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MUSIC OF THE OTTOMAN SUFI ORDERS

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During the Ottoman period several *ṭarīqats* had created a common liturgical music. Although this *tarikāt* music showed a confluence of courtly, mosque and popular elements, by the seventeenth century it had developed an independent style and repertoire. The repertoire was divided into several musical genres which were performed during the canonical prayer service, Islamic festivals, and especially during the *dhikr* which evolved into an elaborate musical ritual. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries some of these *tarikāt* genres were accepted into the mosque. The surviving repertoire was composed between the early seventeenth and the early twentieth centuries. The second half of the nineteenth century showed a decline in both the quantity and quality of creation. The closing of the dervish lodges (*tekke*) in 1925 led to a virtual halt in new production. Within the following three decades most of this very large repertoire, including several entire genres was on the way to extinction. Nevertheless, a few *tekkes* preserved much of their Ottoman liturgical practice until the later 1970s, when governmental policies became more permissive toward religious practices, and a somewhat more propitious cultural climate allowed the dervish ceremonies and their music considerably more freedom. After this time there has been an active effort to preserve what remains of the dervish music and to transmit it to the younger generations.

The music of the Ottoman *ṭarīqats* can be divided into three groups: 1) the Mawlawīya, 2) the other Sunni *ṭarīqats* (the numerous branches of the Khalwatīya, the Qādirīya, the Rifā'īya etc.), and 3) the largely Shiite Bektāshīya.

Throughout the Ottoman period the Sunni *ṭarīqats* had been important for the music which they produced for use within their *tekkes*, and for use within the public mosques, as well as for the development and especially the diffusion of various forms of religious and secular music among the urban population. Thus the music of the *dhikr* did not exhaust the musical significance of the *ṭarīqats*. Observation of the few *ṭarīqats* still functioning

in contemporary Istanbul does not adequately suggest their former importance in Turkish musical life.

The Bektāshīya

Although the music of the Shiite Bektāshīya, which was performed in a closed ceremony, and which was prohibited by the Ottoman government on several occasions, is much less known than that of most of the other *ṭarīqats*, it is clear that their ritual was distinct from the others on two major counts: 1) the form of their ritual *sema* did not resemble either the Mawlawī *samā'* nor the various *dhikrs* of the Sunni *ṭarīqats*, but rather shared its basic liturgical features with the *āyīn-i djam* of the rural 'Alawīs. 2) Bektāshī music was partly connected with an old stratum of urban folk music, and borrowed only selectively from the classical *maqām* system.

An indication of the remoteness of the Bektāshī hymn (*nefeth*) from art music is the frequent absence of the *mīyan* section where a modulation to a new *maqām* occurs. Many of the simplest hymns of the Sunni *ṭarīqats* have such a section. The Bektāshī hymns commonly employ several asymmetrical (*aksak*) rhythms, as well as the very old rhythm termed *samā'ī* ("of the *samā'*") in 6/8. None of these rhythms were accepted into the *dhikr* of the Sunni *ṭarīqats* after the sixteenth century. The *samā'ī* rhythm had been a mainstay of the music of the Janissary band (*mēhter*). It also forms the rhythmic structure of the second part of the third section (*selām-i thālith*) of the Mawlawī *āyīn*. Thus the Mawlawīya and Bektāshīya, both of them old, pre-Ottoman Anatolian *ṭarīqats*, share this musical feature. The *samā'ī* rhythm also linked their music with the urban popular music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries before the rise of the *şarkı* form caused a transformation of this music. The popular, Janissary and old Anatolian connections of much of the Bektāshī music is consistent with what is known of the social history of the Bektāshīya. The continuing differentiation of the Bektāshīya from the other *ṭarīqats* in Turkey is illustrated also by the fact that at least some Shiite Bektāshīs would not sing the hymns of the Sunni *ṭarīqats*, and considered that doing so was a sin.

The Sunni Ṭarīqats

By way of contrast, most of the Sunni *ṭarīqats* developed an essentially homogeneous music. Much (but by no means all) of the music of these *ṭarīqats* was performed during the *dhikr*. This central position of the *dhikr*

in their rituals distinguished the Sunni *ṭarīqats* from the Mawlawīya and the Bektāshīya, among both of whom other forms of musical worship took the place of or eclipsed the centrality of the *dhikr*. The bases of the various forms of *samā'* and *āyīn* among the Mawlawī-s, Bektāshīs and Alevī-s probably go back at least to emergence of the Mawlawīya in the later thirteenth century, and possibly even earlier. Since the other *ṭarīqats* arrived in Anatolia considerably later, often as late as the fifteenth century, it is the *dhikr* which appears as the newcomer in Turkey.

The bulk of the music sung in the Sunni *tekke*-s was the product of the musically gifted dervishes, known as *dhākirs*, who led the singing during the *dhikr* ceremony, although by the seventeenth century it was not uncommon for court musicians who were lay sympathizers (*muḥib*) of the orders to compose hymns for their sheikh. It was not unusual that a *dhākirbaşı* (lead *dhākir*) eventually became a successor *khalifa* of the sheikh of the *tekke*. He might succeed the sheikh in his own *tekke* or in another *tekke* of the same order. Some of the music and much of the poetry of the *ṭarīqats* were created by sheikhs of the orders as well. In several of the *ṭarīqats* it would appear that musical ability was a requirement not only of the *dhākirs* but of the sheikh as well. The importance of the office of *dhākirbaşı* can be gauged by the fact that, in the Khalwatī tradition, the *dhākirbaşı* was one of four officers of the *tarikāt* (*sheikh*, *sertarīq*, *aşçı*=cook and *dhākirbaşı*) who wore the official turban (*tādī*) and cloak (*khirqā*) during the *dhikr* ceremony.

The Dhikr

In the Khalwatī, Qādirī and other Sunni *ṭarīqats* the term *dhikr* referred to two rather different types of ritual. The more commonly practiced one involved the repetition of the litany (*awrād*) of the order, sometimes accompanied by the *ism-i djalāl dhikri*. Both the *awrād* and the *ism-i djalāl dhikri* were performed while seated on the knees. In many *tekke*-s they were performed every morning after the morning prayer (*sabah namazī*) and formed part of the morning service (*sabah usūlū*). In the Djarrāhī dargāh this was repeated after the night prayer (*yatsī namazī*), and on other occasions. This practice was referred to as the *dhikr-i sharīf* or *ḥalqa-i dhikr* ("circle of the *dhikr*"). It had only the most rudimentary musical accompaniment.

A more elaborate *dhikr* with abundant music and movement was performed once a week, usually between the noon and afternoon prayers

(*ögle* and *ikindi namazi*), or in the evening; on various days of ramazan, and on the *mawlid-i sharif*. Among some Khalwatī groups this was termed the *āyin-i sharif* or the *muqābala-i sharif* ("sacred ritual"); both terms were also employed by the Mawlawī's, and it is not clear which group had priority in this terminology. Today the ceremony is simply referred to as the *dhikr*.

In the larger *tekke*-s a special structure, called the *tawḥīdkhāna* was reserved for the *dhikr*. In these *tekke*-s it usually adjoined the burial area or room of the Pir and other resident sheikhs (*postnishīn*) of the *tekke*. This location influenced the method of performing the *muqābala-i sharif* in that much of the directional orientation of the ritual incorporated the physical presence of the cenotaph of the Pir.

The three basic types of *dhikr* which could be part of the *muqābala-i sharif* involved: 1) standing in place; 2) moving in a circle; 3) sitting on the knees. The first type of *dhikr* was known as *qiyamī dhikr*); the second was known as the *dawrān*; the third type had three major branches, the *kelime-i tawḥīd dhikri*, the *ism-i djalāl dhikri* ("*dhikr* of the Almighty Name") and the *qu'ūd dhikri*).

Most Qādirī groups practiced the *qiyamī dhikri*. Some of them, such as the Ashrafi-s did the *dawrān*. All branches of the Khalwatiya apparently practiced the *dawrān*. The Khalwatīs moved toward the left during the *dawrān*, while the Ashrafi-Qādirīs moved toward the right.

It may be presumed that the various forms of *dhikr* were originally produced within different *ṭarīqats* and were associated with them. However, by the nineteenth century, just as the *ilāhīs* were no longer the property of particular *ṭarīqats*, their *dhikrs*, to which the *ilāhīs* were sung, were often combined in a single *tekke*. That is, several *dhikr* types were performed successively in a single ceremony. In addition some sheikhs were initiated into more than one *ṭarīqat*, and so they were accustomed and authorized to perform more than one type of *dhikr*. It is also known that certain *ṭarīqat* branches originated as combinations of branches of larger *ṭarīqats*. Some of these heterogeneous *ṭarīqats* were of venerable age, such as the Ashrafiya, a Qādirī-Khalwatī synthesis, or the Gulshaniya, which was a Khalwatī-Mawlawī combination.

One of the earliest references to the audible *dhikr* in Turkey is contained in the travelogue of the Burgundian ambassador Bertrandon de la Broquière, who observed a *dhikr* ceremony in the region of Adana (Cilicia)

in the early years of the fifteenth century: "They sit in a circle and shake their bodies and heads and sing very wildly in their characteristic manner" (Poche 1978: 62). While this description could possibly refer to the *ism-i djalāl dhikri* which today involves only the chanting of the names *Allah* and *Hū*, (without *ilāhī* poetry), the mention of singing suggests something more like the *kelime-i tawhīd dhikri*, which is performed on the knees with both chanting of the formula of the *shahada* (the Islamic credo *La Ilāha illallāh*, "there is no God but Allah") and the singing of *ilāhī* hymns of various musical types.

Musical Style of the Dhikr

The Turkish *dhikr* shares several musical features with *dhikrs* performed in other parts of the Muslim world. Foremost among these is the rhythmic chanting of the Divine Names, which is coordinated with specific breathing techniques. Sufi tradition connects these breath sequences with an oral tradition having its origin with 'Alī. The musical semantics of the *dhikr* may be seen as the opposite of the Qoranic *tadjwīd*, in that the latter represents the Word of Allah descending to man. The *tadjwīd* is characterized by timelessness (represented by a non-metrical, flowing rhythm), and by an emotion which the *mu'adhdhins* characterize as "sadness" (*ḥuzn*), representing Allah's compassion for mankind. The *dhikr*, by way of contrast, is the response of mankind to Allah, who seek to imitate the worship of the angels continually affirming the existence of Allah both through words and through the circumambulation of His Throne (*'Arsh*). In the terrestrial *dhikr* time is continually marked by the breathing and chanting of the dervishes, thus establishing a sense of urgency which is absent from the *tadjwīd*. While the *tadjwīd* is a single, unique voice addressing mankind, the *dhikr* is a collective response of mankind toward Allah. While man must listen to the address of Allah through the recitation of the Qoran, his duty in the *dhikr* is to affirm the Life of Allah through an affirmation of the life which man has been granted by Him. The connection of life and time is continually emphasized in the *dhikr* by changes of tempo, both acceleration and deceleration. The *dhikr* must always give the impression of organic life, which moves, flows, even reverses itself. While the *ilāhīs* of parts of the *dhikr* may have certain fixed sequences, the ideal is never cyclical (like the *faṣīl* or *āyīn*) but it is rather for the *dhākirbaşı* and sheikh to continually alter the order and constitution of the particular hymns in accordance with their perception of the spiritual moment (*ān*).

The Turkish *dhikr* represents a fusion of several disparate musical principles. The non-metrical and performance-generated (improvised) *qaṣīda* chanting by the *mu'adhdhin*, essentially identical to styles used in the mosque, was integrated into a metrical context in which sound was divided into three timbral registers. The *mu'adhdhin* high-pitched solo voice was the uppermost level. The middle level was occupied by the singing of the metrical hymns (*ilāhī*) by a small group of specialists (*dhākirs*). The lowest register was represented by the chanting and rhythmic breathing of the Divine Names by the mass of dervishes. The metrical basis of this chant might be reinforced by percussion, usually large frame-drums (*dāira*, *bendir*), but also kettle-drums (*quḍūm*) and cymbals (*khalīle*).

Whereas the singing of the *qaṣīda* in other contexts shared much of the purely monophonic aesthetic of the Qoranic *tadjwīd*, in the *dhikr* elements of polyphony permeated every musical moment. This polyphony, while rudimentary, based mainly upon octaves, was so all-pervasive as to place the music of the *dhikr* in another category from other genres of Turkish urban music, which insisted on strict monody. For example the *kelīme-i tawḥīd dhikri* emphasized successively higher tonal centers within the *makām* *Segāh*, while the chanting of the *shahādah* by the dervishes reinforced each tonal center. The chanting of "Hū" ("It is He") by the dervishes during some of the opening *uṣūl ilāhīs* also reinforced the shifting tonal centers of the hymns. The *qiyāmī dhikri* opens with an improvised *kasīde* which is sung over a low-pitched, growling repetition of the name of Allah without any metrical structure. The closing of the *dhikr* always features a three-tiered performance of a blessing upon the Prophet in which the dervishes chant the name *Hū* in a low pitch, the *dhākirs* sing this blessing to the tune of a metrical *ilāhī* in the *Ṣabā maqām* one octave higher, after which the *mu'adhdhin* sings a metrically free version of the prayer two octaves above the continued chanting of *Hū*.

The *dhākirs* always perform the *ilāhīs* in a relatively low pitch (often near middle A), never near the pitch used for secular sung genres, or even the *djumhūr* and *tawshīkh ilāhīs*—this pitch allows the *mu'adhdhin* to comfortably reach the octave above them.

The *Ilāhī*

The term *ilāhī* refers to a musical and a literary genre which are not always co-terminal. The "divine" (*ilāhī*) nature of the work at times refers to

the text and at times to the music. This ambiguity has probably encouraged the loose usage of the word both in the present day and in the past. Most *ilāhīs* for the *dhikr* ceremony and for the Birthday of the Prophet (*Mawlid-i Sharīf*) are in the Turkish language. The *dhikr ilāhī* called *shughul*, which imitate the dervish hymns of Syrian branches of the Sunni *ṭarīqats* are always in Arabic. They became popular in Turkey only after the second half of the nineteenth century. In addition the *ilāhīs* sung in Ramazan (Ramadān) and in the months Muḥarram and Dhū al-ḥijjdja are often in the the Arabic language.

Although the poems of Yūnus Emre (1240-1322?) and his imitators continued to be used in the *dhikr* (as well as in the Bektāshī and 'Alawī *āyīn-i djam*) throughout the Ottoman period, the *ilāhī* as such is basically a product of this later era. A movement in the direction of the *ilāhī* as it is known from Ottoman times may be seen already in the early fifteenth century poems of Hādji Bayrām Walī (d. 1429) and his student Ashrafoghlu Rūmī (d. 1469). The *ilāhī* style was essentially formed by the first half of the sixteenth century, and can be seen in the poetry of İbrāhīm Gulshanī (d. 1533), his son Gulshanizāda Khayālī (d. 1569), Muşliḥ al-dīn Merkez (d. 1551) and Muşliḥ al-dīn Uftāda (d. 1580) among others (Ergun, 1943). It is this mature *ilāhī* style which formed the poetic basis for the *dhikr* ceremony among all the Sunnī *ṭarīqats* until the twentieth century. After the middle of the sixteenth century the *ilāhī* appears as a remarkably stable poetic quasi-genre in which the principal movement was a progressive limitation of language and literary expression and a corresponding growth of formulaicism. This poetry became increasingly identified with the *tarikāt* sheikhs, who will be referred to here as "sheikh-poets." After the early fifteenth century in Turkey there does not seem to have been a single recognized Sufi poet who was not affiliated with, and usually in a leadership role within a *tarikāt* organization. Although some of the early Ottoman sultans (e.g. Meḥmed the Conqueror) had showed hostility toward most Sufi leaders (Martin, 1972: 280-81), the Ottoman state frequently acted as a patron toward the more orthodox *ṭarīqats*. From the second half of the fifteenth, until the second decade of the seventeenth century, the principal recipients of such Imperial favor were the members of the Sufi complex represented by the Khalwatīya, Gulshanīya and Djalwatīya. This relationship was especially strong during the reigns of sultans "Sufi" or "Walī" Bayzād II (1481-1511), Suleymān Qanūnī, "The Magnificent" (1525-1566), Meḥmed

III (1595-1603), and Aḥmad I (1603-1617). Throughout this period, and well into the eighteenth century, the poetic creations of these ṭarīqats was centered upon the *ilāhī* poems which formed part of the *dhikr* liturgy, or the *na'at* and *tawshikh* genres which were sung at the Mawlid-i Sharīf and other occasions. The poetry of these sheikh-poets was often introduced into the musical liturgy during the lifetime of the authors. While the poetry of the *Diwān* of a notable mystic and poet such as Niyāzī-i Mıṣrī (d. 1694) had currency outside of the liturgy as well, the *ilāhī* poems of many sheikh-poets lived on principally within the *dhikr*. To the Ottomans, the mystical poem became increasingly identified with the Sufisheikh poem which might have a primary or secondary liturgical or para-liturgical function.

The Musical *Ilāhī*

Ilāhī as a musical term comprises two broad categories: 1) the *ilāhīs* which were sung while the motions of the *dhikr* were being performed ("*dhikr-ilāhīs*," but in Turkish no special term exists) and 2) *ilāhīs* sung at all other occasions, including the other sections of the *dhikr* ceremony. Both of these sub-genres employed fixed rhythmic cycles (*uṣūl*). Other dervish musical genres did not use these rhythmic cycles and were not termed "*ilāhī*" although their texts might be considered "*ilāhī*."

The *ilāhī*'s of category no. 1 ("*dhikr-ilāhīs*") are almost always composed in a simple binary rhythmic pattern. Very rarely this first category could include pieces composed in a long rhythmic cycle, such as *hafif* or *muhammes* (in thirty two beats). More complex *uṣūls*, such as *çember*, *havi*, *darbeyn*, or *zincir*, common in courtly music were not employed in the *dhikr-ilāhīs*. This was because, unlike *mukhammas* and *khafif* they were not symmetrically divided. The most common *uṣūl* for the *dhikr-ilāhīs* was the simplest *uṣūl* in Ottoman music. In the treatises it is named "*ṣofyān*," i.e. "the sufis." This affirms an old association with the *dhikr* or the medieval *samā'*. *Ṣūfiyān* is phrased: 2/4

The other rhythm commonly employed in the *dhikr* is termed *düyek* (Pers. "two-one"): 4/4

Unlike *sofiyān*, which was very rarely used in courtly music, *düyek* in the seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century was widely used in the courtly instrumental *peşrev* and in the corresponding *pîshraw* of the Janissary band (*mehter*).

The *dhikr-ilāhīs* constitute one of the oldest and most distinctive functioning repertoires within Turkish music. Alongside new or even contemporary compositions, the *dhikr* repertoire features dozens (perhaps hundreds) of *ilāhī* melodies which were performed continuously in various *tekkes* since the later XVIIth or earlier XVIIIth centuries. A still earlier tradition, which was documented in the mid-XVIIth century notated Collection of 'Alī Ufqī Bey did not survive into the XXth century. Many of the functioning *ṭarīqats* in Turkey have their current initiatic *silsile* beginning in the XVIIth or early XVIIIth centuries and it appears that many of the *ilāhīs* sung in their *dhikrs* represent a continuous tradition from this period. Hymns ascribed to such dervish composers as 'Azīz Mahmūd Hūdāyī (1543-1628), 'Alī Ghīr u Ghanī (1635-1714), Ḥāfīz Post (1630-1694), Cihangirli Aḥmad as well as many anonymous compositions display archaic or idiosyncratic uses of makam and compositional structure. Whereas after the later XVIIIth century *ilāhī* texts were usually set to tunes which closely resembled either *türkūs* or *şarkıs*, the *ilāhīs* of the XVIIth-XVIIIth centuries cannot be analyzed using the norms of these later secular genres.

The second broad category of *ilāhīs* consists of those that are sung apart from the movements of the *dhikr*. This non-*dhikr ilāhī* was referred to by two terms: *tawshīkh* and *djumhūr* ("*tawshīkh ilāhīsī*" and "*cumhūr ilāhīsī*"). *Tawshīkh* was essentially a literary term for the panegyrics sung on the *Mawlid-i Sharīf* which, apparently as early as the sixteenth century came to be employed as a musical term. The literal meaning is "ornamentation." *Djumhūr ilāhīsī* was a broader term which included both the *tevsīh* and hymns for other occasions or with other themes. *Djumhūr*, from the Arabic for "crowd" or "mass" was the closest Ottoman equivalent to "chorus," a concept which otherwise was quite alien to Ottoman musical practice. In the mosque *djumhūr* referred to a small group of *mu'adhdhin* chanting hymns in unison, while in the *tekke* it referred to this or to the impromptu "chorus" of the entire chain (*ḥalaqa*) of dervishes in the *dhikr*. Unlike the rhythmically and melodically simple *dhikr ilāhīs*, the *djumhūr ilāhīs* were as sophisticated as courtly vocal compositions and were generally composed in the complex *awsat uşul* (twenty six beats) or in the asymmetrical *devr-i hindī* (seven beats). During the early twentieth century the *djumhūr ilāhīs* were still widely sung. Today, however they are no longer part of any living tradition. They are known mainly by professional musicians who have learned them from notation. As of the early 1980's there has been a movement to popularize

these hymns by performing them on television and radio during Ramaḍān and occasionally at other times of the year, and it is probable that they will regain some of the currency that they had lost after 1925.

Non-Metrical Composed Genres

During Ramazan, following the *terāwīḥ* service, one or more *müezzins* would ascend the minaret and sing a prayer praising and imploring Allah. The text was termed '*munādjāt*' or '*tamdjīd munādjāti*'. The *tamdjīd* was sung solo. The chorus of *mu'adhdhins* would enter at certain points. The *na't* which followed the *tamdjīd* was always sung as a solo.

Apparently the only authentic transcriptions of a *tamdjīd munādjāti* and its *na'at* was accomplished by Abdülkadir Töre (1873-1946). The transcription shows this *tamdjīd* to be a pre-composed piece without an *uṣūl*. Töre's student Ekrem Karadeniz connected the *tamdjīd* stylistically with the *durak*, a distinctively *tekke* musical form. Thus, unlike the *tesbiḥ ilāhisi*, which appears to have been a feature of the orthodox Ramazan liturgy, the *tamdjīd munādjāti*, *na'at* and the unique *Mi'rādjiya* all belong to a separate musical genre which includes, and possibly originated with the *durak*.

While the *tamdjīd* and *na'at* have become almost completely extinct, the *durak* appears to be one small step further away from oblivion. The sources list over a hundred *duraks* in a continuous tradition from the seventeenth until the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, fewer than a dozen *duraks* are sung today. Notated sources for the *durak* are very few and particularly inadequate. The most accurate transcriptions of *duraks* were accomplished by Abdülkadir Töre (1873-1946), but these are mainly unpublished. Although they are without *uṣūl* the *duraks* do not employ the rhythmic techniques of either Turkish Qoranic chant, the secular *ghazal*, or the *adhān*, but favor a leisurely rubato performance style. The *duraks* are completely pre-composed, allowing for virtually no improvisation.

The liturgical role of the *durak* is significant. The chanting of the *durak* after the *kelime-i tawḥīd dhikri* and prior to the commencement of the circular standing *dhikr* is a period of total silence and mediation. (The name *durak* means "stopping point"). The *durak* is part of a family of dervish liturgical forms which were pre-composed but which had no fixed rhythmic cycle. The others were the *na't*, *tamdjīd munādjāti*, *mawlid* and *mi'rādjiya*. The *durak* invariably employs texts in the Turkish language, generally

chosen from the more mystical *ghazal* of Khalwatī (and some other) sheikhs. Purely pious texts were sometimes also employed. It appears that in the course of the eighteenth century the *duraks* became increasingly accepted in mosques outside of the *tekkes*. During the nineteenth century they were sung by one or more singers prior to the Friday communal prayer (*djum'a namazi*) in mosques which possessed a *waqf*.

The principals of the *durak* were at least once employed to create a continuous work of major dimensions. This is the *Mi'rādjiya* of Quṭb-e Nāyī 'Uthmān Dede (1652-1730). 'Uthmān Dede was a significant composer of courtly instrumental music, four Mawlawī *āyīns* and an inventor of a musical notation. Although he was a Mawlawī dede of the Galata Mawlawikhāna, his *Mi'rādjiya* was first performed in the *tekke* of the Khalwatī sheikh Naṣūhī Efendi (d. 1717). It was preserved in various Khalwatī and Qādirī *tekkes* as well as in the Mawlawikhānas. The most authoritative transcription is once again by Abdülkadir Töre in collaboration with İsmā'il Haqqī Bey (1866-1927). It would appear that 'Uthmān Dede's masterpiece, rather than constituting a new standard which future musicians would seek to imitate or surpass, was regarded as a supernatural feat and hence inimitable. The term *Mi'rādjiya* refers only to his composition. It is possible that the *Mi'rādjiya* was a part of a tradition of long compositions for narrative texts of a sufi-devotional nature of which it is the sole survivor. The earliest in this line of compositions was probably the *Mawlid* of Suleymān Tchelebi (d. 1409). This *mathnawī*, which was immensely popular, seems to have been set to music several times in various centuries. Two sections of an early composition for the *Mawlid* were still known by a few individuals in the first half of the twentieth century. Today, however the melody of the *Mawlid* is performance-generated in a style which emphasizes extensive modulation. Subtle differences in the relationship of poetic meter to musical phrase distinguish the *Mawlid* from the Sufi *qaṣīda*, which as a close generic kin of the secular sung *ghazal* (=vocal *taqsīm*), does not emphasize these poetic/musical relationships to the same degree. In general the connection of poetic meter and musical line require basic research within the various non-metrical Sufi musical genres.

Closely connected to the *durak* was the form termed *na't* (praise of the Prophet Muḥammad). Dozens of these *na'ats* had been composed, mainly by Khalwatī musicians, and were sung by dervish musical specialists known as *na'athān*. Today, however only a single *na'at* is generally performed, the Rāst

na't by Bukhūrīzāda Muṣṭafa 'Iṭrī (d. 1712), a court composer connected with the Mawlawīya. This *na't* is sung by the Mawlawī *āyīnkhwāns* at the beginning of the *āyīn* ceremony, regardless of the makam in which the *āyīn* is performed. Unlike the *durak* texts, which were generally in Turkish, the Rāst *na't* has a Persian text written by Djalāl al-dīn Rūmī (1207-73). The Rāst *na't* has a more elaborate structure than any surviving *durak*, in that it features not a single *miyān*, but several modulating sections which explore increasingly higher musical ranges.

Of the non-metrical Sufi genres, only the improvised *qaṣīda* and the improvised style of *Mawlid* singing (and to a lesser extent the improvised *marthīya* sung on Muḥarram) are widely performed. There are only a handful of competent performers of the composed non-metrical genres, such as the *durak*, the *na't*, the *tamdjīd*, and the composed *marthīya*. While the past decade has witnessed a revival in the performance of the dhikr *ilāhī* and even of the more elaborate *tawshīkh ilāhī*, it seems unlikely that the composed non-metrical dervish genres can return to general use, due to the high level of stylistic specialization required of the *durakçīs* and *na'atkhwān* who have no professional successors today. In addition the extant repertoire is small, and few sound recordings have ever been made. While most existing transcriptions are unreliable, the more competent transcriptions could possibly be used to reconstruct these genres. However the poor transcriptions of Dr. Subhi Ezgi (1869-1962) have been used at times to replace the traditional performance practice during the 1960s and 70s. Thus the coexistence of a weak performance tradition plus transcriptions made according to contradictory musical principles threaten to eliminate the musical substance of the genres in those rare cases where some attempt at preservation and transmission has been attempted.

The Mawlawī Āyīn

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

The importance of the Mawlawī order within Ottoman Turkish music must be assessed from several points of view. An organized ritual, known as *āyīn* or *muqābala*, based on musical compositions emerged in the XVth century under the direction of Pīr ‘Ādil Tchelebi (1421-1460). 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 XVIth century Iranian art music or of the nascent Turkish art music of the XVIIth century. When an independent Anatolian Turkish art music emerged again in the early XVIIth century the Mawlawī dervishes interacted in several significant ways with this newly developing music. By the middle of the century Mawlawī *neyzens* constituted more than half of the master flutists named by Awliyā Tchelebī, 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 musics. During the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries it was rare for a provincial musician to enter the court—and the principle exception seem to have been Mawlawī flutists and kettledrummers.

Sources and Formal Structures of the *Āyīn*

The earliest document of the *āyīn* is found in the *Taḥrīriya* of ‘Abd al-Bāqī Nāṣir Dede written in 1795 in a form of notation similar in principle, although differing in detail from those of Cantemir and ‘Uthman Dede. ‘Abd al-Bāqī Nāṣir transcribed only a single *āyīn*, the *Sūzidilārā* of his patron Sulṭān Selīm III. This *āyīn* has been transcribed and published quite scientifically by Rauf Yekta Bey in an interlinear transcription with the form of the *āyīn* current at the beginning of this century. The next known transcriptions of the *āyīns* date from approximately 1875 in the form of a Hamparsum manuscript formerly belonging to Maḥmūd Djalāl al-dīn Pasha (1848-1908) now in the library of Ankara University. Rauf Yekta Bey and his collaborators published a series of *Mawlawī Ayīnleri* in the 1930s, basing them not on any written source but rather on the musical practice of his own Yenikapı Mawlawīkhāna and of his teacher Zekāi Dede (d. 1896). A single otherwise unrecorded *āyīn* (by Sermu’adhdhin Rif’at Bey 1820-1896?) in Faraḥnāk was transcribed in Western notation and published in 1902 by P.J. Thibaut, and recently edited by Bülent Aksoy (1992).

Although the earliest notated Mawlawī *āyīn* dates only from 1795, several *āyīns* are ascribed to well-known musical figures of the XVIIIth and XVIIth centuries, including 'İtrī, and 'Uthmān Dede. The earliest known composer was Kōçek Muştafa Dede (d. 1683). The identified *madjmū'a* (lyric anthology) documentation of the *āyīns* dates only from the early XVIIIth century. The establishment of hereditary lineages of sheikhs in the Mawlawikhāna of Istanbul in the second half of the XVIIth century seems to have encouraged the creation of new *āyīn* compositions, which increase in number from the early XVIIIth century on. Unfortunately, due to the oral transmission of this music, most of the *āyīns* composed in the XVIIIth century, and even many composed in the XIXth century have been lost. After the four *āyīns* of 'Uthmān Dede (d. 1730) no *āyīn* composition survives until the group of *āyīns* from the period of Selīm III (1789-1808), such as the *Ḥidjāz* and *Nihāwand* by Muşāḥib Seyyid Aḥmad (d. 1794), the *Irak* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sheydā Dede (d. 1804), the *Sūzidilārā* by Sultan Selim III, the *Acem-Būselik* by 'Abd al-Bāqī Nāsir Dede (d. 1804) and the *Ḥidjāz* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Kūnhī Dede (d. 1831). After this group of *āyīns* come the seven *āyīns* by İsmā'il Dede Efendi (d. 1846), the largest set of *āyīns* composed by any single individual. *Ayīn* composition continued on a highly creative level throughout the XIXth century; of particular note are the surviving *āyīns* by Neyzen Şāliḥ Dede (d. 1888), Zekāi Dede (d. 1897), Ḥādji Fā'iq Bey (), Ḥusayn Fakhr al-dīn Dede, and Bolahenk Nūrī Bey. Major *āyīns* were composed in the first half of the 20th century by Ahmed Avnī Konuk (d. 1938), Ahmed Irsoy (d. 1943) and Kāzım Uz (d. 1938). The form still attracts some composers today.

Prior to the *Beyatī Āyīn* of Kōçek Muştafa three earlier *ayīns* survive and are known collectively as the "beste-i qadīmler" or "ancient compositions." The three *beste-i kadīmler* are in the makams *Pendjgāh*, *Ḥuseynī* and *Dügāh* (the ancient *Dügāh*=modern '*Ushhāq*'). Of these only the first is complete, having all four sections (*selām*). The *Dügāh* *Ayīni* has three sections and the *Ḥuseynī* only one. It is highly significant that the Mawlawī tradition did not invent composers to go along with the "ancient" *āyīn* composition. While pseudographia was a common phenomenon in the Ottoman secular musical tradition, evidently the Mawlawī 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 Mawlawī attribution of these ancient compositions to a period prior to the XVIIth century must be taken seriously.

Another distinctive feature of the *Mawlawī āyīn* is the attribution of each *āyīn* to a single composer. Beginning with Muṣṭafa Dede, every *āyīn* in the repertoire is the work of only one musician. This applied to the vocal *āyīn* proper—the introductory *pīshraw* and closing *pīshraw* and *samā'ī* were taken from other, often non-Mawlawī sources. The composition of the four *selāms* of an *āyīn* by one individual meant that the *āyīn* 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 Mawlawī *āyīn* in the XVIIth century had already reached a level of sophistication which the secular music was only to approach over a century later.

During the later XVIIIth century the *āyīn* had the following structure:

- 1) *Na't-i Sharīf*: a pre-composed ruba'ī form.
- 2) a *taqsīm* on the *ney*
- 3) a *pīshraw* in *uṣūl muḍā'af dawr-i kabīr* (56/4).
- 4) *Selām-i Awwal* in *uṣūl dawr-i rawān* (14/8) or *düyek* (8/4)
- 5) *Selām-i Thānī* in *uṣūl awfar* (9/4)
- 6) *Selām-i Sālis* beginning in *uṣūl dawr-i kabīr* (28/4) and continuing in *uṣūl samā'ī* (6/8)
- 7) *Selām-i Rābī* in *uṣūl evfer*
- 8) a *taqsīm* on the *ney*
- 9) a son *pīshraw* in *uṣūl düyek*
- 10) a son *yürük samā'ī* (6/8)

Most of the constituent items of the *faşıl* and the *āyīn* have different lineages, but during the XVIIth century a degree of mutual borrowing seems to have occurred—those structural features held in common by *faşıl* and *āyīn* must predate the seventeenth century. During the later XVIIIth century, the composers of *āyīns*, such as Muṣṭafa Dede, 'Utmān Dede and Muṣṭafa 'İṭrī were also composers of the courtly *faşıl* but the courtly *faşıl* and the Mawlawī

āyīn were already two distinct musical structures. After this period the only major borrowing from one genre to the other is the rhythmic transformation of the third *selām* and adoption of the new form of *peşrev* in the new *uşūl dawr-i kabīr* and some secular *samā'ī* melodies into the Mawlawī repertoire, which seems to have occurred during end of the XVIIIth century.

The Sufi origin of the term *samā'ī* also reinforces the likelihood that the *samā'ī* may have been borrowed by the court musicians from the Mawlawī *āyīn*. The sections (*selāms*) of the *āyīn* exhibit a fixed succession of rhythmic cycles but which do not follow the cyclical principles of the *faşıl*, and of most other courtly Islamic cyclical formats, i.e. acceleration of tempo and shortening of the rhythmic cycles.

Cultural Influence of the Mawlawīya

Historically the Mawlawī *āyīn* was conceived of both as a ritual which would benefit the participants, and as a spiritual concert, like the medieval Sufi *samā'*, which would spread spiritual benefit (*fayd*) among the audience. Unlike the medieval Sufi *samā'*, the Mawlawī *samā'* was not restricted; women and non-Muslims were allowed to observe the rituals. Mawlawī *tekkes* were constructed with both a musicians' gallery and a clearly demarcated space for a non-participating audience.

In musical pedagogy the Mawlawīs had long occupied a major role, which increased as other social groups were unable to perform this function in the course of the economic dislocations of the 19th century. Within modern Turkey Mawlawī musician often stand at the beginning of the line of musical transmission, often involving such central figures as İsmā'īl Dede Efendi, his student Zekāi Dede and his son Zekāizāda Ahmed Irsoy, Husayn Fakhr al-dīn Efendi, 'Aziz Dede or Emīn Dede. The performance of the *ney* is still almost entirely based on musical lineages going back to Mawlawī *neyzens* of the XIXth century. The Mawlawīs frequently acted as a major link between Islamic art music and the non-Muslim communities—during the XVIIIth century Greek Orthodox church psalters become serious students of the Mawlawīs, and Petros the Peloponnesian (1730-1777) was known as their musical disciple. In the 19th century two of the most able of the students of İsmā'īl Dede Efendi were the Armenians Baba Hamparsum and Nikoğos Agha.

The two earliest indigenous systems of notations created by the Ottomans were those of Prince Demetrius Cantemir (d. 1723) and the Galata Mawlawī sheikh 'Uthmān Dede (d. 1730). Cantemir's notation was perfected by the dervish Muṣṭafa Kawtharī (d. 1770), while the sheikh of the Yenikapı *tekke*, 'Abd al-Bāqī Nāṣir Dede (d. 1820) created both a new system of notation and a major book of theory, *Tedqīq u Taḥqīq* (1795). Modern Turkish musicology is essentially the creation of Rauf Yekta Bey (1871-1935), a student of the Yenikapı *neyzens* Djamāl Efendi and 'Azīz Dede. He founded the Istanbul Conservatory (Dār al-alḥān) in 1914, and authored numerous major collections and publication on Ottoman music.

Mawlawī 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 *āyīns* were transmitted across a span of up to four centuries, the Mawlawī present did not feel entirely free to reshape the Mawlawī 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 qadīmler*); new second or third parts (*selāms*) would have been composed and then the whole structure refashioned to suit the then current musical style. The fact that the Mawlawī musicians took no such step emphasizes the difference in their musical goals.

The Mawlawīs 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 *samā'* practices in the medieval period, before *taṣawwuf* had developed into the *tarikāt* mass phenomenon, its particular history seems to have allowed the Mawlawīya to develop these tendencies among the more elite Sufi elements to reach a very high technical and conceptual level. The Mawlawīya of the XVIIth 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 *samā'* was a devotional act taking place in the present moment, part of the inspiration for this devotion was the musical compositions of the past.

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