

MODAL DIVERSITY IN EARLY OTTOMAN MUSIC THE CASE OF MAKÂM SABÂ

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The collections of musical notation that survive from the 17th and early 18th century Ottoman tradition provide us with invaluable material for understanding the processes of historical change in modal music.¹ This study attempts to trace the historical development of a single mode, *makâm sabâ*,² by analysing and comparing its repertoire as it was recorded in the earliest Ottoman collections of notation. The three primary sources which form the basis of this study were written by two individuals of European origin who were resident in Istanbul during the 17th and early 18th century, ‘Alî Ufîkî³ and Demetrius Cantemir⁴. The two collections belonging to ‘Alî Ufîkî are dated to ca. 1650,⁵ while that of Cantemir is dated to ca. 1700, providing us with a time frame of half a century during which the repertoire was notated, though some pieces are likely to have an earlier origin in the oral tradition. These collections contain a sizeable corpus of vocal and instrumental compositions in *makâm sabâ*, which display a degree of heterogeneity indicative either of temporal change, or of considerable variability in contemporary practices (or both).

Of the three sources we have mentioned, the Cantemir collection⁶ is the most well-known and thoroughly researched, while the earlier of ‘Alî Ufîkî’s two manuscripts has remained unstudied until recently.⁷ Wright [2000] has made the most detailed analysis of individual modes in the *Edvâr*, while Feldman [1996] has presented more general observations on early modal development, drawing primarily on the *Edvâr* but also ‘Alî Ufîkî’s *Mecmû‘a-i Sâz ü Sözü*. The large number of pieces that were recorded independently by both Cantemir and ‘Alî Ufîkî show that parts of the repertoire remained stable over several decades, but differences in notation also suggest that the modal system changed during the course of the 17th century. By comparing versions of pieces as they appear in different collections, this study further

aims to interpret the notational methods of their authors, and discusses the relationship between musical practice and its written representation.

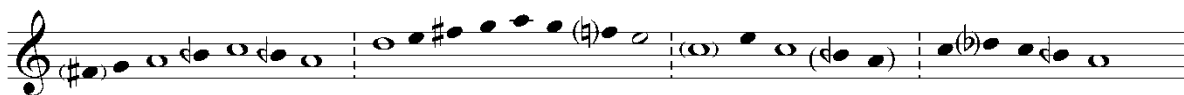
Although this study does not attempt to question modality as a conceptual paradigm, it does aim to broaden our understanding of modality in a particular historical context. Historical musicology inevitably tends towards a linear analysis of modal development that reflects the chronological ordering of textual sources, but detailed reading of the sources themselves hints at a more complex and disordered reality. Previous scholarship involving historical analysis of the Ottoman modal system⁸ has focused on periodisation and has therefore encouraged an evolutionary view of the musical characteristics that are seen in the early repertoire. While the present study is indebted to these works, and discusses modal development from a broadly diachronic perspective, it also considers synchronic aspects of musical change and the impact of various factors apart from historical progression.

MAKÂM SABÂ IN CANTEMIR’S EDVÂR: HISTORICAL STRATA

In his discussion of *makâm sabâ*, Wright [2000, p.124-133] proposes that the *Edvâr* repertoire shows evidence of historical layering, with some pieces apparently displaying a more archaic form of the *makâm* than others. Thus, three pieces in the *usûl* (rhythmic cycle) *darb-i fetih*, which appear near the beginning of the *Edvâr* (No. 12, 13, 14), and piece No. 93 (in the *usûl sakîl*),⁹ are characterised by a pitch set derived almost entirely from the so-called “main notes” (*tamâm perdeler*) of the modal system,¹⁰ and use the eponymous “*sabâ*” pitch (*d⁴*) only in passing or cadential phrases. Other important features of this group are: a wide range (from *F#* to *a*) in the exposition,¹¹ the prominence of the mid to high register (from *d-a*), and a motive of a descending leap from *e* to *c*. As in later forms of *makâm sabâ*, the core range of the mode is from the finalis *A* to the dominant *c*. An outline of the modal characteristics of this group of pieces, which will be designated as “*sabâ* type 1”, is given in Example 1.

Pieces 42, 94, 96, 213, 276 and 338/343 constitute another group with rather different modal characteristics. The core area *A-c* is also prominent in these pieces, and the *e-c* motive occurs frequently. However, the exposition is confined to a smaller area, and the mid to high range (from *d-a*) is not exploited. Most significantly, the notes *f#* and *d* are replaced by *f* and *d⁴*, and this group of pieces therefore more closely resembles the modern form of *makâm sabâ*.¹² Another distinguishing feature of pieces in this group is an opening descent from *c* to *A*, while in *sabâ* type 1 the opposite occurs. An outline of the modal characteristics of *sabâ* type 2 is given in Example 2.

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Example 1. *Sabâ* type 1.Example 2. *Sabâ* type 2.

Wright [2000, p.125–126] further suggests that the two remaining pieces in *makâm sabâ* (No. 92 and 95) may be viewed as intermediary, since they display characteristics of both modal types. The *Edvâr* repertoire, considered in isolation, thus gives us a picture of two distinct layers of historical development, with *sabâ* type 1 representing an older stage than type 2. The “older” group of pieces might therefore represent an obsolescent 17th century (or earlier) modal structure, while the “later” group might reflect the turn-of-the-century practices of Cantemir and his contemporaries. In order to test this hypothesis, and to trace the development of *makâm sabâ* in a more detailed manner, we can compare Cantemir’s transcriptions with the earlier versions of ‘Alî Ufkî.

CANTEMIR AND ‘ALÎ UFKÎ: INTERPRETING DIFFERENCES IN NOTATION

In total there are six instrumental pieces in *sabâ* which were also notated by ‘Alî Ufkî in the *Mecmû‘a-i Sâz ü Söz*¹³ (*Edvâr* No. 12, 13, 14, 95, 96 and 276), two of which (12 and 96) are also included in the author’s earlier collection.¹⁴ Of the pieces which we have assigned to *sabâ* type 1 above, 12, 13 and 14 appear in the *MSS*. In pieces 13 and 14 (*MSS* f^s 88v and 89r), the ‘Alî Ufkî version includes no accidentals, and thus gives no indication of the pitch alterations which are notated by Cantemir. An example is given below (Ex. 3), where the phrase *c d^b c B^b c B^b A* in the *mîlâzîme* (M) of 14 is rendered with *d* by ‘Alî Ufkî, and the passing use of *f* in descent appears as *f[#]*.¹⁵

The omission of accidentals in the *MSS* may imply that the necessary pitch adjustments were simply made by ‘Alî Ufkî during the course of performance, according to the orally transmitted rules of the *makâm*. However, *Edvâr* No. 12 (*MSS* f^s 89v), which has the title “*Mîlâzîme-i hisâr*” in both sources, is notated by ‘Alî Ufkî with a key signature at the beginning of M to indicate the unusual modulation which gives the piece its name.

Although the passing use of *f* in the first *hâne* (H1) of the *Edvâr* version does not appear in the *MSS*, in the third *hâne* (H3, not included in the *Edvâr*) the Arabic letter \cup is used to indicate *f* in place of *f[#]*. In addition, *Mîlâzîme-i hisâr* is also included in *Turc 292* (f^s 227r), where it is

marked with identical accidentals. It might be argued that the inclusion of accidentals in both ‘Alî Ufkî versions of the piece is due to the unusual nature of the modulation, which could not be predicted by the rules of the nominal *makâm (sabâ)*. However, the choice to mark the passing *f* in H3 (in both *MSS* and *Turc 292*), while omitting the same pitch adjustment in H1 (as notated by Cantemir), implies a difference in performance practice rather than notational methods.¹⁶

The argument that the omission of accidentals in 13 and 14 is a difference in notational method or a case of scribal neglect,¹⁷ while their inclusion in 12 is due to the exceptional *mîlâzîme* but is collaterally applied to H3, is also contradicted by ‘Alî Ufkî’s version of 95 (*MSS* f^s 88r). Although ‘Alî Ufkî does not include accidentals for the *d^q* of Cantemir’s version, and no modulation is indicated in H3, in *Z (zeyl, a subsection following H2)* *f* is given in place of *f[#]*.¹⁸ Again, the inclusion of accidentals in a particular subsection, rather than their omission from the entire piece (as in 13 and 14), suggests a conscious decision on the part of the author.

Another important difference between the two versions of 95 is that, in H1, there is a significantly lower incidence of the pitch *d* (whether flat or natural) in the *MSS*.¹⁹ Therefore, while in the *Edvâr* H1 is characterised melodically by the *c-d^q* flexure, in the *MSS* it is the repeated emphasis of *c* which predominates (Ex. 4). If it is supposed that *d* was in fact played as *d^q* in *makâm sabâ* by ‘Alî Ufkî, this difference in emphasis could be interpreted as an avoidance of *d^q* due to the limited number of pitches on his instrument, the *santûr*.²⁰ However, in Ma (see Example 3 and following) this pattern is reversed, and the *MSS* actually shows a higher incidence of *d* than the *Edvâr*.²¹ The reversion from *d^q* to *d* in Mb of the *Edvâr* version suggests the possibility that Ma could also have originally been played with *d*,²² in which case it would be not necessary for ‘Alî Ufkî to avoid the pitch.

An even more striking example of the circumvention of *d^q* is ‘Alî Ufkî’s version of *Edvâr* No. 276 (*MSS* f^s 87v).²³ Where H1 of the *Edvâr* version displays a similar melodic profile to 95 H1, with a strong focus on the *c-d^q*

flexure, the *MSS* does not show a single instance of d or $d^{♭}$; likewise in *Ma* cycle 2, the *MSS* gives c for Cantemir's $d^{♭}$. Further, in cycles 5 and 7 of *Edvâr Mb* (in the *MSS*, *Mc* cycles 1 and 3) the alternation $c d^{♭} c d^{♭}$ is rendered as $c e c e$ by 'Alî Ufkî (Ex. 5).

If it is postulated that 12, 13 and 14 represent an earlier stage of modal development than 95 and 276, it might then be argued that the progression from *sabâ* type 1 to *sabâ* type 2 did not consist primarily in the introduction of $d^{♭}$, but rather the predominance of c and the low incidence or circumvention of d (whether flat or natural). The introduction of $d^{♭}$ can thus be seen as having a purely ornamental function, as a consequence of the predominance of c , whose gravitational pull lowered the pitch of the note above it. On the other hand, if we accept that 'Alî Ufkî's notations reflect the tonal limitations of the *santûr*, and are therefore not an accurate indication of modal structure, the circumvention of $d^{♭}$ in the *MSS* would not represent a different stage of modal development from the *Edvâr*, but only a difference in instrumental technique, which moreover would demonstrate that the use of $d^{♭}$ in *sabâ* had already become common place.

This possibility, however, is undermined by an examination of the final piece in *makâm sabâ* which appears in both the *Edvâr* and the *MSS*, No. 96, in the rhythmic cycle *çenber* (*MSS* ♯ 90r).

This piece was also recorded by 'Alî Ufkî in *Turc 292* (♯ 226r), and thus can provide valuable comparative insights. As in the case of *Miülâzime-i hisâr* (*Edvâr* No. 12), in the *MSS* 'Alî Ufkî notates accidentals throughout the piece, clearly displaying $d^{♭}$ in *Ma* (*Edvâr Mb*),²⁴ and modulations to *şehnâz* and *hisâr* in *H3*. In *Turc 292*, the same accidentals are indicated, with slight but important differences. Whereas the *MSS* and *Turc 292* versions of *Miülâzime-i hisâr* are almost undifferentiated, and could therefore have been copied from one collection to the other, 96 displays several discrepancies,²⁵ suggesting that the two versions were notated independently. The fact that such discrepancies exist, but that the use of $d^{♭}$ and the modulations in *H3* (not shown in Example 6) are notated almost identically, makes it reasonable to assume that the accidentals are a fairly accurate reflection of performance practice. Moreover, 'Alî Ufkî's transcription of this *peşrev* demonstrates that he was probably capable of playing pieces with a large number of pitch alterations.

Another interesting feature of 96 is Cantemir's ornamental use of f in *Ma* cycle 1, which brings the modal structure of the piece a step closer to *sabâ* type 2 as exemplified by e.g. *Edvâr* No. 42, and thus to the modern form. It is significant that this ornament does not occur in either of 'Alî Ufkî's notations, and is immediately

preceded by a phrase using $f^{\#}$, which belongs to *sabâ* type 1. Similarly, Cantemir's use of f in place of $f^{\#}$ throughout *H2* was evidently not a feature of the melody as 'Alî Ufkî knew it, and implies that the modal system was beginning to expand more frequently beyond the boundaries of the *tamâm perdeler*.

Although the 'Alî Ufkî versions of 96 confirm that $d^{♭}$ was already a feature of *makâm sabâ* in the mid-17th century, they also imply that it was not fully integrated into the pitch set. In *H1b*, 'Alî Ufkî explicitly indicates $d^{♭}$ in cycle 1 (in *Turc 292* only), and cycle 3 (in the *MSS* only), but omits it in *H1a*. In *Ma*, $d^{♭}$ is prominent, but in *Mb* it is either not indicated or circumvented. While it can reasonably be argued that later occurrences of the same melodic contour were to be understood as having the same pitch alterations applied, there is also no reason to assume (on the analogy of 95) that d could not alternate with $d^{♭}$. In any case, 'Alî Ufkî's treatment of accidentals suggests that there must have been a certain amount of variability (or perhaps uncertainty) in practice, and this should be taken into consideration when attempting to trace modal development within the repertoire.

Rather than a straightforward diachronic progression from type 1 to type 2, it seems likely that, during the 17th century, *makâm sabâ* encompassed a variety of melodic practices which, from the viewpoint of strictly defined system of modes and pitch sets, appear to have been somewhat inconsistently applied. However, we could also argue that this variability itself was an integral feature of the mode, which may have contributed to its distinct musical character.

It is also worth noting that, while the "later" *sabâ* type 2 pieces we have examined (95, 96, 276) are composed in short rhythmic cycles, the "early" type 1 pieces (12, 13 and 14) share the rhythmic cycle *darb-i fetih*, which is the longest in the repertoire of *usûls* (comprising 88 time units). It has been noted by Feldman [1996, p. 316] that Cantemir seems to have regarded pieces in *darb-i fetih* as a distinct sub-genre, as they are discussed separately in the theoretical part of the *Edvâr*, and are grouped together at the beginning of the collection.

The majority of pieces in this group are attributed to the major mid-17th century composers (Muzaffer, Şerif, Şolakzâde), and thus do not suggest that the *usûl* had any particular associations with an earlier period. However, the length of the rhythmic cycle may well have influenced the melodic contour of these pieces, and the modal progression (i.e. extension to a higher register) that would be expected over several sub-sections of a piece with shorter cycles may occur in one cycle of *darb-i fetih*, since

it allowed, or even demanded, more scope for development.

Example 3. *Edvâr* No. 14/MSS f° 89r.²⁶

Example 4. *Edvâr* No. 95/MSS f° 88r.

MSS
H1
Edvâr

M a

b

c

Example 5. *Edvâr* No. 276/MSS P° 87v.

Turc 292
H1/M

MSS
H1 a

Edvâr
H1

Example 6. *Edvâr* No. 96/*MSS* 90r.

INSTRUMENTAL PIECES IN THE ʿALĪ UFĶĪ COLLECTIONS

There are four more instrumental pieces in *makâm sabâ* which appear in the *MSS* but not in the *Edvâr*. The first of these is untitled and is notated on the same page as *Mülâzime-i hisâr* (f^o 89v), while the second, mentioned above, is entitled *At nakli* (“transportation of the horses”) and appears on the same page as ʿAlî UfĶî’s version of *Edvâr* No. 96 (f^o 90r). The other two pieces are in the instrumental *semâî* genre (characterised by a 6-beat rhythmic cycle) and are also untitled (f^{os} 90v and 96r). The *semâî* on f^o 90v also appears in a partial, and substantially different, version in *Turc 292* (f^o 48r). As might be expected, the pieces display features which would characterise them as “early”, though at the same time they show that aspects of *sabâ* type 2 had already begun to emerge during this period.

The characteristics of the first two *peşrevs* (on f^{os} 89v and 90r) are consistent with *sabâ* type 1, and their absence from the *Edvâr* would also support the theory that they belong to an earlier historical layer (Ex. 7 & 8). The most important of these characteristics are an opening ascent from A to c, the use of *d* and *f*[#] in place of *d*[♭] or *f*, and, in the *peşrev* on f^o 90r, the use of the *e-g* range in the exposition.

These *peşrevs*, moreover, are distinguished from the other *sabâ* type 1 pieces in the *MSS* (*Edvâr* No. 12, 13, and 14) by their more limited range and the total avoidance of stepwise movement between *e* and *c*. These features, together with their melodic-rhythmic simplicity and short phrase lengths, could mark them out as being archaic even within the *sabâ* type 1 group. This argument would be congruent with Feldman’s [1996, p. 322–327] early periodisation of pieces based on the absence of *seyîr* or “developed melodic progression”. However, we should also note that these pieces are appended to other *peşrevs* in the *MSS*, and may therefore have been intended to be performed as “light” works which followed more substantial compositions.²⁷ Furthermore, the title of the second *peşrev* indicates that it belonged to the *mehter* (military band) repertoire, which must also have affected its compositional and perhaps modal structure. Thus, differences in modal structure may equally be the result of functionality and performance context as of historical precedence.²⁸

The *semâî* on *MSS* f^o 90v (Ex. 9) initially appears to share certain features with 12, 13 and 14, but the appearance of another version of this piece in *Turc 292*, which includes both *d*[♭] and the passing use of *f* in place of *f*[#] (H1/Mb cycles 6 & 10), distances the piece from *sabâ* type 1, and moreover seems to contradict the argument

that the use of accidentals in the *MSS* is an accurate reflection of performance practice. Similarly with *Edvâr* No. 96, which also occurs both in the *MSS* and *Turc 292*, differences in melody and ornamentation strongly suggest that the two versions were notated separately rather than copied. It must therefore be conceded that other pieces which give no indication of these pitches may well have included them in practice (though it is impossible to say with what frequency), and we can also be sure that *f* had at least begun to be introduced into *makâm sabâ* in the mid-17th century as a passing pitch alteration (probably limited to descending melodic contexts), although only two examples in the entire *sabâ* corpus²⁹ of the *MSS* and *Turc 292* suggest that it was not yet fully integrated into the structure of the *makâm*.

Nonetheless, the evidence of the other pieces we have analysed, and indeed the fact that ʿAlî UfĶî notated two quite different versions of this *semâî*, demonstrates that there was considerable variability within the structure of the mode, and, where no explicit indication is given in the score, an indiscriminate and retrospective application of the modern pitch set (*i.e.* with *d*[♭] and *f*) of *makâm sabâ* therefore remains inappropriate. Rather than being a straightforward case of neglect on the part of the author (which seems unlikely considering the care with which the *MSS* was prepared in comparison to *Turc 292*), the fact that the notation of *d*[♭] was not regarded as obligatory implies that there was considerable latitude in its practical application.

The absence of accidentals in the *MSS* version could, for example, indicate that the *semâî* (as a whole or in certain sections) was sometimes played with *d* and sometimes with *d*[♭] depending on instrumentation, tempo, or placement within a performance. The coexistence of *d* and *d*[♭] is evidenced by the *semâî* on f^o 96r (Ex. 10), where *d*[♭] is written as *c*[♯].³⁰

The likelihood of the inconsistent appearance of this pitch in the *MSS* being due to scribal inaccuracy is further reduced by the notational convention adopted in this piece, which clearly demonstrates that *d*[♭] had been introduced by the mid-17th century, but had not yet replaced *d*. It is significant that the use of *d*[♭] here coincides with another important feature of *sabâ* type 2, the initial descent from *c* to A in H1. However, there are important differences between this *semâî* and those pieces in the *Edvâr* which are most representative of *sabâ* type 2 (No. 42, 213 and 338/343). Apart from the alternation of *d* with *d*[♭], other characteristics which differentiate this piece from the later examples of *sabâ* type 2, and thus suggest an earlier phase of modal development, are the absence of *f* and the use of the *e-g* range in M.

[H1] M

[H2] 1. 2.

[H3]

Example 7. MSS # 89v.

H1

[M]

H2

H3

Example 8. MSS # 90r "At nakli".

The musical score for Example 9, MSS f° 90v (semâtî), is presented in seven systems. Each system consists of two staves. The top staff is labeled 'Ture 292' and the bottom staff is labeled 'MSS'. The music is in 6/8 time and the key signature has one sharp (F#). The score includes first and second endings, a section marked with a question mark '[?]', and a section marked with a lowercase letter 'c'.

Example 9. MSS f° 90v (semâtî).

It is noteworthy that the only other instrumental piece in *makâm sabâ* the MSS which explicitly indicates d^{\flat} , on f° 90r (*Edvâr* No. 96), includes an almost identical opening phrase in M. This feature also distinguishes these two pieces from *Edvâr* No. 95 (MSS f° 88r) and 276 (MSS f° 87v), which do not rise above *e* in their exposition, and thus do not include $f^{\#}$. Since the use of the *e-g* range (including $f^{\#}$) is a prominent feature of the “early” pieces, and does not occur in 42, 213 or 338/343, it might be argued that its occurrence in 96, as well as the *semâ’î* on f° 96r, indicates an earlier provenance than 95 or 276. However, this fails to explain the complete absence of accidentals to indicate d^{\flat} in 95 and 276, and it seems unlikely that, once d^{\flat} had been introduced, new pieces in *makâm sabâ* could have been composed exclusively with *d*. If, of course, 95 and 276 were played with d^{\flat} in the mid-17th century, they would already be closely identifiable with *sabâ* type 2. But if, as has been argued previously, the indications of d^{\flat} in the MSS largely represent contemporary performance practice, 95 and 276 are unlikely to be antecedent to 96 or the *semâ’î* on f° 96r. The occurrence of the *e-g* range in these latter two pieces would therefore seem to be vestigial, particularly since it occurs only in passing, rather than structurally as in 12, 13 or 14.

The preceding discussion demonstrates perhaps most clearly the difficulty of accurately dating pieces based on their modal characteristics, since in some contexts these may have persisted despite belonging to an earlier historical layer. The fact that both ‘Alî Ufkî and Cantemir notated such a wide range of modal structures under a single rubric demonstrates that there was considerable scope for diversity in practice, and, in the case of ‘Alî Ufkî, inconsistencies in notation may indicate ambiguity or flexibility rather than inaccuracy. It is also worth considering that, since the ‘Alî Ufkî collections are the only notated documents we have for the early and mid-17th century, it is quite plausible (if not inevitable) that other musicians played the same pieces in different ways, according to their tastes and musical education.

Although 95 and 276, for example, seem to have been played by ‘Alî Ufkî without d^{\flat} , they may well have been played with this pitch by other musicians – perhaps of a younger generation, different line of transmission or musical background – and it was seemingly this practice which had become standard by the time of Cantemir. Therefore, while there clearly exists evidence of diachronic layering within the *sabâ* corpus, the various threads that make up the fabric of the *makâm* in the 17th century are also indicative of a level of synchronic diversity, and, at least with regards to some modal types, point to the period as one of musical flux rather than conservatism.

The corpus of pieces assigned to *makâm sabâ* in the MSS includes eight vocal compositions, while one vocal piece in *Turc* 292 is entitled (in Latin script) “*mekam sabah*” (f° 265v). The latter appears to be something of a misnomer, however, since its melodic shape is quite unrelated to the two other (instrumental) pieces assigned to *makâm sabâ* in *Turc* 292. Although the fact that ‘Alî Ufkî explicitly indicates that the piece was in *sabâ* may suggest that there was yet another modally distinct form of the *makâm* which existed in the early or mid-17th century, in the absence of any further evidence this argument is untenable. Amongst the vocal pieces in *makâm sabâ* in the MSS are five *murabba’*s (f°s 92v-93r),³¹ a *türkü* or popular song (f° 93r), and two hymns (*tesbîh*) (f° 94r) (Ex. 11.1-8). The pieces display some of the features that characterise the “early” instrumental repertoire, yet they also deviate from the *sabâ* type 1 model in important ways. This may be significant in terms of chronology, but is also likely to reflect the differing requirements of the vocal repertoire, and suggests an alternative path of modal development.

The formal limitations of the vocal genres are a factor in the modal structure of these pieces: all forms contain only two short sections (generally performed in the sequence AABA, with B as a contrasting section), with no subsections as in the *peşrev*, and melodic development is therefore usually restricted to 2-4 phrases. This may account for the narrow *tessitura* of all the vocal pieces – apart from *murabba’* V on f° 93r,³² which briefly touches $f^{\#}$, none of the pieces extend beyond *e* in the *zemîn*³³ section, and the *türkü* on f° 93r only reaches *c*. Extension to the upper register (centred on *e*) occurs in the *miyân* of most pieces, though *murabba’*s I & II (f° 92v) instead modulate by introducing c^{\flat} ,³⁴ and the B section of the *türkü* is simply a variation of the first section. Other features of *sabâ* type 1 are present, but can not be generalised to all the vocal pieces.

Thus, although in almost all pieces *c* has the expected prominence, *murabba’* V does not conform to this pattern, and, while most pieces ascend from *A* to *c* in the *zemîn*, *murabba’* II and *tesbîh* II (f° 94r) have a descending melodic profile; *murabba’* III (f° 92v) and the *türkü* both begin with an ascending leap from *G*. Furthermore, the descending *e-c* leap, which is one of the most distinguishing characteristics of *makâm sabâ* in the 17th century (appearing in all except one of the instrumental pieces in the MSS), does not occur in half of the pieces,³⁵ and in two of the pieces where it does appear (*murabba’* II & *tesbîh* II), it is in the configuration *d-e-c*, rather than the more usual *c-e-c* or $f^{\#}-e-c$.

The musical score for Example 10, MSS f° 96r (semâî), is presented in eight staves. The first two staves are labeled H1 and the last two are labeled H3. The music is in 8/8 time and G major. It features various melodic lines with some repeat signs and first/second endings.

Example 10. MSS f° 96r (*semâî*).

One vocal piece (*murabba*^c IV on f° 93r) includes a single accidental to indicate d^{\flat} , which occurs cadentially following the *e-c* motive, but the remaining pieces do not appear to use this pitch.

The vocal pieces in the MSS seem to represent a similar phase of development to the two *peşrevs* on f°s 89v and 90r, discussed above. That is, they clearly are closer to *sabâ* type 1 than type 2, but at the same time display a

more limited range and simpler melodic construction than the *darb-i fetih* pieces.

Indeed, the melodic range of the vocal pieces is even narrower than the *peşrevs* on f°s 89v and 90r, and, in addition, the distinctive *e-c* leap is absent from many of them, which could indicate a stage prior to the establishment of this motive as a core feature of the *makâm*.

Example 11.1 consists of two staves, [A] and [B], in 9/8 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). Staff [A] begins with a repeat sign and contains three measures. The first measure has a first ending bracket over the final two notes. The second measure has a second ending bracket over the final two notes. The third measure has a third ending bracket over the final two notes. Staff [B] contains four measures of music.

Example 11.1. MSS P 92v (*murabba' I/[evfer]*).³⁶

Example 11.2 consists of two staves, [A] and [B], in 4/8 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). Staff [A] contains eight measures, with first and second endings over the final two notes of the eighth measure. Staff [B] contains eight measures of music.

Example 11.2. MSS P 92v (*murabba' II/[sofyâri]*).³⁷

Example 11.3 consists of two staves, [A] and [B], in 9/8 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). Staff [A] contains eight measures of music. Staff [B] contains eight measures of music.

Example 11.3. MSS P 92v (*murabba' III/[semâ'i]*).

Example 11.4 consists of two staves, [A] and [B], in 9/8 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). Staff [A] contains eight measures of music. Staff [B] contains eight measures of music.

Example 11.4. MSS P 93r (*murabba' IV/[diyek?]*).³⁸

Example 11.5 consists of two staves, [A] and [B], in 9/8 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). Staff [A] contains eight measures of music. Staff [B] contains eight measures of music.

Example 11.5. MSS P 93r (*murabba' V/[diyek]*).³⁹

Example 11.6. MSS f° 93r (*türkü/semâ'*).⁴⁰

Example 11.7. MSS f° 94r (*tesbîh I/[diyek?]*).⁴¹

Example 11.8. MSS f° 94r (*tesbîh II/[semâ'?*).⁴²

Murabba' IV on f° 93r gives the only example of a cadential rather than structural use of d^{\flat} in the pieces in *makâm sabâ* notated by 'Alî Ufkî, which later occurs in the "early" pieces as they were notated by Cantemir (in No. 13 and 14).

This illustrates the emergence of the pitch as a passing alteration in a cadential context, before it began to be used more consistently and prominently as in the *semâ'î* on f° 96r.

Feldman [1996, p. 181] has stated that the *murabba'* (*beste*) emerged during the late 16th and early 17th centuries, and, while the basis for this assertion is not made clear, it is certainly true that the earliest Ottoman song-text collections (*ca.* 1650) reflect the establishment of the genre as a distinctly Turkish form; the term is not noted in mid-16th century collections [Wright, 1992, p. 215].

Therefore, if the vocal pieces do represent the most archaic phase of modal development in the *MSS*, this cannot be earlier than the late 16th century. However, as

with the instrumental pieces discussed in the previous section, it is uncertain whether the modal structure of the vocal pieces is a reflection of their early composition, of formal constraints, of performance function, or a combination of these factors. It might be argued that the inherently more conservative nature of the vocal repertoire is evidenced by the modal characteristics of these pieces, which do not include the extended range and typical motivic features which were developed in the instrumental repertoire. On the other hand, the long note values with which several of these pieces were originally written might also imply that they were intended as melodic outlines, to be elaborated by the performer.

Yet, although many of these pieces are melodically and rhythmically limited compared to the instrumental works we have considered so far, some pieces (*e.g.* *tesbîh* II) have a modal structure which is comparable to the *MSS* versions of 95 and 276, though somewhat more condensed. The limited range of the latter two instrumental pieces is not, therefore, necessarily indicative

of a late stage of development. Indeed, the evidence of the vocal pieces makes it more plausible that the extended range in the exposition of pieces 12, 13, 14 is related rather to the formal requirements of the *ustûl*. Another important feature of *sabâ* type 2, the initial descent from *c* to *A*, can also be seen in the *murabbaʿ* II, which does not give any other indication of being a “late” composition. The evidence of these vocal pieces demonstrates that the early 17th century repertoire does not necessarily conform to the melodic profile of *makâm sabâ* seen in the *Edvâr* corpus. Although it can be said that these pieces correspond more closely to *sabâ* type 1 than type 2, an analysis of their modal characteristics – some of which might be related to historical factors, while others may be attributable to the formal limitations or performance function of the vocal repertoire – obliges us to broaden our definition of the structure of the mode, and perhaps to adhere less strictly to such a chronological/typological distinction.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has attempted to outline the structural development of *makâm sabâ* during the 17th century. Pieces 95 and 276 display more archaic features in the *MSS* than the *Edvâr*, and it has been suggested that early forms of *makâm sabâ* were defined by the emphasis of *c* and low incidence or circumvention of *d*, rather than the use of *d^q*. However, it has been demonstrated with reference to 96 (as well as several other pieces in the *MSS* and *Turc 292*) that *d^q* had begun to emerge in the mid-17th century, though it had not yet been established as an essential feature of the mode. In most pieces in the *MSS* or *Turc 292* in which *d^q* is introduced, it is the alternation of this pitch with *d* rather than the consistent use of *d^q* which characterises this stage of modal development. The almost complete absence of *f* in the ‘Alî Ufkî repertoire, its introduction in the *Edvâr* version of 96, and the absence of *f[#]* from later pieces, demonstrate that, while it was occasionally used in *makâm sabâ* in the mid-17th century, *f* had become a more integral feature of the mode by the end of the century.

We have aimed to interpret ‘Alî Ufkî’s use of accidentals, and it has been postulated that these reflect the performance practices of his time. Although the example of a *semâ’î* recorded both in *Turc 292* (with *d^q*) and the *MSS* (with *d*) implies that pitch alterations were not always notated, it has been argued that such inconsistencies themselves demonstrate a level of variability in performance. It is also probable that the ‘Alî Ufkî notations represent only one of several different musical practices, which are likely to have varied

according to the background of individual teachers and musicians.

The instrumental and vocal pieces of *Turc 292* and the *MSS* which do not appear in the *Edvâr* display seemingly archaic features, but it has been argued that modal structure is influenced by various factors apart from historical development. One of the pieces we have discussed is linked to the music of the janissary band, while others may have been intended as light compositions with which to end a performance, and these differing contexts should be considered in musical analysis. Furthermore, the formal limitations of particular genres and the length of rhythmic cycle are likely to have contributed to the modal characteristics of certain pieces. In particular, vocal compositions seem to be sharply distinguished from the instrumental repertoire, which may reflect the more conservative nature of vocal music as well as its formal limitations. However, the most archaic examples of vocal music in *makâm sabâ* in the *MSS* cannot be considered to date from earlier than the late 16th or early 17th century.

In conclusion, the analysis of the *sabâ* pieces in the *Edvâr* by Wright [2000, p. 124–133] is largely borne out by a comparison with the *MSS* and *Turc 292*, but an examination of other pieces assigned to *makâm sabâ* by ‘Alî Ufkî shows that a larger amount of data results in an even more variable conception of the structure of the mode. Wright’s [2000, p. 128] suggestion that a degree of historical layering had already taken place in *makâm sabâ* by the mid-17th century is supported by a more detailed evaluation of *Turc 292* and the *MSS*, which demonstrate that aspects of *sabâ* type 2 had already begun to emerge in the mid-17th century or earlier. Nonetheless, the mode displays a more heterogeneous form than is found in the *Edvâr* corpus, and this may be related not only to historical development, but also to other factors such as performance context, genre, instrumentation, or rhythmic structure.

The case of *makâm sabâ* in the early Ottoman repertoire demonstrates that the 17th century was a period of continuous musical development, which can only be hinted at in the surviving collections of notation. In the Ottoman tradition, the scarcity of notation before the 19th century means that any analysis of the early modal system is speculative and incomplete, and is in danger of limiting modality to its textual remains. However, by reversing this perspective and viewing the notated sources as a reflection of a living musical tradition, we can question the notion of modality as a static and predefined system, and instead consider the early Ottoman collections as embodying a diversity of practices within a changing and changeable musical culture.

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Notes

¹ I am grateful to Owen Wright for providing valuable sources and suggestions during the writing of this article.

² Generally, modern Turkish spellings of extant musical terms are adopted in the text. In the case of personal names, titles of pieces, or where there is a direct reference to an Ottoman Turkish text, the transcription system of the *İslam Ansiklopedisi* is used.

³ ‘Alî Ufkî (ca. 1610-75), known as Albert Bobowski or Bobovius in Western sources, was a Polish polymath who was brought as a captive to Istanbul sometime before 1650. He served as a court musician (playing the hammered dulcimer, *sarıtır*) at the Topkapı palace for a number of years, where he made the earliest known notations of Ottoman music (see note No. 5). See [Behar, 1990] and [Elçin and Ufkî, 1976].

⁴ Demetrius Cantemir (1673-1723) was a Moldavian prince who was resident – as a hostage – in Istanbul between 1687-91 and 1693-1710. As well as producing an influential history of the Ottoman empire in Latin, he holds an important place as the author of a musical treatise which provides unparalleled information on 17th century Ottoman music, *Kitâb-i ‘ilm-i mûsikî ‘alâ vehül-‘hurîfât* (“Book of the Science of Music by Means of Notation” – İstanbul Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Kütüphanesi, Yazmalar No. 100). A collection of around 350 instrumental pieces written in alphabetic notation is appended to the treatise. For further information see [Cantemir and Wright, 1992; 2000] and [Popescu-Judetz, 1999].

⁵ The better known of these is the *Mecmûa-i Sâz ü Söz* (British Library, MS. Sloane 3114), containing around 475 notated works in various vocal and instrumental forms (see [Behar, 2005, p. 213–214]). The second (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS. Turc 292) is untitled; it contains a large quantity of miscellaneous material unrelated to music, in addition to around 290 vocal and instrumental notations [Behar, 2005, p. 224–226]. Although it is generally acknowledged that the latter work predates the *Mecmûa-i Sâz ü Söz*, there is much evidence to suggest that it could not have been completed before 1650 [Behar, 2008, p. 36–43; Wright, 1992, p. 7]. For the purposes of this study,

therefore, the two collections will not be considered as representing different historical periods or stages of modal development.

⁶ Henceforth referred to as the *Edvâr* (“[the book of] cycles”) – the title by which the treatise and accompanying collection of notations are commonly known in Turkey.

⁷ See [Behar, 2008].

⁸ Most notably, Wright [2000] and Feldman [1996].

⁹ Transcriptions of all pieces from the *Edvâr* which are discussed in this study may be consulted in [Cantemir and Wright, 1992].

¹⁰ In accordance with modern Turkish notational conventions, the sixteen *tamâm perdeler* as given by Cantemir in the *Edvâr* (p. 2) are: *D E F# G A B[♭] c d e f# g a b[♭] c’ d’ e’*. See Wright [2000, p. 15–17] for more detailed discussion.

¹¹ The main Ottoman instrumental genres featured in this study (*peşrev* and *semâî*) both consist of a ritornello (*mîlâzime*) and at least three other sections (*hânes*), usually in the form AB(= *mîlâzime*)CBDB (see [Feldman, 1996, p. 303–338]). “Exposition” here includes the first *hâne* and the *mîlâzime*.

¹² For the modern form of *makâm sabâ*, the reader may consult [Özkan, 2006, p. 369–373]. See also [Yılmaz, 2007, p. 203–205]; [Signell, 2008, p. 63–65]; [Yekta Bey, 1922, p. 2998].

¹³ Henceforth *MSS*.

¹⁴ Henceforth *Turc 292*.

¹⁵ Presuming that ‘Alî Ufkî’s “natural scale” consisted of the same pitches as Cantemir’s *tamâm perdeler* (see [Wright, 2000, p. 15–17]). Transcriptions from the *MSS* are notated here with an editorial *B[♭]* and *f#* in the key signature to reflect this assumption. Although the *MSS* does not include any indication of the tuning system with which ‘Alî Ufkî was familiar, *Turc 292* includes a “scale of the frets of the *tanbûr*” on f° 74r. However, [Behar, 2008, p. 170] has dismissed (perhaps somewhat rashly) any attempt to gain insight into the 17th century pitch system from this diagram as being in vain.

¹⁶ Feldman also argues that “the fact that he [ʿAlī Ufķī] did indicate accidentals fairly frequently [i.e. did not omit them entirely] suggests that the relative scarcity of accidentals in his notations is a faithful reflection of the musical style of the first half of the 17th century” – [Feldman, 1996, p. 417]. For Wright [2000, p. 128], however, ʿAlī Ufķī’s treatment of accidentals is “somewhat cavalier”, and should not be considered an accurate representation of performance practice.

¹⁷ One might argue, for example, that, since accidentals are marked in a different coloured ink from the main text in the *MSS*, the author intended to add them at a later stage but forgot.

¹⁸ The Arabic letter و appears on the relevant line of the stave at the beginning of the subsection.

¹⁹ In the *MSS*, the incidence of d in H1 is 2 time units (or 3 in the repeat with *seconda volta*), as against 4.5 time units for $d^{\text{♩}}$ in the corresponding subsection in the *Eđvâr* (where م = one time unit).

²⁰ Unfortunately, detailed information about the tuning system of the 17th century *santûr* is unavailable. However, the illustration of a *santûr* in the *Sâznâme* of Hızır Ağa (mid-18th century), shows an instrument with movable bridges, but little possibility for easy adjustments of intonation during the course of performance – this practical difficulty may have led to the avoidance of $d^{\text{♩}}$ in a piece which predominantly used d . Feldman has argued that the decline of the *santûr* was directly related to the expansion of the Turkish tonal system at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century (see Feldman [1996, p. 160–163]).

²¹ *MSS*: 7.5 time units (7 for the *seconda volta*); *Eđvâr*: 5 time units.

²² In support of this hypothesis we might draw a comparison with the other “intermediate” piece, *Eđvâr* No. 92 (not included in *MSS* or *Turc 292*), in which $d^{\text{♩}}$ is used in H1 but is replaced by d in M.

²³ The title of this piece is given in the *Eđvâr* as *Reftâr* (“graceful gait”). In the *MSS* this title is absent, but another hand has added *Dilnûvâz* (“heart’s ease”).

²⁴ Wright’s comment that “the editorial preference for $d^{\text{♩}}$ in the transcription of 96 Mb ... cannot be argued for on a strict reading of ʿAlī Ufķī’s text” [Wright, 2000, p. 128] would thus seem to be an oversight.

²⁵ These are marked with asterisks in the comparative transcription (Ex. 6).

²⁶ Notes on transcriptions: Where no key signature is provided in the *MSS* or *Turc 292*, B^{\flat} and f^{\flat} have been given on the assumption that this reflects the basic pitch set of the 17th century; in pieces from the *Eđvâr*, accidentals reflect the transcription system adopted by Wright [1992]. In pieces from the *MSS* or *Turc 292*, $\#$ represents the signs $\#$, \prime , or $\prime\prime$ of the original, and \flat represents the signs \flat , \flat or و . Pieces from the *MSS* and *Turc 292* are generally transcribed with smaller note values than the original to facilitate comparison with the *Eđvâr* versions; likewise, where a repeated cycle or subsection which is written out in full in the *Eđvâr* is written with a repeat sign in the *MSS* or *Turc 292*, it has been transcribed in full here to aid comparison. Bar lines (apart from repeat bar lines) are rarely indicated in the *MSS* or *Turc 292*, and are therefore added here in accordance with the length of the relevant rhythmic cycle.

²⁷ Feldman himself [1996, p. 183] also argues that, within the 17th century instrumental *fasl* (suite), pieces with short *usûls* such as *diyek* were preceded by pieces in longer rhythmic cycles e.g. *darb-i-feitih*.

²⁸ In this regard, Wright [2000, p. 546] notes that any attempt to establish a chronology within the early Ottoman repertoire must

“avoid the pitfall of assigning pieces to different periods merely on the basis of relative simplicity and complexity, however defined”.

²⁹ Not including second and third *hânes*.

³⁰ The use of $c^{\#}$ to indicate $d^{\text{♩}}$ may be related to the tuning system of the *santûr*, and might reflect a method of producing the desired pitch by pressing on the c string (rather than having to tune the d string down by half a tone), perhaps necessitated by the faster tempo of the *semâʿî* compared to the *peşrev*. I am indebted to Mehmet Uğur Ekinçi for suggesting this interpretation.

³¹ The *murabbaʿ* (also known as *beste*) was the main vocal genre in Ottoman music during the 17th century, and is among the more “classical” vocal forms notated by ʿAlī Ufķī (see [Feldman, 1996, p. 177–178; Wright, 1992, p. 157–158]). It has been noted by various scholars that the *MSS* displays a wide range of vocal forms, including genres such as the *murabbaʿ* alongside popular and religious song types such as the *türkü* or *ilâhî* (see [Behar, 2008, p. 51–71] for more detailed discussion). It is therefore interesting to note that only one example of a popular genre, the *türkü*, is included amongst the pieces in *makâm sabâ*, compared with e.g. the *hüseynî* mode section, which includes 16 *türkis* and 5 *varsâğis*, but only 10 *murabbaʿs* (see Wright [1992, p. 150]).

³² Vocal pieces are referred to here by Roman numerals (i.e. *murabbaʿ* I-V and *tesbîh* I-II) according to their order of appearance in the *MSS*.

³³ *Zemîn* (“ground”) refers to the first section (A) of a vocal composition. The contrasting section (B) is referred to as *miyân* (“middle”).

³⁴ It is not clear which *makâm* this rather unusual modulation refers to – possible candidates might be *uzzâl* or *pengâh*, but the melodic shape would seem atypical in both instances. In any case, the brevity of the relevant passages prevents any conclusive analysis.

³⁵ The e - c leap does not occur in *murabbaʿs* I, III & V and the *türkü*.

³⁶ The *usûl* is not indicated, but the following pieces (*murabbaʿs* II & III) are assigned to *evfer* and *sofyân* respectively. The internal rhythmic articulations, however, make clear that these headings in fact apply to *murabbaʿs* I & II, while *murabbaʿ* III is given the time signature ∇ and *semâʿî* is written in the margin. Repeat bar lines are not given in *murabbaʿ* I, but repeats are implied by *seconda* & *terza volta* endings, of which one of several possible interpretations is given here. Bar line divisions are also editorial.

³⁷ Repeats are not indicated, but are implied by the *seconda volta* ending, for which the original has ☞ (replaced here by \square ☞) to allow for the following anacrusis).

³⁸ The *usûl* is not indicated. An extra minim has been added in section A, cycle 1, by analogy with section B, cycle 1. Above the heading is written “*rakş*” (“dance”).

³⁹ A transcription of this piece is found in [Wright, 1992, p. 166], where it is suggested that the same piece may be recorded in the song text collection of Hâfiz Post.

⁴⁰ The *usûl* is indicated with the time signature ∇ . The final note of each section is ☞ (rather than \square ☞) in the original. The finalis seems to be G , in which case the only feature which links this piece to *makâm sabâ* is the emphasis of c . However, since the piece is notated in the *sabâ* section it may also be a scribal error.

⁴¹ The *usûl* (indicated by the time signature ^) is clearly a duple metre. *Diyeğ* has been chosen here as one of several possibilities.

⁴² The *usûl* is not indicated.