

Stadler, von Hussard, and the Mevlevi *ayin*

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Abstract The early nineteenth-century notations, with piano accompaniment, of vocal sections of the Mevlevi ceremony made by Maximilian Stadler (1748-1833) have been dismissed by Turkish scholars as distorted beyond recognition. Contrary to this assessment, it is argued that, systematic inaccuracies notwithstanding, they correspond quite well to what may be assumed to be the performance norms of the Mevlevi repertoire at the turn of the nineteenth century, and that, far from being mere curiosities of interest solely to students of Orientalism, they are of value as historical documents indicative of stylistic change within the Ottoman tradition.

Keywords Historical ethnomusicology. Ottoman music. Mevlevi *ayin*. Turkish classical music. Orientalism.

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1 Introduction

A significant and substantial contribution to the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century European documentation of other musical traditions is the partial transcription, with added piano accompaniment, of the core vocal components (*ayin*) of the Mevlevi ceremony, in seven settings in different *makams*, made by Abbé Maximilian Stadler (1748-1833). It takes its place, alongside the evidence of British contact with Indian culture provided by the piano arrangements of ‘Hindoostani airs’ (Cook 2009), as an indication of a tentatively growing European interest in the musical traditions of Asia, the earlier documentation of which, largely confined to impressionistic accounts scattered through travel literature, was also beginning to be complemented towards the end of the eighteenth century by more analytical and theoretical investigations, as witnessed by the publication in 1779 of Amiot’s *Mémoire sur la musique des Chinois* and, a year later, of De la Borde’s *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne*, containing a chapter on Persian and Ottoman music that shows a dawning awareness of the indigenous theoretical tradition,¹ followed, in 1792, by Sir William Jones’ (1746-1794) *On the Musical Modes of the Hindus*, publications which mark a trend towards more scholarly, if not always more dispassionate, enquiry, culminating over a century later in the Lavignac *Encyclopédie de la musique* of 1922, with its extensive coverage of Arab, Persian, and Turkish music alongside other Asian traditions.

However, for any of Stadler’s contemporaries who might have been curious about the nature of the Ottoman and other Middle Eastern art-music traditions, information remained sketchy at best. There had certainly been a lengthy, if intermittent, record of contacts and reactions to things heard, but they tended to downplay factual reportage in favour of subjective responses and unhelpful value judgments. Objective description might be available regarding instruments, their materials and construction (Mersenne 1627), but much less on how they were used. Overall, observers’ impressions tended to be negative, feeding into the caustic assessments of theorists such as Salomon de Caus (1576-1626) who, in the brashly Eurocentric conclusion of Part 1 of his *Institution harmonique*, brushes Ottoman music aside with disdain:

¹ For an evaluation, see Wright 2019.

En Turquie il y a aussi plusieurs sortes d'instruments, avec lesquels ils jouent le plus souvent avec confusion, sans user de consonnantes, sinon de celles qui viennent accidentellement, & se contentent seulement d'ouïr un grand bruit confus. (de Caus 1615, 24)

The available literature, then, was liable to discourage curiosity and further investigation,² although a partial and sometimes striking exception is to be found in the varied and more involved responses of those who witnessed the Mevlevi ceremony. A visit to the Galata *mevlevihane* had become an increasingly standard part of the itinerary of European visitors to Constantinople, and some duly recorded their impressions. Among the more perceptive and positive was one of the earlier visitors, Pietro della Valle (1586-1652), whose observations, from the first quarter of the seventeenth century, suggest certain differences in the dance by comparison with current norms. For the music, he mentions only the *ney*, and it is possible that at the time no other melody instrument was used. He is highly appreciative:

al suono di quattro o cinque flauti, fatti di canne, che con distinzione di tutte le voci, basso, tenore, contralto e soprano facevano una bellissima armonia, cominciarono a ballare: talora sonando senza ballare e talora sonando e ballando insieme a vicenda [...].

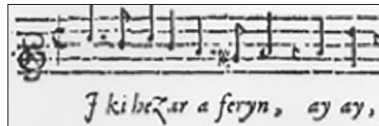
Però la musica che fanno è galante, e degna in ver d'essere sentita: e quei flauti che chiamano *nai*, ovvero più correttamente *nei*, che in persiano significa propriamente canna, come di canna son fatti, non si può credere quanto dolce suono rendano. (della Valle 1843, 47-8)

By *armonia* is perhaps to be understood here concord, incorporating reactions to a degree of heterophonic variation within an essentially monophonic idiom. In line with other early observers, he remarks on the gradual speeding up of the dance, from slow to finally becoming very fast, in contrast to the current preference for maintaining a regular tempo for much of the ceremony:

Nel principio cominciano con moto lento e soave, adagio adagio: ma poi, poco a poco riscaldati, lo vanno ogni ora più affrettando; finché al fine, cresciuto quasi in eccesso il fervore, si danno tanta fretta e si aggirano con tanta velocità, che appena gli arriva la vista di chi gli riguarda. (della Valle 1843, 47-8)

2 For general surveys, see Bohlman 1987; Clayton, Zon 2009; Stokes 2019. For travel literature, see especially Aksoy 1995, and, for reactions to the Mevlevi ceremony, De Zorzi 2019. For further visual representations see Ghirardini 2013. A survey of European reactions and attitudes to Ottoman music since the Renaissance is attempted in Wright 2013.

The general impressions conveyed by such descriptive accounts are occasionally supplemented by the inclusion of examples of notation, the earliest to represent explicitly Mevlevi material being the mid seventeenth-century recording, by Jean Antoine du Loir, of the conclusion of the third of the four *selâm* sections, a setting of the text *Ey ki hezar aferin* (du Loir 1654, 154), which begins:



But du Loir himself appears not to have been impressed, for after transcribing the text he offers a translation prefaced by the dismissive comment:

Voicy l'explication de cette Hymne, dont asseurement vous trouverez le sens meilleur que le chant.

A more substantial sample is provided early in the eighteenth century by Charles de Ferriol (1652-1722), who includes a lengthy and quite detailed representation of a melody, notated by le Sieur Chabert, entitled “Air sur lequel tournent les Derviches de Pera” (de Ferriol 1714, 17),³ and accompanied by the comment:

On a joint icy l’Air noté que les Musiciens jouënt pour faire tourner les Dervichs: ils tournent les bras ouverts, & paroissent extasiez: les jeunes tournent d’une vitesse incroyable. Le Superieur & les vieux tournent plus lentement; & quand ils sont las, ils se mettent à genoux le visage contre terre.

Once more, there is the impression of the revolutions of the dance, at least among the younger adepts, reaching great speed, added to which is a reference to tempo variations between the participants, another feature largely absent from the more uniform contemporary realizations. There is no further remark about the melody, but Chabert’s addition of a bass line to his notation can already be construed as a negative reaction in itself, a tacit normalization

3 The notation is reproduced in both De Zorzi 2019, 136, and Wright 2013, 154. On the presence of non-participating audiences at the Mevlevi *mukabele* see Behar 2014.

designed to remedy what was clearly perceived to be a deficiency.⁴ The changes of pace associated with the shift from 6/4 to 3/4 suggest that what is being represented might be a reflection of the two final instrumental sections, *son peşrev* and *son yürük semai*, but the former is normally in a duple metre (*düyek*, a cycle of eight time units), and there seems to be no melodic match among what are reputed to be the earliest surviving *ayins*. When performed as notated by a European violinist to an Ottoman audience towards the end of the eighteenth century, the melody certainly failed to be recognized; indeed, it provoked hilarity, as Giambattista Toderini (1728-1799) reports:

L'aria, sulla quale ballano li Dervis, vedesi riportata con note europee nell'opera illustre dell'Ambasciatore Ferriol. Sonata da valente Maestro sulle corde del violino non la riconobbero per dessa i Turchi uditori e bellamente ne risero. (1787, 241-2)

His immediately following explanatory comment demonstrates awareness of differences in intonation such that certain pitches cannot be rendered by the standard resources of Western notation ("alcuni tuoni sono inesprimibili affatto coll'usate note europee"), in effect anticipating the difficulties that Stadler would soon be faced with in producing a piano arrangement.

2 Toderini's Notation

Toderini was another of those who witnessed a Mevlevi ceremony, and in his brief descriptive comments, which mention only wind and percussion instruments, he once more stresses the speed of the whirling, likened to a spinning-top:

Usano stromenti da fiato, e timpani, come vidi trovandomi presente alle turbinose lor danze, ove celeramente s'aggirano quasi un palèo. (1787, 241)

He adds a full and detailed item of notation, once more related to the dance, an instrumental piece he entitles *Concerto turco nominato izia saz semaisi*. Hitherto, information on Ottoman music, apart from occasional mute inventories of musical instruments or representations of them within the growing orientalist provision of

⁴ This is spelled out more starkly in earlier notations (Schweiggeger 1964, 209; Donado 1688). The latter remarks on the lack of a bass line and simply add a blank stave beneath his notation of the melody (illustrated in Wright 2013), in effect inviting the reader to provide a suitable accompaniment.

multi-ethnic panoramas of Ottoman society in costume books and the paintings of artists such as Vanmour, had been scarce, largely confined to scattered remarks in travel literature, and generally expressive of negative attitudes, some quite vehement, while the occasional and generally brief samples of notation were insufficiently explicit and reliable. With the *Concerto*, however, we encounter at last a more extended example that, unlike Chabert's notation, can be related to a surviving composition, the *son yürük semai* in *hicaz* (whence Toderini's *izia*) that is common to three early *ayins*,⁵ and it is here that a musically perceptive European readership could come to grips with what is, to all appearances, a faithful representation of aspects of the contemporary Ottoman instrumental idiom.

Toderini thus provides the potential beginning of a counter-narrative to the musical representations of 'the Turk' that the educated Western public had become familiar with on the stage. One might cite as an early instance the inclusion of pseudo-Turkish elements in Molière's *Le bourgeois gentilhomme*, staged in 1670 with music by Lully (Obelkevich 1977) which, however, was yet to hint at the emergence of the increasingly conventional codes, derived ultimately from recollections of the sounds of the *mehter*, the Ottoman military band, that would later be exploited selectively by Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, normally in march-like episodes.

Like the Chabert example, Toderini's notation was readily available and, even if this could not be appreciated by its readership, had achieved a higher level of accuracy in its representation of an instrumental section of a Mevlevi *ayin*. However, there was nothing further to add to it or compare it with: the far fuller record of the Ottoman repertoire, including numerous comparable *yürük semai* compositions, notated in two large-scale collections in the mid seventeenth century by Ali Ufki (or Ufuki), had been deposited in European libraries, one in Paris (Haug 2019), the other in London (Elçin 2000 [including facsimile]; Cevher 2003 [transcription]), but although theoretically accessible they remained unknown, as did, inevitably, the plentiful but inaccessible notations of the instrumental repertoire made at the turn of the eighteenth by Demetrius Cantemir (Cantemir 1992; Kantemiroğlu 2001), and the handful of vocal and instrumental compositions notated by Charles Fonton in the mid eighteenth century had likewise remained unpublished,⁶ so that it was Toderini's *son yürük semai*, along with the Chabert transcription, that provided the European public with the most informative insights

⁵ Details in De Zorzi 2019. The latest is the *ayin in hicaz* by Abdürrahim Kunhi Dede (1769-1831), where it is clearly a pre-existing piece that has been co-opted, possibly as a replacement for an original *saz semaisi* felt to be less satisfactory.

⁶ Except for one that had been copied by de Blainville. See Behar 1987, 34.

into the Mevlevi repertoire prior to the 1822 publication of Stadler's notations.

When compared with the modern version of this composition,⁷ some quite striking differences emerge alongside the obvious similarities, as is clear already in ex. 1, which shows the initial section, with the modern equivalent below:



Example 1

Thus, although the melodic outline that survives today is present entire in Toderini's transcription (with just one pitch missing, the *a'* in cycles 4 and 7), it is there significantly embellished, typical being the elaboration *p* → *pqq*. The result is a level of melodic density that has the appearance of being twice that of the modern version, although the contrast would be reduced or even elided on the assumption that he was exposed to a more relaxed performance style, allowing the insertion of multiple grace notes, and a correspondingly more restrained tempo, as is suggested by the initial *andantino*. Indeed, it is perhaps to a tempo difference combined with a higher level of melodic complexity that may be attributed Toderini's perception of the original 3 + 3 *yürük semai* cycle, which would normally have a */düm tek tek düm tek Ø /* percussion underlay, as 2 + 2 + 2, although it would not be far-fetched to surmise, alternatively, that the misrepresentation of the rhythmic cycle could have been caused at least in part by the absence of a percussion instrument from the out-of-context renditions on which his notation may have been based. Nevertheless, in the quality of the musicological information it provides to supplement the existing impressionistic descriptions of the Mevlevi ceremony scattered through various ethnographic

⁷ The version quoted is that published online by neyzen.com (<https://neyzen.com/>). That in Heper 1974, differs somewhat, but not sufficiently to require comment here.

accounts, Toderini's notation constitutes a marked advance, and it serves as a useful term of reference in any attempt to contextualize and evaluate the much more extensive piano arrangements published over thirty years later by the Abbé Maximilian Stadler.

3 Stadler and von Hussard

A Benedictine monk and later prior and abbot before being secularized, Stadler received his musical training as a chorister and organist. Except for the years 1810-15, which he spent as a parish priest in Böhmischkrut (now Großkrut) in lower Austria, he resided from 1796 on mainly in Vienna, where he was active at the centre of musical life. A competent composer as well as a music scholar and historian, he knew Haydn, Mozart (and helped his widow Constanze organize his estate), Beethoven, and Schubert.⁸ His exposure to the Mevlevi repertoire was indirect, coming courtesy of Herr von Hussard, a former Secretary to the Austrian Imperial Legation and Interpreter at the Porte.⁹

In addition to Ottoman Turkish, von Hussard knew Persian well enough to have translated selections of Rumi's *Masnavi*, on which Mevlevi composers draw for the vocal sections of their *ayins*. Some idea of his style as a translator may be gained from his rendering of the first three verses:

Die Flöte höre, wie sie trauernd klagt
Bey ihrer Trennung seufzendem Gemälde:
"Seit sie mich schnitten aus des Rohres Garten
"Seufzt Mann und Weib bey meinem Trauerton;
"Ich such' ein Herz von Trennungsweh'n zerrissen,
"Das ich mit Sehnsuchtsbrunst entflammen kann.
(*Fundgruben des Orients* 1811, 162-4)¹⁰

More pertinently, he had memorized parts of some *ayins*, thereby making the Mevlevi repertoire accessible to Stadler. As to how this transfer of knowledge came about, we have conflicting narratives. According to Carl Engel, writing some forty years later, von Hussard had frequented the *mevlevihane* at Topkapı and:

⁸ For further biographical information see *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Personenteil 15) and *The New Grove*.

⁹ Biographical information on von Hussard is sadly lacking. He is absent from the *Digitale Edition von Quellen zur habsburgisch-osmanischen Diplomatie 1500-1918* and its *Modulare Prosopographische Registratur* and there is no entry for him in the *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon*.

¹⁰ See also Aksoy 1995, 233.

With care and perseverance, he succeeded in faithfully rendering the songs in our notation. Having on his return to Vienna placed the manuscript in the hands of the Abbé Stadler, well-known as a musician and as a friend of Mozart, Stadler wrote an accompaniment to the songs, contrived in his usual manner. (1878, 433)

‘In his usual manner’ is hardly meant as a compliment: Engel is rather sniffy about the quality of Stadler’s piano writing, continuing:

At all events, however well acquainted pianoforte-players may be with the so-called “Alberti-bass” and “Murky-bass”, so greatly favoured by the Abbé, to the Dervish it might very likely be puzzling.

And although Stadler’s publication is introduced as ‘very remarkable’, Engel’s final comments on the text allow his general disdain to show through:

Also the words of their songs are asserted to have a deep meaning full of profound wisdom. In the German translation they appear rather bombastic and non-sensical; but it is perhaps difficult for an uninitiated European observer to fathom the depth of such Oriental lore.

However, Engel provides no evidence to substantiate his version of events, and we may prefer to give credence to an earlier, indeed virtually contemporary account, published in 1822 in an anonymous article entitled “Die Chöre der Derwische”, which confirms that, gifted with an excellent musical memory (“durch ein glückliches Tongedächtniss”), von Hussard had learned the Mevlevi choral repertoire by heart ‘in the most faithful manner’ (“auf das getreueste”).¹¹ However, this claim to fidelity is once more made without supporting evidence, and as it can hardly have come from a Mevlevi source it presumably reflects von Hussard’s own estimate of his capabilities. Nor is there any reference to him notating the repertoire; on the contrary, we are told that he worked with Stadler during the winter and spring of 1821, supplying him with a translation and singing the material over repeatedly for Stadler to notate.¹² We are also informed that the transcriptions of all seven

11 Unless otherwise stated, all translations are by the Author.

12 “[Hr. von Hussard] vereinigte sich [...] mit Hr. Abbé Stadler zur Niederschreibung dieser Chöre, indem er sie ihm zu wiederholtenmalen genau vorsang [...] während Hr. Abbé St. dieselben auf das getreueste in Noten niederschrieb”. It is this more reliable account that is followed in Aksoy 1995, 233.

ayins (together with the piano accompaniment that normally also incorporates the vocal line) were ready to go to press. They are, it is claimed, indisputably the richest yield that the West has hitherto gained from the Orient (“Diese sieben Chöre [...] sind unstreitig die reichste Ausbeute, welche bisher das Abendland dem Morgenland abgewonnen hat”) and we are assured that they could expect a most favourable reception (“die günstigste Aufnahme”). As an appetizer, a two-page supplement (*Beilage*) containing brief excerpts of five of them is attached to the article.

4 Stadler’s Notations

The eventual publication of the complete set appears, however, to have passed unnoticed. Despite the widening of interest in folk traditions that provided a market sufficient for a publisher to attract Beethoven to make piano arrangements of Scottish, Irish, and Welsh folksongs (Cooper 1994, 93-101),¹³ Stadler’s arrangements do not seem to have inspired a review or other critical reaction, although they did attract the attention of Kiesewetter, who included samples of them as the concluding items in the supplement to his *Die Musik der Araber* (*Beilage*, 22-5). The only hint of how they might have been received by a wider public, or at least of how Stadler hoped they would be received, is provided by his own introductory notes in the article, which refer to the melodies as strikingly original and expressive of the spirit of the verse (“Die Melodien sind überhaupt von bedeutender Originalität, und gehen durchaus in den Geist der Dichtung ein”).

However, he is otherwise more concerned with what he perceived their structure to be, expressed as the number of ‘strophes’ they contain, a segmentation independent of the fourfold *selâm* division of the Mevlevi tradition with which, possibly, von Hussard had not familiarized him. The *ayin* in *hicaz*, for example, is said to consist of ten strophes, that in *bayati* of nine, and that in *nehavend* of seven. He further cites the fact that they were accompanied by the flute, playing the same melody, and, to mark the rhythm, by a (pair of) small kettle drum(s), as illustrated in Figure 1. The presence of players of *ney* and *kudüm* only confirms the impression conveyed by Toderini and others that the absence of melody instruments apart from the *ney* was the norm.

13 Cooper goes into considerable detail on the finances of Beethoven’s settings. Despite occasional quibbles and complaints in the correspondence, it seems clear that the level of his earnings from them must have been quite satisfactory.



Figure 1 Stadler, *Original-Chöre der Derwische Mewlewi*. s.d. After: D’Ohsson, *Danse des Derwischs Mewléwis* in *Tableau général de l’Empire Ottoman* (reproduced in Findley 2019, 256). Frontispiece with, in the gallery, three players each of *ney* and *kudüm*

As with Toderini previously, the absence of such percussion accompaniment during his sessions with von Hussard could help explain why his notations fail to provide accurate accounts of the various rhythmic cycles, none of which is mentioned by name, still less described in terms of its internal structure. They are sometimes notated in 6/8 but more frequently in 3/4 or 4/4 or combinations of the two, concerning which Stadler confidently asserts that the occasional change of time signature does not disturb and is always correctly positioned (“Die hie und da eingeschaltete Taktveränderung beunruhiget nicht und steht immer am rechten Orte”), but without giving any inkling of how the different measures might have been combined into a larger-scale recurring rhythmic framework.

There is, likewise, an absence of descriptive detail regarding the melodic idiom, which tends to be characterized affectively, individual sections being described as, e.g., graceful, elevated, or majestic. Each *ayin* has a *makam* label, but no mention is made of what that might imply in terms of pitch set or specific features of melodic articulation: the modes (*Tonarten*) are held to vary in type, some with the character of ancient church modes (“das Gepräge uralter christlicher Kirchengesänge”), while others sound wholly contemporary (“andere aber stimmen mit den jetzt gebräuchlichen ganz überein”), presumably a reference to a perceived alignment with major/minor tonality and, together with an initial descriptive adjective, it is in terms of time signature and key that Stadler’s brief

encapsulation of each strophe is couched. The final strophe of the first *ayin*, for example, labelled ‘restrained, yet solemn’ (*gemäßigt, doch feyerlich*), is notated in 6/8 and analysed as in G major, modulating to A minor, then to C major, and ending in A minor. Not surprisingly, this is the sequence of key changes that occurs in Stadler’s rather pedestrian piano accompaniment, occasionally with bare arpeggios but more usually incorporating the melody within the piano part, frequently doubled at the third or sixth, as in ex. 2:

N° 10. SCHLUSS. (Arabisch.)

SINGSTIMME.

Es ward die Welt erleuchtet hell von unsers Hores Licht, der Vollmond ward zum
 Kad erch = rakat ed = dü = ja = a min no = ri ham = mei ja = na, El le = drei ga = des

PIANO. FORTE

Schen = ken uns, die Ple = jä s zu Po = ka = len. Wenn nicht ein Aug er = schaf = fen ward des
 Sa = ki wei klei sür = ja = re = ja = na. Men leis = se le = lu ai = = m = ju =

Un = sicht = ba = ren Reitz zu schau, der taugt zur Won = ne nim = mer, mehr im Dien = ste des Mev = la = na.
 tab = si = tu an Gai = hin Fel = jee = ti a = la schew = ki — fil chid = me = ti Mev = la = na.

Example 2

There is no reference to the fact that the pitch set of this concluding section is not the same as that of previous ones, nor is there any attempt, in relation to the *ayin* as a whole, to outline what, in modal terms, constitutes *hicaz*. As demonstrated by the arrangements, *makam* syntax is domesticated for Western consumption by being filtered through the lens of functional harmony.

Although already completed in 1822, the transcriptions and piano accompaniments were only to appear over ten years later, published posthumously by Pietro Mechetti q^m Carlo in Vienna. The fulsome prefatory note, although essentially a piece of advertising, is still worth quoting in full. It confirms the information given about their transmission in the 1822 article:

Manches ist wohl schon theoretisch über orientalische Musik erschienen, wenig aber min Bestimmtheit und Genauigkeit in Anwendung gebracht worden. Was wir hier den Musikfreunden

bieten, fließt aus reiner Quelle, und ist die Frucht langer Bemühungen eines bekannten Orientalisten, welcher nach vieljährigem Aufenthalt in Constantinopel und genauer Bekanntschaft mit den türkischen Mönchen nicht nur mehrere ihrer Choralgesänge gesammelt, sondern auch deren Melodie erlernt, und sie dann in verfaßter möglichst paßender Uebersetzung dem verewigten Abbé Stadler so lange beim Klavier wiederholte, bis dieser daran Interesse findende Compositeur sie in Noten setzte und mit Begleitung versah.

In Abbé Stadler's Nachlaße fand sich diese Ausbeute vor; sie dürfte auch für abendländische Musikkenner und Liebhaber nicht ohne Anklang sein. Wer je den Chorgesang der Derwische gehört, wird sich von der Treue des Nachhalles derselben zu überzeugen Gelegenheit haben.

In addition to emphasizing the experience and qualifications of the anonymous source (von Hussard being referred to as 'a well-known Orientalist'), it thus insists repeatedly on their authenticity and fidelity to the original, asserting, for example, that they 'flow from a pure source'.

The announcement on the title page likewise stresses the fidelity of the translation (if without identifying the translator) and its suitability to the melody [fig. 2].

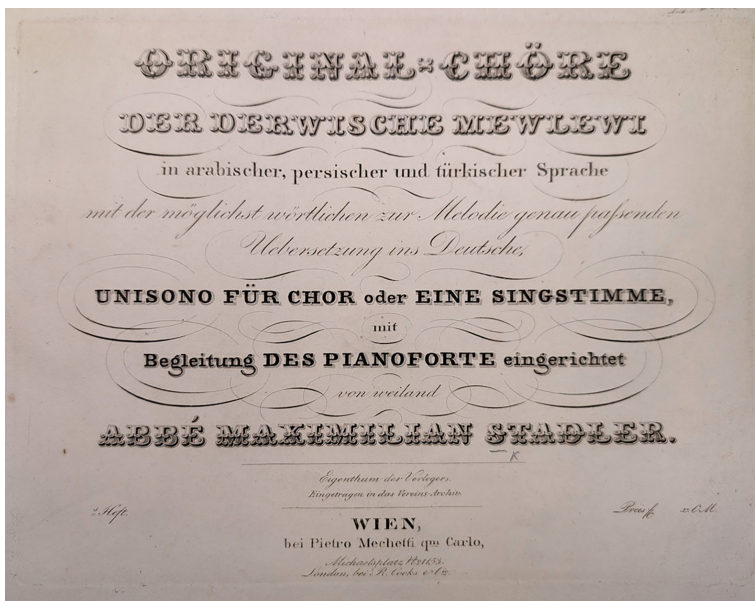


Figure 2 Stadler, *Original-Chöre der Derwische Mewlewi*. s.d. The title page of the collection, including mention of a London agent

The publication is undated. Engel (1878, 433) gives ‘around 1835’, which fits well with the explicit statements in the preceding note that Stadler was by then dead (*verewigt*) and that the arrangements formed part of his *Nachlaß*, thereby ruling out anything before 1833 and hence, it would appear, invalidating the claim put forward for 1822 (Çağman 2018). However, the earlier date is fully justified if understood to refer not to this posthumous publication but, without the connection being made, to the supplement of brief samples attached to the article of that year.

In addition to insignificant details in the piano accompaniment, the two differ in that occasional note durations are revised in the later version, which also adds a transliteration of the original text. But they may also differ in other respects, most obviously in extent: to consider just the first *ayin*, in *hicaz*, the earlier sample consists of two sections (*Strophe*) as against the ten of the full version. In addition, not everything in these two matches exactly the equivalent later material: the first sections of each correspond, but the 1822 version omits the final repeat; and its second section, which corresponds to the sixth of the later version, omits the second repetition of the first segment. The earlier samples are thus of some interest for the light they shed on what Stadler revised to arrive at his final text, but they need not be referred to further when attempting to evaluate his versions against the current notated forms of the *ayins*, which will therefore be compared only with the later, posthumous publication.

4.1 The *ayin* in *hicaz*

Such comparison, beginning with the first *ayin*, that in *hicaz*, is revelatory but also unsettling. Not, it seems, an instrumentalist, von Hussard had learned only the core vocal ensemble *selâm* material (there is no introductory solo *na’t*) but, as represented by Stadler, there are still substantial omissions by comparison with the current versions. Nevertheless, the first of the four *selâms* emerges relatively unscathed, as is demonstrated by the following full representation, in ex. 3, of the first part of section 1 of Stadler’s vocal score, shorn of its piano accompaniment and displayed above the most recent version,¹⁴ to which it corresponds quite straightforwardly, with Stadler’s *g* the equivalent of the modern Turkish *a*.

14 This and the following examples are taken from the online *neyzen.com* site. The differences between them and the earlier published versions (Konservatuar Tasnif ve Tesbit Heyeti 1934-39; Heper 1974) are, in the present context, insignificant.

Majestätisch.
(Persisch)

Ich bin der Falk des Him = mels, der Gei = sterwelt ent = nom = !
Men Scha = hi Fa = zi Kud = gem ez la mekian rex = si =

MEN ŞA HI BA ZI KUD SEM EZ LÂ ME KÂN RE SÎ

kläglich.

men ; o — Freund! o — Freund! See = le mein, Ge =
de ; hei — Jar! hei — Dost! dscha = ni men dscha =

DE HEY Yİ YAR HEY Yİ DOST CA NI MEN CA

lieb = ter mein! — der, um der Jagd zu fröh = nen, die Hül = le
na = ni men! — Beh = ri schi = kia = ri Sai = di der Ka = leb

NA NI MEN BEH Rİ Şİ KÂ Rİ SAY Dİ DE Rİ KA LE

all = ge = nom = men ; o — Freund! o — Freund!
a = re = mi = de hei — Jar! hei — Dost!

BA RE Mİ DE HEY Yİ YAR HEY Yİ DOST

See = le mein, Ge = lieb = ter mein!
dscha = ni men dscha = na = ni men!

CA NI MEN CA NA NI MEN

Example 3

The two exhibit consistent divergences, notably the absence in Stadler's account of the rhythmic division of time units, particularly in descent (where to his ↓ may correspond ٩٩), which may possibly reflect a simplification attributable to von Hussard, but otherwise there is an evident overall similarity between the two melodic contours. This continues (or resumes) in the repeated material that concludes the section, but is not sustained in the immediately ensuing passage, where there are changes of time signature, the first producing two identical measures equivalent to the first cycle, so that the $c' \ b \ c' (= d' \ c\sharp \ d')$ flexure appears twice, while thereafter,

although arriving at the same cadence, the modern version develops, in ex. 4, a melodic complexity that is wholly absent from Stadler's notation and, it may be surmised, rather than being mangled by von Hussard, was unlikely to have been present in the version with which he was familiar:

Example 4

There follow a further nine such 14/8 rhythmic cycles before we arrive, in ex. 5, at the material corresponding to Stadler's section 2, which begins:

Example 5

Here the parallels are of a rather different order. The initial resemblance yields, from the second cycle on, to a vaguer similarity of contour, realized in the modern version through an enlarged pitch set and, especially in the setting of *ma il lâ*, with increased melodic density.

Finally, to the beginning of Stadler's section 3 corresponds repeated material that, pitched a sixth higher and developing the d' - g' tetrachord of *hicaz*, resembles it only faintly in melodic direction, and where there is a later injection of fresh melodic material the resemblance hardly goes beyond the initial use of a sustained pitch for the setting of the first four syllables. Repeated material, a further seven cycles in the modern version and the equivalent in Stadler, again a sixth lower, then brings the first *selâm* to an end.

As the composer of this *ayin* in *hicaz* is Musahib Seyyid Ahmed Ağa (d. 1794), it probably dates to less than half a century before von Hussard heard it, making it reasonable to suppose that by then it would not have changed substantially (if at all) from its original form. Indeed, if we entertain the assumption that the Mevlevi *ayins* composed in the eighteenth and even earlier centuries have been preserved with some fidelity, maintained by a tradition of oral transmission in which a high value was placed on accuracy (see Behar 1992; 1996; 2012),¹⁵ to be eventually set down in Western notation by eminent twentieth-century Turkish scholars who were themselves often members of the order and hence intimately familiar with the Mevlevi repertoire, it follows that the current representation of this composition should correspond closely to the performance realizations to which von Hussard was exposed. That being the case, what remains to be explained is both the nature and extent of the differences between the two versions and the reasons for them. Those exhibited in exs. 3-5 are, it should be added, typical: Stadler's representations of all seven *ayins* differ in similar ways from their modern equivalents, and it is thus hardly surprising to find that modern Turkish scholars are highly critical of them.

5 Turkish Reactions

The first to address them was Hüseyin Sadettin Arel, who had seen the samples published by Kieswetter and, following the narrative of the 1822 article, attributed the transcriptions to 'a well-known orientalist', adding with characteristic bluntness that 'some priest called Max Stadler has added a poor-quality piano accompaniment beneath the melodies' ("Lâhinlerin altına Max Stadler isminde bir papaz kötü bir piyano refakati eklemiştir"). He follows this with a much more brutal overall assessment:

15 However, on the unreliability of the documentation for the Mevlevi repertoire during the seventeenth century see Behar 2008, 70-1; and see also Feldman 2001.

O parçalarda makamların mahiyetleri, lâhinlerin kıyafetleri bozulmakla iktifa edilmemiş; usuller bile en acemi bir musikiciye nasip olmayacak bir çupalıkla tahrif olunmuştur [...] Artık zavallı makamlarla lâhinlerin çektikleri işkenceleri sormayınız! (Arel 1990, 89)

It was not enough just to spoil the modal character and melodic form of those pieces: the rhythmic cycles have been distorted with a clumsiness beyond the capacity of even the most incompetent musician; and as for the tortures that have been inflicted on the poor *makams* and melodies, don't ask!

This passage was to be quoted by Bülent Aksoy, who adds to it a criticism of Kiesewetter's credulity in accepting as reliable Stadler's notations, 'which show no resemblance to the originals' ("asıllarıyla hiçbir benzerlik göstermeyen"). He gives credit to von Hussard for effort but finds the results unsuccessful and, even if couched in less vehement terms that Arel, his dismissal of the notations as lacking any resemblance to the originals is reiterated equally categorically: 'Their melodies as published in [Stadler's] score are so far removed from their original forms that no Turkish musician could accept them' ("Yayımladığı nota hiçbir Türk muskicisinin kabul edemeyeceği kadar ezgilerin asıl şekillerine uzaktır"), and 'No similarity can be established between Stadler's measures and the rhythmic cycles of Mevlevî music' ("Stadler'in ölçüleri ile mevlevî musıkisinin usûlleri arasında hiçbir benzerlik kurulamıyor"; Aksoy 1995, 198, 233).

More recently, they have also attracted the attention of Tahir Çağman and Ali Tan. The latter finds it inconceivable that von Hussard could have memorized the Mevlevî repertoire without having undergone a traditional master-pupil course of instruction ("bu melodilerin orijinallerinin ezberlenmesi - eğer meşk edilmediyse - mümkün değildir"; Tan 2016, 127), which implies either that his memorization was at best partial or, theoretically, that he had indeed undergone the rigorous *meşk* learning process, the logic of which would be to underwrite the accuracy of whatever he transmitted to Stadler: presumably, it is the former outcome that is intended. He observes, once more, that Stadler's versions are far removed from those of the *ayins* ("ayinlerin çok uzağında olduğunu gördük"; Tan 2016, 122) and in illustration of the distance between them he juxtaposes the beginnings of the respective versions of the *ayin* in *bestenigar*, with Stadler's, suitably transposed, represented as B in ex. 6:



Example 6

Note is then made of the discrepancies in the representation of both pitch and duration, presumably evidence of alleged distance, not to say inaccuracy. This is, however, more than a little surprising, as whatever local or indeed systemic imprecisions there may be, what is immediately apparent is how closely matched the two melodic contours are.

In the same vein, but more robust in expression, Tahir Çağman roundly rejects the confident claim for accuracy made on behalf of Stadler's versions in the 1822 article and reaches the diametrically opposite conclusion, namely that although his arrangements may be allowed the merit of being a reasonably successful attempt at expressing Mevlevi melodies in Western terms ("Mevlevî melodilerinin batı müziği orkestrasyonu ile ifade edilmeye çalışılması anlamında oldukça başarılı bir denemedir"), this is in spite, once again, of their complete lack of resemblance to the Mevlevi idiom ("Mevlevî müziğiyle bir benzerlik göstermemesine rağmen"; Çağman 2018, 311).¹⁶

¹⁶ Likewise in Çağman 2018, 305: 'No resemblance can be perceived with the melodies of the *ayin* in *hicaz*' ("Hicaz âyin-i şerifin nağmeleriyle [...] bir benzerlik hissedilmemektedir"). The paragraph ends with a resounding repeat: 'There is no resemblance to be found between the *ayin* notations presented here and Musahip Ahmed Ağa's Mevlevî *ayin* in *hicaz*' ("Burada yer alan âyin notalarıyla Musahip Ahmed Ağa'nın hicaz Mevlevî âyininin arasında herhangi bir benzerlik bulunmamaktadır").

6 Reconsideration

There is, then, a clear and damning scholarly consensus among Turkish musicologists: the Stadler transcriptions are worthless as testimony to the nature of the Mevlevi repertoire and, by implication, are to be dismissed as no more than an example of ill-informed and clumsy Western appropriation. However, while one may well understand and even sympathize with the ideological motivation behind such reactions, which could be regarded as ultimately a form of decolonial critique, it may be argued that the unrelentingly negative verdicts of inadequacy and gross misrepresentation are not merely harsh but, on the face of the evidence, difficult to justify, as we have seen that there are stretches where there is a consistent agreement between the two as to the broad melodic contour. At the same time, there are certainly striking flaws, concerning most immediately the fundamental structural frameworks, that is, the representation of the pitch set of *hicaz* and of the rhythmic articulation of the melody within the various rhythmic cycles employed. To be set aside as irrelevant, however, is the difference in pitch conventions whereby, as noted, corresponding to the modern Turkish use of *a* as the finalis of *hicaz*, Stadler has *g*.

6.1 Pitch

Staying with the latter, and assuming a necessary accommodation to keyboard equal temperament, one might have expected Stadler to represent *hicaz* as *g a^b b c' d' e' f' g'*, leading to the conclusion that his usual preference for *a* over *a^b* was an elementary, indeed inexplicable, blunder. Such would, however, be to project contemporary norms of intonation onto early nineteenth-century Ottoman practice. According to modern theory, the interval *g - a^b* is marginally larger than an equal tempered semitone, but it is likely that the interval von Hussard encountered was larger still, its upper note approximately midway between *a^b* and *a*, therefore presenting problems of both perception and representation to a Western ear. He may himself have adjusted the pitch, raising it to *a* in performing to Stadler but, if not, he would have left him with the awkward problem of how to represent a neutral, in-between intonation. For an unaccompanied vocal part, one could envisage inventing a new symbol to represent it, but the incorporation of a piano accompaniment forced the choice of either the lower or the higher adjustment. Stadler's (or von Hussard's) general preference for the higher has the effect of distancing his arrangements from the modern Turkish realization of *hicaz*, which reflects a development whereby the earlier neutral intonation has

drifted down, creating a central augmented second within what for Stadler was the *g – c'* tetrachord.¹⁷

6.2 Duration

As far as the rhythmic articulation is concerned, the first *selâm* is set to *devr-i revan*, a rhythmic cycle of fourteen time units now normally notated, as here in the modern version, as 14/8. It consists of two qualitatively distinguished halves, each of form 3 + 2 + 2, and the whole cycle, which in the Mevlevi ceremony is marked on the *kudüm*, a pair of small kettle drums, is represented by the following pattern of strokes of contrasting timbre:

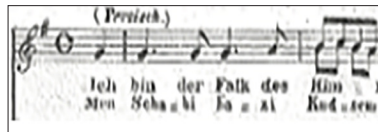
/düm Ø Ø düm Ø tek Ø: düm Ø Ø tek Ø tek Ø // ¹⁸

This articulation of the cycle was standard already at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Kantemiroğlu 2001) and is doubtless the one to which von Hussard was exposed. What is not clear, however, is whether he had interiorized the cycle sufficiently well to maintain it unaltered without instrumental reinforcement while performing for Stadler. In any event, the unfamiliar structure created problems of adjustment for one or both, especially as without the percussion underlay differences in dynamics would probably not have sufficed to clarify what was not already apparent from the pattern of attacks in the melody.

The ways in which *devr-i revan* was naturalized are clear from the beginning. Corresponding to the modern version of the first cycle:



Stadler has:



¹⁷ With the theoretical value of 12 commas (as against 9 for the whole tone). For further discussion of this change in intonation, which seems to have occurred during the nineteenth century, see Olley, unpublished.

¹⁸ See e.g. the description in Özkan 1984.

If his common time is represented as 8/8, we will have 2 + 8 + 4 corresponding to /3 + 2 + 2 + 3 + 2 + 2 /: the time-unit total is preserved but its internal distribution is radically changed.

Similarly, in the next two cycles:

The image displays two musical staves. The top staff features a melody with lyrics 'EZ LÂ ME KÂN RE Sİ' and 'E HEY Yİ YAR'. The bottom staff shows a more complex melody with lyrics 'İlahî, der Gei - stervelt ent - nom - men o - Freund! ez İla mekân rex - si - de İla hâi Jav!'.

we have in both versions a total of 28 time units, but distributed differently in relation to the syllable onsets:

ayin /3+2+2+3+1+ 4/ 7+2+1+4/
ez lâ me kân re si de hey yi yar
Stadler 4/ 3+1+3+1 / 4+4/ 4+ 4/

The rhythmic map, in short, is once more transformed to accord with European norms, but without seriously affecting the melodic line, which maintains a contour akin to the current version, albeit in a rather simpler form, the total number of pitch changes being reduced from 15 to 8 by virtue of Stadler's version being devoid of the splitting of a time unit between two (generally neighbouring) pitches.

The relationship between the two versions in the continuation (Stadler's section 2), given that there is no change of cycle, is predictably similar, although here Stadler tries a different technique for reproducing the rhythmic structure: he begins with two measures of 4/4, followed by six of 3/4 and a further four of 4/4. Segmenting the first eight of Stadler's measures (placed above) and the corresponding five cycles of *devr-i revan* (below) according to the position of the syllable onsets, we have:

(3) +1+4 / 3+1+3+1/ 2+2+2 / 4+2/ 4+2/ 2+4/ 6/6/
A- teş ne ze ned der di li ma il lâ hu hu hu hu—
3+4+2+1+4 / 3+ 2+2+7 / 3+4+7 / 7+7/ 14/

There are thus occasional instances of seven time units being regularized as six, but the relationship is not maintained with any consistency. It would be reasonable to suspect a degree of flexibility in von Hussard's handling of duration, but wherever the responsibility lies there is a reduction in the total number of time units from 70

to 52, caused above all by the discrepancies in the treatment of the thrice-repeated syllable *hu* ('He').

6.3 Melody

As before, we also encounter a lower rate of melodic activity as quantified by the number of pitch changes within equivalent passages. Thus, in Stadler's first eight measures we find 28 pitch changes as against 43 in the current version, yet again without the general melodic contour being seriously distorted (and possibly with a nod towards intermediate intonation in the alternation of a^b and a in the last two measures).

The beginning of Stadler's section 3, the concluding part of the first *selâm*, is a setting of the very first phrase of Rumi's *Masnavi*: 'Listen to the *ney*, as it tells its tale'. It continues with a^b , presumably reflecting an intonation produced or perceived as lower, given that it occurs here in the environment of g and that the melody does not ascend further:



This corresponds to:



Here, after the perfect match of the first four notes is undermined by their being placed, unexpectedly, a sixth rather than a second lower,¹⁹ we are confronted by a marked difference in the melodic contour, with the settings of *hikâyet*, especially, being unrelated, despite the presence in both of an upward leap of a fourth (albeit in Stadler's case diminished). The contrast is such that, rather than assuming it to result from incompetence in transmission or notation, we might rather wonder, as indeed with other passages presented above, whether the version to which von Hussard had been exposed was,

¹⁹ This cannot be attributed to von Hussard finding the pitch uncomfortably high and taking it down, as the melody in section 2 rises to f (equivalent to the g of the modern setting of *hikâyet*).

at least at these points, at some remove from its modern descendant (or replacement).

In representing the rhythmic structure, Stadler sticks here to common time, with the result that pitches are generally, and somewhat awkwardly, sustained across bar lines (indicated by $\cup$):

$2 + 1^{20}/4 + 2 + 2 \cup 3 + 1 + 4 \cup 5 + 1 + 2 \cup 1 + 1 + 6 \cup 4$
Biş ne vez neyçün hi kâ yet mi kü ned
 $2 + 1 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 1 + 4 / 7 + 2 + 1 + 4 /$

and there is a marked difference between both the patterns of duration and their totals, Stadler with 38 time units this time exceeding the 28 of the two cycles of *devr-i revan*, which evidently proved rather difficult to capture.

This is followed, in Stadler's version, after another ten time units, by a repeat; and there is then, before the final recurrence of earlier material, a brief passage of nearly four measures. Similarly, the modern version continues for two and a half cycles before the repeat; and then, before the final recurrence of earlier material, sets the same text as in Stadler's brief insert, spaced over two and a half cycles, as shown in ex. 7:

geschwinder.
 Denn mit Blut er = fül = let sie der Lie = be Pfad = ; Weh !
 Nei Ra = dis = si Ra = hi jür chun mi = kü = ned = ; Wai !
 geschwinder.
 NEY HA Dİ Sİ RA Hİ PÜR HUN Mİ KÜ NED VAY I

Example 7

Again, Stadler's pitch is a sixth lower initially, but towards the end there is a convergence on the a to f# area, and both versions share the general features of an initial sustained pitch, a central descent, and a less pronounced final descent. However, the closer the focus, the fainter the melodic resemblance becomes: the number of pitch changes is halved, and there is no trace of the initial modulatory shift of the modern version.

The rhythmic disposition, in contrast, shows greater similarity at the level of note length, with Stadler's total of 30 time units

corresponding to 35 in the modern version, the higher figure caused primarily by the extended setting of one syllable, *hun*:

3 + 1 + 2 + 2 / 3 + 1 + 2 + 2 / 3 + 1 + 4 / 6
Neyha di si ra hi pür hun mi kü ned vay
 2 + 1 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 1 + 4 / 7 + 2 + 1 + 4 / 7

6.4 Rhythmic Cycles

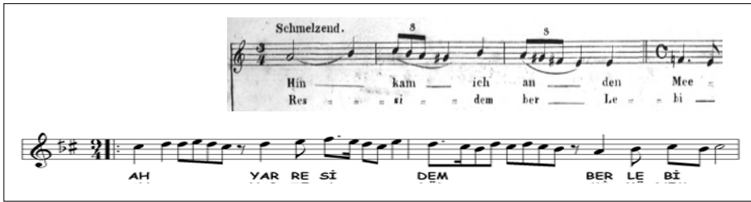
Analogous problems of rhythmic adjustment inevitably occur in the remaining *selâms*, as the third begins in *devr-i kebir*, a cycle of twenty-eight time units, before switching to *aksak semai*, of ten, while the second and fourth are both in the *evfer* cycle of nine time units.

6.4.1 *evfer*

Now generally given the time signature 9/4, *evfer* has an internal 2 + 2 + 3 + 2 division with the stroke pattern / *düm ø te ka düm ø tek tek ø //*, where the second *tek* is stronger than the preceding one. In the absence of a percussion underlay one might have anticipated that, in his version of the second *selâm*, Stadler would render *evfer* as three measures of 3/4. What we encounter, however, are groups consisting of three such measures followed by one of 4/4, to give a total of thirteen time units and, as a result, the two settings fail to map onto each other, as is shown most readily by doubling the totals to take account of half time-unit rests, indicated in square brackets. Stadler's equivalent (given above) of the first two cycles starts after the initial *Ah yar*, and contains a fermata, indicated here by $\frown$. We thus have:

———— 6 / 4 + 2 / 6 + 2 / 4 + 4 / 4 $\frown$ + 2 / 4 + 2 / 4 + 2 / 8 / 4
Ah yar re si dem ber le bi derya bi di dem hu vü ya men hu hu
 8 [1] + 2 + 1 + 6 / 8 [1] + 2 + 1 + 6 / [2] 2 + 7 + 1 + 6 / 8 [1] + 9 $\cup$ 2 + 2 + 8 + 6 / 8 + 10 /

Over the common stretch, there is a marked imbalance in the number of time units (28 in Stadler's version as against 48) and, not surprisingly, a lack of fit in the position of the longer durations which, in turn, is matched in the pitch contour, despite the resemblance, in ex. 8, of the sequential four-note descents, now a fourth lower, in the settings of *si dem ber*:



Example 8

That the original number of pitch changes might not have been accurately captured would hardly be surprising but, once more, it is difficult to think that Stadler's transcription can be explained away simply as a defective representation of performances closely resembling the modern version.

The same conclusion is suggested even more forcibly by the continuation in the repeat and conclusion, shown in ex. 9, where corresponding to Stadler's 18 pitch changes the modern version has no fewer than 39, and where, apart from the descent on *me* and the contour of the setting of *men*, melodic similarities are not to be found, Stadler beginning, for example, with *dem he* set to a rising fifth which has no counterpart in the modern version and ending with a single pitch for the final *Hu* to which correspond no fewer than 13 in the modern version:

Example 9

Confirmation, if confirmation were needed, that von Hussard's source version must have differed substantially from the modern one is provided by the fact that Stadler inserts further melodic repetition but setting a quite different text. Unfortunately, the nature of the relationship between the two versions of the second *selâm* cannot be illuminated further by comparing their settings of the fourth, also

in the rhythmic cycle *evfer*, as this is absent from Stadler's account of the *ayin* in *hicaz*.

6.4.2 *devr-i kebir*

His section 5 corresponds to the beginning of the third *selâm*, which starts in *devr-i kebir*, a slower counterpart of *devr-i revan* that, since the late eighteenth century, has been analysed as a cycle not of fourteen but of twenty-eight time units, with, again, a division into two equal parts, each articulated as 6 + 4 + 4, and with a more complex percussion underlay:

/düm Ø düm Ø tek Ø düm tek teke düm tek Ø tek Ø: tek Ø düm Ø düm Ø tâ Ø hek Ø
te ke te ke //

Stadler begins, in ex. 10, with a block of twenty-eight time units, divided into measures of 6 + 6 + 8 + 8. It is, however, the equivalent not of one *devr-i kebir* cycle but of two: each measure thus corresponds to half a cycle and contains the same number of syllables (making up one prosodic foot of the *remel* metre, which has the structure - ◡ - - / - ◡ - - / - ◡ - - / - ◡ - /). But if the distribution of the text is the same, the settings are marked by contrast: quite apart from the level of

Gemässigt.
(Persisch)

Lie - ben - de sie set - zen erst auf
A - schi - kan ew - wel Ka - dem her

A ŞI KAN EV VEL KA DEM BER

bei - de Wel - ten him den Fuss
her du a - lem mi - se - nend

HER DÜ A LEM Mİ Mİ ZE NEND VAY

Example 10

melodic elaboration (to the 54 pitch changes of the modern version, with its repeated scalar passages, correspond, for Stadler, a mere 14), they are different in layout, with Stadler's version containing nothing corresponding to the clear A B A C structure of the other. Something resembling this version can hardly have served as a model that

von Hussard distilled into the syntactically unrelated bare melodic outline recorded by Stadler.

There is then a brief injection of new material analogous to that introduced towards the end of the first *selâm*:



again consisting of a sustained pitch followed by a descent. The settings are, nevertheless, melodically (as well as modally) unrelated, with a more gradual and complex unfolding of the descent in the modern version.

6.4.3 *yürük semai*

There follows a repetition of previous material before a change of cycle back to *aksak semai* and an instrumental interlude, of which there is no reflex in Stadler's version, and then an extensive final passage to the beginning of which corresponds Stadler's section 6, shown in ex. 11. Here, rather surprisingly, we find 4/4 corresponding to the clearly-etched ternary 6/8 of *yürük semai*:

Example 11

Despite this rhythmic misprision, there are certain melodic gestures that suggest a connection, for example, in the first two measures and in the settings of *sultan olur* and *Husrev ü Hakan*. But the similarity is immediately undermined by a shift of register and/or melodic contour, suggesting less a direct line of transmission than a rather freely varied (at least in one case) derivation from a common source.

This passage is repeated (twice by Stadler), but again with each version using a different text, and after seven instrumental measures in the modern version the setting of a common text resumes, in ex. 12, in what for Stadler is section 7. Although the first eight (repeated) *yürük semai* measures are again rendered by four measures of 4/4, Stadler's melodic line, now a third lower, resembles its counterpart much more closely, and the disposition of the text is again an almost exact match. As memorized by von Hussard, it is clearly related to the corresponding passage as it survives in the modern version, but the similarity does not extend to modal identity: Stadler has a major scale from f, and there is no trace of the *hicaz* tetrachord that characterizes the other.

Freudig.
(Persisch.)

Ein Ohr, das immer im-mer nur der Wahrheit of-fen steht —
Gu-schi ki be-hakk has — hü-wed der — he-me dscha-i,

GO SI KI BE HAK BA ZI BÜ VED DER HE ME CAY

Ja wohl, Freund, ja wohl, Freund, See-leufreund, o weh!
he = li jü-ri, he = li dost — jar dschani men Wai!

BE LI VAR BE LI DOST VAR CA NI MEN VAY

Example 12

Before the final repetition comes an insert, shown in ex. 13, where Stadler begins with material that this time resemble the modern equivalent more closely, and the same degree of similarity between the two, again a third apart, is maintained thereafter.

je nes Aug dem blin ket hell des Höch-sten Won-ne strahl,
di de kes o m ri o pe si red o ra,

Dİ DE KEZ O NU Rİ PE Zİ RED O RA (Saz)

Ja wohl, Freund, See = lenfreund, o Weh!
he = li ja = r, jar dschani men Wai!

BE Lİ YAR BE Lİ DOST YAR CA Nİ MEN VAY

Example 13

The continuation in the modern version is labelled section 8 by Stadler, for whom it consists of a repeated phrase of eight measures followed by a further phrase of twelve. As the beginning shows, in ex. 14, the resemblance in the melodic contour continues as before, even though Stadler's version now starts a fifth lower and slips further in the approach to the cadence to end a sixth lower:

Freudig.
(Persisch.)

O lass auf bei de Wel = ten, Herr! gleich = gült' = gen Blicks mich schau'n,
Ja Reih ai du kiew ni bi ni a a = sem ger = dan,

RAB Zİ DÜ KEV Nİ Bİ Nİ YA ZE Mİ GER DAN V

Example 14

The relationship is maintained in similar fashion over the next four measures, although whereas Stadler then repeats from the beginning, with a different text, this is set initially in the higher register in the modern version, with the *hicaz* tetrachord introduced from *e'* to *a'*, before the two converge over much of the final stretch, with differences emerging only in the final cadential area.

The beginning of Stadler's section 9 links up with the modern version some sixteen measures later and adopts the same 6/8 *yürük semai* notation of the rhythmic structure. However, the rhythmic pattern / ♩ ♩ ♩ / is often preferred to / ♩ ♩ ♩ /, and melodic congruence is intermittent, even if in both cases reliant on elaboration of a

single pitch (in Stadler's version generally placed a fifth lower). The relationship between the rhythmic representations remains unchanged in the concluding part of the *selâm*, labelled by Stadler as section 10 but, as in section 9, the melodic relationship is, to say the least, fitful. Stadler's version, for example, contains no reflex of the gradual descent over a fifth in the first five measures of its modern counterpart. It only moves to the lower register later, where it contrasts with a jump to *g'* in the other, and to Stadler's final sequential descent corresponds an elaboration of finalis a.

Melodically, in short, there is so little to connect section 10 to the setting of the same text in the modern version that here it is indeed tempting to concur with the Turkish scholars and conclude that von Hussard and Stadler produced between them an echo of the 'original' (which, it is to be assumed, survives more or less intact and unaltered in the modern version) so distorted that no resemblance between them can be detected. But this conclusion cannot hold for the whole *ayin* and is to that extent suspect: elsewhere there are passages where resemblances are evident, demonstrating a capacity for faithful reproduction on their part, so that in the others, as in section 10, that are clearly unrelated, the differences are more persuasively explained by them having been channelled through separate lines of transmission; and while the absence from Stadler's arrangements of sections that occur in the modern version could readily be explained by von Hussard, for whatever reason, not having transmitted them, the occasional inclusion of different textual material indicates once more that the performances von Hussard was familiar with were not coincident throughout with an antecedent of the modern version that was largely congruent with it.

7 The *ayin* in *nihavend*

It would be excessively laborious as well as pointless to subject the remainder of Stadler's transcriptions to the same detailed scrutiny. A brief survey of one other *ayin* should serve adequately as a control, demonstrating whether the relationship to its modern equivalent is of the same general order as that exhibited by the *ayin* in *hicaz*. For this purpose, we may choose the one by the same composer, Musahib Seyyid Ahmed Ağa, and therefore from the same period and presumably equally as little changed from its original form in the performances that von Hussard was familiar with. As before, in the first *selâm* of this, the *ayin* in *nihavend*, Stadler uses a combination of triple and duple measures that fails to reproduce the structure of *devr-i revan* accurately, but in section 1 his melodic contour nevertheless resembles that in the modern version, which, however, continues for a further eight cycles that contain modulations and

are not included by Stadler. The continuation corresponds to his section 2, with its extensive repeats, where he begins by retreating to 4/4, each measure equivalent to a half cycle of seven time units. The melody begins a sixth lower, with again a broad initial similarity of contour over the first four repeated cycles, but in place of the following modulation in the modern version, which introduces the *hicaz* tetrachord from *d'*, the pitch is temporarily raised by a fifth.

Section 3, in contrast, is short, consisting of a mere twelve 4/4 measures, even if the tempo is slow. It shows a disturbance of the order of events in the *ayin*, for it corresponds not to material in the second *selâm* but sets the same text as a central section of the third. It also reverses the order of that part of the text that is repeated, and apart from the vaguest of parallels in the downward drift of the melodic line there is no resemblance that the substitution of 4/4 in place of the 6/8 of the modern equivalent might be thought to obscure.

5. N° 3. Langsam. (Prestich.)

SINGSTIMME.

Hör' die Flü - te, wie sie tönend singt,
Bischnow nei techiha techiha mi = gin-jed.

Bis NEV TŪ Zİ NEY Ğİ HA Ğİ HA Mİ GŪ YED

Treu, dass ich nicht weiss, bin ich wohl du, bist du wohl ich, weh!
Wai! Kender ge la = tem ki men tu em ja me = ni Wai!

VAY (Saz) ES RA RI NŪ HŪF TE KİB Rİ YA Mİ GŪ YED VAY
VAY (Saz) KEN DER GA LA TAM KI MEN TŪ EM YA TŪ ME Nİ VAY

vom Ge - heim - niss Got - tes sie er - klingt i
Esra-ri ni-hi = fti Kî = hris mi gin = jed,

ES RA RI NŪ HŪF TE KİB Rİ YA Mİ GŪ YED

Example 15

Section 4 then reverts to the second *selâm*, at least to the extent that they set the same text. However, as the beginning shows, in ex. 16, the connection between the two versions is at first non-existent: not only do they have contrasting modal identities, but they also differ markedly in length and in melodic density. It is only in the setting of *ni meni* that one might discern commonalities in the *f g a^b g* vs. *c' d' e^b d'* phrase, and likewise in the final descent towards the cadence:

Langsam -
 (Persisch.)

O Sul = tan mein
 Sul = ta = ni meni

SUL TA NI ME NI

o Sul = tan mein
 Sul = ta = ni = ü meni

SUL TA NI ME NI

Example 16

Within this brief passage, the modern version, despite sometimes sustaining the same pitch over a number of time units, contains 33 pitch changes within its 36 time units: the equivalent figures for Stadler are 15 and 14. However, as against the only faint and intermittent melodic resemblance in the first setting of *sultani meni*, the general contour of the second setting is quite similar in both, and here one could readily accept Stadler's notation as a slightly simplified rendering, a fifth lower, of a forerunner of the modern version – which, though, could equally readily be understood as an elaborated version of an earlier form akin to the one Stadler has recorded.

In the remainder, as ex. 17 shows, the quantitative differences are of a similar order:

in Herz und Sinn
 en der dil u dahan

AH EN DER DI LÜ CAN

nen, Glau = be mein!
 i = ma = ni me = ni!

i MA NI ME NI

Example 17

and it would be just as feasible, if not more so, to regard the relationship between the two forms as pointing to a development from simpler to more complex rather than to Stadler's version being a botched reduction.

Section 5 is both brief and swift, notated in 3/4 (with two interpolated measures of 2/4), and is in effect a faster version of section 3, its text that of the repeat of the modern equivalent of 3. The melodic line is similar, but by no means identical – and no nearer to that of the modern equivalent.

In the modern version, the third *selâm* begins with a melodically complex section in *devr-i kebir*, and then transitions, as in the *ayin* in *hicaz*, first to *ağır semai*, and then to *yürük semai* for a lengthy passage that begins with a setting of *ey ki hezar aferin* and only later contains the material corresponding to Stadler's sections 3 and 5. After a further extensive passage (consisting of seven instrumental cycles + 20 vocal + 17 instrumental) for which there is no reflex in Stadler's transcription, we arrive at the final vocal setting, to which his section 6 corresponds. Here, once more, Stadler has recourse to 4/4 in place of 6/8 to render *yürük semai*, and although elements of the melodic contour appear to correspond, the general effect is quite different, as is the modal identity, which resembles that of section 4.

Indeed, striking about both versions of this *ayin* in *nihavend* is the extent to which *nihavend* itself (F minor for Stadler) is relinquished. The pitch set in Stadler's section 1 is e f g a^b b^b c' d^b e^b f', with finalis f, expanded in parts of section 2 to include a transposition down to B^b. In section 3, however, it is replaced by D major (c[#] d e f[#] g a b c[#] d' e', with finalis d), but with c[#] in the central part harmonized as in A major, with g[#] introduced at the cadence. The pitch set of section 4 reverts to c e f g a^b b^b c' d^b, but with finalis e and a cadential harmonic resolution that moves from F minor to C major. Section 5 echoes 3, with D major alternating with A major, and 6 echoes 4, with the same final F minor to C major cadence. In the modern version of *selâm* 1 we encounter a modulatory area in the middle register, with the introduction, variously, of b-, c[#], e-, and e', and the *hicaz* tetrachord on d', while in *selâm* 2 and *selâm* 4, and also the first section of *selâm* 3, the pitch set changes to a[#] b- c' d' e- f[#] g' a' b^b (with finalis b-). We then have a further modal shift, the pitch set changing to a b- c' d' e' (f') f[#] g' a'; a return to *nihavend* with the cadence c' e^b d' c' b^b a g; but then a further modulation to *evic* and *segâh*. Given such complexity, it is hardly surprising that this material should fail to appear in Stadler's version.

7.1 The *ayin* in *bestenigar*

Nothing in the relationship between Stadler's transcriptions of the other five *ayins* and the modern versions differs in any significant way from that outlined above, which may therefore be regarded as representative. The same time signatures and combinations thereof are used for the various rhythmic cycles, but problems of intonation may recur in slightly different forms, as, for example, in the *ayin* in *bestenigar*, where in contrast to the modern mode signature  Stadler's equivalent for the pitches from a to e' is a b c' d' e' (but placed a fifth lower). Nevertheless, as has been seen in example 6, the melodic contour in his section 1 corresponds quite closely to the modern one, as it also does in sections 2 (now a fourth lower) and 3. Not so, however in section 4, equivalent to the beginning of the third *selâm*, where, as seen in ex. 18, to the 17 pitch changes in Stadler's first four measures correspond no fewer than 42 in the first two cycles of *devr-i kebir*:



Langsam.
(Persisch.)
Sieh, es kam der Menschen Liebbling,
A - med an mah - bu - hi in - san,
A ME DAN MAH BU Bİ İN SAN
Gott zum Gruss, Gott zum Gruss!
Mer - ha - ha - , Mer - ha - ha !
MER HA BA YAR DOST BE Lİ YA Rİ MEN

Example 18

The marked difference in density and contour is underlined further by the contrast in modal identity, the result being a complete lack of melodic match.

The remainder of the section is equally distant from the modern version. It presents us with another case of van Hussard having learned a different setting, quite possibly also in *devr-i kebir* but with a significantly lower pitch-change rate. Stadler has nothing corresponding to the following long stretch of vocal material (36 cycles of *yürük semai*, beginning with *ey ki hezar aferin*) before, in section 5, re-joining the third *selâm*, again with 4/4 in place of 6/8, a distortion that does not, however, disguise the melodic similarity. The modern version continues with an instrumental interlude followed by a final vocal setting where part of the text coincides with that of

Stadler's section 6 but without there being any comparable melodic congruence.

Similarly, section 7 sets, in ex. 19, the same text as the fourth *selâm* but is again sufficiently distinct melodically to rule out a derivational relationship:

Example 19 is a musical score featuring three staves. The top staff is in G major and 4/4 time, with the tempo marking 'Langsam.' and the instruction '(Persisch.)'. The lyrics are 'O Sul tan mein, o Sul tan mein' and 'Sul ta ni me ni, Sul ta ni me ni'. The middle staff is in G major and 2/4 time, with lyrics 'AH SUL DER TA MEN NI BI ME NI'. The bottom staff is in G major and 2/4 time, with lyrics 'NI SUL TA NI ME NI'. The music consists of a single melodic line with various note values and rests.

Example 19

Striking, here, is that the same passage appears in Stadler's section 4 of the *ayin* in *irak*, which corresponds to the beginning of the second *selâm*, with the same text: the difference between the two settings here is so great as to exclude any connection. It appears, further, now a tone higher, in section 9 of the *ayin* in *pençgâh* and, with minor changes to note durations, in section 9 of the *ayin* in *acem-buselik*, in both cases corresponding to the fourth *selâm*. The modern equivalents are again unrelated, and likewise to each other, so that there can be no question of convergence resulting from the serial mishearing of different versions: a more likely interpretation is that having learned this passage in one *ayin*, von Hussard repeated it in others when memory failed him.

8 Conclusion

Yet whatever its derivation, it is not readily relatable to any of the modern equivalents. The consequence is to undermine, rather than support, the argument that, whatever their incidental historical interest as a laudable attempt to make available selected parts of the Ottoman Mevlevi repertoire to a musically curious European public, the crippling defects of Stadler's notations are such that the distorted image they transmit signally fails to reflect the originals. To claim otherwise is not, though, to ignore a lack of accuracy in rendering both structural features of the rhythmic cycles and microtonal characteristics of the *makams*: they are transcriptions of their time.

Nor is it to exclude the possibility, indeed the likelihood, that at least some of the gaps in Stadler's coverage are attributable to an only partial memorization of the repertoire on the part of von Hussard.

What may be argued, rather, is that present within his scores are passages that resemble their modern equivalents sufficiently closely to exclude incompetence as the primary cause of the striking divergences that occur elsewhere. Consequently, such divergent passages are better accounted for as being derived from a different version, that is, from material current at the time that was later discarded and replaced or transformed. It follows that Stadler's notations of von Hussard's transmission of the *selâm* repertoire should not be dismissed so summarily and deemed valueless as historical testimony, for the conclusion that they do not just exhibit understandable and sometimes readily remediable quirks of misrepresentation but are in essence fatally flawed travesties of the originals to which they purportedly relate is dependent upon a fundamental but suspect premise, namely that we know what the originals are, that is, more precisely, we know what the realization of the Mevlevi repertoire was like at the time von Hussard was attending a *mevlevihane* in Istanbul, and we know that because it is taken as axiomatic that enshrined in the now authoritative mid twentieth-century Mevlevi *ayinleri* editions is the faithful preservation of a historical tradition parts of which, among them the *ayins* in *hicaz* and *nihavend* by Musahib Seyyid Ahmed Ağa, were composed at least two or three centuries before.

There may certainly be occasional errors of omission or misplacement in Stadler's scores, as with the replication of the passage in ex. 19 in other *ayins*, but for the extensive areas of disagreement other explanations need to be considered. One credible hypothesis is that the modern versions, the earliest of which appeared in the 1930s, may well embody the performance practice of the turn of the twentieth century, but are unlikely to be equally reliable records of the performance practice to which von Hussard was exposed at the beginning of the nineteenth, indeed that correlated with this temporal disjunction may be appreciable developments in both style and substance. Within the tradition itself, recognition of such change can occasionally be glimpsed through the editorial processes behind the İstanbul Koservatuvârı publications, which for the *ayin* in *suzidilara* by Sultan Selim III (1761-1808) juxtapose two versions, one derived from the notation made in 1795 by a contemporary of Stadler, Nasır Abdülbaki Dede (1765-1821), the other representing current, i.e. early twentieth-century, performance practice.²¹ The

21 For evidence that 'current performance practice' in the wider repertoire could itself encompass significant divergences see the examples in Behar 2012.

differences between them indicate that later norms as documented in the modern scores cannot be guaranteed to provide a satisfactory measure against which Stadler's publications are to be assessed (and found wanting), and in the absence of a reliable contemporary account of the performance practice of c1800 it would follow that no such measure exists – and therefore, one might argue, that it would be pointless to pursue any further this line of enquiry, or rather speculation.

Fortunately, however, the notation made by Nasır Abdülbaki Dede, himself a Mevlevi musician and composer, provides precisely such an account. It is an exceptional item of evidence and an appropriate term of comparison, its relevance underlined by the fact that the *ayin* it records,²² in *suzidilara*, is by yet another contemporary, Sultan Selim III (1761-1808). As *suzidilara* is not a *makam* represented in Stadler's corpus, this notation can obviously shed no further light on the degree to which Stadler captures or fails to capture the modal specifics of *hicaz*, *nihavend*, and the other *makams* represented in his arrangements, but it does provide a style of text setting, a representation of rhythmic structures and the disposition of the melody in relation to them, with which his notations can legitimately be compared. Unfortunately, not all the rhythmic cycles refracted in Stadler's notations are included: Selim III's first *selâm* is in *düyek* rather than *devr-i revan*, and his third begins in *frenkçin* rather than *devr-i kebir*, thus leaving only *evfer*, *aksak semai*, and *yürük semai* as the cycles common to all three sources. Nevertheless, Abdülbaki's notations still allow investigation of changes in melodic density as indexical of changing stylistic norms from the end of the eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth, and hence the possibility of evaluating the relationship of Stadler's notations to those norms and hence, up to a point, their reliability.

On the assumption that the tempo for a given cycle was not subject to major fluctuations, its overall melodic density may be quantified straightforwardly as the average number of pitch changes per cycle or, to facilitate comparisons between cycles, per time unit (identifying for this purpose the stretches of melody in Stadler's notations that correspond to a single cycle and dividing accordingly). The Stadler sample considered consists of 20 cycles for *yürük semai*, but only 5.6 for *evfer*, this being his total, while *aksak semai* is best ignored, as he includes only the equivalent of one cycle in each *ayin*. He does, though, present sufficient material in *devr-i revan* (the equivalent of 20 cycles) and *devr-i kebir* (the equivalent of 10 cycles)²³ for

22 Nasır Abdülbaki Dede, *tahririye*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi MS Nafiz Paşa 1242.

23 Counting *devr-i kebir* for Stadler as consisting of 14 time units. If counted as 28, the rate would be halved and the contrast with modern levels doubled.

meaningful comparison to be made with the corresponding figures for the modern versions of the *ayins* in *hicaz* and *nihavend*, and to them may be added, for reference, the figures for the first *selâm* of the *ayin* in *suzidilara*, in *düyek*, and for the beginning of the third, in *frenkçin*. We thus have:

Table 1 Pitch changes per time unit

	Abdülbaki	Stadler	modern
<i>evfer</i>	0.75	0.68	1.2
<i>yürük semai</i>	0.47	0.45	0.66
<i>devr-i revan</i>	–	0.4	0.55
<i>devr-i kebir</i>	–	0.41	0.83
<i>düyek</i>	0.4	–	0.8
<i>frenkçin</i>	1.6	–	1.9

As this shows, Stadler's figures for *yürük semai* are on a par with Abdülbaki's, but marginally lower for *evfer*, the difference readily explicable by von Hussard having failed to internalize and replicate certain details of the performances he heard in this rather more complex cycle. In both, the modern version exhibits an increase of 40-50%, which in *devr-i kebir* and *düyek* rises to 100%, while it falls to 30% in *devr-i revan* and 20% in *frenkçin*. No obvious reason suggests itself for these discrepancies, although to be suspected are differences in tempo. For the two faster cycles, *devr-i revan* and *yürük semai*, the differences between the figures for Stadler's notations and those for the modern version are perceptible but not exceptional, while for the slower tempo *evfer* and *devr-i kebir* they are wider, pointing to an approximate doubling of melodic density taking place during the nineteenth century. This may be interpreted as the result of a gradual process of accretion that, in these slower sections, could take place independently of the tempo of the participants' rotations, neither affecting it nor being affected by it. Less easy to account for is the reduced level of change in *frenkçin* or, rather, its relatively much higher melodic density in Abdülbaki's notation, suggestive of an earlier phase of accretion when compared with the 0.7 of the one piece in *frenkçin* notated by Cantemir, although for firmer conclusions a more substantial body of evidence would be required. Nevertheless, the data available, however limited, suggest that, for all their approximations and imprecisions, Stadler's notations may well reflect the norms of c1800 as they relate to the level of melodic activity not just in *evfer* and *yürük semai* but also more broadly, suggesting subsequent change of a similar order to that revealed by comparing Abdülbaki's notation of the *ayin* in *suzidilara* to its various modern versions. In the brief excerpt from the first *selâm* shown

in ex. 20 (Dişiaçık, Uruş 2012, 434), version A is a transnotation of Abdülbaki's original, B the 1935 Darülelhân İstanbul Belediye Konservatuvarı version, C that of Ali Rifat Çağatay (d. 1935), and D Heper's 1974 version.²⁴

Example 20

Thus, while the number of pitch changes in A is just 8, in B it has doubled, and in D has risen to 19.

Such contrasts, which are by no means exceptional, could be interpreted as caused by different attitudes to the function of notation, with Abdülbaki offering a skeletal outline, possibly a teaching version, to be amplified in performance, as contrasted with the capturing of the amplified form in the modern scores. Alternatively, they could be thought to result from performance habits during the nineteenth century tending gradually to incorporate and transmit successive embellishments,²⁵ and that the latter is the more likely explanation is suggested by the general alignment between Abdülbaki and Stadler, since what was transmitted to the latter by von Hussard was, in all likelihood, not just a bare teaching outline but a reflection of the instantiations heard during the Mevlevi ceremonies he witnessed.

From this it would follow that the performance tradition of the Mevlevi repertoire, despite the conservatism that might be associated with ensemble performance in a ritual context, had not remained static. It may readily be supposed that the gradual stylistic evolution of the Ottoman tradition more generally, manifested in the newly

²⁴ Heper 1974. The twenty first-century neyzen.com version follows this closely, but does, interestingly, exhibit microtonal differences of intonation.

²⁵ On these and other relevant hypotheses see Wright 1988; Olley 2018.

composed *ayins* that were constantly being added to the repertoire, had also impinged upon the realizations of those inherited from earlier composers, resulting in a gradual thickening of the melodic texture and, it may be conjectured, a compensatory retardation affecting, as example 20 suggests, *düyek* as well as the already slower cycles such as *devr-i kebir* and *evfer*, where this tendency was more apparent. In *evfer*, for example, the modern version of the beginning of the fourth *selâm* of the *ayin* in *suzidilara* – quite apart from hinting at the emergence of different lines of transmission, one with a rotation of the rhythmic cycle and a brief instrumental insert – demonstrates, as shown in ex. 21, the extent to which the melodic outline has been amplified: as against the 14 pitch changes of Abdülbaki's version, its modern descendant, placed beneath, has 42.

The image displays two musical staves for a Mevlevi *ayin*. The top staff is a single line with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 4/4 time signature. It contains the lyrics 'sul tā nī me nī' and rhythmic markings 'SUL TA Nİ ME Nİ'. The bottom staff is a more complex arrangement, featuring a section marked '(Saz)' and more frequent pitch changes, with the same lyrics and rhythmic markings.

Example 21

Similarly, in the equivalents to this passage in section 4 of Stadler's *nihavend* and section 7 of his *bestenigar* we have 15 pitch changes, reflective therefore of a proximity to the level of melodic density that can be inferred for the end of the eighteenth century from Abdülbaki. The suggestion, therefore, is of a general trend towards an enrichment of the melodic texture that results from a gradual incorporation of what had originally been occasional embellishments into the line of transmission; and if the differences between Abdülbaki's version of the *ayin* in *suzidilara* and those in modern editions can be taken to substantiate this, it would be reasonable to conclude that, in parallel, the various *ayins* reflected in Stadler's arrangements had, in the performances which von Hussard attended at the turn of the nineteenth century, a melodic texture at some remove from that now current, one much closer, indeed, to that recorded by Abdülbaki.

However, a rather different and more complex picture emerges if we compare Abdülbaki's notations to the other significant Mevlevi notation of the period, Toderini's *semai* in *hicaz*. One might have expected this, by analogy, to be typologically akin to Abdülbaki's

contemporary *yürük semai* instrumental material, but it has, instead, a much denser melodic texture²⁶ and, as the juxtaposition in ex. 1 makes clear, the same holds when it is compared to the modern version of the *semai* in *hicaz*. Doubtless, the difference in the relationship between source and output in the two versions is worth emphasizing: in one, we have a prescriptive score, an unadorned distillation of what authoritative guardians of the repertoire deem to be correct, and in the other a descriptive notation derived, by an outsider to the tradition, from performance; but this still fails to account for the contrast in their melodic styles: it is not the case that the modern version is performed in a significantly slower and more embellished manner than the score suggests, and there is no immediate and compelling reason for thinking that Toderini's version represents one extreme of a stylistic range that also encompassed a much faster and melodically stripped-down option.²⁷ Unfortunately, nothing is known about who Toderini learned this composition from or, perhaps more important, how and in what social context, although the process doubtless took place during the years that he spent in Constantinople, 1781-86, as a member of the entourage of the Venetian ambassador.²⁸ Accordingly, it may not be possible to assess his *Concerto* for the accuracy with which it reflects performance norms, but it is certainly impressively precise, particularly in its recording of grace notes, and, apart from the 3 + 3 time units of *yürük semai* being rendered by three measures of 2/4, seemingly convincing. That it might include extra embellishments added by Toderini himself and designed to domesticate it further may be discounted, but the possibility cannot be excluded that it reproduces not the style encountered during the Mevlevi ceremony but a more ornate style associated with the performance norms favoured in a different milieu.

Whatever the interpretation, juxtaposition of Toderini's *Concerto* to its modern counterpart reveals quite clearly both the coincidence of the melodic outline and the greater degree of melodic complexity it captures. The increase in the pitch-change rate, from 0.66 to 1.66, may imply a more relaxed tempo – especially given Toderini's initial *andantino* marking – thus running counter to the suggestion elsewhere of a subsequent trend towards deceleration. Yet against such speculation may be urged that there is no slower feel to Abdülbaki's contemporary notations of the vocal sections in *yürük*

26 Even more pronounced is the contrast in melodic density with the *yürük semai* vocal setting of *Ey ki hezar aferin* in the third *selâm*.

27 A case for the coexistence of faster and slower (and more embellished) performance styles is, however, made in Olley 2018, and it is certainly tempting to view the characteristics of Toderini's notation not merely as according with but also as explained by this interpretation.

28 On Toderini see De Zorzi 2013 and 2018, in which the composition is reproduced.

semai, for which we may cite in illustration the beginning of the setting of *Ey ki hezar aferin*, with its much lower pitch-change rate:

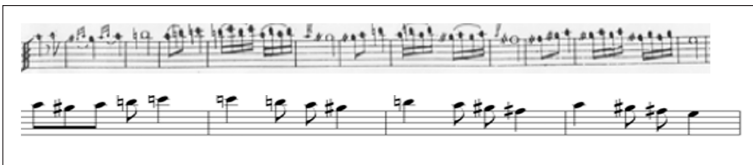


Not surprisingly, the nature of the relationship between the beginnings of Toderini's version and its modern counterpart continues unchanged for much of the remainder of the piece, as can be seen from the beginnings, shown in exs. 22 and 23, of the passages that move into higher registers, the first centred on f# and e:



Example 22

and the second initially on the g# to c' area and then descending sequentially through the *hicaz* tetrachord to e:



Example 23

However, the modern version is not tied as closely to Toderini's in other respects: the pattern of internal repetition differs somewhat and, more importantly, the first part of his final section, marked *adagio* leading to *primo tempo* and including a modulation, fails to survive. Yet if this is a clear indication of change over time, it is not to be denied that the contrasts in the remainder of the composition do not accord with the developmental model that can be inferred from comparing Abdlbaki's (and Stadler's) notations with their modern

equivalents: rather than indicating a trend towards increasing melodic density (possibly combined with deceleration), Toderini's score has a markedly denser melodic texture than the modern one, and even if it is possible that the twentieth-century guardians of the repertoire pursued a policy of virtuous restraint, providing a deliberately pared-down notation that would correspond to, or even encourage, a fast tempo for the *yürük semai*, the record provided by Toderini makes it clear that the melodically simpler to more complex model is not always valid: earlier realizations of sections in this rhythmic cycle at least were not necessarily always barer in their melodic outlines than later ones and characterized by brisker tempi.

This may raise yet further questions about the relationship between Stadler's notations and the performance norms of the time, yet without casting serious doubt upon their historical significance. In memorizing and transmitting parts of the complex and large-scale Mevlevi repertoire, von Hussard may have omitted extensive blocks of material, and he may have simplified melodically complex passages; and he and/or Stadler may have failed to capture certain characteristic nuances as well as structural features, resulting in reduction and, more broadly, in a certainly incomplete and in some respects out-of-focus representation. Nevertheless, what they have preserved between them is still, it may be argued, something much closer than has been supposed to the melodic texture of the Mevlevi *ayin* as we may imagine it performed c1800. Whether or not the resulting scores are to be understood and critiqued as harbingers of Orientalist appropriation, a possible but perhaps not particularly rewarding approach, they remain historical documents of considerable interest; and even if they are no more than an imprecise approximation, it may be argued with some confidence that it is one that still provides a less blurred picture than they have hitherto been given credit for. They constitute, therefore, a useful as well as interesting addition to the rather sparse historical documentation out of which the pre-modern history of the Ottoman vocal repertoire must be teased.

9 Afterword

Given the dour, plodding nature of the preceding section-by-section survey, a rather lighter note might be permitted in bringing matters to a conclusion. If it is accepted that the melodic texture of modern editions is likely to be at some remove from that of the performances von Hussard was fortunate enough to hear, one might reasonably conclude that the results of his and Stadler's collaboration have the potential to bring us somewhat closer to the stylistic norms of the beginning of the nineteenth century. One can certainly concur with Turkish scholars that they cannot be accepted as faithful

transcriptions of the Mevlevi repertoire as performed in the twentieth century, but that is beside the point: the crucial question to ask is how far removed they are from the style world of the source performances; and, depending on the answer, one might wonder whether, through a judicious revision of Stadler's notations, it might be possible to arrive at a yet closer approximation to them.

To stay with the *ayin* in *hicaz*, adjustments to the representation of the pitch set can readily be made to provide a better correspondence to Ottoman intonational norms of the period, and the indications of duration can likewise be modified to provide a more accurate representation of the rhythmic cycles as defined by Abdülbaki. Beyond that, however, there remains the crucial question of the nature of the stylistic gap between the realization of an *ayin* at the turn of the nineteenth century and how it was to be performed a century and more later. For the latter we have the comprehensive documentation of the *Mevlevi ayinler* notations, but despite there being no comparable earlier notation of the various *ayins* included in Stadler's publication we at least have a reliable witness to the Mevlevi style world of the end of the eighteenth century in Abdülbaki's notation of the *ayin* in *suzidilara* by Sultan Selim III. This therefore provides a crucial term of reference against which Stadler's notations, and any tampering with them, can be assessed.

The excerpts examined most closely in the above survey are the ten sections that correspond to the four *selâms* of the *ayin* in *hicaz*, and the following proposes a revision, necessarily tentative, of Stadler's version of just the first *selâm* of this *ayin*, designed to bring it closer to what might be conjectured to have been the performance norms with which von Hussard was familiar. Some of the changes, notably those concerning intonation, are unproblematic, indeed automatic, and hardly less so are the adjustments to duration. The principal aspect for which difficult and sometimes arbitrary editorial decisions need to be made concerns the melodic contour, most obviously in those stretches where the two are far apart. In some cases, adjustments have been proposed to reduce the gap, while for others, as discussed above, the conclusion must be that they represent separate and unrelated lines of transmission, and so no attempt has been made to coax Stadler's version of them in the direction of the current understanding of the repertoire.

The result does not pretend to be, and is certainly not to be taken seriously as, an accurate recreation of the melodic skeleton of part of a Mevlevi *ayin* as known at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, it may be thought to provide a semblance, one that affords some insight into the nature of the gap between performance realization then and now and hence into the way the inherited repertoire continued to evolve before becoming immobilized as part of a classical canon enshrined in authoritative twentieth-century editions.

Transposed from g to a, the revision of Stadler's score is placed beneath the current version. The distribution of the text is largely coincident.

MEN ŞA HI BA ZI KUD SEM EZ LÂ ME KÂN RE SÎ
DE HEY Yİ YAR HEY Yİ DOST CA Nİ MEN CA
NA Nİ MEN BEH Rİ SÎ KÂ Rİ SAY DÎ DE Rİ KA LE
BA RE MÎ DE HEY Yİ YAR HEY Yİ DOST
CA Nİ MEN CA NA Nİ MEN SÎ MÖR Gİ KA Fİ KUR BEM

Cycle 11

EZ DA MI KEV Nİ CES TE HEY Yİ YAR
HEY Yİ DOST CA Nİ MEN CA NA Nİ MEN TA VU SÎ

BA ĞI AR ŞEM EZ A Şİ YAN PE Rİ DE

HEY Yİ YAR HEY Yİ DOST CA Nİ MEN CA NA Nİ MEN

After a further nine cycles in the modern version for which Stadler has no equivalent, we arrive at:

Cycle 28

A TEŞ NE ZE NED
KÜ TEH NE KÜ NED

DER Dİ Lİ MA İL LÂ HU
DER Dİ Lİ MA İL LÂ HU

HU HU HU

Cycle 33



There follow unrelated settings of *Ger alemiyan cümle tabiban başend*, over three cycles in the modern version and just over three 3/4 measures in Stadler's version, followed by a repeat of four cycles of earlier material, after which there is a very brief convergence:



followed by 15 cycles that repeat previous matter before a brief further passage of related material (which in Stadler's version is now a sixth lower):



However, the resemblance already fades towards the end of the second cycle, and there follow three cycles of repeated material before the onset of a similarly related passage:



after which, once more, the resemblance soon diminishes, although the versions converge again in the final repetition of cycles 33 and 34 that brings the first *selâm* to a close.

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