the *âyîns* were transmitted across a span of up to four centuries, the Mevlevî present did not feel entirely free to reshape the Mevlevî past in its own image. For example, according to principles governing the Ottoman secular repertoire in general, there would have been no need to preserve fragmentary versions of the "ancient compositions" (*beste-i kadîmler*); new second or third parts (*selâms*) would have been composed and then the whole structure refashioned to suit the then current musical style. The fact that the Mevlevî musicians took no such step emphasizes the difference in their musical goals.

In seeking to characterize this attitude we lack a developed language - it is all too facile to employ either the Islamic discourse of *feyz* and *baraka* or the post-romantic Western discourse of art and genius. Our task at this point is either to discover or to reconstruct an appropriate discourse to characterize the Mevlevî attitude toward musical artistic creation.

Through much of the Islamic Middle Ages the 'Ilm al-Musiqa, the Science of Music, constituted a legitimate interface of human science and art, without the necessary interpretation of a specifically Islamic religious dogma. It was for this reason that the Jewish and Christian minorities were able to adopt so much of both the theory and practice of the 'Ilm al-Musiqa.

Evidently the Mevlevîs seized on the practical, not just the theoretical, application of the 'Ilm al-Musiqa as a way of granting a degree of autonomy to musical art, similar in this respect to the autonomy long granted in Islamic societies to poetry, while at the same time enrolling it within an ostensibly spiritual discipline, with the whole complex built upon an orthodox, Sunni Muslim foundation.

Thus the Mevlevîs adopted an approach toward the role of music in religious devotion which is unique among the surviving forms of Sufi liturgy. While it is not unlikely that various Sufi groups had been tending in a similar direction in their *semâ* practices in the medieval period, before *tasawwuf* had developed into the *tarikât* mass phenomenon, its particular history seems to have allowed the Mevlevîye to develop these tendencies among the more elite Sufi elements to reach a very high technical and conceptual level. The examples presented here from the third *selâm* of the *âyîn* ceremony suffice to demonstrate that the Mevlevîye of the seventeenth century and thereafter viewed the purely artistic, musical aspect of their ceremony, with its particular human, historical compositions, as being worthy of preservation. That is, while the *semâ* was a devotional act taking place in the present moment, part of the inspiration for this devotion was the musical compositions of the past. Although parts of the *semâ* could be performed to improvised music, which was also highly valued, after the seventeenth century there was increasing emphasis upon musical composition. At present we cannot be certain whether this attitude commenced essentially with Pîr Adil Çelebi in the fifteenth century, who organized the nucleus of the *âyîn* ceremony, or whether it emerged with the establishment of hereditary sheikhly lineages in later seventeenth century Istanbul.¹⁷

It is possible that the reasons for this preservation of individual musical compositions may be connected with the veneration of the Mevlevîye as a founding patron who was a well-documented historical figure and whose charisma was based, not primarily on miracles and legends documented only in much later hagiographical literature, but in works of written literature accessible to any member of the literate classes

17 Işın, *op. cit.*

(and by extension, even to many of the illiterate) within the Islamic world. While many other Sufi thinkers created literary monuments, there is no real analogue to the conjunction of literature, specific mystical praxis, hierarchical Sufi organization, sacred lineage and well-known quasi-historical hagiography represented by Jallal al-Din Rûmî and the later Mevlevî tarikat. Within this cultural complex, human artistic creation held a highly significant role, a point emphasized by every modern discussion of the Mevlevîye. In this context it would appear that the Mevlevî leadership, primarily within Istanbul, began to invest the early musical compositions of the *âyîn* with certain qualities that demanded their preservation and their employment as models for the future.

2 - DEVRİ KEBİR

$\frac{12}{8}$ DÜM DÜM . TEK DÜM TEK

Aslı zarflar

Velveleler

Aslı zarflar

Velveleler

Sağ kudüm

Sol "

Sağ kudüm

Sol "

sa. sol. sa. so.

sa. sol.

Devr-i kebîr after Rauf Yekta Bey, *Mevlevî Âyinleri*, vol 1 (1934), p. 303.

PENÇGÂH

ÜÇÜNCÜ SELÂM

(♩=56) Biş ne ve zi ne y cü n hi ka yeti

Devri kebir

Sağ kudüm
Sol. "

53.50 53.50. 52.50

mi kü ne di be li ya ri me n va y Ezcü da

DÜĞÂH

ÜÇÜNCÜ SELÂM

(♩=56) He yi E-y şe h di nu

Devri kebir

(1)

[1] Kantemir oğlu notası ile 250 sene evvel yazılmış Peşrevlerden anlaşıldığına göre —bu peşrevler o tarihte (Vezni kebir) denilen *yürük vezinde* bestelendiği vakit — (Devri kebir) ikamının burada yazdığımız gibi 14 zarptan mürekkep olan *en eski şekli*le yazılıyordu. Görülüyor ki 600 senelik birer musiki abideleri olan (Pençgâh), (Düğâh) ve (Hüseyni) Âyinlerinin üçüncü Selâmları da *Devri kebirin* en eski *yürük vezni*le ve bu gün (Hafifi evvel) dediğimiz tavrı ile bestelenmiştir. Şimdiki notamızla $\frac{1}{4}$, olarak yazdığımız bu *Devri kebir*i, Mevlevilerin kudümle nasıl vurduklarını 268 inci sahifede göstermiştik. Son iki asrın klasik Türk bestekârları, bu ikat (Hafifi sani) tavrına naklederek iki misli ağırlaştırmışlar ve bundan dolayı bittabi *asli zarptarın* arasına bir takım (Velveleler), ve daha ilmi tabiriile (Tuz'if) ve (Ter'it) ler katarak Murabba'lar ve Peşrevler yapmışlardır ki $\frac{1}{4}$, hesabıle yazdığımız (Devri kebir) in bu şekli de 280 inci sahifedeki Peşrevin altına işaret edilmiştir. Mevlevilerin kudümlerde vurdukları üçüncü bir (Devri kebir) leri daha vardı ki iki *Devri kebir* mecmuuna mûsavi olan bu ikün seklini de 262 inci sahifeye kaydetmiştik.

Beyâtî

ÜÇÜNCÜ SELÂM

(♩=56) Na gi ha n a ni be ni fe şa n a

Devri kebir

me d sa ba be li ya ri me n a ma n

Opening of the third selâm of Pençgâh, Dügâh, and Beyâtî ayîns according to Yekta, including Yekta's long note on devri-kebir, in Yekta, *Mevlevî Âyinleri*, vol. I, p. 285 and vol. II, p. 316.

ÜÇÜNCÜ SELÂM

[J.56]

He yi E yi şe hi di nu

Deuri kebîr

nu şi ni a hı le be t

He yi Pa ke e zi he me

e yi a lu lu de gi

He yi Bi ni şi şi n ki ta

ba ba zi si te d

Çe şi me me mi zi ho n

e yi pa lu [J.140] lu de gi

[Sax]

Third selâm of the Uşşak Âyîn by Osman Dede showing the linkage of the 5th and 6th measures, after Yekta, *Mevlevî Âyinleri*, vol. II.

ÜÇÜNCÜ SELÂM

(♩ = 56) He yi E — yi şe — hi di — nu —

Devri kebir

nu — şi — n A hi le — be — t

He yi pa — ke — zi he — me

e — yi a — lû — lû de — gi

He yi Bi — ni şi — şin ki — ta

ba — ba — zi — şî te — di

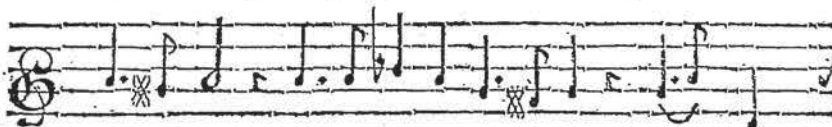
Third selâm of the Çargâh Âyin by Osman Dede showing the linkage of the 5th and 6th measures, after Yekta, *Mevlevî Âyinleri*, vol. II, p. 405.

Relation du Voyage

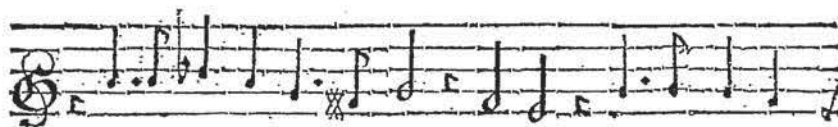
NOTA 3 MEVLEVÎ AYİNİ, III. Selâm'dan, *Du Loir*, 1639-1640.



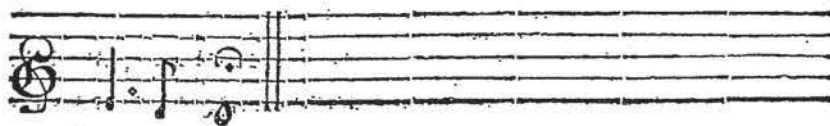
Ï ki hezar a feryn, ay ay, Ï ki hezar



a feryn bou nidge Sultan olur dgia-num



Kouli olan Kichiler, dgianum, husreu-u hba-



kan olur.

*Ey hi hezar aferin bu nice sultân olur
Kulu olan kişiler (cânım) husrev-u hakân olur*

Semâ'î from third selâm in Jean Antoin du Loir, *Les voyages du Sieur du Loir*, Paris: Gervais Clovzier, 1654.

Pençgâh

(♩=120) Ey ki he zar a fe ri ————— n bu ni ce sul

Yürük -
semâi

Sağ kudüm
Sol "

tari o lu ru dos tu dost | tan o lu r ku lu o lan

Dügâh

(♩=120) Ey ki he zar a ferin do st e-y ki he zar a fe rin

Yürük
semâi

Beyâtî
(Acem-
Asirânî)

(♩=120) Ey ki he zar a fe ri ————— n bu ni ce sul

Yürük semâi

ta no lu ku lu o lan ki şî le ri ah

hus re vü ha ka no lu r Saz Her ki bu gün Ve le de

i na nu ben yüzsü re Yok su li se

ba yo lu ru ah ba yi se sul ta no lu Saz

Opening of the semâ'î section of the third selâm of Pençgâh, Dügâh, and Beyâtî ayîns after Yekta, *Mevlevî Âyinleri*, vol. I, pp. 269-270, p. 286, and vol. II, p. 318.