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DISCOURSE ON THREE TERAVIH NAMAZES IN ISTANBUL

An Invitation to Reflexive Ethnomusicology

by

Dane Kusić

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Maryland in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy 1996

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APPROVAL SHEET

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ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation:

Discourse on Three Teravih Namazi-s in Istanbul: An

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Dane Kusić, Doctor of Philosophy, 1996

Dissertation Directed By:

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This dissertation is a discourse on musical aspects of *Teravih Namazı*, a Muslim ritual worship, as performed in Istanbul, Turkey, in the nights of the month of *Ramazan*. It is based on three performances of *Teravih Namazı*-s, recorded in 1411 A.H. / 1991 C.E., in the Beyazıt Mosque and *Cerrahi Tekkesi*.

Theoretically, I am approaching *Teravih Namazı* as a religio-musical form practiced on daily basis. I am not approaching it as a model and reified object, but as a formational process and structure pregnant with strategies used, chosen, and negotiated by the performers. By structuring the structures, the performers become themselves structured by the very same structures, where agents and structures are inseparable. This approach, therefore, differs from the ossified structuralism, but also from the artistic exuberances of hermeneutics and interpretative anthropology.

Historically, culturally, and socially, Islam and music in Turkey have stood and stand in a dialectical relationship. This dialectics is crucial between the Turkish classical and religious music, as well as between the Ottoman court and Sufi orders,

the two synchronic secular-religious loci in which these two musics diachronically developed.

I treat *Teravih Namazı* as a religious musical form, performed both in the mosques and *tekke-s*. Its texts, which are rendered aloud, are musically performed. I found that this exclusively vocal performance follows the same structural rules as the classical Turkish music, and that both share the same concepts such as *Makam*, *Karar*, Modulation, as well as the *Beste-Şarkı* and *Fasıl* Principles.

This discourse shows a vital and essentially indispensable role music plays in the practical aspect of Islam as religion in Turkey. It points to the fact that Islam and music were and are in harmony at least in Turkey and that the everyday practicing of Islam as religion and culture requires and truly needs music.

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 Turkish Music Quarterly 4(1): 1-8.
- "Markoff, Irene Judyth. Musical Theory, Performance and the Contemporary Bağlama' Specialist in Turkey." Book review. Turkish Music Quarterly 3(2-3): 8-11.
- 1989 "Reinhard, Kurt und Ursula. *Musik der Türkei*." Book review. *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 21: 131-133.
- "Odnos metra teksta i ritma melodije pitanje njihove podudarnosti" ("Relationships Between Metre of Text and Rhythm of Melody"). Zbornik radova 32. Kongresa SUFJ, Sombor 1985: 483-488. Novi Sad.

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ربناولاتحملنامالاطاقةلنابه واعف عنائنو اغفرلنائنو ارحمنا (سورة البقرة: آية ٢٨٦)

Rabbanā wa lā tuḥammilnā mā lā ṭāqata lanā bih (Im) Wa^c-fu cannā (wag) Wag-fir lanā (wag) War-ḥam-nā (Sūratu'l-Baqarah: āyah 286)

Our Lord! Impose not on us that which we have not the strength to bear (Stop) Pardon us (Stop) Absolve us (Stop) Have mercy on us (K2: 286)

Preface

This dissertation is based on the fieldwork in Turkey conducted in the summers of 1988 in Istanbul, Izmir, Kalecik (Ankara), Kumru (Ordu), Yumurtalık (Adana), and Ankara; 1989 in Diyarbakır and Istanbul; 1990 in Van and Diyarbakır; and during a six month period, January through June 1991 in Istanbul, Ankara, Erzurum, Kars, and Konya.

The classical notion of fieldwork, as conducted in ethnomusicology, anthropology, and sociology, evokes ideas of collecting unfamiliar material to be later, as a deskwork, organized, classified, analyzed, discoursed, and distributed in familiar forms of dissertations, books, published and conference papers, lectures, CD's, etc. However, fieldwork is always more than that. Beyond recording material, either mechanically by means of tape recorder and video and still cameras, or in a more traditional way by jotting ideas in notebooks and diaries, or by keeping the log, fieldwork is a temporally and spatially situated dialogic process in which the fieldworker enters into a complex relation with people, culture, society, institutions, even politics, existent in the locus of his/her study. Ethnographies based on fieldwork involve more than written accounts of the "unfamiliar world"; their texts, although sometimes unintentionally and unconsciously, also reveal the fleeting moments and processes practically occurring in everyday life. Ethnographies are never just accounts of the Other, but narratives which inform their readers about the author's self and his/her position in the scholarly world. Fieldwork and deskwork form an inseparable process whose phases are sometimes indistinguishable.

In my case, I would probably never be able to write this discourse had I not extended my fieldwork in Turkey to my own home. After classifying the collected sound material, recorded on audio and video cassettes, which consisted of interviews, readings of the Kur'an out of context, as well as of live ritual performances recorded in their context (namaz and zikir), and after transcribing them in Western music notation, I selected a certain portion of it which became the core of this dissertation. Since I never had any formal education in Turkish classical music and theory, analyzing the material musically, and understanding the way the Turkish music is structured and made meaningful in its performance, was an unsurmountable obstacle. I was lucky to have such a great opportunity of being able to consult and analyze the material with a fine Turkish classical musician, ud and tanbur player, Münir Nurettin Beken, my friend, colleague, and fellow graduate student in the Program in Ethnomusicology at my university. For a period of a year, between the Fall of 1993 and Fall 1994, we had analytical sessions in my apartment, during which we listened to the field recordings, compared them with my musical transcription, and discussed the musical strategy used in the recorded performances. Many insights I gained in these "home-bound-fieldwork" sessions I owe to Münir. They are, with due credit, included in the analytical part of this dissertation, a part whose authorship I share with Mr. Beken, to whom I am greatly indebted. However, the responsibility for the conclusions I made and the way I organized the statements "from the field," those of Mr. Beken, as well as my own, rest solely on me.

I am infinitely indebted to İsmail Hakkıçimen, muezzin and hafiz in the Beyazıt mosque, Istanbul, who unselfishly devoted his time to teach me the reading of the Kur'an and the practical side of Islam as religion. Himself a fluent speaker of English and Arabic, as well as a *ney* player, he shared with me his practical knowledge of religion and Turkish classical music, sometimes in many significant ways steering the course of my fieldwork. It is he to whom I owe my knowledge about the ways music is used in Muslim ritual worship and the genealogical connection between the Turkish classical and religious music. In Beyazıt mosque I am also thankful for the help and hospitality offered by its imam, İsmail Biçer, muezzins: Kerim Dikbaş, Ekrem Nalbant, Dündar Sayın, Mehmed Şimşek, and the *kayyum*, caretaker of the mosque, Mustafa Karakoç.

In *Cerrahi Tekkesi*, Istanbul, I am humbly grateful to the *şeyh* of the *Cerrahi* tarikat and all its dervishes who accepted me wholeheartedly and allowed me to participate in their gatherings and rituals, readily ignoring my sometimes obtuse, incessant and unbecoming questions, as well as obtrusive video recording during the ceremonies.

In all four trips to Turkey I was greeted at the airport and helped to commence my work in Istanbul by Afşin Emiralioğlu, the *bağlama* teacher at the Türk Musikisi Devlet Konservatuarı, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, the Maçka campus. Mr. Emiralioğlu established connections, gave advices, showed me around in Istanbul, introduced me to the *gazino* night life and *arabesk* music, and even took me to a Black Sea beach with his family. I am thankful to them.

In Ankara, my friend and fellow ethnomusicologist, Dr. Ahmet Yürür, and his American wife, Carol Stevenson, were always the patient and graceful hosts. Owing to Ahmet and his connections, I found my way to Southeastern Anatolia.

Expressing my debt and thankfulness to all those who helped me in Turkey in one way or another would take pages and pages of text. I will alphabetically list here the names. If I have omitted some of them, it was not done intentionally and I am asking for forgiveness.

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Ansiklopedisi), Sabahattin Şahin (Radio), Rıdvan Tandoğan (Radio), Salih Tuğ (İlâhiyat Fakültesi), Yalçın Tura (Maçka Devlet Konservatuarı), Mustafa Uzun (Islâm Ansiklopedisi), Aydın Varol (Maçka Devlet Konservatuarı).

In Kars: imams Cafer Bakırel, Mir Hasan and S. Ahmet Erdem.

In Konya: author Feyzi Halıcı.

In Van: imam Zeki Tanrıant, muezzin Şuaib Yıldız.

I am also thankful to the Turkish government for issuing me a research visa; the *Ulaştırma Bakanlığı*, Turkish Ministry of Transportation, for giving me a free round-trip ticket for one of my summer fieldworks in Turkey; and the Istanbul office of the American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT), its director Anthony Greenwood and secretary Leyla Nişli, for their hospitality and understanding.

In the United States, I am thankful to the Institute of Turkish Studies,
Washington, D.C., for awarding me a dissertation writing grant; the Program in
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Karl Signell and the Center for Turkish Music, UMBC; my advisor, Jozef Pacholczyk,
and Philip Schuyler, for their friendship, benevolent criticisms, and guidance during
my graduate studies at UMBC.

Note on Turkish Orthography and Arabic Transliteration

With the exception of several consonants, viz. \check{g} (yumuşak ge, soft g), k, g, and l, the letters of Turkish script are pronounced phonetically, with one sound corresponding to one letter. In standard Turkish pronunciation and the dialect spoken in Istanbul, the letter \check{g} is silent, and it lengthens the preceding vowel, adding to it a barely audible sound "y," e.g. the word $de\check{g}il$, "no," is approximately pronounced as "dēyil." However, in eastern parts of Turkey, and especially among the Kurds of Southeast Anatolia, the \check{g} is audible and hard, pronounced gutturally, similar to Arabic \check{g} $\check{g}ain$.

Consonants k, g, l, when followed by circumflexed vowels \hat{a} , \hat{i} , \hat{u} , become softened, and are pronounced with barely audible sound "y." Thus, the word $g\hat{a}vur$, "infidel," is pronounced approximately as "gyavur" (similar to Macedonian \hat{r}); $il\hat{a}hi$, "hymn," as "ilyahi"; and $k\hat{a}r$, "profit," as "kyar" (similar to Macedonian \hat{x}). This softening is important since it might change the meaning of the word: kar, for example, means "snow." The circumflexed vowels might also precede the k, g, l letters, with the same function. Thus, the word $us\hat{u}l$, "rhythmic pattern," should be pronounced approximately as "usuly," since usul, with hard l, means "gently, carefully."

Table 1 - Pronunciation of Turkish Letters

TURKISH LETTERS	PRONUNCIATION	TURKISH LETTERS	PRONUNCIATION
A, a	like Italian a in amore	M, m	like mother
B, b	like <i>b</i> oy	N, n	like no
C, c	like Jim	Ο, ο	like more, autumn, law and Italian o
Ç, ç	like <i>ch</i> urch	Ö, ö	like umlaut ö or French eu in peu
D, d	like day	Р, р	like pit
E, e	like essence	R, r	rolled r
F, f	like five	S, s	like sea
G, g	like guy	Ş, ş	like <i>sh</i> ip
Ğ, ğ	silent like gh like in borough	T, t	like Tom
H, h	like house	U, u	like Italian u
I, 1	similar to u in mug, thug	Ü, ü	like umlaut ü or Frenh u in pur
İ, i	like <i>i</i> n	V, v	like voice
J, j	[ž] like French Jean	Y, y	like you
K, k	like <i>k</i> ilo	Z, z	like zebra
L, l	like lily		

* * *

Transliteration of Arabic script in this dissertation generally follows the system given by Kristina Nelson (1985: viii, Table 1). Other systems, which appear in quotations, are reproduced in their original. The following table gives the

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transliteration systems by K. Nelson, M.A. Haleem Eliasii (1981: xxxiii), A. Yusuf Ali (1983: xv), and the Leyden editions of the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (SEI 1961) and *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (EI 1960-).

Table 2 - Transliteration of Arabic Letters

ABABIC	LETTERS	NELSON	ELIASII	ALI	LEYDEN
ARABIC	LETTERS	NELSON	ELIASII	ALI	LEYDEN
1	Alif	а	a	а	a
ب	Bā	b	b	b	b
ت	Tā	t	t	t	t
ث	Ţā	ţ	ş	<u>th</u>	<u>th</u>
ح	Jim	j	j	j	dj
۲	Ḥā	þ	ķ	h	ķ
Ċ	Xā	x	kh	<u>kh</u>	<u>kh</u>
د	Dāl	G	ď	d	d
ذ	 Þal	<u>d</u>	Ż	z	<u>dh</u>
ر	Rā	r	r	r	r
ز	Zā	z	z	z	z
س	Sin	s	s	s	s
ش	Šīn	ž	sh	sh	<u>sh</u>
ص	Şād	ș.	s	s	Ş
ض	 Dad	ģ	ż	<u>dh</u>	ġ
ط	Ţā	t.	ţ	t	ţ
ظ	<u>D</u> ā	₫	Ż	<u>z</u>	Ż
ع	^c Ain	c	6	6	c

غ	Ġain	ġ	g	g	<u>gh</u>
ف	Få	f	f	f	f
ق	Qāf	q	q	q	ķ
ك	Kaf	k	k	k	k
ل	Lam	1	1	1	1
۴	Mim	m	m	m	m
ن	Nun	n	n	n	n
٥	Hā	h	h	h	h
و	Waw	w	w	w	w
ی ي	Yá	y	у	у	у
ة		ah/at	ah/at	ah/at	ah/at
e	Hamza	,	. ,	,	,
		a	a	a	a
-		i	i	i	I
		u	u	u	u

Regarding the transliteration of Arabic letter s, tā'marbūṭah, I follow the Library of Congress Romanization Tables: "When the noun or adjective ending in s is indefinite, or is preceded by the definite article, s is romanized h" (LC nd: 7). Thus, the words طريقة, صلاة, المريقة, صلاة, I trasliterate with h: janābah, Fāṭimah, ṣalāh, ṭarīqah. In compounds, such as صلاةالجمعة ṣalātu'l-jumʿah, the first s is elided to the

following definite article -11 al- and pronounced as t, while the second \bar{a} , which ends the compund, is pronounced as h.

All Arabic compounds which contain the word الله Allāh, such as بسمالله Bismillāh, الله Waliyyullāh, سبحان الله Subḥānallah, الحمدلله al-Ḥamdulillāh, I transliterate as one word, i.e. without a hyphen to indicate disjunction, and without apostrophe for the letter ه hamzah. All other connected words, such as كتابالموسيقي kitābu'l-mūsīqā, are transliterated with a hyphen and hamzah.

In Ottoman Turkish, many Arabic nouns and adjectives have been Turkified and written as ending with ت instead of 5, such as the Arabic derived words, all in singular form, ending with -at or -et. In Ottoman Turkish such words are written and pronounced as: شریعت محلفیت seriat, ملفیت mükellefiyet (see NRD ملفیت mükellefiyet (see NRD شریعت محلفیة شریعت haqiqah, مله šarīcah, مله millah, مله mukallafiyyah.

All English translations from the Qur'an, unless otherwise stated, are by Marmaduke Pickthall (nd; and in Eliasii 1981).

Note on Musical Transcriptions and Computer Software

Contrary to contemporary Turkish music theory, the musical transcriptions throughout this dissertation are written on "absolute" pitch. I have chosen this approach to reflect the actual musical performance as it happened in actual practice, and to point to the importance of *pitch unity* in an hour long event of *Teravih Namazı*. Representation of Turkish *makam*-s and music according to the system developed by Rauf Yekta (1871-1935), Suphi Ezgi (1889-1947), and Sadettin Arel (1880-1955), and today used by the majority (if not all) classical Turkish musicians, would by necessity miss this crucial element.

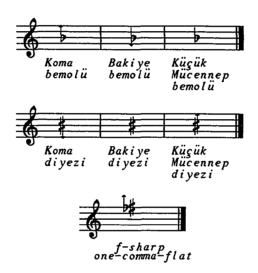
According to the Ezgi-Arel system of notation, Turkish classical music uses six accidentals:

Koma bemolü	Lowers the pitch by one comma (cc. 24 C)	Koma diyezi	Raises the pitch by one comma (cc. 24 C)
Bakiye bemolü	Lowers the pitch by four commas (cc. 90 C)	Bakiye diyezi	Raises the pitch by four commas (cc. 90 C)
Küçük Münnecep bemolü	Lowers the pitch by five commas (cc. 114 C)	Küçük Münnecep diyezi	Raises the pitch by five commas (cc. 114 C)

The computer software that I used to write my musical transcriptions is MusicPrinter Plus, Version 4.1 for DOS. Since it does not have Turkish accidentals, nor an option to create them, I decided to use the available accidentals and match them

^{*}For more information on this system, see Signell (1986: 23-26) and Reinhard (1969: 72-73; 1984/1: 198-199, n. 20).

with those used in Turkish music theory. In certain cases, the transcription of a makam on "absolute" pitch required an additional accidental, not provided by Turkish theory, so I had to "invent" new accidentals, such as f* one-comma-flat (Ex. 1). However, this was done only because of technical reasons and in order to avoid hand-writing. By doing this, I do not, by any means, intend to propose a new way of writing Turkish music.



Example 1 - Accidentals used in this dissertation

In the *makam* scales, included in the Appendices V-VIII, the whole note represents the tonic, i.e. *karar*, while the half note represents the dominant. Other scalar degrees are represented with the filled in note-heads (like a quarter note without a stem). The majority of the *makam* scales I have listed both in their theoretical form

xiii

(as they appear in Turkish music theory) and in transposition (reflecting the pitches of actual performance).

This dissertation is written in WordPerfect 6.1 for Windows. All musical examples were originally created in MusicPrinter Plus, then printed as PCX graphic files (2 color, 300 dpi), and finally inserted in the WordPerfect document as graphic boxes. The musical transcriptions in the Appendices I-IV are printed directly in MusicPrinter Plus. The printer I used is Hewlett Packard LaserJet 4P.

Because of technical reasons and ethical considerations, this dissertation does not contain any photographs.

The audio and video recordings of the material presented in this dissertation are in my private possession and their copies will eventually be deposited in the *Cerrahi Tekkesi* and Beyazıt Mosque in Istanbul.

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OPENING: Bismillah

This is a discourse on musical aspects of *Teravih Namazı*, a specific type of Muslim ritual worship performed in the nights of *Ramazan* (the month of fasting in Islam), as practiced in two places in Istanbul, Turkey, namely the Beyazıt Mosque and the *Cerrahi Tekkesi* (the dervish lodge of *Cerrahi* order).

This is also a discourse on the vital and essentially indispensable role music plays in the practical aspect of Islam as religion in Turkey. By *music* I imply any humanly organized sound (Blacking 1976). In this sense, music also includes a variety of utterances in religious context which are, however, not always nor necessarily recognized as music within certain cultures. Therefore, I treat the vocal aspects of Muslim ritual worship as music, that is not in disagreement with the Turkish understanding.

This discourse points to the fact that, contrary to the widely held philological statements and doxology, usually but not exclusively of Western provenance, Islam and music were and are in harmony at least in Turkey and that the everyday practicing of Islam as religion and culture requires and truly needs music. A similar situation might be seen in Pakistan and India as well, as Regula Qureshi's study on *qawwali* (1995) suggests; regarding Java, Clifford Geertz mentions the *terbangan*, "a special type of elaborated chanting, originally from Persia, in which small drums are beaten and a history of the Prophet Muhammad is chanted... usually held in the mosque" (1976: 156).

. Historically, culturally, and socially, Islam and music in Turkey formed and form a dialectical relation. This dialectic is crucial in the relationship between the

Turkish classical and religious music, as well as between the Ottoman court and Sufi orders, the two synchronic secular-religious loci in which Turkish classical-religious music diachronically developed.

Sufi and religious circles in Istanbul, and to various degrees in other parts of Turkey, are conscious of the necessity of music in their practicing of religion and in their rituals, and they have established discourses about it. For them, all music is either religious or non-religious. Depending on the context in which it is performed, they further divide Religious Music into two categories: Mosque Music and *Tekke* or *Tasavvuf* (Sufi) Music. The difference between the two is not in quality, since they share the same musical forms and principles of music structuring/making, but rather in the medium and the context in which they are performed/actualized.

Tasavvuf Music, as an indispensable part of Sufi rituals, is usually vocal-instrumental; depending on the Sufi order the number of instruments used in ritual range from a single pair of def-s, frame drums, to the more or less full classical music ensemble. Mosque Music, on the other side, is exclusively vocal; although it has its own musical forms, some of the vocal tasavvuf forms are occasionally used in the mosque, as well. Finally, some Sufi orders do not have their own separate tekke-s and dergâh-s, dervish lodges, but meet, as is the case with two orders I visited in Ankara and Kars, in the mosque. Thus, it is not only the space, i.e. building, which makes religious music either the mosque or tekke music, but it may as well be the intended use, the function, of the space which makes the difference. The practical

strategies define the discourse on music, and therefore its classification, not the other way around.

I call this dissertation a *discourse*, a term borrowed from Michel Foucault (1972a). Unlike Foucault, who uses the term in a sense of an autochthonous and self-governed formation of statements, beyond individual *oeuvres* and personal histories, I understand discourse as an organized group of humanly conditioned statements about everyday practice, in this particular case the *Teravih Namazı* as a religio-musical form. However, statements themselves are also practice, because they are situated within a certain set of conditions which make them possible and put them in relation to other statements, both past, present, and projected ones. As such, statements do not exist in vacuum, as a written book or text might suggest, devoid of reality of the practical world, but as practical acts themselves they always refer and feed back to that world. Even when organized in a seemingly closed system of formalized discourse, statements should not be understood as fixed and sealed definitions, rules, models, and final truths, but rather as a temporally conditioned practical knowledge positioned in an everchanging flux of possibilities and of other ways of understanding.

The statements in this dissertation include those uttered in Turkey by the practitioners themselves; statements written as formalized discourse(s) in Turkish books dealing with music and the practical religious instructions; statements uttered in the United States by my friend and fellow ethnomusicologist, Münir Beken; statements on music and Islam in Western publications (ethnomusicological, anthropological,

historical, philosophical, literary, religious studies statements); statements by my advisor, Jozef Pacholczyk; my own statements, and the potential plethora of others, hidden in the web of statements which did not yet fully emerge and present themselves to my consciousness.

I have tried to put these statements in relation to each other as well as to the practice, practice understood in Bourdieu's sense (1991), as actualization of agents' (practitioners') everyday actions, i.e. temporal actions performed in accordance with strategies used towards the realization of projected and potentially achievable goals.

The group of statements which form the discourse of this dissertation are not intended as a contribution towards creation of a theoretical model. In my understanding of the world, my deep conviction, the experience I gained by doing ethnomusicology, and by trying to live ethnomusicologically, models and arbitrary rules are of little help in the practical world. They blur the picture and make the panoptic illusion, the literary as if, which always, as a result, has the effect of distortion. I am rather proposing a certain way, a method, of looking at cultural, social and political-historical processes, of which the practicing of music and religion is a part, as they occur in daily life. This way of looking, a scholarly gaze, I call reflexive, for it puts in a dialectical relation both the author of the discourse about the world and the object of that discourse, the world itself. Even when gazing at the world as it displays before her very eyes, the author is always a part of that display, since, by her very position, she is being looked back upon, and made the object of another gaze. A one-way gaze is not only impossible but practically unfeasible. In scholarly discourses

that kind of a gaze is always dominant and dominating over the world being dominated. In this dominating position, in which the author can easily master his tools of observation, the world is displayed as spectacle, like Greek drama enacted on stage. In this drama the actors symbolically enact the virtual world of deeply buried meanings and signs. The spectator's role is to "read" these displayed meanings correctly and then to interpret and understand them by bringing them to his consciousness. Drama symbolically configures the everyday world, and the spectator, as a part of that world, refigures that symbolic configuration back into the world, this time the world of his imagination. Thus, the spectator "reads" the already "read" meanings of drama and creates the meanings of his own imagination, thus creating a product of a double semantic transformation. And, if a spectator's understandings of meanings turn into another representation, another drama written as discourse, then the semantic transformation triples and actually multiplies ad infinitum, depending on the number of readers involved in the reading of the discourse.

However, if the spectator begins to look at the world not as spectacle full of frozen symbolic meanings, but rather as a web of activities in which she also participates as an actress, then the meaning read involves the spectator and her active relation to the spectacle. Now, the reading of meaning puts the spectator in the very heart of action, in which she cannot remain impartial and in a privileged position of arbiter. Instead of reading what the things represent to the consciousness, the actress partakes in their practical (dis)play. Decoding becomes acting.

In this dissertation I am not looking at the meaning of *Teravih Namazi*, nor do I look at it as a dead product of culture, the *as if* of a worshiping act. *Teravih Namazi* is brought into reality of the world by the way it is performed, the way music is used in it and the way imams and muezzins choose and use the strategies to make its performance practically possible, culturally acceptable, religiously correct, and traditionally recognizable. If *Teravih Namazi* has a meaning, then its meaning is its practical actualization, not the meaning I can, more or less arbitrarily and "so to speak," "read" by speculating about it.

Human beings (we) are not the metaphors of something they (we) are not. They are made of flesh and blood, and they do not live to be "spoken of as if they were [something] other" (WD 1983). Our lives are not allegorical stories, in which we, the things we do, and the events that happen to or are made by us, "have another meaning, as in a fable or parable" (*ibid.*). It is dangerous to treat people as metaphors, symbols, and icons we can hang on the wall, and their lives as allegories. It makes the Other really other and utterly different. Studying and learning about the otherness of the Other is paradoxical: by knowing more about the Other, the more we can understand him or her; yet, at the same time, we establish a privileged position from which we look at the Other, a position denied to him; thus, by bringing the Other closer to us by studying him, we simultaneously make him more and more different and distant to our own nature and culture. Responsible writing, instead of trying to be artistically polyphonic, i.e. "poly-logic" (more than the dialogue), and as if concerned about the Other, should leave the dark world of literary metaphors and ossified models

made to last forever, and venture into the bright world of everyday practice and human actions. By understanding the practical actions of the Other we can better understand the world she lives in and shares with us. According to the Western Judeo-Christian culture, ethics, and humanism, this represents a moral issue so painful to think about because it requires a thorough change of perspective and a shift from the privileged writer's position to the position shared with a fellow-human. As Paul Ricoeur wrote, there is no ethically neutral narrative, and every writing has the capacity of imputation (1992: 115, 151). In that sense, keeping the tradition of searching for meanings, allegories and metaphors, as in the Biblical hermeneutics, instead of opening the new vistas of human practice and actions, and therefore the better understanding of who we are by what and how we do, at least diminishes the possibilities of arbitrary imputations and unethical conduct.

The actualization of practical activity I tentatively call performance. By performance I do not understand the Geertzian public spectacle of "deep plays" which vie for "thick descriptions" (Geertz 1973a). Performance, in this discourse, is a temporally and spatially situated event as acted by the practitioners, i.e. those who make that event practically actualized. By studying the three synchronic religio-musical events, the three musically structured performances of *Teravih Namazı*, I have tried to trace the genealogical line and history of other diachronic processes - social, cultural and political - which have conditioned and made possible the contemporary performance of *Teravih Namazı*.

As is usually the case in ethnomusicological and anthropological studies, the research consists of at least two phases: *fieldwork* and *deskwork*, although the former is always preceded by at least some deskwork preparation (reading about the culture of future research). The following pages of this Opening I have likewise divided into the chapters on "Deskwork in America" and "Fieldwork in Turkey," each of which reveals my theoretical and practical background as an ethnomusicologist.

In the "Deskwork in America" I essayistically discuss two broad theoretical approaches to the objective knowledge: hermeneutic and structuralist. Regarding hermeneutics, I discuss the basic philosophical ideas of Paul Ricoeur, Wilhelm Dilthey, and Hans-Georg Gadamer. Since their hermeneutic thought has had such a great influence in anthropology, especially in shaping the theoretical framework of Clifford Geertz, my analysis of hermeneutics extends to the interpretative anthropology and then to the so called "post-modern" anthropology as represented by James Clifford and his circle.

The second approach is structuralist as represented in the work of especially two French authors, Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu. Their structuralism differs from that of Claude Lévi-Strauss in that they treat the concept of structure not as a mechanical model but as a dialectical process in which structures undergo constant transformation and change. I introduce these two authors by discussing the issues concerning Edward Said's book *Orientalism* (1978), which was vehemently criticized

¹I have borrowed this idea about "deskwork" from the anthropologist John Van Maanen who argued that "writing an ethnography is office-work or deskwork, not fieldwork" (1988: 4).

by the "post-modern" school. Raising the question of the moral validity of the nineteenth century philologically-oriented European Orientalism, joined in the course of this century by its American counterpart, Said concentrates on Islam and the Middle East. I am using Said's book as a springboard in my discussion of the hermeneutic and structuralist approaches and as an avenue leading to the issue of Islam, one of whose aspects, ritual worship, is the main concern in this dissertation. Partially repeating what Said has already said, I draw the reader's/your attention to Georg Friedrich Hegel's ideas about Islam, or as he called it "Mahometanism" (Hegel 1991: 355-360) and to Snouck Hurgronje's observations in Sumatra (1906b). Regarding the twentieth century I discuss the Henry George Farmer's writing on Arabian music (1929), and Bernard Lewis's proverbial judgements of Islam (1991). All four authors, although in different ways and with different interests and purposes, represent Islam in a way typical for "Orientalism," i.e. always negatively. I point to this fact because the philological-hermeneutic tradition undauntedly continued throughout this century owing to such authors as H.A.R. Gibb (1949), and, in anthropology, Clifford Geertz (1971, 1976: 119-224).

In "Fieldwork in Turkey," my writing is ethnographic: I describe the basic approaches I used as my own strategies "in the field." The tone is, as Van Maanen puts it, confessional (1988: 7, 73-100). Although the reader might feel that I have put the main focus on myself as fieldworker, my attempt was rather to situate myself in the culture and society I studied. Many stylistic figures in this chapter are reflective of ethnographic writing in anthropology, including the "arrival tropes" (Pratt 1986: 35-37,

42-43), "police stories" (Geertz 1973: 414-416), "Nuerosis" (Rosaldo 1986: 91), "pastoral mode" (Clifford and Marcus 1986), etc. These ethnographic stories and "tales of the field" reflect the basic theoretical ideas brought forward in my deskwork ruminations. Therefore, "Fieldwork in Turkey" is a summary of the basic issues, concepts, and techniques which I either brought into the fieldwork or learned by doing. In that sense, it does not explain, step by step, all the major events in fieldwork, and the full process of recording, questioning, performing, and learning. It is written as the practical corroboration of the theoretical stance I assumed in Chapter One.

In Chapters Three through Six of Part One I situate my discourse historically, placing the Turks, Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey within Islam as religion, culture, and civilization. I then discuss the ways and a crucial role politics and the sense of tradition played in the synchronic development and continuation of Turkish classical and religious music. In this discursive part, the emphasis is placed on the vital connection between, on the one side, the Ottoman court and its formal system of education, which included music, in the *Enderun Mektebi*, Palace School, and, on the other, the *mevlevihane-s*, *Mevlevî* convents in at least three places in Istanbul: Yenikapı, Kasımpaşa, and Galata, to which some of the most famous Turkish composers were attached as *dede-s*, dervishes of a higher rank. In the Ottoman Empire, the Sufi orders of Istanbul were the progenitors and guardians of Ottoman music. After the establishment of the republic, in the early 1920s, Turkish official ideology, called *Atatürkçülük*, i.e. Atatürkism, after its founder Kemâl Atatürk, was generally anti-Ottoman. However, in spite of radical political and legal actions taken

by the government against Ottomanism and Islam as a religion and especially a culture, thus including Ottoman music, that music has survived to this day, not by some miracle or special fate, but because the survival strategies it used went beyond politics, even deceiving it.

Chapters Seven and Eight of Part Two are a structural description of the liturgy of *namaz* in general and *Teravih Namazı* in particular. Here I analyze *namaz* as a form of ritual worship and as liturgy and position it as the indispensable part within the practical domain of Islam as religion. Any musical understanding of *namaz* is either impossible or insufficient without an examination of its relationship to liturgy as religious performance.

Chapter Nine of Part Three starts off with a discussion of several major concepts used in Turkish classical music, such as *makam*, *karar*, *seyir*, and modulation. These concepts are traced genealogically, both in the sense of their etymology and their historical development and the transformation of their meaning. The chosen concepts are shared both in classical and religious music, and they find their way into the musical performance of *namaz*. They semantically represent certain musical structural features and techniques which undergo changes in their musical meaning according to the performers', i.e. the imam's or muezzin's, choice of strategy. The discussion of concepts is followed, in Chapters Ten and Eleven, by a detailed musical (structural) analysis of three performances of *Teravih Namazı*, two in Beyazıt Mosque, one in *Cerrahi Tekkesi*.

Then Moses said to God, "If I come to the people of Israel and say to them, 'The God of your fathers has sent me to you,' and they ask me, 'What is his name?' what shall I say to them?" God said to Moses, "I AM WHO I AM."

("Exodus" 3:13-14)

In this dissertation I am attempting to approach theoretically a specific type of ritual worship as a religio-musical form practiced on daily basis, i.e. not as a model and reified object, but rather as a formational process pregnant with strategies used by the performers. The theoretical approach by which I have been most influenced is that of Pierre Bourdieu (1991), but only to a certain extent. Like Bourdieu, I treat ritual worship as a *modus operandi*, as a structure in perpetual process of transformation. Unlike Bourdieu, for whom the structure and its transformations are self-governed and autochthonous, I understand ritual worship as a structure structured by human beings, that is the structure of human actions brought to practice through the various strategies agents use and negotiate. Of course, it goes without saying that the performers as agents who structure these structures become themselves structured by the very same structures. This is a dialectical process in which agents and structures are inseparable.

This theoretical approach therefore differs from ossified structuralism, but also from the artistic exuberances of hermeneutics and interpretative anthropology, where allegories and metaphors, as well as the narrative which draws its literary strength from them, seem to be the sole purpose of scholarly endeavor, and the resulting theory is the theory of itself and not of structured human practices and the practical world.

Hermeneutic Circle: From Interpretation to Application

The time between my first and last field trips to Turkey was spent in search of the object of my fieldwork and the actors in that public "arena" of culture, who, in their everyday practice and lived experience, would make that object meaningful, actual, even spectacular for me. I was looking for a drama which would display itself before my very eyes, like "a manuscript - foreign, faded, full of ellipses, incoherencies, suspicious emendations, and tendentious commentaries, but written not in conventionalized graphs of sound but in transient examples of shaped behavior" (Geertz 1973: 10).

The remainder of that past time, i.e. between the fieldwork and today, I was setting the stage: I was in search of the "active sense of organizing the events into a system" (Ricoeur 1984: 33), that is of the emplotment - the controlled sorting out of the discordant events of lived experience, trying to make them concordant and conforming to the system. Thus, relying on the drama of "culture, this acted document" (Geertz, *ibid.*), this public topos of *lived experience*, I am creating here the *verbal experience*, the *discourse*, which draws its strength from its reference to the fieldwork.

But, as Paul Ricoeur points out, this does not mean that I am, in my discourse, simply imitating its reference, the fieldwork. For imitation is never simply "imitation" or "representation," but a creative activity. This mimetic activity, which Ricoeur labels as *mimesis*, borrowing the concept from Aristotle's *Poetics*, ought to be, according to him, understood as the "creative imitation,"

[as] something completely contrary to a copy of some preexisting reality... if we translate mimesis by "representation"..., we must not understand by this word some redoubling of presence, as we could still do for Platonic mimesis, but rather the break that opens the space for fiction. Artisans who work with words produce not things but *quasi-things*; they invent the *as-if* (Ricoeur 1984: 45; italics mine).

Ricoeur's mimetic activity, which always refers to actual practice, the real domain, and the world of ethics in which actors act according to the moral attributes of their conduct, is never itself real: it is always the *as-if*, a fiction. This *as-if* mimetic world is the domain of creativity, art, poetics. But the invented actors in this world of poetics cannot, by themselves, bring the real life to the text in which they are inscribed. They need another agent who would read them as real, understand and inscribe them back into the world of reality. That agent, the third party in the process which moves from the referential to the created world and beyond, is the *reader* of the text, plot, discourse, who closes the circle and transforms the *as-if* to actual reality. Reading makes the virtual actual.

In this process of mimetic activity, time plays a crucial role. There is no lived experience which is not acted in time - otherwise it wouldn't be lived - in which and only through which human passions, happiness and suffering, reversals of fortune, are fully enacted, i.e. practically realized, as in Greek tragedy, where all these discordant events become concordant and organized, and then purified through the catharsis of the spectator. The life and time the spectator experiences by watching the tragedy is given to him/her by the mimetic activity already constructed in the plot. The real world, first employed in the narrative work as reference and then deployed as created world,

is finally appropriated by the spectator/reader. This appropriated world, which the reader inscribes back into reality, argues Ricoeur, "is a cultural world. The principal axis of a theory of reference on the second side of the work passes therefore through the relationship between poetry and culture" (1984: 50).

Here, at least two triads can be observed: 1. the movement from reference to creation to interpretation, and 2. from ethics to poetics to culture. This is a circular movement of mimetic activity, in which the prefigured world of reference becomes configured through the narrative, only to be refigured by the reader. Ricoeur explains this by stating that "in constructing the relationship between the three mimetic modes I constitute the mediation between time and narrative... We are following therefore the destiny of a prefigured time that becomes a refigured time through the mediation of a configured time" (Ricoeur 1984: 53-54).

For the third mimetic stage, that of the reader's appropriation or refiguration, in which the narrative gets its full meaning because it is here and only here "fully restored to the time of action and of suffering" (1984: 70), Ricoeur admits that it corresponds to Hans-Georg Gadamer's concept of *application*, which is "the central problem of hermeneutics... [and] is to be found in all understanding" (Gadamer 1994: 307).

In Gadamer's hermeneutics, application is the final stage in the process of understanding. As a staunch critic of the nineteenth century "aesthetic consciousness" and of Wilhelm Dilthey's concept of *Erlebnis*, "lived experience," which he calls the "aesthetic Erlebnis" (1994: 81), Gadamer argues that the hermeneutic consciousness, a

product of all understanding, is comprehensive and surpasses the aesthetic consciousness, i.e. "aesthetics has to be absorbed into hermeneutics" (164). Refuting the validity of aesthetic experience, i.e. the concept of Erlebnis, Gadamer emphasizes that, within European art, "we discover that from the classical period up to the age of the baroque[,] art was dominated by quite other standards of value than that of being experienced, and thus our eyes are opened to totally unfamiliar artistic worlds" (71). He then calls for the revision of the basic concept of aesthetics and dispensing with the dogmatic element in aesthetic consciousness (81).

Like Dilthey, who saw the essence of philosophy in historical continuity, Gadamer also calls for continuity, arguing that the "appeal to immediacy, to the instantaneous flash of genius, to the significance of 'experiences' (Erlebnisse), cannot withstand the claim of human existence to continuity and unity of self-understanding" (97). However, for Gadamer, this continuity is not Dilthey's continuity of historical consciousness (Dilthey 1969), but the historically effected consciousness, the wirkungsgeschichtliches Bewußtsein, which is an element in the act of hermeneutic understanding, and in which "the efficacy of history is at work" (1994: 300-301). Here continuity changes from Dilthey's passive, static succession of events to an active and constructive process, that is history, which affects consciousness.

Gadamer's historically effected consciousness has the structure of experience, but this experience is not that of *Erlebnis*, not of a kind of Dilthey's "aesthetic experience": it is rather the *Erfahrung*-experience, i.e. experience which remains in a continual process by producing new experiences.

Hermeneutics, as the "classical discipline concerned with the art of understanding text," and therefore itself an art or method of understanding the "truth that manifests itself in art and history," is not concerned with texts only, but rather with art in general (1994: 164). Therefore, writes Gadamer, "I am not convinced by the objection that the performance of a musical work of art is interpretation in a different sense from, say, reaching understanding in reading a poem or looking at a painting. All performance is primarily interpretation and seeks, as such, to be correct. In this sense it, too, is 'understanding'" (1994: xxxi).

The historically effected consciousness, as a genuine form of experience, is therefore the product of understanding which, itself, "must be conceived as a part of the event in which meaning occurs, the event in which the meaning of all statements - those of art and all other kinds of tradition - is formed and actualized" (Gadamer 1994: 164-165). This event, which Gadamer calls the *horizon of the present*, does not represent a break with the past, but rather draws from it and is continually in the process of formation: like experience, every historical horizon, including that of present, is simultaneously superseded by its very projection. Since our horizon of the present is as historically conditioned and situated as any previous horizon in the past, the real understanding happens in the *fusion of these horizons*, and since the task of the historically effected consciousness is "to bring about this fusion in a regulated way," it represents the central problem of hermeneutics, that of *application* (306-307).

For Gadamer, application is considered "to be just as integral a part of the hermeneutical process as are understanding and interpretation" (308). This is another

triad, similar to that of Ricoeur, consisting of understanding, interpretation, and application. The old romantic division between the subjectivity of the interpreter and the objectivity of the meaning to be understood is abolished in Gadamer's hermeneutics. The cognitive, normative and reproductive interpretations, i.e. functions of understanding, are one, because "all reading involves application, so that a person reading a text is himself part of the meaning he apprehends. He belongs to the text that he is reading" (340-341).

Before I turn to the application of hermeneutics in anthropology, let me briefly summarize the basic ideas of Ricoeur and Gadamer. For both philosophers *time* plays the crucial role in their hermeneutic understanding: Gadamer's is *historical time*, the dimension of experience as historically effected consciousness, the mediation between the past and the present; Ricoeur's is *narrative time* which oscillates between the two poles: eternity and death, finite and infinite, between the most extensive and the most tensive durations, i.e. between Augustine's *distentio* and *intentio animi*. Both philosophers are understanding the world as an *experience of art*.

From Application to Schizophrenia...

In the Preface to his *Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia*, Clifford Geertz opens with a quote from T.S. Eliot, "Bad poets borrow, good poets steal," only to add in the next sentence, "I have tried in what follows to be, in this respect anyway, a good poet, and to take what I have needed from certain

others and make it shamelessly my own" (1971: v).² In this harbinger of "thick description," which was to emerge a few years later in the opening chapter of *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973: 3-30), Geertz made an attempt at the comparative study of religion, an attempt which he had already implicitly tried a decade earlier in his seemingly "translucent" ethnographic report, *The Religion of Java* (1960).³

Islam Observed ends with two powerful (poetico-human) metaphors: one about schizophrenia, "the disjunction between the forms of religious life and the substance of everyday life"; the other, about nebulousness, "the cloud of allusive symbols and vacuous abstractions" (1971: 116). The first metaphor, that of schizophrenia, is about a young Moroccan, who makes his first trip away from home. On a flight to New York, where he is heading to pursue graduate studies at an American university, he, experiencing the fear of flying (Erica Jong!), "passes the entire trip with the Koran gripped in one hand and a glass of scotch in the other" (117). Geertz's second "human metaphor," that of nebulousness, is about a brilliant Indonesian mathematics and physics graduate student at the University of Indonesia, who spends all of his free time working on a scheme "in which the truths of physics, mathematics, politics, art, and religion are indissolubly, and to my mind indiscriminately, fused" (ibid.). This

²The text of the *Islam Observed* was originally delivered as the Terry Foundation Lectures on Religion and Science for 1967 at Yale University (Geertz 1971: v).

³In the "Introduction" to *The Religion of Java*, Geertz writes that "it seems to me that one of the characteristics of good ethnographic reporting... is that the ethnographer is able to get out of the way of his data, to make himself translucent so that the reader can see for himself something of what the facts look like and so judge the ethnographer's summaries and generalizations in terms of the ethnographer's actual perceptions" ([1960]1976: 7).

"almost cabalistic scheme," observes Geertz, "means very much to him, for one cannot find one's way through modern life without, as he puts it, a compass" (*ibid.*).

There is no doubt that in these two metaphors Geertz has tried himself to be a poet, whether a good or bad one is beside the point. It might also be an ethical impass even to try to discuss here the value of his "poetic" attempts or to ask the question whether what he has "needed from certain others" and what he has made "shamelessly [his] own" is morally acceptable. Instead, the issue here is that the "appropriations" like these can be found elsewhere in Geertz's writings, in which he always makes "available to us answers that others, guarding other sheep in other valleys, have given, and thus [includes] them in the consultable record of what man has said" (1973: 30). The problem is not situated, nor is it to be found, in questioning an individual author's morality. It is much deeper and tells about the aporias of interpretative anthropology and poetics and the morality of society at large. According to this morality, or rather the lack of it, the anthropologist is in a position to appropriate shamelessly" whole geographical areas of the world and to poetically inscribe, even inculcate, in our knowledge of them the ideas of schizophrenia or nebulousness.

This hermeneutic tradition which Geertz borrowed/stole from Ricoeur⁴ was critically reviewed by the next generation of anthropologists who, although disagreeing

⁴The connection between hermeneutics and anthropology was "officially" established by Geertz and Ricoeur. In his *Interpretation of Cultures*, Geertz quotes a passage from Ricoeur, stating that it was he "from whom this whole idea of the inscription of action is borrowed and somewhat twisted" (1973: 19). In Volume 1 of *Time and Narrative*, Ricoeur, on his own part, returned the ball in the likewise manner and courtesy: "I am drawing here on the work of anthropologists who in various ways make use of *Verstehen* sociology, including Clifford Geertz" (1984: 57).

in many points with Geertz, nonetheless took the torch from him and continued the artistic approach in their cultural representations.

...To the Po-Mo Meta-Puns from the Campus Library...

In April 1984, more then a decade after The Interpretation of Cultures appeared, a group of ten scholars, with one exception all male,5 gathered at the School of American Research in Santa Fe, New Mexico, as participants in an advanced seminar focusing on "the making of ethnographic texts" (Clifford and Marcus 1986: vii). Barely five years before the collapse of the Soviet Union, they sensed that they were living in a critical moment "of a radically changing world order" (Marcus and Fischer 1986: vii), which likewise required a profound change in, and posing a challenge to, the way the social sciences, since their origin in the late nineteenth century, were representing the world. The new world order "fueled this challenge and undermined confidence in the adequacy of our means to describe social reality," requiring from the participants in the Western intellectual debate to rethink their tools and strategies and find a new way of how to represent "an emergent postmodern world... as an object for social thought in its various contemporary disciplinary manifestations." Regarding anthropology, and more specifically its "ethnographic fieldwork [sic] and writing," that "most lively current arena of theoretical discussion and innovation," an effort was made to "make ethnographic writing more sensitive to

⁵In his contribution to *Writing Culture*, Rabinow observes that the post-modern experimentalists are almost all male (1986: 255).

its broader political, historical, and philosophical implications," placing anthropology "at the vortex of the debate about the problem of representing society in contemporary discourses." It seemed that the only answer to this challenge was to be found in experimentation with representation. Since ethnography, as its name suggests, is about writing, i.e. "writing cultures," as Clifford and Marcus explicitly stated in the title of the Santa Fe book they edited (1986), and since this new world, which did not yet know itself, did not yet foreground its *temporal distance* to itself, as Gadamer would have it (1994: 296-298), prevented the very idea of any understanding and theory, the experiment was to be done in the arena of literary 'trials and errors,' almost suggesting that 'anything goes.' This was an "experimental moment in the human sciences," as the subtitle of the book, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*, reads, and more specifically, an experimental moment in social and cultural anthropology (Marcus and Fischer 1986: vii).

Both books mentioned above were written essayistically: Writing Culture is a series of eleven essays, while the Anthropology as Cultural Critique is a long essay in itself. The essay is an open-ended form, in which only a certain problem or a limited set of issues are discussed, and as such it does not, actually it cannot, offer any full-fledged theory or a system of knowledge, although it can lead to one.

⁶For Marcus and Fischer, as the above quote shows, even fieldwork itself is ethnographic, i.e. about writing!

⁷Dismayed by the complicity of establishing any "cultural theory" as a systematic mode(s) of assessment, for such a theory is conditioned by two negative predicaments, *viz.* "it is not its own master" and "it is not predictive," Clifford Geertz argued that "it is for this reason, among others, that the essay, whether of thirty pages or three

This new generation of anthropologists, today on the Internet referred to as the Po-Mo generation, short for Post-Modern, which grew out of the Sixties, and therefore seemingly radical, soon proved to be not that radical but rather conservative. Yes, it did greet Geertz's "series of erotic puns" with new erotic puns, the meta-puns, if you will. But, this was also the "campus library" generation, as Paul Rabinow called it (Rabinow 1986). In this generation, said Rabinow, "James Clifford has created and occupied the role of ex officio scribe of our scribblings" (1986: 242).

Preoccupied with literary critiquing of the previous (modernist) era, these post-modern anthropologists remained, much as their predecessors did, in the world of discourse and art, thus smoothly continuing the tradition they set out to dismantle. Unlike Jean-Paul Sartre who, in 1948, fearful of the looming possibility of a nuclear third world war, total devastation, and the possibility of the real end of humankind and tradition, found the freedom of choice and integrity of the For-Itself threatened, which made him publicly invigorate his activity through *Les temps modernes* and in the streets of Paris (Aronson 1992), the post-modern anthropologists stayed on campus, in its library. But like Sartre, who loved to spend his time in cafes, the heart and locus of Parisian bohemian life, they also sat "across the table in a [campus] cafe" (Rabinow 1986: 243), discussing the challenges of the emergent new world order. It was there,

hundred, has seemed the natural genre in which to present cultural interpretations and the theories sustaining them" (1973: 24-26).

⁸No critique can be more devastating than the one written by Vincent Crapanzano: "The title of Clifford Geertz's essay 'Deep Play: Notes on a Balinese Cockfight,' written about the time the film *Deep Throat* was all the rage..." (Crapanzano 1986: 68).

on the campus, that they became conscious of the fallacies of previous era, of the colonial and neo-colonial attitudes in human sciences and anthropology, of authoritative representation, ethnographic present, monological writing, appropriation of cultures, etc. What they did not see (how could they?) was that they also, by their sheer privileged position in academia, the campus, were deeply a part of the bigger scheme, in which they also were actors to be observed by somebody else. Rabinow returned the gaze and looked back at James Clifford, "this ethnographer of ethnographers... and, using his own descriptive categories, examine[d] his textual productions" (1986: 243). For Rabinow, Clifford became his native, as well as his informant.

The text-bound anthropological critique of James Clifford and his literary longings (like Geertz's poetic want) are perhaps most openly expressed in his essay "On Ethnographic Allegory" (1986), in which he shows himself as a disciplined follower of hermeneutic approach in the line stretching from Dilthey and Heidegger, through Gadamer, Ricoeur, and finally Geertz. In this essay, at the outset, Clifford states that "ethnographic writing is [inescapably] allegorical" (98), arguing that "the very activity of ethnographic writing ... enacts a redemptive Western allegory" (99).

⁹In the essay's motto, Clifford cites Webster's definition of allegory, drawing its contemporary meaning from its etymology. This reminds me of Martin Heidegger and his interpretation of phenomenology as the "apophantical discourse." In the Introduction to the *Being and Time* (1962: 55-58), Heidegger tries to establish the phenomenological method of investigation by looking at the etymology of the words "phenomenon" and "logos," which make the compound "phenomenology," and going back to their supposed meaning(s) in ancient Greek philosophy, without even raising the question whether that meaning is or could ever be available to him at all.

As a springboard for his allegorical discussion on "ethnographic allegory," Clifford takes Marjorie Shostak's book, Nisa (1981), citing several excerpts, in which Nisa, a !Kung woman from Kalahari Desert, is giving birth to a baby girl, "a short distance from the village... beside a tree" (Clifford 1986: 98-99). This seemingly simple childbirth story, as narrated by Shostak, evokes in Clifford a series of meanings to be interpreted: the story has great immediacy; it requires us to imagine a different cultural norm and to recognize a common human experience; the story which occurred in Kalahari Desert cannot remain just that: it implies and posits a difference and transcendence; since it is a story by a woman (Shostak) about a woman (Nisa), it is also an allegory of (female) humanity (99). Clifford's analytical vocabulary is unmistakably familiar: Dilthey's aestheticism represented in the immediacy and experience of art, Erlebniskunst (Gadamer 1994: 70); revival of the primordial rhetorical-hermeneutical concept of allegory, which "originally belonged to the sphere of talk, of the logos" (Gadamer 1994: 72); abandonment of any symbolism, and symbolic anthropology, which freezes the narrative in the present ("ethnographic present"); 10 and alignment with Ricoeur's idea of temporality of narrative: allegory adds "a temporal aspect to the process of reading ... prompt[ing] us to say of any cultural description not 'this represents, or symbolizes, that' but rather, 'this is a

¹⁰Unlike allegory, symbol "is not limited to the sphere of the logos [and] is not related by its meaning to another meaning, but its own sensory existence has 'meaning'" (Gadamer 1994: 72).

(morally charged) *story* about that" (Clifford 1986: 100).¹¹ In other words, symbol is rational, positive, consonant, monophonic, while allegory is aesthetical, mythical, dissonant, polyphonic.

Predicament of Humanity in Post-Modernistic Interpretation of Culture

The major crack in Cliffordian post-modernism is its (as well as his own) disinterestedness in the humanity of the Other beyond the author's (narrativist's) invested interest in and for the dialogue, story-telling, and making a discourse. For the post-modern circle, the Other exists only as an actor in the temporal emplotment of narrative, i.e. discourse. The "real" Other and his/her real (non-poetic, non-aesthetic, non-discursive, just mundane) feelings, sufferings, dilemmas, and life, are not really of any discursive and epistemological interest. Getting too close to the humanity of the

¹¹This is why, in the second Webster's definition of allegory, Clifford quotes only the first half of the sentence, omitting the text after the semicolon, *viz.* "symbolical narration or description," and skipping altogether the other two meanings: "3. in painting and sculpture, a symbolic representation. 4. any emblem or symbolic suggestion" (WD 1983). He is thus totally ignoring any reference to *symbolic representation* of allegory. By doing this, he is clearly distancing himself from the Geertz's understanding of culture as system of symbols ("Nothing is more necessary to comprehending what anthropological interpretation is, and the degree to which it *is* interpretation, than an exact understanding of what it means - and what it does not mean - to say that our formulations of other people's symbol systems must be actor-oriented," Geertz 1973: 14), and any representation; the latter always goes hand in hand with "ethnographic authority" (see Clifford 1988: 21-54).

interlocutor might smack of the previous era's "going-native-ness": not too far, but not too close, either.¹²

A typical example of this post-modern attitude, which shows the vitality and uninterrupted continuity of authoritative representation in ethnographic writing, is clearly shown in the first two pages of Marcus and Fisher's Introduction to Anthropology as Cultural Critique, and especially so in the Clifford's The Predicament of Culture, in which the latter author devotes a whole chapter (1988: 255-276) to criticize, essayistically analyze, and discursively dissect Edward Said's book Orientalism (1978). While Marcus and Fischer accuse Said of choosing "to fight fire with fire," characterizing his work to be "effective only as polemic," Clifford's rhetoric is more on the line of strict separation between humanity and discourse. Criticizing Said for adopting a "hybrid perspective," in which he treats Orientalism both as a discourse and a tradition, without having them separated with "methodological rigor," Clifford says: "One cannot combine within the same analytic totality both personal statements and discursive statements, even though they may be lexically identical. Said's experiment seems to show that when analysis of authors and traditions is intermixed with the analysis of discursive formations, the effect is a mutual weakening" (1988: 269).

This idea of "methodological rigor," which commands the strict separation of personal and discursive statements, Clifford has taken from Michel Foucault. In his

¹²"We are not, or at least I am not, seeking either to become natives... or to mimic them. Only romantics or spies would seem to find point in that. We [anthropologists] are seeking... to *converse* with them [natives]" (Geertz 1973: 13; italics mine).

The Archaeology of Knowledge, Foucault writes that "the term discourse can be defined as the group of statements that belong to a single [and same] system of formation" (1972a: 107, 117). Questioning the old methodology and traditional analysis of history as a continuity of stable structures and a "place of tranquillized sleep," as well as the concept of (historical) document, Foucault says that "history, in its traditional form, undertook to 'memorize' the monuments of the past, transform them into documents, and lend speech to those traces which, themselves, are often not verbal, or which say in silence something other than what they actually say; in our time, history is that which transforms documents into monuments" (Foucault 1972a: 7).

By transforming monuments back into documents, and history to archaeology, Foucault creats an analytical method freed from the anthropological theme and "purged of all anthropologisms," and introduces the concept of a *field*, i.e. the 'field of history,' "in which the questions of the human being, consciousness, origin, and the subject emerge, intersect, mingle, and separate off" (16). But, as he emphasizes, this field is not about the structures and his method is not that of structural analysis (although the analytical idea of 'transformation' is very much structuralist and Lévi-Straussian). It is rather about uncovering the "principles and consequences of an autochtonous transformation that is taking place in the field of historical knowledge" (15).

Foucault's autochthonous field is actually a rigorous methodological scheme, a closed system of discourse, unfriendly and suspicious of anything "worldly" and anthropological, and therefore of all ideas advocated, for example, by Heidegger in his

analytic of *Dasein*, Being-There (in the world), and *Dasein*'s basic states of *Alltäglichkeit*, everydayness, and *Zeitlichkeit*, temporality (Heidegger 1962: 38).

The positivity of discourse, argues Foucault, has its own unity throughout time, and is "beyond individual oeuvres, books, and texts." Clifford criticizes Said exactly on this methodological point. Said states that he has "found it useful here [in Orientalism to employ Michel Foucault's notion of a discourse, as described by him in The Archaeology of Knowledge and in Discipline and Punish, to identify Orientalism." Said's contention is that "without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage - and even produce - the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period" (Said 1978: 3). Therefore, Said studies "Orientalism as a dynamic exchange between individual authors and the large political concerns shaped by three great empires - British, French, American - in whose intellectual and imaginative territory the writing was produced" (14-15). Unlike Foucault, for whom the particular authors and their textual *oeuvres*, this Linnaeus that Buffon, do not matter much, if at all, for the unity and positivity of discourse, Said however strongly believes "in the determining imprint of individual writers upon the otherwise anonymous collective body of texts constituting a discursive formation like Orientalism," because "they frequently refer to each other: Orientalism is after all a system for citing works and authors" (1978: 23).

By doing this, Said is entering the muddy waters of the ethics of scholarly conduct, and exposes himself to the danger of committing personal attacks, not only regarding dead authors of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and the first half of the twentieth centuries, but also living ones, such as Henry Kissinger and Bernard Lewis. On the other side, he is also breaking with a long Western academic tradition of silence and ethical irresponsibility, if not carelessness for the rest of the world, the Other. In this sense, Clifford's objection that "one cannot combine within the same analytic totality both personal statements and discursive statements," sounds rather unfounded and academically elitist. Clifford's statement is as weak as his imputation to Said's "experiment," viz. "when the analysis of authors and traditions is intermixed with the analysis of discursive formations, the effect is a mutual weakening" (Clifford 1988: 269).

It is here, and probably only here, that Clifford and Foucault, the latter a staunch critic of hermeneutics and anthropological humanism, come very close together. As much as Clifford is the keeper of the nineteenth century aestheticism of art, *Erlebniskunst*, Foucault is the inheritor of its positivist stream and rationality. In such an artistic, mythologized, and rational-transcendental world, in which the discourse and power loom large, and have their own structured lives and laws and rules of transformations, it is indeed very hard, if at all practically possible, to mention anything lying underneath these untouchable discursive structures, let alone human names and institutions which belong to the "micro-physics of power" (Foucault 1979: 26-30)

To sum up, I do agree with Clifford when he says that Said's Orientalism is polemical, numbingly repetitive (too much hammering with one and the same enunciative theme), that he might have fallen in the same trap for which he accused the West, even that his analysis is at times "corrosive." But I cannot agree with Clifford's pernicious imputation that Said suffers from the syndrome of "homelessness," displacement, and Palestinian "nègritude," to play with Aime Césaire's coinage (Clifford 1988: 255-256; 275-276). I suppose that Clifford was never in the skin in which Césaire and Said were or are, nor can he know how it feels to be in one. How could he: didn't Geertz say that "only romantics and spies find point of becoming natives" (1973: 13); didn't Gadamer, analyzing the dialectic of the I-Thou relation, write that that "relation is not immediate but reflective," and warned that a person, who "hears and obeys someone, auf jemanden hören..., we call slavish, hörig" (1994: 359, 361). In other words, when Clifford writes about allegory and the "simple" story of Nisa, he sees that the narrative has great immediacy; when he writes about Said, who happens not to be in Kalahari Desert, but a distinguished professor at an American University, Clifford is rational. Contrary to Foucault's belief that discourses are beyond oeuvres, we see in Said's and Clifford's examples that it is the people who talk, not discourses. Finally, I do not think that Edward Said's Orientalism carries the meaning of the author's frustrated desire for a "native land," as Clifford clearly imputes, and that Said's book is the "notebook of a return" to the "native land." To say that would imply complete denial of any authority to Said and therefore capability to write about the "West and the Rest." Said's is just another

voice in the polyphony of discourses, maybe somewhat angry and impatient, but a voice which requires our (human) reception. Clifford's trashing this voice into the "notebook of a return," only corroborates that Said had a good reason to write *Orientalism* and about it. After all, Said's was an attempt, like that of Foucault, to question teleologies and totalizations (Foucault 1972a: 16), one embodiment of which was (is) Orientalism. After reading *Orientalism*, I, for one, read H. Gibb and B. Lewis differently, and listen more passionately to the refrain of a song Josephine Baker recorded in Paris, in 1930:

J'ai deux amours, Mon pays et Paris. Par eux toujour Mon coeur est ravi. 13

Beyond Post-modern Anthropology: Towards Modus Operandi

Pierre Bourdieu opens and closes his *Outline of a Theory of Practice* with reference to anthropology (1991: 1-2, 197). Discussing the social, political, economic,

^{13&}quot;I have two loves, my country and Paris. They have taken my heart forever" (my translation; see Discography, Baker 1991b). Regarding the song, Phyllis Rose writes that "in its original setting, 'J'ai deux amours' was not a song of an American [black] girl who has made it in Paris and yearns for home. It was part of an elaborate sketch called 'Ounawa,' for which the leopard Chiquita had been purchased, set in the equatorial jungle. It is the song of an African girl in love with a French colonist. He invites her to return with him to Paris and she wants to go, but the people of her tribe won't allow this betrayal. She is torn: 'j'ai deux amours.' On the one hand racial and national identity, on the other romance, sex, and swinging Paris" (Rose 1989: 147). Occasionally, Josephine Baker would solve this poignant dilemma by simply changing the text of refrain's second line: "Mon pays c'est Paris" ("My country is Paris").

as well as ideological, implications of symbolic capital and modes of domination,
Bourdieu concludes the book with the following paragraph:

The denial of economy and of economic interest, which in pre-capitalist societies at first took place on a ground from which it had to be expelled in order for economy to be constituted as such, thus finds its favourite refuge in the domain of art and culture, the site of pure consumption - of money, of course, but also of time convertible into money. The world of art, a sacred island systematically and ostentatiously opposed to the profane, everyday world of production, a sanctuary for gratuitous, disinterested activity in a universe given over to money and self-interest, offers, like theology in a past epoch, an imaginary anthropology obtained by denial of all the negations really brought about by the economy (1991: 197; italics mine).

Like Foucault, Bourdieu is a resolute critic of hermeneutics, human sciences, and anthropology. Both of them analyze issues of power, ideology, the system of education as perpetuation of domination, capitalist institutions, etc., in similar ways. The major difference, I believe the important one, is that Bourdieu widens his horizon, adding to the relatively narrow perspective of Western culture, history, and society, other worlds, in his case that of Kabylia, in Algeria. Bourdieu does not see objects, or for that matter subjects, as a dead and motionless *fait accompli*, finished products, "practices grasped from outside," as discourse is. What he sees is *practices* as

¹⁴Foucault's criticism Clifford calls "radical" (1988: 260) and defines it as the "restless guerilla activity" (266). Regarding Bourdieu, it seems to me that his writings were not yet "must" reading in the post-modernist "campus library" of the mid 1980s.

¹⁵See for example the Foucault's discussion in the concluding chapters of the *Discipline and Punish*, especially "The Means of Correct Training," "Panopticon," and "The Carceral" (1979: 170-228, 293-308), and Bourdieu's in the chapter on "Structures, Habitus, Power" in the *Outline* (1991:159-197).

structured dispositions of those objects-subjects-structures in their actual feed-back, to-and-fro and "fro-and-to," that is, in their dialectical relations.

For Bourdieu, the social world, or, as he sometimes calles it, the "social universe," is consituted of various social worlds, and the task of sociology is "to uncover the most profoundly buried structures" of these various social worlds, "as well as the 'mechanisms' which tend to ensure their reproduction or their transformation" (Bourdieu 1989; cited in Wacquant 1992: 7). This universe is peculiar, writes Loïc J.D. Wacquant, in that its "most profoundly buried structures" lead a "double life," i.e. they exist twice: in the "objectivity of the first order" and the "objectivity of the second order," so that sociology must of necessity effect a double reading, "it must craft a set of double-focus analytic lenses" (Wacquant *ibid*.).

The reading of the first order objectivity, which Wacquant calls the *objectivist* or *structuralist*, and Bourdieu defines as the *objectivist* mode of knowledge, "of which structuralist hermeneutics is a particular case" (Bourdieu 1991: 3), treats society as a *social physics*, where the objective structures lead an autochthonous life of their own, beyond and above any subjective input of social individuals as actors in the arena of social world. This is the structuralist point of view, and the personality one can most immediately recall to the mind as an outstanding representative of this point-of-view is Claude Lévi-Strauss and his *magnum opus* tetralogy, *Les mythologiques* (1973, 1990a, 1990b, 1990c), in which the mythical structures and their transformations reign supreme, and the "man is not free to choose whether to be or not to be" (Lévi-Strauss

1990c: 694). Looked from the angle of humanism, this point-of-view is pessimistic and gloomy.

The second order reading, a very optimistic one in its will of choice and freedom to project the past into the future, is the *subjectivist* or *constructivist* point of view, "expressed in hyperbolic form by the Sartre of *Being and Nothingness* and best represented today by ethnomethodology" (Wacquant 1992: 9). This is the phenomenological point of view, which Wacquant calls the *social phenomenology*, and Bourdieu labels as the *phenomenological* mode of knowledge, which makes "explicit the truth of primary experience of the social world, i.e. all that is inscribed in the relationship of *familiarity* with the familiar environment, the unquestioning apprehension of the social world which, by definition, does not reflect on itself and excludes the question of the conditions of its own possibility" (Bourdieu 1991: 3). In this phenomenological world it is individuals, as cultural actors and social agents, who are in full command of their everyday (*alltäglich*) practices and lived experiences (*Erlebnisse*). To them, society *appears* to be the product of their actions; the interpretation of it is something of a kind of *apophantical discourse* (Heidegger 1962: 55-58).

The solution to this is in a "total science of society" which must, as Wacquant categorically states, "jettison *both* the mechanical structuralism which puts agents 'on vacation' *and* the teleological individualism which recognizes people only in the

truncated form of an 'oversocialized cultural dope" (Wacquant 1992: 10). This total science of society, continues Wacquant, in which the false antinomies of objectivism and subjectivism, mechanicalism and finalism, structural necessity and individual agency, all collude to obfuscate the anthropological truth of human practice, this science would transcend these dichotomous dualities and seemingly antagonistic paradigms. It is therefore nothing but a *social praxeology*, which "weaves together a 'structuralist' and a 'constructivist' approach" (Wacquant 1992: 11).

For Bourdieu, this "social praxeology" is the third mode of theoretical knowledge which, like the break objectivist knowledge made with phenomenological knowledge, makes a second break, this time with objectivist knowledge itself, a break "needed in order to grasp the limits of objectivist knowledge - an inevitable moment in scientific knowledge - and to bring to light the theory of theory and the theory of practice inscribed (in its practical state) in this mode of knowledge, [so] that we can integrate the gains from it into an adequate science of practices" (Bourdieu 1991: 3). Thus, the "theory of practice puts objectivist knowledge back on its feet by posing the question of the conditions which make such knowledge possible" (4).

Bourdieu understands the social world as a space, a *field*, of structured but also structuring relations, which put everyday practice(s) in constant motion and dialectic flux. Instead of being motionless objects, *faits accomplis*, and *opus operatum*, the social structures are imbued with life, they are in a perpetual process of

¹⁶Here Wacquant combines two "well-known expressions of Dennis Wrong (1961) and Harold Garfinkel (1967)."

transformation, simultaneously being structured structures and structuring structures.

Their essence is in a special mode of being, that of *modus operandi*.

These "structured and structuring" structures form the *habitus*, "systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures" (Bourdieu 1991: 72). This somewhat too broad and insufficiently clear concept of *habitus* Wacquant defines as consisting "of a set of historical relations 'deposited' within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporeal schemata of perception, appreciation, and action" (1992: 16). Thus defined, the *habitus*, as a system of dispositions (dispositions in a sense of a habitual state, especially that of the body), places the idea of structure inside the human body so that the actors are in a position to "dispose of" it, in a sense of using it practically, as predisposition, tendency, propensity, inclination (Bourdieu 1991: 214, n. 1). At this point, Bourdieu significantly differs from Foucault by placing structures inside the body, so that they become human or at least related to humans, although not humane, in a sense of humanism.

As relational modes of generating practices, as *modus operandi*, structures require *time* to be able to operate and put these relations to work. As an illustration of this structural requirement, Bourdieu takes Lévi-Strauss's criticism of Marcel Mauss's

¹⁷In Latin language, the word *habitus* is both singular and plural. Wacquant's definition makes it clear why this word is treated as plural in English translation of Bourdieu's *Outline*.

"phenomenological" approach to *gift exchange*, ¹⁸ saying that Lévi-Strauss "makes a complete break with native experience and the native theory of that experience, [by] positing that it is the exchange as a constructed object which 'constitutes the primary phenomenon, and not the individual operations into which social life breaks it down,' or, in other words, that the 'mechanical laws' of the cycle of reciprocity [in gift exchange] are the unconscious principle of the obligation to give, the obligation to give in return, and the obligation to receive" (Bourdieu 1991: 4-5). Bourdieu then concludes that,

"Phenomenological" analysis and objectivist analysis bring to light two antagonistic principles of gift exchange: the gift as experienced, or, at least, meant to be experienced, and the gift as seen from outside. To stop short at the "objective" truth of the gift, i.e. the model, is to set aside the question of the relationship between so-called objective truth, i.e. that of the observer, and the truth that can scarcely be called subjective, since it represents the official definition of the subjective experience of the exchange; it is to ignore the fact that the agents practise as irreversible a sequence of actions that the observer constitutes as reversible. The observer's totalizing apprehension substitutes an objective structure fundamentally defined by its reversibility for an equally objectively irreversible succession of gifts which are not mechanically linked to the gifts they respond to or insistently call for: any really objective analysis of the exchange of gifts... must allow for the fact that each of these inaugural acts may misfire, and that it receives its meaning, in any case, from the response it triggers off, even if the response is a failure to reply that retrospectively removes its intended meaning. To say that the meaning the gift has for the donor is recognized and consecrated only when the counter-gift has been made does not amount to restoring the structure of the cycle of reciprocity in different words. It means that even if reversibility is the objective truth of the discrete acts which ordinary experience knows in discrete form and calls gift exchanges, it is not the whole truth of a practice which could not exist if it were consciously perceived in accordance with the model. The temporal structure of gift exchange, which objectivism ignores, is what makes possible

¹⁸Bourdieu refers to the Lévi-Strauss's article, "Introduction à l'oeuvre de Marcel Mauss," in *Sociologie et anthropology* 26, 1950 (Bourdieu 1991: 198, nn. 5, 6).

the coexistence of two opposing truths, which defines the full truth of the gift (Bourdieu 1991: 5).

In this passage, Bourdieu shows that objectivist structuralism does not recognize the temporal dimension of objects and actions, i.e. structures, but treats them as motionless entities, as models with their own internal and logical rules and laws. This also means that true practice, in which structures exist in time and become transformed in time, is foreign to the objectivist approach.

Although Bourdieu advocates dialectic of strategies instead of the mechanics of the model, categorically stating that "to abolish interval [between two temporal acts, such as gift exchange] is to abolish strategy" (1991: 6), he does not clearly define what he means by strategy, except that it consists of "playing on the time, or rather the tempo, of the action," i.e. its manipulation (1991: 7). In my understanding, strategy is the way, modus, of the subject's spatio-temporal manipulation, as well as the calculation of possibilities, of his/her relations with exteriority, i.e. relations between his/her body and the world and vice versa. It is this relational modus in space and time which puts the subject in the very heart of, as Bourdieu says, "the dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality, or, more simply, of incorporation [embodiment] and objectification" (1991: 72).

And, finally, a short note apropos Bourdieu. Although his notion of *habitus*, as a "system of durable, transposable dispositions," refers to the *dialectical relationships* between the *body* and a *space*, which leads to the body's "em-bodying of the structures of the world, that is, the appropriating by the world of a body thus enabled

to appropriate the world" (Bourdieu 1991: 89), this is a one-way process in which the body is capable of embodying the structures of the world but cannot make the world embody the body's structures. It is always the structures of the world which put the body and the world in dialectical relation. This is why Bourdieu devotes two and a half pages in small font (1991: 73-76) to refute the validity of Jean-Paul Sartre's idea of *free will*, and the For-Itself's ethically charged *freedom to choose*, as expressed in his *Being and Nothingness*. Any discussion of an individual's ethics and an individual's moral aporias smacks of anthropologisms which are, for Bourdieu, the subject's misunderstandings of the true objectivity of the world. These misunderstandings belong either to the domain of phenomenological appearances which are ontologically unsupported and which, instead of being actual, slip into the world of virtuality, or they belong to objectivist structuralism, which hypostatizes and substitutes the reified models for real objects. In this sense, Bourdieu is in the line of his structuralist predecessors, Lévi-Strauss and the neo-Marxists, in whose writings the structure and social classes reign supreme and "Man" does not count much.

Islam dans le vrai

The foregoing theoretical discussion of hermeneutic and structuralist approaches in the human sciences was intended as a preparation for the introduction of Islam and eventually Turkey in my discourse. Western hermeneutic and artistic liberties in interpreting the non-Western Other and the ossified structuralists' love affair with models beyond human beings and real life practices have influenced the ways we see

the world and bring it to our consciousness and knowledge. Foucault's criticism of power and domination, and therefore the knowledge made by such power and maintained through the education as the perpetuation of power, as well as Bourdieu's theory of practice, represent at least an effort in the opposite direction. In the following pages I will briefly discuss several cases of standard, traditional representations of Islam in Western scholarship, as an uninterrupted practice which continued from the early nineteenth century until today.

In 1822, the mature Georg Friedrich Hegel, then at the age of 52, delivered a course of lectures in the "Philosophical History of the World," later posthumously published by his son under the title *The Philosophy of History* (Hegel 1991). Hegel argues that the subject of History may be methodologically treated in three broad ways: as *Original History*, *Reflective History*, and as *Philosophical History*. These three methods are hierarchically ordered in a way of trinary trajectory from lesser to greater. Common to all of them is that they deal exclusively with "historical people" who have reached the state of full nationhood, i.e. the full consciousness.

The perfect embodiment of Hegel's Spirit, *Geist*, is in the idea of *State*, i.e. the Sovereign Nation-State, a State with ideal Freedom, in which "we know that all men absolutely (man as man) are free" (19). The Hegelian State, as the realization of the ultimate idea of Reason, is not only based on Freedom, but also on Morality and Religion, because "Religion is the sphere in which a nation gives itself the definition of that which it regards as the True," i.e. God, and "the conception of God, therefore, constitutes the general basis of a people's character" (50).

In Hegel's Universal History, Islam, or as he calls it, *Mahometanism*, is placed in the final and hierarchically the highest part of *The Philosophy of History*, entitled "The German World," which starts as follows: "The German Spirit is the Spirit of the new World. Its aim is the realization of absolute Truth as the unlimited self-determination of Freedom... The destiny of the German peoples is, to be the bearers of the Christian principle" (341). The rationale for placing Islam inside the "German World" is that it, like Christianity, is monotheistic religion, but unlike Christianity, Islam is rather an aberration of such a religion.

After the introductory praising of Islam as the "Revolution of the East" (355-356), Hegel corrects himself, adding that "we have already become acquainted with the nature of the Oriental principle, and seen that its Highest Being is only negative" (*ibid.*). Throughout the remainder of the chapter, Hegel writes only negatively about Islam, mostly calling it "Mahometanism," and, even when he characterizes it positively, in a sense of the "glowing warmth" of Arab poetry or the sudden and short-lived scientific and scholarly achievements, Hegel ends up with references to the sensuousness and weakness of Arab character and its fanaticism. For example, Hegel tells a story about the second caliph 'Umar (r. 634-644) who had, reportedly, burned the famous Alexandrian library, under the pretext that "these books either contain what is in the Koran, or something else: in either case they are superfluous" (359).

I do not intend to analyze the Hegel's doxology on Islam; that has, with much trouble, even polemical tone, already been extensively done in Edward Said's

Orientalism (1978). My intention is to emphasize that the Hegel's was the Weltanschauung conditioned by the truth of his own time, and any effort to look, or attempt to find, in him something he wasn't would be, to say the least, a wild imagination. Therefore, my point is more limited: to show a certain state and attitude towards Islam of the scholarly and philosophical mind-set at the turn of the nineteenth century, which, to a greater or lesser extent, succeeded to survive unchallenged to this day.

Hegel's scholarly mind frame is, to borrow Foucault's expression, *dans le vrai*, "within the true" (Foucault 1972b: 224). In human sciences and philosophy the question of True and False is not something which can be measured, weighed and examined. It is always a morally charged idea which opposes good to bad, true to false conduct. The true is conditioned by the rules of discipline imposed according to a certain model of knowledge, something like a 'policy,' a scholarly control of knowledge. But, since all knowledge is conditioned by time and space, by social, cultural, political, historical circumstances, in which and according to which it exists as true knowledge, it is always "within the true," within a certain horizon and world-view (Gadamer called it "historically effected consciousness").

However, the model ignores time since it is itself timeless. It tends to make its rules universally valid and slips into the darkness of dogmaticism. As such, as an established order, it "tends to produce... the naturalization of its own arbitrariness" (Bourdieu 1991: 164). Its doxa becomes orthodoxy, the hymn of straight thinking, and everything outside of it is heterodoxy, that is the strayed and deviant thinking. If

unchallenged and perpetuated for a long time, the model acquires a power capable of doing harm. It is incapable of adjusting itself to the temporal flux of true and false, so it remains dans le vrai.

Between the Books and Practice

Here I enter the field of ethnomusicology and the issue of Islam and music. Ethnomusicology as a young discipline has its own history of theoretical eclecticism and the sometimes uncritical following of (usually) anthropological and/or sociological theories. The truths said elsewhere about Islam, for example, are the truths which usually remain unchallenged in ethnomusicology.

Western articles, books, CD jacket-notes, introductory courses on "World Musics," whenever their topic is music in Islam, usually begin with statements such as "Music is forbidden in Islam," "From the beginning Islam held a negative attitude towards music," "In spite of ever greater religious opposition and occasional repression, music managed to escape all-out prohibition," etc. The "father" of modern English-oriented ethnomusicological studies in Islam, Henry George Farmer, whose writings, until recently, were uncritically and voraciously quoted as a model of true scholarship and knowledge about music in Islam, was one of the first, if not the first, scholars who introduced the "samā polemics" in musicological studies, thus firmly treading the path safely established by the "scholarly expeditions" to Egypt, at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As the motto for Chapter Two, "Islām and

Music," of his A History of Arabian Music, Farmer chose a quote from volume two of d'Ohsson's Tableau général de l'Empire Othoman (1788-1824):

To listen to music is to transgress the law: To make music is to transgress religion: To take pleasure in music is to transgress the faith and renders you an infidel (d'Ohsson in Farmer 1929: 20).

Having thus established his attitude, Farmer opens his discussion by stating: "One of the most perplexing points in Islam is its attitude towards music, and for centuries its legists have argued the question whether listening to music (al-sama') is lawful or not" (1929: 22). In this statement it is unclear what Farmer means by Islam: religion, civilization, tradition, society, culture, discourse (both Muslim or Christian), or practice. All of these specific layers of Islam are lumped together under the single heading, and the more one reads Farmer's text, the more one realizes the author's philological inclination which sees Islam as the one Islam (as Hegel did a century earlier), i.e. Islam as interpreted by theologians in the learned Muslim books and in the European discourse on those books. Even in this philologically delimited world, the scope is rather focused and streamlined: it is the interpretation and representation of exclusively Arab orthodox Sunni Islam of the eighth and ninth centuries, the time crucial for the establishment of the theological doctrines of Islam, within which the jurisprudence was worked out. Geographical, cultural, and historical differences did not matter much, if only as aberration. This was the model Farmer inherited from previous generations of Orientalists and left it as legacy to the incoming generation of ethnomusicologists.

A few decades before Farmer, in July 1891, the Dutch scholar, C. Snouck Hurgronje, went to Aceh, the northernmost tip of Sumatra, "in pursuance of instructions from the Netherlands-India Government to make a special study of the religious element in the political conditions of that country" (Hurgronje 1906a: v).

During a residence in Arabia (1884-85) I had been in a position - especially at Mecca - to obtain an intimate knowledge of the influence of Mohammedan fanaticism upon the obstinate resistance of the Achehnese to Dutch rule; some time spent in direct relations with Achehnese in their own soil was required to round off the knowledge gained by me from literature and from my experience in the sacred city of the Arabs (*ibid.*).

Although Hurgronje did not specifically write about Islam and music, he did devote some space to the discussion of ritual worship as religious practice. The tone is of course slandering: the people of Aceh are dirty, vile, fanatical, treacherous, turbulent, warlike, etc. But one enunciative theme, which would later become known as "ethnomethodological," quite a novelty in the European treatment of Islam, remains constant in Hurgronje's text: Islam in Aceh (and virtually among all "East-Indians," including the "Jâhwahs") is locally applied, showing the striking incongruence between the doctrine and practice (1906b: 277).

If taken for its face value, Hurgronje's observation would be worthy of merit, since it touches the very heart of Islam as religion, culture and civilization. Contrary to Farmer, who never ventured beyond the "desert Arabs" and scholastic dogma of early 'Abbāsī period, Hurgronje, after visiting Mecca, the center of Islam, went to the "Dutch East-India," located on the periphery of the abode of Islam, in order to check how Islam practically works in a far off region. Of course, his observations and

conclusions are typical for a colonial "expert"; as a loyal and patriotic Dutchman, he makes it clear what his function and goal were in Aceh. However, in trying to prove that the Muslims of Aceh are not realiy "good" Muslims, as those in Mecca are, he misses some of the basic precepts of the practical side of Islam. He, for example, observes that Acehnese, as well as Javanese, are "careless" with regard to the ritual worship, *seumayang*.

In his "ethnomethodological" approach, Hurgronje correctly observed that the great traditions, and for that matter religions, can be and usually are locally applied in a specific and particular manner and that their bookish precepts, rules, dogmas and orthodoxies are not necessarily followed through in practice. But, having a certain concept of Islam, deeply coagulated in his mind, ¹⁹ Hurgronje set out to investigate and

¹⁹This kind of concept and scholarly truth were, to mention two examples of more than a half a century later, repeated in the textual output of Gibb, who as late as 1949 wrote a book titled *Mohammedanism* (Gibb 1949), and, in anthropology, in Geertz's The Religion of Java, ([1960]1976). In his opening discussion on the Javanese "Santri Variant," the latter author gives such a prominent place to Hurgronje's and Gibb's personal opinions on Islam, which these two nicely packaged under the disguise of scholarly conclusions. For Geertz, the "essential substance of Islam [is] perhaps as simple and easily marketable a religious package as has ever been prepared for export" (he is careful enough not to make any explicit comparison as Hegel, for example, did), so the reader may wonder whether "one-seventh of the world's population," which follows Islam, is just a bunch of simpletons and fanatics (Geertz 1976: 121-126). Geertz readily joined the "Orientalist" phalanx and, even after fieldwork in Morocco, never changed his "schizophrenic" attitude towards Islam (see, for example, Geertz 1971). In the modernist era of the late 1980s, Bernard Lewis wrote yet another anti-Islamic pamphlet in which he used another term, fundamentalism, to define all Muslims. Contrasting the Christian liberal and modernist theologians, "who tend to a more critical, historical view of Scripture," with Muslim theologians, among whom "there is as yet no such liberal or modernist approach to the Qur'an," Lewis wrote that "all Muslims, in their attitude to the text of the Qur'an, are in principle at least fundamentalist" (1991: 118, n. 3).

therefore prove that Islam as doctrine is not strictly or sufficiently followed by the Muslims in Sumatra. Any practical "deviance" from that doctrine was a proof to him that Islam did not work there. Although he mentions the actions and duties regulated by the law of Islam, organized in a fixed code of actions which have to be observed by every pious Muslim under certain conditions (see "Mükellefiyet Code" below, Chapter Three, p. 90), Hurgronje either ignores or is ignorant of the practical side of this seemingly viciously knotted code, in which every action is interpreted in the context of and/or in relation to another action, rarely being performed in vacuum. Thus, not only that such and such a ritual worship (be it daily, weekly, or some other worship in the yearly or seasonal cycle) might be classified according to one of these actions, but the actions themselves performed inside worship, as well as the constitutive structural parts and elements of ritual worship, may be classified according to this code. In short, an obligatory action, for example, may be fulfilled only by the performance of other constitutive actions, which either precede or follow it, actions which might not be obligatory themselves. Performance of ritual worship, to take another example, does not have to be necessarily conducted by every believer in the mosque, and the rules which prescribe proper conduct, as well as all exceptions to it and sometimes the plethora of substitutes to the otherwise prescribed actions, i.e. the how and why of actions and the use of strategies, all of that requires a practical knowledge of Islam. Otherwise, as it appeared to Hurgronje, Geertz, and B. Lewis, Islam might seem as a very "meandering" religion and culture, a very destitute and impoverished place, a faith which knows itself only through the word, only through

"metaphors and allusions," and whose "mistrust of music inhibited the development of liturgy" (B. Lewis 1991: 10). These authors reject the very possibility of practical knowledge in which the sole purpose and function of rules are in their practical actualization. When in the Fall of 1986, in his lectures on the political language of Islam, delivered at the University of Chicago, B. Lewis observed that "Islam has no hymns, no fugues, no icons" (1991: vii, 10), he was perhaps right about the latter two forms of [Western] art. What he could not have possibly learned in his lifelong philological study of Islam is that Islam has its *ilâhi*-s, its *qawwali*-s, its *zikir* and *sema* performed by dervishes, its embroidered liturgy called *Teravih Namazı*. But for B. Lewis, all of that was a work of "certain deviant groups," which he placed "apart from" his vision of Islam (*ibid.*).

CHAPTER TWO: Fieldwork in Turkey

In this section of Opening I move your attention from discourse about deskwork to discourse about fieldwork and from essayistic writing to ethnography. I start with two stories, one from the *Cerrahi Tekkesi*, the other from the Beyazıt mosque. Both of them point to the discrepancy between the theory as hypostatized knowledge and the practice as actual knowledge gained through practical understanding.

Unutmamak and Alibey's "Recording and Recording..."

During my research in Istanbul, I was commuting, sometimes on daily basis, between the Beyazıt Mosque, in the old city, and the *Cerrahi Tekkesi*, in Karagümrük area. I would usually frequent the *tekke* on Mondays, Thursdays and Saturdays. Mondays were the nights for the *meşk*, a gathering both of formal and semi-formal character in which the music repertoire was taught and practiced/performed. A group of some half a dozen musicians would regularly come, some of them *Cerrahi* dervishes, others sympathizers, with their instruments: *ney*, *ud*, *tanbur*, *kanun*, *kemençe*, violin. Everybody would gather in the *sohbet odasi*, the "conversation room" in the *tekke*; dervishes would sit on the floor, in a position identical to the *tahiyat* position assumed during the performance of ritual worship (never cross-legged,

¹Sohbet (محبة بيبة بيبة suḥbah), friendly intercourse, conversation, chat; oda, room. Although sohbet means any friendly and intimate conversation, it features as especially significant in the Sufi context, where it is always conducted and directed by the şeyh, the leader of the Sufi order.

which is deemed inappropriate if not rude position), forming a semi-circle in front of the seyh, while instrument players would sit on the chairs in the space between the seyh, facing him, and the dervishes. A group of singers would sit or kneel to the right of the instrumentalists, with a low, narrow, and long bench in front, on which they would place the music scores. It is virtually impossible to distinguish between the actual musical performance and the practicing of repertoire during the mesk, since it is both a performance and a practice through performance. It cannot be a completely unrehearsed practice of music, since musicians are either skilled enough to instantaneously "jump in" and follow, or, in the case of the singers, who are not necessarily familiar with texts and tunes, one of the musicians would take them to a separate room to practice the repertoire with them. Thus, this informal gathering has a formal touch to it; after all, it is conducted before the seyh, the ultimate arbiter in all questions concerning the order and therefore the music, who, himself a composer. may, and often does, choose the repertoire and the lineup of pieces performed. In this sense, the *meşk* has to be at least to some extent formalized. The pieces performed are predominantly ilâhi-s, Muslim hymns, although every so often the meşk includes the performance of Mevlevi Ayin-i, the ritual of Mevlevî order with sema, dance, accompanied by a music ensemble. The ayin, also called Ayin-i Serif, has a twofold meaning: it is both a ritual and a composed musical form performed in that ritual. Thus, theoretically but rarely in practice, an ayin can be performed without sema. In the Cerrahi Tekkesi, the performance of ayin in the mesk is usually with sema, performed by a group of younger dervishes, all Cerrahi, in the meydan, an adjacent

room in the *tekke* in which the ceremonious parts of dervish gatherings, such as ritual worship, the reading of the Kur'an and the *mevlid*, as well as *zikir*, are performed.

The culmination of the *meşk* is the performance of *zikir*, usually of the type of *kûd tevhidi*, i.e. in sitting position, although, on rarer occasions, it may turn into a standing *zikir*, as well. The performance of *zikir*, during which dervishes utter the drone-like short formulae in praise of Allah, directed by the *şeyh* who gives the proper tempo, rhythm, and choice of textual formulae, is musically accompanied by exchanges of *taksim*-s, solo instrumental improvisations, and *kaside*-s, solo vocal improvisations on a given text. After the *meşk* is over, the *şeyh* spends some time in *sohbet*.

On one such night, March 4, 1991, after the *meşk* was over, I asked the *şeyh* several questions regarding *zikir*. Of course, according to a few jottings I nervously and in hurriedly scribbled in my notebook, one of the first things I asked was about the "trance," a word at which the *şeyh* laughed, telling me that it "çok güzel değil," i.e. "isn't very nice," and that there is a Turkish expression for it, the *vecid hali*, lit. the state of ecstasy, rapture. The *şeyh*'s second observation was about *zikir* itself, and it is this that I want to emphasize here. He said that books interpret *zikir* as *hatırlamak*, "to remember," while the Sufis themselves understand it as *unutmamak*, "not to forget." There is a slight semantic difference in these two meanings/interpretations of *zikir*, yet they stand worlds apart. "To remember" is what all encyclopedias of Islam say (see for example SEI 1961: 75), and surely, "to remember" also implies memorization in order to keep something from being

forgotten. But, placing the emphasis on the "not to forget" implies the active vigilance on the part of a believer, a constant practicing of *zikir*. Remembering may be a single stroke of the mind, a synchronic, one-time committing to memory of certain information; not-forgetting, however, is a diachronic process of continual remembrance.

The second story, another example which made me conscious of other ways and possibilities of looking at things, the other kind of understanding of the world, is from the Beyazıt Mosque. During my stay in Istanbul, I boarded in the hostel of the American Research Institute in Turkey, ARIT, actually a space rented in an apartment building in Beşiktaş, located on the hill dominated by the Yıldız Palace, overlooking the Besiktas port below on the European side of the Bosphorus, Üsküdar across the water, Taksim and Galata on the hills to the right, and the old city with its attractive play of the slim minarets and cupolas of Aya Sofya (Hagia Sophia), Sultan Ahmet, Nuru Osmaniye, the Beyazıt and Süleymaniye Mosques, standing in the middle background. On clear days, one could see the Marmara Sea, stretching from the mouth of Bosphorus all the way to Yalova, a resort on Anatolian side. Since the Beyazit Mosque, whose minarets and dome I could see from the window of the hostel, was quite a distance from Besiktas, I would commute to it by city bus, a journey of more than half an hour, or even longer, including waiting at the bus stop and the ride itself; for quicker transportation, I sometimes chose the taxi, which was reasonably cheap and affordable in Istanbul. Each trip was an effort in itself for I was equipped with several pounds of "gear": a big bag including the Marantz tape-recorder, audio

cassettes, microphones, cables, headphones, still camera, film roles, electric adapter, and other technical paraphernalia: a smaller bag with a camcorder, 8 mm video tapes, rechargeable batteries, another adaptor; finally a bag with notebooks, pens, and other everyday handy stuff. Fully equipped, I would usually stay for the rest of day in the Beyazıt mosque, and after the evening worship, I would leave with the muezzin and my Kur'an teacher, İsmail Hakkıçimen, for the *Cerrahi Tekkesi*. There, I would stay until well after midnight and be back to Beşiktaş anytime between 2 and 3 a.m.

Sometimes I grew envious of my fellow hostel-mates, all historians from American universities, who had such an ordinary schedule: they would get up early in the morning, when I was deeply asleep, and leave by 8 a.m., to start their day of working in Ottoman Archives, staying there until 4 p.m, and returning to hostel anytime after 5 p.m. Since by that time I had already left for the Beyazıt Mosque, I usually missed them; and sometimes days would pass before I could see them in person in the hostel (even on weekends they would disappear, touring the historical sites they couldn't see during the week spent in archives or visiting friends in Istanbul).

One day, seeing me coming to the mosque day after day, fully equipped with my "gear," İsmail made a condescending comment: "Look at Alibey, he is just recording and recording...." I was shocked, angry and unprepared for such an open and deliberate attack. After all, it was I who was making that darn trip from Beşiktaş to Beyazıt on daily basis, carrying all that stupid and rather clumsy "gear," trying to record something of importance. And there he was, disinterested in all that, making fun of me, even questioning the very reason for my stay in Istanbul. Now I do not

remember anymore whether I tried to explain myself, whether I gave him a punch back (both of us loved verbal punches and teasing each other). But I do remember that, after İsmail's uninvited remark, I reviewed my fieldwork strategy and ethnomusicological beliefs and started, for the first time, to ask myself why was I doing all of that.

By the time of this verbal jab, I had been for a month or so taking classes from Ismail in the reading of the Kur'an. The classes were held in his little room in the Beyazıt mosque, actually a space enclosed by a tall and narrow window in the mosque's wall on one side, and a wooden wall with a door on the other. Each time I had a class, I would feel like sitting in a huge window. In this room, barely two meters wide and some three meters long, Ismail's bed was leaning next to one wall, while I was sitting leaning on the opposite wall, with a gas heater placed between me and the door. The room looked like a dervish cell, very ascetic, cold, and dark (Ismail would turn the heater on only on very cold days). On entering the cell, Ismail, who was blind from childhood, would, almost as a rule, tell me to switch on the light, so that the class could begin.

Although I knew Arabic letters, had the basic idea of how to pronounce them, and had taken a few classes of reading the Kur'an several summers before in a mosque in Baltimore, İsmail wouldn't even let me take the Kur'an in my hands before I learned some basics about *namaz*. I couldn't clearly understand why, but I decided to obey to his way of teaching anyway. On January 19, 1991, probably the first class he gave, I put in my notebook notes about the *Sabah Namazı*, morning ritual worship,

and the number of *rek'at*-s, bodily actions in that *namaz*, as well as an explanation of how to perform them. The next day, he continued to tell me which liturgical formulae are uttered at which time in that specific *namaz* and which actions are considered obligatory, which among them are regarded as traditional, and which are deemed forbidden, etc. The classes continued with an explanation of the conditions of *namaz* which have to be fulfilled either before or during it and how to take the ritual ablution. It wasn't until late February or early March that I actually proceeded to the Kur'an classes and the reading proper.

Ismail's teaching method situates the reading of the Kur'an in the context of religious practice. One cannot learn how to read the Kur'an without prior understanding of the context in which it is performed on a daily basis. That context is, first of all, the *namaz*. Although the Kur'an can be read for different purposes outside of a ritual context, the first and most important one is its use in ritual worship, in which, together with specific bodily movements and other liturgical formulae, it represents its backbone. The reading of the Kur'an, as Kristina Nelson argued (1985), is an art, but that art is always situated in a certain religious context (even when shown on television, it is always connected with some religious function), and rarely becomes *l'art pour l'art*, such as at the national and international competitions and festivals (al-Faruqi 1987).

In the Field

As stated in *Preface*, I conducted fieldwork in Turkey in the summers of 1988, 1989, 1990, and during the period of a more extensive stay, January through June 1991. During the first summer trip, my intention and fieldwork strategy were to search for regional styles of Kur'anic reading in Anatolia by surveying an extensive geographical area. I was based in Ankara, where I stayed as a guest of Ahmet and Carol. From there I made the short trips to other places, such as Kalecık, a village/township north of Ankara, then to Izmir, Yumurtalık, a small town on the Mediterranean coast south of Adana, and finally Istanbul.

The next summer I returned to Ankara, this time with an extensive questionnaire which I composed relying on the insights I gained after systematizing and classifying the recorded data from the previous trip. I had it translated into Turkish, hoping that it would make me more presentable and convincing to the Turkish readers of Kur'an whom I questioned and recorded and would give me more structured and unified information about some underlying verbal concepts and issues concerning the topic. The summer of 1989 I spent mostly in Diyarbakır, an ancient city on the Tigris River, in Southeastern Anatolia, surrounded by huge city walls.

A summer before, I was recording all kinds of people from all walks of life who knew the Kur'an and were willing to read it to me. I would meet them in their homes, shops, offices, or in mosques, after the worship. In Diyarbakır that approach, or field strategy, started to crumble. A day after I arrived in Diyarbakır, Sait Bey, who picked me up from the bus terminal and assumed a responsible role of a liaison

officer regarding my contacts and fieldwork in Diyarbakır, took me to the Süleyman Mosque, an old mosque built in 1139. There I was introduced to the mosque's imam, Vedat, a young man in his mid twenties, with whom I establish a friendly and easy going rapport. For the next several weeks I would come on a daily basis to the mosque, in the morning, afternoon, and evening, sometimes staying there throughout the day. The mosque is built into the city walls, giving the impression of being an inseparable part of them, constructed of the same stones and in the same color and composition. Its cool interior offered relief and protection from the scorching heat of the Diyarbakır summer with temperatures soaring above 40°C. I was overwhelmed with the notion that I was here, in this old city, doing fieldwork in this old mosque, spending my free time sitting in one of its cells, resembling those in some mediaeval castle, with a small square window with bars, facing the Tigris running right below, under the walls and the rocky slope.

I was resolved on hanging around in there, recording formal interviews and the reading of Kur'an, but also chatting with Vedat, Mahmut, and other people, mainly Kurds, learning from them some Kurdish words, and drinking tea and smoking, climbing to the top of the minaret to take in a gorgeous view and to take a few snapshots of this ancient city, its walls, and the Tigris valley.

I was having a good time by simply being there. Now, for the first time in my life, I was observing Muslim ritual worship, as it unfolded right in front of me, several times a day. Back then, I had not yet read Malinowski's *Argonauts*; but, sitting at the back of the mosque, away from the worshiping congregation, trying to evoke their

"real spirit" and hoping that I had finally unlocked the secret and the "magic of the effective fieldwork," I knew that I was finally in as close contact with the subjects of my research as I could possibly manage (Malinowski 1961: 6). I kept watching the people in their worship, their bodies bowing and prostrating and again rising up; I listened to the voices of imam and muezzin, who were uttering some secret formulas in Arabic and making the whole congregation respond to them uniformly. Since I already had some knowledge in the reading of the Kur'an I was able to recognize at least the Fatihah, the opening sura in the Kur'an, often repeated during the namaz.

Soon I realized that both the fragments from the Kur'an and other Arabic formulas are ordered in a certain way during the *namaz* and that all of them were uttered as melodies, like a little tunes or motifs, in free rhythm and usually in a high pitch register. I discovered the context.

For the rest of that summer and the following (1990), I did my fieldwork exclusively in mosques. Reading of the Kur'an became an inseparable part of religious ritual. As the time went on it became clear that outside the cassettes with recorded readings of the Kur'an, found all over Turkey, occasional pre-recorded broadcasts on TV and radio, at national and international festivals, such as the one described by al-Faruqi (1987), or in religious schools and other educational contexts, the live performance of the Kur'an was always practiced in some ritual context: in the congregational performance of namaz, usually in the mosque; in the dervish ritual of zikir, performed either in private homes or in tekke-s and dergâh-s; during the performance of mevlid, a poem depicting the birth of the Prophet Muhammed and read

on various religious occasions, such as the celebration of children's circumcisions, on important religious holidays, on the eve of the anniversary of the death of some holy men, etc., either in the mosque, in private homes, in *tekke*-s, or at the *türbe*-s, the tombs of saints.

With this "discovery" of context, my original plan to study the regional styles of Kur'anic reading faded away, and I started to focus my attention on the namaz. The next summer of 1990 I went further east, to Van and Hakkârı, the provinces bordering with Iran and Iraq, and then back to Diyarbakır again. This was my third trip to Turkey and by now I was mastering Turkish to a certain communicable extent, being able to ask questions and understand the response or at least get the basic idea about the conversation. Now I wanted to record the whole event of namaz, from its beginning to end, in order to find out how the segments from the Kur'an and other liturgical texts fit in its overall structure. That summer of 1990, like the previous one, I brought a video camera along. I found recordings on audio cassettes incomplete: the context was missing, the atmosphere was lost, and, since I wanted to record the whole event of namaz, I needed the video recording which would allow me to smoothly follow the body movements, which I realized were so important in the performance. In order to do that I had to move from the neutral background of the mosque closer to the foreground of performers: imam, muezzin, and congregation, and instead of sitting behind them to position myself at another vantage point where I would be able to be "inside" the event, i.e. on the "inside" of the ritual. This change of space was actually a gradual change of my research perspective and strategy which would, later on,

amount to the whole-scale change in my theoretical view, as well. Now, I became a half-participant; I made a half step away from being a shy observer. I abandoned "my half" of the mosque and the vantage point which, after all, wasn't that advantageous since I was constantly looking at people's backs. Unlike Geertz and his wife during their stay in Modjokuto, I lost, "so to speak," my "one-half of the house [which I had] more or less to [myself]" (Geertz 1976: 383).

Swinging in the Field: To and Fro of "Participant Observation"

Returning from my second fieldwork trip, in September 1989, I started to think seriously about applying for a grant for more extended research in Turkey. Many of the deadlines were coming up in barely two months, that is, around mid-November, so I was under the pressure to do something very soon. One of my professors at UMBC, Philip Schuyler, suggested that I write my grant proposals in such a way that the *participant observation* concept would be clearly emphasized. At that time I had already read "Part Two: The 'Santri' Variant" of *The Religion of Java* (Geertz [1960]1976: 119-214), but could not remember any reference to the buzz word "participant observation." Anyhow, I understood Schuyler's message clearly.

In November of that year I went to Boston to attend the meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology. Now I do not remember anymore whether I had mailed my grant applications before the trip or immediately after it, but I do vividly remember that I took *The Religion of Java* to Boston. During that weekend I got a crash space in Boston's suburbia, so I had to take the subway in order to get to Harvard Square or

either Friday or Saturday, I got off at Harvard. It was a beautiful sunny morning so I decided to take it easy and just enjoy. Before I took a short walk around the area, I went to a German restaurant located right on the square, facing the exit from the Metro station. A couple of winters before, during my visit to Middletown, Connecticut, I went there with my friend Ljerka. I loved the place, its location and atmosphere, as well as the good dark beer they served there. So, that sunny morning, I decided to see it again, with Geertz in my bag. As I was sitting at the bar, drinking coffee and orange juice and smoking Pall Malls, I took the book from my bag and went straight ahead to its "Appendix: A Note on Methods of Work" (Geertz 1976: 383-386). It was only a few pages long, so, I thought, by the time I finish my coffee and orange juice, I shall finish the reading as well. And, on the second page of the appendix, there it was, like a long-awaited revelation: "The bulk of the period of research was actually not spent in the formal interviewing of specialized informants however, but in more informal 'participant observation' activities" (1976: 384).

After all, I did not get the grant; however, I remembered the sentence. Now, half a decade later, I wonder whether it was Geertz or some other reason (the video camera maybe) that made me make, during my 1990 summer fieldwork, a definitive switch from the back- to the foreground of the mosque.

From the very beginning, I did not take Istanbul seriously. My heart, so I thought, was in Anatolia only. Yes, I knew bits and pieces about the glorious history of Constantinople and Istanbul; I admired its mosques and slim minarets, especially the

Süleymaniye mosque which dominates, in its beauty and splendor, the plateau above the Haliç (Golden Horn); I loved the shimmering of the moon in the waters of the Bosphorus in the clear August nights. But, it was in Anatolia that I met the "real" people of the "land," whose manners, even speech, were so different from those in Istanbul: more syncopated and with clearly audible and very guttural pronunciation of $yumuşak\ g$ ("unvoiced" Turkish letter \check{g}).

However, the more I stayed in Istanbul and the more contacts I made with local imams, muezzins, hafizes, dervishes, and musicians (very often a person I would meet would, at the same time, be a muezzin, a hafiz, a dervish, a musician), the more classical Turkish music concepts would pop up in conversation. I learned that the choice of *makam*, the crucial concept in Turkish classical music, plays an important role, both in the reading of the Kur'an and in the performance of *namaz*, that some hafizes read Kur'an in a manner of *taksim*, that the observance of the appropriate and correct *karar*, a cadential formula or a final tone in melody, is a must in the musical exchange between the imam and muezzin during the performance of *namaz*, etc.

Another constant theme began to emerge slowly: a majority of my interlocutors in Istanbul were mentioning the *Teravih Namazı*, a special ritual worship performed yearly only on the nights of *Ramazan*. They said that in certain places in Istanbul, such as the Beyazıt and Nuru Osmaniye Mosques and the *Cerrahi Tekkesi*, *Teravih Namazı* is performed as it used to be in Ottoman times, with five *makam*-s successively arranged in certain sections of *namaz*. During my summer trips I did not have a chance to go to one of these places and see the *Teravih Namazı*, since in those

years, by the time of my arrival in Turkey in early July, the month of *Ramazan* would be well over. The first time I was able to observe it was during my last period of fieldwork (January 2 through July 1, 1991). That year, 1411 after Hijra, *Ramazan* was from March 17 to April 15, 1991, ending on April 16 with the *Ramazan Bayramı*, a religious holiday which celebrates the end of the month of fasting. *Teravih Namazı* thus eventually became the topic of this dissertation.

During my fieldwork in Turkey, whose purpose was to do specific research and study on specific topic, I was constantly being studied as well. In all instances my interlocutors turned the game and changed the roles: from being appropriated to being appropriating. The gaze went back and forth, like feedback, with different results and different reasons. In the more remote Turkish provinces, such as Kars, Van, and Hakkârı, bordering on the politically troublesome states of Armenia and Iran, Iraq and Syria, in which Kurdish guerillas and the PKK (Partiya Kargeri Kurdistan, the Workers' Party of Kurdistan), were active, making cross-border intrusions into Turkey, I was under the constant scrutiny and gaze (sometimes semi-hidden, but at times very open and uncomfortable) of police and local authorities. When, in the summer 1990, I last visited Diyarbakır in Scutheast Anatolia, the political situation was still under control, but after the Gulf War broke out in January, 1991, and the Kurdish question, owing to the events in Northern Iraq and the establishment of a "no-fly" zone, reappeared in full force, the city and the whole southeastern area became virtually impossible for any research. In the summer of 1990 I was denied permission to do research in Hakkârı since my research visa did not specify that province, so I had to

return to Van. The city of Van was full of police, plainclothes men, and military; my research there was more or less orderly, although I had to complain to the local governor and police chief of being obstructed in my research. The incident ended happily, and the police chief eventually invited me to dinner. The next year, in Kars, where I arrived in early June 1991 to study the *namaz* performed by the Azeris, a *Şii* group that follows the sixth *Şii* Imam Ja^cfar (Tr. Cafer), the situation in Turkey was still very sensitive, so much so that I was assigned a full-time companion, a clerk from the local *müftülük*, to "help" me around with my research. After I tried to evade him on several occasions and then complained to the authorities, I was told that my presence in Kars was not quite welcome, so I left for Konya the next day.

The gaze of imams, muezzins, and other religious people, among whom I worked, was more subtle. I was constantly watched, with the same curiosity I paid to them, and was often corrected when my demeanor went astray of the required code of conduct. I learned how to behave in the mosques and *tekke-s* and tried to make my presence seemingly unobtrusive, if such a thing were ever possible. Anyhow, after days, weeks and months of constantly being there, the people, especially my closest friends, started to take me as part of the reality we all shared by being at the same place at the same time. It happily turned out to be that the most lasting experience I got in Istanbul was that when I was observed and studied, and when I was slowly being taught how to do the things they do. This became a process of memorizing the things about *namaz* through practice, rather than recording. İsmail's obtuse remark about my "recording and recording," as well as the way he introduced me into the

reading of the Kur'an, became meaningful. He pointed me to the world of practice, of possible and impossible moves and strategies, as they were actualized in the *namaz* on a daily basis.

The following short story is again from the *Cerrahi Tekkesi*. During the performances of *namaz* or *zikir*, I would make a few jots in my notebook and then prepare a set of questions about the points that remained unclear to me. These questions I addressed to the *şeyh* during the *sohbet*. One night, after my question number eight, regarding the text of the formula he uttered at specific point in the ritual, the *şeyh* did not answer but rather looked at me and, for a moment exchanging our roles, asked me a question instead: "Why do you want to know this? Do you want to become a *şeyh*?"

This story adds to the point that the participant observation technique is not a one-way process, but is rather in dialectical relation. In this example, I learned something beyond the *şeyh*'s formula I was interested in, and something beyond my original intention. By refusing to give me an answer, the *şeyh* pointed to other ways of getting knowledge by using other means, avenues, and strategies.

PART ONE

ISLAM IN TURKEY: HISTORY, SOCIETY, MUSIC, AND POLITICS

As anthropologists George Marcus and Michael Fischer observed, the 1980s witnessed a radically changing world order which challenged the way the post-modern world was represented as an object of social thought and "undermined the confidence in the adequacy of our means to describe social reality" (1986: vii). A similar mood and questioning surfaced in the same decade in the new generation of scholars of Islam, mostly historians, who came of age during the late modern era represented by such figures as H.A.R. Gibb, B. Lewis, and "a number of leading Orientalists" who prepared the New Edition of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1960-). This new generation of Islamicists distanced itself from the previous one by asking a question of how to present Islam without distorting it. In their particular case as teachers at the State University of New York, Stony Brook, Sachiko Murata and William C. Chittick employed a strategy of having their students "read various sympathetic accounts by contemporary scholars," whose number, as they emphasized, was fortunately increasing. "Another way is to approach Islam not as an alien, third-world, outdated enterprise, but as one of the several, currently living world views that give the meaning to the lives of billions of people. From the beginning, the basic goal of our lectures has been to provide Islamic self-understanding" (Murata and Chittick 1994: x). In this part of my dissertation I will attempt to present in a similar manner some basic historical developments in Islam in general and in Turkey in particular.

¹For the list of books Murata and Chittick recommended to their students see 1994: 353, n. 1.

CHAPTER THREE: Early History of Islam as Religion and its Principles

Although scholars differ in interpreting and representing Islam, some common historical facts are well documented and undisputable. The roots of Islam as religion go back to the time around the year 610 C.E.,² when it was first revealed by الله Allāh, God, to the Prophet Muḥammad through the intermediary of angel Jabra'īl, Gabriel. God's revelation, هماني wahy, was sent in the form of the قرآن Qur'ān,³ which Prophet Muḥammad memorized by heart and recited it to his closest followers, known as the saḥābah, Companions. The latter memorized it by heart, too' and it was not until after the Prophet's death that the Qur'ān was written down on paper.⁴

At the time of the revelation the Prophet Muḥammad was around the age of forty. He was born in Mecca (Makkah) around 570 in one of its eminent Qurayš

²I am using the abbreviation C.E., meaning the "common era," instead of A.D., "anno Domini." For Islamic dating I use the abbreviation A.H., meaning "after Hijra." In places where the date is not followed by either abbreviation it refers to C.E.; in cases of dates like 50/670, the number before the slash refers to A.H., and the number following the slash to C.E.

³The Qur'an is also known as الكتاب al-kitāb, the Book. The second verse of the second chapter of the Qur'an, Sūratu'l-Baqarah, begins: خلك الكتاب الأريب فية dālika'l-kitābu lā rayba fīh, "This is the Scripture [kitāb, Book] whereof there is no doubt" (K2:2). Before Muḥammad's prophecy, God had revealed the Book(s) to Jews and Christians as well, in the form of Tawrāt, Torah, Zabūr, Psalter, and Injūl, Gospel. Thus, together with Muslims, the Jews and Christians are also called the اهل الكتاب ahlu'l-kitāb, the "People of the Book."

⁴For the history of recording the Qur'an on paper and its early versions see EI Vol. 5 (1986: 400-409), Burton (1977: 117-224), Jeffery (1937).

families, that of Hāšim.⁵ Although he succeeded in making a circle of his followers, the rich Meccan families did not welcome his prophecy so that he had to leave the city and move with his followers northwards, to Medina (Madīnah). Muḥammad's change of city is known as the Ahijrah, Hijra, which occurred in 622, the date which Muslims count as the starting year of their calendar and history.

The next seven years Muḥammad spent in Medina and returned to Mecca in January of 630, without any serious challenge or resistance by the city.⁶ Now, Mecca became the second city which accepted Islam as a new religion, and very soon the other Arab tribes in Arabian Peninsula followed the suit. Having established this legacy, Muḥammad died in Mecca, on June 8, 632 C.E. / 13th of *rabīcu'l-awwal*, 9 A.H.⁷

By the time of his death, Muḥammad left behind not only the new religion but also a community of Muslims, who followed the precepts of that religion. During his years in Medina and Mecca, Muḥammad was both the spiritual and temporal leader of that community. Since he did not leave any male children who could inherit and carry on his leadership, nor did he specify who might succeed him in

⁵Hašim, the progenitor of Hašim family, was the great grandfather of the Prophet Muhammad. See the genealogical table in Watt (1974: 14).

⁶On Muḥammad's years in Medina and the events accompanying the three famous battles of Badr, Uḥud, and "the Ditch," the reader may critically consult Gibb (1949: 24-29)), B. Lewis (1960: 38-47), Watt (1974: 3-7), SEI (1961: 400).

⁷The Arabic names for the months of Muslim lunar year are: 1. محرم muḥarram, محرم rabī 'u'ṭ-ṭanī, 5. مغر rabī 'u'ṭ-ṭanī, 5. مغر ṣafar, 3. ربيع الافل rabī 'u'ṭ-ṭanī, 5. ربيع الثاني jumāda'l-ūlā, 6. جمادى الاخرة jumāda'l-āxirah, 7. رجب rajab, 8. مغبان šaʿbān, 9. دوالحجة šawwāl, 11. ذوالقعدة du'l-qaʿdah, and 12. خوالحجة du'l-hijjah.

that role, an issue arose as to who would assume that position. The narrow circle of his devoted companions chose one among themselves, Abū Bakr, to assume the leadership and become the first خليفة, xalūfah, caliph, i.e. successor of the Prophet Muḥammad. Abū Bakr was not only one of the oldest and most devout of Muḥammad's companions, but Muḥammad also appointed him to lead the ritual worship when he did not feel well. Abū Bakr was also the father of the Prophet Muḥammad's most favorite wife, ʿĀ'išah.

Two years later, Abū Bakr died and the next successor became 'Umar, another father-in-law of the Prophet. 'Umar ruled as caliph for the next ten years (634-644).

During his reign, he succeeded to expended the בון וושבעל dāru'l-islām, "abode of Islam," from the narrow compound of Arabia to as far as western Persia, the whole of Iraq, Syria and Lower Egypt, as well as parts of North African coast.

After 'Umar's assassination by a Persian slave in a mosque in Medina, 'Utman (r. 644-656) became the third caliph. He was also the member of the Meccan Umayyah family, called so after its progenitor Umayyah, which will soon become known as the first great Islamic dynasty, *Umawi*. This third caliph spread the empire northwards from Iraq into eastern Anatolia by occupying Armenia and penetrating the Caucasus region; eastwards by reaching the area neighboring Transoxiana, Herat in

⁸In Arabic, the members of the *Umawi* dynasty are known as the بنوامية banu umayyah, "the sons of Umayyah." Likewise, the members of the 'Abbāsī dynasty are in Arabic known as the بنوالعباس banu'l-'abbās, "the sons of 'Abbās," or العباسية al-'abbāsiyyah, and العباسيون al-'abbāsiyyun. In English sources the *Umawi* are called the Umayyads, and their dynasty Umayyad, while the 'Abbāsī are called the Abbasids, and their dynasty Abbasid.

modern Afghanistan, and southeast Persia and Sind; to the west, the empire included Cyprus, taken from the Byzantines, and reached Tripoli, in Libya. But, during an uprising by discontented Medinians, Utman was killed in 656.

The fourth caliph 'Alī (r. 656-661), was the son of the Prophet's paternal uncle, Abū-Ṭalib, of the Hašim family. 'Alī was not only the Prophet's sole companion directly related to him by blood, but also his son in law, through marriage with Faṭimah, the daughter of Muḥammad and his first wife Xadījah. 'Alī's caliphate, which was never universally recognized, brought the first division in Islam, which Western scholars sometimes refer to as a civil war (Watt 1974: 11-12; Sachedina 1981: 4-5). The outcome was the emergence of two groups within the *ummah*, later to become known as the *Sunnah*, a.i., lit. tradition, custom, i.e. the tradition of the Prophet, and the Šicah, a.i., lit. party, sect; the latter is actually an abbreviation of \tilde{s}_i^c atu'l-Alī, the "party of 'Alī."

'Ali was chosen by his followers in Medina. However, Meccans objected to that and among the objectors was favorite Muhammad's wife, 'Ā'išah, as well. But, 'Ali succeeded in defeating the rebels in the famous Battle of the Camel, so called because of 'Ā'išah, who was captured in a litter born by a camel.

Another and more important threat to 'Ali came from the governor of Syria, Mucawiyah, a son of Abu-Sufyan, from the Umayyah family, who accused 'Ali of not avenging the death of his slain cousin, 'Utman. After challenging 'Ali on several occasions, he, in 660 in Jerusalem, finally proclaimed himself a caliph. Before 'Ali was able to organize himself against Mucawiyah, he was assassinated too, in Kufa

(Kufa), in January of 661. 'Alī's son, Ḥasan, at first claimed the title of caliph, but eventually gave up the idea and retired, with his brother Husayn, to Medina.

'Alī's death brought to an end the thirty year era of the four rāšidūn, the "Rightly Guided" caliphs, all devout companions of the Prophet Muhammad. By establishing himself as the next caliph, Muʿawiyah also became the founder of the Umawi dynasty. Of course, as a descendent of Umayyah, he was not the first caliph from that line, since 'Utman, before him, belonged to the same family. But as the progenitor of a ruling dynasty, he did inaugurate the ninety years long rule of the Umawi dynasty (661-750). Within less than a century, Umawi-s, who made Dimašq (Damascus) their capital, would expend their empire both eastwards, to Khorasan, Transoxiana, Bukhara, Samarkand, Fergana, Sind, and westwards along North Africa to Spain.

The followers of 'Alī did not remain in silence. They found *Umawī*-s the usurpers of 'Alī's descendants' right to lead the Muslim community. The traces of discontent regarding the successor of the Prophet appeared even earlier. Abdulaziz Sachedina writes that "in all likelihood, the movement began immediately after the death of the Prophet with the formation of the party (*shi'a*) of 'Alī... [which] became the nucleus of the Shi'a movement" (Sachedina 19881: 5-6). The civil war of 656 saw the first division between the Šī'ah and Sunnah, during which the open confrontation erupted between their respective followers: the Šī'ī, i.e. the followers of 'Alī and his descendants, and the Sunnī, who called themselves either the

ahlu's-sunnah, اهل السنة, "people of tradition," or the ahlu's-sunnah wa'l-jamāʿah, "people of tradition and community."

For the Šiū, community allegiance was not enough since they held that the only rightful inheritor of the Prophet's legacy should be another charismatic leader who would save the Muslims from wickedness and lead them to salvation. That charismatic leader would be messianic Imam, and not a Caliph. For, they held, only an Imam can combine both the temporal and spiritual role that the Prophet himself had had; the Caliph was the holder of a temporal role only. Having established this idea of the Imam as a charismatic leader they held that the first Imam was cali and that the title would naturally pass to his descendants in Faṭimah's line. Since passion and martyrdom were already part of their image of Alī, these attributes got firmly established as an indispensable quality of all Imams, especially after the tragic death of Alī's son Ḥusayn at Karbalā', on the 10th of muḥarram 61 A.H. / October 10, 680 C.E.

After the death of his brother Ḥasan, in 50/670, Ḥusayn inherited the leadership of the followers of 'Alī, thus becoming the third Imam, as the later Šī cī doctrine of Imamate, imamah, would have it. In 680, the first Umawī caliph Muʿawiyah died, leaving the post to his son Yazīd, the second Umawī caliph (r. 680-683). Ḥusayn rebelled and fled from Medina to Mecca. Encouraged by the Šī cī in Kufa, 'Alī s capital, who wanted him to claim the leadership and dismantle the Umawī-s, Ḥusayn went to Iraq. However, he was militarily overwhelmed and found his death at

Karbala'. Ever since, the 10th of *muḥarram* is celebrated by the $\tilde{S}i^c\bar{i}$ as one of the most passionate and important holidays.

From its inception, writes Sachedina, \check{Si}^cah was the traditional opposition party to Sunni Umawi rule (1981: 7). However, the \check{Si}^cah was not a monolithic movement and it suffered several divisions in its early history. The most significant differences were those between the radical and moderate \check{Si}^ci . The radicals, also known as the gulat ($\check{su}_L = gulah$, extremists, zealots), got so strong that they eventually succeeded in helping the cAbbasi -s, in 750 C.E., to overthrow Umawi-s and establish their dynastic rule. Another ongoing dispute between the various \check{Si}^ci was the dispute over the succession of Imam. It broke out in the years following ${}^cAli^c$ s and Hasan's deaths, when one group denied the title of Imam to Husayn, the son of cAli and Faṭimah, and instead applied it to Muhammad ibnu'l-Hanafiyyah, a son of cAli and another woman. But this episode ended with Hanafiyyah's death, in 81/700-701.9

The next major schism among the \tilde{Si}^ci occurred in 765, after the death of the sixth Imam Jacfar as-Sadiq. Moderate \tilde{Si}^ci -s accepted as Jacfar's successor his son Musa al-Kadim. The other group, later to be known as $Isma^cili$, followed another of Jacfar's sons, Ismacil, who died shortly before his father. So, when Jacfar died, the $Isma^cili$ -s did not accept Kadim as Imam but instead chose Ismacil's son, Muhammad. This line of $Isma^cili$ Imams was later continued through the Fatimi dynasty in Egypt.

Sachedina argues that the moderate Šī ā adopted an attitude of political quietism (1981: 8), continuing the Imamate through the next five Imams, totaling twelve

⁹For other episodes of dispute concerning \check{Si}^cah , see Sachedina (1981: 10-14).

altogether. This moderate and the most numerous \tilde{Si}^cah branch is also known as the itnā cašariyyah, the "Twelvers."¹⁰

Throughout the *Umawi* period both the *Širī* and *Sunnī* division were in the process of doctrinal development. The 'Abbāsī revolution of 750 and the change of capital from Damascus, in Syria, to Bagdad (Baghdad), in Iraq, in 762, meant a gradual shift of scholarly, theological, and cultural activity from the old centers of Kufa, Baṣra (Baṣra), Mecca and Medina to the new capital. But at this period of transition, the old centers still played a vital role. Up to the eighth century C.E., religious law, عديد šarī ah, was based on the Qur'an and عديد hadīt, but no systematized doctrine was developed. The hadīt (pl. احاديث ahādīt, lit. saying, communication, narrative) is a record of actions and utterances of the Prophet Muḥammad. These records were at first memorized, like the Qur'an, and transmitted from generation to generation through an elaborate chain of transmissions, إسناد isnād, lit. support. Only through the isnād, as a chain of supported statements about the Prophet Muḥammad, was it deemed that such and such hadīt is trustworthy. Thus, firmly adhering to isnād as the hadīt genealogy, every hadīt starts with the series of

¹⁰The Twelve Šīrī Imams are: 1. ʿAlī ibn Abu-Ṭalīb, also known as Murtaḍa (d. 40/661), 2. Ḥasan al-Mujtaba (d. 50/670) 3. Ḥusayn aš-Šahid (d. 61/680), 4. ʿAlī Zaynaʾl-ʿĀbidīn as-Sajjād (d. 94/712-713), 5. Muḥammad al-Baqir (d. 113/731-732), 6. Jaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765), 7. Musa al Kadim (d. 183/799-800), 8. ʿAlī ar-Riḍa (d. 202/817-818), 9. Muḥammad at-Taqī (d. 220/835), 10. ʿAlī an-Naqī (d. 254/868), 11. Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (d. 260/873-874), and 12. Muḥammad al-Mahdī (disappeared in 260/873-874). See also Sachedina (1981: 196) and SEI (1961: 188). For their Turkish names and modern Turkish spelling see Burgei (1988: 19-27). The Twelve Imams as well as the Prophet Muḥammad and his daughter Faṭimah (ʿAlīʿs wife and mother of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn), constitute the Fourteen Guiltless, in Turkish Ondört Masum (معصوم maʿṣum, innocent, guiltless) (Burgei 1988: 16).

names of persons who have transmitted a specific narrative to one another.

Eventually, the various hadit-s became written down as a body of literature called either the hadit or 'ilmu'l-hadit, the science of hadit. 11

According to Sunni doctrines, the hadit, as a record on the tradition of the Prophet, i.e. Sunnah, comes next to the Qur'an as the second source for proper conduct. Things which are not mentioned in the Qur'an are looked for in the hadit. This explains the major difference between the Sunni and Si^{-i} . While both look at the Qur'an as the original source of the Sunni adhere to the Sunnah of the Prophet as the second source, and then, as the third source, to the prophet Sunni in the matters of religion, i.e. the jurists and elders, and theoretically, but never practically, of the whole community. The Si^{-i} , for their part, adhere to the Si^{-i} in was, through the angel Jabra'il, and according to which God alone appoints the Si^{-i} Imams, one by one, in the order established in the doctrine of Imamate. Si^{-i} also accept Si^{-i} , but only in form

¹¹In order to separate the hadit as a particular record from the body of literature on hadit, Murata and Chittick refer to the latter as the Hadit (1994: xxiii).

¹²Sachedina writes that the *waṣiyyah* was "brought down by Gabriel to the Prophet, who dictated it to 'Ali, and the text, its transcription, etc., were witnessed by Gabriel and other angels of the first rank who had accompanied him on this occasion. The testament had several golden seals on it, which were opened by each Imam beginning with 'Ali down to the last Imam al-Mahdi. Each Imam after breaking the seal was required to follow the instructions therein. Thus the first three Imams, 'Ali, al-Hasan, and al-Husayn, chose to resist the Umayyad, while the other Imams chose political quietism until rising of messianic Imam al-Mahdi, in compliance with the instructions in the testament" (Sachedina 1981: 19-20).

and name, since it is nothing but the opinion of the infallible Imam, i.e. discovered and held with certainty as the Imam's opinion (Sachedina 1981:138-141).

Thus, after the original period of ferment, the eighth century saw the codification and canonization of the šarīcah within a discipline called ifiqh, lit. understanding, knowledge, but also the science of law, jurisprudence, regulating all aspects of life, religious, political, and civil. This new discipline was worked out by several theologians, but only the five doctrines became eventually accepted. Within these doctrines, which are referred to in Western writings as "schools," the fiqh was worked out. In Arabic, these doctrines of šarīcah are known as aciden madhab, pl. madāhib, lit. path, way, method of doing. Among the five widely accepted madhab-s, all of which, owing to their exclusivity, might be referred to as "orthodox," four are Sunnī, and one Šīcī.

The four Sunni madhab-s are:

- Hanafiyyah, established by Imam Abu Ḥanifah¹³ (81-150 A.H. / 700-767 C.E.)
- Hanbaliyyah, by Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (164-241 A.H. / 780-855 C.E.)
- Mālikiyyah, by Imam Mālik Ibn Anas (d. 179/795)
- Šāfi^cīyyah, founded by Imam Šāfi^cī (150-204 A.H. / 767-820 C.E.).

¹³In Turkey, all *madhab* founders are also called Imams, a title obviously used as honorific. The four Imams of the *Sunni madhab*-s are therefore not to be confused with *Šī'i* Imams. Imam Abu Ḥanifah is in Turkey known as İmam-ı A'zam.

The fifth *madhab* of Islam is the *Jafariyyah*, worked out by the sixth Šī^cī Imam Jafar aṣ-Ṣādiq (d. 148/756).¹⁴

From the fall of the 'Abbāsī-s up to the establishment of the Ottoman Empire and this empire's final blow in the early 16th century to the Faṭimī-s in Egypt, when Ottoman sultans finally assumed the title of Caliph, the Šāfī i madhab succeeded to become the most widespread and influential in the central land of Islam. After all, among other founders of Sunnī doctrines, Imam Šāfī was the only one born in the Meccan family of Hāšim, to which the Prophet himself belonged. However, after its decline with 'Abbāsī-s, and with the advent of Ottomans, the Ḥanafī madhab revived, took over the leading role and became the predominant madhab in virtually all areas held by Ottomans, from Central Asia to Bosnia. Before the Ottoman conquest, ritual worship in Mecca was led by the Šāfī imam; from the 16th century on, worship was conducted by a Ḥanafī imam (SEI 1961: 514). Likewise, the office of the supreme judge, Şeyhülislām, in Istanbul, was in the hands of Ḥanafī-s. This Ottoman adherence to the Ḥanafī madhab might be, at least partially, explained by the fact that Abū Ḥanafā himself was probably of Persian or even Turkish origin. His grandfather was

¹⁴In his comments to this dissertation, Philip Schuyler suggested that another madhab is the Zaidiyyah of Yemen. Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam defines it as "the practical group of the Shica, distinguished from the Ithna 'Ashariya... and the Sabciya... by the recognition of Zaid b. 'Ali... [the] grandson of al-Husain b. 'Ali b. Abi Talib [who] was the first to try to wrest the caliphate from the Umaiyads by armed rebellion after the catastrophe at Karbala', when he placed himself at the disposal of the Kufans as imam." A few paragraphs later, the same encyclopedia defines the Zaidiyyah as a madhab: "The Zaidi madhab in practice is a fifth alongside of the four" (SEI 1961: 651). The "four" here probably means the above four Sunni madhab-s.

taken prisoner in Kabul (Kabul) and brought to Kufa as a slave (SEI 1961: 9). The other reason is that the *Ḥanafi madhab* spread from its center, in Iraq, where it was the prevailing doctrine during 'Abbāsi rule, to Persia and Transoxiana, especially flourishing in Khorasan, the area from which Turks originally made their incursions to Muslim lands. Regarding Turkey, the Šāfi'i madhab is today followed by the mainly Kurdish population of southeastern Anatolia. The rest of Turkey's Sunni population, including some Kurds, is *Ḥanafi*.

The founder of the Jaffarī madhab, Jaffar aṣ-Ṣādiq, worked in the intellectual climate of Abu Ḥanifa and Mālik. His Fātimī ancestry,

...and his claim to the special designation with all its implications, greatly enhanced his prominence in Medina, and he in effect became the fountainhead not only of the Ja'fari school of Islamic law, but of all Shi'i intellectual as well as traditional sciences. Al-Sadiq's prestigious and generally recognized Imamate gave ultimate recognition to the line of the Husaynid Imams, among whom the twelfth and the last was declared to be the awaited messianic Imam, the Qa'im al-Mahdi (Sachedina 1981: 17).

The Azeri of Turkey, who live in the Kars province, bordering with Armenia and Azerbaijan, in western Iran, are all the followers of the Jacfari madhab. They refer to themselves as Caferi, pl. Caferiler. Their Šīcī ritual worship, namaz, differs in many substantial respects from the Sunni counterparts (see Part Two).

By the first half of the ninth century C.E. the main doctrines of Islamic jurisprudence were established and fixed. Around the same time, the first organized ideas about the <code>ideas about the ideas about the</code>

established in the series of طرائق tariqah (pl. طريقات tariqat or طريقات tarā'iq), the first great dervish orders of the thirteenth century. This same period, from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, which coincided with the decline and final collapse of the 'Abbāsī empire, also witnessed the slow but steady rise of Turks and the eventual establishment of their Seljuq empire.

¹⁵In Modern Turkish the word for Sufi order is *tarikat* (more rarely *tarika*), pl. *tarikatlar* (more rarely *taraik*).

İslâm Dini: The Religion of Islam and its Principles

According to the teachings of Muslim theologians, Islam, السلام islām, is the religion, السلام dīn, established by Allah and sent as revelation to the Prophet Muḥammad through the intermediary of the angel Jabrā'il, Gabriel. In Muslim catechisms, Islam is defined as the last religion sent to humankind through the last messenger of God, the Prophet Muḥammad. Anybody who accepts this religion and follows its precepts, rules and principles of dogma is a مسلم Muslim (Dikmen 1988).

In the following pages I will discuss the issues concerning Islam as a religion according to the *Ḥanafi madhab*, i.e. *Hanafi mezheb*, as observed in Turkey.¹⁷

The religion of Islam is divided into three broad domains:

- Faith, İman (إيمان imān),
- Practice, Amel (عمل ^camal), and
- Ethics, Ahlâk (أخلاق axlāq) (Kazancı 1989: 6).

Each of these domains is regulated by its own jurisdiction, hüküm (حكم hukm, pl. أحكام ahkām). The domain of İman is regulated by the jurisdiction of itikat (اعتقاد)

¹⁶Murata and Chittick offer the following understanding and definition of Islam in a nutshell: "Islam is an Arabic word that means 'submission to God's will.' More specifically, it designates the religion established by the Koran and the Prophet Muhammad. A Muslim is one who has submitted to God's will, or one who follows the religion of Islam. The Koran is a book that God revealed to Muhammad by means of the angel Gabriel" (1994: xiv).

¹⁷From now on, all spellings of Arabic derived technical terms in this dissertation, when they refer to the Turkish context, are given in their modern Turkish form and according to the *New Redhouse Dictionary* (NRD 1987): thus instead of Muḥammad, Qur'an, tarīqah, maqām, Šāfīcī, Šīcah, Sunnī, etc., it is Muhammed, Kur'an, tarīkat, makam, Şafīi, Şīa, Sünnī, etc.

i'tiqād, pl. إعتقادات i'tiqādāt), the "belief in religious dogmas"; another synonymous term is akaid (عقائد 'aqā'id, pl. of عقائد 'aqīdah), understood in the sense of "the doctrines of faith" (SEI 1961: 189). The jurisdiction of itikat therefore regulates the domain of faith and the beliefs sent by God as commands, emir-s (مر) (Kazancı 1989: 6).

Amel pertains to the ritual duties and religious actions and practices, generically called ibadet (בּיִנוֹב 'ibadah, pl. בִּינוֹב 'ibadah'). In this sense, ibadet means both the ritual actions as such and the jurisdiction, hüküm, which regulates such actions. Like the acceptance and adherence to the principles of faith, which establishes a compulsory bond between an individual and God, observance and performance of ibadet is also incumbent upon every Muslim, this time not only in relation to God but also in relation to other fellow Muslims.

Ahlâk covers the duties, vazife (وظائف wadifah, pl. وظائف wada'if), which have to be performed toward ourselves as well as toward other human beings.

Faith: İman

The meaning of the term *iman* implies the faith based on the undoubted belief in, and the acceptance and confirmation of, the existence and oneness of God, and that Muhammed is the messanger/prophet of God.

The word *iman* is translated in English as either "faith" or "belief," usually without any discrimination between the two, implying that these two words are

synonymous. 18 In Arabic, as well as in Turkish, the word *iman* is the only technical religious term which pertains to Islam as Faith and Belief. 19 The *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, for example, translates *iman* as "faith," and *itikat* as "belief" (SEI 1961: 167, 189). Writing on *iman*, D.B. Macdonald states that "the Kur'an sometimes distinguishes and sometimes confuses *iman* and *islam* and is ambiguous as to their relationship to good works [amel]... Some [theologians] taught that it [iman] is simply a holding fast in the mind ('akd bi'l-kalb), others added a testifying with the tongue (shahada bi'l-lisan); others added a third element, works according to the fundamentals of the faith ('amal bi'l-arkan)" (SEI 1961: 167). Macdonald then argues that the second position was that of *Hanafi*-s and that the "orthodox," i.e. Sunni, Islam eventually accepted all three positions on *iman*: that "the faith consists of acceptance in the mind of and firm adherence to a belief (taṣdīk, i'tikād), statement with the tongue of this acceptance... and good works" (ibid.).

The word faith, which in English exists only as a noun and not a verb (one cannot "faith," but can "have the faith"), I understand as an abstract concept, reserved exclusively for the domain of mind and consciousness. Faith is something which one a priori has, before any thinking, like an axiom. Belief, which implies the active side of faith (where "I believe" is not quite the same as "I have the faith"), is, in my

¹⁸Murata and Chittick have also observed the problem of translating *iman* into English, the language in which the distinction between the words "faith" and "belief" is either blurred or nonexistent (see 1994: 37 and n. 1).

¹⁹In modern Turkish usage, especially in the media, such as radio and television, the word *iman* is sometimes replaced by the Turkish neologism, *inanç*.

understanding, a deliberate volition on the part of a believer to accept the precepts of faith, the faith as object, and consciously to respond to its dogmas. In this sense, belief is something like a credo. In Islam, however, such (linguistic) distinction does not exist.²⁰

According to Dikmen (1988: 27), there are two kinds of faith: Summary Faith, *İcmalî İman*, and Detailed Faith, *Tafsili İman*. The Summary Faith is fulfilled by uttering the Profession of Faith, *Kelime-i Tevhid*, which consists of the following sentence:

لااله الاالله محمد رسولالله Lā ilāha illallāh Muḥammadun rasūlullāh²¹ ("There is no god but Allah, Muhammed is the messanger of Allah")

Anybody who pronounces this sentence from the heart becomes a Muslim, and for the new converts to Islam it is necessary and compulsory first to utter this sentence.

The Detailed Faith implies the full observance and performance of indispensable religious duties and necessities, which comprise the Principles of Faith, *İman Esasları*, as well as the ritual duties and practices, *ibadet*-s.

²⁰In Slavic languages, too, there is only one word for *iman*: in Serbo-Croatian it is *vjera/vera* (*вjepa/вера*), in Russian *вера*, in Polish *wiara*; the corresponding verbs, "to believe," are all derived from the same noun: *vjerovati/веровати*, *веритъ*, *wierzyć*.

²¹This sentence is also pronounced as: Lā ilāha illallāh Muhammadur-rasūlullāh.

The Principles of Faith: Amentü

There are six Principles of Faith, which I translate as six fundamental beliefs:

- Allah'a İman Belief in God
- Meleklere İman Belief in Angels
- Kitaplara İman Belief in the Books
- Peygamberlere İman Belief in the Prophets
- Ahirete İman Belief in the Day of Judgement
- Kadere İman Belief in the Eternal Preordinance.²²

These principles are stated in the text called the Amentü, which runs as follows:

امنت بالله و ملائكته و كتبهورسلهواليومالاخروبالقدرخيره وشره منالله تعالى والبعث بعدالموتحق اشهدان لاالهالاالله و اشهد ان محمداً عبده و رسوله

Amantu billahi wa mala'ikatihi wa kutubihi wa rusulihi wa'l-yawmi'l-axiri wa bi'l-qadari xayrihi / wa šarrihi minallahi ta'ala wa'l-ba'tu ba'da'l-mawt haqqun / Ašhadu an la ilaha illallah / wa ašhadu anna Muhammadan 'abduhu wa rasuluh ("I believe in Allah and His Angels and His Books and His Prophets and in the Day of Judgement and in the Eternal Preordinance and in all Good and Evil things among us created by Allah and I wholeheartedly believe in the Life after Death. I confess there is no god but Allah, and I also confess Muhammed is His servant and prophet").

The last sentence of Amentü is also known as the Confession of Faith, Kelime-i Sehadet:

اشهدان الله الله واشهدان محمداعبده ورسوله Ašhadu an lā ilāha illallāh wa ašhadu anna Muḥammadan 'abduhu wa rasüluh ("I confess there is no god but Allah, and I also confess Muhammed is His servant and prophet")

²²For more detailed description of the Principles of Faith, see Appendix.

According to the Caferi Şii doctrine, the religion is divided into two areas:

- usûl (اصل aṣl, pl. اصول uṣūl, root, principle)
- fūru (فرع far, pl. فروع furū, branch, section, division)

The first is the Principles of Religion - Dinin Esasları or Usûl-ü Din (uṣūlu'l-dīn), and the second is the Divisions of Religion - Füru-u Din (furū'u'l-dīn) (Burgei 1988: 11). The Usûl-ü Din consist of five principles, similar to those of Amentü, each representing a fundamental belief:

- Tevhid (توحيد tawhid, oneness) The affirmation of the Oneness of God
- Adl (عدل 'adl, justice) Belief in the Justice of God
- Nübüvvet (نبوة nubuwwah, prophethood) Belief in the Prophecy
- Imamet (إمامة imamah, imamate) Belief in the Imamate
- Maad (معاد ma^rad, return) Belief in the Day of Judgement.²³

It is obvious that these five *Şii* principles of religion are either identical or similar to the *Sünni* principles of faith, expressed in the *Amentü*. The only *Şii* principle which *Sünni*-s do not accept is the Imamate, the core of *Şii* chilliastic doctrine and the major and substantial difference between these two divisions in Islam. Even today, after the *Sünni* caliphate is long gone, the majority of *Şii*-s expect the appearance of the Twelfth Imam, Muhammed Mahdi, who disappeared more than a thousand years ago (260/873-874), and lives in concealment. This hidden Imam or

²³For more detailed discussion on these *Şii* beliefs see Burgei (1988: 12-28) and Sachedina (1981: 19).

Imam-1 Zaman, the Imam of Time, was designated and appointed by God alone, and therefore not by any human agreement, as caliphs were (see Sachedina 1981: 19-24).

Pillars of Islam

The practicing of faith, i.e. all religious actions, duties, and ritual worship, are covered by the *ibadet*. Islam as religion therefore represents the fusion of *iman* and *ibadet*, and the whole structure is supported by five so called *Pillars of Islam*. The first pillar, $r\ddot{u}kn$ (کےن rukn, pl. ارکان $ark\bar{a}n$), is faith, iman. The other four pillars are practice, amel, and they are regulated by the jurisdiction of ibadet. The five pillars of Islam are:

- Kelime-i Şehadet (شهادة šahada) Confession of Faith
- Namaz (مسلوة or مسلوة ṣalāh, pl. صلوات ṣalawāt) Ritual Worship
- Zekât (کاة zakāh) Almsgiving
- Oruç (صوم ṣawm) Fasting
- *Hac* (حج hajj) Pilgrimage, Hajj.²⁴

While almsgiving represents a religious duty concerning wealth, *mali ibadet*, fasting, pilgrimage and especially the ritual worship stand as the bodily religious performances, *bedeni ibadet*, *par excellence*.²⁵

²⁴For more details see Kazancı (1989: 67) and corresponding articles in SEI (1961)

²⁵According to the *Caferi Şii* doctrine, *ibadet* belongs to the *Füru*, the Divisions of Religion (see above), and it consists of the following "pillars": 1. namaz, 2. oruç, fasting,, 3. humus, one fifth, 4. zekât, almsgiving, 5. cihad (جهاد), Holy War, Jihad, 6. emr-i bil-ma'ruf, commands and actions approved by the şeriat, and 7. nehy anil-münker, unlawful and prohibited actions (Burgei 1988: 29).

İbadet, as an all-encompassing plethora of religious practices, is governed by the strict and fixed code of religious duties and actions which, as a set of all-pervading rules, cover virtually all words and deeds in the life of a pious Muslim.

Mükellefiyet Code

The life of a pious Muslim should be spent in the strict observance of the speriat. Schacht writes that "The prescriptions of the shari a may be classed in two main groups according to their subject: (1) Regulations relating to worship and ritual duties; (2) regulations of a juridical and political nature" (SEI 1961: 525). Schacht's first group of regulations is clearly about ibadet, and since namaz is an ibadet, the same regulations or rules pertain to it, as well. Thus all actions and duties of an individual, both religious and worldly, are prescribed and sanctioned by the seriat.

These prescribed actions and duties are classified as rules summarized in a code called Mükellefiyet (1) and mukallafiyyah, obligation, liability). However, there are three conditions for the observance of mükellefiyet rules by an individual. These conditions stipulate that the Mükellefiyet Code is incumbent upon every individual who is 1.

Muslim, 2. mentally healthy, âkal, and 3. at least at the age of puberty, bülâğ, 26 and likewise, that it is not incumbent upon those who do not meet these criteria, i.e. those who are not Muslims, who are mentally ill, and those who have not yet reached the puberty.

²⁶According to the opinion shared by the *Sünni mezheb*-s, girls reach puberty between 9-15, and boys between 12-15 years of age. *Hanefi*-s consider that the puberty in girls ends at 17, and in boys at 18 years of age.

According to the *Hanefi Mezhebi*, the *Mükellefiyet* Code consists of eight rules (Dikmen 1988: 147-155; Kazancı 1989: 69-70):

- 1. Farz (فرض fard) obligatory duties, which have to be absolutely performed by either every believer or a sufficient number of believers in a given community; not observing the farz is against the religion and, therefore, represents an impious act. The farz duties, such as taking the abdest, ritual ablution, performing the namaz, fasting, almsgiving, are the decrees and commands of Allah and are sanctioned in the Kur'an. There are two kinds of farz duties:

 farz-1 ayn (فرض العناية farda'l-'ayn), proper compulsory duty, which is bound to every Muslim, and farz-1 kifaye فرض الكفاية farda'l-kifayah), sufficient compulsory duty, which requires that a sufficient number of Muslims performs the religious duty. The performance of namaz in the mosque, for example, is farz-1 kifaye.
- 2. Vacip or vacib (واجب wājib) necessary duties, which are as important as farz, but do not carry equal weight. Not observing the vacip does not make one impious nor is it against the religion, for according to the itikat, vacip is not the farz. However, observing it is rewarding in Allah's sight; and not observing it is punishable, azab. Some of the vacip duties are making the sacrifice, kurban, and performing certain namaz-s of the vacip type (see Chapter 7).27

²⁷Juynboll writes that "according to the Hanafi school *fard* means that which is regarded as duty on the basis of cogent arguments; *wadjib* (i.e. necessary) on the other hand is that which is considered a duty by the fakīhs on grounds of probability only.

- 3. Sünnet (سنة sunnah) traditional duties, first observed and practiced by the Prophet Muhammed and after his death accepted and practiced until present.

 All sünnet-s are the supererogatory or voluntary duties, nafile (عافلة nafilah), and are divided into two categories:
 - sünnet-i müekkede (مؤكدة mu'akkadah), the firm sünnet-s, which were generally performed by the Prophet Muhammed and little changed after his death, and
 - sünnet-i gayr-i müekkede, the "non-firm," i.e. weak sünnet-s, which were sometimes performed and sometimes skipped by the Prophet.
- 4. Müstehab (مستحب mustaḥabb, beloved, desired) actions considered to be laudable and recommended but not enjoined by seriat or any other authority.

 Observing the müstehab is considered sevap (غواب tawāb), rewarding and a good deed, although its non-observance is not considered sin, günah.
- Mubah (مباح mubah) actions whose performance or abandonment is neither rewarding nor sinful, such as eating, drinking, sitting, sleeping.
- 6. Haram (عرام ḥarām, forbidden, unlawful) actions categorically forbidden by the şeriat, such as killing a person, drinking of alcohol, plotting mischief, gambling, fornication, etc. Avoiding the haram is rewarding; performing it is sinful and impious.

According to the <u>Shafiris</u> and other *fikh* schools *fard* and *wadjib* are synonymous" (SEI 1961: 100).

- 7. Mekruh (مكروة makruh, bad, unpleasant) actions not categorically forbidden as haram is, but looked upon with horror and disgust by religious dignitaries, such as wasting water while performing ablutions, blowing one's nose with the right hand, or performing namaz in a short-sleeved shirt or without a worship cap.
- 8. Müfsid (مفسد mufsid, disturber) an action or an object which annuls or voids an ibadet in progress, such as laughing or talking during the namaz. If it is done intentionally then it is a sin.

According to Dikmen, every pious Muslim has to obey the first five categories, generically called the *emir* (مر *amr*, command), and to avoid the last three, generically called the *nehiy* (مر *nahy*, prohibition) (Dikmen 1988: 148).

Referring to the *Şafii mezbeb*, J. Schacht specifies that "all actions are classified by the *sharīca* under one of the... five categories (*al-ahkām al-khamsa*)":

(1) "duty" (fard) or "obligatory" (wadjib), i.e. actions the performance of which is rewarded and omission punished...; (2) meritorious (sunna "the usual custom"; [sunna in this meaning is not to be confounded with the "sunna of the Prophet," one of the usul al-fikh], mandub "recommended," mustahabb "desirable", nafl or nafila "voluntary meritorious action"...), i.e. actions the neglect of which is not punished, but the performance of which is rewarded; (3) "indifferent" (mubah or murakhkhas), i.e. actions the performance or neglect of which the law leaves quite open and for which neither reward nor punishment is to be expected...; (4) "reprehensible" (makrūh), i.e. actions which although not punishable are disapproved of from the religious point of view...' (5) "forbidden" (haram, also mahzūr), i.e. actions punishable by Allah (SEI 1961: 526).

Thus, Schacht's first category combines the first two of the *Hanefi*, i.e. *farz* and *vacip*, and the second combines the *sünnet* and *müstehab* rules. Schacht also emphasizes that

...the reasons which lead to an action being classed under one of these categories may be of the most varied kind and here there is a wide field for difference of opinion (*ikhtilāf*) among jurists. What one party considers absolutely forbidden or an absolute duty, the others often regard as reprehensible or meritorious or even indifferent. Here, however, the catholic tendency of Islam makes itself felt. Thus it may happen that something is considered *sunna* by one *madhhab* simply because the latter is unwilling to differ too much from the view of another school of *fikh*, which considers it a duty. That the same action according to circumstances can be sometimes forbidden, sometimes reprehensible, sometimes indifferent, sometimes meritorious, sometimes a duty is general[ly] recognized" (SEI 1961: 526).

As an addendum to the above eight *mükellefiyet* rules of *Hanefi mezheb*, there are three more which are related to them:

- 1. Sahih (محيح ṣaḥiḥ) valid actions and duties, such as the full observance of the farz and vacip duties in the performance of namaz.
- 2. Caiz (جائز) lawful, permitted, possible actions and duties, i.e. the actions which are not forbidden by the seriat, but which are sometimes regarded either as sahih or mubah.
- 3. Bâtıl (باطل baṭil) non-valid, void actions and duties, i.e. either the full or partial non-observance of the above categories, such as performing the namaz without ablution. Bâtıl is opposite to sahih.

The first three *mükellefiyet* rules, i.e. *farz*, *vacip*, and *sünnet/nafile*, are, as we shall see in Chapters Seven and Eight, the most important ones as regards the *namaz*. However, not only can *namaz* itself, i.e. as a full religious event and performance, be

classified according to one of these three rules, but also the constituent parts of *namaz*, as well as the specific actions taken during its performance, can be understood and named according to the same rules.

CHAPTER FOUR: Islam and the Turks

The Ottoman Empire, in Turkish Osmanlı İmparatorluğu,¹ was founded in the late thirteenth century by the Sultan Osman I Gazi (r. 1281-1324). It was the last great empire of Islam which lasted more than six hundred years and eventually collapsed in the years following the First World War, thus coinciding with the disappearance of the last great Christian empires: Austro-Hungarian and Russian. Osman's descendants, known in the West as Ottomans, and in Turkish as Osmanlı (pl. Osmanlılar), ruled as Ottoman sultans (עוב שול sultān) with only a short interruption, the so-called Interregnum (1402-1413). But in order to position the Ottomans within the history of Islam it is necessary to go back in time to the previous Turkish empire in Anatolia, the Seljuks of Rum, and even further, to the time of the Great Seljuks in Iraq and the second Arab empire, that of the 'Abbāsī.

When pushing westwards from inner Asia, the Turks reached Transoxiana or Maveraünnehr from the north,² Islam was already in the full swing to the south and southwest from this land. By the early eighth century C.E., the *Umawi* Empire had

¹The word "Ottoman" is the Westernized transformation of the Turkish personal name Osman, which is itself the Turkified Arabic personal name, عثمان, pronounced either as 'Utman or 'Otman.

²The Turkish word for Transoxiana, Maveraünnehr, is actually the Arabic ماوراءالنهر Māwara'u'n-nahr, lit. "Beyond the River." For those who approached it from the south it naturally lay beyond, i.e. trans or māwara', the river Oxus/Amu Dar'ya. This land between the two tributaries of the Aral Sea, Amu Dar'ya (Oxus), in the south, and Syr Dar'ya (Jaxartes), in the north, is today known as Kyzyl Kum, lit. "Red Sand."

already spread over the whole Persia and reached its easternmost limit, the river Indus. Although the southern limit of Transoxiana, the river Amu Dar'ya (Oxus), was practically reached in the first wave of expansions under the caliphates of 'Umar and 'Uman, it was a half a century later that the *Umawi*-s had conquered the "land across Oxus." Pushing northwards from Khorasan, a province in northeastern Persia and in proximity to Amu Dar'ya, the *Umawi*-s subdued the two main cities in Transoxiana: Bukhara, in 709, and Samarkand, in 712, moving even further east to the nearby valley of Fergana, below the western slopes of Tian Shan Mountains. And it was exactly here, at the frontier of the *Umawi* Empire, that the Turks met the Muslim civilization of the Southwest Asia.

As Stanford Shaw writes,

...here [in Transoxiana] a natural road led directly from the [Central Asian] steppes into Iran. Transoxiana was the staging area for the great nomadic invasions of the Middle East. Through here the nomadic waves were funneled, and it was here where the states and empires that ruled the Middle East had organized their defenses to protect civilization from disruption and destruction (Shaw 1976: 2).

Living in close proximity to Islamic civilization, the nomadic Turks, as time went by, became sedentary people and accepted Islam. This meant that they became culturally assimilated, and their nomadic incursions gradually waned. However, it was only during and owing to 'Abbāsī rule that the Turks gained prominence and got propelled to the historical scene as the soon-to-be main protagonists in the political and cultural affairs of Southwestern Asia.

The change of rule in the Islamic Empire was not just a change of dynasty, from *Umawi*-s to 'Abbāsi-s, but a much deeper and more substantial change. *Umawi*-s represented the culmination of Arabic Islam, local in character and self-centered. 'Abbāsi-s, on the other side, recognized the cosmopolitan nature of their vast empire and made Islam a universal religion whose practitioners became brothers in faith, i.e. equals. According to Montgomery Watt, one of the most important factors which led to the collapse and eventual fall of the *Umawi* Dynasty was the discontent of the large number of non-Arabs who had become Muslims, especially in Iraq and the eastern provinces:

These were known as *mawali* or clients, since in practice it was necessary for all non-Arab Muslims to become clients of Arab tribes. This was not a principle of the religion of Islam, but... something implicit in the nature of Arab political thinking. In itself the status of client conveyed a suggestion of inferiority, and this suggestion was strengthened by the arrogance of the Arabs. Not merely did their attitudes express their sense of superiority, but they expected this superiority to be recognized in a material way, namely, that the annual stipends paid to the clients by the state, if any, should be less than those paid to full-blooded Arabs (Watt 1974: 27-28).

It is not surprising, therefore, that such an attitude and policy led to widespread discontent among the *mawāli*-s, who mainly lived in towns as merchants and artisans, slowly gaining in importance and political influence. The 'Abbāsi-s, on the other side, probably to some extent because of political reasons and interests of their own, were inclined to treat with understanding and sympathy the ever growing numbers of *mawāli* and their claims to be treated as equals to the Arabs.

The 'Abbasi coup d'etat did not happen in Damascus, the Umawi capital, but rather in a remote frontier province of Khorasan. After capturing Mery (747) and

Neyshabur (Nishapur), the next year, the 'Abbasi army proceeded to Iraq, entering it and occupying Kufa (749), from which 'Ali had ruled a century earlier, making it a new capital of the empire. The change of capital was yet another symbol of the 'Abbasi-s' switching of the center of gravity, from Syria to Iraq, and the first two 'Abbasi caliphs, as-Saffah (749/50-754) and al-Mansur (754-775), resided in Kufa. In 762, al-Mansur moved his capital to Baghdad, a city which would reach its glory during the reign of the fabled Harun ar-Rašid (786-809). However, the ar-Rašid's son, al-Ma'mun (813-833), transferred the capital further north, to Samarra', where it would stay until 892, when it was moved back to Baghdad.

Among other changes made by the 'Abbasi-s was the composition of the army. Now they started to recruit more and more Turks as soldiers. Known as excellent fighters and horsemen, Turks, who previously were the threat to the empire's frontier, now became used as its defenders. Instead of making raids from Transoxiana into Khorasan and further south, Turks now defended the empire and fought against their nomadic and unassimilated brethren. Very soon, these converted and settled warriors, known as the gazi-s (Giù gazi), became zealous frontier fighters against the infidel. By the end of the ninth century C.E., the gazi-s constituted the main part of the 'Abbasi army and a power to be reckoned with in politics. According to Montgomery Watt, al-Ma'mun inaugurated the practice of employing slave soldiers from the periphery of the empire, mostly either Berbers from the Sahara or Turks from beyond the Oxus, since such men were not engaged to one side or another in the party strife, but were simply concerned with the booty and their own material interests, which

made them therefore the better soldiers. Under the al-Ma'mun's successor, al-Mu^ctasim (833-842), the number of Turkish troops, it is said, increased greatly, to as many as 70,000. Some of them were appointed to the higher ranks (Watt 1974: 120).

Now that they had securely infiltrated the higher ranks of army and administration, Turks gradually grew in strength, playing a more and more prominent political role as time went by. By the time of al-Mutawakkil's accession, in 847, Turkish officers became so strong that a group of them chose him as their nominee for the caliph. But by now the first seeds of the 'Abbāsī decline were planted. Contrary to their Umawī predecessors, who downplayed the growing strength of the mawāli, the 'Abbāsī invested a great power in their army clients, the mercenaries. These, loyal to the booty and money, could easily switch their allegiance to the boss who paid more. As the provincial rulers grew in strength and wealth, they became able to pay well their own mercenaries, thus creating a kind of autonomy from the central government.

It might sound ironic, but one of the first provinces in the east which gained some kind of autonomy was Khorasan, the very place where the 'Abbasi takeover of power from the *Umawi* started. In 873, the 'Abbasi governor of Khorasan, based in Neyshabur, was expelled by one Yacqub ibn Layt, known as as-Saffar, the coppersmith, who founded the short lived Saffari dynasty in Khorasan.

The Saffari were replaced by the Samani, from Balkh, in today's Afghanistan.

Although practically autonomous, the Samani remained loyal to the 'Abbasi and ruled as governors of Transoxiana, with their capital in Bukhara, which became an important

center of Islamic learning. They regarded themselves as Persians, claiming descent from the Sassanian dynasty of Persia (226-641 C.E.).

Another such family was the Ziyārī, which ruled in the mountainous region southwest from the Caspian Sea. This family gave rise to the Buwayhī dynasty, which would soon assume, for the first time in the history of caliphate, the tutilage of the 'Abbāsī caliphs in Baghdad. After the death of the Ziyārī ruler, Mardāvīj ibn-Ziyār, in 935, three of his army officers, all sons of one Buwayh, took the power for themselves. The youngest, Ahmad, ruled in Iraq, around Basra, and eventually entered Baghdad in 945. He professed loyalty to caliph al-Mustakfī (944-946), only to depose him the next year, replacing him with the caliph al-Mutī (946-974). Thus the rule of the Buwayhī dynasty was established in Baghdad, and for the first time secular power was taken away from the hands of caliph, who remained in his post only as the spiritual leader of the Muslims. The Buwayhī remained in power for another century, keeping their tutelage of the 'Abbāsī caliphs until 1055, when they were replaced in Baghdad by the first true Turkish dynasty, the Seljuks.

While the *Buwayhi* were in control of Baghdad, the center of the 'Abbāsi Empire, the periphery was really ruled by other strong dynasties. In the east, there were the *Sāmāni* in Bukhara, extending their rule not only throughout Transoxiana, but also the whole of Khorāsān and parts of Afghanistan. As was the fashion of the time, the *Sāmāni* relied heavily on the use of mercenaries, among whom the Turks played a major role. Owing to the same reasons which brought about the decline of the 'Abbāsi power in the frontier provinces, viz. the heavy use of the mercenaries, the *Sāmāni*

found themselves in a situation where distant areas under their nominal control were actually gaining independence. Their Turkish officer, one Alptigin, whom, around 955, the *Samani* appointed the governor of Khorasan, moved to eastern Afghanistan, where he proclaimed himself the master of the town of Ghazni (Ghazna). In 977, Alptigin was deposed in Ghazni by another officer, Sebüktigin. The next year, Sebüktigin's son, Mahmud, became the ruler of Ghazni and asserted his independence from the *Samani*. The dynasty established by Sebüktigin, in Turkish known as *Gaznevi*, (*Gaznawi*), was probably the first known true Turkish dynasty to rule and establish itself in the abode of Islam.

At approximately the same time, another group of Turks, the *Karahanlı* (Karahanlıs), was pressing into the *Sāmānī* domains from Central Asia. Thus, by the end of the 10th century the *Sāmānī* rule was over, divided between the *Karahanlı*, who took Transoxiana, and the *Gaznevi*, who ruled in Khorāsān. The border between the two Turkish domains was the river Amu Dar'ya, which *Karahanlı*, after a defeat by the *Gaznevi*, in 1008, near Balkh, never tried to cross again. But, the real northern threat for the *Gaznevi* did come from Transoxiana, not from *Karahanlı*, but rather from the fellow Turks of the Oğuz tribe, the Seljuks, who were the mercenaries in the *Karahanlı* army and now started to invade steadily the Persian provinces in Khorāsān.

In 1038, the Seljuk leader, Tuğrulbey, proclaimed himself the military governor of Neyshabur and in 1040 expelled the *Gaznevi* from the province. Soon, the other Persian provinces to the southwest of Khorasan were taken: the three regions encircling the southern rim of the Caspian Sea, i.e. Jurjan (Gorgan), Tabaristan (Elburz

Mountains), and Azerbaijan, as well as Rayy (Rey) and Isfahan (Esfahan), in the heartland of Persia. With the *Buwayhi* power declining in Baghdad and the Seljuks pressing ever nearer to Iraq, the stage was set for the change of power and ruling dynasty in the 'Abbāsi capital. In December of 1055, Tuğrulbey finally entered Baghdad. For the next five years he did not find his position safely secured in Baghdad, owing mainly to the tensions concerning the caliphate, which was at that time equally claimed by two dynasties: the 'Abbāsi, in Iraq, and the Fātimi, in Egypt. Tuğurlbey's rival, the 'Abbāsi general al-Basāsīri, wanted power for himself; after a deliberate political calculation, he decided to profess his allegiance to the Fātimī caliph in Cairo.

* * *

The Fatimi-s themselves, established their rule and a separate line of caliphs a century earlier in North Africa, first in Tunis, and then in Egypt (969-1171). The Fatimi were an outgrowth of the Ismārīli movement, the offshoot of the Šīrah. But the origins of the Šīrah story brings us several centuries back, to the time of the Umawi and the burning issue of the mawāli. According to Bernard Lewis,

...the discontent of the Mawali found a religious expression in the movement known as the Shi'a... The Shi'ite propagandists appealed with great success to the discontented masses and especially to the Mawali, to whom the idea of a legitimate succession in the line of the Prophet had a far greater appeal than to the Arabs themselves. Shi'ism became essentially the expression in religious terms of opposition to the state and the established Order, acceptance of which meant conformity to the Sunni, or orthodox Islamic doctrine (1960: 71).

Therefore it is not surprising that the mawali became the partisans of the Šīcah movement which split into two wings - moderate and extremist. The revolutionary and more uncompromising wing was led by Muhammad ibn-Hanafiyyah, the son of ^cAli and the wife other than Fatimah. *Mawali* themselves sided with Hanafiyyah. After his death, the ibn-Hanafiyyah's son, Abu Hašim, established his own party, *Hašimiyyah*, which inherited and carried on the extremist policy of the \tilde{Si}^cah . When Abu Hašim died, in 716, he bequeathed his claims to caliphate to the member of the 'Abbas family, Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibnu'l- Abbas, who himself was the great grandson of the Prophet's uncle, 'Abbas, and the father of the first 'Abbasi caliph, as-Saffah. After his death in 743, Muhammad Abbas was succeeded by his son, Ibrahim. Now that the terrain was well prepared in Khorasan by his father's propaganda, Ibrahim dispatched to the province his emissary, Abu Muslim, a man of presumably Persian mawali origin. And in June of 747, according to Montgomery Watt, the 'Abbasi black flag was unfurled in Khorasan (Watt 1974: 30). This was the end of the Umawi rule. Ibrahim died a couple of years later, to be succeeded by his brother, as-Saffah, the first caliph of the line of 'Abbas. This also ended the importance and existence of the radical Šī^cah party of Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyyah.

After this, the \tilde{Si}^cah leadership switched to the moderate hands of the Fatimi line. But following the death of the sixth \tilde{Si}^ci Imam Jacfar as-Sadiq, in 765, instead of accepting Musa al-Kadim as the next Imam, the radical group deemed that the rightful successor should have been Ismacil, as-Sadiq's other son, who had, however, died before his father. These radical \tilde{Si}^ci , the Ismacili, chose Ismacil's son, Muhammad,

and continued their line of Imams through him. The Ismā'īlī were especially strong in Yemen and by the 10th century they spread their activity to North Africa. In 908, after they firmly established themselves in Tunis, the Ismā'īlī chose as their leader the Imam 'Ubaidallāh, a descendant of Muḥammad ibn Isma'īl. He proclaimed himself as the long awaited Fāṭimī Mahdi, who would initiate an era of ideal Islamic rule (Sachedina 1981: 13). Thus, it was not only that 'Ubaidallāh inherited the title of the Šī'ī Imam, but he also proclaimed himself the Caliph of the Muslims. Since he was of the Fāṭimī line, 'Ubaidallāh became the first Fāṭimī Caliph who thus challenged the legitimate right to that post of the 'Abbāsī Caliph in Baghdad.

It was not too long before the Fatimi moved eastwards along the Mediterranean coast of Africa. In 969, the fourth Fatimi caliph, Mu^cizz, captured Egypt. His general Jawhar entered Fustat, Old Cairo, after which date the name of the 'Abbasi caliph was not mentioned in Friday Ritual Worship. Jawhar build the new city, Qahira, "the triumphant one," in the West known as Cairo, which, in 973, became the Fatimi capital.

* * *

The mid tenth century was probably the peak of Fatimi rule in Egypt. During the reign of the Fatimi caliph Mustansir (1036-1094), the Fatimi Empire included "the whole of North Africa, Sicily, Egypt, Syria and western Arabia" (B. Lewis 1960: 112). And as we know, this was also the time of the last Buwayhi years in Baghdad and the

final decline of the 'Abbasi dynasty. The Seljuk, Tuğrulbey, entered Baghdad in 1055 and proclaimed himself Sultan, the secular leader of Muslims, keeping the 'Abbasi' caliph as the spiritual keeper of the Prophet Muhammad's legacy. Since the 'Abbasi Empire was now practically squeezed into the tiny area around Baghdad, the Seljuks controlling everything to the east, and Fatimi holding the area to the west and south, it is understandable that the Tugrulbey's chief adversary, the 'Abbasi general Basasiri, did not have any other choice but to seek for help among the powerful Fatimi. When, a few years after Tuğrulbey's arrival in Baghdad, Basasırı succeeded in gaining brief control over the city and 'Abbasi caliph al-Qa'im (1031-1075), he ordered that the name of the Fatimi caliph al-Mustansir be mentioned in the Friday Ritual Worship, wherewith acknowledging his allegiance to the Fatimi and temporarily abolishing the 'Abbasi Caliphate. However, Basasiri did not dispose of the 'Abbasi caliph nor did he dispatch him to Cairo. Instead he kept al-Qa'im close to home as a strong card in his political game. But, Tuğrulbey managed to gain the upper hand in Baghdad, defeating and killing Basasiri. He then restored al-Qa'im as caliph and married his daughter, thus mixing the lineage of the family of Prophet and Turks.

Tuğrulbey's son, Alparslan, lit. the "brave lion," succeeded his father as the second Seljuk sultan (1063-1072). To the east, the only threat were the *Gaznevi*, in eastern Afghanistan, with whom Alparslan kept peace. Western Afghanistan and the whole of Persia, including Khorasan and Khwarizm, the area encompassing the delta of Amu Dar'ya, were securely under his control. By the end of the 1060s, he took the frontier area of Azerbaijan, thus stopping short of entering into Anatolia. Here, on the

western front, Alparslan, as a *Sunni* Muslim, had to deal with two important powers: the *Šī i Fātimī*, in Syria, and Christian Byzantines, in Anatolia. Alparslan succeeded in capturing Halab (Aleppo), the northwestern province in Syria, forcing the local emir to abandon the suzerainty of the *Fātimī*. To the northeast, on the border of Azerbaijan and Anatolia, the Turkish fighters of the frontier, *gazi*, were now free to make raids into Anatolia, which of course made the Byzantine emperor uneasy. Resolute to defend his Christian lands in eastern Anatolia, the Byzantine Emperor Romanus Diogenus took his army against the Seljuks. The two armies met at Manzikert (Malazgirt), to the north of Lake Van, and in a battle of August 26, 1071, the Byzantine army was defeated and the emperor himself taken prisoner by the Seljuks. This was the beginning of the Byzantine collapse, the empire which would endure for another four centuries, while increasingly shrinking in its territory. In 1453, the Ottoman Turks would finally destroy it by capturing the city, which thereafter became known as Istanbul.

The second Great Seljuk sultan, Alparslan, was killed a year after the battle of Manzikert and was succeeded by his son, Malikşah, who ruled the empire for another twenty years (1072-1092). During the reign of Malikşah the Seljuk Empire reached its peak, but also started to decline. Following their raids, gazi slowly settled in the conquered territories, and many parts of southeastern and southern Anatolia became Muslim. These now settled gazi established their own principalities and petty states, having their own princes and strong leaders. They were kept in check as long as Malikşah lived; but soon after his death, there was nothing that could stop these

already semi-autonomous principalities from rising in power. The Great Seljuk

Empire continued for some time after Malikşah, in a succession of weak sultans whose

power was taken away by family feuds and internal quarrels.

The head of one of the newly established petty states in Anatolia was the Seljuk prince Süleyman, the son of Tuğurlbey's cousin Kutlumuş. By the time of his death, in 1086, Süleyman, based in the southern Anatolian province of Cilicia, which roughly corresponded to the today's Adana province, managed to enhance his power over the neighboring smaller Seljuk rulers in Anatolia, thus forming a base for a new empire, which would become known as the Seljuks of Rum.³ The Empire of the Seljuks of Rum was established, soon after the death of Malikşah, by the Süleyman's son Kılıç Arslan. The Seljuks of Rum made the central Anatolian city of Konya their capital, from which they ruled central and eastern Anatolia for almost another 200 years, when, in the late thirteenth century, the Osman dynasty rose.

The twelfth century saw the rise and establishment of the Seljuks of Rum in Anatolia and the disappearance of the Great Seljuks in Iraq and the Fatimi in Egypt. The latter were dismantled by Salāhu'd-dīn, in the West better known as Saladin, who was a Kurdish officer from Mawsil (Mosul), in northern Iraq. Saladin went to Egypt, where he became the Fatimi vezir (vezir). He soon gained the power for himself and, in 1171, declared the end of the Fatimi Caliphate. Since this was the time of the

³In Arabic the word rum means the Byzantines and their empire. It is understandable that the Byzantines, as the inheritors of the Roman Empire, were called by Arabs and other Muslims the Rums, "Romans." Since the territory of Byzantine Empire spread over Anatolia (Asia Minor), the name Rum was also applied to the land. Thus, the term Seljuks of Rum meant the Seljuk Empire in Anatolia.

end of the Great Seljuks in Iraq, the question of the continuation of the 'Abbāsī Caliphate became acute. As we have seen, since the time of the Buwayhī, the 'Abbāsī caliphs had become powerless puppets in the hands of the sultans, the secular rulers. Now that the Seljuks had disappeared there was no power left in Iraq to support the spiritual leadership of the caliph. After ending the Fātimī rule and the Šī caliphate in Egypt, Saladin realized that, in order to make his own rule legitimate in the eyes of the Muslim community, he had to profess allegiance to the 'Abbāsī caliph in Baghdad. So he did; and the 'Abbāsī caliph's name was now, after two full centuries, again mentioned in Cairo in the Friday Ritual Worships. Thus the temporary experiment with the Šī caliphate was over forever. For the next seven and a half centuries, the succeeding Muslim empires, i.e. Mamlūk-s (عملوك) and Ottomans, would carry on the legacy of the Sunnī Islam.

Before his death, in 1193, Saladin brought Syria under his domain thus creating the Syro-Egyptian Empire. He was succeeded by the Ayyūbī family. The Ayyūbī were Kurds in origin, as Saladin himself was, but theirs was a regime of Turkish Seljuk type (B. Lewis 1960: 154). Their short-lived reign in Egypt ended in the mid-thirteenth century, when, after the death of the last Ayyūbī, a Kıpçak Turk named Baibars became sultan. This Baibars was a mamlūk, a member of a special social and military group of Turks which appeared early in the 'Abbāsī period. According to B. Lewis:

The Arabs had first met the Turks in central Asia [Transoxiana] and had for some time imported them to the Muslim Near East as slaves, especially of the type trained from early childhood for military and administrative purposes and later known as *mamluk* (owned), to distinguish them from the humbler slaves

used for domestic and other purposes. [The first 'Abbasi caliph who used the mamluk-s] extensively was Mu^ctasim (833-842) (B. Lewis 1960: 146).

Due to their military and administrative excellence, the *mamluk*-s rose high in the ranks of the *Ayyūbī* administration, so it is not surprising that it was one of them, Baibars, who eventually became the sultan, establishing, in 1260, the *Mamlūk* Empire which lasted in Egypt until 1517.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century the Muslim world saw a new threat, coming from the inner Asia. The Mongol army, led by Cengiz Han (Genghis Khan), was rapidly approaching Transoxiana, conquering it in 1220. A year later, Cengiz Han crossed the Amu Dar'ya and entered Khorasan. The heart of Islamic civilization, now in full disarray, could not offer any resistance. The Mongols' advance was briefly interrupted by the death of Cengiz Han, in 1227. But, by the middle of the century, the grandson of Cengiz Han, Hulagu, was in power leading the Mongols to further advances. In 1258, Hulagu entered Baghdad and killed the caliph Musta'sim, thus abolishing the 'Abbāsi Caliphate. Since the caliph Musta sim left no sons behind, the continuation of the caliphate was doomed. However, two members of the 'Abbāsi family managed to escape from Baghdad, taking refuge with the Fāṭimī, in Cairo. In 1261, the first of them, an uncle of Musta'sim, was invited by Baibars himself, who, only a couple of years after Hulagu's capture of Baghdad, became the first Fāṭimī sultan. Seizing the moment, Baibars used the tragedy of Baghdad for his own political ends. Baibars knew that having an 'Abbāsī as the caliph in Cairo would give his

secular rule sovereign legitimacy. Thus the institution of the caliphate was saved, and it continued in Egypt for another two and a half centuries.

The Mongol Empire did not last long. Spreading from China all the way to Iraq, it became too vast to be controlled from a single center; and the further westward expansion of the Mongols was checked by the Fatimi, who, in 1260, defeated Hulagu in Syria and Palestine. When Hulagu died, in 1265, the Mongol Empire broke into pieces. His successors established their rule in Iran, Iraq and Anatolia. Their dynasty, *İlhanlı*, got its name after Hulagu, who had the title of *İlhan*, the "provincial han" ($\dot{\omega} = xan$), and survived until the mid-fourteenth century. Although mainly Buddhists, *İlhanlı* gradually accepted Islam, while their Mongol descent and ties with Cengiz Han went into oblivion. They are usually branded as converts to Si^ci Islam, although several *İlhanlı* rulers switched back and forth between the Si^cah and Sunnah (Spuler 1988: 211).

Thus, after the first six centuries of its existence, roughly from 650-1250, the Muslim world found itself in disunity and a vacuum of power, without a clear sign on the horizon of what might happen next. The Mongols did not seem to be the potential future carriers of Muslim culture and civilization. But the Turks, who started infiltrating the Muslim world in the ninth century, were by now all over the place, from Khorasan to Iraq to Anatolia to North Africa. This was a moment which they would have soon grasped, finally making a definitive mark on the history of Eurasia. As we have seen, when in the mid-eleventh century the Great Seljuks took Iraq and Azerbaijan, many Turkish gazi-s had an ample opportunity to make raids into eastern

Anatolia, penetrating into the so far sovereign territory of the Byzantine Empire. The end of the century saw the first Crusaders arriving. The second wave of Turkish nomads in Anatolia occurred during the Mongol onslaught. Rapidly moving westwards in front of the powerful Mongol army, these Turkish nomads spread tension throughout the empire of the Seljuks of Rum. In the early 1240s the Seljuks of Rum were defeated by the Mongols and made their vassals. This vacuum of central power in Anatolia made the local gazi-s thrive. With the Seljuk power forever gone in Anatolia and the Mongol empire rapidly crumbling after the Hulagu's death, the local gazi-s were now the only remaining force left without any serious check. And with Byzantine power constantly declining, Anatolia was now practically in the gazi's hands. The Seljuk sultan in Konya was still a theoretical sovereign. His authority in the gazi lands, known as uc, marches, was represented by the emir, a military and administrative commander of province. In contrast to this official organization, writes Stanford Shaw, on the local level the real centers of power in the marches were the Turkoman [Turkish] tribes. The local commanders, called bey-s, led the struggle against the infidel and were therefore gazi-s. As such, they were independent of the Seljuk march emir-s (S. Shaw 1976: 9). The most powerful of these bey-s established their small dynasties in Anatolia, such as Mentese Bey in the southwestern coastal marches, the Germiyan dynasty in Kütahya, the Aydın dynasty around Smyrna (İzmir), the Saruhan dynasty in Magnesia (Manisa), and the Karaman dynasty in Larende (Karaman). Among these was the principality of Osman, in northern Phrygia, between the cities of Dorylaem (Eskişehir) and Nicaea (İznik), thus the westernmost gazi

principality in Anatolia and the closest one to the Byzantine capital, Constantinople.

This is where and how the Osman dynasty began. Kinross writes:

The Ottomans owed their ultimate imperial destiny to an initial geographical accident: the fact of their strategic situation in the northwest corner of Asia Minor, right on the Asiatic frontiers of the Byzantine Empire at the time of its decline, moreover within easy reach of the sea and lands of Balkan Europe beyond it (Kinross 1977: 25).

CHAPTER FIVE: Tasavvuf, Music and Ottoman Empire

Muslim mysticism, *tasavvuf*, seems to be an inseparable and truly integral part of Turkish culture, society and history. Throughout the centuries it remained an underlying element of Turkish everyday life, practice, religious feelings and, of course, politics. Even in the most recent time, in republican Turkey, whose laws are based on those of Western democracy, *tasavvuf* remains, despite the government's unfavorable official stance towards religion, as vitally important in the lives of many Turks, as it ever was.

The term tasavvuf (تصوف taṣawwuf), Sufism, derives from the word sofi or sufi (موفى ṣūfī), meaning a Muslim mystic, Sufi. L. Massignon writes:

The individual surname al-sufi first appeared in history in the second half of the eighth century with Diabir Ibn Haiyan, a Shi alchemist of Kufa, who professed an ascetic doctrine of his own... and Abu Hashim of Kufa, a celebrated mystic. As to the plural sufiya which appears in 199/814 in connection with a minor rising in Alexandria..., it was applied about the same date... to a semi-Shi school of Muslim mysticism which originated in Kufa... The name sufi is then at first clearly confined to Kufa" (SEI 1960: 580).

In this early stage of the development of *tasavvuf*, Kufa and Basra were the two important centers of Muslim mystics. But, early in the second half of the ninth

¹This dissertation covers the period up to the summer of 1991. In the meantime the process of change in Turkish politics has introduced the political parties which openly advocate a religious agenda, such as the *Refah Partisi*, the Welfare Party, which won the elections in January 1996. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the new world order call for the review of the geopolitical and strategic position of Turkey as a democratic Islamic country and a member of the NATO pact. How Turkish tasavvuf reflects these new changed circumstances is an open question.

century, Baghdad replaced them as the center of mysticism. In 864, in Baghdad, "the first meeting-places for religious discussions and sacred concerts (halka) were opened, with the first public lectures on mysticism in the mosques" (SEI 1960: 580). As Gibb argues, the tasavvuf leaders were at first of the class of ulema (علماء 'alim, pl. علماء 'ulama', savant, theologian). But in the course of the third Muslim century their place was taken by men who had been brought up in the traditional religious disciplines, but who belonged for the most part to the lower middle or artisan classes of the towns, especially from the mixed half-Persian, half-Aramaized Arab population of Baghdad (Gibb 1949: 134). Thus, we might say that for the most part the early tasavvuf accepted Sunni Islam as its own theology and spread it among the masses. Since this was a blend of Sunni Islam and mysticism, the appeal among the ordinary people of the interior, including the mawali, was probably great. The tasavvuf missionaries were especially active in Khorasan where they used all their energy to bring Islam - or better, their brand of it - to the local population and especially to the newcomers from inner Asia, the shamanist Turks. The latter responded eagerly and took tasavvuf as their own.

Originally, tasavvuf spread its roots only in Iraq and Iran, and not in Syria,

Egypt or the Arabian Peninsula. One might speculate that tasavvuf as a way of

dealing individually with God through the mystic love was not close to the Arabs. It

seems to have been the "invention" of the frontiers, which were, before they accepted

Islam, following religions in which mysticism was a strong undercurrent. In Sunni

Islam there is no room for passion and exuberant feelings since modesty is the ultimate

goal. In tasavvuf, however, the passionate love which consumes the Sufi entirely is the goal to be strived for and ultimately reached. Only in the complete denial of oneself and this world can one reach the essence of God's love, i.e. become the Beloved, and vice versa: one who is thus Beloved loves God back who in turn, by being loved, becomes Beloved. Here, Sufi love makes a full circle in which both the Sufi and God are Beloved. Of course, there is nothing modest or down-to-earth-rational in this burning love of tasavvuf. The Šīrīah has passion too. The tragedy of Karbalā' was raised to the heights of passionate drama which is being kept in memories of its followers. The Šīrīa history is full of sehid-s (applicability), tracing their genealogy to 'Alī and his son Husayn, the martyr of Karbalā'.

The first tasavvuf orders, tarikat-s, originated in Baghdad and in the area of Khorasan, Khwarizm and Transoxiana. The oldest Baghdad tarikat-s are the Kadiri (Qadiriyah) and Rufai (Rifa iyah). The Kadiri tarikat was named after the famous Sufi, Abdülkadir Geylânî ('Abdu'l-Qadir Gilani, d. 1166). Abdülkadir was born in the district of Gilan, south of the Caspian Sea, and was probably of non-Arab or not purely Arab descent. He was sent to Baghdad at the age of eighteen to pursue his studies. He himself did not found the tarikat, but that was done by his followers, after his death. The second important Baghdad tarikat, Rufai, was founded by Rufai (Ahmad b. 'Alī Abu'l-'Abbās al-Rifa'ī, d. 1183), who is sometimes said to have been the student of Abdülkadir, which explains why these two orders remained so closely related to this day.

Other big tarikat-s developed in Khorasan, and majority of them were Turkish. Among these are the Yesevi (Yasawiyah) and Nakşibendi (Naqšabandiyah). The Yesevi tarikat was founded by the şeyh Ahmed Yesevi (d. 1167), who was born in Sayram, in eastern Turkestan. Later on, Ahmed's father, şeyh İbrahim, moved to the town Yesi, the capital of the Oğuz Han, and, because of this new place he lived in, Ahmed assumed the nickname Yesevi (Şapolyo 1964: 80). Yesevi spread his tarikat throughout Khorasan and Transoxiana. Approximately two centuries later, the Nakşibendi tarikat was founded by Hoca Mehmet Bahaeddin Nakşibend (1317-1389), who was born near Bukhara and spread his activity only in Transoxiana, Khwarizm and Khorasan. Later, the Nakşibendi spread to Anatolia.

With time, these "Khorasani" tarikat-s got carried by the Turks themselves to Anatolia, and some of them developed only there. It was largely the historical events of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which contributed to the development of the purely Turkish tarikat-s in the century following the deaths of Abdülkadir and Rufai.

After the battle of Manzikert (1071) the Turkish *gazi*-s spread in eastern and southern Anatolia, establishing their own semi-independent Seljuk principalities.

Kinross writes that these march-warriors,

...were on the march once more, raiding and even capturing towns without hindrance across the Byzantine frontier zone. Soon they were reinforced not only by Turcoman tribes, as before, but also by "holy men," sheikhs and dervishes of an unorthodox Moslem persuasion, who had fled from Turkestan and Persia into Asia Minor and who rekindled Turkish enthusiasm for war against the infidel (Kinross 1977: 19).

The Great Seljuks in Baghdad were happy to get rid of these "holy men" of Kinross, i.e. Sufis, "because of their influence over the people," and they did not hinder them from spreading into the new frontier in Anatolia. Now, "all over Anatolia these leaders were able to establish their orders and extend them into confederations that, with the related artisan guilds, came to comprise a strong and vital substructure of society that cushioned the mass of the people against the political and military turmoil of the time" (S. Shaw 1976: 10).

The urban life of the thirteenth century Seljuk Anatolia was carried mainly by the *ahi*-s, the network of brotherhoods of the type of guild, who were organized so as to bring help and relief to the people when the defenses of the centralized state failed (S. Shaw 1976: 12). These *ahi*-s were an important element of the Seljuk Empire and as such they were supported by the Seljuk sultan in Konya. The reason for this was in the economic vitality of state, which heavily depended on *ahi*-s. On the other side, if not all were themselves Sufis, *ahi*-s were certainly the sympathizers of the *tasavvuf*.

In the 1220s, a renowned scholar and great Sufi was on his way to Anatolia. This was the *Sultan'ül-Ulema*, "Lord of Scholars," Bahaeddin Veled from Balkh, the ancient Bactria, a city to the south of Amu Dar'ya, in today's northern Afghanistan. He was the father of the famous Turkish Sufi, Mevlâna Celâleddin Rûmî, the progenitor of the *Mevlevî Tarikat*. In 1221 Bahaeddin Veled and his family arrived to Lârende (Karaman), a town in central Anatolia, not far away from Konya, the seat of the Seljuks of Rum. The *emir* of Lârende, tradition says, wholeheartedly embraced this Sufi doctor and built a *medrese*, school, for him to teach in.

The family stayed in Lârende for some seven years. During this time, tradition goes on, the Seljuk prince, Alaeddin Keykubad, heard about this Sultan'ül-Ulema, and invited him to Konya. Bahaeddin Veled accepted the invitation and moved to Konya in 1228. He assumed the position of professor in a local medrese, and then in another medrese, built especially for him by the emir Bedreddin Gevhertas. After Veled's death, in 1231, his son Mevlâna Celâleddin took over his teaching position and spread the circle of Sufis in Konya. Among Mevlâna's followers was the one Celebi Hüsameddin, a son of the leader of ahi-s in Konya. After his father's death, Hüsameddin inherited the role of the ahi leader. Since the ahi-s had the strong tasavvuf attachment, it is not surprising that one among Mevlâna's favorite followers was one of them. Hüsameddin and his ahi brotherhood joined the spiritual circle of Mevlâna, even contributing all of their fortune to him. From now on, the Hüsameddin's house became the center of Mevlâna's activity. On Mevlâna's death, in 1273, it was Hüsameddin who established the tarikat of Mevlâna's followers, who now became known as the Mevlevî. Thus Hüsameddin became the first çelebi, a title of the head of the main Mevlevî dergâh in Konya. After Hüsameddin Çelebi's death, the celebi post was taken by Mevlâna's son, Sultan Veled (d. 1312), and remained hereditary within the Mevlâna family until 1925. From the time of Mevlâna on, tasavvuf became an indispensable part of Ottoman Turkish history.

The second truly Turkish *tarikat* which originated in Anatolia was the *Bektaşi*. Although it has not been historically established, the *Bektaşi* of Turkey believe that the *tarikat* was founded by Hacı Bektaş Veli, who came to Anatolia from Khorāsān.

According to R. Tchudi, "we may take it, however, as sure that there appeared in the XIIth century, among the Anatolian derwishes, a certain Hadidii Bektash from Khurasan" (SEI 1960: 61). But Enver Şapolyo records that Hacı Bektaş was born in 1243, in Neyshabur (Nişapur) (Şapolyo 1964: 298). He got acquainted with the tasavvuf of the Yesevi tarikat of Khorasan and became a dervish. In 1267 he moved to Anatolia and in 1281 arrived at Eskişehir. He finally settled nearby a central Anatolian town of Kırşehir, in a place which was named after him, Hacıbektaş. Here, in Hacıbektaş, he died in 1337. Şapolyo also writes that Hacı Bektaş visited at one point the Mevlevî dergâh in Konya, whose head at the time was Ulu Arif (1312-1320), the third Mevlevî çelebi, the son of Sultan Veled, and grandson of Mevlâna. Contrary to Mevlâna, who wrote his famous Mesnevi in Persian, Haci Bektaş Veli nourished the folk Turkish poetry.

But, before we see how important these two *tarikat*-s were in the development of Ottoman Turkish politics, society, and culture, it is necessary to give a short overview of the first two Ottoman centuries.

Early Ottomans and the Development of Ottoman Culture

The Ottoman progenitor, Sultan Osman Gazi (r. 1281-1324), had his principality located at the doorstep of Constantinople and separated from the Marmara Sea by a narrow stretch of Byzantine land between Bursa and Nicomedia (İzmit). Realizing that his destiny was towards the northwest, into the weakly defended Byzantine territory, Osman took Eskişehir, to the rear, and then proceeded to capture

Yenişehir, a city between two important Byzantine cities, Bursa and Nicaea (İznik).

Capturing Yenişehir, which he made his new capital, Osman had severed the communications between these two Byzantine cities. By his death, his principality was firmly established and safe.

Osman's son, Orhan (1324-1362), captured Bursa, made it the new Ottoman capital, and brought the Ottoman dominions to the Sea of Marmara. Now,

Constantinople was just across the sea. Nicaea and Nicomedia followed the suit, and when in 1338 he took Üsküdar, Orhan was able to look at the walls of Constantinople from the Asian shore of Bosphorus. He was also able to occupy the area to the west of Bursa, taking the land of Karesi, between Balıkesir and Çanakkale, at the mouth of the Dardanelles. The Gallipoli Peninsula was thus widely open for his army to carry it to Europe. And so he did. Owing to the Byzantine political disturbances, the pretender to the throne, John VI Cantacuzene turned to Orhan for help; and in 1346 the Ottoman army crossed over into Thrace, and from this date on, the Turks decided never to leave Europe again.

Orhan's son and successor to the throne, Sultan Murat I (r. 1362-1389), decidedly moved further into Europe, making his state and empire from then on a serious partner in dealings with Europe and the Pope. Murat transferred his capital further west, to Edirne (Adrianople) in Thrace, abandoning his center of gravity from the Muslim Anatolia for Christian Europe.

After the brief Interregnum (1402-1413), which began with the Ottoman defeat by Timur, who in 1402 brought Murat's son, Sultan Bayezit I Yıldırım, the

Thunderbolt, in chains to Bursa, the Ottoman conquest continued under Mehmed I (1413-1421) and Murat II (1421-1451). But it was the seventh Ottoman Sultan, Mehmed II Fatih, the Conqueror (1451-1481), who in 1453 captured Constantinople, made it his new and final Ottoman capital, renamed it İstanbul, and dismantled the Byzantine Empire. The lands in Europe, stretching from Istanbul to Bosnia, including Bulgaria, Macedonia, Serbia, Wallachia, were all under the Mehmed II's suzerainty and/or occupation.

During the first two centuries of Ottoman conquests and the establishment of the empire, it is hard to speak about any firmly-founded Ottoman culture. This was a period of turbulent events which did not permit any lasting opportunity for cultural fermentation. One factor was the constant change of capital, from Yenişehir, to Bursa, to Edirne, to Istanbul. This implies that no firm court life and the aristocratic practices were able to take root. But they were in the making. The second issue is that of religion and the *ulema*, who were the only scholars capable of advancing the state of scholarship and knowledge in the empire.

The Ottoman Turks, like the Seljuks before them, accepted *Sunni* Islam. But neither the Seljuks nor the early Ottomans had had any direct or firm attachment to the 'Abbāsi caliphs. Orhan, for example, had his name alone mentioned in the Friday Ritual Worships (S. Shaw 1976: 14). The Sufis were ubiquitous in his realm, and the *ahi*-s had the power. Orhan's succession was confirmed by the *ahi*-s, and he in turn supported their activities and established the *vakif*-s, pious foundations, for *ahi*-s and Sufis, thus encouraging the nomads to accept Ottoman leadership.

Anatolia, where the Ottomans now spread their rule, was an old Byzantine Christian land. The way the Ottomans acted in Anatolia was surely different from previous Arab empires in Syria, Iraq, and Persia. While the Arabs had their mawali problem during the *Umawi* rule and the Turkish problem during the 'Abbasi period, Ottoman Turks had to come to terms with the Byzantine legacy. Not only were their court practices inherited from the Byzantines (as the 'Abbasi likewise inherited a great deal from the Persians; Watt 1974: 100-101), but several early Ottoman sultans were actually half-Christians. Orhan married Theodora, a daughter of the emperor Cantacuzene; Murat I and Beyazıt I had Greek mothers, while Murat himself married the Bulgarian princess Tamara and the Byzantine princess Helena. Beyazıt I married Despina, daughter of the Serbian prince Lazar. In order to improve the quality of his army Murat I organized a new military force composed of the kapıkulu, "slaves of the Porte," who were brought to the sultan as his pençik, the "fifth" of the share of booty captured from the enemy. These were Christian youths from captured lands who were in the sultan's personal possession. They were educated in Turkish, Arabic and Islamic disciplines and constituted the "new troops," yeniceri, or Janissary. This practice of collecting Christian boys in Europe became known as the devşirme.

The yeniçeri, Christians by birth, but now Muslim soldiers, as a rule joined the Bektaşi order. Although the Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam denies the Bektaşi tradition that Hacı Bektaş Veli was the founder of the yeniçeri (SEI 1960: 61), Kinross writes that "in place of Christianity, they [the yeniçeri] were brought up on the broad unorthodox Moslem precepts of the Bektashi order of dervishes, of which Orkhan had

been a devout patron, building for them convents with monastic cells in Bursa. Their sheikh, Haji Bektash, blessed the new troops and gave them their standard, on which was emblazoned in scarlet the Crescent and the double-bladed sword of Osman" (Kinross 1977: 48-49). Regardless of the question of whether Hacı Bektaş was the founder of the *yeniçeri*, the important point is that the *Bektaşi* order was *Şii* and quite close to Christianity.² The *Mevlevî* themselves remained *Sünni*.

The second *Bektaşi pir* and the person who gave the final form and content to the *Bektaşi* rituals was Balum Sultan, the eighth *Bektaşi baba* in succession after Hacı Bektaş Veli. Enver Şapolyo writes that according to a document from the Valide Camii library in Manisa, "When Sultan Mehmed Fatih conquered Serbia [in summer of 1459, thus ending its independence] he took numerous captives, among whom were the siblings, a Serbian princess and a prince. Sultan Mehmed dispatched these two to a *Bektaşi tekke* in Dimotoka [Dhidhimóthikhon, today in Greece, a town on the river Maritsa], where they became *Bektaşi* dervishes. One of the *Bektaşi*-s, Sersem Ali Baba, married a Serbian princess, and had a son with her, Balum Sultan" (Şapolyo 1964: 320).

It was in Dimotoka where Mehmed's son and successor, Sultan Beyazıt II Veli (r. 1481-1512), who built the Beyazıt mosque in Istanbul, was born and raised.

Beyazıt Veli was the son of a slave girl, Gülbehar, of presumably Albanian or Greek

²It is nevertheless possible that Hacı Bektaş could have been the founder of the *yeniçeri*, assuming that Şapolyo's information about the date of his death, 1337, is correct. This would make Tchudi's conclusion, that Hacı Bektaş appeared in Anatolia in the twelfth century, at least a hundred years too early.

Christian origin; whom his father, Mehmed II, married in Magnesia (Kinross 1977: 93). Beyazıt Veli had connections with *Bektaşi*-s in Dimotoka. When he became sultan, he sent Balum Sultan to the *Bektaşi dergâh* in Hacıbektaş in order to have him stem the *Şii* propaganda coming from Şah İsmail. This is how, according to Şapolyo, Balum Sultan found himself in Hacıbektaş as the second pir. Beyazıt Veli and Balum Sultan had at least one thing in common: both had the Christian mothers.

Meanwhile, the *Mevlevî* order underwent a restructuring and formal reorganization similar to that of the Bektaşi under Balum Sultan. This happened at approximately the same time, in the second half of the fifteenth century. According to Mehmed Önder, "the Mevlevi order as such was actually organized under the leadership of Adil Celebi, the second pir, who died in 1460, and who was responsible for formulating the rites and practices of the Mevlevi as a religious group" (1990: 42). Around the time of its formation as an order, the Mevlevî line of descendence was matrilineally intermingled with the Ottoman dynasty when Devlet Hatun married Sultan Beyazıt I Yıldırım. This Devlet Hatun was a daughter of Yakup Han, a Germiyan descendent of Sultan Veled's daughter, Mutahhara Hatun. The Ottoman Mevlevî line was thus established when the son of Devlet Hatun, Mehmed, became the celebi in Konya. This hereditary link was maintained by later Ottoman sultans as well. It is known that Mehmed II Fatih had a close relationship with Cemaleddin Celebi, the son of the second Mevlevî pir, Adil Celebi. Beyazıt II Veli completely restored Mevlâna's tomb, providing it with ornamentation in its present form (Önder 1990: 42).

From this point on, the *Mevlevî* would become part and parcel of Ottoman history and the custodians of classical Ottoman culture, including music.

Beyond the four or five best known tarikat-s in Turkey, viz. Bektaşi, Mevlevî, Kadirî, Rufai, Nakşibendi, there is a multitude of other tarikat-s, some of which branch into an elaborate net of related tarikat-s and suborders. In his book, Mezhepler ve Tarikatlar Tarihi, "The History of Mezheb-s and Tarikat-s," Enver Şapolyo states that all tarikat-s can be differentiated according to their character and can be classified in the following four groups: Sünni, Alevî, Meslekî, and İhtilâlci tarikat-s (1964: 68). It is obvious that Şapolyo understands the word tarikat in a broad sense, i.e. literally as a "path" or "way" in Islam. In this sense, the idea of tasavvuf embraces the whole spectrum of characteristically different religious movements including even those as the pre-Islamic Mazdaism (which however continued in Muslim Persia under the 'Abbāsī), or Batıniye (بالطنية) Bātiniyyah) and Karamita (قراطة) Qaramitah), which Şapolyo classifies as the İhtilâlci tarikat-s, "revolutionary orders."

The *Meslekî*, lit. professional (guild), *tarikat*-s are the various *ahi tarikat*-s, generically known as *Ahilik*,³ and the tenth century *İhvanı Sefa* (إخوان الصفاء ixwānu'ṣ-ṣafā', the "Brotherhood of Purity").⁴ Among the *Alevî tarikat*-s are the *Kızılbaşlık*, *Tahtacılar*, and *Bektaşilik* (*Bektaşi*).

³The *ahi* (الخي *axī*) literally means a member of the brotherhood. The word comes from the Arabic أخ *ax*, brother. Its plural form, إخوان *ixwān*, brothers, also means the (Sufi) brotherhood.

⁴For the Brotherhood of Purity and its *The Epistle on Music*, see Shiloah (1978).

The sünni tarikat-s are more numerous. Beyond those mentioned before in this dissertation, Sapolyo lists the following: Bayramiye, Melâmiye, Bedeviye, Sazeliye, Sühreverdiye, Kübreviye, Düsukiye, Sadiye, Celvetiye and Halvetiye. The latter order is important here because the Cerrahi tarikat stemmed from it. The Halvetiye (خلوتية Xalwativyah) was established in the fourteenth century in Khwarizm by the Seyh ebi Abdullah Saracettin Ömer (d. 1397). The order got its name beacuse the Şeyh Ömer was practicing the halvet (خلوة xalwah), the dervish seclusion, çile, in a cell for a certain period of time spent in ascetic conditions, fasting, and the reading of litanies and zikir. The Halvetiye spread from Khwarizm to Khorasan and then to Anatolia, where it became a typical Turkish order. During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries the order branched, in Anatolia and Istanbul, into four kol-s, lit. arm, branch: Cemaliye, Ahmediye, Ruşeniye and Şemsiye. Each of these branches developed their own sub-branches. One of the Ahmediye sub-branches is Ramazaniye, established in the second half of the sixteenth century by the Seyh Ramazanettin Mahfi Efendi (1543-1616). The Ramazaniye then branched into several kol-s, as well: Cihangiriye, Buhuriye, Raufiye, Hayatiye, and Cerrahiye (Sapolyo 1964: 172-195).

The Cerrahi tarikat or Cerrahiye (جراحي Jarrāḥi, جراحي Jarrāḥiyyah) was established by Nurettin Cerrahi (1678-1721).5 According to the story told by the

⁵As the year of the Cerrahi's birth Şapolyo gives 1673 (1964: 194), which contrasts with the year 1678 as given in the booklet entitled اورانجراحية Awrādi Jarrāḥiyyah (Evrad-i Cerrahiye) published by The Jerrahi Order of America, Spring Valley, New York: "He [Cerrahi] was born before noon on a Monday, the twelfth of Rabi' al-Awwal, in the year 1089 Hijrah (c. May 4, 1678), in his family's mansion, Yagcizade Konagi [Yağcızade Konağı], which still exists today in a ruined state across from the main gate of the mosque of Cerrah Pasa [Paṣa] in Istanbul" (no pagination).

Repointed the Kadı (مالية appointed the Kadı (مالية appointed the Kadı (مالية appointed the Kadı (مالية appointed the Kadı), the chief judge, of Egypt. However, on the day of his departure by boat, a terrible storm broke out. Thus delayed, he went to visit his maternal uncle who lived in Üsküdar, across the street from the dergâh of the Celvetiye branch of Halveti tarikat, established by the pir Selâmi. The two of them visited the dergâh, whose şeyh, Alâuddin (Alâeddin) Kostendili, encouraged the young Cerrahi to enter the tasavvuf. The zikir performed after the namaz affected Cerrahi profoundly so much so that he left his place among the guests and joined in with other dervishes. During the zikir he experienced total ecstasy, so he asked the şeyh to accept him as a novice in order. The şeyh ordered Cerrahi to leave the world behind, which he did by declining the imperial order of his appointment in Egypt and notifying his wife to leave the house and move in with his parents. After forty days spent in halvet and çile, Cerrahi became a Halveti dervish and returned to his home to lead a simple dervish life.

In 1115/1703-1704, at the age of twenty-six, dervish Nurettin Cerrahi was advanced to the title of *şeyh* and sent to teach *tasavvuf* in Karagümrük area of

On the *Cerrahi tarikat* and its *zikir*, see also Feldman (1992b: 197-199). To my best knowledge, Walter Feldman is the first author who wrote in English about the musical aspects of the *Cerrahi zikir*.

⁶The story is from the Evrad-i Cerrahiye, mentioned in the previous footnote.

⁷Pir (Farsi بير pir) is the title of the founder of a tarikat, which usually, but not always, bears the founder's name: Bektaşi, Cerrahi, Kadirî, Rufai, etc. Şeyh is the title for the head of tarikat. Efendi, added at the end of the names, such as Şeyh Galip Efendi, is a honorific title of a learned man in general. When referring to the şeyh, without mentioning his name, dervishes usually say, şeyh efendi.

Istanbul. Around that time, a muezzin in the Canfeda Hatun Mosque in Karagümrük had a dream in which the Prophet Muhammed announced to him that the *Hazreti Pir*⁸ was on his way to open a *dergâh*. Şeyh Cerrahi arrived at Karagümrük and lived in a mosque cell built especially for him. In the same year, the new sultan, Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730), acceded to the Ottoman throne. He also had a dream in which the Prophet Muhammed ordered him to buy a mansion next to Canfeda Hatun Mosque and give it to the *şeyh* Cerrahi to establish a *dergâh*. The very same night, the chief eunuch in the sultan's Harem, Başir Ağa, had a similar dream in which the *şeyh* Cerrahi asked him for the same mansion. In the morning, the two told each other their dreams, and Sultan Ahmet decided to purchase the building. The money was given to the palace imam, Yahya Efendi, who brought it to the Seyh Cerrahi.

However, when Yahya Efendi showed up with money, the *şeyh* lifted the edge of the sheepskin, on which he was sitting, showing him a huge pile of gold.

Awestruck, Yahya returned the money to the Palace, resigned his office, and became a dervish of Şeyh Cerrahi. Eventually, Sultan Ahmed III, who according to the tradition also became the *Cerrahi* dervish, did build the *dergâh*, which still stands today. The official inauguration took place on the day of the *Mir'ac*, the 27th of Receb, 1115

⁸Hazret (عضرة ḥaḍrah), in titles also hazreti, is a honorific for an exalted religious personality, something like "his/her holiness." Thus, God is also called Hazreti Allah, the caliph Ali, Hazreti Ali, the Prophet Muhammed's daughter Ayşe, Hazreti Ayşe, etc.

[&]quot;Mir'ac (معراج mi'rāj) is the Prophet Muhammed's famous ascension to heaven, whose exact date has not been agreed upon but nevertheless accepted by tradition to have happened in the night of the 27th of Rajab in the year before the Hijra (Y. Ali 1983: 691). This ascension is described in the opening ayet of the Sūratu'l-Isrā'

A.H. / c. 6 December, 1704 C.E. During the same year the *şeyh* Cerrahi received, by divine inspiration, the *Esmayi Hasna*, the Names of Allah, the *Vird-i Şerif*, recitations and other formulae specific for the *Cerrahi* ritual, and the rules particular for the *Cerrahi tarikat* as a *Halveti* branch. With this, the new *tarikat* was formally established and the Şeyh Cerrahi became the *pir*.

Enderun Mektebi and Mevlevihane-s

Twelve years after the capture of Constantinople, Mehmed II Fatih started building the first Ottoman imperial palace of a grandeur characteristic of his Byzantine predecessors. This was the *Topkapi Sarayi*, "The Cannon Gate Palace," or the *Saray-i Hümayûn*, Imperial Palace, known in the 19th century Western writings as the Grand Seraglio. After its completion, the Topkapi Palace was not only the seat of the Sultan, but it "provided leadership for the Ruling Class as a whole" (S. Shaw 1976: 115). In laying out this new palace, Mehmed II Fatih "was to establish the pattern of Ottoman court life for many centuries to come" (Kinross 1977: 143-146).

The Palace soon became the center of Ottoman learning, art, and culture.

Structurally, it was divided into two parts: the *Birun*, or Outer Section, which comprised the offices of the government and the Sultan, and the *Enderun-i Hümayûn*,

⁽K117: 1): سبحان الذي السرى بعبده ليلامن المسجد الحرام الى المسجد الاقصا Subhanalladi isrā bi-ʿabdihi laylan mina'l- masjidi'l-harāmi ila'l-masjidi'l-aqṣā ("Glorified be He Who carried His servant by night from the Inviolable Place of Worship to the Far Distant Place of Worship"). A year before he emigrated to Medina, the Prophet was taken by Allah on a one night journey to heaven, from the mosque Masjidu'l-Harām, in Mecca, to the Masjidu'l-Aqṣā, the mosque built in the area of the Dome of the Rock, in Jerusalem, referred to in the above ayet as the "Far Distant" (aqṣā) mosque.

or Imperial Inner Section, (or *Enderun* for short), which consisted of the Sultan's throne room, his harem and private rooms, as well as rooms for pages and eunuchs.

The Enderun was divided into seven oda-s, chambers or departments: 1. Küçük Oda, Small Chamber, 2. Büyük Oda, Big Chamber, 3. Doğancı Odası, Falconry Chamber, 4. Seferli Odası, Campaign Chamber, 5. Kiler Odası, Larder, 6. Hazine Odası, Treasury Chamber, and 7. Has Oda, Privy Chamber. As such, the Enderun was also the alma mater of the Enderun Mektebi, Palace School, in which the upper crust of the ruling class and other Sultan's pages got their education. The education received in these Palace Chambers was hierarchical; and the students were able, owing to their merit only, to proceed gradually from the lowest, Küçük Oda, all the way to the highest, Has Oda, where the services performed were directly connected to the sultan. A student/page in the Enderun Mektebi was known as an iç oğlan, inner service boy and on entering the Küçük Oda, an iç oğlan would start climbing on the merit ladders of the Ottoman ruling hierarchy.

The training in the *Enderun Mektebi* included the learning of the Turkish,

Arabic and Persian languages and literature, religious and military disciplines, Turkish history, mathematics, sports, and the fine arts which included music, calligraphy and miniature painting. The music education itself was the basis for the creation of the Palace Music Ensemble, *Saray Fasıl Heyeti*, and the music school, *Enderun Musiki Mektebi*. The Palace Ensemble "gave regular concerts for the Sultan, besides saluting him with song half an hour before dawn and an hour and a half after sunset, and with musical greetings on other occasions" (Kinross 1977: 151). The most musically gifted

iç oğlan-s would be kept in the Palace Music Ensemble or were given religious positions of palace muezzins and imams. The iç oğlan-s who became religious servants, i.e. clergy and members of ulema, were given the title of efendi; other Palace servants, administrators and military men, including the yeniçeri, received the title of ağa.

The emphasis on the systematic music education of religious servants, like imams and muezzins, was an important feature of the *Enderun Musiki Mektebi*, and it represented a novelty in Islam. The Ottomans realized how important music was for the performance of ritual worship, *namaz*, the call to ritual worship, *ezan*, as well as for other religious forms. Among the services in the highest ranked imperial chamber, *Has Oda*, there was the office of the *müezzinbaşı*, Head Muezzin, also variously known as the *hunkâr müezzini*, "Sultan's Muezzin," or the *ser-müezzin-i hazret-i şehriyârî*, "Head Muezzin of the Sovereign." This muezzin was the Sultan's personal muezzin, who would read the *ezan* for the Sultan's performance of *namaz* in the Palace. The *müezzinbaşı* was carefully selected from among the best musicians and composers at the Palace. This explains the role music played in the training of the palace muezzins and through these the importance attached to the

However, Yılmaz Öztuna writes that in the Enderun Musiki Mektebi only secular, dinduşı, music was taught. The performance and learning of religious music was carried on outside the Palace, mainly by the Mevlevî dervishes, in their tekke-s and dergâh-s, also known as the mevlevihane. This suggests that at this early stage in the

development of Turkish classical music, the difference between the religious and non-religious music was based on text exclusively, and in cases where the music was instrumental the difference did not exist at all or was not, at least, recognizable.

The first *mevlevîhane*, Galata, opened in Istanbul in 1492, during the reign of Sultan Beyazıt II Veli, followed by the *mevlevihane* in Yenikapı, in 1598; then in Beşiktaş, 1621; Kasımpaşa, 1631; and others in Üsküdar, Eyub, Edirnekapısı (Öztuna 1990/2: 54-55). From now on Konya would remain only a symbolic center of the order where the *çelebi* resided. Cultural *Mevlevî* activity moved to Istanbul, where it found the full support of the sultans.

With their emphasis on education, literature, art and music, higher learning, and acceptance of *Sünni* Islam, *Mevlevî* attracted the members of Ruling Class in Istanbul. This was an urban order of intellectuals and with its elitist appeal it hardly attracted the Anatolian masses. Thus, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, Ottoman Turkish "high" culture got its form and recognizable features. The period of preparation and fermentation was over. The empire was ready to reach its military, political and cultural glory under Sultan Süleyman Kanunî, in the West known as the Magnificent (r. 1520-1566).

Prior to the capture of Constantinople and the building of *Topkapı Sarayı* we do not have any substantial or significant historical records on Ottoman musical life.

The only outstanding information from this period is from Abdülkadir Merâğî's (1353-1435) brief visit to Bursa, in 1421, on the invitation of Sultan Murat II, himself a musician, poet and learned man. But Merâğî returned to Herat the very same year

so it is highly doubtful that his short presence in the Ottoman realm contributed anything substantial to the Ottoman music. However, Merâğî's youngest son, Abdülaziz Çelebi (b. around 1400), allegedly came to Istanbul in his later years, where he wrote a work on music theory, *Nekaavatü'l-Edvâr*, and dedicated it to Sultan Mehmed II Fatih (1451-1481), probably a musician himself. Abdülaziz's son, Mahmut Çelebi, also known as Derviş Udî, wrote another music theory work, *Mekaasıdü'l-Edvâr*, and dedicated it to the Mehmed II's son, Sultan Beyazıt II Veli (1481-1512). Beyazıt II was a calligrapher, poet and composer. If we can rely on Ali Ufki's (1610?-1685) collection, *Mecmua-i Saz-ü Söz*, in which he transcribed in Western notation the Turkish music from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, Beyazıt II is the first Ottoman sultan whose composition was recorded and handed down to posterity. In this Ufki's collection there is a *neva düyek peşrevi* entitled simply "*Peşrevi Beyazıt*." Since, as Öztuna argues (1990/1: 149), we do not know any other composer by that name, it was probably Beyazıt II. Beyazıt's son, Prince Sultan Korkut (1467-1513), was also a composer whose pieces are known.

Mahmut Çelebi obviously lived well into the sixteenth century, since there is a record that "in 1525, during the early years of Sultan Süleyman Kanunî, Udî Derviş Abdülkadir-zade [i.e. Mahmut Çelebi] was the highest paid musician in the *Saray-ı Hümayun*, 47 *akça*-s daily. At the same time, his students, Udî Ayas and Udî Mehmet, also the Palace musicians, were paid around 9 *akça*-s daily" (Öztuna 1990/2: 10).

Another early important event in the development of Ottoman music relates to the younger brother of Sultan Korkut, Sultan Selim I Yavuz (1512-1520), who inherited the throne by deposing his father, Beyazıt II, and killing his two brothers, Ahmet and Korkut, and all their sons, a ferocious act which gave him the nickname, Yavuz, the Grim. With the throne, Selim also inherited the eastern threat, the Sefevi (Safavids) of Iran. The Sefevi dynasty originated as a tasavvuf movement, attracting many Türkmen tribes of Anatolia. These Türkmens were from the stock of the Karakoyunlu, Black Sheep, and Akkoyunlu, White Sheep Turkish tribes, which were brought into Persia, Iraq and Anatolia by Timur (d. 1405). Both of these tribes spread to eastern Anatolia, fighting among themselves for supremacy. In the 15th century, the Akkoyunlu became more dominant under the leadership of Uzun Hasan (1433-1478). After becoming the Akkoyunlu ruler, in 1453, Uzun Hasan proclaimed himself the legitimate successor of the *İlhani*-s and *Timuri*-s, and reigned sovereignly in western Iran and eastern Anatolia. The Sefevi of Iran were originally supported by Uzun Hasan and Türkmens of eastern Anatolia. The Sefevi and their supporters wore a special headgear in red, with twelve folds representing the twelve Sii Imams, and became known as the Kızılbaş, "red head," thus symbolically positioning themselves apart form the Sünni. This Şii Kızılbaş movement became an independent tasavvuf order in Anatolia, regarded as an offshoot of Anatolian Alevi-s, which survives to the present, still having mainly Türkmen followers. When Uzun Hasan and his successors decided to stem the Sefevi dominance in Anatolia it was too late, since by that time these had a strong ruler, İsmail Şah (1487-1524). With Ismail Şah, Iran was finally

turned to *Şia*, which became the official state religion and a bulwark against the Ottoman *Sünni* Islam.

Thus, when Selim I came to the throne, an urgent issue was eastern Anatolia and the *Şii* threat of İsmail Şah. In 1514, the Ottoman sultan took his army to eastern Anatolia, ruthlessly killing the *Kızılbaş* and other followers of İsmail and occupying İsmail's capital, Tabriz, in Azerbaijan, a city known for its culture, art and knowledge. Then, before leaving it to be taken back by İsmail Şah, Selim dispatched to Istanbul the best of the city's artisans, craftsmen, learned men, and musicians, some of whom were to "enrich the Ottoman architecture" (Kinross 1977: 167), and continue "to ply their trades with success in embellishing the Turkish capital" (Lane-Poole 1897: 158). There are no known records of whether these musicians from Tabriz enriched the musical life of the Palace, but it is likely that some of them probably influenced the Palace music ensemble and the music teaching at the *Enderun Musiki Mektebi*.

The earliest established composers whose works have been preserved appear in the second half of the sixteenth century, a good hundred years after the capture of Constantinople and the building of the *Topkapı Sarayı*. It is interesting and symptomatic at the same time that during the reign of Süleyman I Kanunî (1520-1566), when the Ottoman Empire reached its military, political, and cultural apex, we do not have many musical works nor the names of musicians and composers. The most outstanding were Abdülalî Efendi (d. 1575?) and the young Hasan Efendi Hatib Zakiri (1545-1623). The title "Efendi" in their names suggests that both were either associated with the Palace or were the members of the learned class, such as the

seyhülislâm, kadı, müfti, or the mosque servant, i.e. imam, hatib, muezzin. Many musicians and composers in the next two centuries of Ottoman music history would have this title attached to their names. The other two titles in Hasan Efendi's name, Hatib, mosque preacher, and Zakiri, the leading singer in the zikir, also suggest his religious attachments, both mosque and tasavvuf.

As opposed to the rarity of composers in the sixteenth century, the seventeenth century has more than a half a dozen of outstanding music personalities: the mature Hasan Efendi and Hüdâyî (1543-1628), Hafiz Post (1620?-1694), Recep Çelebi (d. 1701), the first Turkish music classic Buhurizade Mustafa Efendi Itrî (1638?-1712), Ali Ufki (1610?-1685), the young Osman Dede Nâyî (1652-1730), and Kantemiroğlu (1673-1727). There are two significant factors here:

- all of the known seventeenth century composers were either the Palace musicians or Sufis, or both, and
- from now on it is possible to trace the uninterrupted chain, *silsile*, of music teachers and students which continues to the present.

Şeyh Aziz Mahmut Hüdayi was not only an outstanding composer, but the founder of the *Celveti* order and a friend of Sultan Ahmet I (1603-1617). There is a tradition that, at the ceremony of opening of the Sultan Ahmet Cami, in Istanbul, Hüdayi was the imam at the ritual worship and read the first *hutbe* (Şapolyo 1964: 205). He also mingled with the Ottoman family by marrying Ayşe Hanım-Sultan, the grand daughter of Sultan Süleyman Kanunî. Ayşe Hanım was the daughter of Süleyman's grand vizier, Damat Rüstem Paşa (1555-1561), and Mihrimah Sultan. The

latter was the daughter of Süleyman and his Russian wife, Hürrem Sultan (1550-1558), in the West known as Roxelana.

Hafiz Post, as his name suggests, became a hafiz at an early age. In later years, when he became an üstad, master, he entered the Halveti order. Apart from his music, Hafiz Post's merit includes that he was the teacher of the famous Buhurizade Mustafa Efendi Itrî. Itrî himself was a Mevlevî at the Yenikapı Mevlevihane, as well as, after 1680, the music teacher of the Palace concubines. At this time the most important mevlevihane-s in Istanbul were the two oldest ones, Galata and Yenikapı.

The eighteenth century seems to be dominated by *Mevlevî* composers: the mature Osman Dede Nâyî (1652-1730), and his three great grandsons, Ali Nutkî Dede (1762-1804), Abdülbaki Nâsır Dede (1765-1821), and Abdürrahim Künhî Dede (1769-1831), as well as the young İsmail Dede-Efendi (1778-1846). The early years of the eighteenth century were an especially prolific time for the blossoming of all kinds of arts, music and poetry. On the throne was Ahmet III (r. 1703-1730), the mentioned builder of the *Cerrahi Tekkesi*, whose reign became known as the *Lâle Devri*, the Age of Tulips.

With Osman Dede Nâyî, the Galata *Mevlevihane* comes into prominence and becomes musically as important as that in Yenikapı, which dominated the seventeenth century greatly owing to Itrî. Osman became a *dede* under the Galata *şeyh* Ümmî Ahizade Gavsi Dede (*şeyh* 1672-1698), and a *neyzen*, the *ney* player. He also married the *şeyh*'s daughter and in 1680 became the *neyzenbaşı*, the chief *ney* player, in Galata. Towards the end of the century, in 1698, *şeyh* Gavsi Dede died and Osman

Dede was appointed, by the Konya *çelebi*, the *şeyh* of the biggest *Mevlevî dergâh* in Istanbul, Galata *Mevlevihane*, at which post he remained until his death, in 1730.

After the Osman Dede's death, his son, Abdülbaki Sırrî Dede (1710-1751), became the Galata şeyh. Sırrî Dede's daughter, Saide Hanım, married Kütahyalı Ebubekir Dede (1705-1775), who himself came from the Halveti family but joined the Mevlevî-s; in 1746 he became the şeyh of another important Mevlevî dergâh in Istanbul, the Yenikapı Mevlevihane, in which, a generation earlier, the famous Itrî was the dervish. Ebubekir Dede and Saide Hanım had three sons, all important musicians and successive şeyh-s in Yenikapı: Ali Nutkî Dede, Abdülbaki Nâsır Dede, and Abdürrahim Künhî Dede. From now on the şeyh-s in the Yenikapı Mevlevihane would be coming from this family line, which owing to the marriage of the Osman Dede's granddaughter, Saide Hanım, to Ebubekir Dede, combined the lineages of the Yenikapı and Galata Mevlevihane-s. When Atatürk closed all tekke-s in Turkey, in 1925, the last Yenikapı şeyh was Abdülbaki Dede-Efendi (1883-1935), a direct descendent of Osman Dede, through the matrilineal lineage of Saide Hanım.

When in 1775, after his father's death, Ali Nutkî Dede became the şeyh in Yenikapı, Itrî's legacy in this mevlevihane was surely not forgotten. Ali Nutkî was thus in a position to combine the best of two musical worlds: Itrî's heritage from Yenikapı and the heritage of his great grandfather, Osman Dede, from Galata. It was through him that the seveteenth century Ottoman music continued through the intermediary of the chain of teachers and students, the chain which from now on never was interrupted.

The most outstanding figure of the next generation of Ottoman composers was İsmail Dede-Efendi (1778-1846), also known as Büyük Dede, "Great Dede." He circled the Yenikapı Mevlevihane in which he took the music and tasavvuf lessons from its şeyh, Ali Nutkî Dede, himself becoming dede, in 1799. On the throne was Selim III (r. 1789-1807), an outstanding composer who left a significant mark in the history of Ottoman Turkish music. Selim III is also the first sultan known to have joined the Mevlevî-s. Galata was the place in which Selim became a dervish under the famous seyh and divan poet, Galip (1757-1799). Seyh Galip made the Galata Mevlevihane one of the most important religious and cultural centers of the time and, as the Selim's musahibi şehriyar, personal friend and companion, he was a regular guest at the Palace (S. Shaw 1976: 295). İsmail Dede-Efendi was Selim's companion as well. After Selim's death, İsmail extended his companionship to the next sultan, Mahmut II Adlî (r. 1808-1839), himself also a poet, calligrapher, and prolific composer and hanende, singer, as well as the player of tambur and ney. During Mahmut's reign, İsmail Dede-Efendi also became the müezzinbaşı at the Palace, thus continuing the old tradition of musicians being the Palace muezzins. Although the seyh of the Yenikapı Mevlevihane, İsmail would remain at this palace post until his death, in the early years of the Sultan Abdülmecid I's (1839-1861) rule. Another outstanding Ottoman composer, Dallâlzade İsmail Efendi (1797-1869), was the student of İsmail Dede-Efendi. Dallâlzade was the hafiz and, during the Abdülmecid I's reign, served as the muezzin and *hanende* at the Palace.

The first half of the nineteenth century saw several important changes in the Ottoman Empire. The first happened during the reign of Sultan Mahmut II, who in 1826 abolished the yeniçeri and restructured the system of education at the Palace. Mahmut II closed the old Enderun Musiki Mektebi, established by the Sultan Mehmed II Fatih soon after the capture of Constantinople, and replaced it by the Muzikayi Hümayun, new Palace Music School, introducing in it the study of Western music. The first head of the Muzikayi Hümayun was Donizetti Pasa, i.e. Giuseppe Donizetti (1788-1856), the brother of the famous Italian opera composer Gaetano. On the invitation of Mahmut II, Donizetti arrived at Istanbul in July of 1828, and immediately established the Muzikayi Hümayun. A month later he gave his first concert for the sultan. With disbandment of the yeniçeri, their military ensemble, mehterhane, was also gone. So, the sultan needed Donizetti to compose new military marches for the new band at the Muzikayi Hümayun. This he did, first composing, in 1828, the Mahmûdiye Marşı, March for Mahmud, and when Abdülmecid I came to the throne, in 1839, the Mecîdiye Marşı, March for (Abdül) Mecid. It was Donizetti Paşa who introduced Western music in Turkey, not only by his activity as the first chief of the Muzikayi Hümayun, but also through his Turkish students, who were the first to seriously study Western music in Turkey. During the reign of Abdülmecid I, which will be remembered as *Tanzimat*, the period of political reforms and reorganization, first tentatively begun two generations earlier, by Mustafa III, and continued by his son, Selim III, Abdülmecid continued to support Western music in the Muzikayı Hümayun. But Abdülmecid equally supported Turkish music in the Muzikayı

Hümayun, as well. One of the Turkish music teachers there was the above mentioned Dellâlzade İsmail Efendi, who, in 1861, under the new sultan, Abdülaziz (1861-1876), became the Palace müezzinbası.

The most prominent student of Dellâlzade was Zekai Dede (1825-1897), one of the greatest composers of the nineteenth century. At the age of eighteen, Zekai became a hafiz, and in 1868 the Mevlevî in Yenikapı. Prior to 1885, Zekai had a title of Efendi, but after becoming the Mevlevî dede, at the age of 60, he became known as Zekai Dede. Among his students were Subhi Ezgi (1869-1962) and Rauf Yekta (1871-1935), two outstanding 20th century Turkish music composers, musicologists and music historians, who, together with Sadettin Arel (1880-1955), systematized the historical knowledge of the development of Ottoman music and were instrumental in the foundation of modern Turkish music education and institutions. These three also established the first music archives and collections, and all three had strong connections with Mevlevî-s of Istanbul. Ezgi's mother came from the Mevlevî family; Yekta learned to play the ney in Galata and Yenikapı; while Arel frequented the mevlevihane-s of Istanbul and took his music lessons from Fahreddin Dede (1854-1911), the seyh of Beşiktaş Mevlevihane and himself a student of Zekai Dede.

Among other nineteenth century composers the most significant ones, among many others, were Tanburi Osman Bey (1816-1885), Hacı Arif Bey (1831-1885), Tanburi Ali Efendi (1836-1890), and İsmail Hakkı Bey (1866-1927). The two tanburi-s, Osman and Ali, continued the long established tradition of secular, Palace, and religious, mevlevihane, musicianship. Osman Bey was the ser-sazende, the chief

instrumentalist, in the Palace ensemble under Sultan Abdülaziz, as well as the dervish in Galata. Apart from being a great musician and tanburi, Ali Efendi was a hafiz and from 1862 the Palace muezzin; after 1867, he was promoted to the rank of the sultan's second imam. İsmail Hakkı Bey was the hunkâr müezzini, as well as the ser-hanende, chief singer/musician, in the Saray Fasıl Heyeti. Later he established the music school, Musiki Osmanî Mektebi, and taught in the first Turkish music conservatory, Darülelhan, where he became the director of its Turkish Music Division. Regarding tasavvuf, İsmail Hakkı was a Bektaşi muhib.

* * *

Thus, to conclude, Ottoman music had two brooding centers: Enderuni

Hümayun and mevlevihane-s. Although the Enderun was the place for secular and

mevlevihane for religious music, very often both loci had the same musicians who, as
youngsters, would study music at the Enderun Musiki Mektebi, and, when outside of
the Palace, would participate in the Mevlevî meşk. Later on, some of them would
become staff members of the Saray Fasil Heyeti, music teachers at the Enderun Musiki

Mektebi, as well as Mevlevî or some other order's dervishes, dede-s, or muhib-s.

Both places offered a good education based on the principles of Islam, and these educated musicians would automatically be regarded as members of the learned class of Ottoman society, *ulema*. The title which they would get was *efendi*, which they would attach to their names thus showing their membership in the *ilmiye* class,

the class of learned men. This title included virtually all cleric positions, from seyhülislâm at the top to mosque servants, such as the imam and muezzin, at the bottom. After the Tanzimat, in 1839, efendi became a title also attached to the sultan's sons, i.e. the imperial Ottoman princes, sehzade. After the Constitution, Mesrutiyet, of 1908, this title lost its social prestige and became a label of a polite address and respect and is still used as such in any formal or semi-formal address.

The other two prestigious titles were bey and ağa. Before the Tanzimat, bey was a title given to the higher civil servants of the empire, such as the governors in the provinces, vilâyet, and smaller divisions of provinces, sancak, as well as to the akıncı commanders. After the Tanzimat, bey became a more general title given to the lower ranks of officers and other educated men associated with the Palace. It seems that bey meant an educated man of higher social rank, but not necessarily a cleric of the old ilmiye class, generally labeled as efendi. Today, bey is a general title attached to the person's first name in any formal or informal address, and it is not unusual to hear the title bey-efendi, which is an amplified form of paying respect.

Ağa, on the other side, used to be a title given to the higher rank officers of the kapıkulu ocakları, the Palace slave corps of yeniçeri, and others related to the Enderun, but not belonging to the ilmiye class, and therefore outside of the efendi group. After the Tanzimat, the title ağa was lowered in its rank and virtually disappeared by the twentieth century. As a honorific in the names of composers and musicians, it appears mainly in the eighteenth century, such as Ebubekir Ağa (-1759), Küçük Mehmed Ağa (-1800), Sadullah Ağa (-1801?), and it seems that it was

abandoned in the following century. The nineteenth century was dominated by another secular, or better, neutral, title of the *bey*. Throughout the century we find several important composers with this title, even though some of them were the Sufis and/or clerics: Tanburi Osman Bey (1816-1885; *Mevlevî*), Hacı Arif Bey (1831-1885; *müezzinbaşı*), İsmail Hakkı Bey (1866-1927; *hunkâr müezzinî*), Şevki Bey (1860-1924), Rahmi Bey (1866-1924), Tanburi Cemil Bey (1871-1916), as well as Rauf Yekta Bey (1871-1935), one of the last *bey*-s among Ottoman musicians. During the republican period, for obvious reasons of distancing from everything Ottoman, the title *bey* was altogether dropped.

The other two titles frequently associated with Ottoman musicians and composers were dede and çelebi. Çelebi, lit. learned and educated man or gentleman, was usually given to the sultan's intimate companions and friends, among whom an outstanding example was Evliyâ Çelebi (1611-1684), the famous seventeenth century Ottoman traveler and author of the ten-volume Seyâhatname. The title çelebi was also given to the scribes and secretaries, kâtib, of the Divan-ı Hümayun, the Imperial Chancery of State, as well as to the learned men other than efendi. Among the musicians who assumed this title were the Merâgî's son, Abdülaziz Çelebi, who lived in the fifteenth century, as well as the sixteenth century composer Receb Çelebi. Used in this sense, the title çelebi has no direct relation to the highest Mevlevî rank, the çelebi of Konya.

Dede is an exclusively tasavvuf title, used only among the Mevlevî-s, and was never used in any other context. Often, instead of having just the dede, the personal

name would be followed by a compound, *dede-efendi*, which would signify not only the *Mevlevî* attachment but also the belonging to the *ulema*, i.e. *ilmiye*, class. The composers with that title, such as Osman Dede Nâyî, Ali Nutkî Dede, İsmail Dede-Efendi, Zekai Dede, were all the *Mevlevî dede-s*.

Apart from the Enderun Mektebi and the mevlevihane-s, the third place of higher learning in Istanbul were the mosques, especially the biggest and the most important ones, such as the Fatih, Beyazut, Süleymaniye, Sultan Ahmet, all built by the Ottoman sultans after whom they were named. These mosques were the main religious centers, whose compounds would encompass schools of higher learning, medrese, and libraries, kütüphane. The oldest medrese in Istanbul was established by Mehmed Fatih and it was naturally placed within the compounds of the Fatih Mosque. The next great mosque built in Istanbul, Beyazut Cami, had its own medrese, too When Süleyman I Kanunî built his great mosque, Süleymaniye, he added to it, between 1550 and 1559, a new complex of four medrese-s, which provided a new, higher degree of learning for those who passed beyond the level of the older, Fatih type of medrese.

As important centers of learning and religion, these great mosques of Istanbul had naturally a special veneer and an awe-inspiring attraction to the people. The most respected imams conducted the *namaz* in them; the best *vaiz*-s, preachers, would

¹⁰Mehmed II Fatih (1444-1446, 1451-1481) built the Fatih Cami; Beyazıt II Veli (1481-1512), the Beyazıt Cami; Süleyman I Kanunî (1520-1566), Süleymaniye Cami; and Ahmet I (1603-1617) built the Sultan Ahmet Cami, or the Blue Mosque, as it is known in the West.

deliver their orations before the *Cuma Namazı*, Friday Ritual Worship, and the two *Bayram Namazı*-s, ritual worships held on religious holidays of *Bayram*; the best reading of *ezan* would be heard from their tall minarets, and the best Kur'an readers would gather in them during the month of *Ramazan* for the *mukabele* - a tradition still alive in the very same mosques. Even today, this veneer and patina are still being intensely felt within their thick stone walls.

The servants in these great mosques, imams and especially muezzins, were musically educated and many were the skillful musicians, both the singers, hanende, and instrumentalists, sazende, as well as composers, bestekâr-s. Many were Sufis or muhib-s, tasavvuf sympathizers, and they attended on regular basis the meşk-s in the numerous tekke-s of Istanbul. Their religious and musical lives were often inseparable, and the music they learned and nourished they abundantly used in their mosques.

CHAPTER SIX: Politics, Religious Education, Media, and Music in Twentieth Century Turkey

Terminology

In the Turkish language, there are at least two words used to denote music: müzik, derived from French musique, and musiki, derived from Arabic musique. Today in Turkey, both terms are used seemingly indiscriminately and it is very hard, if not virtually impossible, to establish any strict rule pertaining to their usage. However, it seems to me that in the minds of contemporary Turkish musicians and music writers the term musiki makes a spiritual and cultural connection with the Ottoman past, while the term müzik is more of the modern and therefore "Western" sense. Since language was one of the political tools in the nationalistic and "Westernizing" policies of Kemal Atatürk¹ and since it still, to a greater or lesser degree, governs the ideological thought of Turkish politicians, it is understandable that the term müzik has a more official

¹The chief ideologue whose writings inspired Kemal Atatürk was Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924). Influenced by nineteenth century philosophy and social thought, Gökalp was an intellectual of nationalistic brand who thought that the only path to modernity leads through the establishment of Turkey as a nation-state, *devlet*, in which only one nation, *millet*, would live, speaking one language, and adhering to one religion, a model firmly basing on the Hegelian idea of sovereign nation-state (Hegel 1991: 37-79). On Gökalp's ideas on nation, nationalism, state, fatherland, and national language, see Gökalp (1981: 71-85). On the historical background of Turkish secularism see Berkes (1957: 41-68); on political trends in republican Turkey from 1920-1955 see Rustow (1957: 69-107); for various aspects of Atatürk's policy and modernization see Landau (1984); and for some early insights in the Turkish transformation see Levonian (1932) and Allen (1935).

patronage and is used in many official publications and media.² However, it seems that the term *musiki* is today gaining prominence in Turkey, especially when it specifically refers to Turkish music, as opposed to Western music.

Due to the Turkish ideology of nationalism and language and culture, known as Atatürkçülük, i.e. Atatürkism, and owing to the strongly enforced political drive to break away from the Ottoman past and virtually everything connected with it, some music writers introduced in the 1960s yet another term for music, küğ, a "pure" Turan³ Turkish word of pre-Ottoman origin.⁴ An outstanding exponent was Gültekin Oransay who argued that "before the term musiki entered the Turkish language from the

²Turkish Radio-Television, TRT, is the best example of this. In its published general broadcasting plans and programs, *Genel Yayın Plânı*, in its instructions for the production and application of the radio talk and music programs, *Söz Ve Müzik Programları Yapım Ve Uygulama Talimatı* (TRT 1990), as well as in the names of its music divisions, such as *Türk Halk Müziği* and *Türk San'at Müziği*, only the word *müzik* is used. The term *musiki*, on the other side, is used passingly and rather rarely, and usually only in reference to the *Tasavvuf Musikisi*, which is under the umbrella of the *Türk San'at Musikisi* Division at the radio.

³Turan is the term Gökalp used to refer to the "national home" of Turks, i.e. Transoxiana (Gökalp 1981: 78).

⁴The term küğ is the same as the Cyrillic spelled Kazakh word κyĕ, which Asia Mukhambetova unexplainably transcribes into English as kyu, and in "Latin spelling" as küj (1989: 247). The latter spelling, küj, where "ü" and "j" are pronounced as in German, is the closest to its modern Kazakh pronunciation, "küy," which is almost identical to the modern Turkish pronunciation of the word küğ. Mukhambetova writes that "Kazakhs call by kyu a piece for any instrument - sybysgy (longitudinal flute), kobyz (stringed, bowed), dombra (tamboura-like plucked) which lasts from 2 to 6-8 minutes" (1989: 216). In a personal communication with an official in the Kazakh Embassy, in Washington, D.C., in February 1996, I was told that the term κyĕ is used for the music played on the dombra.

Syriac-Arabic, the Turks used the term $k\ddot{u}\ddot{g}^{"5}$ (Oransay 1985: 5). In a book he edited, Atatürk İle Küğ, "Atatürk and Music," first published in 1965, Oransay consistently and exclusively uses the term $k\ddot{u}\ddot{g}$. The book consists of documents, speeches and other related sources on Atatürk and music. In it, Oransay "translated" all the collected Turkish originals, dating from the pre-republican and early republican era, into the günümüz Türkçesi, "contemporary Turkish."

Gökalp:

"Memleketimizde yan yana yaşayan iki musiki vardır. Bunlardan birisi halk arasında kendi kendine doğmuş olan Türk musikisi, diğeri Farabî tarafından Bizans'tan tercüme ve iktibas olunan Osmanlı musikidir" (emphasis mine).

Oransay:

"Ülkemizde yanyana yaşıyan iki küğ vardır. Bunlardan birisi halk arasında kendi kendine doğmuş olan Türk küğü, öteki Farabî'ce Bizans'dan çevrilip aktarılan Osmanlı küğüdür" (emphasis mine).

English:

"There are two musics existing next to each other in our country. One of them is the Turkish music, nurtured and created by the people themselves, the other is the Ottoman music transferred and adapted from Byzantium by Farabi" (translation mine).

It is interesting that the New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary (1987) does not even list the word küğ, nor does it include some other neologisms of Oransay and for that matter of the "standard" Turkish language as used at TRT. This highly politicized attitude towards language is also symptomatically reflected in the Turkish musical scene, so much so that the text itself easily reveals the ideological stance of the writer/speaker. In his Büyük Türk Mûsikîsi Ansiklopedisi (1990), Yılmaz Öztuna, for example, does not even mention the term küğ.

⁵"Türkçe'ye Süryanice-Arapça üzerinden **musiki** biçiminde girmeden önce Türkler bu kavram için **küğ** terimini kullanmakdaydı."

⁶For the sake of giving an example, here are a couple of sentences written by Ziya Gökalp, and their "contemporary Turkish translation" by Oransay (1985: 16-17).

Therefore, in reference to "Turkish Music," one today finds both compounds, Türk Müziği and Türk Musikisi, often indiscriminately used in the same text by the same author.

Modern Turkish musicians and music writers divide Turkish music into several categories, many of which, if not all, resemble or coincide with corresponding Western music categories. The basic division is between Türk Halk Musikisi, Turkish Folk Music, and Türk Klâsik Musikisi, Turkish Classical Music, also called the Türk San'at Musikisi, Turkish Art Music. Turkish music writers, musicians, and all others knowledgeable in this matter, further divide Turkish music into Dinî Musiki, Religious Music, and Lâdinî Musiki or Dindişi Musiki, Non-religious Music. Dinî Musiki is

⁷There are plenty of examples where both terms, *müzik* and *musiki*, are indiscriminately used. The typical ones can be found in the program notes for the concerts, such as the one with Turkish Folk Music, celebrating the Year of Yunus Emre, held on January 7, 1991, in the *Atatürk Kültür Merkezi*, Istanbul. The concert was featuring the *Türk Halk Musikisi Topluluğu*, Turkish Folk Music Group, of the *Istanbul Üniversitesi Devlet Konservatuarı*, Istanbul University State Conservatory, and directed by Adnan Ataman. In the program notes, in the name of the performing ensemble and in the title of the concert, the term *musiki* is used, while in the text giving the history and past activities of the ensemble the word *müzik* is used exclusively and consistently.

The other example, again picked up randomly, is the program notes prepared for the concerts bilingually entitled, Tarih İçinde Türk Musikisi Konseri / Concert of Turkisch [sic] Music Throught [sic] History, featuring the group TÜMATA, of Istanbul University, directed by Ayhan Songar and Rahmi Oruç Güvenç. On the title page of the concert program, TÜMATA is spelled out as Türk Müziğini Araştırma ve Uygulama Grubu, Turkish Music Research and Performing Group. However, in the accompanying text, TÜMATA is spelled out as the Türk Musikisini Araştırma ve Tanıtma Grubu, where the words, müziğini and uygulama, are replaced by the synonyms, musikisini and tanıtma.

⁸The term, *Lâdinî Musiki*, is mainly used among the religious circles, while its secular neo-Turkish synonym, *Dindışı Musiki* (*din*, religion; *dış*, outside), is usually reserved for scholarly writings. On the issue of *lâdinî* term, see B. Lewis's

then divided in the *Cami Musikisi*, Mosque Music, and the *Tasavvuf Musikisi*, Sufi Music. Because of its Sufi attachment, *Tasavvuf* Music is also known as the *Tarikat* or *Tekke Musikisi*. 10

Tura (1983) states that "religious music comes into existence as performance of various musical pieces within ritual worship [*ibadet*] in mosques and *dergâh*-s by the *kari*-s, *hatib*-s, muezzins and *zakir*-s, who are sometimes joined by other present people [congregation]."¹¹

It is virtually impossible to strictly separate the *Cami* and *Tasavvuf Musikisi* since these two musics overlap, and any division between them seems rather artificial. The only true difference between the two is in the way they are performed, i.e. in their context, function and purpose, and not in the quality of the final musical product: *Cami Musikisi* is exclusively vocal, while the *Tasavvuf Musikisi* can be both vocal and instrumental, as well as the vocal-instrumental. *Cami Musikisi* is not, as its name might suggest, only performed in the mosque but also in the *tekke-s*; *Tasavvuf*

interpretation, which he took over from Niyazi Berkes (B. Lewis 1991: 117, n. 2).

However, in his unpublished manuscript, Dînî Türk Mûsıkîsi, Yalçın Tura states: "Religious Turkish Music and Non-religious Turkish Music are based on the same system of tone, pitch, makam and usûl" ("Dînî Türk Mûsıkîsi, Dîn dışı Türk Mûsıkîsi'yle aynı ses, perde, makam ve usûl sistemi içinde meydana gelmişdir." Tura 1983: section on the "Temel Esâslar").

⁹The term *Tasavvuf Musikisi* is also sometimes used in its adjective form, *Tasavvufī Musiki* (Yalçın 1983).

¹⁰Yalçın Tura also calls it the *Dergâh Musikisi* (1983). See the corresponding entries in Öztuna 1990.

¹¹"Dînî mûsıkî, câmi'lerde ve dergâhlarda, ibâdet esnâsında, kar', hatîb, müezzin ve zâkirler tarafından ve ba'zan, hâzır bulunan herkesin de katılmasıyla okunan, muhtelif, mûsıkîli parçalardan meydana gelir" (Tura 1983: "Giriş").

Musikisi, on the other hand, is performed in the tekke, although some of its forms may be occasionally performed in the mosque, too. This means that the process of music making is essentially the same in both areas, with the same or similar forms and music structuring. In especially the vocal forms, such as kaside and gazel, very often it is only the text which makes one form religious and another secular.

The situation is even more complex in a case of the *meşk* and *zikir*. ¹² In *tekke*, the *zikir* often follows the *meşk* or it is performed inside of *meşk*, thus making it sometimes impossible to separate the two. In such circumstances it becomes as well impossible to decide whether a *taksim* performed during the *zikir* or *meşk* is religious or secular form. If one relies on the context of its performance, then the *taksim* performed in *tekke* becomes *tasavvuf* music, although if the same or similar *taksim* is performed outside of the *tekke* and *tasavvuf* music context, it would be treated as a secular form. As Nuri Özcan, who in 1991 taught the two courses, Turkish Music and Turkish Religious Music, at the *İlâhiyat Üniversitesi*, Faculty of Theology, in Bağlarbaşı, Istanbul, said:

In older time, there was no such differentiation between these terms. For many composers were religious men. For example, [İsmail] Dede Efendi: he was the müezzin şehriyar-ı [Sultan's muezzin in the Palace]. Then he joined the Mevlevî-s in Yenikapı, where he later became the Mevlevî dede. These composers did not make any difference between the religious, dinî, and nonreligious, dinûşı, music. The term nonreligious music is [somewhat imprecise]. Many pieces which fall into the category of nonreligious music are, regarding their texts, again the religious pieces, such as the Dede Efendi's Mâhur Yürük Sema'î. We do not say this is the nonreligious piece. But today, in taksim-s [?] it goes as a nonreligious piece. This is a very interesting point. The same is with Selim III's pieces, with Itrî's pieces. However, as time went

¹²For definition of these two terms see Chapter Two, pp. 50-53.

by, it became necessary to differentiate [between the pieces], maybe it was indispensable to do so (Özcan interview 1991).

In more recent time, however, and mainly owing to the rapid development of technology and the ever-widening mass media, religious music is reaching a wider audience through radio and television, public concerts, and the various mushrooming music associations. Some of the religious music forms, which were previously performed exclusively in the mosque or *tekke*, are now performed outside of their context as purely artistic forms, intended solely for aesthetic enjoyment.

The origins and historical developments of Turkish classical music and religious music are therefore inseparable. The tight connection between the two existed from the very beginning and throughout the centuries it became only firmer. One might even argue that the Turkish classical music is an outgrowth of religious music and that their separation came about only later, maybe as late as the mid-nineteenth century, after Western music was introduced to Turkey and taught at the Palace.

Finally I would like to emphasize that, generally speaking, Turkish tasavvuf music pertains to and embraces all Sufi musical forms without regard to their "folk" or "classical" music provenance. This means that under the umbrella of tasavvuf comes all music performed in any Sufi tarikat, be it Şii or Sünni. Thus the music performed in the Bektaşi ritual, as well as the music performed in the Mevlevî dergâh, are both called the tasavvuf music, although the difference between the two is great: Bektaşi music is based on Turkish folk music, with bağlama as a musical symbol of the order;

Mevlevî music, with ney as its symbol, is based on the same structural features as Turkish classical music. Since in this dissertation I am writing about the Sünni religious music, both mosque and tasavvuf, my references to tasavvuf music are actually those of Sünni tasavvuf music.

Religion and Religious Education

The question how was it possible that Turkish classical and religious musics survived the radical purging of religion and Ottoman cultural tradition in the republican period and probably remained virtually undamaged, might be answered by looking at the political events which occurred especially in the 1920s and 1930s and the strategies the Turks themselves practiced and devised in order to *negotiate* the challenges of time.¹³

Atatürk's resolve to make a modern Western type republic on the ruins of Ottoman Empire was firm. Of course, the major obstacles to his aim were the institution of the Caliphate, carried by Ottoman sultans since the early sixteenth century, and the *Şeriat*. His ideas of establishing a sovereign nation-state, modeled on the Western ideas of republic and democracy, as well as the inculcation into the Turks of the strong sense of nationalism and national pride, were supreme. Therefore, soon

¹³I am here using the term *negotiation* in a sense offered by Jane Sugarman in her study of Prespa Albanians in Detroit. Her theoretical stance, based on Foucault and Bourdieu, is an exemplary approach towards the musical "subjects" and the strategies they use, negotiate, and constantly adapt in order to define their gender, social, and cultural identities, approach which represents a new and long awaited perspective in the theory of the American ethnomusicology (see Sugarman *In Press*).

after the proclamation of the republic, on October 29, 1923, Atatürk started a crusade against the remnants of the past. The first moves he made were the abolition of the Caliphate and the change of educational system in the newly born country.

Barely four months after the establishment of the republic, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi*, passed, in a single sitting on March 3, 1924, the three (in)famous laws which prepared the way for the future of the Republic. The three laws, Nos. 429, 430, and 431, were on the Abolition of the *Şer'iye ve Evkaf Vekâleti*, Ottoman style Ministry of Religion and Pious Foundations, of the *Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*, the Law on Unification of Education, and of the Abolition of the Caliphate.¹⁴

Article 1 of the Law 429 on the Abolition of the Şer'iye ve Evkaf Vekâleti, strictly separated the civil from the religious matters in the state, thus effectively abolishing the şeriat, according to which such a separation is not recognized (Toynbee 1927: 572, n. 2). The matters and concerns of faith were now to be administered by the Diyanet İşlrei Reisliği, Presidency of Religious Affairs, in the new country's capital, Ankara. Article 2 abolished the Şer'iye ve Evkaf Vekâleti. According to the text of Article 3, the President of the Diyanet İşlrei Reisliği is to be appointed by the President of the Republic on recommendation of the Prime Minister, while Article 4

¹⁴For English translation of the full text of these laws see Toynbee (1927: 572-575). The official Turkish text of these laws was published in *Kavanin Mecmuasi*, 1924, Nos. 429, 430, 431, Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, Ankara.

¹⁵In 1965, the Law No. 633 changed the name of the *Diyanet İşleri Reisliği* to *Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı*, thus replacing the Arabic word, *reislik*, presidency, with the Turkish equivalent, *başkanlık* (DIB 1990: vii).

stipulated that the *Reislik* itself be attached to the Office of Prime Minister, and thus brought under the direct control of government (Jäschke 1951: 95-96). Article 6 actually reiterated the spirit of Article 1, stating that "The Presidency of Religious Affairs is the proper place of legal recourse for jurisconsults [!] in the Islamic Law (müftiler)" (Toynbee 1927: 573).

Also effective was Law 430 on the Unification of Education, whose Article 1 put all educational establishments in Turkey under the *Maarif Vekâleti*, Ministry of Education, thus bringing the administration, supervision and control of education to a single center. This meant, as stated in Article 2 of this Law, that to the same ministry were now attached and put under its direct control all *medrese-s*, religious schools, and *mekteb-s*, primary schools, hitherto administered by the *Şer'iye ve Evkaf Vekâleti*. Article 4 foresaw the establishment of the *İlâhiyat Fakültesi* at the

¹⁶The first Turkish ministry of education, the Ottoman Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti, Ministry of General Education, was established in Istanbul, in 1857. In 1923, this ministry was closed and the new one, under the new name, Maarif Vekâleti, Ministry of Education, was founded in the new capital, Ankara. The language policy was already in the full swing: Nezaret became Vekâlet. From 1923 until 1991, this ministry has repeatedly changed its name, leaving the population in a state of linguistic vertigo, common for national-socialism, communism, and revolutionary regimes. Here's the history of name changes: Maarif Vekâleti, Ministry of Education, 1923-1935; Kültür Bakanlığı, Ministry of Culture, 1935-1941; Maarif Vekilliği, State Agency of Education, 1941-1946; Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı, Ministry of National Education, 1946-1950; again Maarif Vekâleti, 1950-1960. After the coup of 1960, the name Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı was brought back. After another coup of 1980, the ministry was restructured, in 1983, to include the areas of youth and sport, and renamed the Millî Eğitim Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı, Ministry of National Education, Youth and Sport. Finally, in the late 1980s, the old name, Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı, was brought back and, as of summer 1991, has not been changed (MEB 1988: 17-27).

Darülfünun, Ottoman style university in Istanbul, as well as the İmam-Hatib Okulları, schools for the education of imams and hatib-s. preachers.¹⁷

However, in 1933, under the Reform of University, *Darülfünun* was closed and replaced by the *İstanbul Üniversitesi*, Istanbul University. This change brought about the closure of the *İlâhiyat Fakültesi*, as well. However, sixteen years later, in June of 1949, the Grand National Assembly passed Law, No. 5424, on the establishment of the *İlâhiyat Fakültesi* at the Ankara University (Jäschke 1951: 127), where it still continues its work.

As stipulated by the law, the *İmam-Hatib Okulları* were opened in 1924, as the four-year middle schools of the type of lower level *Lise*. However, the number of newly enrolled students was declining every year, so by the school-year 1927-1928

¹⁷English translation of Article 4 of this Law reads: "In order to train specialists in higher religious studies, the Commisariat for Public Instruction [Maarif Vekâleti] will establish a faculty of theological studies [İlâhiyat Fakültesi] in the University [Darülfünun]. For the training of officials charged with the duty of fulfilling such religious functions as those of mosque rector (Imām) and 'orator' (Khatīb), the Commisariat will open separate schools [İmam-Hatib Okulları]" (Toynbee 1927: 574; text in square brackets mine).

¹⁸Law no. 2252 of June 6, 1933, prepared and passed exclusively on Atatürk's directive (MEB 1988: 150-151).

¹⁹In 1924, the system of Turkish education consisted of three levels: 1. İlk Mekteb, lit. "primary school," i.e. the elementary five-year school starting at the age of seven; 2. Lise, which continued after the İlk Mekteb and was itself divided into Birinci Devre, lit. "first period" of three or four years, and İkinci Devre, "second period" of another two or three years, depending on the type of school; and 3. Darülfünun, the university level (MEB 1988: 57, Scheme 10). According to this scheme of education, the İmam-Hatib Okulları, also called the İmam ve Hatib Mektebi, were placed under the "first period" of the Lise education, meaning that the students who wanted to become religious servants would go to this school after finishing the compulsory İlk Mekteb.

there remained only two *İmam-Hatib* schools, with 222 student, 42 teachers, 91 graduates, and no new enrollment (MEB 1988: 130, Table 48). Because of the lack of new students, the *İmam-Hatib* Schools were closed in 1930. The last generations of students still enrolled were given the chance to finish the school, which was officially terminated by the end of the 1931-1932 school-year.

Thus, 1933 saw the complete erasure of religious education in Turkey. This state of affairs remained in effect until the late 1940s, when the new political climate and the introduction of a multiparty system were gaining momentum, changing the political map of Turkey in the 1950s (see Geoffrey Lewis 1966: 125-140). In this new democratic climate, *İmam-Hatib* Schools reopened in 1951.²⁰ In the inaugural school-year 1951-1952, there were seven *İmam-Hatib* Schools, with 876 newly enrolled students and 27 teachers (MEB 1988: 100, Table 24). Twenty years later, in 1971, these schools were reorganized and divided into two levels: the first three-year level, called the *Orta Kısım*, Middle Part, and the second four-year level, *Lise* proper. This restructuring brought about a change of name from *İmam-Hatib Okulları* to *İmam-Hatib Lisesi* (MEB 1988: 100, 130). By the school-year 1988-1989, the number of *İmam-Hatib Lisesi* rocketed to 733, with 267,439 students, and 12,010 teachers (these numbers were calculated provisionally; see DIE 1991: 55).

²⁰According to the necessity for educating religious servants as stipulated in the aforementioned Law on the Unification of Education (*Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*), no. 430, from 1924, and the Fundamental Basic Law on National Education (*Millî Eğitim Temel Kanunu*), no. 1739, *İmam-Hatib Okullu* reopened in the school year 1951-1952 (MEB 1988: 130).

In 1991, *İmam-Hatib Lisesi-s* were under direct supervision and control of the *Din Eğitimi Genel Müdürlüğü*, General Directorate of Religious Education, a branch within the elaborate structure of the Ministry of National Education. This means that all Turkish imams, preachers, and muezzins, who graduate from the *İmam-Hatib Lisesi*, and in Turkey today virtually all of them are the graduates of this school, get their religious education under the direct sponsorship (pre-university public education in Turkey is free) and supervision of the state. Other religious education, such as *Kur'an Kurslan*, Kur'an Courses, which are outside of the official national system of education, is the domain of the *Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı*, on whose payroll are all imams and muezzins serving in virtually all mosques across Turkey.²¹ However, this government agency is not independent from the state: since its establishment in 1924 it has been attached to the office of Prime Minister, and therefore also directly controlled by the state. The only religious education which is not state controlled is the one Turkish youngsters take privately in local mosques.

According to the table of weekly classes, given in the İmam-Hatib Liseleri Öğretim Programları, "Educational Programs in İmam-Hatib Lisesi," published in 1985 (MEB 1985: 28), music classes, under the name Müzik, were offered once

²¹All mosques in Turkey and the personnel in them are under the jurisdiction of the local müftülük, the branch office of the Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı. Thus all mosque personnel are appointed by the local müftü and paid by his office, müftülük. Müftü-s themselves are appointed by and responsible to the Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, in Ankara. However, as I was told by the Caferi-s in Kars, who are Şii, their two mosques and imams and muezzins in them are not under the control of the local müftülük, but are independent.

weekly only in the *Orta Kısım*, sixth through eighth grades, of *İmam-Hatib Lisesi*.²² In the *Lise* proper, grades nine through twelve, music classes were not offered. Instead, students interested in music could choose the course *Dinî Musiki*, offered as one of the *seçmeli dersler*, elective classes, in the final three grades (tenth through twelfth) of *İmam-Hatib Lisesi*.²³ Regarding these elective *Dinî Musiki* classes, Nuri Özcan stated:

Classes on Religious Music were introduced in the curriculums of *İmam-Hatib Lisesi-*s after 1985, but only in some schools. If there is a music teacher then the course is included in the curriculum, otherwise it isn't. The Religious Music course is one among several elective courses students can choose from (Özcan interview 1991).

In the same interview, Özcan also remarked:

In Ottoman times, if someone wanted to study to be an imam or muezzin, the first thing was to pass a music proficiency exam. Only then, after passing the exam, was one allowed to study the *kıraat* [reading of the Kur'an] or to begin to study to be a *hafiz* [a person who memorizes the whole Kur'an by heart]. During the republican period, all mosque business was left to the religious foundations, *vakif*-s, and later to the *Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı*. Music skills were neglected and today *Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı* does not pay attention to its imams' or muezzins' musical knowledge (Özcan 1991).

When the *İmam-Hatib Okulları* were reopened in 1951, after almost twenty year hiatus in religious education in Turkey, the need was felt for professional and

²²The curriculum of classes given in the above mentioned table was changed by the *Ta'lim ve Terbiye Kurulu*, Council of Education and Instruction, decree no. 119 of July 7, 1987, and published in the *Tebliğler Dergisi*, "Official Periodical," no. 2240, on August 10, 1987.

²³Information obtained from the internal official list of elective classes in the *İmam-Hatib Lisesi*, given to me by the *Din Eğitimi Genel Müdürlüğü*, Ankara. See p. 159 above.

skilled teachers who would educate new generations of students. Salih Tuğ, who in 1991 was the dean of the *İlâhiyat Fakültesi* in Istanbul, describes the state of affairs in Turkey in the mid 1940s:

In 1945, a long and extensive discussion was started in Parliament [Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi]. This discussion was open and honest: there were many mosques but without imams and muezzins, there were no men to perform religious ceremonies at funerals, etc. As a result of this discussion, the İmam-Hatib Kursları [Courses for Imams and Hatibs] were organized in 1946, in order to increase their numbers. These were replaced, [in 1951] by the İmam-Hatib Okullari, [which are according to Turkish classification of schools] the meslekî okullar, vocational schools. The first such school was opened in Istanbul, in the Fatih area. Then, in 1949, in Ankara, the İlâhiyat Fakültesi was opened, with the same purpose. Its faculty staff was sent abroad for education, to Cairo, Baghdad, Paris, depending on the area of specialty (Tuğ interview 1991).

Thus, since the only institution of higher religious education was the *İlâhiyat Fakültesi* in Ankara, there was a necessity for more similar institutions which would offer education in religious matters. Of course, it was politically still out of question to open another *İlâhiyat Fakültesi*. Instead, as an answer to this need, the first such institution was opened ten years later (1959) in Istanbul, and named the Yüksek İslâm Enstitüsü, High Institute of Islam.²⁴ Soon, other bigger cities throughout Turkey followed suit and by 1976 there were seven Yüksek İslâm Enstitüsü-s in the country.²⁵

²⁴The Istanbul Yüksek İslâm Enstitüsü was established on November 19, 1959 by the Decree no. 575, of November 17, 1959. This was the Ta'lim ve Terbiye Kurulu Karan, Decree of the Council of Education and Instruction, of the Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Müdürler Komisyonu, Directors Commission of the Ministry of National Education (MEB 1988: 201). These "institutes" were administered and controled by the Din Eğitimi Genel Müdürlüğü, at the Ministry of National Education.

²⁵Yüksek İslâm Enstitüsü</sup> was opened in Konya in 1962; in Kayseri, 1965; in İzmir, 1966; Erzurum, 1969; Bursa, 1975; and in Samsun, in 1976 (MEB 1988: 201).

The third and last Turkish military coup of September 12, 1980, brought many changes in the political life of Turkey. As Salih Tuğ observes,

Each military coup in Turkey [1960, 1971, 1980] wanted to reform and improve religious education. The military government after the 1960 coup did struggle to improve religious education. The ensuing civil government of President Süleyman Demirel made a great effort to develop that education. The coup of 1971 did not bring the army to power, it was only partially successful, so that the civil government of the prime minister [Erdal] İnönü²⁶ continued to rule uninterruptedly. The 1980 coup took this question as an issue of national culture. Among the measures of distancing the Turkish youth both from terrorist and Marxist influences, the religious education was introduced in all *lise* programs (Tuğ interview 1991).

Among the changes brought about by the 1980 coup were the reorganization of the system of higher education and universities, stipulated by the law passed in November 1981;²⁷ the establishment of the *Yükseköğretim Kurulu*, Council of Higher

²⁶Erdal is the son of İsmet İnönü, Atatürk's comrade and fellow-fighter, who, after Atatürk's death, in November 1938, became the second Turkish president.

²⁷In the period from 1933 to 1978 nineteen universities were established in Turkey. The Law on Universities, no. 4936, of June 18, 1946, established that the university is the corporate body with scientific autonomy ("universite tuzel kişiliğe ve bilimsel özerkliğe sahip"). However, prior to 1973, universities were not independent. özerk. but were under the Ministry of National Education; their administration and finances were managed through the Yükseköğretim Genel Müdürlüğü, General Directorate of Higher Education, within the Ministry. After the 1980 coup, the new law was passed: the Yükseköğretim Kanunu, the Law on Higher Education, no. 2547, of November 6, 1981, according to which higher education was reformed and universities became independent, that is, no longer attached to the Ministry of National Education. The latter agency remained in charge of all elementary and high school education. As stipulated in Article 28 of this law, a decree no. 41 was prepared and published in the Official Gazette, no. 17760, on July 20, 1982, according to which the number of universities was increased from nineteen to twenty-seven, and all higher education schools, Yüksek Okullar, which were hitherto under the various Ministries, were put under the control and supervision of the universities (MEB 1988: 150).

Education, in 1982;²⁸ the new Constitution of November 11, 1982. ²⁹ These sweeping changes did not leave aside the *Yüksek İslâm Enstitüsü*-s as well, and these were, also in 1982, all turned into *İlâhiyat Fakültesi*-s and attached to the local universities. In the summer of 1991 there were nine *İlâhiyat Fakültesi*-s in Turkey.³⁰ In the 1991 interview with Salih Tuğ, I was told that each of these universities had around 1,000 students, which made the total of 9,000. According to Tuğ, except the building which accommodates the Ankara *İlâhiyat Fakültesi*, erected exclusively by the state funds, other *İlâhiyat Fakültesi*-s in Turkey were built both by the state and the contribution from private individuals, "the people." In 1991, the students at the Istanbul *İlâhiyat Fakültesi* were of both sexes: out of the total of some 1,100 students, 150 were

²⁸The establishment of the Yükseköğretim Kurulu, YÖK, was foreseen by the 1981 Law on Higher Education. YÖK was established at the beginning of 1982 and it is the highest body in the university system, in charge of the management and supervision of universities' plans, programs, and coordination (MEB 1988: 151). Articles 130 and 131 of the 1982 Constitution stipulate the details about the establishment of higher education bodies and agencies, as well as their relation to the state, the appointments of university professors, etc. (TCA 1990: 83-86).

²⁹Article 24, Paragraph 4, of the 1982 Constitution stipulates the compulsory religious education under the state supervision in primary, *İlk*, and middle schools, *Orta Okul*, while at the level of the high school, *Lise*, it is left to the personal choice of students: "Din ve ahlâk eğitim ve öğretim Devletin gözetim ve denetimi altında yapılır. Din kültürü ve ahlâk öğretimi ilk ve ortaöğretim kurumlarında okutulan zorunlu dersler arasında yer alır. Bunun dışındakı din eğitim ve öğretimi ancak, kişilerin kendi isteğine, küçüklerin de kanuni temsilcisinin talebine bağlıdır" (TCA 1990: 24). For more information on religious education in public schools of Turkey see also Akgün (1990: 100-107).

³⁰In Ankara, at the Ankara Üniversitesi; in Bursa, Uludağ Üniversitesi; Erzurum, Atatürk Üniversitesi; Istanbul, Marmara Üniversitesi; İzmir, Dokuzeylül Üniversitesi; Kayseri, Erciyes Üniversitesi; Konya, Selçuk Üniversitesi; Samsun, Ondokuz Mayıs Üniversitesi. The ninth İlâhiyat Fakültesi was opened in Urfa, in the late 1980s; it is affiliated to the Dicle Üniversitesi, in Diyarbakır (Tuğ 1991).

women; both sexes took classes together, and the faculty did not have separate classrooms. The situation was the same in all nine *İlâhiyat Fakültesi-*s in Turkey. Female students who wished to be covered sat in classes covered, but those who did not wish so, were uncovered. The classrooms were relatively small, with a capacity of up to 30 or 40 students.³¹ The faculty was close to 130, with five full time professors, thirty-five assistant professors, *doçent*, and around forty to forty-five entry level assistant professors, *doçent yardimcısı*.

Education at the Istanbul *İlâhiyat Fakültesi* is organized in a four-year curriculum, with eight semesters. It is, as Tuğ said, structured as the credit system, *kredi sistemi*, and not the grade system, *sınıf sistemi*, as is the case in the pre-university education. This system is therefore similar to the U.S. university education. Thus, depending on the number of credits earned, a student can theoretically graduate after three or three and a half years of education, at the earliest, or extend it to six years, if the number of credits has not been met. In this curriculum there is a one-credit compulsory course, *Türk Musikisi*, taught in all eight semesters. The other music course is the two-credit *Türk Dinî Musikisi*, offered only in the fourth

³¹A few foreign students attend *İlâhiyat Fakültesi* in Istanbul. According to Tuğ, in 1991 there were between five and seven such students. The foreign students usually came from the former Yugoslavia and Greece, and even one from the U.S., a convert to Islam: he got his B.A. at the *İlâhiyat Fakültesi* and then worked for a year on his master's degree, before he returned to the U.S. But, as Tuğ stated, Arabs do not come. Only one Arab student came to earn his master's degree while a few Syrian students left before completing their studies.

semester (second year of education).³² Both courses are taught by Nuri Özcan, who explains his syllabi in the following words:

I teach Turkish Religious Music and its various forms. It is a small course, taking a short time. The other course I teach is Turkish Music. In that course I start with teaching the notes, usûl [rhythmic patterns], theory. In Turkish Religious Music course I teach briefly about its history, and then about its forms: Mevlevî ayin-i, mevlid, miraciye, durak, şugul, ezan, etc.

The graduates from the *İlâhiyat Fakültesi*-s follow, as Salih Tuğ states, two basic paths:

One of these paths leads them to the *Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı*, which employs them as imams, *hatib*-s, *vaiz*-s, that is in the mosque services, as well as the *müftü*-s; some become employees in the D.İ.B. itself. The other path is through the *Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı*, for teaching positions in *İmam-Hatib Lisesi* as well as in regular *Lise*-s [where they teach the compulsory course *Din ve Ahlâk*, Religion and Morals] (Tuğ interview 1991).

Sufi Orders

On September 2, 1925, Islam in Turkey received another blow when the Government passed three administrative decrees, which became law on November 30, the same year.³³ The first decree closed all *tekke*-s and *zaviye*-s, dervish lodges; abolished all religious orders in Turkey; prohibited individuals from living as members of orders and from wearing the costumes or bearing the titles associated therewith;

³²Information obtained from the computer printout of the list of courses offered at the Istanbul *İlâhiyat Fakültesi* in the Spring semester 1991. The list was given to me by Professor Salih Tuğ.

³³Law No. 677 (Jäschke 1951: 61-63).

closed all *mescid*-s, places of worship, attached to the *tekke*-s, and all *türbe*-s, tombs; it also abolished the *türbedârlık*, the office of tomb keeper (Toynbee 1927: 72-73).

In spite of the 1925 Law, tasavvuf in Turkey never died out nor did it disappear from the Turkish religious scene. Today it is flourishing all over the country, and in Istanbul a number of orders meet on regular basis, either in tekke-s, or in private homes.

Sufi orders played a vital roles in the creation and preservation of Turkish religious music. The most outstanding feature of the Sünni and Alevî tarikat-s is the zikir, a special ritual composed of liturgical and para-liturgic elements, in which music and specific body movements play important and indispensably crucial parts. Although all of these tarikat-s use music to varying degrees, some of them use only vocal music, while others use both vocal and instrumental music. Sünni tarikat-s in Istanbul use Turkish classical music, while those throughout Anatolia use music based on local folk music traditions. Thus, the zikir of the Kadirî and Rufai tarikat-s is musically very different in Istanbul from the zikir performed by the same tarikat-s in Diyarbakır, for example, whose members are mainly or exclusively Kurds and who sing ilâhi-s in Kurdish and in a typically Kurdish musical style.

As stated in the previous chapter, at least two Sünni tarikat-s in Istanbul excel in their use of music: the Cerrahi-s and the Mevlevî-s, although the latter are not as organized as Cerrahi-s are. It seems that the law of 1925 left a deep wound in the Mevlevî activity. Cerrahi-s are also carriers of the Mevlevî tradition, and they regularly perform the Mevlevî ayin-i in their tekke, in Karagümrük. In a personal

from the *Mevlevî* order. *Hediye* literally means a gift, present, and in cases where a specific *tarikat* performs the *zikir* or *evrad* of another *tarikat*, as the *Cerrahi* do with the *Mevlevî ayin-i*, that means that that *tarikat* has permission to perform the ritual which is not its own. Thus, when *Mevlevî-s* tour abroad and come to the United States, for example, the musicians and *semazen-s*, dancers, are not necessarily *Mevlevî* dervishes. Some of them might well be the *Cerrahi-s*, and some are not dervishes at all.

Turkification of Ezan and Kamet

Thus, with the laws of 1924-1925, the stage was prepared for a major religious cleansing, brought about by either closing religious places or putting all religious activities under the control of the state. In February of 1932, Kemal Atatürk ordered the Turkish translation of ezan and kamet (Jäschke 1951: 74-79). The work on translation was done by the Diyanet İşleri Reisliği. Muezzins who did not observe this order and who read the ezan in Arabic, could be punished, according to Article 526 of the Penal Law of Turkey. Nine years later, on June 2, 1941, the meassures were made even stricter. Article 526 was amended, and those who still read ezan or kamet in Arabic, even while not on duty, were to be punished by imprisonment of up to 3 months. In his report to the Halk Partisi, Atatürk's ruling People's Party, on February 15, 1949, the Minister of Justice, Fuad Sirmen, said that twenty-nine violators of this kind had been arrested in 1947 (Jäschke 1951: 76, n. 5). However, after the election

victory of the *Demokratik Partisi*, in May of 1950, and with a new political climate in the country, the *ezan* and *kamet* were again allowed to be read in Arabic, a move which coincided with the reopening of *İmam-Hatib Lisesi*. On an auspicious day, June 17, 1950, which coincided with the first night of *Ramazan*, an executive order with new instructions was telegraphed to all Turkish provinces, and the *ezan* was heard again in Arabic all over Turkey.

Music on the Radio

Turkish classical and *tasavvuf* music did not fare well, either. On November 1, 1934, at the opening session of the Parliament, Atatürk spoke on the state of Turkish national music, arguing that, in order to be raised to a higher level, it should be replaced with "universal," i.e., Western, music. The next day, "inspired" by this speech, Ankara and Istanbul Radios removed all "alaturka" music from their programs. However, this was only a passing measure and on September 6, 1936, Turkish music, both folk and classic, returned to the radio waves (Oransay 1985: 26, 49; Kozanoğlu 1988: 10-11). Tasavvuf music, however, never managed to get on the air.

Atatürk made his last attack on Turkish music on January 4, 1938, eleven months before his death. His thoughts on music were written in a form of an article by Kemal Turan Ünal, and published, on January 8, 1938, in *Ulus*, the official newspaper of Atatürk's *Halk Partisi* (Oransay 1985: 38-46). According to Ünal, Atatürk stated that the *Fasıl* or *Enderun Musikisi* had been, like *divan* literature, under

foreign influence, Arabic and Persian, and served the purposes of only one social class; therefore, it was comprehensible to and enjoyed only by the imperial elite, that is the Ottoman elite which had deprived itself of Turkish national taste. Because of this, opined Atatürk, Turkish youth was rapidly distancing itself from the *Fasıl Musikisi* and everything Ottoman.³⁴

The first experiments with broadcasting *tasavvuf* music on Turkish radio occurred at the station of Ankara Radio, in the early 1950s, with the occasional insertion of short *tasavvuf* pieces in regular music programs (Hatipoğlu interview 1991). At the same time, the first *Mevlud* programs were recorded in the mosques and then broadcast. During *Ramazan*, the evening breaking of the fast, *iftar*, would be announced on the radio by playing a recording of *ezan*.

Music Conservatory

The first Turkish music conservatory of the Western type was *Darülelhan*, lit. the "House of Singing" or the "House of Melodies," established in 1914 by the Ottoman *Maarif Nezareti*, the Ministry of Education. It had two departments in which both Turkish and Western musics were taught. But after the Turkish department was terminated in 1926, the conservatory was closed and attached to the Istanbul

³⁴"Fasıl musikisi, tıpkı divan edebiyat gibi, tamamen yabancı tesisler altında kalmış ve mahdud bir zümrenin ifade vasıtası olmuştur. Onu yalnız imparatorluğun millî zevkten mahrum entellektüelleri anlıyabilmiştir. Halka malolmamıştır.

[&]quot;Modern musikimiz yalnız mümtaz bir sınıfın değil, bütün milletin malı olacağından, halkın ruhuna girmemiş olan seslerin yeni eserlerde yer alamıyacağı şüphesizdir. Bu sebeblerle zevkini ve kulağını yeni musikiye hazırlıyan cumhuriyet gençliği fasıl musikisinden süratle uzaklaşmaktadır" (Oransay 1985: 42).

Municipality, Belediye, and renamed İstanbul Belediye Konservatuarı. Nevertheless, the Conservatory managed to preserve the Türk Musikisi Eserlerini Tesbit ve Tasnif Hey'eti, Ensemble for the Composition and Demonstration of Turkish Musical Works, which was conducted by Rauf Yekta until his death in 1935. In the late 1940s, Arel reopened the conservatory, naming it the Türk Musikisi Konservatuarı. The teaching of Turkish music continued in the department called Türk Musikisi Nazariyatı, Theory of Turkish Music. But Arel died in 1955. The next push for opening the state conservatory with courses in Turkish music came in the late 1960s, culminating in the establishment of the Türk Musikisi Devlet Konservatuarı, Turkish Music State Conservatory, in 1975, with first classes offered to students in 1976. Finally, in 1982, after the law passed by the Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu, the conservatory was attached to the İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, Istanbul Technical University.

Present Situation

In the period from 1933-1946, religious education and activities went virtually underground. The Kur'an, as well as Turkish classical and religious music, remained secretly taught. Salih Tuğ, who was a child at the time, remembers:

The only way to keep religious education alive was to do it in secrecy and in private homes, away from the eyes of the public and the police. If the police found out that religious education was taught in some house, the teacher and the student(s) would be immediately taken to court, maybe even imprisoned. But this did not pertain only to religious education, but also to the old ways of culture [in general], such as religious and Turkish music. Both were banned together with Turkish musical instruments, such as the ney, ud, kanun. Thus, it became a secret practice, too. The masters and their students would have a secret meşk in [private] houses All old arts were forbidden, too, not only music. For example, hat san'atı, calligraphy, and süsleme san'atı,

decorative art. Both were taken off the school curricula, and became secretly practiced. I personally took Kur'an classes for two years, from 1937 to 1938. I and a few other youngsters took classes at home, while somebody would stand in the window watching for the police. In Anatolia, as well as in some areas of Istanbul, the police made unpleasant searching of homes and mosques. If police would appear, the class immediately stopped until the police were gone. Then it resumed again (Tuğ interview 1991).

Thus, in this period, the young Turks aspiring to become imams and muezzins were deprived not only of their vocational schools but also of regular musical education which plays an important role in the everyday reading of the Kur'an and in the performance of *namaz*. However, as I have shown in the previous paragraphs, starting with the late 1970s, and then again in the mid-1980s, and especially in the spring of 1991, certain changes occurred in Turkish policy towards Turkish music and religion.

In 1977-1978, the first Tasavvuf Musikisi Korosu, "Tasavvuf Music Ensemble," was established at Ankara Radio, under the direction of Ahmet Hatipoğlu. The first idea of its establishment came about in 1977, and, according to Hatipoğlu, it immediately became a "religious music case." The leading pro-Western Turkish composer and a very influential persona, Adnan Saygun, protested; and after a fifty-fifty vote it was decided not to introduce religious music programs on the radio. However, a year later, Ahmet Hatipoğlu, who was then the director of the Türk San'at Müziği Bölümü, Turkish Classical Music Division at the Radio, was approached in 1978 by Turhan Erdemgül, then director of Ankara Radio, who asked him to form a Tasavvuf Music Ensemble. The ensemble was then established, and it has continued its work until the present (Hatipoğlu interview 1991).

In 1985, Yalçın Tura, today professor at the Turkish Music Conservatory of the Istanbul Technical University, started a similar *Tasavvuf Musikisi Korosu* at Istanbul Radio. However, after a few months of work it was terminated, only to be formed again, in 1990, by Doğan Ergin, who became its director. In the spring of 1991, the *Kültür Bakanlığı*, the Ministry of Culture, under the mandate of minister Zeybek, established the first *Devlet Tasavvuf Musikisi Korosu*, State *Tasavvuf* Music Ensemble, in Konya. A couple of years ago, I was told in a personal communication, that yet another *Tasavvuf* Music Ensemble, the fourth in Turkey, was established in late 1993, also in Istanbul, and its director is Ahmet Özhan, a popular singer of *tasavvuf* music.

These facts reflect a new thawing process of the Turkish government towards religion, religious activities and religious music. In June of 1991, for example, the Ministry of Culture organized a concert of Turkish tasavvuf music with performance of zikir in Ayasofya, the famous Byzantine church Hagia Sophia, in which, in 1453, Sultan Mehmed II Fatih performed his first namaz and turned it into a mosque, and which Atatürk, in the early 1930s, closed for ritual worship and made it a museum. That performance of zikir in Ayasofya, in 1991, was something which would have been unimaginable only a year earlier.

Another "curiosum" is that, in April of the same year, the first performance ever of probably the first composed musical piece of *zikir* was broadcast live from a studio of Ankara Radio. The composer of this *zikir* was Ahmet Hatipoğlu, who conducted its performance. I met Hatipoğlu at Ankara Radio a few days after the

performance. On that occasion he gave me a copy of the musical score of his *zikir*, which is still in my possession.

In Istanbul, as well as in Ankara, there are today several music associations which cultivate Turkish *tasavvuf* music. One of these associations, which attracts especially the younger generation of religious music lovers, is *Kube Altı*, across the street from Beyazıt Mosque in Istanbul, where I occasionally went with İsmail. This association performs regularly in Istanbul and occasionally gives concerts around Turkey. It seems obvious that owing to new developments in Turkish politics, religious music education and the growing consciousness among the younger generation of Turks, at least in Istanbul, become increasingly more prominent and are likely to "revive" the "dormant" tradition.

Cerrahi Tekkesi

The Cerrahi Tekkesi seems to be one of the outstanding traditional and religious loci in Istanbul where religious music was kept alive in the period after 1925.³⁵ Its musical activity, as I observed it in 1991, reflects the high traditional standards of music-making in a tasavvuf context. In 1991, the official title of the tekke was the Türk Tasavvuf Musikisi ve Folklor Araştırma ve Yaşatma Vakfı, Foundation for Research and Preservation of Turkish Tasavvuf Music and Folklore. A sign

³⁵Although I was not able to corroborate it with facts, but during my fieldwork in Istanbul I heard the rumors that the *Cerrahi Tekkesi* was never really closed and that it never stopped its activity, regardless of the 1925 Law. One of the reasons, the rumor goes, is that the Atatürk's mother was herself a *Cerrahi* dervish or the *Cerrahi muhib*, sympathizer.

bearing this title is visibly posted on the left wall from the main entrance gate to the *tekke* compound. This statement is corroborated even in the inside of *tekke*: on one of the walls in its *Tevhidhane* or *Meydan*, a room where the *zikir* and *namaz* are performed (see Chapter 8, Fig. 2), there hangs a shiny brass plate which bears the same sentence, with an additional subtitle - *Müzik Salonu*, lit. "Music Salon/Hall."

No matter how ironic and odd this plate and its "subtitle" might sound, there is however a great deal of truth symbolically embedded in it. Some of the most famous and outstanding Turkish classical musicians from Istanbul are either Cerrahi dervishes or muhib-s. They come to tekke on a regular basis and participate in its activities, be they zikir, meşk, sohbet or just namaz. The Cerrahi Tekkesi probably has one of the best tasavvuf music score libraries, and its şeyh is a composer, as well. Some of the musicians who appear on Turkish radio and television programs featuring tasavvuf or classical music can be seen in person in the tekke. Also, some of the students and younger instructors form the Turkish Music Conservatory are Cerrahi dervishes or muhib-s, who come to tekke to play or listen to the tasavvuf music. Thus, at least a tentative conclusion may be drawn that the music performed in the Cerrahi Tekkesi has to be likewise of outstanding quality, because at least some of its performers are representatives of the top classical musical "elite" of Turkey.

It is also very likely that prior to this "thawing process" in Turkish politics, the tasavvuf musicians in Istanbul did not have any other opportunity to practice their music but in the Cerrahi Tekkesi. Because religious music was banned from public life, it seems that the majority of them had quite naturally turned towards the tekke,

where tasavvuf music was a matter of substance and a requirement for the ritual. So it is not surprising that some of musicians who are members of the radio Tasavvuf Music Ensemble, frequent the Cerrahi Tekkesi, thus making an unofficial and "unheard of" bond between the radio, a state institution tightly controlled by the government, and a totally unofficial and still legally banned religious institution, the Cerrahi Tekkesi.

Music and İslâm Ansiklopedisi

The thirteenth president of the *Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı* was Tayyar Altıkulaç (1978-1986), who was appointed to this position after serving as assistant president (1971-1978) (Altıkulaç, interview 1991). His mandate as president was a very active one: he opened several *Kur'an Kursları* in Turkey (among others, in Ankara and Antalya); he helped in establishing, in 1976, the *İstanbul Haseki Eğitim Merkezi*, the center for higher learning in the Kur'an, in Haseki area of Istanbul; he established a position abroad of the *Din İşleri Müşaviri*, the Turkish Religious Affairs Councilor, ³⁶ with first offices in Belgium (Brussels), West Germany (Bonn), and in Holland, usually attached to Turkish Embassies, such as is the case in Washington, D.C. Himself a respected Kur'an reader, Altıkulaç recorded several cassettes with Kur'anic reading, and took music classes form Münir Dede in the Beyazıt Mosque.

Altıkulaç was also instrumental in the founding, in 1975, of the *Türkiye*Diyanet Vakfi, Religious Foundation of Turkey, which was established to provide

³⁶Today this position is called the *Din Hizmetleri Müşaviri*, Councilor of Religious Services.

financial support for the *Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı*. Since the latter was on the state budget, sufficient only for its everyday management, a *Vakıf* was established in order to bring in the financial resources needed for wider activity. The *Vakıf* has built several student dormitories and mosques, established Kur'an courses, and gave scholarships to 5,000 students, not all necessarily studying religion (Mustafa Uzun interview 1991). Among other areas of activity, the *Vakıf* is engaged in publishing as well.

In the 1980s there was a general feeling that the *Vakif* should publish a comprehensive encyclopedia of Islam. The only encyclopedia of scholarly merit which existed in Turkey was a translation of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, published trilingually, in English, French, and German, in Leyden by E.J. Brill, in the period from 1908-1938. The translation into Turkish, under the title of *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, was undertaken by the *Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı*, which established a board of translators at the *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi*, the Istanbul University Faculty of Literature, and started the endeavor in 1940; it took almost fifty years to be completed - the last volume appearing in 1988 (IA 1988: 5). However, regarding the Muslim world and Islam in general, and the topics pertaining to the Turkish part of that world in particular, the entries in the Leyden encyclopedia, Turks felt, were "very often short, sometimes deficient, and sometimes also wrong" (IA 1988: 1).³⁷ Therefore, after the establishment of the *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi*, it did not take long to come up

³⁷"Ancak bu ansiklopedide genel olarak İslâmiyâta ve İslâm âleminin önemli bir unsuru olan Türk dünyasına ait bilgiler çok defa kısa, bazan noksan, bazan da yanlış verilmiştir."

with the idea of publishing the Turkish counterpart to *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. In 1983, the *Vakıf* decided to establish its own encyclopaedia, under the official title *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Encyclopedia of Islam of the Religious Foundation of Turkey.³⁸ Altogether fifteen scholarly boards were established to prepare the encyclopedia, each pertaining to the specific section: Arabic Language and Literature; History of Religions; Farsi Language and Literature; *Fıkıh* (*Fiqh*, jurisprudence); *Hadis* (*Ḥadīt*); History of Sciences; Islamic Thought and Ethics (*Ahlâk*); Islamic Arts: Caligraphy, Architecture, Music; History and Civilization of Islam; Geography of Islamic Countries; History of *Kelâm* (*Kalām*, theology) and *Mezheb*-s; *Tasavvuf*; *Tefsir* (*Tafsīr*, commentaries on the Kur'an); Turkish Language and Literature; and Turkish History and Civilization.³⁹

Both the Leiden encyclopedia, and its Turkish edition, have only a dozen or so musical entries, all written by Henry George Farmer, none of which pertains to Turkish music (Öztuna 1990a: 285-286). Mustafa Uzun, the chairman of the *İlmi Dalı*, Scientific Chapter, of the Turkish Language and Literature Section, as well as an editor, *redaktör*, in the Islamic Arts Section of the *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, who also

³⁸At the time of my research, in winter/spring of 1991, the offices of the *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* were located in Bağlarbaşi, an area of Istanbul between the Fatih Bridge and Üsküdar, on the Anatolian side of Bosphorus, a walking distance from the *İlâhiyat Fakültesi*.

³⁹In Turkish these sections are: Arap Dili ve Edebiyatı, Dinler Tarihi, Fars Dili ve Edebiyatı, Fıkıh, Hadis, İlimler Tarihi, İslâm Düşuncesi ve Ahlâk, İslâm Sanatları (Hat, Mimarî, Musiki), İslâm Tarihi ve Medeniyeti, İslâm Ülkeleri Coğrafyası, Kelâm ve Mezhepler Tarihi, Tasavvuf, Tefsir, Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı, Türk Tarihi ve Medeniyeti (IA 1988: 7).

studied religious music in the *tekke*-s of Istanbul, observed that "music in the old [Leyden] encyclopedia is very little represented, almost to the extent of negation" (Uzun interview 1991). Uzun also remarked that while some important composers are completely omitted, there is "a paragraph in that encyclopedia on a singer who lived in "Abbāsī period. That's strange."

This Turkish feeling is not limited only to the Leiden encyclopedia's representation of music, but also to other sensitive issues. Uzun said that the entry on Allāh, for example, "is written from the Christian viewpoint and is not objectively done. That is not acceptable to Muslims. [However] the New Edition of the Leiden encyclopaedia [EI 1960-] is better in comparison to the first one. There are fewer errors but this new edition is using the old works anew. It was not prepared using new research methods." Regarding music, the situation in the New Edition has not changed substantially, as one can easily check by browsing the volumes so far published (see EI 1960-).

Compared to the Leiden encyclopedias, the Turkish İslâm Ansiklopedisi devotes a substantial space to music. Out of the total of 23,430 projected entries, 746 are devoted to music only, which is above 3 %.⁴⁰ Uzun said that the music included in

⁴⁰These are the figures from my interview with M. Uzun (1991), in which he observed that "we found close to 45,000 entries, but since many of them were repetitive or doubled we went through them three or four times, which took us twenty to twenty-two days. We lowered the number of music entries. The criterion we followed was to choose those entries which fall under the categories of either Islamic Culture or Islamic Religion. The entries which were not so important regarding these two criteria we left out, and we ended up with 23,430 entries."

The number of 746 music entries is my own calculation from the alphabetic computer printout of both the published and projected music entries given to me by

the encyclopedia is *Dinî Musiki*, but also added that "it is not possible to separate nonreligious from religious music, for they sometimes share common sources of origin. However, it is necessary that we pay attention to the Turkish music in general, and Turkish religious music in particular." This is how Uzun, echoing Salih Tuğ's observations, described the reason why music was included within the Islamic Arts Section of the *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*:

Our aim is to present the culture and religion of Islam. In that sense we absolutely give space to Islamic arts. For that reason it was necessary to carefully examine Islamic arts, inside of which we met three special [requirements]. One of them is Islamic architecture; the other is calligraphy, both in connection to architecture and independently as applied in the books. Music is the third.

Music occupies an important structural place in Islam. It starts with the kiraat and tilâvet of the Kur'an [types and styles of Kur'anic reading], with namaz as it is performed by the cemaat [congregation], with ezan, kamet and the parts of müezzinlik [sections performed by the muezzin] within the namaz.

Tekke musikisi [on the other side] is a condition for understanding tasavvuf in Islam. There is also the mehter [Janissary band] music, as well. Music is very important in the lives of Muslims and in their ritual worships. Music is innate in the nature of the people. We want to understand what role, and in what way, music played in the lives of Muslims. In order to understand its contemporary form we have to understand its past, the way it was before.

Uzun, in January 1991: 85 items starting with letter A; 25 with B; 14 C and 22 C; 47 D; 22 E; 13 F; 12 G; 66 H; 3 I and 29 I; 41 K; 6 L; 98 M; 54 N; 8 O and 6 Ö; 6 P; 20 R; 65 S and 25 Ş; 33 T; 7 U and 4 Ü; 4 V; 14 Y; and 17 entries starting with letter Z.

By the spring of 1991 the first three volumes of *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* were published: vol. 1 in 1988, vol. 2 in 1989, vol. 3 in 1991 (IA 1988-1991); vol. 4 was in preparation. Since the *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* is still in progress the final entry numbers and ratios might change.

This is how I, Nuri bey [Nuri Özcan⁴¹, another music editor in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*], and other friends here think (Uzun 1991).

⁴¹Nuri Özcan joined the encyclopedia in 1985 as its first music editor. In 1991, he was the chairman of the *Musiki İlim Dalı*, the "Musicology" Chapter of the Islamic Arts Section. In this position he was in direct charge of all music entries in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*. Aside from his position in the encyclopedia he was at the same time the professor of music at the *İlâhiyat Fakültesi*, Istanbul. He confirmed the above Uzun's statement, saying that in "*İslâm Ansiklopedisi* we treat music as an art (san'at)."

Özcan graduated from the *İstanbul Belediye Konservatuarı*, which was located in Mecidiyeköy, with the main building in Çemberlitaş.

PART Two

NAMAZ AS TEXTUAL AND BODILY PERFORMANCE - LITURGY

In Turkish, namaz is the word which can most closely be translated as "ritual worship." In Iran and Turkey, as well as in some former Ottoman territories, such as Bosnia, or territories which were historically under the Turco-Farsi influence, such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kashmir, the Central Asian Republics, the term used for the ritual worship is the Farsi word نماذ namāz.¹ Arabs as well as majority of other Muslims outside the Turco-Farsi sphere of historical, cultural, linguistic and religious influence use the Arabic equivalent ملاة salāh.²

Contrary to the custom used in many Western writings on this topic, I translate the term *namaz* as "ritual worship" rather than "prayer." This choice of wording is on the line of A.J. Wensinck who argued that "salat [is] the usual name in Arabic for the ritual prayer or divine service. The translation 'prayer' without further definition is

¹In personal communication with several employees in the Dari and Pashtu Services of the Voice of America, Washington, D.C., as well as with the officials of Pakistani Embassy, Washington, D.C., I was told that the Dari speaking Muslims, who inhabit mostly the eastern Afghanistan, use the term *namaz;* Pashtu speaking Muslims, who live in Afghanistan and northwestern Pakistan, also use the word *namaz* as a scholarly term, although it is not infrequent that the Pashtu speakers would instead use their word *mounz*, "to worship, pray."

The word salāh is also written as الله, where الله replaces א, lā; the plural form for both is صلوات salawāt. In Western and non-Western writings this word is traditionally transliterated as salāt, and pronounced with an audible t. Thusly transliterated, the salāt is the only exception in the Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam (1961); all other words ending with a are romanized there without the final t or h: "djanāba," "Faṭima," "ṭarīka," instead of janābah, Faṭimah, ṭarīqah, as transliterated in this dissertation.

not accurate; the Arabic word $du^c\bar{a}'$ corresponds to the concept of prayer" (SEI 1961:491).³

Turkish definitions of *namaz* agree that it is "religious practice, *ibadet*, [performed] at determined times with particular movements and readings" (Dikmen 1988: 261; Kazancı 1989: 83). This means that *namaz* has to be performed at a fixed time, with prescribed bodily movements, and with a more or less fixed liturgical text; or, stated differently, *namaz* rests on three basic elements:

- time
- body movement
- verbal behavior

The last element, *verbal behavior*, since it relates to the uttered text, is most usually, but not exclusively, musically rendered, where "musically" implies anything from the simplest emphatic pronunciation of liturgical text to highly elaborate musical structuring. In this sense, verbal behavior could be understood as *musical practice*, i.e. practice understood in Bourdieu's sense (1991).

Types of *Namaz*

Regarding *namaz*, the first three *Mükellefiyet* rules, i.e. *farz*, *vacip*, and *sünnet*, are the most important. They relate not only to its performance, but also to the

³Philip Schuyler challenges my statement about the "prayer," stating that "prayer' in English can also be a service, or ritual worship, as in 'Evening Prayer,' a combination of prayer, song, and other ritual" (Schuyler, written comments to this dissertation).

performance of its constituent parts, and to the specific actions executed during the *namaz*. All *namaz*-s are therefore classified according to these three rules, which delineate three types of *namaz*:

- farz namaz obligatory ritual worship,
- vacip namaz necessary ritual worship
- sünnet namaz traditional ritual worship.⁴

 To the first, farz namaz type belong the five daily ritual worships called:
- Sabah Namazı Morning Ritual Worship
- Öğle Namazı Noon Ritual Worship
- İkindi Namazı Afternoon Ritual Worship
- Akşam Namazı Evening Ritual Worship
- Yatsı Namazı Night Ritual Worship.5

To the same type of farz namaz-s also belong the weekly Cuma Namazı (علاة الجمعة ṣalātu'l-jumʿah), the ritual worship performed on Fridays, Cuma, in place of Öğle Namazı. Another farz namaz is the Cenaze Namazı (علاة الجنازة ṣalātu'l-janāzah), the Funeral Ritual Worship. The five daily ritual worships and the Cuma Namazı are regarded the farz-ı ayn, proper compulsory duty, because their performance is incumbent upon all Muslims. The Cenaze Namazı, on the other side, is

⁴Since all *sünnet* actions and duties are also classified as voluntary, *nafile*, all traditional ritual worships, i.e. *sünnet namaz*, are therefore also known as the *nafile namaz*.

⁵The corresponding Arabic names are: 1. الطهر aṣ-ṣubḥ or الفجر ad-ḍuḥr, 3. الصبح ad-ḍuḥr, 3. العصر al-raṣr, 4. العضاء al-maġrib, and 5. العضاء al-saṣr, 4. العضاء

understood as farz-ı kifaye, sufficient compulsory duty, meaning that it does not have to be performed by everybody, but can be transferred and relegated to another Muslim.⁶

To the type of vacip namaz belong the Vitir (¿zz) witr)⁷ and Bayram Namazı.⁸
The Vitir is performed during the night after the Yatsı Namazı. The Bayram Namazı is performed twice a year, on the days of two great Muslim holidays. The first is the Ramazan Bayramı,⁹ which celebrates the end of the month of fasting, Ramazan;¹⁰ it is observed on the 1st of Şevval and the following three days. The second holiday is the Kurban Bayramı,¹¹ i.e. the holiday of sacrifice, celebrated on the 10th of Zilhicce and the following three days. On the 10th of Zilhicce, Muslims who have gone on the

⁶Contrary to other *namaz*-s, *Cenaze Namazı* is performed only in standing position, without other bodily movements (bowing and prostration) and without the reading of the Kur'an.

⁷The *Şafii*, *Hanbelî*, and *Maliki mezheb*-s consider the *Vitir Namazı* as *sünnet*. See SEI (1961: 635).

⁸The Turkish word bayram is equivalent to Arabic العيد al-ʿid, and means the (religious) festival, holiday. In contemporary secular Turkey it also means any holiday, including the state holidays such as the Cumhuriyet Bayramı, the Day of Republic. Thus the علاقالعيد salatu'l-ʿid is the same as the Bayram Namazı, lit. "Holiday Ritual Worship."

⁹Ramazan Bayramı is in Turkish also known as the Şeker Bayramı, lit. the "sugar holiday," on which the sweets are given out, or the Küçük Bayram, the Little Bayram. In Arabic it is called the عيدالفطر "idu'l-fitr, "the holiday of breaking the fast," or عيدالصغير "idu'l-ṣagīr, lit. "the little holiday" (SEI 1961: 156).

¹⁰For names of the months of Muslim lunar year and their Arabic spelling see Chapter Three, n. 7.

¹¹Kurban Bayramı is also known as the Büyük Bayram, lit. the Great Bayram. In Arabic it is called the عيدالاضحاة 'idu'l-aḍḥāh or عيدالقربان 'idu'l-qurbān, "the holiday of sacrifice" (SEI 1961: 156).

Hajj to Mecca and Medina perform the *kurban*, i.e. sacrifice the animals in the valley of Minā¹² (SEI 1961: 156). Other Muslims, who did not go on the Hajj, perform the same ritual at their homes.

The third, *nafile* type of *namaz*, includes other *namaz*-s, such as the *Teravih*Namazı, the topic of this dissertation, which is performed only during the month of Ramazan.

Depending on the time set for their performance, the farz namaz-s are considered either cehri, lit. public, open, aloud, or hafi, lit. secret, hidden, silent. The corresponding Turkish terms are: açık and gizli. Because the cehri namaz-s are performed either during the night or at the dim daylight of sunset and sunrise, they are also called the karanlık namaz-s, lit. dark time namaz-s. To this category belong the Sabah, Akşam and Yatsı Namazı. The hafi namaz-s are those performed during the full daylight and therefore called the gündüz namaz-s, lit. daytime namaz-s; among these are the Öğle and İkindi Namazı. At certain points in cehri namaz-s, the imam reads portions of the Kur'an aloud, while in hafi namaz-s he reads them silently.

Obligatory Actions in Namaz: Namazın Farzları

The most important actions necessary for the performance of *namaz* are likewise classified as *farz*, *vacip* or *sünnet*. The number of *farz* actions is fixed. However, the numbers of *vacip* and *sünnet* actions vary and are stated differently

¹²Mina is "a place in the hills east of Mecca on the road from it to 'Arafa" (SEI 1961: 380). The latter, 'Arafah, is "a hill famous as a place of pilgrimage with the adjoining plain of the same name, 6 hours to the East of Mecca" (SEI 1961: 44).

according to the writer. Thus it is not unusual that one author lists eighteen *vacip* and thirty-one *sünnet* actions (Dikmen 1988: 315-322), while another offers eleven *vacip* and twelve *sünnet* actions (Tavaslı 1990b: 20, 25-26).

There are twelve *farz* actions, generically called the *Namazın Farzları*,

Obligatory Actions in *Namaz*. These *farz* actions are then divided into two groups,
each consisting of six actions:

- Namazın Şartları Conditions of Namaz,
- Namazın Rükünleri Pillars of Namaz.

Conditions of Namaz: Namazın Şartları

Prior to the performance of *namaz* every pious believer must fulfill the six *farz* conditions before he or she enters the mosque, and then, once in the mosque, before the actual beginning of *namaz*. The conditions are:

- Hadesten Taharet Ritual Cleanliness
- Necasetten Taharet Actual Cleanliness
- Setr-i Avret Covering the Privy Parts of Body
- İstikbalî Kıble Facing the Kıble
- Vakit Proper Time
- Niyet Intention.

The first two conditions are about the cleanliness, taharet (علهارة tahārah), which is achieved through the purification from two kinds of impurities: material,

maddi, and spiritual, man'evî. These impurities theologians treat as the actual, hakiki, and ritual, hükmî.

The ritual, hükmî, impurities are generically called the hades (عدف hadat) and as such they represent the first condition of namaz, the Hadesten Taharet, lit. the cleanliness from hades. They are divided into two kinds: the minor, küçük hades, and major, büyük hades. Since hades is a ritual impurity it can be cleansed with water only. Minor hades is cleansed by performing the minor ritual ablution, abdest (وضوع) wudū). The major hades, i.e. a state of major ritual impurity, caused by the sexual intercourse, any effusion of semen, menstruation, and the forty-days period after the childbirth, can be cleansed only by performing the major ritual ablution, gusül (just). 15

The actual, *hakiki*, impurities are called the *necaset* (نجس *najāsah* or نجس *najāsah*). They pertain to the things impure in themselves, such as wine and other alcoholic drinks, dogs, swine, animal corpses, meat of certain forbidden animals,

¹³Büyük hades is also known as cenabet (جنابة janabah).

¹⁴The actions performed during the *abdest* are also of either the *farz* or *sünnet* type. The *farz* actions are: washing once the face from the forehead to the chin including the earlobes, then arms up to elbows, feet up to ankles, and touching the top of head with wet palm of hand. Among the *sünnet* actions are: washing the hands up to the wrists before starting the *abdest*, pronouncing the *Auzu-Besmele* formula at the beginning of *abdest*, pronouncing the *niyet* - "intention to perform the *abdest*," washing the teeth, three times vigorously rinsing the mouth with water and vigorously snuffing up water through the nostrils.

¹⁵The *farz* actions of *gusül* are: washing the whole body without leaving a single spot dry, washing the mouth, and snuffing up water through the nostrils.

blood, excrements, etc. (SEI 1961: 431; Dikmen 1988: 163-166). The cleanliness from these actual impurities is called the *Necasetten Taharet*, and it implies the cleanliness of both the body, dress, and the place where the *namaz* is performed.

Setr-i Avret means the covering of the privy parts of the body, which, according to the *seriat*, have to be covered.¹⁷ It is forbidden, *haram*, to leave them exposed during the *namaz*. Men have to cover their body from navel to below the knees, and women, the entire body except face, hands and feet (Dikmen 1988: 301). The covering of privy parts with transparent dress or a dress made of nylon is forbidden. It is also not proper for men to wear silk while performing the *namaz*, unless they cover it with a dress made of other material.

İstikbal-î Kıble means "facing the kıble," i.e. turning in the direction of Mecca during the performance of namaz. Kıble (قبلة qiblah) is a term which precisely means the direction of كعبة, the Kacbah, the principal Muslim place of worship and the first mosque in Islam, "situated almost in the center of the great mosque in Mecca," known as المسجد الحرام al-masjidu'l-ḥaram (SEI 1961: 191; 353-354). Turning away from kıble annuls the namaz (Kazancı 1989: 85).

Niyet (نینة niyyah, pl. نیات niyyat, intention) is the declaration of the believer's intention to perform the namaz. Although all niyet sentences are similar to each other, virtually every type of namaz has its own specific formula of niyet.

¹⁶Dikmen further divides all *necaset*-s as the *ağır necaset*, grave material impurities, and *hafif necaset*, light material impurities (1988: 162-166).

¹⁷Setr-i Avret is derived from Arabic words ستر satr, to cover, hide, and عورة awrah, pl. عورات wrat, weakness, unprotected spot, genitals.

Pillars of Namaz: Namazın Rükünleri

The other six farz actions, called the Pillars of Namaz, Namazın Rükünleri, are executed during the actual performance of namaz. Because of this they are also called the içindeki farzlar, "inside farz-s." The six pillars are:

- İftitah Tekbiri (افتتام iftitaḥ, تكبير takbīr) Opening Tekbir, ا
- Kıyam (قيام qiyam) Standing Position in Namaz;19
- Kıraat (قراءة qirā'ah) Reading from the Kur'an While in Kıyam;
- Rükû (ركوع rukū) Bowing Position, in which the kneepans are grasped by palms of both hands, thus supporting the body;
- Secde (سجدة sajdah)²⁰ Prostration, is such a way that only the nose, forehead, both palms of hands, knees and toes are touching the ground;

¹⁸Tekbir is the pronunciation of the praising formula Allahu akbar; iftitah literally means the beginning; therefore, İftitah Tekbiri opens the performance of namaz. It is elsewhere called the تكبيرالاحرام takbīru'l-iḥrām (SEI 1961: 159-161).

is of the same root as the word Kiyamet (قيامة), the Last Judgement. The Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam does not give any fixed term for this pillar of ritual worship. In his articles on "Salat" and "Kunut" (SEI 1961: 491-499, 271-272), Wensinck associates the standing position in namaz with عنون qunut. The resuming of upright position after the bowing he calls the المناف jetidal, lit. uniformity, symmetry (SEI 1961: 493). Wensinck mentions the word qiyam only passingly, citing al-Nawawi's thirteen "arkan al-salat" ("pillars of namaz"): "niya, takbirat al-ihram, kiyam, kira'a, ruku', i'tidal, sudjud, djulus [half-sitting position], tashahhud [confession of faith], ku'ud, al-salat 'ala'l Nabi, salam and (13) the correct order of succession (tartib)" (SEI 1961: 494). The second Wensinck's mentioning of the word qiyam is in reference to the "nights of Ramadan in general," stating that in their description "the name kiyam is preferably used, which shows that great value was put upon standing and waking in themselves" (SEI 1961: 495).

²⁰Also called the Sücûd (سجود sujūd, to prostrate).

• Ka'de (قعدة qa^cdah)²¹ - Sitting Position.

Rek'at: Minimal Structural Unit of Namaz

A single successive performance of six Pillars of Namaz makes a unit called rek'at (مركعة, rakah, pl. ركعة, rakaat). The noun rek'at is derived from the same root as rukū, bow, meaning that the act of bowing gives the name to the whole unit. This unit is the basic, indispensable, and the minimal structural element of namaz. Since there is no namaz with one rek'at only, the minimal number of rek'at-s performed in any namaz is two, and ritual worship with two rek'at-s is the simplest form of namaz.

However, the six farz pillars which constitute a rek'at can be divided into two types: those which are based on the bodily movements, i.e. ktyam, rükû, secde, and ka'de; and those based on the utterance of text, i.e. iftitah tekbiri and ktraat. Although it cannot be directly inferred from their simple listing, each pillar is always a combination of bodily movements and text. Rükû, for example, categorized as a bodily pillar, has a certain textual formula silently uttered while in this position. Or ktraat, itself a textual pillar, is performed while in standing (bodily) position. The other feature is that every single pillar is announced by a formula called either the

²¹Also called the *kuud* (قعود *qu^cūd*, to sit).

tekbir or tahmid.²² The latter two, while announcing the farz bodily pillars, are themeselves the sünnet actions.²³

Thus, the *namaz* begins with the pronouncement of *iftitah tekbiri* in standing position, *ktyam*. This *tekbir* might be also understood as the announcement of the next pillar, *ktraat*, likewise performed in the same bodily position of *ktyam* (see Table 1). After *ktraat*, another *tekbir* is pronounced signalling that everybody should perform the *rükû*. From *rükû*, the congregation returns to the *ktyam*, which is now very short, and actually represents an intermediary step between the *rükû* and the incoming *secde*. This movement from *rükû* to intermediary *ktyam* is announced by *tahmid*, not *tekbir*. The remaining pillars in the *rek'at* are all announced by the *tekbir*. Since *secde* is the only pillar which is performed twice in a *rek'at*, after the first *secde* the body is placed in an intermediary brief sitting position, before the second *secde* is performed. At the end of the second *secde*, the *tekbir* signals the beginning of the second *rek'at*, which begins in *ktyam* position. Now, the whole *rek'at* cycle is repeated, with one addendum: after the second *secde* at the end of the second *rek'at*, instead of going to the *ktyam* position, the congregation remains sitting for some time in *ka'de* position.

²²Tekbir differ from the *iftitah tekbiri* only functionally. Both consist of the same praising formula *Allāhu akbar*. Unlike the *İftitah Tekbiri*, which opens the *namaz* and is performed only once, *tekbir* announces the performance of every pillar with the *rek'at*, except the end of *rükû*, when body moves from the bowing to the intermediary standing position, before performing the first prostration. This move from the bowing to upright position is announced by *tahmid* (another formula in praise of God. For fuller explanation of *tahmid* see the next chapter.

²³The other *sünnet* texts uttered during the performance of every bodily pillar of *rek'at* will be described in the next chapter.

This cycle of two *rek'at*-s is structured as a couplet, which I call the *Rek'at* Couplet (Table 1), and all *namaz*-s with even number of *rek'at*-s are structured as repetitions of *Rek'at* Couplets: e.g., *namaz*-s with four *rek'at*-s will have two *Rek'at* Couplets, and those with twenty *rek'at*-s, ten *Rek'at* Couplets, etc. The characteristic feature of the *Rek'at* Couplet is that its two *rek'at*-s are not fully identical nor symmetrical because of *ka'de*, positioned at the end of the second *rek'at* and, contrary to all other pillars, without the symmetrical counterpart in the first *rek'at*. This is what makes the couplet asymmetrical, but also what makes it a couplet.

The situation is somewhat different in *namaz*-s with odd number of *rek'at*-s, such as the *farz rekat*-s of *Akşam Namazı*. In that *namaz*, the first two *rek'at*-s are performed as explained in the previous paragraph, as a *Rek'at* Couplet. The last, odd numbered, *rek'at* is fully identical and symmetrical to the second *rek'at* from the preceding couplet, meaning that it does have the *ka'de*, regardless of the fact that it stands alone. Thus, although it cannot represent the *Rek'at* Couplet, for it is single, this final odd numbered *rek'at* can be understood as assuming the function of a rump, or better, a "compact" form of the *Rek'at* Couplet (Table 2).

Table 1 - Structure of Rek'at Couplet

	<i>REK'AT</i> COUPLET				
Fir	First <i>Rek'at</i> Second <i>Rek'at</i>		COND <i>Rek'at</i>		
Kıyam	İftitah Tekbiri	V	Tekbir		
	Kıraat	Kıyam	Kıraat		
Tekbir		Tekbir			
	Rükû		Rükû		
Tahmid Tah		Tahmid	Tahmid		
Intermediary Kıyam		Intermediary Kıyam			
Tekbir		Tekbir			
Fi	rst Secde	F	First Secde		
Tekbir		Tekbir			
Interm	ediary Sitting	Intermediary Sitting			
Tekbir	Tekbir Tekbir				
Second Secde		Se	cond Secde		
			Ka'de		

This means that the *namaz* truly rests on the performance of *Rek'at* Couplet(s). The simplest form of *namaz*, such as the *farz rek'at*-s of the *Sabah Namazı*, is made of the performance of one *Rek'at* Couplet. In *namaz*-s with more than two *rek'at*-s, these couplets, be they complete or "compact," are structured as the repetitive cyclical elementary form. In both cases we are dealing with the *simple form* of *namaz*.

Table 2 - Structure of Namaz with Three Rek'at-s

			NAMAZ			
<i>Rek'at</i> Couplet				DE .	OMPACT" T COUPLET	
Fi	First Rek'at		ond Rek'at	Thi	rd <i>Rek'at</i>	
Vman	İftitah Tekbiri	V	Tekbir	V	Tekbir	
Kıyam	Kıraat	Kıyam	Kıraat	Kıyam	Kıraat	
Tekbir		Tekbir		Tekbir		
	Rükû		Rükû		Rükû	
Tahmid		Tahmid		Tahmid		
	Kıyam		Kıyam Kıya		Кіуат	
Tekbir		Tekbir Tekbir				
	Secde	Secde		Secde		
Tekbir		Tekbir		Tekbir		
	Sitting	Sitting Si		itting		
Tekbir		Tekbir		Tekbir		
Secde			Secde Secde		Secde	
		Tekbir	ekbir Tekbir			
			Ka'de	Ka'de		

Like namaz in general, the basic structural units, rek'at-s, are also sensitive to the Mükellefiyet Code, and they are accordingly divided in three types: farz, vacip, and sünnet rek'at-s. Quite often, the Turks use just the word farzlar (pl. of farz) to refer to the farz rek'at-s, and sünnetler (pl. of sünnet) to denote the sünnet rek'at-s.

Namaz as Composite Form

By now we have seen that especially the first three rules from the Mükellefiyet Code are truly an overriding factor as regards the namaz, its constituent parts, and actions. Not only are there three types of namaz: farz, vacip, and sünnet namaz, but their rek'at-s are classified likewise. Or, as we shall soon find out, the namaz itself can have the farz, vacip, and sünnet sections and segments. So, one might be surprised to see that the sünnet rek'at-s, for example, - and let us not forget that the rek'at itself is built on exclusively farz actions, the Pillars of Namaz - might be performed within a sünnet section of the otherwise farz namaz, meaning that the mükellefiyet hierarchy is not necessarily unilateral and monodirectional, but rather multilateral and polydirectional, relating to the things in ways which thoroughly depend on the context in which they are found.

Since this represents a complicity which might become an unsurmountable obstacle in communication of ideas, a clarification and precise definition of terms and concepts are necessary here. Rather than functioning in a way of Western dichotomies and strict definitions of mutually exclusive antipodes, Muslim religious and other terminologies often function in a way of synecdoches, where *pars pro toto* can be supplanted by the *totum pro parte* and *vice versa*.

Bourdieu's Calendar and the Synoptic Illusion

The problem of the possibility of several meanings, i.e. *polysemy*, of a single word or a ritual practice, which coexist simultaneously in the vocabulary and logic of

a given culture and society, and which can be used *polythetically*, was very succinctly demonstrated by Pierre Bourdieu, in his discussion of the Kabylia calendar and the illusion of a synoptic diagram (1991: 96-158). Bourdieu writes:

As soon as one undertakes to draw up a synoptic calendar which combines the features most frequently attested and indicates the most important (instead of presenting a single calendar chosen for the sake of its particular "quality," or a set of particular calendars) one comes up against a primary difficulty: identical periods are given different names, and still more, identical names cover periods varying considerably in length and situated at different times in the year, depending on the region, the tribe, the village, and even the informant. Moreover, at two different points in the same conversation, an informant may offer two different names (e.g. one Berber, one drawn from the Islamic tradition) for the same moment of the year (1991: 98).

In the case of *namaz* we have a similar complicity where the word "namaz" indiscriminately signifies, and relates to, the different types and forms of ritual worship: *namaz* performed individually and *namaz* performed congregationally; *namaz* performed in the mosque or other religious place, e.g. *tekke*, and *namaz* performed at home or other non-religious place; *namaz* as the whole event of ritual worship, i.e. as a *composite form*, and *namaz* as a single part of that event, as a *simple form*, comprised of *rek'at*-s only, etc.

Bourdieu then argues that,

There is a great temptation to amass and collate these different productions in order to construct a lacuna-free, contradiction-free whole, a sort of *unwritten score* of which all the calendars derived from informants are then regarded as imperfect, impoverished *performances*. The problem is that the calendar cannot be understood unless it is set down on paper, and that it is impossible to understand how it works unless one fully realizes that it exists only on paper (*ibid.*).

This is the stumbling block which, if impossible to be completely removed, at least requires some clarification. Similar to the way that Bourdieu negatively understands his calendar, as a "sort of unwritten score" which exists only on paper, my discussion on namaz is based primarily on the premise that I understand it as practice and performance, and only secondarily, and then truly conditionally, as a passible theoretical, that is "non-practical object of thought, predisposed to become an object of discourse" (Bourdieu 1991: 106). Thus the separation between the namaz as practice and namaz as a discourse on that practice is indispensable, since the sole synoptical creation of namaz as discourse can be a creation ex nihilo of namaz practices, or as Bourdieu says, "a totality existing beyond its 'applications' and independently of the needs and interests of its users" (ibid.).

I am also aware that I am - in agreement with and in the spirit of Western academia - accumulating here information on *namaz* in order to win in my analyses the "privilege of totalization," since writing and all the various techniques for recording give me the "power to perpetuate" a certain knowledge. Thus, to paraphrase Bourdieu, I might be here securing "the means of apprehending the logic of the system which a partial or discrete view would miss"; and that I might be, in all likelihood, overlooking the change in status to which I am subjecting practice and its products and am consequently insisting on trying to answer questions which are not and cannot be questions for practice, instead of asking myself whether the essential characteristic of practice is not precisely the fact that it excludes such questions.

Indeed, the *totalization* which synopsis offers can never really be fully replicated in practice, which is always somewhat partial and broken into the series of limited and conditional actions and relations. It rather becomes the *theoretical neutralization* and the disciplining of the unruly practice, which "makes it possible to apprehend at a glance, *uno intuitu et tota simul*, as Descartes said, *monothetically*, as Husserl put it, meanings which are produced and used polythetically, that is to say, not only one after another, but one by one, step by step" (Bourdieu 1991: 107).

In short, I am fully aware of the danger which any theoretical and discursive totalization, synopses and paradigms impose on practice, and of the ostentatious authority with which they present themselves. They are the more dangerous since they are timeless and purport to substitute for practices which exist only in and through time. Still, in order to be able to somehow communicate knowledge about namaz, I will have to temporarily impose a certain degree of theoretization and totalization, to freeze the time and let the practices disappear for a moment. I emphasize that I will do it only temporarily, using the paradigms as a means to reach an end and to show that they are not really capable of fully explaining the actual practice, which is always dynamic, constantly forming and reforming, and fuzzy in its meaning. It is the strategies that make the paradigms practically actualized.

Definition of Namaz

Thus, in the "confusion" created by the polysemy of terms and polythetical treatment of a single topic, I semantically differentiate and deliberately

"monotheticize" the different phenomena which, in Turkish usage, indiscriminately come under the same terminological heading of namaz. For example, the Öğle Namazı, as a composite form, which itself belongs to the type of farz namaz, is composed of several segments; three of them are the simple form of namaz, and therefore the namaz-s themselves. The performance of one of these three segments is farz, and in Turkey it is named as farz namaz; the other two segments are sünnet, and are named as sünnet namaz-s. Thus, when Turks refer to the Öğle Namazı they primarily mean the farz segment (namaz) of the ritual worship performed at noon. However, the whole composite event, including this proper farz segment, the two sünnet segments, and all other dua-s, readings, and actions performed before and after these segments, is also considered the namaz.

Hence, my semantic differentiation bases on my definition of Öğle Namazı as the congregational performance of that ritual worship as a composite form; its constituent "namaz-s" I define as its segments. Consequently, my general definition of namaz is that it is the composite form of congregational ritual worship. To this thusly defined category of namaz belong the five daily ritual worships and the Cuma Namazı. Cenaze and Bayram Namazı-s, both of which can be performed congregationally, fall outside of this category: the former, for it is not a composite form, and the latter because it formally "deviates" from the above general definition of namaz.

The *individual performance* of *namaz* does not belong to my general definition of *namaz*, either. I understand it as a brief, although not necessarily full, summary of the *congregational performance*. Although the individual performance of *namaz* is a

composite form too, consisting of several segments, it is rather the parts of *namaz*, and not the full event, which is of crucial importance in it. Another significant point is that since all liturgical texts in the individual performance of *namaz* are uttered silently, musical aspects do not play any part in it whatsoever.

The congregational performance of namaz in the mosque might be compared to the Christian Divine Service congregationally performed in the church. However, while Christians might differentiate between the "congregational" Divine Service and "individual" prayers, Muslims in Turkey use just one term, namaz, which relates to and, like a semantic umbrella, covers all types and forms of their ritual worship. The sole reason for this, it appears to me, is in the very structure of Muslim ritual worship. The basis on which that structure is built is the rek'at, the indispensable structural unit of namaz; the contents of rek'at are always the same, disregarding the type, form, time, place, function and/or purpose of ritual worship.

Structure of Namaz

I structurally divide *namaz*, as defined in the preceding paragraphs, into *sections*, and the sections into *segments*. There are three sections of *namaz*, which I label: Introduction, Core, and Conclusion (Table 3). While the performance of the middle, Core Section, is *farz*, the performance of the outer two sections, Introduction and Conclusion, is *sünnet*.

Table 3 - Basic Structure of Namaz: Sections

	NAMAZ	
INTRODUCTION Sünnet	Core <i>Far</i> z	CONCLUSION Sünnet

The segments of three sections consist either of the performance of *rek'at*-s, which I call *Rek'at* Segments, or of *text* only, which I call Text Segments. Since the performance of *rek'at*-s implies two important elements of *namaz*, *body movement* and the reading of the liturgical text, the *Rek'at* Segments represent the combination of the two. Text Segments, on the other hand, are performed in the sitting position and consist of *verbal behavior* only, meaning that the body is not important in their performance, since it is more or less motionless. The text in the Text Segments is either of the *dua* type or the choice from the Kur'an.

Rek'at Segments

The Rek'at Segment which belongs to the Core Section I label the Farz

Rek'at-s; this segment, the only one in this section, occupies its entire space. The farz

Rek'at-s Segment is performed uniformly by the whole congregation and under the leadership of the imam.

The Rek'at Segments from the outer Sünnet Sections are labeled Sünnet Rek'at-s and they are performed individually. Since some namaz-s (Öğle and Yatsı) have two Sünnet Rek'at-s (Table 4), the segment which belongs to the Introduction is called the First Sünnet Rek'at-s; and the other, in the Conclusion, is the Last Sünnet Rek'at-s. In Turkish sources, the First Sünnet Rek'at-s are called the ilk sünnetler, lit. the first sünnet-s, and the Last Sünnet Rek'at-s, the son sünnetler, lit. the last sünnet-s.²⁴

The Vitir Rek'at-s Segment, which is performed only in the Yatsı Namazı, is actually the performance of vacip rek'at-s. Since these rek'at-s represent an insert to the concluding Sünnet Section I am treating them as part of the Conclusion.

Table 4 gives the list of *Rek'at* Segments with number of their respective *rek'at*-s performed in five daily *namaz*-s. There are forty *rek'at*-s performed in five daily *namaz*-s: seventeen *farz rek'at*-s, twenty *sünnet* (fourteen First *Sünnet*, and six Last *Sünnet*), and three *vacip rek'at*-s. While Öğle Namazı has three *Rek'at* Segments (one *farz* and two *sünnet*), and *Yatsı Namazı* four (one *farz*, two *sünnet*, and one *vacip*), the other three daily *namaz*-s, *Sabah*, *İkindi*, and *Akşam*, have only two *Rek'at* Segments (one *farz* and one *sünnet*).

In cehri namaz-s, Sabah, Akşam, and Yatsı, the kıraat in the first two farz rek'at-s imam always performs aloud. Those in the third and fourth farz rek'at-s are always silent. In hafi namaz-s, Öğle and İkindi, all the imam's kıraat-s are silent.

²⁴Both are generically called the *revatib namazlar*, where "*revatib*" means a fixed duty, i.e. the religious duty which is incumbent as being a practice of the Prophet Muhammed.

Table 4 - Rek'at Segments and the Number of Rek'at-s in Five Daily Namaz-s

	<i>REK'AT</i> SEGMENTS							
Namaz	First <i>Sünnet</i> <i>Rek'at</i> -s	Farz Rek'at-s	Last <i>Sünnet</i> <i>Rek'at</i> -s	VACIP REK'AT-S	TOTAL			
Sabah	2	2	-	-	4			
Öğle	4	4	2	-	10			
İkindi	4*	4	-	-	8			
Akşam	-	3	2	-	5			
Yatsı	4*	4	2	3	13			
Total	14	17	6	3	40			

^{*} First Sünnet Rek'at-s of İkindi and Yatsı Namazı are the sünnet-i gayr-i müekkede, "weak sünnet-s." All other sünnet-s in this table are the sünnet-i müekkede, "firm sünnet-s."

Cuma Namazi has five Rek'at Segments. The first three: First Sünnet, Farz, and Last Sünnet, are the proper segments of that namaz (Table 5). The other two, Zuhr-i Âhir and Vakit Sünnet, are the sünnet rek'at-s performed as an addendum to the Cuma Namazi. Since this namaz is the proper compulsory duty, farz-i ayn, it means that it is the only truly congregational ritual worship: in addition to the imam, at least three men have to perform it; Cuma Namazi cannot be performed individually (Dikmen 1988: 401).

²⁵Zuhr-i Âhir (zuhr, noon; âhir, at the end) means that these rek'at-s follow the noon, öğle, rek'at-s. Vakit Sünnet are the rek'at-s performed as an additional sünnet duty at the time of Cuma Namazı.

Table 5 - Rek'at Segments in Cuma Namazı

	CUMA NAMAZI						
	REK'AT SEGMENTS						
First Sünnet							
4	2	4	4	2	16		

Text Segments

The Text Segments of *namaz* are not necessarily fixed as the *Rek'at* Segments are, and some of them are treated as truly optional. The constant introductory Text Segment, performed in all five *namaz*-s, is *Kamet*, the second call to ritual worship inside the mosque.²⁶ The other two Text Segments of Introduction are the *Salâvat-ı Şerife* and *İhlâs-ı Şerife*.

أَلُمُ الْمُعَالَةُ الْمُعَالِمُ الْمُعِلِمُ الْمُعَالِمُ الْمُعَالِمُ الْمُعَالِمُ الْمُعَالِمُ الْمُعَالِمُ الْمُعَالِمُ الْمُعَالِمُ الْمُعَالِمُ الْمُعَالِمُ الْمُعِلِمُ الْمُعَالِمُ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعَالِمُ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعَالِمُ الْمُعَالِمُ الْمُعَالِمُ الْمُعَالِمُ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعَالِمُ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعَلِمِ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعِلِمُ الْمُعِلِمُ الْمُعِلِمُ الْمُعِلِمُ الْمُعَلِمُ الْمُعِلِمُ الْمُعِلِمُ الْمُعِلِمُ الْمُعِلِمُ الْمُعِلِمُ الْمُعِلِمُ الْمُعِلِمُ الْمُعِلِمِ الْمُعِلِمُ الْمُعِلِمُ الْمُعِلِمُ الْمُعِلِمُ الْمُعِلِمُ ال

²⁶In Akşam Namazı, as the only daily namaz without First Sünnet Rek'at-s (see Table 4), Kamet is the sole segment in Introduction Section.

believers," performed by the muezzin only in the bigger and more important mosques (Hakkıçimen interview 1991). If the muezzin chooses to read both of them then he does so especially in the Öğle and İkindi Namazı. However, Salâvat-ı Şerife is never performed in the Sabah Namazı, and it is rare in the Yatsı.

The Text Segments of the Conclusion Section are the *Tesbih* and *Aşr. Tesbih* (تسبيح tasbīḥ) is the collective name for the dua-s in praise of God performed after the Last Sünnet Rek'at-s, and Aşr (عشر 'ašr, ten) is the term which signifies the reading from the Kur'an at the end of namaz.

All *Rek'at* and Text Segments, both fixed and optional ones, are represented in Table 6, which shows the Standard Structure of *Namaz*. Of course, the structure of every single *farz namaz* will look somewhat different, since these *namaz*-s do not always share the same segments.

Table 6 - Standard Structure of Namaz

	SECTIONS					
	Introduction	Core	Conclusion			
	First		Estağfirullah**			
	Sünnet Rek'at-s*		Allahumme entesselamu			
S e g	Salâvat-ı Şerife**	Farz Rek'at-s	Last Sünnet Rek'at-s*	S e g		
m e		Rek ui-s	Ala Rasulina Selavat	m e n		
n	İhlâs-ı Şerife**		Subhanallahi			
t s			Tesbih	t		
	Kamet	Colâ	La Ilaha Illallahu			
		Selâm	Aşr**			

- See Table 2.
- Optional segments; neither performed in Akşam Namazı.

Teravih Namazı

The five daily farz namaz-s are intended to be congregationally performed in the mosque, under the leadership of an imam. With the sole exception of the Cuma Namazi, which is doubly farz - once as a namaz belonging to the farz type, and second as a congregational performance of the rank of farz-i ayn, i.e. a duty incumbent to all - all other farz namaz-s are farz in the sense that they belong to the farz type of namaz, and sünnet in reference to the place and the way of their performance. Thus, "the congregational performance of five daily farz namaz-s is the sünnet-i müekkede, firm

sünnet, which comes close to the rank of the vacip duty" (Dikmen 1988: 343),²⁷ but never farz, meaning that in cases of necessity these namaz-s can be performed individually, outside of the mosque and without the congregation and imam.

The other two types of *namaz*, *sünnet* and *vacip*, are not at all intended to be performed congregationally, except in cases of a few yearly occasions in which some of these *namaz*-s *are* performed congregationally. The exception occurs in the month of *Ramazan*, during which the *Vitir* and *Bayram Namazi*-s, both of *vacip* type, and the *Teravih Namazi*, of *sünnet* type, are performed congregationally.

In its narrow sense, this new Teravih Namazı تراويح tarwiḥah, pl. تراويح tarawiḥ, rest) is a special ritual worship, performed only in the nights of Ramazan. It belongs to the nafile/sünnet type of namaz, and the subtype of sünnet-i müekkede.

Teravih Namazı consists of twenty rek'at-s and the time set for its performance is the same as for the Vitir Namazı: anytime after the Yatsı, but before the next Sabah Namazı. As congregational performance, Teravih and Vitir Namazı are inserted in the Yatsı Namazı.

We are again confronted here with the terminological complicity addressed earlier, for I am indiscriminately using the term *namaz* to denote the successive

²⁷"Beş vakit farz namazları cemaatla kılmak vâcib kadar kuvvetli bir sünnettir (sünnet-i müekkede)."

²⁸Adding these twenty *teravih rek'at*-s to the number of forty daily *rek'at*-s (Table 4), the observant believer performs, either congregationally or individually, every day of *Ramazan* altogether sixty *rek'at*-s, plus a number of other *nafile rek'at*-s which he or she performs daily and nightly *ad libitum*. This implies as many bodily actions of bowing and twice as many of prostration, as well as the utterance of hundreds of *dua*-s, *tesbih*-s, and other textual formulae.

performance of three separate namaz-s, Yatsı, Teravih, and Vitir, which together make a composite form of namaz. However, the complicity is now even greater than before, since, unlike the Yatsı Namazı, which is composed of several simple namaz-s, 29 the composite form of namaz is now constructed of the Yatsı Namazı, itself a composite namaz, and two simple namaz-s, Teravih and Vitir. So, during the month of Ramazan, the Yatsı Namazı changes and in the minds of its practitioners undergoes a terminological and semantic transformation in "becoming" the Teravih Namazı. Although, in Ramazan, the Yatsı Namazı is still performed with all its rek'at-s and in its proper time, nobody in Turkey, to the best of my knowledge, calls it Yatsı: the importance of the ritual worship now fully shifts to its Teravih Part, which lends its name to the whole ritual worship, Teravih Namazı. This change is reflected not only in the form of the namaz, by adding new parts, but also in the way these new parts are performed.

In dividing the Standard Structure of Namaz I have, for reasons of clarity, followed a two-level hierarchy, dividing the namaz into Sections, and Sections into Segments (Tables 3 and 6). Here, in Teravih Namazı, the divisional hierarchy is on three levels: Sections, Parts, and Segments. I have done this because the structure of Teravih Namazı is not as simple as the Standard Structure of Namaz. The first divisional level, Sections, is the same as in the standard structure: Introduction, Core, Conclusion. The Parts level, which is not necessarily symmetrical with the level of Sections, represents the three constituent namaz-s: Yatsı, which occupies parts of

²⁹That is, the First Sünnet, Farz, Last Sünnet, and Vitir Segments (see Table 4).

Introduction and Core Sections; *Teravih*, and *Vitir*, the latter two belonging exclusively to the Core Section. Finally, the Segments are the smaller structural divisions of the Parts (Table 7).

Table 7 - Structure of Teravih Namazı

	SECTIONS		
Introduction	Core		Conclusion
	Parts		
Yatsı	Teravih	Vitir	

Throughout the year, the Vitir Segment of Yatsı Namazı is performed individually and hafî. During Ramazan, this segment, which now becomes the Vitir Part of the Teravih Namazı, as well as its Teravih Part, are performed congregationally and cehri, meaning that the imam reads aloud the kıraat-s of all teravih and vitir rek'at-s.

The total number of rek'at-s in Teravih Namazı is thirty-three. Since the Teravih and Vitir Parts are cehri, the number of rek'at-s performed under the leadership of the imam is now substantially increased. In Yatsı Namazı, the imam performs only four farz rek'at-s. In Teravih Namazı, however, he performs twenty-seven of them: four farz rek'at-s of the Yatsı Part, twenty sünnet rek'at-s of Teravih Part, and three vacip rek'at-s of the Vitir Part (see Table 8). This also means

that the number of kiraat-s which the imam performs cehri increases vastly. In the Yatsi Namazi, the imam reads aloud only two kiraat-s from the first two rek'at-s of the Farz Segment; in Teravih Namazi, he reads aloud twenty-five kiraat-s altogether: two of them in the first two Yatsi farz rek'at-s and twenty-three kiraat-s in the rek'at-s of Teravih and Vitir Parts combined. Thus, the possibilities for musical expression are immensely enhanced by this situation.

Table 8 - Number of Rek'at-s in Teravih Namazı

TERAVÌH NAMAZI						
Part	Yatsı Teravih Vitir					Total
Type of Rek'at-s	Sünnet*	Farz	Si	Sünnet**		Total <i>Rek'at</i> -s
Number of Rek'at-s	4	4	2	20	3	33

^{*} Sünnet-i gayr-i müekkede, "weak sünnet-s."

Structure of Teravih Namazı

The structure of *Teravih Namazı* is similar to the Standard Structure of *Namaz* (Table 6). The Introduction Section is the same, but the Core and Conclusion Sections are somewhat modified. The structural departure between the two *namaz*-s occurs at the end of the Last *Sünnet Rek'at*-s, the point at which the *Teravih* and *Vitir* Parts are inserted. Temporally and spatially these two parts occupy the biggest slice of *namaz*.

^{**} Sünnet-i müekkede, "firm sünnet-s."

After this insertion and with some modifications, the *Teravih Namazı* ends with the Conclusion which is basically identical to that of the Standard Structure.

In the Standard Structure of Namaz, the Core Section is labeled as Farz, meaning that no Sünnet or Vacip Parts are the part of it. Since in Teravih Namazı the sünnet Teravih Part and the vacip Vitir Part are performed congregationally and cehri, they become as prominent in their outward appearance, uniform congregational performance, inner meaning, and their kuraat-s, as are the Farz Segment of the Yatsı Part. The only difference between them is that they are catechetically classified as three different Mükellefiyet categories, i.e. farz, sünnet, and vacip. Therefore, the difference between them is only doctrinal, and it does not bear any direct relationship to their actual performance in namaz. Because of this, the Teravih and Vacip Parts of Teravih Namazı impose themselves as the core parts of namaz. And this is exactly where the Structure of Teravih Namazı deviates from the Standard Structure of Namaz, by splitting the Yatsı Part between two sections: its Sünnet Segments before the Farz Rek'at-s Segment belong to the Introduction Section, while its Farz Segment to the Core Section (Table 9).

Table 9 - Structure of Teravih Namazı**

TERAVİH NAMAZI					
INTRODUCTION	INTRODUCTION CORE				
	Yatsı		Teravih	Vitir	
First <i>Sünnet</i> <i>Rek'at-</i> s		Estağfurullah			Ala Rasulina Selâvat
		Allahumme entesselamu	Sünnet Rek'at-s		Subhanallah
Selâvat-ı Şerife	Farz Rek'at-s	Last <i>Sünnet</i>		Vacip Rek'at-s	Ayetel Kürsî
					Tesbih
					La ilaha illallah
İhlâs-ı Şerife		Rek'at-s*	Kaside		Amin Duası
	An	Ayet Amin Duası	Ayet		Velhamdulillah
					Aşır
Kamet	11 11	Subhanallah	Velham-	Selâm	El-Fatiha
	Seium	Suonanauan	dulillahi	Setum	Closing Selâvat

- * Intermission in the Core Section.
- ** Gray areas represent the Sünnet Parts of namaz.

The Last Sünnet Rek'at-s of Yatsı Part represent the structural problem in this model. In the Standard Structure of Namaz, this segment belongs to the Conclusion. In Teravih Namazı, since it is individually performed, it interrupts the course of the congregational performance of rek'at-s in the Core Section. There are two possible solutions to the problem: either to treat this segment as an intermission inside the Core

Section of *namaz*, or to proclaim that the *Teravih Namazı* consists of two Core Sections, separated by the Last *Sünnet Rek'at*-s. I choose the first option, treating the Last *Sünnet Rek'at*-s as an Intermission in the Core Section of *Teravih Namazı*.

Mosque and its Interior

In ordinary circumstances namaz is performed congregationally in the mosque, in Turkish commonly known as cami (جامة jāmis). In the narrower sense, cami is a separate building built exclusively for the purpose of ritual worship. To the building is usually attached the minaret (منارة manārah),¹ a tall slim tower, usually round but sometimes rectangular or polygonal, from which the ezan (منارة adān), call to ritual worship, is read by the muezzin (موذن mu'addin). The mosque is capable of accommodating a sizeable cemaat (عمالة jamāsah, pl. عمالة jamāsat, congregation). In a broader sense, and especially regarding the bigger and more important mosques, the term cami can also imply a complex of buildings, which includes the cami itself, its courtyard, possibly a medrese (مدرسة madrasah, pl. مدرسة madāris, school) and kütüphane (مدرسة kutubxanah, library), as well as other buildings attached to it.

Smaller places of ritual worship, often just a room inside of some other building or a small one-room huts, usually adjacent to markets, bus terminals, or other non-religious business places, are in Turkey called mescid (مساجد masājid, pl. مساجد masājid, pl.)²

¹In Turkey, the single minaret is attached to the left side wall of the mosque at the level of its main entrance. Bigger mosques usually have two minarets, one on each side of the main entrance wall. The most famous and important mosques have four minarets, and *Sultan Ahmet Cami*, in Istanbul, even six, three to the left and three to the right side of the mosque.

²According to Pedersen, "the word *msgd*' (from *s-g-d* 'to prostrate oneself') is found in Aramaic, meaning in Nabataean a stele, a sacred pillar, or perhaps 'place of worship'... Arabic *masdjid* is taken over from Aramaic or formed independently from

The latter Arabic term, *masjid*, is the most frequently used by the Muslims across the world to denote the mosque in general. Thus in Saudi Arabia and Iran, for example, *masjid* is the exclusive term.³ In the United States, the mainly Urdu congregation of the mosque in Jonnycake Road, Baltimore, refer to it as the *masjid*, a title which can be also observed on other American mosques; Pashtu and Dari speaking broadcasters at the Voice of America, Washington, DC, also use the term *masjid*; for Indonesia, Pedersen writes that the type of mosque there, usually without minaret, is called "*měsigit*" (SEI 1961: 341).⁴

sadjada 'prostrate oneself', which comes from Aramaic, like Ethiopic měsgād 'temple, church'" (SEI 1961: 330).

³Information on the exclusive use of the term *masjid* in Saudi Arabia I have acquired in the telephone conversation with an official in the Islamic Affairs Section of the Embassy of Saudi Arabia, Washington, DC, October 13, 1994. Regarding Iran, information was acquired through the personal communication with several Iranian expatriots in Baltimore, MD, and Washington, D.C. For fuller discussion on the mosque, see the Pedersen's article, "Masdid," in SEI (1961: 330-353).

⁴In his *Religion of Java*, Geertz (1976) uses only the English word "mosque" referring to a bigger building in which the congregational ritual worships are performed. Only once does he associate it with the word *masjid*, "mosque (*mesdjid*)" (1976: 178). For small "prayer-houses" Geertz uses the word *langgar*, stating that it "is the same as a mosque except that it is smaller, it is often privately owned..., and Friday service is not conducted in it" (1976: 181). In another of Geertz's publications (1960), as well as with other authors, from Hurgronje (1906) to Steenbrink (1974) and Denny (1988), the mosque in Java is always associated with the institution of *pesantren*, and is discussed as a part of the *pesantren* compound.

To the best of my knowledge, the term $j\bar{a}mi^c$ seems to be geographically limited to Turkey, Bosnia,⁵ Morocco,⁶ and, at least to some extent, Egypt.⁷ "<u>Djāmi</u>^c is now on the way to become the regular name for a mosque of any size, in agreement with modern usage, in Egypt at least" (SEI 1961: 337).

The emergence of the term $j\bar{a}mi^c$ to denote mosque, Pedersen relates to the Friday Ritual Worship, the only one in Islam performed exclusively congregationally, and accordingly called the $sal\bar{a}tu'l$ - $jam\bar{a}^cah$, lit. "congregational ritual worship." The word jum^cah , Friday, is itself derived from $jam\bar{a}^cah$ and the $sal\bar{a}tu'l$ - $jam\bar{a}^cah$ is also called the $sal\bar{a}tu'l$ - jum^cah . Pedersen argues that the importance of the $sal\bar{a}tu'l$ - jum^cah in the earlier period of Islam,

⁵The only word for mosque in Bosnia is *džamija*. It is the standard word in Serbo-Croatian/Croato-Serbian, and as such it is used in Serbia and Croatia.

⁶For this information about Morocco, I am thankful to Ph. Schuyler who states that the term $j\bar{a}mi^c$ is also used in that country.

⁷In the northern Egyptian dialect, as the official one in Egypt, which is spoken in Alexandria and the area from the Mediterranean coast to Cairo, the Arabic letter ε *jim* is pronounced as English g, like in guy; thus the *jami*^c is pronounced $gami^c$. In the southern Egyptian dialect, spoken especially by the rural population south from Cairo, the jim is pronounced as English j, like in John (Yousef Isaiah, personal communication).

The large mosques in which the *ṣalātu'l-jumʿah* was performed Pedersen labels the "Friday mosques" and, referring to Egypt, he states that,

...the great spread of Friday mosques was reflected in the language. While inscriptions of the viiith century [A.H.] still call quite large mosques masdjid, in the ninth most of them are called djāmi^c...; and while now the madrasa begins to predominate and is occasionally also called djāmi^c, the use of the word masdjid becomes limited. Though, generally speaking, it can mean any mosque, it is more especially used of the smaller unimportant mosques (SEI 1961: 337).

I can only speculate here why the Turks have chosen the word *cami* as a generic term for the mosque in spite of other core Islamic countries which always used the term *masjid*. There is a probability that Egypt played an important role in this, since the word *jāmi*, as Pedersen argues, became prominent there. The first important historical contact between the Turks and Egypt occurred during the reign of Sultan Selim I (1512-1520). In 1516, Selim turned his forces on the Mamlūk-s and virtually ended their rule in Egypt (Kinross 1977: 167-170). In 1517, after six months spent in Cairo, Selim left with his army for Istanbul, leaving behind a governor-general, and in the meantime dispatching to Istanbul ahead of himself the captured 'Abbāsī caliph al-Mutawakkil to be kept at his court. With this,

...the office of the caliphate was now generally held to have passed to the Ottoman Sultans. Of more tangible significance was the transfer to Istanbul of the standard and cloak of the Prophet, relics whose possession symbolized the status of the sultans as protectors of the holy places of Mecca, Medina, and the pilgrim routes of the Hejaz, hence of Islam in general. Selim could thus now claim to be the head of Islam, as the Mamluk sultans had claimed before him (Kinross 1977: 170).

Since many Ottoman sultans excelled in building the large and architecturally majestic mosques in Istanbul - the early examples being *Fatih Cami*, built by Sultan Mehmed II *Fatih*, the Conqueror (r. 1444-1446; 1451-1481), and *Beyazıt Cami*, built by Sultan Beyazıt II (1481-1512) - and since the Ottoman sultans now inherited yet another title, that of caliph, it is likely that the word *jāmi*, which in Egypt suggested a large mosque and elsewhere the only mosque in which the ruler of the community himself conducted the Friday Ritual Worship (SEI 1961: 336), might have been, together with Mutawakkil, or before him, borrowed from Egypt.

The focal point in the mosque is the mihrab (عدرات miḥrab), a shallow semicircular niche in the wall facing the kıble, usually opposite from the main entrance to the mosque (Fig. 1). Pedersen argues that it is agreed that mihrab "did not originally belong to the mosque, and that it was taken over from the church" (SEI 1961: 343). A mihrab does look like a small-scale version of an apse, but unlike the apse, which in churches accommodates the whole altar, the mihrab can accommodate only the imam, and its dimensions are made in proportion to the human body. It is wide enough to accommodate the body of the imam, but also shallow, so that the imam's body is never fully inside of it. Thus, the imam, who during the performance of rek'at-s faces the mihrab, always stands a foot or two in front of it so that he can without any obstacle perform the rükû and secde, the two actions in namaz which require some free space for the forward protrusion of body. The mihrab niche is usually covered with marble slabs, a feature which makes it strikingly different from the wall into which it is built. On its top, approximately three meters above the floor,

the niche is crowned with a half-dome. The *mihrab* is located in the center of the wall which faces the *kible*, so that all mosques in Istanbul are geographically oriented in the direction of Mecca, to the southeast. However, in the case of old churches which were converted to mosques, such as Ayasofya (Hagia Sophia), the *mihrab* is moved to the side of the original church central apse, which faces east, to line up with the *kible*.

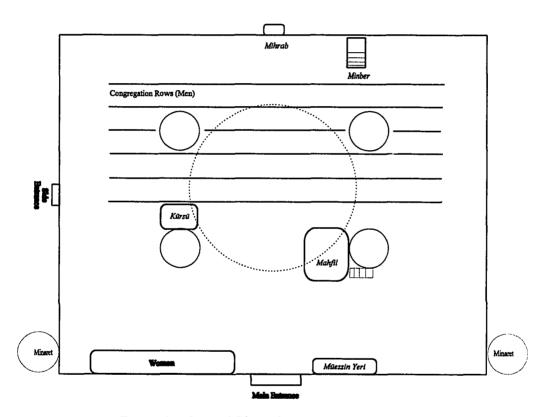


Figure 1 - Ground Plan of Beyazıt Mosque, Istanbul

To the right of the *mihrab* (viewed from the interior of the mosque), stands the *minber* (منبر *minbar*), a pulpit used for the *hutbe* (خطبة *xutbah*, sermon), read in the

Cuma or Bayram Namazı. Minber is a raised stand, approximately three meters high, with a steep staircase which imam climbs to deliver the hutbe. Usually made of carved and artistically embellished wood or marble, the minber is covered with a miniature and slim conical roof, resembling the pointed cone-shaped top of the minaret. The narrow staircase, wide enough to accommodate the human body, has the gate, which is usually artistically engraved. On the gate itself there is a curtain, either in black or green color, with golden or white inscriptions of ayets from the Kur'an.

The third important place in larger mosques is the mahfil (محفل, mahfil), the raised rectangular platform or gallery for the muezzins. The mahfil is located close to the ininber, and is itself supported by four pillars. In the larger mosques of Istanbul, one side of mahfil usually leans against one of the four main columns which support the dome. In the Beyazit Mosque of Istanbul, the mahfil is moved away from the minber, and it leans against the front main column to the right of the main entrance (Fig. 1). Muezzins climb on mahfil using the staircase attached to it. For the more crowded daily namaz-s, such as Öğle and İkindi, and often the Yatsı Namazı, but always in the Cuma and Bayram Namazı, the müezzinlik, office of muezzin, is performed by several muezzins from the mahfil. Otherwise, if the congregation is small, as happens in the Akşam and Sabah Namazı, the müezzinlik is usually performed by one muezzin who, in that case, does not climb to the mahfil, but rather performs

his office from the place called *müezzin yeri*, lit. the muezzin's place, located immediately to the right from the main entrance and directly opposite from *minber*.⁸

Another prominent locus in the mosque's interior is the kürsü (مرسی kursī), a wooden box-like pulpit reserved for the vaiz (اله اله wā'id, preacher). On Fridays, before the Cuma Namazı, or on holidays, before the Bayram Namazı, the vaiz delivers his vaız or va'z (اله سي wa'd, sermon, oration). Contrary to the hutbe which pertains mainly to the religious matters and is delivered by imam, vaız is an oration delivered by a person other than the imam, outside of the namaz, and it deals with social issues and religion. The kürsü is about a meter and a half high, and during his oration the vaiz sits crosslegged on top of it. Regarding the hutbe, the imam mainly stands on the top steps of the minber or sits on them, but never in the crosslegged position.

Thus, in contrast to the *minber* and *mahfil* as loci from which two important segments of *namaz*, *hutbe* and *müezzinlik*, are performed, the *kürsü* is exclusively used outside of *namaz*. This is probably why the *kürsü*, as the non-ritual locus, is positioned in the left half of the mosque's interior, opposite from the truly ritual loci, *minber* and *mahfil*, which are in the right half. Another important point is that, at least in the *Beyazıt* mosque, the place where women perform the *namaz* is also in the left half, next to the entrance door and therefore all the way behind the men, who line

⁸In Van, an eastern Turkish city close to the border with Iran, for example, the muezzin in the *Yeni Cami* usually performs his office in the first congregational row, positioning himself right in front of the *minber*. He does so because the microphone and electric switches are hidden on the steps of *minber* behind the curtain. However, in *Cuma Namazi*, due to the congregational crowd, muezzin moves to the *mahfil*, where he can have more room for his performance, and a better view of the imam and congregation.

up for *namaz* as close to the *mihrab* as possible, in rows parallel to the wall facing the *kible*.

In the Cerrahi Tekkesi, the Meydan is used not only for zikir-s but also as the place for ritual worship (Fig. 2). Since this room in the tekke complex was probably not originally intended to function as a mescid, its mihrab is located in one of its corners in the direction of the kible. Thus, during the namaz, dervishes line up in diagonal parallel rows across the Meydan, facing the mihrab. They enter it either from the Sohbet Odasi or from the lobby. During the performance of the Yatsi Namazi, which is usually crowded, the şeyh sometimes performs the First Sünnet Rek'at-s in the Sohbet Odasi and enters the Meydan before the beginning of the Farz Rek'at-s. In cases when the namaz is especially crowded and the Meydan is completely full of dervishes, the large door between the Meydan and Sohbet Odasi is left open and the namaz is performed in both rooms. In that case şeyh might choose to stay in the Sohbet Odasi.

Women perform the *namaz* and *zikir* separately, on the upper floor gallery, i.e. the wooden balcony attached to the walls of *Meydan* opposite from *minber*. Women are hidden from the view of men by a latticework, *müşebbek* (مشبك *mušabbak*), which fences off the balcony. Those among them who are not dervishes, like some of the men below, watch the performance of *zikir* through the *müşebbek*.

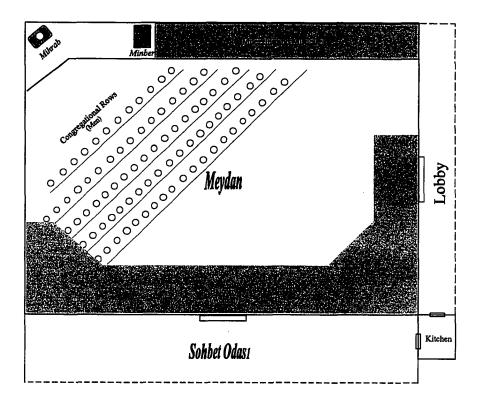


Figure 2 - Ground Plan of the Meydan in Cerrahi Tekkesi

Liturgy of Namaz

In the previous chapter I have defined namaz as a composite form of congregational ritual worship. The closest Western term which might relate to the namaz as text, i.e. namaz as the prescribed set of ritual forms and actions performed during religious service, is liturgy. According to the Webster's Dictionary (WD 1983), the liturgy (leitourgia, public service; leitos, public, and ergon, work) is defined as the

"prescribed forms or ritual for public worship in any of various Christian churches." Since *namaz* is public worship (congregational) and consists of several prescribed forms (composite form), its relation to liturgy seems appropriate. Of course, this relation I establish only in general terms, tentatively, and literally, thus *not* symbolically, i.e. without venturing into relating the Christian and Muslim ritual worships (although many similarities can be indeed observed).

All actions, verbal or bodily, which are performed during the *namaz* I discuss here under the heading of *liturgy*. Since liturgy as performance has its own protagonists, whom Bourdieu (1991) and Ricoeur (1984, 1985, 1988) call the *actors* or *agents*, in this chapter I will discuss the *namaz* as *practice* (Bourdieu) and *text* (Ricoeur). This *practiced text* is approached as *descriptive narrative*.

Introduction

Selâvat

The time for *namaz* begins with the *ezan* (see Appendix). However, the actual performance of *namaz* does not begin until the *ezan* is finished and the muezzin returns from the minaret to the mosque. According to tradition, some time should be provided between the reading of the *ezan* and the beginning of the *Farz Rek'at*Segment of *namaz*. During that time the believers are either on their way to the mosque or, if they have already arrived, they are now silently sitting on the floor and waiting for the muezzin to finish the reading of *ezan*. This relative delay of the performance of the *Farz Rek'at* Segment is particularly observed in the *Sabah Namazı*,

and is considered commendable, *müstehab*. According to my teacher İsmail, the "Sabah Namazı [meaning its Farz Rek'at Segment] starts half an hour after the ezan, because the cemaat comes [to the mosque] at different times." The obvious reason for this is that more time is necessary in the dawn to wake up and get to the mosque on time than it is needed for the other four daily namaz-s.

After the ezan, the muezzin returns to the mosque and pronounces from the entrance door the selâvat:

الهمصل على سيدنام حمدو على المحمد Allahumma salli 'ala sayyidina Muhammadin wa 'ala ali Muhammad "Oh, my Allah! Pray onto Muhammed and the family of Muhammed"

Since namaz has several selâvat-s, this particular one, pronounced immediately after the ezan, I call the Opening Selâvat, for it actually opens the whole event of namaz as the composite form. It is not unlikely that the word sayyidinā may be skipped in some instances or that the Opening Selâvat consists of just one word, "salâ." If there is more than one muezzin, then the Opening Selâvat might be uttered by another muezzin, before the reader of ezan returns to the mosque. This muezzin pronounces the Opening Selâvat from the mahfil, or if there is no mahfil, then from the müezzin yeri (Fig. 1).

⁹Personal communication, March 29, 1991.

First Sünnet Rek'at-s

The purpose and function of the Opening Selâvat is to give a signal to the congregation that they should now perform the First Sünnet Rek'at-s. The Opening Selâvat is read for the Öğle, İkindi, and Yatsı Namazı, which have this segment (see Chapter Seven, Table 4), but never for the Akşam Namazı, which does not have it, so that the congregation performs this namaz immediately after the ezan. Sabah Namazı is an exception, because its two First Sünnet Rek'at-s are not announced by the selâvat. The reason for this is that this namaz starts approximately half an hour after the ezan, and the congregation comes to the mosque at different times, thus performing the First Sünnet Rek'at-s immediaately upon arrival.

Upon arrival the congregation sits freely on the floor of the mosque, waiting for the Opening *Selâvat*. As soon as it is pronounced, everybody stands up and individually performs the First *Sünnet Rek'at*-s. In contrast to the *Farz Rek'at*-s, which are congregationally performed under the leadership of the imam, the First and Last *Sünnet*-s are always performed individually and independently. Thus, with regard to the congregational performance of *Farz Rek'at*-s, the bodily actions are simultaneously executed by the believers lined up in tightly filled parallel rows. The *Sünnet*-s are, however, usually performed by the believers at the very spot at which they were sitting at the moment the Opening *Selâvat* was pronounced. If this space is insufficient or if it obstructs somebody else in the performance of *rek'at*-s, then the believer might move to some other space in the mosque.

¹⁰Hakkıçimin personal communication, March 29, 1991.

In individual performance, the textual parts of the *rek'at*-s are uttered silently, like murmurs, and the sound of these murmurs is barely audible to anybody else. In this silent performance, it is only the worshiping bodies and their movements which are visible and perceptible to the observer.

1. Niyet

After finding their own individual spots, the believers begin (in the kıyam position) the independent performance of the First Sünnet Rek'at-s. Before the performance can start the believer has to pronounce the niyet, intention, one among the six farz conditions of namaz, executed before the performance of rek'at segments. Although it is regarded as the outside condition of namaz, the niyet is nevertheless performed just before the İftitah Tekbiri, the first pillar of namaz, and as such it gives an impression of being a part of the rek'at segment, which, according to doctrine, it is not. The Şafii mezheb, however, treats niyet as the first pillar of namaz (Özdemir 1981: 69).

This intention to perform the *namaz* should come from the heart, and not just from the tongue; it is therefore pronounced silently. The *niyet* consists of a single sentence which slightly differs from *namaz* to *namaz*. The *niyet* is the *only* liturgical text in *namaz* which can be and usually is uttered in Turkish. In the case of *farz* namaz-s, niyet specifies the name of namaz, and the type of its rek'at segment. Thus the niyet for the Farz Rek'at-s of the Sabah Namazı runs as follows:

Niyet ettim bugünkü sabah namazının farzını kılmaya "I intend to perform the farz [rek'at-s] of today's Morning Ritual Worship"

The niyet-s for the Sünnet Rek'at-s will instead have the word sünnet:

Niyet ettim bügünkü sabah namazının sünnetini kılmaya "I intend to perform the sünnet of today's Morning Ritual Worship"

The *niyet* for the First and Last *Sünnet Rek'at*-s in *Öğle Namazı*, for example, would specify these segments, as well:

Niyet ettim bügünkü öğle namazının ilk / son sünnetini kılmaya "I intend to perform the First / Last Sünnet of today's Noon Ritual Worship"

In the *nafile namaz*-s the time of day is not specified, for these *namaz*-s are performed at no set time:

Allah rızası için namaz kılmaya niyet ettim "For Allah's sake, I intend to perform the namaz"

However, in the congregational performance of Farz Rek'at-s, under the leadership of the imam, the niyet states the time:

Niyet ettim bügünkü sabah namazının farzını kılmaya uydum imama "I intend to perform, by following the imam, the farz of today's Morning Ritual Worship"

2. İftitah Tekbiri: Opening Tekbir

Immediately following the *niyet*, the *İftitah Tekbiri* is pronounced. This *tekbir* actually opens the performance of the *Rek'at* Segment and is pronounced only once:

الله اكبر Allahu akbar "Allah is Great"

Other tekbir-s in a rek'at are generically called the İntikal Tekbirleri, lit. the intermediary, transitory tekbir-s (Dikmen 1988: 320). Their performance is textually, but not bodily, identical to the İftitah Tekbiri. The latter is accompanied with a specific hand movement which makes it somatically different from other tekbir-s. This movement consists of raising the hands up to the head. The palms are open towards the foreground and the fingers spread apart like the fan. As the moment of utmost concentration builds up, for a brief interval of time the thumbs of both hands touch the earlobes from behind, the fingers being still spread apart and palms turned outwards. Now the believer has entered the consecrated state of namaz, also known as the iḥrām (see Chapter 7, nn. 18 and 19). Once this state is entered, any talk or other actions foreign to the ritual are forbidden. Prior to performing the İftitah Tekbiri believers might be chatting, even softly laughing or gently teasing, but as soon as the hands are raised, the İftitah Tekbiri pronounced, and the consecrated state entered, the whole body assumes the character of utmost seriousness and unconditionally immerses into the ritual, as if being locked out from this world.

Since this hand movement is performed only in connection with the *İftitah Tekbiri*, it is done only once in a whole *Rek'at* Segment, thus visually marking it off as a structural part of *namaz*. The *Şafii*, however, perform this hand movement not only with *İftitah Tekbiri*, but also in the *tekbir*-s announcing the *rükû* and the intermediary standing position after it, as well as at the beginning of every *rek'at*

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(Özdemir 1981: 79). Thus, any observer of the *Hanefi* performance of *namaz* can easily recognize the *Şafii* members of the congregation by merely looking at the hand movements in the *tekbir*-s. *Caferi Şii* perform this movement each time the *tekbir* is pronounced, even in *secde*.

3. Subhaneke

As soon as the *İftitah Tekbiri* is pronounced the hands are lowered and clasped over the naval: right hand over the left, grasping it at the wrist, with the right hand thumb and other fingers making a grip around it. Still in *kıyam* position and with hands clasped, the believer utters formulae of the *dua* type. All *dua*-s are deemed to be a form of ritual, *ibadet*, and therefore all of them are known as *ibadet dua*-s (Tavaslı 1990a: 29). The *ibadet dua*-s performed in *namaz* are called the *namaz dua*-s, and since they as such form a part of liturgy, they are all, except *niyet*, in Arabic. The *dua*-s generally consist of a short text or a phrase of a few brief sentences. The first *dua* uttered after the Opening Tekbir is the *Subhaneke*:

¹¹In all kiyam-s they perform, the Caferi never tie the hands but rather keep them hanging down along the sides of the body.

¹²According to Tavaslı (ibid.), the *ezan* itself is considered a *dua*, as well as the *İftitah Tekbiri* is.

سيحانك اللهم ويحمدك وتبارك اسمك وتعالى جدك ولا الهغيرك Subḥānaka'l-lāhumma wa bi-ḥamdik wa tabārakasmuk wa tasālā jadduk wa lā ilāha gayruk¹³

"Oh, my Allah! I pronounce your name with thanks and praise. Your name is holy. You are so great that there is no limit to your might. And your being praised is so high. And there is no god but You"14

4. Kıraat

The next *rek'at* element is the *Kıraat*, reading from the Kur'an while in *kıyam* position. Depending on the number of *rek'at*-s in a segment, *Kıraat* consists of either one or two textual parts. The first, which is unchangeable and always fixed, is the reading of the *Fatiha Suresi* (سورةالفاتمة, *Sūratu'l-Fātiḥah*), the opening sura of the Kur'an. The second part of *Kıraat* is called the *Zammı Sure*, lit. additional sura, and this can be the reading of any other short sura or a few ayets. 16

¹³Only in *Cenaze Namazi*, the *Subhaneke* has an insertion, "wa jallatanā'uk," read before the final "wa lā ilāha gayruk."

¹⁴Translation from Dedeoğlu (nd).

¹⁵The chapter of the Kur'an is called sura (سورة sūrah, pl. سورة suwar). Each sura is divided into ayets (آيات āyāt, token, sign), the Kur'anic verses. In Turkish, the former is called sure, and the latter ayet.

¹⁶The Zammu Sure is usually a choice of one from the so called Namaz Sureleri, namaz suras, i.e. the short suras towards the end of the Kur'an. To the category of short namaz suras belong the Fatiha and the last ten suras of the Kur'an (K105-114), which probably because of their brevity and semiotic compactness are also regarded as dua-s, prayers.

Dikmen states that the short namaz suras belong to the Mufassal (mufassal), the last one seventh of the Kur'an, and he divides them into three categories: Uzun Mufassal, Orta Mufassal, and Kisa Mufassal, i.e. the namaz suras of long, medium and short length (Dikmen 1988: 319). Uzun Mufassal comprises the section from the Hucurat (Suratu'l-Hujurat, K49) to the İnşikak Suresi (Suratu'l-Inšiqaq, K84); Orta Mufassal continues from the next sura, Bürûc

In segments of three or four *rek'at*-s, the *Fatiha* and *Zammu Sure* are read only in the first two *rek'at*-s. The remaining third and fourth *rek'at*-s are with *Fatiha* only, and their performance is therefore shorter (Table 1).

Table 1 - Texts of Kıraat-s in Rek'at-s

KIRAAT-S						
First <i>Rek'at</i>	SECOND <i>REK'AT</i>	THIRD REK'AT	FOURTH REK'AT			
Auzu-Besmele	Besmele	Besmele	Besmele			
Fatiha	Fatiha	Fatiha	Fatiha			
Amin	Amin					
Zammı Sure	Zammı Sure					

The reading of the *Fatiha* is preceded by the *Auzu-Besmele*, a formula whose name is derived from the initial words of the following two sentences:

اعوذبالله من الشيطان الرجيم (البسم الله الرحمن الرحيم A'udubillahi minaš-šaytanir-rajīm (Bismillahir-raḥmanir-raḥīm "I take refuge with Allah from Devil the Cursed (In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful"

⁽Suratu'l-Buruj, K85), through the Kadir (Suratu'l-Qadr, K97); and finally the Kısa Mufassal embraces the last seventeen suras, from Beyyine (Suratu'l-Bayyinah, K98) to Nas Suresi (Suratu'n-Nas, K114). Then Dikmen states that the Zammı Sure read in the Sabah and Öğle Namazı should be chosen from the Uzun Mufassal; in İkindi and Yatsı, from the Orta Mufassal; and in the Akşam Namazı, from the Kısa Mufassal.

Any reading of the Kur'an, either inside or outside of *namaz*, is always opened with the *Auzu-Besmele*; its *Auzu* sentence is pronounced only once during the reading session. If the reading consists of the uninterrupted succession of several suras or their parts, then every new sura or its part is again announced with the *Besmele* (SEI 1961: 60). In the Kur'an, the *Besmele* is the first sentence of all suras except the ninth, *Tevbe Suresi* سورةالتوبة Sūratu't-Tawbah). In Turkish editions of Kur'an the *Besmele* is numbered as the first ayet only in the *Fatiha Suresi*; in all other suras it is without its own number and is therefore treated as an opening headline. 17

It is sünnet to read the Auzu-Besmele formula only on top of the first kıraat (first rek'at), and to skip the Auzu but read the Besmele at the beginning of the remaining kıraat-s in other rek'at-s (Table 1). Thus, in the second and following

¹⁷In the Yusuf Ali's edition of the Qur'an, the *Besmele* is treated in the same way (1983: 14). In the Eliasii/Pickthall edition (1981), the *Besmele* of the *Suratu'l-Fatihah* (K1) is also without a number, and is treated as a headline like in all other suras (1981: 3).

Although the suras in the Kur'an are not sorted according to any precise hierarchy of length, they do become incrementally shorter the closer it gets to the end of the Book: the longest is the Bakara Suresi (Suratu'l-Baqarah, K2), with 285 ayets, and the shortest are the Asr (Suratu'l-Asr, K103) and Kevser Suresi (Suratu'l-Kawtar, K108), each with three ayets only. The total of 114 suras is then divided into thirty sections, called cüz (جزء juz'), which are of equal length. The standard Turkish version of the Kur'an has either 604 or 606 pages, depending on whether the calligrapher counted the opening title page as number one, or whether the first two pages, which include the Fatiha and the first five ayets of Bakara - always printed on two separate and facing leaves but traditionally counted as one Kur'anic page - are counted as a single page or as two pages. Since all cüz-s are of equal length, that means that every cüz will accommodate twenty Kur'anic pages. A single cüz, therefore, might include either a part of a long sura, or the dozens of suras: the 2nd cüz includes ayets from only one sura, Bakara (K2: 142-252), while the 30th cüz includes more than two dozens of suras (K78-K114). Cüz-s are then divided into smaller segments called hizb (حزب hizb), each of which is approximately one fourth of a cüz.

rek'at-s, the Besmele is treated as an introduction to kiraat rather than to sura, and it is never pronounced before the Zammi Sure. The latter is separated from Fatiha by the insertion of the word Amin.

5. Rükû

After the Zammu Sure, which ends the kıraat, the next bodily movement of the rek'at, rükû, is introduced with tekbir. This body movement is performed in such a way that the torso inclines down, forming an angle of approximately 90° with the legs. The hands, which in the kıyam position were clasped over the naval, now firmly grasp the knee-caps of both legs, thus keeping them in a straight vertical position and supporting the weight of torso. In such a position the believer cannot see anything but his feet and a rather limited space around them. This is especially important in the congregational performance of namaz, when the believers are tightly lined up in parallel rows. Since the proper distance between the rows is provided, bumping into the person standing in the next row is avoided. The angle of 90° also protects the believer from the looking into the back of the person in the next row.

While in *rükû*, everybody pronounces three times the following sentence, which Tavaslı calls the *Rükû Tesbihi* (1990: 45):

سبمان ربى العظيم Subhana rabbiya'l-'adim "Glory to my Lord, the Immense"

After the Rükû Tesbihi the body returns to an upright position which is not recognized as a separate part of rek'at nor is it specified by any special term. Şafii,

however, call it the *i'tidal* (Özdemir 1981: 74; SEI 1961: 493). During this change in the position the *tahmid* is pronounced. It consists of two short sentences. The first,

سمع الله لمن حمده Sami^callahu liman hamidah

is pronounced during the movement from the $r\ddot{u}k\hat{u}$ to the upright position. The arms are now let loose along the sides of the body. As soon as the upright position is reached, the second sentence of *tahmid* is uttered:

ربنالكالحمد Rabbanā laka'l-hamd

6. Secde

The next bodily movement, *secde*, is again announced by the *tekbir*. Although the performance of the *secde* looks like a smooth and uninterrupted movement, it actually consists of several interconnected successive movements. The first is moving the body into the crouching position and sliding the hands down the thighs toward the knees. The next movement is the kneeling, i.e. putting the knees onto the ground keeping the rest of the body for a brief moment in vertical position, and sliding the hands up the thighs. Then, in an uninterrupted motion, the palms of the hands, with fingers slightly spread, are placed on the ground so that the arms are now in a perpendicular position to the torso, like supporting pillars. This position is performed in a second or two and as part of a single movement, so that it is not really noticeable. As soon as the palms are placed onto the ground, the head is lowered and the forehead put in the space left between the hands, just enough to accommodate the width of the

head. At this point the act of *secde* is complete, with the forehead, nose, both hands, knees, and toes touching the ground; the elbows are slightly pushed outward and the line of the torso is slanted, running down from the raised buttocks to the head resting on the ground. The fingers and toes, the latter curled inward in order to keep the soles in perpendicular position, are positioned in the direction of *kible*.

In this position the believer pronounces the Secde Tesbihi three times, a formula similar to the Rükû Tesbihi:

سبحان ربى الاعلي Subḥāna rabbiyya'l-a^clā "Glory to my Lord, the Highest"

Since a *rek'at* has two *secde*-s performed one after another, they are separated by an intermediary sitting position which does not have any special name. After the *tesbih* from the first *secde*, the *tekbir* is pronounced and the body is moved into an intermediary sitting position. This position looks like a half kneeling half sitting posture: the torso is upright, the palms of hands are resting on the thighs with fingers pointing to the knees, the toes of the right foot are curled towards the *kible* with the heel straight up, and the outer left side of the left foot is laid on the floor so that the body can sit on it.

After a second or two, or in time to utter the word *Subhanallah*, another *tekbir* is pronounced and the second *secde* is performed in the same way as the first. At the end of the second *secde* the *tekbir* is pronounced again and its function is twofold: to end the first and mark the beginning of the second *rek'at*.

7. Ka'de

Structurally, the *ka'de* is the only element in a *Rek'at* Couplet which makes the second *rek'at*-s different from the first (see Ch. 7, Tables 1 and 2). Thus in the second *rek'at*, instead of pronouncing the *tekbir* at the end of the second *secde* and moving into *kuyam*, the believer remains in the sitting position, *ka'de*. Since all *Rek'at* Segments in five daily *namaz*-s, regardless of their *mükellefiyet* classification, have either three or four *rek'at*-s (see Ch. 7, Table 4), the sitting performed at the end of the second *rek'at* is called the *ka'de-i ulâ*, lit. the first sitting, and the sitting at the end of the last *rek'at* is called the *ka'de-i âhire*, lit. the last sitting. In *Rek'at* Segments which consist of a *Rek'at* Couplet only, such as the two *farz rek'at*-s of *Sabah Namazı*, there is only one *ka'de*, treated as the *ka'de-i âhire*. *Ka'de-i ulâ* is regarded as *vacip* action, and the *ka'de-i âhire* as *farz*. The body posture in the *ka'de* is the same as in the intermediary sitting position between the two *secde-s*.

The text uttered in *ka'de* is of *dua* type, and it is known as the *Ettahiyat*, Salutations, the name taken from the first word of the *dua*:

Attahiyyatu lillahi was-salawatu wat-tayyibatu o As-salamu 'alayka ayyuha'n-nabiyyu wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh o As-salamu 'alayna wa 'ala 'ibadillahi's-salihin • Ashadu an la ilaha illallah o Wa ashadu anna Muhammadan 'abduhu wa rasüluh "Salutations and worships and good deeds unto Allah o Peace with you, oh Prophet, the Well-Famed, May Allah's compassion and blessings be onto you o May greetings be onto us and those who are pious slaves of Allah • I confess there is no god but Allah o And I confess that Muhammed is His slave and messenger"

Ettahiyat is silently read by everybody in both ka'de-s, and its reading is considered vacip. However, the ka'de-i âhire has at least two more optional dua-s, called selâvat-s, which are silently read after the Ettahiyat and considered sünnet. It is because of these textual additions that the ka'de-i âhire is longer than the ka'de-i ûla. 18 The two selâvat-s of the ka'de-i âhire are the Allahumme Salli and Allahumme Barik:

وعلى ال ابر اهيم انك حميد مجيد Allahumma salli ʻala Muhammadin wa ʻala ali Muhammad kama sallayta ʻala Ibrahim wa 'ala ali Ibrahim innaka hamidun majid

"Oh, my Allah! Pray onto Muhammed and his family as You prayed to Ibrahim and his family. Definitely You are Praiseworthy and Most Glorious"

اللهمباركعلى محمدوعلى المحمدكماباركت على ابراهيم وعلى ال ابراهيم انك حميدمجيد Allāhumma bārik ʿalā Muḥammadin wa ʿalā āli Muḥammad kama bārikta ʿala Ibrahīm wa 'ala ali Ibrahim innaka hamidun majid

"Oh, my Allah! Bless Muhammed and his family as You blessed Ibrahim and his family. Definitely You are Praiseworthy and Most Glorious"

8. Selâm

After the ka'de-i âhire, and still in sitting position, the Selâm (سيلام salām) is given. It consists of a single sentence:

> السلام عليكمور حمت الله as-salamu 'alaykum wa rahmatullah "Peace with you and Allah's compassion and mercy"

¹⁸After the reading of Ettahiyat and two selâvat-s, yet another dua can be added to the ka'de-i âhire.

This sentence is pronounced twice, first turning the head to the right, and then to the left. In congregational performance, the eyes are at each turn briefly pointed to the shoulder of the fellow worshiper sitting next in the row; in individual performance the glance is pointed to the imaginary shoulder. The utterance of Selâm is considered vacip. The function of Selâm is to conclude the Rek'at Segment, likewise concluding the namaz proper. It also, as Wensinck states, "ends the consecrated state" (SEI 1961: 494), iḥrām, which was entered by the pronouncement of the İftitah Tekbiri, at the beginning of the Rek'at Segment. In the congregational performance of namaz the Selâm also marks the end of the uniform body movements by all worshiping believers under the leadership of the imam. Thus the İftitah Tekbiri and the Selâm stand as two markers which signify the beginning and end of a simple cyclical form, the Rek'at Segment of namaz.

İhlâs-ı Şerife

Upon finishing the performance of the First Sünnet Rek'at-s, the loosely scattered congregation remains sitting on the floor of the mosque waiting for the beginning of the Farz Rek'at-s Segment. Sitting at the müezzin yeri, or on the mahfil, the muezzin watches the congregation and at the moment he observes that the majority of believers have finished the performance of the First Sünnet-s, he begins, in the sitting position, the performance of the next textual sünnet segment, the İhlâs-ı Şerife, which consists of the reading of İhlâs Suresi (K112), repeated three times. The first rendering of İhlâs starts with the complete statement of the Auzu-Besmele formula,

while the next two repetitions, as in the *Kıraat*, are introduced by the *Besmele* only. In Turkey, it is a custom to end any reading of the Kur'an, except that in the *Kıraat*, with utterance of three formulas: the first is the *Sadak-allâhül'-azîm* (مدق الله العظيم ṣadaqallāhu'l-ʿadīm, "Allah the Immense has spoken the truth"); this is followed by the next formula which consists of the last three ayets form the *Saffat Suresi* (Sūratu'ṣ-Ṣāffāt, K37: 180-182); the third and concluding formula is just one word, el-Fatiha:

```
اعوذباللهمنالشيطانالرجيم O بسماللهالرحمنالرحيم O اسورةالاخلاص]
قلهواللهاحد (۱) اللهالصمد (۲) لميلدولميولد (۳) ولميكنلهكفوأاحد (٤) O صدقاللهالعظيم O اللهالصمد (۳) لميلدولميولد (۳) ولميكنلهكفوأاحد (٤) O اسورةالصافات]
سبحنربكربالعزةعمايصفون (۱۸۰) وسلمعلىالمرسلين (۱۸۱)
والحمدللهربالعلمين (۱۸۲) O الفاتحه O
```

- A^cūdubillāhi mina'š-šaytāni'r-rajīm Bismillāhi'r-raḥmāni'r-raḥīm [Sūratu'l-Ixlās]
- (1) Qul hu-wallāhu ahad (2) Allāhu's-samad (3) Lam yalid wa lam yulad (4)
 Wa lam yakullahu kufuwan ahad.
- Şadaqallahu'l-sadim.
 [Suratu's-Saffat]
- o (180) Subhana rabbika rabbi'l-'izzati 'amma yasifun (181) Wa salamun 'ala'l-mursalin (182) Wa'l-hamdulillahi rabbi'l-'alamin.
- o al-Fatihah.
- I take refuge with Allah from Devil the Cursed In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

 [Ixlas, K112]
- (1) Say: He is Allah, the One! (2) Allah the eternally Besought of all! (3) He begetteth not nor was begotten. (4) And there is none comparable unto him.
- Allah the Immense has spoken the truth. [Sāffāt, K37]
- (180) Glorified be thy Lord, the Lord of Majesty, from that which they attribute (unto Him)! (181) And peace be unto those sent (to warn)! (182) And praise be to Allah, Lord of the Worlds!
- el-Fatiha!

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The structure of İhlâs-ı Şerife in performance looks as follows:

Table 2 - Textual Structure of İhlâs-ı Şerife

İhlâs-ı Şi	ERIFE
Auzu-Besmele	
	İhlâs Suresi
Besmele	
	İhlâs Suresi
Besmele	
	İhlâs Suresi
Sadakallahul-azîm	
	Saffat Suresi
el-Fatiha	

Selâvat-i Şerife

After the *Ihlâs-ı Şerife*, and still in the sitting position, like everybody else in the mosque, the muezzin reads aloud the *Selâvat-i Şerife*, intended for the spirit of the Prophet Muhammed and all believers. Here is a transcription of an example of the *Selâvat-î Şerife* performed in Beyazıt Mosque by İsmail Hakkıçimen:

Hazreti sultan-î Embiya Burhani 'Asfiya Habibi Hüda Sefi'i Ruzi Ceza Melcei fukara ne'anibihi ebel Kasim Muhammedenil Mustafa Sellellahu 'aleyhi vesellem Efendimizin Mubarek ruhuna salâvat-î şerifi getirenlerin ilâhi âhirleri ve akibetleri hayrola seyyidül müezzinin Hazreti Bilali Habeşi radiyellahu ta'ala 'anhu Efendimizin ruhi şerifi ücün sahibul hayrat vel hasenat ve ragibul

cenneti veddaracat Sultan Beyazıt Velihan.¹⁹ Hazretlerinin ruhi ücün ümmeti Muhammedin sıhat ve selameti ücün. Allah rızası ücün. El-Fatiha.²⁰

After finishing the *Selâvat-i Şerife*, the muezzin stands up and starts reading the *Kamet*. The congregation, however, remains sitting, loosely scattered around in the mosque.

Kamet

After the ezan, kamet (اقالة iqāmah) is another textual form whose functions is to announce the beginning of namaz. While the ezan is read from the minaret, to announce to the community that the farz namaz²¹ is about to begin, kamet is read inside the mosque, announcing the actual beginning of namaz, i.e. the congregational performance of its Farz Rek'at-s Segment under the leadership of the imam. However,

¹⁹At the end of this sentence the name of the builder of the mosque is mentioned. İsmail Hakkıçimen explains it with following words: "Bu cumle camii yaptıran kişinin ve ise bu cumlenin sonuna o ismi koyarak cumle tamamlanır" ("This sentence is ended by the addition of the name of person who built the mosque," Hakkıçimin personal communication 1991). Thus, in the major mosques, their builders' names will be mentioned, such as: *Sultan Beyazıt Velihan* in Beyazıt Mosque; *Sultan Fatih Mehmedhan* in Fatih Mosque; *Sultan Ahmethan* in Sultan Ahmet Mosque; *Sultan Süleymanhan* in Süleymaniye Mosque, etc.

²⁰This example of the *Selâvat-i Şerife* I have transcribed from my recording of the *namaz* on the audio cassette. The text is Turkish, although the majority of its words are Arabic.

²¹Kamet, like ezan, announces only the namaz-s of the farz type, i.e. five daily namaz-s and the Cuma Namazi. Exception to this is the Cenaze Namazi, which does not have the kamet and is announced by another form called salâ. All other namaz-s of the vacip or sünnet type are not announced at all, either by ezan or kamet, including the Bayram Namazi (see Chapter Seven, pp. 184-187).

the *kamet* should not be mistaken for the *iç ezan* of *Cuma Namazı*,²² which precedes the *kamet*.

The performance of both the *ezan* and *kamet* is considered *sünnet*. The text of the *kamet* is based on that of the *ezan*, and differs from it in one extra sentence, *qad qāmāti'ṣ-ṣalāh*, added after the fifth sentence of *ezan* (Kusić 1991:
5):

اللهاكير 1. Allahu akbar

اشهدان لاالهالالله 2. Ašhadu an la ilaha illallah

3. Ašhadu anna Muhammadan rasūlullāh

4. Hayya 'ala's-salah

حيعلى الفلاح 5. Hayya ʻala'l-falah

6. Qad qāmati's-salāh

7. Allāhu akbar اللهاكير

الله الاالله 8. La ilaha illallah

- 1. "Allah is Greater"
- 2. "I confess that there is no god but Allah"
- 3. "I confess that Muhammed is the Messenger of Allah"
- 4. "Come to namaz"
- 5. "Come to happiness"²³
- 6. "Namaz has begun"
- 7. "Allah is Greater"
- 8. "There is no god but Allah."

²²Cuma Namazi has two ezan-s separated by an interval. The first Cuma ezani is performed from the minaret, i.e. outside of mosque, and is called the dis ezan, lit. outside ezan. The second Cuma ezani muezzin reads inside the mosque in the same manner as he performs it from the minaret. This second ezan is called the iç ezan, lit. inside ezan. See Appendix C: Ezan.

²³The word الفلا*al-falāḥ*, I translate as happiness, rather then salvation, as it is usually translated in Western sources (see, for example, SEI 1961: 16). The other meanings of the word are: success, blessing, benefit, boon (Baranov 1958).

While *Hanefi* and *Şafii kamet*-s are textually the same, their performances differ. Contrary to his *Hanefi* counterpart, who reads the first *kamet* sentence four times, the second through the seventh twice, and the final sentence once (Table 3), the *Şafii* muezzin reads the *Allahu akbar* sentences and the *Qad qāmati'ṣ-ṣalāh* twice, but all other sentences once.

The Caferi ezan and kamet have two additional sentences. The first, which is not a part of ezan but is traditionally inserted after the third sentence mentioning

Muhammed (Burgei 1988: 40), is:

اشهدان امير المومنين عليا ولي الله ašhadu anna amīra'l-mu'minīna 'Aliyyan waliyyullāh "I testify that Ali the Commander of the Faithful is the Guardian of Allah"

The second sentence inserted in the Sii ezan and kamet is:

حىعلىخيرالعمل ḥayya 'ala xayri'l-'amal "Come to good deeds"

In the *Şii kamet* all sentences, except the fourth and the last, are read twice. The fourth sentence, which mentions Ali, and the last are read one (Table 3).

²⁴Ali has several honorific titles, such as the two mentioned in this *kamet* sentence: *Amīra'l-Mu'minīn*, lit. the Commander of the Faithful, and *Waliyyullāh*, lit. the Guardian (*Walī*) of Allah. Another often used Ali's honorific is جةالله Ḥujjatullāh, lit. the Proof of Allah.

Table 3 - Sentence Repetitions in the Performance of Kamet

KAMET					
Sünni Şii	Communication	SENTENCE REPETITIONS			
	SENTENCES	Hanefî	Şafii	Caferi	
1	1	Allahu akbar	4	2	. 2
2	2	Ašhadu an lā ilāha illallāh	2	1	2
3	3	Ašhadu anna Muḥammadan rasulullah	2	1	2
_	4	Ašhadu anna amīra'l-mu'minīna 'Aliyyān waliyyullāh	_	•	1
4	5	Ḥayya ʿala'ṣ-ṣalāh	2	1	2
5	6	Hayya ʻala'l-falah	2	1	2
-	7	Hayya ʻala xayri'l-ʻamal	-	•	2
6	8	Qad qāmati'ṣ-ṣalāh	2	2	2
7	9	Allahu akbar	2	2	2
8	10	Lā ilāha illallāh	1	1	1

Core Section

Farz Rek'at-s Segment

At the fourth sentence of sünni kamet, hayya 'ala' ṣ-ṣalāh, which the muezzin usually emphasizes by an upward jump in pitch and volume, the congregation get up from their sitting position on the floor and line up in parallel rows facing the mihrab. However, the Caferi congregation keep sitting all the way through the first seven sentences of their kamet and stand up to form the parallel rows only when the qad

qāmati's-ṣalāh sentence is pronounced. Before they stand up, Caferi-s first perform a secde from the sitting position and then kiss the Kerbele toprağı, the "Karbalā' stone," which they use in namaz to place their forehead on when performing secde.

At that moment, the imam approaches the *mihrab*, or stands up if he was sitting in it, and briefly monitors the lining up of the congregation, giving instructions and corrections if necessary. The rows are compact, without any gaps, meaning that the believers stand next to each other, slightly touching with the outer side of their arms the arms of the believers to the left and right. If the row is too crowded, the imam would ask some of the believers to leave the row and move behind to the next row(s) so that the *rek'at*-s can be performed smoothly, without physical impediments. The number of people in a row or the number of rows themselves are not fixed, since this depends on the size of the mosque, which also determines the length of each row.

By the time muezzin finishes the last sentence of *kamet*, the whole congregation is neatly lined up. After his initial check of congregation, the imam then turns towards the *kible*, and silently pronounces the *niyet*. Immediately after this, facing the *mihrab*, with the congregation behind him, the imam emphatically pronounces the *İftitah Tekbiri*, by raising his hands and touching from behind the earlobes with thumbs. From now on, i.e. until the end of the *Farz Rek'at-s* Segment, the congregation silently follows all imam's actions.

Structurally, i.e. in their liturgical form and contents, the farz rek'at-s do not differ from their sünnet counterparts. What makes them different is their function in namaz, the way they are performed. The body movements in all rek'at-s are

prescribed and fixed. It is always the same regardless of the type of rek'at, i.e. farz, sünnet or vacip, and regardless of whether it is performed individually or congregationally. Therefore, it is rather the text, another basic element of rek'at, that sets apart the congregational from individual performance. In individual performance all texts are uttered silently and are therefore inaudible. However, in congregational performance of (farz) rek'at-s, some of the liturgical texts are pronounced aloud, and they are audible to the whole congregation. These texts are uttered by the imam, and the congregation either repeats them silently or simply listens to them without any utterance. Thus, in congregational performance the aloud utterance of text becomes important. But, this utterance is never just a plain reading. It is always at least emphatically carried. Often, as is the case in the Beyazıt Mosque and the Cerrahi Tekkesi, this reading of the text is musically structured, following the basic precepts and rules of music making and artistic creativity. Here, the imam becomes not only the leader of the ritual worship but also a musical performer, with ample opportunity to show his musical capabilities and skills.

The texts, which are always performed aloud, *cehri*, in the congregational performance of the *Farz Rek'at*-s Segment, include all *tekbir*-s, *tahmid*-s, and *selâm* (Table 4). Other texts are either always performed silently, *hafî*, or are, according to the prescribed rule, sometimes silent and sometimes aloud. The texts which are always performed silently are: *Niyet*, *Subhaneke*, *Auzu-Besmele*, *Rükû Tesbihi*, *Secde Tesbihi*, *Ettahiyat*, and two *Allahumme Selâvat*-s.

The performance of the only remaining rek'at text, kıraat, follows the rule which classifies all farz namaz-s into the cehri and hafi namaz-s (see Chapter Seven, p. 187). The kıraat-s are cehri only in the first two rek'at-s of cehri namaz-s (Sabah, Akşam, Yatsı), and hafi in the remaining rek'at-s of these namaz-s (Table 4). In hafi namaz-s (Öğle and İkindi), all kıraat-s are hafi.

Table 4 - Cehri Texts in Farz Rekat-s Segment (Yatsı Namazı)

First <i>Rek'at</i>	SECOND REK'AT	Third <i>Rek'at</i>	FOURTH <i>REK'AT</i>
İftitah Tekbiri	Tekbir	Tekbir	Tekbir
Kıraat	Kıraat		
Tekbir (Rükû)	Tekbir (Rükû)	Tekbir (Rükû)	Tekbir (Rükû)
Tahmid	Tahmid	Tahmid	Tahmid
Tekbir (Secde)	Tekbir (Secde)	Tekbir (Secde)	Tekbir (Secde)
Tekbir (Sitting)	Tekbir (Sitting)	Tekbir (Sitting)	Tekbir (Sitting)
Tekbir (Secde)	Tekbir (Secde)	Tekbir (Secde)	Tekbir (Secde)
	Tekbir (Ka'de-î Ulâ)		Tekbir (K. Âhire)
			Selâm

After silently uttering the Auzu-Besmele formula, imam starts kıraat with Fatiha Suresi, also known as the Fatiha-i Şerife:

```
[سورةالفائحة]
الحمدللهربالعالمين (۲)
الرحمزاهدناالصر اطالمستقيم (٦)
مالك يوصر اطالذينانعمت عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم و لاالضالين (٧)
اياك نعبدو اياك نستعين (٥)
اهدناالصر اطالمستقيم (٦)
صر اطالذين انعمت عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم و لاالضالين (٧)
```

- 2. Al-hamdulillahi rabbi'l-calamin.
- 3. Ar-rahmani'r-rahim.
- 4. Maliki yawmi'd-din.
- 5. Iyyāka na^cbudu wa iyyāka nasta^cīn.
- 6. Ihdina's-sirata'l-mustaqim.
- 7. Sirata'l-ladina an^camta ^calayhim gayri'l-magdubi ^calayhim wa la'd-dallin.

- 2. Praise be to Allah, Lord of the Worlds.
- 3. The Beneficent, the Merciful.
- 4. Owner of the Day of Judgement.
- 5. Thee (alone) we worship; Thee (alone) we ask for help.
- 6. Show us the straight path.
- 7. The path of those whom Thou hast favoured, Not (the path) of those who earn Thine anger nor of those who go astray."

After the imam finishes the reading of the *Fatiha*, the congregation silently pronounces *Amin*. Immediately following this and without any break in between, he continues his reading with *Zammi Sure*.

Following the Zammu Sure the imam pronounces the tekbir aloud and performs the rükû, while the congregation copies him in his body movement and silently repeats his tekbir. Resuming the upright standing position after the rükû, the imam pronounces the first sentence of the tahmid: Sami allahu liman hamidah, and the congregation, while raising up, silently answers with the second sentence of tahmid: Rabbana laka'l-hamd. The rest of the rek'at as well as the remainder of the Farz

Rek'at-s Segment follow the same structure as in the performance of the First Sünnet Rek'at-s.

At the end of this segment, the imam utters the *selâm*. The congregation silently repeats it, following the imam in his body movement: first turning the head to the right, and then to the left. This ends the Core Section of *namaz*.

Conclusion Section

So far, it is the *imam* who has played the *leader's role*, both ritual and musical, during the *Farz* Segment of *namaz*. Now, after he has given the *selâm*, the imam's leading role *practically* ends and it is the *muezzin* who takes over that role from him and becomes, until the end of *namaz*, the main ritual and musical agent. All *cehri* textual segments in the remainder of *namaz* will be from now on performed exclusively by the muezzin(s). The imam's authority, however, is still symbolically preserved and unchallenged by the sheer fact that he remains in the focal locus of *mihrab*. He will stay there, without any practical function, until the very end of the whole event of ritual worship.

Immediately after the *selâm*, the muezzin commences his newly assumed role by reading aloud the following *dua*, which does not have any specific name but to which I will refer as the *Allahumme Entesselam*:

o اللهمانتالسلامومنكالسلام تباركتياذالجلالوالاكرام اللهمانتالسلامومنكالسلام Allāhumma anta's-salāmu wa minka's-salām o Tabārākta yā da'l-jalāli wa'l-ikrām

This formula thus signals the beginning of the Conclusion Section of namaz. In namaz-s which have the Last Sünnet Rek'at-s (Öğle, Akşam, Yatsı), the Allahumme Entesselam also signals that these rek'at-s are now to be performed. The Last Sünnet-s are performed in the same way as the First Sünnet Rek'at-s of Introduction, independently and individually. At the muezzin's Allahumme Entesselam, the congregation get up, disband the parallel rows, and move to a more private place in the mosque for the performance of the Last Sünnet-s. The imam performs his sünnet-s in the mihrab, still facing the kıble.

In the Beyazıt mosque, and only in Öğle and İkindi Namazı,25 after the

Allahumme Entesselam, one muezzin continues to read another dua, Tevbe or İstiğfar

Duası, Repentance Prayer:

استغفرالله © استغفرالله © استغفرالله الدى الله العظيم الذى الله الاهـ والحي القيوم واتوب اليه Astagfurullāh OAstagfurullāh OAstagfurullāh al-ʿadaīnaʾl-lādī lā ilāha illāhu waʾl-hayyuʾl-qayyuma wa atūbu ilayh

Tevbe Duasi might be shortened to consist of its first word only, Estağfurullâh, lit. "I ask pardon from Allah," which is then repeated three times. In İkindi Namazı, which does not have the Last Sünnet Rek'at-s, the Tevbe Duasi comes immediately after the Allahumme Entesselam; in Öğle, however, it comes after the performance of Last Sünnet-s. In Yatsı Namazı, in Cerrahi Tekkesi, this dua is customarily read by all the congregation immediately after the selâm; it is only after this that the muezzin starts reading the Allahumme Entesselam, and the congregation then stands up for the

²⁵Personal communication with İsmail Hakkıçimin, March 29, 1991.

performance of the Last *Sünnet*-s. Since the Last *Sünnet Rek'at*-s have the same structure as the First *Sünnet*-s, their performance is the same.

Vitir Segment

The Vitir is performed in Yatsi Namazi, following the Last Sünnet Rek'at-s. In Arabic, witr means odd, suggesting that this segment has odd number of rek'at-s, three. Throughout the year, the Vitir Segment is, like the Last Sünnet-s, performed individually. During the month of Ramazan, it is performed congregationally under the leadership of the imam. In that case it is placed after the Teravih Part of Teravih Namazi, rather than after the Last Sünnet Rek'at-s, which precede the Teravih Part. However, congregational performance of Vitir outside of Ramazan is regarded as mekruh, abominable.

The first two vitir rek'at-s are performed in the same way as the Rek'at

Couplet. However its third rek'at is special since, contrary to all other third rek'at-s

whose kiraat-s consist of only the Fatiha, the kiraat of this rek'at has both the Fatiha

and the Zammi Sure. Its tekbir which is pronounced after the kiraat does not

announce the rükû. Rather, it resembles the İftitah Tekbiri: the hands are raised up

again, touching the back of the earlobes with the thumbs; the body remains in kiyam

position, and the hands are again clasped over the naval. At this point, everybody

silently reads the Kunut Duasi:

- اللهمانانستعینكونستغفركونستهدیكونوءمنبكونتوبائیكونتوكل علیكونتنیعلیك
 الخیركلهنشكركولانكفركونخلعونتركمنیفجرك
 اللهمایاكنعبدولكنصلیونسجدوالیكنسعیونحفدنرجورحمتك ونخشیعذابكانعذابك
- التهم يافانغبدولكانصلى ونسجدواليك نسغى وتحقد درجور حميك وتحسى عدايتان عدايك بالكفار ملحق ○
- Allahumma inna nastafinuka wa nastagfiruka wa nastahdika wa nu'minu bika wa natubu ilayka wa natawakkaliu falayka nutni falayka'l-xayra kullahu naškuruka wa la nakfuruka wa naxlafu wa natruku man yafjuruk.
- Allahumma iyyaka na'budu wa laka nuşalli wa nasjudu wa ilayka nas'a wa nahfidu narju rahmataka wa naxša 'adabaka inna 'adabaka bi'l-kuffari mulhiq.
- "Oh my Allah! We beg for Your assistance, the right way and mercy. We trust You, repent and ask Your pardon and resign ourselves to Your divine guidance. We always praise to You and thank You. We never deny You. We Take down those who rebel against You from where they are and leave them.
- "Oh my Allah! We worship only You, perform prayer for You and prostrate ourselves for You. We endeavour for being a good slave of Yours and fly for refuge to you. We always hope for Your divine mercy and are afraid of Your giving pain" (Dedeoğlu nd: 39).

After the *Kunut Duası*, the *Rükû Tekbiri* is pronounced and the rest of the third vitir rek'at continues as usual. As all rek'at segments, the Vitir ends with selâm.

Teravih Part of Teravih Namazı

The *Teravih* Part of the *Teravih Namazı* is congregationally performed. Its twenty *rek'at*-s are divided into ten *Rek'at* Couplets (see Chapter Seven, Tables 1 and 9). The structure of these couplets is the same as the structure of the first two *rek'at*-s in any *Rek'at* Segment. This means that the *kıraat*-s of all ten *Rek'at* Couplets include the *Zammı Sure*, and that all of them are performed *cehri*.

The ten Rek'at Couplets are then structured into five Rek'at Sets (Table 5), each set consisting of two couplets. Another novelty which makes the structure of Teravih Part different from the Standard Structure of Namaz (see Chapter Seven, Table 6) is that each Teravih Rek'at Couplet ends with selâm. Having the function to mark

off the end of a *Rek'at* Couplet, the *selâm* thus simultaneously provides an opportunity for the temporary rest in the performance. The ten rests represent a structural feature typical only of *Teravih Namazı*, hence its name: تراويح tarawih, rests.

Table 5 - Structure of Teravih Rek'at Set

<i>REK'AT</i> SET	
SELÂVAT	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
Rek'at Couplet	
Selâm	
SELÂVAT	
Rek'at Couplet	
Selâm	
ĬLÂHİ	

The rest of the *Teravih* Part is a break in *bodily* actions, during which no ritual movement occurs. However, this somatic break is not vacuous since it does provide an opportunity for musical expression. During these rests, two musical forms are inserted: *Selâvat* and *Îlâhi* (Table 5), both performed chorally by muezzins and virtually by the entire congregation, in a sitting position. *Selâvat*-s are performed in a sitting position at the beginning of each *Rek'at* Couplet. As soon as the sentence is sung, the muezzins and congregation stand up to start the next *rek'at*. The typical Turkish *tasavvuf* musical form, *ilâhi*, hymn, is performed also in a sitting position after

every other *Rek'at* Couplet, i.e. at the end of a *Rek'at* Set. As soon as the *ilâhi* is finished, the muezzins continue the next *selâvat*, so that the transition between the *Rek'at* Sets is smooth, without any pauses. Thus, the characteristic bodily rests, which give the name to the whole *namaz*, are actually bypassed and filled up with musical rendition of *selâvat*-s and *ilâhi*-s.

Tesbih

After the *Teravih* and *Vitir Rek'at*-s are performed, everybody assumes a sitting position on the floor and remains sitting there until the end of *namaz*. The muezzin now continues with the next important segment: *Tesbih* (tasbih, eulogy, praise of Allah), also known in its plural forms as *Tesbihât* and *Tesbihler*. The *Tesbih* Segment consists of *Tesbih Dualari*, a set of *dua*-s in praise of Allah.

In daily *namaz*-s, muezzin carefully watches the congregation and imam as they perform the Last *Sünnet Rek'at*-s. At the moment when he observes that the majority of congregation have finished their *sünnet rek'at*-s, he makes sure that the imam has done the same, before he begins the *Tesbih*. As throughout the whole *namaz*, the muezzin and imam are again in perfect synchrony and uninterrupted communication, either visually or aurally. The muezzin begins the *Tesbih* after he observes the imam's head movement in the *selâm* at the end of *sünnet rek'at*-s. If the muezzin is blind, then there is always somebody else sitting next to him to give him the signal, or if

²⁶Outside of *Ramazan*, congregation assumes the sitting position in *Yatsı Namazı* after the performance of the Last *Sünnet* and *Vitir rek'at-s*.

there is more than one muezzin, then another muezzin will start the *Tesbih*. In the case of the *İkindi Namazı*, which does not have the Last *Sünnet*-s, the muezzin makes a short dramatic pause after the *Allahumme Entesselam* before he continues with *Tesbih*. The *Tesbih* starts with following formula:

على رسولناصلوات Alā rasūlinā salawāt

Now, for the first time since the beginning of the *namaz*, the imam turns toward the congregation and remains sitting in the *mihrab*. The *rek'at*-s, as crucial element of *namaz* are now over, and the ritual pillar of facing the *kıble* does not have to be strictly observed anymore. The imam himself now fully turns his back to *kıble*, while the congregation, although still more or less facing the wall with *mihrab*, can now change places and sit in a more relaxed position.

After the muezzin's Ala Rasulina, the congregation silently reads a dua called the Salâten Tuncînâ or Salât-ı Münciye, "Prayer Against Danger." In the larger mosques of Istanbul, which usually have up to five or six muezzins, all of them may now join in and read in choral unison the Salaten Tuncina:

الهمصل على سيدنا محمد وعلى السيدنا محمد صلاة تنجينا بها من جميع الاهو الوالافات (وتقضى لنابها جميع الحاجات (وتطهرنانها من جميع السيأت (وترفعنا بها اعلى الدرجات (وتبلغنا بها اقصى الغايات من جميع الخيرات فى الحيات وبعد الممات (صنجميع الخيرات فى الحيات وبعد الممات (صبنا الله ونعم الوكيل (نعم المولى ونعم النصير (

Allahumma salli ʿala sayyidina Muhammadin wa ʿala ali sayyidina Muhammad salatan tunjīna biha min jamīʿi'l-ahwali wa'l-afat o Wa taqdilana biha jamīʿa'l-hajat o Wa tutahhiruna biha min jamīʿi's-sayyiat o Wa tarfaʿuna biha aʿla'd-darajat o Wa tuballiguna biha aqsa'l-gayat o Min jamīʿi'l-xayrati fi'l-hayati wa ba tla'l-mamat o Hasbunallahu wa niʿma'l-wakīl o Niʿma'l-mawla wa niʿma'n-nasīr.

The penultimate sentence, hasbunallahu wa ni^cma'l-wakil, is repeated three times.

Now one muezzin reads the next dua, Subhanallahi:

"Glory and Praise be to Allah, There is no god but Allah, Allah is the Greatest, The Strength and Power are only with Allah, the Sublime, the Tremendous."

The Subhanallahi introduces the silent reading of the Ayetel Kürsî, the "Throne Ayet," from the sura Bakara (K2: 255). The Ayetel Kürsî is preambled with silent reading of the Auzu-Besmele formula:²⁷

(255) Allāhu lā ilāha illāhu, wa'l-ḥayyu'l-qayyum, la ta'xuduhu sinatun wa la nawm. Lahu mā fi's-samāwāti wa mā fi'l-ard. Man da'l-ladī yašfa'u 'indahu illā bi'idnih. Ya'lamu mā bayna aydihim wa mā xalfahum. Wa lā yuḥituna bišay'in min Ilmihi illā bimā šā'. Wasi'a kursiyyuhu's-samāwāti wa'l-ard. Wa la yauduhu ḥifduhumā. Wa huwa'l-'aliyyu'l-'adīm.

255. "Allah! There is no God save Him, the Alive, the Eternal. Neither slumber nor sleep overtaketh him. Unto Him belongeth whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth. Who is he that intercedeth with Him save by His leave? He knoweth that which is in front of them and that which is behind them while they encompass nothing of His knowledge save that He will. His throne includeth the heavens and the earth, and He is never weary of preserving them. He is the Sublime, the Tremendous."

Although the *Tesbih* Segment starts with the formula *Ala Rasulina salâvat*, the *tesbih* proper is the reading of the three formulae: *Subhanallah*, *Elhamdulillah*, and

²⁷In special circumstances, however, such as the *Teravih Namazı* in *Cerrahi Tekkesi*, this ayet might be read aloud by the muezzin, together with the *Auzu-Besmele* formula (see Chapter Nine).

Allahu ekber. The muezzin announces each formula separately, and the congregation then silently repeats them. According to the traditional explanation, the repetition of these formulae should be thirty-three times each, thus making ninety-nine, a symbolic number of Esmâ-i Hüsnâ, the ninety-nine Beautiful Names of Allah. In practice, however, the number of repetitions is rather eleven. Thus, during the tesbih proper, the congregation pulls out prayer beads, also called tesbih. On the bigger tesbih-s, there are ninety-nine beads strung on a thread; at its top, where the thread is tied into a knot, there is the hundredth bead, bigger than others, which closes the circle of beads and thus symbolically represents all the names of Allah. More often, tesbih-s have just thirty-three beads, which are divided into three groups of eleven by three bigger beads of different shape. The congregation simply counts eleven beads for each formula, making a total of thirty-three, which is then symbolically multiplied by three to conform to the number of ninety-nine

If the Ayetel Kürsî is read aloud, then the muezzin makes a short pause before the last sentence, Ve hüvel-aliyül-azim, "He is the Sublime, the Tremendous." If the dua was read silently, then the muezzin simply starts off with the rendition of this sentence aloud, adding to it a supplement, which represents yet another epithet of Allah:

وهوالعلى العظيم ذو الجلال و الكمال سبحان الله Wa huwa'l-'aliyyu'l-'adimu, du'l-jalali wa'l-kamali Subhanallah. "And He is the Sublime, the Tremendous. Glory be to Allah, the Lord of majesty and glory." After this, everybody pulls out *tesbih* beads and silently repeats "thirty-three" times the last word, *Subhânallâh*. Waiting until everybody finishes the silent repetition of the formula counted on the beads, the muezzin continues:

Subhana'l-karimi daimani'l-hamdulillah

and the congregation again silently repeats the word *el-Hamdülillah*, "Praise be to Allah." Finally, the muezzin ends:

Rabbi'l-calamina tacala šanuhullahu akbar

and the congregation repeats the words, *Allahu ekber*. However, since the *tesbih* formulae are *dua*-s, their beginnings are not necessarily fixed, and in different places different muezzins will insert the different words. Their endings, *Subhanallah*, *el-Hamdülillah*, and *Allahu ekber*, are fixed and cannot be changed.

Following the *tesbih* proper comes the concluding part of the *Tesbih* Segment.

After he has counted and silently repeated the *Allahu ekber*, the muezzin continues:

لاالهالااللهوحدهلاشريكلهلهالملكولهالحمدوهوعلىكل شيءقدير ○ سبحانربي العلى الاعلى الوهاب Lā ilāha illallāhu wahdahū lā šarīkalah. Lahu'l-mulku wa lahu'l-hamdu wa huwa

> °alā kulli šay'in qadīr ○ Subhāna rabbiya'l-°aliyyi'l-a°la'l-wahhāb.

"There is no god but Allah. He is One. He has no partner. Everything everywhere belongs to Him. He is the only One to be thanked and praised. All the good deeds are through His might. He is the Omnipotent" (Dedeoğlu nd: 44).

With this the *Tesbih* Segment ends. Now everybody raises his/her hands up with the palms turned upwards and silently reads the *dua*. The reading of the *dua* takes approximately a minute or two, the time during which the whole interior of the

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mosque remains in complete silence. The duration of the *dua* depends on the imam who, still sitting in the *mihrab* facing the congregation, signals its end by a hand movement which resembles the washing of the face, usually with both hands although only the right hand might be used. At the moment when the imam "washes his face," the whole congregation follows him with the same action. The muezzin, who was during the *dua* carefully watching the imam, also "rubs his face" and immediately continues with another formula, the opening ayet of the Kur'an (K1: 2):

Wa'l-hamdulillahi rabbi'l-calamin
"And Praise be to Allah, Lord of the Worlds"

After this formula, the imam emphatically adds "el-Fatiha," which, like "Ite missa est," signals the end of namaz. The imam, as the leader of ritual worship, is supposed to symbolically end it. However, he might, for reasons not quite clear to me, relegate this final formula to muezzin.

Aşr

So far, we have seen that the reading from the Kur'an, both aloud and silent, occurs in all three sections of *namaz*. In the Introduction, the Kur'an segments are the *İhlâs-ı Şerife*, and the *kıraat*-s of the First *Sünnet Rek'at*-s. In the Core Section, it is the *kıraat* of the Farz *Rek'at*-s and in the Conclusion the *kıraat*-s of the Last *Sünnet Rek'at*-s, and the *Ayetel-Kürsî*. All of these readings from the Kur'an are of the *dua* type, and they, therefore, represent *prayers* whose function and purpose are strictly ritual. Musically, however, I am interested only in those Kur'an segments which are

read aloud. In the Introduction Section, it is the *İhlâs-ı Şerife*; in the Core Section of cehri namaz-s, the farz kıraat-s; and in the Conclusion, the Ayetel-Kürsî, if it is read aloud.

Very often, namaz ends with yet another reading of the Kur'an out loud, called aşr. The word aşr comes from Arabic عشر 'ašr, lit. ten, and in the New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary (NRD 1987) it is defined as the "portion of ten verses in the Quran." In the actual performance of namaz, however, the number of ayets read in the asr is not fixed, and it can be anywhere from two longer ayets to ten or maybe even more shorter ayets. In January and February of 1991, I recorded in Beyazıt Mosque several asr-s performed at the end of namaz by the imam of that mosque, İsmail Biçer. On January 30, 1991, in the asr of Öğle Namazı, Biçer read five ayets from Âl-i İmrân Suresi (سورةالعمران Suratu Āli 'Imrān, K3: 190-194). On February 7, in the aşr of also Öğle Namazı, he read the first ten ayets from Esrâ Suresi سورة الاسراء) Sūratu'l-Isrā', K17: 1-10), and on the same day, in the İkindi Namazı, Biçer read ten ayets from Nebe' Suresi (سورةالنبا Suratu'n-Naba, K78: 31-40). A week later, on February 14, he read a choice from the Fussilet Suresi (سورةالفصلت Suratu'l-Fussilat, K41): in Öğle Namazı he read seven ayets from this sura (K41: 26-32), and in *İkindi*, he continued with the next four ayets of the same sura (K41: 33-36).

Since I was recording all of these aşr-s in the actual context of namaz, as an event which was happening and unfolding in real time and space, I believe that these examples could be taken as representatives of actual practice, and reliable enough to

draw a conclusion. However, I can never be fully sure whether I influenced Biçer's performance by recording it, i.e. being there out of context, sitting in the first row, right in front of him, with headphones, cables, highly visible microphone and an audio cassette recorder; on several occassions I even used a Sony Camcorder mounted on a tripod. On the other hand, if my presence was highly visible and rather clumsy (one might say even unnecessary), the fact that I was recording his performance should not have, in my opinion, greatly influenced imam Bicer. He is one of the most prominent and widely known readers of the Kur'an; his audio and video cassettes are all over Turkey, and he occassionally appears on national television. The other striking fact is that many younger hafiz-s or other interested imams and muezzins of Istanbul come to the Beyazıt Mosque in order to listen to and record Biçer's reading and study it themselves for reasons of either copying his style or improving their own reading skills. Thus, it is not unlikely that at the time of asr some of these people would unobtrusively pull out small cassette recorders, usually of the walkman type, and record Biçer's reading. If nothing, this situation made me feel not alone and utterly different from everybody else in the mosque. It made me also aware of the fact that it was not only me who, as an ethnomusicologist, wanted to learn, study and understand the namaz, but that there were more of us with equally valid although somewhat different interests and goals.

In any case, the number "ten" is only symbolically implied in the aşr. The most probable factor which arbitrates on the length of aşr is rather the time. Aşr is usually five to ten minutes long and the number of ayets varies, depending not only on

the chosen sura and the length of its ayets, but also on the style of reading, the reader's observance of the vakf (قفة waafah, stop) signs in the Kur'an, his knowledge of tecvid (تجويد, tajwīd, rules on proper reading of the Kur'an), as well as mastering of the technique of sentence repetitions and different kıraat styles.²⁸

However, the *symbolism of numbers* is firmly held by many Muslims, even scholars. Eliasii, for example, in his introduction to the *Holy Qur'aan*, states that the Kur'an has 6666 ayets (1981: v), an opinion firmly held by virtually all knowledgeable Turkish Muslims, as well. However, the number of ayets in Eliasii's edition is 6237, and in all Turkish editions it is 6236.²⁹

²⁸In this sense, *kıraat* means one of several styles of the reading of Kur'an, according to *imam-ı aşere*, the ten imams. Nafi, (Nafi) Ibn Katır (Ibn-i Kesir), Abu 'Amr (Ebu Amr), Ibn 'Āmir (Ibn-i Amir), 'Āṣim (Asim), Ḥamzah (Hamza), al-Kiṣa'i (Kısa'i), Abu Ja'far (Ebu Cafer), Ya'qub al-Ḥaḍrami (Yakub), and Xalaf al-Bazzar (Halef). For more information see Labib as-Said (1975: 91-107, 127-130).

All of these kıraat founders are given the honorific title of Imam in Turkey. The kıraat style, tarika, generally followed in Turkey is that of Imam-1 Asim. These ten kıraat-s represent a special discipline and the highest level reachable in the study of Kur'an, precondition of which is that the student is already the hafiz. İstanbul Haseki Eğitim Merkezi is the main center in Turkey, established in mid 1970s by the Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı (see Chapter Six, p. 176), in which the younger generations of hafiz-s specialize in this discipline. The center offers the reading styles in these ten kıraat-s, both in the Mısır and İstanbul tarika, Egypt and Istanbul methods. In 1991, one of the professors there was Abdürrahman Gürses, who held the title of reisülkurra (claudi) ra'īsu'l-qurra'), lit. the head of the Kur'an readers, the highest title in Turkey one can reach in the kırrat discipline.

²⁹Yusuf Ali writes that "the different *Qiraats* sometimes differ as to the punctuation stops and the numbering of the verses... I have adopted mainly that of the Egyptian edition published under the authority of the King of Egypt" (Ali 1983: iv). This explains why Ali's and Turkish editions of the Kur'an do not differ in numbering of ayets: the *kiraat* used in Egypt is that of Hafs (Hafs), who transmitted it as a *rivayet* (celsion), *riwayah*, transmission) from his teacher 'Āsim, whose *kiraat* is followed in Turkey. See previous footnote.

There is no any fixed rule regarding the *namaz* in which the *aṣr* is performed. Today, in the majority of mosques throughout Turkey, *aṣr* is almost always performed at the end of the *Sabah* and *Yatsı Namazı*, and it is not infrequent to find it performed in the *İkindi Namazı*, as well. However, *aṣr* is never performed in the *Akṣam Namazı*, and it is usually skipped in *Öğle Namazı*. Nevertheless, in bigger and more important mosques, *aṣr* is occassionally performed in *Öğle Namazı*, as is almost the rule in *Beyazıt* Mosque. The same is the case with *İkindi Namazı*.

Thus, after the final dua in the namaz, if the imam decides to read the aşr, he starts it immediately following the muezzin's Vel-hamdülillahi rabbil-alemin. Aşr always begins with the Auzu-Besmele formula, and ends with the Sadakallahul-azim, and the customary three ayets from Sâffât Suresi. After this, the imam adds the formula el-Fatiha, with which the namaz finally ends. The imam might well let the muezzin read the aşr in his stead. In that case, the muezzin will pronounce his formula, Vel-hamdülillahi rabbil-alemin, and continue with aşr. At the very end, he would let the imam to pronounce the final el-Fatiha.

PART THREE

TERAVIH NAMAZI AS RELIGIOUS MUSICAL FORM - ANALYSIS

CHAPTER NINE: Musical Concepts in Namaz

In my fieldwork experience of *namaz*, later thinking about it, and the home-bound rethinking of that experience, I observed that the *namaz*, as musical performance and religious musical form, is based on at least five musical concepts inherently present in Turkish Classical and Religious Music: 1. *Makam*; 2. *Karar*; 3. Modulation-Transition (*Geçki*); 4. The *Beste-Şarkı* Principle; and 5. The *Fasıl* Principle. The following is the discourse on these principles.

Makam

Makam is a term currently used, more or less ubiquitously, in the classical musical cultures of Islam, stretching from the North African coast to Xinjiang, in western China (Pacholczyk: In Press; Tourna 1971: 38). The term comes from the Arabic word مقام, maqām, pl. مقام, maqāmāt, lit. position, place, dignity, rank, office, tomb of a saint, mausoleum, musical mode (Baranov 1958). It is this latter sense, the musical understanding of the term, I am interested in here.

In different cultures and languages which borrowed the word, not only that its vowels are pronounced differently, but its consonant root, a-5-4, is also variously

¹Although the *Karar* and Modulation are the inherent part of the broader understanding of the *Makam* concept, I am treating them as separate categories, owing to their musical prominence in daily practice.

written and pronounced as either the *m-q-m*, *m-k-m*, or *m-g-m*.² Thus, in Turkey, the *maqām* is known as *makam*;³ in Azerbaijan, *myfam* (*mugam*);⁴ among the Kazakhs, Uzbeks, and Tajiks, *makom* (*makom*);⁵ Uigurs refer to it as *mykam* (*muqam*).⁶ Relying on the available research in the West, it seems unclear, however, whether the word *maqām* is or is not traditionally used as a technical musical term in Iran, nor is it clear

²The confusion is sometimes striking and obviously requires further clarification. On the one hand, some scholars from Western Europe and the United States tend to indiscriminately "Arabize" the term, applying, in all cases and indeed cross-culturally, the single transliteration of its original Arabic form, *maqam/maqamat*, to the variously pronounced and currently variously written terms. Some scholars from the former Soviet Union, on the other hand, are vacillating between the Cyrillic native spelling, Cyrillic Russian transliteration, and the English/Latin transliteration.

In the New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary (NRD 1987), the m-k-m root has four entries: makam 1, makam 2 (in Ottoman Turkish both spelled as مقام), makamat (مقام), and makame (مقام). The musical sense of the makam as mode is signified in the entry makam 2, followed by the letter "P" (meaning a Persian word, or of Persian provenience); its plural form is makamlar. The entries makam 1 and makame, followed by the letter "A" (Arabic), do not bear any musical meaning, and their plural is the makamat, a learned Arabic term and direct borrowing of maqamat, but never used as plural form of the makam 2.

⁴The Cyrillic spelled Azeri term *MyFaM*, Tamila Dzhani-Zade transliterates into Russian as *MyTaM* (1989: 89), and into English as *mugam* (1992: 129; see also Bagirova 1992). Jean During (1989), however, transcribes/transliterates the term as *mugâm*.

⁵The Kazakh term маком Mukhambetova transliterates into English as makom (1989). On the concept of Uzbek-Tajik makom phenomenon, known as the шашмаком (šašmakom, the "Six maqām-s"), see Djumaev (1993), During (1993), Levin (1993), Elsner (1992), A. Jung (1989a/b,1992), O. Matyakubov (1989, 1992).

⁶The Uigur term *мукам* Alibakiyeva transliterates as *muqam* (Alibakiyeva 1992). On the concept of Uigur *он икки мукам* (on ikki muqam, the "Twelve maqam-s"), see F. Karomatov (1992) and Khashimov (1992).

which, if any, technical term(s) possibly substitute(s) for it: dastgah or gušeh?⁷ In Tunis,⁸ on the other hand, maqam appears to be a rather new technical term which was accepted only recently by the musicians. In Yemen, states Philip Schuyler, the term maqam is still rare (Schuyler, comments to this dissertation).

Touma, however, explicitly differs from Farhat, stating that the *dastgāh* represents the "maqam phenomenon" in Iran (Touma 1971: 38). Regarding the "mode," Zonis is in agreement with Farhat: "Persian music theorists translate dastgah as 'mode'" (1973: 44). Surprisingly, neither does she nor Farhat say in which language/script/context the Persian theorists use the term "mode."

In another place, Farhat does use the term *maqām*, vacillating however between putting it in parentheses followed by the word "mode," or leaving it alone (Farhat 1980: 295-296).

⁸"The term traditionally used in the Maghreb," writes Ruth Davis, "was *tab*^c (lit. nature, character). However, as al-Mahdī has noted, 'with the development of mass media and improved communications, *maqām* has become the most widely used term [i.e. in the Middle East and North Africa] prevailing over all others of equivalent meaning" (Davis 1992: 91, n. 10).

In the report on the "maqamat" in Tunis, presented by the Commission on the Modes, Rhythms and Composition, at the 1932 Cairo Conference (CC 1934: 583-592), the term maqam is used only in the two French titles of the report, once as the "magamates" (CC 1934: XI) and once as the "maqamat" (CC 1934: 583). In the actual report the term is duly replaced by the Tunisian term tabe, a footnote explaining that "in Tunis, maqam is called tabe" (CC 1934: 584, n. 1).

⁷Barkechli (1963), Zonis (1973), and Nettl and Foltin (1977), do not mention the term *maqam* at all, and rather talk about the *mode*. In contrast, Farhat (1966) does mention the term, but only negatively: "The dastgah system of Persian music is a relatively new development dating back only to the eighteenth century. Before that time, the classical [Persian] music was known under the genus of the Maqamat... In all of the Moslem nations west of Persia (Turkey and the Arab countries) the system of maqamat is still the basis of the classical music. In those countries, as well as in Persia before the development of dastgaha, maqam signifies a mode... In Persian music what is analogous to the maqam of Turco-Arabian music is, not the dastgah, but the gushe. And, in the sense of the mode of a gushe, and of the daramad section of a dastgah, the term maqam can be and is used in Persian music. Yet, now that this clarification is made, we will refrain from the use of the word maqam in this work so that the issue may not be confused with the Turco-Arabian usage of this concept. Instead we will use the word mode, which is also in common usage in Persia" (Farhat 1966: 37-38).

Apart from being differently written and pronounced, the generic term maqām is also differently understood in different Muslim cultures. Like the Turkish namaz, and so many other technical and non-technical terms in Islam, makam is understood depending on the context in which it is referred to, and therefore the only global and truistic definition of it might as well be that it is polysemantic, and that a particularistic definition and understanding of it should be treated likewise, particularly and specifically. Doing the opposite might end up with a fanciful stretching of imagination, or even worse, dressing the term in a straight jacket.

* * *

One of the fanciful theories, which got stuck among, and perpetuated by, scholars in the twentieth century global musical Western knowledge of Islam, is Farmer's misnomer "maqāmāt," introduced in his A History of Arabian Music to the XIII Century (1929). In the final chapter of the book, where he discusses the issue of the "mode" in the medieval Arabic theory of music, Farmer states that "by the time of Ṣafi al-Din 'Abd al-Mu'min (d. 1294), these principal modes were called the maqāmāt (sing. maqāma)" (1929: 203). There are two objectionable points in this statement.

First, Farmer does not give the sources which would corroborate the argument that the principal modes were called the *maqāmāt* by the time of Ṣafiyu'd-dīn. Ṣafiyu'd-dīn himself never used the term *maqāmāt* or *maqām* either in his كتابلادواد

Ritābu'l-adwār, "Book of Circles," or in الشرفية aš-Šarafiyyah. Neither was the term used by the controversial commentator of *Kitābu'l-adwār*, who reportedly wrote his Commentaries in the year of 1375, a century and a quarter after Ṣafiyu'd-dīn's master-work. Relying on the available historical data, it seems that it was not

The unsigned "Avertissement" in d'Erlanger's first volume (1930: XVII-XXVIII) states that the Commentaries of *Kitābu'l-adwār* were "found in a collection of treatises on music gathered, in 1073 AH / 1662 AD, by Šāh Qubādh ibn 'Abd al-Jalīl, and known under the name of Diyanat Han... According to the title of the work the commentator was a certain Mubārak Šāh" (1938: XXV).

In the "Préface" to the third volume, published six years after d'Erlanger's death, Henry George Farmer challenged that the author of the Commentaries was "a certain Mubarak Šah," as it appears in the title of the Commentaries itself, viz. Šarh Mawlānā Mubarak Šāh bar adwār. Instead of translating it as a personal name, Farmer argued that the term mubarak meant the French adjective béni, blessed, suggesting that the correct translation of the work's title should be "Commentaries on the adwar by our lord [mawlānā], the blessed [mubarak] Šāh." That "blessed Šāh" was Mudaffarid Sultan Šāh Sujā', who reigned in Fars, Kirman and Kurdistan (1358-84). The probable authorship of the Commentaries Farmer ascribes to al-Jurjāni, who, according to a later copyist, wrote the work in 1375, under the patronship of the mentioned Šāh Sujā' (Farmer 1938: XII-XIII; d'Erlanger 1938: 573-574, nn. 1-2). Uncritically accepting this Farmer's hint, Harold Powers takes for granted that the author of the Commentaries was al-Jurjāni (Powers 1989: 47).

The whole edition of d'Erlanger's six volumes seems to be shrouded in a vail of mystery. D'Erlanger died, in October of 1932, before the third volume of *La*

⁹For aš-Šarafiyyah O. Wright writes that "about 1267 [Ṣafiyu'd-din] composed for Sharaf al-Din Harun a second and lengthier treatise, the *Risāla al-sharafiyya*" (Wright 1978: 1, n. 2).

¹⁰According to Wright (1978: 1, n. 1) and d'Erlanger (1938: 574, n. 3), it seems that Ṣafiyu'd-din wrote the *Kitbu'l-adwar* in 650 AH / 1252 AD, when he was still in service of the last 'Abbāsī caliph al-Musta sim, killed by Hulagu after the capture of Baghdad, in 1258. However, it remains unclear why d'Erlanger has opted to publish the Commentaires instead of the original manuscript of *Kitābu'l-adwār*, which, by the 1920s, was readily available in European collections (see Farmer 1929: 246-247). D'Erlanger, or possibly somebody else who edited the final version of the third volume of *La musique arabe*, obviously cared a lot about having this Ṣafiyu'd-din's master-piece translated so much so that he (or somebody else) put it on the volume's title page, which misleadingly reads that the second part is the Ṣafiyu'd-din's *Kitābu'l-adwār* itself, which it isn't (d'Erlanger 1938: III).

probably until well into the second half of the 15th century that the term *maqam* became more often and more extensively used in the theoretical treatises.

The point in which Ṣafiyu'd-din departed from his two great predecessors, al-Farabi and ibn Sīnā, was the revolutionary invention of the concept of dawr, pl. adwar, lit. circle, cycle, period (Baranov 1958). Among the fifteen chapters of Kitābu'l-adwar, the first five are more or less the literal repetition of the theory of al-Farabi and ibn Sīnā. After establishing, in Chapter Five, the seven divisions, qism, pl. aqsām, of tetrachords, and twelve divisions of pentachords, Ṣafiyu'd-dīn combines these divisions, in Chapter Six, making a total of eighty-four combinations, which he calls the adwar, circles. These adwar are actually intervallic patterns, cycles, or circles of intervals, or the octave scales, i.e. the combinations acquired through the

musique arabe was published, in 1938, and it remains uncertain who, if not "les collaborateurs... MM. 'Abd al'Aziz Bakkouch et al Mannubi as-Sanusi qui nous ont aidé dans la traduction des traités; [or] M. le Baron Carra de Vaux qui s'est chargé de la réviser" (d'Erlanger 1938: XVII-XVIII), edited the later volumes, nor is it clear who wrote their accompanying notes and appendices. To me personally it seems unlikely that all six volumes of La musique arabe were finished and ready for publishing at the time of d'Erlanger's death, meaning that the authorship of the notes and appendices in all volumes, with probable exception of the first, is quite dubious and as of now we cannot with certainty know how big was the input of d'Erlanger and how extensive were the interventions of "les collaborateur." D'Erlanger's fifth volume, for example, on the contemporary Arabic scales and modal system, i.e. maqāmāt (1949), varies extensively from a similar contribution, maybe an earlier version, published only in Arabic, as his report for the 1932 Cairo Conference (d'Erlanger 1934: 176-398).

various divisions of tetra- and pentachords, and they, by no means, refer to the modality in a sense we understand it today. As a matter of fact, Ṣafiyu'd-din's adwar actually denote not only the tonal-scalar cyclical patterns, but other, non-tonal, cyclical patterns as well, such as the rhythmic-metric, المقاع iqā', and poetic-metric patterns, actually a rarud. For Ṣafiyu'd-din, the adwar are also to be found in the tuning of the 'ud and the fingering (Chapters Eight and Twelve). In this sense, Kitābu'l-adwar is truly a Book of Circles, in which many, if not all, elements of music are understood as circular arrangements, as cycles.

However, at the beginning of Chapter Nine, subtitled "Fī asmā'i'l-adwāri'l-mašhūrah," "On the Names of the Well-Known Adwār," Ṣafiyu'd-dīn states that "the people call adwār the šudūd."¹³ In d'Erlanger's translation, the شدود šudūd, like

¹²In Chapter Thirteen, "On the cycles of *iqā*"," Ṣafiyu'd-din uses the compound term, ادوار عروض adwār 'arūd, "the cycle of poetic meter" (1926: 83), in d'Erlanger's translation, "les mètres poétique" (1938: 471).

¹³The sentence reads: واهلهذه يسمون الادوار شدود wa ahlu ha<u>d</u>ihī yusammuna'l-adwara šudud (Safiyu'd-din 1926: 57). Another copy of the manuscript was kindly lent to me by my mentor, Jozef Pacholczyk. That copy, whose origin we in the sentence so that it reads: واهلهذهالصناعةيسمون الادوارشدود wa ahlu hadihi's-sina ati yusammuna'l-adwara šudud (Sfiyu'd-din nd). In the Commentaries in d'Erlanger, it is probable that the controversial commentator used a similar copy of Kitabu'l-adwar, containing the same word, sina ah, so that d'Erlanger translates the sentence as: "Ceux qui pratiquent l'art de la musique ont donné aux cycles le nom de 'šudud' (ou modes)" (1938: 376). The same sentence Touma translates, "und die Musiker nennen diese Modi Šudud" (1976: 11, n. 4). Since I am not aware whether, in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, the compound "wa ahlu hadihi as-sina ah" meant d'Erlanger's "practitioners of the musical art" or Touma's "musicians," and since I am not convinced that either the <u>šudud</u> meant les modes, as d'Erlanger suggests, or that the adwar meant the Modi, as Touma has it, I am cautiously reluctant to apply any such meaning to these terms, preferring to keep them in their original form.

adwār, is also followed by the parenthetical explanation, (ou mode), "(or mode)." In Chapter Nine, the šudūd are listed in a sense of tonal-scalar cyclical patterns, the forerunners of the later maqāmāt. So, Ṣafiyu'd-dīn gives a list of the twelve "well-known adwār, which people called šudūd": 1. عشاق 'uššāq, 2. نوغة nawā, 3. نورافكند 'iṣfahān, 7. عراق 'iṣfahān, 7. عراق zīrāfkand, اصفهان buzurk, 4. عراق zankūlah, 10. وماني rahāwī, 11. برافكند hūsaynī, and 12. أباjāzī (Ṣafiyu'd-dīn 1926: 57; d'Erlanger 1938: 376).

Touma argues that the technical terms "Maqam, Šu'ba and 'Awaz" (which in the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries extensively shared the same names) can be found in aš-Šayx aṣ-Ṣafadī's (d. 1363) Risāla fī 'ilmu'l-mūsīqā; in 'Abdu'l-Qādir ibn Gaibī al-Marāgī's (d. 1435) Maqāṣidu'l-alḥān; and in Lâdikli's Fatḥiyyah (Touma 1976: 11-12). However, he does not say which author used which term. A similar approach, that the thirteenth century terms meant the fifteenth century maqāmāt, is also assumed by Angelika Jung (1989): a subchapter in her book, entitled "Die Darstellung der maqāmāt im 13. Jahrhundert," "The Description of Maqāmāt in the Thirteenth Century," begins with Safiyu'd-Dīn! (1989: 65). 15

¹⁴Another mentioning of the term <u>šudud</u> occurs in Chapter Thirteen, subtitled "Fi ta'tiru'l-nagam," "On the Effects of the Nagamat," in which Safiyu'd-din relates different scales, i.e. <u>šudud</u>, to different moods and the temperaments of different peoples, offering an early Muslim racial ethos-theory of the relationship between the musical scales of 'Uššāq, Abū-salīk, and Nawā, and the nature, tibāc, of the ethnic groups of at-Turk, al-Ḥabaš, az-Zinj, as-sukkānu'l-jibāl, i.e. Turks, Ethiopians, Blacks, Mountaineers (1926: 103). The word az-zinj, d'Erlanger translates as the Sudanese (1938: 543).

¹⁵Although Jung does say that Safiyu'd-Din never used the term *maqam*, she found it appropriate to anyhow list him as a theorist who "wrote on the *maqamat* in the 13th

Disregarding the question who used the term *maqam* first, we know with certainty that the term was used in the two theoretical manuscripts on music, both written in Istanbul, in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries, and both dedicated to the Ottoman sultans. The first of these two Turkish manuscripts, whose author is unknown, is dedicated to the Sultan Mehmed II Fatih, the "Conqueror" (r. 1444-1446 and 1451-1481), and the second is the "Libilitial Risalatu'l-Fathiyyah by Mehmed Celebi Lâdikli, dedicated to the Sultan Beyazıt II Veli (r. 1481-1512), the son and successor of Sultan Fatih. In Western writings, both manuscripts are uncritically and, for that matter, incorrectly regarded as Arabic. What makes them Arabic is the language and the script they are written in. The authors, land, cultural and historical cirrcumstances, as well as the context were obviously anything but Arabic. One way or another, is seems quite probable that Lâdikli was one of the first few fifteenth or

century."

¹⁶In Turkey, this author is known either as Lâdikli, Lâzikî (Öztuna 1990), or Ladiki (Oransay 1966: 91). In Turkish, Lâdikli literally means "from Lâdik," a township in Anatolia, near Amasya. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Amasya was the gubernatorial seat of the Vilâyet-i Rum, the Western Province of Ottoman Empire, where Beyazıt II, as a child and before acceding to the throne, was appointed governor by his father. Having this in mind, the connection between Mehmed from Lâdik and Beyazit II seems not to be accidental. In d'Erlanger's translation, Lâdikli's name, as it appears in the manuscript, is Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamid al-Ladiqi. Since Mehmed Çelebi Lâdikli was the Turk, I have opted to use his Turkish name as it appears in Öztuna's Encyclopaedia (1990).

¹⁷In his objection to this treatment of Turkish authors, Oransay sounds like a lonley dissenting voice (1964: 23). It is my opinion that d'Erlanger, at least partially, did a disservice to these authors by putting their manuscripts between the covers of a volume entitled *La musique arabe* (d'Erlanger 1939).

sixteenth centuries authors who used the term *maqam* in a sense similar to the one used in Turkey today.

The second objection to Farmer's sentence quoted above, "by the time of Safi al-Din... these principal modes were called the maqamat (sing. maqama)," is in reference to the singular form of the noun maqam. In Arabic, the plural form, maqamat, is shared by two different, although etymologically related, nouns: maqamat, meaning among other things, the musical mode, and maqamath, meaning the circle, sphere (Baranov 1958: 855). It is quite a challenge to guess here why Farmer has chosen the word maqama(h) instead of the maqam. At least three possibilities come to my mind: one, that in the early twentieth century European scholarship writers on Arabic music used the term maqama instead of maqam; two, that Farmer borrowed the term from Idelsohn, who used it, also incorrectly, in his article on Arabic maqam-s (Idelsohn 1913: 11); or, third, that the sense of the circle and sphere, as implied in the word maqama(h), must have been a handy and easy short-cut for Farmer to directly relate the maqamat with the adwar, and draw a conclusion that, in the 13th century, they meant the same.

¹⁸The Turkish equivalent, *makame*, as literary term, means the sermon, discourse, address, and as learned term, the assembly, meeting (NRD 1987).

¹⁹Idelsohn's definition of *makam* starts as follows: "Der Begriff *Maqam* (arabisch *maqama*, Plural *maqamat*, persich-türkisch *makama*)..." For Idelsohn, therefore, the term *makama* was also used in Turkey, which is not the case. Idelsohn, like Farmer, mistook the word *makam/maqām* for the word *makame/maqāmah*. Writing a century before Farmer and Idelsohn, Villoteau, however, used the correct singular form, *maqām* (1826b: 24, n. 1).

* * *

Confronted with the polysemy of the term, after the 1960s the Western scholars made attempts to define *maqām* more closely. The topic of the *maqām* as *modality* tecame a hot issue in the 1970s, especially in the United States and Germany. Hormoz Farhat's dissertation (1965) led the way in the U.S., where several ethnomusicologists started to look into the modality of the Western Asian Muslim cultures, published the articles on *maqām*-s and modality (G. Tsuge 1972; Nettl and Foltin 1977), defended dissertations and wrote the books (Signell 1986; Zonis 1973).

Throughout the 1970s, in Berlin, the *maqām* issue was studied, among others, by Habib Hassan Touma (1971, 1976) and Jürgen Elsner (1975). In the mid-1970s, at the Berlin's Humboldt University, Elsner passed his interest in *maqām* to his student, Angelika Jung, who went to Tashkent in order to study the "interrelations between the musical cultures of the Middle East and Central Asia" (Jung 1989b: 200), which, in ...

1984, turned into a dissertation, and later into a book (Jung 1989a). Two decades earlier, in 1962, in Munich, Gültekin Oransay defended his dissertation on the "Melodic Line and the Concept of *Makam* in the Traditional Turkish Art Music from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries" (Oransay 1966).

While all of these authors treated the *maqam* more specifically in a relatively limited geographical and cultural area, Harold Powers was the first who attempted to systematize cross-culturally knowledge on *maqam*, which he understood as "mode" or "modal entity" (1980: 423). His article in the *New Grove Dictionary* proposed a

twofold look at *maqām*: as an *abstract scale* and as a *fixed tune* (*ibid*.). It seems that this new way of looking at the issue of *maqām* led the way throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

Throughout the 1980s, some Western ethnomusicologists started to look into the issue of the *maqam* and modality outside of Egypt, Turkey, and Iran, and their interest shifted eastwards. Powers' student, Theodore Levin, wrote a dissertation on the Bukharan šašmakom (Levin 1984), while Pacholczyk went to Srinagar to study the Kashmiri Sūfyāna Mūsīqī (1989; In Press).

Of great significance were the two meetings of the then newly established Study Group on *Maqām* of the International Council for Traditional Music, both organized by Jürgen Elsner and held in Berlin, in 1989 and 1992.²⁰ These meetings gathered the dozens of ethnomusicologists from the United States, Germany, France, Russia, and the Central Asian Muslim Republics, all interested in the study of the *maqām*. The proceedings of the two meetings resulted in publishing the three volumes of delivered papers (Elsner 1989b; Elsner and Jähnichen 1992).

After reading these three volumes, an important conclusion can be made. To some extent following the Powers' scale-tune line, the authors agreed that all different cultural understandings of the term maqam could be summarized under two broad categories: 1. makam as mode, and 2. makam as suite. This was clearly summarized by Powers, in his 1989 Berlin presentation entitled "International Segah' and its Nominal Equivalents in Central Asia and Kashmir", in which he said: "The

²⁰The third meeting was held in the Fall of 1995, in Finland.

half-dozen or dozen <u>maqamat</u> of the Central Asian <u>makom</u> traditions, in short, have little to do with the several dozens of melodic-type <u>maqamat</u> of the Eastern Mediterranean Turco-Arabic world. A <u>maqam</u> of the Uzbek-Tadjik <u>shashmakom</u> rather more resembles a Turkish <u>fasl</u> or North African <u>nauba</u>, in that in Central Asia the word <u>makom</u> designates one of a quite small number of standard cycles of separate items, a kind of suite. Faizullah Karamatov has called such suites 'cyclic genres' (tsiklicheskie zhanry)" (Powers 1989: 47).

In the same article, Powers objected to the "alleged cross-cultural applicability" of the term *modus*, i.e. *mode* (1989: 43), arguing that "in the course of the 19th and 20th centuries the old European musical term 'modus,' in various modern-language derivatives, acquired an expanded semantic range in international musicological discourse... By now the term 'mode' in this expanded musicological sense has been reified into a concept, as though 'mode/modal/modality' were a thing-in-itself, variously manifested in different musical cultures. This reification of 'musicological modality', moreover, has led to considerable confusion in comparative musicology" (1989: 42). In an effort to clarify the semantic confusion between the terms *modus*, which in European languages refers to the medieval church *modi*, and the *maqām*, Powers cites Idelsohn, an early 20th century writer on the topic, who emphasized the importance of not identifying the concept of *maqām* with those of the church *modus*, *Kirchenmodus*, and the tonality, *Tonart*, since the *Kirchenmodus* denotes only the scale, *Tonleiter*, while the *maqām* denotes both the *Tonleiter* and especially the

Tonweise, melody (Idelsohn 1913: 11-12).²¹ The sense of Idelsohn's Tonleiter Powers marks as mode₁, calling it the scale type, and that of the Tonweise as mode₂, i.e. the melodic or motivic type (Powers 1989: 43). He then goes on and argues that, "thus, in the same way that modus as 'tonal category' and modus as 'melodic type' should be distinguished one from another in scholarly discourse, so also maqam as 'melodic type' and maqam as 'cyclic genre' should be distinguished one from another" (1989: 47). The maqam as melodic type Powers marks as maqam₁, and maqam as Karamatov's cyclic genre, as maqam₂.

However, Powers' clarification, although structurally very clean, is not necessarily clear, nor is it, regarding the polysemy of the term maqām, all-encompassing. In the three figures in his article, Powers first classifies the maqām as "mode" (Fig. 1-A), then as a specific type of the "mode," i.e. mode₂, which itself comprises the both types of maqām, i.e. maqām₁ and maqām₂ (Fig. 1-B), and finally gives the chart of the maqām's cross-cultural applications (Fig. 2). In these figures, the maqām is denied the quality of mode₁, i.e. tonal category or scale type, which, at least in Turkish music, plays an important role in the understanding of maqām/makam as a concept (1989: 64-65, Figs. 1-A, 1-B, 2).

* * *

²¹"Man darf jedoch den Begriff Maqam keinesfalls mit 'Kirchenmodus' oder gar 'Tonart' identifizieren. Denn während die letzteren lediglich die Tonleiter bezeichnen,... ist im Maqam beides, Tonleiter und Tonweise, und vorzüglich letztere, einbegriffen" (Idelsohn 1913: 11-12).

Writing in French, Rauf Yekta translates the *makam* as the *mode*, ²² defining it ontologically and structurally as a "manner of being, a particular form of musical scale, characterized by a certain disposition of intervals of different rapports which compose it" (1923: 2995). ²³ Then he goes on to examine how the *makam*-s are formed, and what are the essential conditions which should be looked for in a *makam*, the conditions which are its "l'àme et la vie," "soul and life" (*ibid*.). Yekta lists the six conditions for the formation, i.e. establishing, of a *makam*: 1. Consitutive Elements, 2. Range, 3. Beginning Tone, 4. Dominant, 5. Tonic, and 6. Progression and Repose. ²⁴

Discussing the consitutive elements, Yekta understands them as the combinations of two intervals, the fourth corresponding to a tetrachord, and the fifth corresponding to a pentachord, which ancient Greeks regarded as forming the perfect system. Greatly relying on the ancient Greek theory and especially Ṣafiyu'd-din's divisions of tetrachords and pentachords, and their combinations into adwar, the cycles

²²It is important to bear in mind that in his famous article in Lavignac's *Encyclopédie*, Yekta did not use the native Turkish terminology but instead chose to translate all technical terms into French. This mannerism seems to have been a fashion among certain French scholarly circles of the day, since d'Erlanger, in his *La musique arab* (1930-1959), followed the same approach, which was in striking contrast to Villoteau, for example, who, a century before these two authors, extensively used the native Arabic musical terms, putting them in the footnotes, both in the Arabic original script, French transliteration, and the translation (Villoteau 1826).

²³"Le mode est une manière d'être, une forme particulière de l'èchelle musicale, caracterisée par une certaine disposition des intervalles, de différents rapports, qui la composent" (Yekta 1923: 2995).

²⁴"Ces conditions essentielles sont au nombre de six: 1. Les éléments constitutifs; 2. L'ambitus; 3. Le commencement; 4. La dominante; 5. La tonique; 6. Le mouvement et repos" (Yekta 1923: 2995).

of scales (Ṣafiyu'd-din 1926: 24-34; d'Erlanger 1938: 290-311), Yekta states that "all of the Turkish music modes [makam-s] are ordinarily formed by the association of a fourth and a fifth... [Since] the fourth and the fifth are of different forms, it is evident that the mutual grouping of these diverse forms would result in many modes [makam-s]" (ibid.).²⁵ The fourth, i.e. tetrachord, which is positioned at the lower end of the octave, Yekta calls the طبقة اولى tabakat-ü evvelâ, "première enveloppante," and the fifth attached to this tetrachord on the upper end of the octave he calls the department tabakat-ü saniye, "deuxième enveloppante." He then adds that in the majority of makam-s, the tetrachord is positioned at the lower end, and the pentachord at the upper end of the series, although there are some makam-s in which these two tone groups are positioned in opposite way, i.e. the pentachord is at the bottom, and the tetrachord at the top.²⁶

Talking about the range, i.e. *ambitus*, Yekta defines it as the "ensemble of notes ranging from bottom to the top [of the series], forming a *makam*." However, he cautions that, contrary to the "two modes" of the European music, i.e. the major and

²⁵"Chacun des modes de la musique turque se trouve ordinairement formé par l'association d'une quarte et d'une quinte... La quarte et la quinte ayant des formes différentes, il est évident que le groupement de ces diverses formes entre elles devait réaliser plusieurs modes" (Yekta 1923: 2995).

²⁶"Dans la plupart des modes, la quarte se trouve du côté grave, et la quinte du côté aigu; mais il y a aussi quelques modes dans lesquels le contraire se produit, c'est-à-dire que la quinte se trouve du côté grave et la quarte à l'aigu" (Yekta 1923: 2995).

This train of thought of Yekta's is shared by d'Erlanger and the similarity is so striking that one wonders whether one borrowed it from the other. Note that all six of Yekta's "essential conditions of the Turkish mode" are included in d'Erlanger's five "essential elements of the Arabic musical mode" (d'Erlanger 1949: 100).

minor keys/scales, whose tone ranges do not extend beyond an octave, in Turkish music there are the "modes" [makam-s] whose ranges are either fixed to an octave, extend beyond it, or do not even comprise the full octave. Consequently, says Yekta, we are obliged to give for every makam not only its tetrachord and pentachord, the two forms it is essentially realized of, but in addition to that the other notes which ordinarily comprise the range of that makam. He stresses that the notes attached to the octave scale of a makam have no other reason but to embellish the melody, and they can be attached at the either end of the octave, following the rules established by the composers/musicians.

Yekta's next three "essential conditions" of the *makam*, i.e. beginning, dominant, and tonic, are the three single tones which play an important role in the last essential condition, that of the *seyir* and the *karar*, i.e. the *makam*'s *melody* progression and its repose. For the seyir and karar Yekta says: "The melodic progression and repose play a very important role in the constitution of Turkish makam-s. A makam which does not have this vital double element is no longer a makam; it is a body without soul, a juxtaposition of musical molecules without any connection between them, neither having the order nor the subordination of the one to the other. It is these elements which allow the recognition of the identity of each makam."²⁷

²⁷"Le *mouvement* et le *repos* mélodiques jouent un rôle très important dans la constitution des modes turc. Le mode qui manquerait de ce double élément vital ne serait plus un mode; ce serait un corps sans àme, une juxtaposition de molécules musicales qui n'auraient entre elles aucun lien, n'ayant ni ordre ni subordination de l'une à l'autre. Ce sont ces éléments qui permettent de reconnaître l'identité de

The Beginning Tone, for which Yekta does not give the Turkish name, is the point of departure of melodic progression, usually, but not always, the tonic of a *makam*. Sometimes, writes Yekta, the Beginning Tone can be some other scalar degree, such as the dominant, "the centre of the melodic progression" (1923: 2996). The dominant of Turkish *makam*-s, for which Yekta does not give the Turkish name but is today known as *güçlü*, is "often the fifth above the tonic." However, this rule is not without exceptions. "There are the very characteristic modes [*makam*-s] whose dominant is the fourth above the tonic, as well as those whose dominant is the third above their final tones."²⁸

The tonic is the first scalar degree of the *makam* scale, as well the final tone on which the piece of music ends. In this latter sense, the tonic is the final ending of the musical progression, *seyir*, and as such is also named the *karar*.²⁹ Yekta writes that during the progression of a piece the melody makes the "provisional endings" on the fifth, fourth or the third degree above the tonic, but the "final ending," on which the

chaque mode" (Yekta 1923: 2996).

²⁸"La dominante des modes turcs est souvent la quinte de leur tonique; mais cela n'arrive pas toujours, et cette règle admet des exceptions. Il y a des modes très caractéristiques dont les dominantes sont la quarte de leur tonique, et il y en a aussi d'autres qui ont leur dominante sur la tierce de leur note finale" (Yekta 1923: 2995). The Saba Makam, for example, has its dominant on the third scalar degree above the tonic.

²⁹Contemporary Turkish authors, the students and followers of the two outstanding "Republican" figures of Arel and Ezgi, tend to use in their writings the Turkish term *durak* instead of the Arabic *karar*. However, *durak* signifies more the technical and theoretical-structural sense of the first degree of the *makam* scale, i.e. tonic, while *karar*, although having the same sense as that of *durak*, also means the practical ending of the *seyir*, a final cadence realized in the performance.

melody terminates, is regularly made on the tonic.³⁰ These "provisional endings" are, in today's Turkish theory, called the *asma karar*, lit. hanging ending, which Öztuna defines as the *geçici karar*, the "passing *karar*" (1990/1: 117), and Oransay as the *melodische Dominante*, melodic dominant (1966: 87). The *asma karar* "is not the true *karar* at the end of a *hane* [the section of a piece], or the end of the piece itself, but rather occurs inside of the *hane* and on the scalar degree other than the *makam*'s *asıl karar* [original *karar*] (usually on the dominant, *güçlü*); *asma karar* rarely occurs on the *durak*, the final tone" (Öztuna 1990/1: 117).³¹

To illustrate these six "essential conditions" for the consitution of the makam, Yekta gives examples of 30 makam-s. Each example begins with the name of the makam, first in French transcription, i.e. matching the Turkish pronunciation with French spelling, such as "Le mode Raste," followed by its Ottoman spelling, "Le mode Raste," followed by its Ottoman spelling, "Rast. Yekta then gives the range, l'ambitus, i.e. the makam's scale, which includes the octave scale of the makam, and in which the tonic and dominant, as well as the division numbers of its constituent tetrachord and pentachord are marked, together with the additional tones below and above the octave range that are used in the makam. In only two examples, those of Rast and Ussak Makam-s (1923: 2997, 3001), Yekta gives

³⁰"...si, au courant d'un morceau, la mélodie fait des repos provisoires sur la quinte, sur la quarte ou sur la tierce de la tonique, le repos final, celui qui termine la mélodie, doit se fair réguliérement sur la tonique" (Yekta 1923: 2996).

³¹"Asma Karar. Türk Mûsikîsi'nde bir eser içinde yapılan geçici karar. Hâne veya eser sonundaki gerçek karar değil, hâne içerisinde yapılan ve makamın asıl durak perdesinden başka bir perdede (ekseriya güçlü perdesinde) durulan karardır. Durak perdesindeki asma kararlar azdır" (Öztuna 1990/1: 117).

On the issue of durak vs. karar, cf. n. 21.

the so-called *complément*, "completion." But, it remains unclear what this *complément* represents. Writing about the tonic, as one of six essential conditions, Yekta says that there is a note, below the lower tonic, to which the tonic often recurs in the conclusion of the melodic progression. He calls that note the tetimme, saying that it signifies the *complément*, adding that it is a kind of the *note sensible*, leading tone, which does not necessarily have to be a half tone below the tonic, but can be a whole tone or an interval of a limma below the tonic. However, in the scales of *Rast* and *Uṣṣak Makam*-s, which show it, the *complément* is represented by a slur above the several notes below the tonic, not a single tone, i.e. *note sensible*, as Yekta suggests in the text, so that the other meaning of the *complément* might be that it is a melodic or motivic turn in the conclusion of the *seyir*.

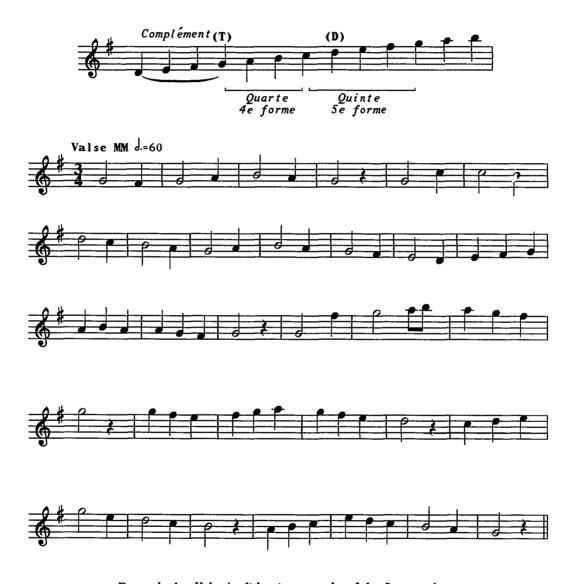
Following the name and the range of the *makam*, every Yekta's example gives a short didactic composition, a piece, in that *makam*, shown here in Ex. 1, featuring its characteristic *seyir*, beginning tone, and *karar* (Yekta 1923: 2997-3010).

³²"La tonique de certains modes a, en outre, de son côté grave, une note à laquelle la tonique touche souvent, lors de la conclusion mélodique. Cette note s'appelle (تتمة) qui signifie *complément*. C'est une espece de *note sensible*, avec cette différence qu'elle n'est pas toujours un demi-ton au-dessous de la tonique... Dans certains modes, elle se trouve à un ton, et dans les autres modes à un limma au-dessous de la tonique" (Yekta 1923: 2996).

I. - LE MODE Raste

راست

L'ambitus.



Example 1 - Yekta's didactic example of the Rast makam

Yekta says that his thirty exemplary *makam*-s are not the only ones in Turkish music (Table 1).³³ These are the most important, and the total number of *makam*-s amounts to more than ninety (1923: 3010).

In his Ph.D. dissertation, *Die melodische Linie und der Begriff Makam*, Gültekin Oransay writes that the *makam*, as a technical musical term, "was originally used to denote the 'place' of the melody, that is a particular pitch, on which the melody rests, something like a final tone or the melodic dominant. This opinion is firmly grounded in the fact that the all independently Turkish pitch-names simultaneously appear as the *makam*-names" (Oransay 1966: 71).³⁴

³³The contemporary Turkish spelling of the makam-s in Table 1 is as follows: 1. Rast, 2. Hüseynî, 3. Eviç, 4. Saba, 5. Acemaşiran, 6. Neva, 7. Hicazkâr, 8. Segâh, 9. Nihavend, 10. Uşşak, 11. Buselik, 12. Karcığar, 13. Hüseynî Aşiran, 14. Bayatî, 15. Yegâh, 16. Muhayyer, 17. Hicazkâr Kürdî (Kürdili Hicazkâr), 18. Arazbar, 19. Suzinak, 20. Ferahnâk, 21. Hicaz, 22. Şevkefza, 23. Hüzzam, 24. Pencgâh, 25. Ferahfeza, 26. Bestenigâr, 27. Evcara, 28. Isfahan, 29. Sultanî Yegâh, 30. Şedaraban.

³⁴"Als Fachausdruck der Musik wurde das Wort - m.E. - ursprünglich für den 'Sitz' der Melodie gebraucht, d.h. für den einzelnen Ton, auf dem die Melodie ruht (wie etwa der Schlusston oder die melodische Dominante). Den gewichtigsten Anhaltspunkt für diese Annahme bildet die Tatsache, dass alle selbständingen türkischen Tonnamen zugleich als Makamnamen vorkommen" (Oransay 1966: 71).

Table 1 - "Les Modes," Makam-s, and Their Tonics after Rauf Yekta

Le Mode		Tonique	Le Mode		Tonique
1	Raste	g	16	Mouhayère	a
2	Husséyni	a	17	Hidjaz-Kiar-Kurdi	g
3	Evidj	f#	18	Arazbar	a
4	Saba	a	19	Souzinaque	g
5	Adjem-Achiran	f	20	Férahnaque	f#
6	Néva	a	21	Hidjaz	a
7	Hidjaz-Kiar	g	22	Chèvk-Efza	f
8	Séghiah	b	23	Huzzam	b
9	Nihavènd	g	24	Pendjughiah	g
10	Ouchak	a	25	Férah-Féza	d
11	Poucélique	a	26	Besté-Nighiar	f*
12	Kardjagar	a	27	Évidj-Ara	f#
13	Husséyni-Achiran	е	28	Isfahan	a
14	Béyati	a	29	Soultani-Yéghiah	d
15	Yéghiah	đ	30	Ched-Araban	d

Oransay classifies all pitch-names, *perde-s*, in three categories: Greek, Arabic, and Turkish. Regarding the Greek names, he says that they were mentioned in theoretical writings from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries, but were not practically used, *nicht benutzt!* The Arabic pitch-names were nothing but the designations of the pitches after the strings and frets on the 'ud, appearing in the Turkish cultural area only to the beginning of the sixteenth century, and only in theoretical treatises. The

Turkish pitch-names, however, stand in the relationship with *makam*-names and were, after the fifteenth century, exclusively used both in the practice and the practical handbooks.³⁵

To illustrate the latter statement on the firm relationship between the pitch-names and the *makam*-names in Turkish music,³⁶ Oransay selects three Ottoman sources written in a time span of almost half a millenium, cc. 1450-1900. The first of them is the work, *Edvar*, "Cycles," by Hızır bin Abdullah,³⁷ probably the second musical manuscript ever written in Turkish,³⁸ commissioned by the Sultan Murat II (r. 1421-1444 and 1446-1451). The second is the Nayî Osman Dede's (1652?-1730)

³⁵For a full list of Turkish pitch-names, *perdeler*, within two octaves, see Signell (1986: 29-30, Fig. 1), and Yekta (1923: 3016-3017), and for fhe first octave only see Yekta in D'Erlanger (1949: 27, Fig. 8). Note that, to the pitches in the lower range, Signell assigns the Turkish prefix *kaba*, while Yekta uses the Farsi prefix *peste*, both of the same musical meaning, i.e. low, deep pitched. Thus the pitch $d^{\#I}$, for example, Signell names the *kaba nim hisar*, and Yekta, *nim peste hisar*. Both authors use the prefix *tiz*, P. high, for the second octave.

³⁶On the issue of the relationship between the pitches and melodies/modes, Farmer wrote: "...in the 'Golden Age' of Islam... the term *naghamat* (sing. *naghma*) stood for 'notes', whilst *nagham* (sing. *naghm*) meant 'melody'. It was only much later, certainly after the fourteenth century A.D., that *naghamat* came to stand for 'modes', although we must not forget how closely the two terms are bound together, as we know from the Greek τόνοι, which meant both notes and modes" (Farmer 1945: 45).

³⁷Acopy of ibn Abdullah's *Edvar* is deposited in the Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul, in the Revân Köşkü Yazmaları, no. 1,728, dated 845 AH/1441 AD. A microfilm of the manuscript is in the possession of Yılmaz Öztuna, and a copy of it is deposited in the Arel Kütüphanesi, Istanbul (Öztuna 1990/1: 342). Other copies of the manuscript can be found in the libraries of Paris, Berlin, Rome, Ankara (Oransay 1964: 27).

³⁸Abdülkadir Merâğî's (1353-1435) *Kitâbül-Edvâr* is probably the first known manuscript on music written in Turkish (Leiden, Or. 1,175). For the full listing of manuscripts pertaining in one way or another to the Turkish music, see Öztuna's entry, "Türk Mûsikîsi Bibliyografyası," in his encyclopedia (1990/2: 413-415).

handbook, *Rabt-ı Tabirât-ı Musiki*, "On Establishing the Musical Terms," a manuscript written in Farsi sometime during the *Lâle Devri*, the reign of Sultan Ahmet III (1703-1730).³⁹ The third source is the collection of song-texts, *Bergüzar-ı Edhem*, "Souvenir of Edhem," published in 1890, in Istanbul, by the Şeyh Edhem Efendi (1862-1933).⁴⁰ By comparing the pitch-names given in these three sources, Oransay comes to the conclusion that the majority of these pitches lend their names to the *makam-s*, by being either their beginning or the final tones, *karar*. In the lower register, these pitches constitute the *makam's karar*; in the higher register they make the beginning tone; and in the middle register they can be both the beginning tone and the *karar* (Oransay 1966: 77).⁴¹ It it significant to note here that these pitches have

³⁹Öztuna (1990/2: 169) writes that prior to 1925, when all *tekke*-s in Turkey were closed, there were two copies of this Osman Dede's manuscript in the Yenikapı Mevlevihanesi, Istanbul. After that, one copy took Rauf Yekta for his library, and the second, the last Yenikapı *şeyh*, Abdülbaki Baykara (1883-1935).

⁴⁰According to Oransay, the full title of the collection is *Bergüzar-ı Edhem yahut* ta'limî usulî musiki, "Souvenir of Edhem or the methodological instruction in music" (1964: 32). Öztuna writes that the collection contains 492 pages and was published by the Bahriye Matbaası (1990/1: 248).

⁴¹Thus, in the lower register, the pitch $yeg\hat{a}h$, d^1 , is the karar of the $Yeg\hat{a}h$ Makamu, whose beginning tone is usually the pitch neva, d^2 ; $h\ddot{u}seyn\hat{a}siran$, e^1 , is the karar of the $H\ddot{u}seyn\hat{a}siran$ Makamu, with entry tone on $h\ddot{u}seyn\hat{i}$, e^2 ; and the acemasiran, f^1 , is the karar of the Acemasiran Makamu, entry tone on the acem, f^2 .

In the middle register, in which the pitche-names can be both the entry tones and karar-s, the pitch lrak, f^{t} , is the entry tone and the karar of the lrak

And in the higher register, for example, the pitch neva, d^2 , is the entry tone of the Neva Makami, whose karar is on the pitch dügâh, a^1 ; acem, f^2 , of the Acem Makami, karar on dügâh; eviç, $f^{2\#}$, of the Eviç Makami, karar on ırak, $f^{1\#}$; gerdaniye, g^2 , of Gerdaniye Makami, karar on dügâh; muhayyer, a^2 , of the Muhayyer Makami, karar on dügâh, etc. (Oransay 1966: 77).

the capacity of lending their names to the *makam*-s by their quality of being the two prominent *makam* elements, i.e. the two Yekta's "essential conditions" for constituting the *makam*.

i.e. makam scale, and the Gang, melodic progression, i.e. seyir (1966: 106-109), a definition which brings us back to the Powers' scale-tune spectrum (Powers 1980: 422-423). "Every piece of traditional Turkish Art Music," writes Oransay, "either composed or improvised, consists first of all of a melodic line, generated from a melodic nucleus and a number of turns with which the melodic nucleus will be provided during the performance" (1966: 21). Every melodic nucleus (Ex. 2) rests on a Gerüstbau, skeletal structure, which is itself composed of the Gerüstöne, skeletal tones. Owing to their function, position and duration, these skeletal tones are easily recognizable, since they build the beginning and final tones of the musical sentence; they are placed on the metrically emphasized beats, held more frequently and longer than other tones; and in the leaps in the melodic nucleus, they are used as the springboard tones from which the leap is made and the target tones to which the leap was aimed.

⁴²"Jedes Stück der traditionellen türkischen Kunstmusik, ob komponiert oder improvisiert, besteht in der Hauptsache aus einer melodischen Linie, die aus einem melodischen Kern und einer Anzhal von stehended Wendungen enstandedn ist, mit denen der melodische Kern wärend der Aufführung versehen wird" (Oransay 1966: 21).

⁴³"Diese Gerüsttöne sind durch ihre Funktion, Position und Dauer leicht erkennbar: Sie bilden den Angangs- und den Schlusston des Söylem, werden innerhalb des Söylem an metrischen Schwerpunkten gebracht; öfter und länger ausgehalten und bei

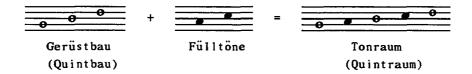


Example 2 - Oransay's Melodic Nucleus and Melodic Line (1966: 57)

The tones which fill in the spaces between the skeletal tones are called the *Fülltöne*, fillers, and these two kinds of tones then build the *Gebrauchsleiter*. The *Gebrauchsleiter* (G. *Gebrauch*, use; *Leiter*, scale) is a scale which consists of only the tones actually used in the performance, meaning that it is the practical scale and not the theoretical one (Oransay 1966: 55-69).

Since any scale is defined not only by the tones it consists of, but also their intervalic relations, the Oransay's *Gebrauchsleiter* reflects them too. The *Gerüsttöne* and *Fülltöne* form a *Tonraum*, tone span, which is always of a certain interval size. The smallest tone span in a melodic nucleus is an interval of a third, which Oransay calls the *Terzraum*, third-span (Ex. 3).

Sprüngen in dem melodischen Kern als Ausgangs- bzw. Zielton benutzt" (Oransay 1966: 59-60).



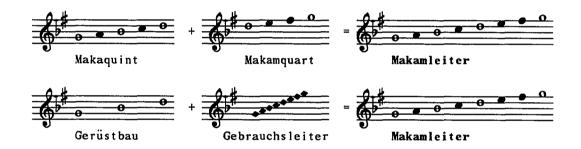
Example 3 - Oransay's Tone Span (1966: 67)

Relying on the ancient Greek and medieval Arabic theories of tetrachords and pentachords, as the bases of the musical scales, as well as on the 20th century Turkish makam scale theory, whose outstanding proponents were Yekta, Arel, and Ezgi (Signell 1986: 31), it comes without surprise that Oransay talks only about three kinds of intervalic tone-spans, viz. third-, fourth-, and fifth-span. In the context of the makam scale, these tone-spans Oransay calls the makam-third, -fourth, and -fifth. The third-span is introduced on the basis that the fifth is composed of two thirds, and that the interval of a third cuts the fifth into two halves, therefore its name,

Quinthalbierende Terz.44

⁴⁴There is a striking similarity between this Oransay's understanding of the division of *makam* scale into trichords, tetrachords and pentachords, and d'Erlanger's *genres (jins*, pl. *ajnās*), which as he says, are usually the tetrachordal formulae, a perfect fourth, although they can be the pentachords, as well (d'Erlanger 1949: 69). Concerning the *genres*, D'Erlanger wrote: "Tout l'édifice modal de la musique arabe moderne est basé sur un principe constant, invariable: celui des genres de la littérature musical gréco-romaine et arabe ancienne" ("The whole modal edifice of the modern Arabic music is based on one constant, invariable, principle: that of *genres* from the ancient Greco-Roman and Arabic writings on music." D'Erlanger then concludes: "Ces successions mélodiques dont la progression s'arrête au degré de la quinte, ou plus exactment à celui de la quarte, ne sauraient être autre chose que les genres des théoriciens gréco-romains et arabes. L'idée de genre est donc latente dans l'esprit des musiciens arabes de nos jours quoiqu'ils n'aient pas attribué un nom spécial à cet

Following this minute elucidation of the *Gerüsttöne*, skeletal tones, *Gerüstbau*, skeletal structure, *Ton-* or *Makamraum*, tone- or *makam*-span, and the *Gebrauchsleiter*, practical scale, Oransay defines the *Makamleiter*, *makam* scale, in two ways which reflect the above twofold understanding of the scale: 1. as a series of tones, and 2. as a combination of intervalic relations. Thus, the *makam* scale can be understood, on one side, as a chain of the *makam* tone-spans, i.e. the *Makamterzen*, *Makamquarten* and *Makamquinten*, and on the other, as a combination of the skeletal structural tones, *Gerüstbau*, and the the practical scale, *Gebrauchsleiter* (Ex. 4).⁴⁵



Example 4 - Oransay's Makam Scale (1966: 107)

élément fondamental de leur art mélodique" ("The melodic successions whose progression ends on the fourth degree, or more exactly on the fifth, are nothing else but the *genres* of Greco-Roman and Arab theoreticians. The idea of *genre* is therefore latently present in the minds of Arabic musicians of our day, although they have not given a special name to that fundamental element of their melodic art," 1949: 70).

⁴⁵"Zusammenfassend ist zu sagen, dass wir die Makamleiter einerseits als eine Kette von Makamterzen, -quarten und -quinten, andererseits aus den zwei Schichten Gerüstbau und Gebrauchsleiter bestehend auffassen" (1966: 107).

Regarding the *Gang*, i.e. *seyir*, Oransay writes that it is built through the succession of skeletal tones, by the trajectory of *makamraum*-s, i.e. *makam*-thirds, -fourths, and -fifths, and by an ending on the *karar*. These three stages of the *seyir* Oransay calls the Beginning, Middle, and the Ending.⁴⁶

Thus, for Oransay, the *makam* consists of two elements: *makam* scale and *seyir*. At the end of his book it becomes clear that Oransay has accepted all six of Yekta's "essential conditions" of the *makam*, grouping them into his own two basic *makam* elements (Table 2). The first two of Yekta's conditions, *viz*. "Constitutive Elements" and "Range," Oransay interprets as the *Gebrauchsleiter*; the next three elements, "Beginning Tone," "Dominant," and "Tonic," he understands as the *Gerüstbau*; and finally, the last Yekta's element, "Progression and Ending," Oransay interprets as the *Gang*. Since the *Gerbrauchsleiter* and *Gerüstbau* form the *Makamleiter*, the first five Yekta's elements as actually included in the first *makam* element of Oransay, the *makam* scale; the last Yekta's element is therefore the *seyir* (Table 2).

⁴⁶"Der *Gang* besteht aus der Reihenfolge der betonten Gerüsttöne und durchschrittenen Makamregionen (Makamterzen, -quarten bzw. -quinten) und endet auf einem Schlusston. Er wird in Anfang, Mitte und Schluss aufgeteilt" (1966: 108).

Table 2 - Oransay's Description of the Makam via Yekta (1966: 140)

Yekta:	1 + 2	3 + 4 + 5	6	
Oransay:	Gebrauchsleiter	Gerüstbau	Cana	
	Maka	— Gang		
	Makam			

Regarding d'Erlanger's five "essential elements" of the Arabic *maqam*, viz. 1. Range, 2. Constitutive Tetra-/Pentachords, i.e. *ajnās*, 3. Beginning Tone, 4. Dominant, and 5. Tonic,⁴⁷ Oransay interprets them in a similar fashion as he did with Yekta's "essential conditions" (Table 3).

According to Yılmaz Öztuna, *makam* is the "general system of pitches, *sesler*, related to the tonic, *durak*, and the dominant, *güçlü*" (1990/2: 16).⁴⁸ Öztuna and the contemporary Turkish music theory classify all *makam*-s in three groups: 1. *basit*, simple, 2. *mürekkep*, compound, and 3. *şed*, transposed, *makam*-s.

⁴⁷"Les éléments essentiels d'un mode musical arabe: 1. L'ambitus ou l'étendue de l'échelle modale, 2. Les genres constitutifs de la gamme (*al-ajnas*), 3. Le point de départ (*al-mabdā*), 4. Les points d'arrêt momentanés ou secondaires, passagers (*al-marākiz*), 5. Le point de repos final ou *tonique* (*al-qarār*)" (d'Erlanger 1949: 100). Note that two of d'Erlanger's terms are identical with Turkish ones: for the "the point of departure," *al-mabdā*, Ezgi uses the word *iptida* (in Oransay 1966: 141, n. 625), and the Arabic *al-qarār* is *karar* in Turkish.

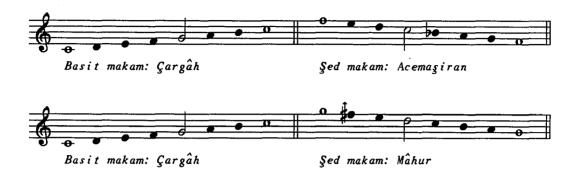
⁴⁸"Makam. Bir durak ile bir güçlünün etrafında onlara bağlı olarak biraraya gelmiş seslerin umumî hey'eti" (Öztuna 1990/2:16).

Table 3 - Oransay's Description of the Makam via d'Erlanger (1966: 141)

d'Erlanger:	1 + 2	3 + 4 + 5		
Oransay:	Gebrauchsleiter	Gerüstbau + Gang		
	Makam			

The mürekkep makam-s are built as the combinations of the basit and şed makam-s, or are partially derived from these makam-s, and understood as an "aspect of the 'modulation of the basit makam-s'." The şed makam-s are, in most cases, the transpositions of the basit makam-s to another pitch, usually with the change of name (Öztuna 1990/2: 338). For example, one of the şed-s of the basit Çargâh makamı is the Acemaşiran makamı, which is made by transposing the scale of the Çargâh, from its tonic on the pitch kaba çargâh, c¹, to the pitch acemaşiran, f¹. The Acemaşiran's scale will be the same as Çargâh's, only transposed to a higher register, and instead of being ascending, as Çargâh is, this şed makam's scale will be descending. Another şed of Çargâh is the Mâhur makamı, on the pitch rast, g¹. In the first case, the şed makam is named according to its new tonic, acemaşiran; in the second, according to its most characteristic tone, the pitch mâhur, which is the microtonal f¹*, i.e. the küçük mücennep fa diyezi, "f raised by 5 commas" (Ex. 5).

⁴⁹"Türk Musikisi'ndeki mürekkep makamlar ise, basit makamlar ve şedleri veya bunların çeşitli parçalarından yapılmış âdetâ 'geçkili basit makam' manzarası arz ederler" (Öztuna 1990/2: 16).



Example 5 - Basit and Şed Makam-s

There is thirteen basit makam-s: 1. Çargâh, 2. Buselik (descending form: basit Şehnaz-Buselik), 50 3. Kürdî, 4. Rast, 5. Uşşak (descending form: Bayatî), 6. Hüseynî (descending form: Muhayyer), 7. Neva (descending form: Tahir), 8. Hicaz, 9. Hümayun, 10. Uzzal, 11. Zengûle, also called the Zengûle'li Hicaz, or Zirgüle, 12. Karcığar, and 13. Suzinak (Öztuna 1990/1: 144). 51 Counting the four descending forms, listed in parentheses, the number of basit makam-s would be seventeen. 52

⁵⁰Şehnaz-Buselik makamı has two forms, one of which is mürekkep, the other basit. The scale of the basit Şehnaz-Buselik is the same as the descending Buselik makamı (Öztuna 1990/2: 340).

⁵¹Quoting Arel, Signell gives the same thirteen basit makam-s (1986: 33-36).

⁵²Villoteau (1826b) and Idelsohn (1913), who wrote on the Arabic maqam-s, have divided maqam-s in a similar way. Citing from an undated anonymous Arabic treatise, whose title he gives only in French translation, Arbre couvert de fleurs dont les calices renferment les principes de l'art musical, "Tree Covered with Flowers Whose Calices Contain the Principles of the Musical Art" (1826b: 15), Villoteau writes about the four racines, "root tones," viz. rast, e'râq, zyrafkend, and isfahân, positioned in a hierarchical way so that the rast is the first tone from which is derived the e'râq, from e'râq zyrafkend, and from zyrafkend the isfahân. These racines are formed in a manner analogous to the four hierarchical elements, viz. fire, air, water, and earth.

Here, in the number of basic *makam*-s, contemporary Turkish theory parts from the Arabic "standard" number of *twelve*, which was first introduced by Ṣafiyu'd-dīn under the generic name of the *makam*-s' forerunners, the *šudūd* (Ṣfiyu'd-dīn 1926: 57, d'Erlanger 1938: 376), then repeated in a somewhat reshuffled order by Lâdikli, who gave them, for the first time, the generic name *maqāmāt* (d'Erlanger 1939: 429-437), and ever since accepted by many other music theorists⁵³ (Table 4).

The number of *mürekkep makam*-s is not fixed and it ranges anywhere from 50 to several hundred, depending on the writer and historical perspective in which the *makam*-s are viewed.⁵⁴

According to Villoteau's translation, the anonymous Arabic author identifies the racines, tones, with maqamat, so we do not know whether the maqamat meant the tones or scales, i.e. circulation, or even both. In any case, each of these racines maqamat produces two derived maqamat: from rast is derived zenklâ and o'châq; from e'râq, hogâz and abouseylyk; from zyrafkend, rahâouy and bouzourk; and from isfahân, the hosseyny and naouä. These 12 tones, the four raicnes and eight dérivés, "which are called the maqamat," correspond to the 12 zodiac signs (Villoteau 1826b: 25-27).

Idelsohn divides the maqam-s into 12 Hauptmaqamen, "main maqam-s," which he also calls the Väter, "Fathers," and 13 Nebenmaqamen, "side maqam-s," also called the Söhne, "Sons." The Hauptmaqamen are: 1. Rast, 2. Bajat, 3. Ṣaba, 4. Ḥigaz, 5. "Uschaq, 6. Siga, 7. Iraq, 8. Aug, 9. Ḥusêni, 10. Nawa, 11. Agam, and 12. Nahawand (Idelsohn 1913: 13).

⁵³In Kashmir, for example, the same number of twelve *makam*-s is still present in the theoretical thinking of the *sufyana Mūsiqi* practioners, who feel that "in order to legitimize the theory [they] had to follow the tradition of connecting it with previous treatises through the acceptance and amplification of systems presented in [the old manuscripts] *Karāmat-e-Majrā* and *Tarāna-e-Sorūr*" (Pacholczyk In *Press*).

⁵⁴Öztuna gives a list totaling 324 *makam*-s (1990/2:20-26) known to have been used at least once in the existing almost 28,000 pieces of Turkish music (1990/2: 16). Regarding the *makam*-s being in use in today's practice, he offers a total of 50 *makam*-s: 17 *basit*, 12 *şed*, and 21 *mürekkep makam*-s (Öztuna 1990/2: 90-91).

Öztuna also states that the *makam* is a concept which can be understood in two senses: as *kol*, "mode/modality," and *ün*, "tonality." The thirteen *basit makam*-s represent the thirteen basic "modes" of Turkish music, in the same way as the major and minor keys represent the two "modes" of Western music. The somewhat vaguely defined Öztuna's concept of *ün*, i.e. the *makam* as "tonality," is probably meant to signify a large tonal-pool, i.e. pitch-pool, of all other *makam*-s which are not *basit*, and to reflect the microtonal possibilities of Turkish music. Thus, the *ün* covers all transpositions of the *basit makam*-s to various pitches, as well as the *mürekkep makam*-s, and since there is a variety of pitches to transpose the *makam* to, as well as the variety of the *mürekkep makam*-s, the number of the *makam*-s in the *ün*-s is great.⁵⁵

^{55&}quot;Ün: Bir basit makamın çeşitli perdelerdeki şedlerinden her biri... Türk Musikisi'nde ise bir makamı pek çok perdeye nakletmek mümkün olduğu için, fazla sayıda ün mevcuttur" (Öztuna 1990/2: 16).

Table 4 - The Names of Cycles/Modes Through Time

	Šudud	dud Magamat		Makamlar	
	Şafiyu'd-din (13th c.)	Lâdikli (15th c.)	Villoteau (1800s)	Ideisohn (1901)	Öztuna (1990)
1	°Uššāq	Rāst	Rast	Rast	Çargâh
2	Nawā	^c Irāq	E'râq	Bajat	Buselik (Şehnaz-Buselik)
3	Abū-Salīk	Isfahän	Zyrafkend	Şaba	Kürdî
4	Rāst	Zīrāfkand	Isfahân	Ḥiġaz	Rast
5	^c Irāq	Buzurg	Zenklâ	^c Uschaq	Uşşak (Bayatî)
6	Isfahān	Zangulah	Hogâz	Siga	Hüseynî (Muhayyer)
7	Zīrāfkand	Rähawī	Rahâouy	^c Iraq	Neva (Tahir)
8	Buzurk	Ḥusayn ī	Hosseyny	Aug	Hicaz
9	Zankūlah	Hijazi	O'châq	Ḥusêni	Hümayun
10	Rāhawī	Abū-Salīk	Abouseylyk	Nawa	Uzzal
11	Ḥusayni	Nawā	Bouzourk	^c Ağam	Zengûle
12	Ḥijāzī	°Uššāq	Naouä	Nahăwand	Karcığar
13		-			Suzinak

Öztuna also emphasizes that the concept of makam should not be confused with that of the scale, dizi, since several makam-s may share the same scale and yet be recognized as different makam-s; thus, "Hicazkâr, Zengûle'li Suznâk, Araban, Şedaraban, Evcara, Suzidil, are all the transposed forms of Zengûle Makamı at

different pitches. However, all of these *makam*-s have a different character, acquired through their use in time" (Öztuna 1990/2: 16).⁵⁶

Karl Signell writes: "The <u>makam</u> system is a set of compositional rules by which the melodic component of a piece of music is realized. The closest counterpart in Western music would be the medieval mode" (1986: 16). Signell also adds that "there are many structural aspects to the Turkish makam system, but of these, the intervallic structure is the most fundamental. A recognized succession of intervals forms a scale and ... a makam is first and foremost a scale. The exact size of various intervals is important because minute inflections of pitch are often one basis for distinction between one makam and another" (1986: 22).

Echoing Yekta, Signell writes that "the mere scale of a makam is like a lifeless skeleton. The life-giving force, the forward impetus of the melody is supplied by the seyir (progression)" (Signell 1986: 48). He then discusses the pivotal tones in the seyir, which he calls the tonal centers: karar, finalis; güçlü, dominant; giriş, entry (beginning) tone; muvakkat kalışlar, temporary stops; yeden, leading tone; and the asma karar, suspended cadence, all the terms either identical with or recognizable in Yekta's or Oransay's writings. Signell's novelty is in the discussion of modulation, geçki, since in Turkish music "very few pieces or improvisations will be found to be exclusively in a single makam from beginning to end. Borrowings from and

⁵⁶"Hicâzkâr, Zengûle'li sûznâk, Arabân, Şedd-i Arabân, Evcârâ, Sûz-i Dil hep Zengûle makamının çeşitli perdelere nakledilmiş şekilleridir. Fakat hepsinin ayrı karakteri vardir. Bu karakter, o makamlar zaman içinde kullanıla kullanıla hâsıl olmuştur" (Öztuna 1990/2: 16).

modulations to other makam-s occur regularly and according to strict - if unwritten - rules" (Signell 1986: 65). This feature, together with specific motives and phrases, which act as the melodic formulae of a *makam*, obviously belongs to the *seyir*.

* * *

After the discussion of the term *makam* and its meaning and use in Turkish music, one might conclude that Yekta, Oransay and Signell basically agree that the *makam*, as a grand scheme, is based on two broad elements: *scale* and *melody*. Both of these basic elements of *makam* are important and inseparable from each other, and both belong to the category of *makam* as *mode*, i.e. *modality*.

The concept of *makam* as *suite*, i.e. cyclical musical form, is not mentioned by either of these authors, although some aspects of it are recognizable in Turkish music, not only in the well-known bigger musical forms of *fasul* and *ayin*, but also in the so far unstudied forms of *namaz* and *zikir*. In all these forms the *modal elements* of *makam* are interconnected with the *structural elements* of a piece as a musical form, meaning that the *makam* as mode does affect the formal structure of a piece as a whole, and *vice versa*, the form of a piece can affect, even dictate, its modal, *makam*, structure.

Contrary to some Central Asian musical practices, the Turkish suite form, fasıl, for example, is not understood "as being a makam," but rather "as being in a makam," since in Turkish music makam primarily has the modal, not formal, features and

function. Thus, every fasil is in such and such makam, like a symphony or sonata is in such and such major or minor key. Thowever, in Kashmir for example, where makam is understood as form and not just as mode, it is used in a sense of a suite, implying "the entire repertory of the pieces in a particular melodic mode and a set of selected pieces from this repertory designed for a specific performance" (Pacholczyk: In Press). Pertaining to the concept of makam in Azerbaijan, Tamila Dzhani-Zade differentiates between the myfam and məram (mugam and maqam). According to her, the mugam is understood "as a particular genre based on temporal structure without measure (bahrsiz)," i.e. as a musical form; the maqam, on the other side, she understands "as a specific mode connected with a concrete modal scale & the marked central tone" (1992: 129), i.e. as modality understood in the sense of the Turkish makam. For Uigur makom (makom), Mukhambetova writes that it is "a multiparted cyclic composition lasting 2-3 hours" (1989: 216), i.e. a musical form, like the Azeri mugam.

⁵⁷Öztuna treats the Western major and minor keys as *makam*-s (see entry "Majör ve Minör Makamlar," 1990/2: 13). Touma writes that one might hear on the radio [in Egypt?] the anouncement of "der Symphonie im Maqam F-Dur von L. van Beethoven," "the Symphony in Maqam F-major by L. van Beethoven" (1976: 91, n. 2).

⁵⁸In Russian transliteration, Dzhani-Zade uses the form *makam* for the Azeri term *məram*, i.e. *maqam*. Ismailov (1992) also uses the concepts of *mugam* and *magam*.

⁵⁹Jean During, who does not differentiate between the Azeri *mugam* and *maqam*, but rather uses a single term *muqâm*, is of the same opinion, stating that "the Azeri concept of muqâm is quite similar to the present-day Turkish definition" (1989: 133).

In conclusion, one might state:

- In Turkey, the term makam means modality; its direct formal, i.e. suite, implications are either not existent or not as strongly present as in some other parts of the Muslim cultural sphere, especially Central Asia;
- 2. The Turkish suite, fastl, means a more or less fixed musical form performed in a given makam, and not the makam itself;60
- 3. Following Oransay's suggestion (p. 289), since some of the *makam*-s share the same names with *perde*-s, scale pitches, which usually act as the pivotal tones, i.e. Oransay's *Gerüsttöne*, in the same name *makam*-s, I am prone to conclude that there is a probability that, in their development as "modal entities," the *makam*-s also literally meant the *maqam*-s, "positions," of tones, scales, and melodies in the mysical system of possible modal permutations, i.e.

 Şafiyu'd-din's *adwar*. However, since the *perde*-names, as well as the *makam*-names, have changed through time and from culture to culture, it is impossible to establish a direct, one-to-one, relationship in each particular case. 61

⁶⁰Thus, what makes the *fasil fasil* is primarily its formal structure, the succession of smaller musical forms, *kâr*, *beste*, *semaî*, *şarkı*, performed in a single *makam*. Owing to this singularity of *makam*, the *fasil* is named according to the *makam* in which it is performed, sych as *Rast fasil*, *Mâhur fasil*, meaning the "*Fasil* in *Rast makamı*, *Fasil* in *Mâhur makamı*," etc.

⁶¹D'Erlanger writes that the pitches of the heptatonic Arabic scale were named after the first seven Farsi numbers: yak, dū, sah, čahār, panj, šāš, and haft, i.e. one, two, three, four, five, six, and seven, to which was added the suffix gāh, lit. position (a term semantically close to the maqām), so the seven scale degrees within an octave were: 1. yak-gāh, 2. dū-gāh, 3. sah-gāh, 4. čahār-gāh, 5. panj-gāh, 6. šāš-gāh, and 7.

Karar

Karar (الله agarar), lit. resolution, determination, but also fixity, stability, resting place, is the musical term which, depending on the context and its position in the makam-melody, can be interpreted as either the tonic of the makam scale, the final tone in the melodic progression, seyir, or a cadence on which the section or the whole piece ends. Its importance as pivotal tone in makam has been stressed by d'Erlanger (1949: 100-101), Yekta (1923: 2996), Oransay (1966: 77, 86, 108-109, 139-140), Öztuna (as durak and karar, 1990/1: 232, 430), and Signell (1986: 48-49).

As cadence, *karar* can be partially understood in the sense of Iranian *forud*, which Farhat defines as "a melodic cadence with a relatively fixed pattern which is subject to variation through improvisation" (1965: 40). In Turkish music, and especially in *namaz*, *karar* does not represent any fixed pattern, like the melodic and motivic turns, i.e. Signell's "stereotyped motives and phrases," do in verious Turkish *makam*-s (Signell 1986: 125-133). Its twofold function as a cadential tone and a

haft-gāh (d'Erlanger 1938: 601). Some of these Farsi pitch-names are easily recognizable in the present day Turkish perde- and makam-names, viz. yegâh, dügâh, segâh, and çargâh. With time, some of the names have changed. The first degree, yak-gāh, became known as rast, F. straight, correct, proper; the name of the fifth degree, panj-gāh, was changed into nawa; that of the sixth, šāš-gāh, into husaynī; and the seventh, haft-gāh, into 'irāq (in Turkish theory, f^{t#}, a pitch below rast, g¹), and later into 'awj (f^{2#}, a perfect octave above urak; d'Erlanger ibid.). All of these names are still existent in the contemporary Turkish music as both the pitch- and makam-names, viz. yegâh, urak, rast, dügâh, segâh, çargâh, neva, hüseynî, and eviç (evc), and they still reflect their old scalar positions: yegâh is the first, or the lowest, pitch of the standard Turkish scale, and since the contemporary rast has replaced the old yegâh, the neva is the fifth tone above rast, hüseynî the sixth, urak the half step below rast, and eviç the seventh degree. The eighth degree of the octave, tiz-yak-gāh, changed its name into kardān, in Turkish recognizable as gerdaniye, g? a perfect octave above rast (Signell 28-30; Yekta 1923: 3016-3017).

cadence itself makes it, however, similar to *forud*. To paraphrase Farhat and his emphasis on *forud*, *karar* is "extremely important," and acts as an "agent for unification of the group of pieces placed together under the heading of one dastgah [namaz]" (1965: 40-41). As we shall se in the next chapter, *karar* also functions as an informational bridge not only between the sections of the piece, but between the musical protagonists, as well.

Modulation-Transition (Geçki)

By modulation-transition I imply the change of *makam* in the musical performance. For modulation, Yılmaz Öztuna uses the term *geçki* (from *geçmek*, to pass, to be transmitted; NRD 1987), defining it as the "transition, *geçiş*, from one *makam* to another *makam*".⁶² This change of *makam* is a structural technique used in the *seyir*. Together with the pivotal tones, i.e. beginning tone, *karar*, and *güçlü*, modulation represents yet another substantial element of the *makam*. Depending on the skill of the performers, this change is brought either smoothly, in accordance with the rules of musical progression, or abruptly, without the strict adherence to the rules. If carefully and knowledgeably observed, this change of *makam* is first introduced and announced as an anticipation. This anticipation is sometimes tentative and sometimes sudden, but nevertheless deliberate, since it prepares the reshuffling of tonal material from the previous *makam*, by shifting the emphasis from its pivotal tones to the pivotal

⁶²"Geçki. Bir makamdan diğer bir makama geçiş" (Öztuna 1990/1: 302). Writing on modulation in Arabic music, Scott Marcus defines it similarly: as "the practice of moving from one *maqam* to another within a given piece of music" (1992: 171).

tones of the next *makam*, corroborating it through the intermediary of the *karar*, a final and definite link to the new *makam*. Since this musical progression requires some time to be smoothly performed, the modulation as the change of *makam* is actually a passage or transition, the *geçiş*, during which the listener becomes aware of the modal change and the introduction of the new musical "mood." This is why I lable this passage as the *modulation-transition*.

All modulations in Turkish music can be understood as occurring on two levels: 1. on the level of the formal structure of a smaller piece and/or its sections, hane-s, and 2. on the level of the formal structure of the larger, suite like, forms, such as fasil, ayin, namaz or zikir.⁶⁴

Regarding the first level, Signell gives one way and two instances in which the modulation can occur. The former pertains to "a single note borrowing;" in which case we are dealing with passing modulations, i.e. the "passing phrases... from other makam-s [which have to be] limited of course, otherwise the original makam would lose its identity (1986: 77). The two instances of modulation are: within the first section, Signell's "exposition," of a musical form, whose "function is to realize the seyir (progression) of the nominal makam" (1986: 67); and in the contrasting section,

⁶³Signell explains this in the following way: "Modulation occurs when, during the course of a composition or improvisation in a given makam, a note, a phrase, or an entire passage is introduced from another makam" (1986: 66).

⁶⁴Signell gives yet another level of modulation, that of *makam* itself, arguing that "a standardized modulation can evolve into a new compound makam" (1986: 67).

miyan hane, of the piece, in which "a modulation to a different makam or use of the higher register of the same makam" occurs (1986: 82).

Writing about modulation in Arabic music, Scott Marcus says that modulation has played the central role "in Arab music performance from the medieval period to the present day (1992: 172). In today's practice, "a native and largely oral typology of the modulations... is found in a number of binary labels mentioned by present-day musicians and theorists," labels which Marcus divides into "objective" and "subjective" [!] (1992: 176). The Marcus' "objective" binary typology classifies modulations into the "tonic modulations," in which "the new mode [maqam] shares the same tonic as the original mode," and the "modulations to a degree other than the tonic" (ibid.). 65 Modulations to a degree other than the tonic are most commonly to the note called gammāz. 66 This gammāz, has the similiar, if not identical, role in the scale of the Arabic maqam as Turkish güclü has in that of the makam.

The other three binary typologies of modulation, which "differ from the tonic/non-tonic classification," Marcus lumps as "subjective," since "they all involve a degree of subjectivity and are thus open to personal interpretation," as if the first classification is not. These include the "sudden versus gradual," "passing versus

⁶⁵These two types of modulations, Jihad Racy calls the "tonic" and "relative" modulations, respectively (S. Marcus 1992: 192, n. 5).

⁶⁶Marcus does not translate the term *gammāz*, lit. winking, in a sense of "giving a sign." D'Erlanger translated it as *le dominante* (1949: 105-106).

⁶⁷For this binary pair of subjective modulations, Marcus gives the credit to Racy and two of his 'ud teachers.

full-fledged," and the "common/typical versus rare/unusual" modulations (1992: 178-180).

In effort to find or establish the rules which govern the modulations, Marcus finds the two widely stated rules: first, "one must return to the original maqam (al-maqām al-asāsī) before ending a given piece," and second, "the modes [maqām-s] stand in different levels of proximity to one another" (1992: 183). To the level of greatest proximity belong all maqām-s which have the same lower tetrachord. These maqām-s are grouped as faṣīlah, lit. family, species, meaning that they are the closly related maqām-s, belonging to the same family. The next hierarchical level is comprised of maqām-s which differ in their lower tetrachords, but share the the same upper tetrachord. These maqām-s are related but not as closly as those of the faṣīlah. And, finally, the third level maqām-s are not close at all, but are considered distant because of their "tonic incompatibility."

Finding out that tonic compatibility is an "overriding factor" for determining the possible modulations between maqam-s, Marcus then divides all maqam-s according to their tonics into five groups: 1. C maqam-s, 2. D maqam-s, 3. E half-flat maqam-s, 4. F maqam-s, and 5. B half-flat maqam-s (1992: 185); among these, the "C and D families" represent the two primary but highly incompatible groups.

Relying on this, Marcus derives the four rules of modulations: 1. tonic modulations, 2. modulations between the two primary families, the C and D maqam-s, 3. modulations to the E half-flat and B half-flat maqam-s, and 4. modulation to the F

maqam-s. All permutations and the ways of modulating from one group of maqam to another Marcus then explains with mathematical precision (1992: 186-188).

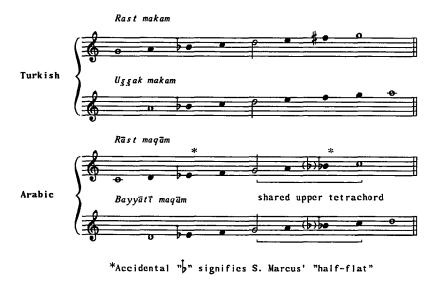
In Turkish music, however, tonic compatibility does not play any significant role. Among thirteen basit makam-s, all but three have their tonics on the pitch $d\ddot{u}g\hat{a}h$, a^I , and yet they do not necessarily represent the family of makam-s between which the direct and smooth modulation, in a sense of Marcus' level one, would be possible. Regarding the mürekkep makam-s, whose number is great, or even indefinite, it is impossible and probably even unnecessary to classify all of them according to their tonics. If we take a brief look at Yekta's 30 makam-s (Table 1), we will see that, except for the eight basit makam-s he lists, and their two descending forms (Bayatî and Muhayyer), the remaining mürekkep makam-s have their tonics relatively close to the pitch $d\ddot{u}g\hat{a}h$: either a step below the pitch rast, on acemaşiran, f^I (or an octave above, on evic, f^{ef}), or a step above the $d\ddot{u}g\hat{a}h$, on $seg\hat{a}h$, b one-comma-flat; just a few mürekkep makam-s have their tonics on the relatively distant pitches of $yeg\hat{a}h$, d^I , or hüseynîaşiran, e^I .

Marcus' first rule, that "modulations occur freely among maqamat which share the same tonic," does not apply in Turkey, because so many *makam*-s share the same tonic, especially *dügâh*, and yet are thoroughly different, unrelated, and incompatible.

Marcus' second rule, that "one cannot modulate from a C-based maqam to a D-based maqam or vice versa," i.e. between *maqam*-s which are a second apart, is not

⁶⁸Of the other three basit makam-s, Cargan has its tonic on the pitch kaba Cargan, Cargan, the tonics of the Rast and Suzinak makam-s are both on rast, Cargan. The tonics of the four descending forms of basit makam-s are also all on Cargan, Cargan.

applicable in Turkish music either. To take a Turkish example, the two makam-s similar to Marcus' "C and D families," whose tonics are a second apart, would be the Rast and Uşşak makam-s; the tonic of the former in on the dügâh, and of latter, on the rast. These two makam-s might be looked at as being in a similar relationship as the Rast and Bayyatī maqam-s are in Arabic music, the difference being that the Turkish Rast and Uşşak do not share the "upper tetrachord" as Arabic Rast and Bayyatī do (Ex. 6). While in Arabic music, according to Marcus, one cannot directly modulate from Rast to Bayyatī, in Turkish music one modulates from Rast to Uşşak rather easily and smoothly, largely owing not so much to the tonics of these two makam-s, but to their pivotal tones which act as the common brokers between the two makam-s.



Example 6 - Turkish and Arabic Levels and Understandings of Tonic/Modulation (In)Compatibility

Marcus' other two rules are not applicable, as well, since the Turkish *makam*-s are not necessarily classifiable according to their tonics.

In Turkish music, it seems that the above mentioned second level of modulation, affecting the formal structure of the larger, suite like, forms, such as *fasıl*, *ayin*, *namaz*, or *zikir*, carries the momentum. Signell writes that the larger forms "usually include at least one change of makam to 'break the monotony'" (1986: 113-114). He also states that "the modern fasıl program... includes two, three, or at most, four makam-s. The Mevlevi ayin... often encompasses an even greater number of major modulations (1986: 115-116). Regarding the latter, Signell then concludes that "in the overall of the entire ritual [of *ayin*], a patchwork effect of makam-s predominates. If one were to attend the [*Mevlevî*] ceremony at Konya on a December 17th, ... a rich panoply of makam-s would be encountered in one continuous musical sequence" (Signell 1986: 118).

In at least another larger musical form, that of *namaz*, this "patchwork" of *makam*-s is not a patchwork, "anything formed of irregular, incongruous, odd, or miscellaneous parts, a jumble," nor is it "a quilt, made of odd patches of cloth, etc., sewn together at the edges," as the *Webster's Dictionary* defines it (WD 1983). It is rather a meaningful and deliberate choice of *makam*-s and modulations and their incorporation into the musical form.

Beste-Şarkı Principle

The vocal forms in Turkish Classical Music use texts based on the forms of secular Turkish Classical Poetry. These two classical Turkish genres are inherently intertwined that their result is a musico-poetic form based on strict rules and balance. This principle of balance and musico-poetic structuring is also reflected in the genres seemingly away from the secular art, and yet belonging to the domain of religious music and the Kur'anic/liturgical text. This principle I call the *Beste-Şarka* Principle, one of the underlying fundaments of Turkish secular and religious music.

The basic Turkish Classical Music forms with text are the *Beste*, *Semaî*, *Kâr*, and *Şarki*. ⁶⁹ The first three are the bigger forms and their texts are based on quatrains, stanzas with four verses. Contrary to them, the *Şarki* is a small vocal form and its text is not necessarily based on quatrains (Öztuna 1990/2: 332-336).

Written with a small initial letter, beste signifies any musical composition or piece: Semaî, Kâr, Şarkı, Symphony. As a specific musical form of its own, Beste is strictly based on the classic Murabba poetic form (مربع murabba^c, square, fourfold, quatrain; from اربعة arba^c or اربعة arba^cah, four). Murabba consists of four verses to a stanza (Table 5).

⁶⁹For full description of each of these musical forms, including their similarities and differences, see the corresponding entries in Öztuna (1990/1-2).

Table 5 - Murabba Poetic Form of Beste

POETIC STRUCTURE		Town
Verse	Refrain	Техт
A	t	Hem sohbeti dildar ile mesrur idik evvel Ye lel le li, mesrur idik evel, hey canım
В	t	Bir bahtı müsait deyu meshur idik evvel Ye lel le li, meshur idik evel, hey canım
C	t	İşkestesi falile mey içsek n'ola evvel Ye lel le li, mesrur idik evel, hey canım
A	t	Hem sohbeti dildar ile mesrur idik evvel Ye lel le li, içsek n'ola şimdi, hey canım

The four verses form a pattern of ABCA, where the first and the fourth verses are the same (marked with letter A). They, however, differ from the middle two verses (marked as B and C), which are also different between themselves. Every verse is followed by a terennüm, refrain, marked with small letter t. A typical feature of the Murabba poetico-metrical form is that all verses have the same rhyme, in this case "evvel," thus making the rhyme pattern of aaaa. The verses in the following stanzas are also rhymed but in such a way that the first three verses have a new rhyme respectively, while the fourth verses of all stanzas are in rhyme with the verses of the first stanza. Thus, the rhyme pattern of the polystrophic Murabba looks as follows: aaaa, bbba, ccca... etc.

In the *Beste*, therefore, each verse is followed by a *terennüm*, vocal refrain, added to all four verses of the *Beste*, *Kâr*, and *Semaî* musical forms, but not to those of the *Şarkı*. To In contrast to the *Beste* and *Semaî*, in which the *terennüm* follows the verses, in *Kâr* it generally precedes the verses, thus structurally separating this form from the other two. As Table 5 and Ex. 7 show, the text of *terennüm* may be composed of either the "meaningless" syllables and words, such as "ye lel le... li," or it may be a mixture of the "meaningless" syllables and ordinary words, such as the exclamation "hey canım," or else it may include the parts of the verse it accompanies (Öztuna 1990/2: 390).

In musical performance, a verse and a terennüm form a single structural section of Beste called the hane (Farsi xāne, house). Accordingly, the form of a Beste consists of four hane-s. The first hane is called the zemin (Farsi zemin, ground, earth); the second and fourth are the nakarat (naqra, pl. naqarāt, blow, knock, stroke); and the third hane is the miyan (Farsi miyān, medium, middle, center). The musical lines of the zemin and two nakarat-s are identical, while the musical line of the third hane, miyan, is different. The schematic musical structure of Beste is: AABA (the capital letters stand for the hane-s), 71 and it stands in contrast to the poetic structure:

⁷⁰Equivalent to the *terennüm* of vocal music is the *mülâzime*, ritornello, of instrumental music (*Peṣrev* and *Saz Semaîsi*), added to the musical sections of the piece. In the *Mevlevî Ayin-i Şerif*, however, the term *terennüm* is also used for the instrumental ritornello, played on solo *ney*, and therefore known as *terennüm-i ney*. In the *Ayin-i Şerif*, these instrumental *terennüm-s* may be performed either at the end of the *Selâm-s* or between their stanzas.

⁷¹On rare occasions, the *Beste* form has only two *terennüm*-s, one added after the second, and the other after the fourth verse. In this case, a *hane* consists of two

ABCA. Example 7, the *Pençgâh Beste* by the great classicist, Mustafa Itrî (1683?-1712), shows very clearly the classical structure of the *Beste* form.

The musical structure of a *Beste*, in which the musical lines of its four *hane-s* form a specific **AABA** pattern, is represented in a greater part of Turkish Classical Music vocal repertory, which embraces not only the form *Beste*, but also that of the *Kâr* and *Semaî*. However, this musical structure is not solely limited to these three secular forms, whose texts are of the *Murabba* type. The same idea of the *Beste* musical structuring is also recognizable in the thoroughly non-secular, i.e. religious, vocal musical forms performed in the *namaz*. The texts in these forms are liturgical or Kur'anic and are not based on any classical poetic meters, *aruz* ('arūd), nor do they even remotely resemble the *Murabba* poetic form. What makes them musically related to the *Beste* is the way they are musically structured, following the specific *hane* pattern, **AABA**, found exclusively in the *Beste*. This musical structuring I call the

verses, followed by a terennüm. This rare type of Beste, with only two hane-s, is called the Nakiş Beste (naqš, to embroider). The nakiş type, whose musical structure can be represented as: AB (where the capital letters stand for the hane-s), is especially used in the Semaî, in which case its form becomes the Nakiş Semaî. The Nakiş Semaî is more frequent than the "standard" four-hane Semaî.

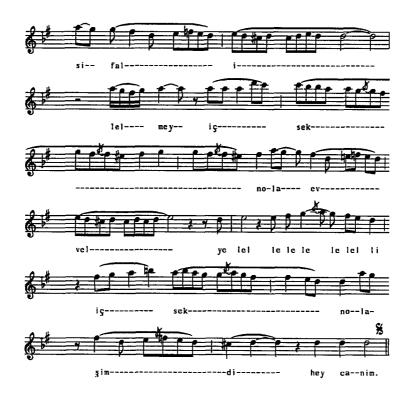
Regarding the Şarkı of Murabba type (four verses in a stanza), one of the most important differences between it and the Beste is in their hane-s: unlike the Beste, in which the zemin and two nakarat-s are musically identical, the zemin in Şarkı is different from its nakarat-s. Very often, each hane-s of the Şarkı is repeated. It is not unusual that the faster Şarkı, written in the short rhythmic patterns, usul-s, such as aksak or yürük, has several stanzas. Another striking difference between the Beste and Şarkı is the absence of terenüm-s in the latter. However, this is compensated by the nakarat-s which in Şarkı have the function of refrains. Thus, the structural scheme of the Şarkı is as follows: ABCB, i.e. zemin-nakarat-miyan-nakarat.

Beste Principle, which appears to be one of the underlying principles of Turkish Music, both Classical and Religious.

Pençgâh Beste⁷²



⁷²Transcribed from Ungay (nd: 119),



Example 7 - Classical Example of Beste

İlâhi could be briefly explained as a "religious şarkı" (1990/1: 385).⁷³ As in the şarkı, the text of an *ilâhi* is very often in the classical poetic pattern of murabba (Table 5), although the other patterns, such as muhammes,⁷⁴ müseddes,⁷⁵ as well as

⁷³"Dinî Türk Musikisi'nde en fazla kullanılan şekil. Dindışı musikimizin şarkı formuna karşılıktır. Bu küçük formu kısaca 'dinî şarkı' diye açıklamak mümkündür" (Öztuna 1990/2: 385).

⁷⁴Muhammes (مخمس, muxammas, fivefold, pentagonal) is a from of stanza consisting of five lines. In the classical muhammes all lines of the first stanza are in rhyme, while in the remaining stanzas the first four lines are in the same rhyme, and

müsemmen, ⁷⁶ are found. However, I would like to add that there are also cases where the text of *ilâhi* is not strophic, i.e. the whole *ilâhi* consists of the succession of several lines in the same *aruz*, and therefore does not conform to any of the above classical poetic patterns. Regarding the meter, it seems that the poetic lines of *ilâhi* can be seven-, eight-, ten-, eleven-, fourteen-, or sixteen-syllabic.

The four lines of the *murabba* type of *Şarkı* are musically performed in such a way that each line represents a section of the form. The sections have the same names as *hane-s* in the *beste* or *semaî*: 1. *zemin*, 2. *nakarat*, 3. *miyan*, 4. *nakarat*. However, although structurally similar to *beste*, *şarkı* departs from it in several respects.

- First, contrary to the *beste*, which is regarded as a big, *büyük*, form, and which, like its instrumental pendant, *peşrev*, is usually performed in the long rhythmic patterns, *büyük usûl*, the *şarkı* is a small, *küçük*, form, usually performed in the short rhythmic patterns, *küçük usûl*, such as the *Yürük Semaî* (Ex. 8).
- Second, owing to the relative length of usûl-s, the lines in the beste are not repeated and each of them is followed by a terennüm, refrain. In the şarkı the terennüm is usually absent, and, owing to the brevity of its usûl, the lines are

the fifth line rhymes with the lines from the first stanza.

⁷⁵Müseddes (مسدس, musaddas, sixfold, hexagonal) is a form of stanza consisting of six lines. The lines of the first stanza are in the same rhume; in the remaining stanzas the first four lines are in the same rhyme, while the last two lines are in rhyme with the first stanza.

⁷⁶Müsemmen (مثمن, *mutamman*, eightfold, octagonal), a form of poetic stanza with eight lines. The lines of the first stanza have the same rhyme, while in the following stanzas the first six lines are in the same rhyme, and the last two lines are in rhyme with the first stanza.

usually repeated, so that the poetic structure of the *şarkı* looks as follows: AA

BB CC BB (Table 6), while its musical structure has the following pattern:

ABCB (Table 7).

- Third, in a beste, the musical lines, i.e. zemin-nakarat-miyan-nakarat, which consist each of a verse and a terennüm, are called the hane-s; in şarkı, the term hane is not used.
- Finally, in a *beste*, the *zemin* and two *nakarat*-s are musically identical, i.e. they use the same musical line (AABA). In a *şarkı*, the two *nakarat*-s are identical, but they differ from the *zemin* (ABCB, see Table 7).

Hacı Arif Bey's *Nihaved Şarkı* (Ex. 8) is a classical example of this form. Its text and the poetic structure are shown in the following table (Table 6):

Table 6 - Murabba Poetic Form of Şarkı

VERSE	Техт		
A	Vücûd iklîminin sultanısın sen		
A	Vücûd iklîminin sultanısın sen		
B	Efendim dedimin dermânısın sen		
B	Efendim dedimin dermânısın sen		
C	Bu cismi nâtüvânın cânısın sen		
C	Bu cismi nâtüvânın cânısın sen		
B	Efendim dedimin dermânısın sen		
B	Efendim dedimin dermânısın sen		

Nihavend Şarkı⁷⁷

Hacı Arif Bey (1831-1885)



Example 8 - Classical Example of Şarkı

Each section of a *şarkı* corresponds to a musical line composed of two musically similar, but not necessarilly identical, phrases. Musical phrases correspond to poetic verses. Thus, the musical structure of a *şarkı* looks as follows: **ABCB** (Table 7 and Ex. 8), where each letter stands for a melodic line, i.e. a section of the

⁷⁷Transcribed from Ungay (nd: 28).

şarkı. The following Table 7 shows the melodic structures of both the *şarkı* and the beste.

Table 7 - Musical Structure of Şarkı and Beste

	Zemin	Nakarat	Miyan	Nakarat
Şarkı	A	В	C	В
Beste	A	A	В	A

Fasıl Principle

The Suite Principle, as a successive ordering of several pieces in a single musical performance, is one of the prominent features of Turkish Classical Music, where it is recognized as the Fasil (in to separate, to divide). In its original meaning, Fasil refers to a collection of smaller pieces, successively performed in a single makam. In this definition, Fasil resembles other suite-like Muslim musical forms, variously known as the Maqam (Kashmir), Makom (Uzbekistan/Tajikistan), Mukam (Xinjiang), Nūba/Nawba (in Morocco), Wasla (Egypt), Dastgah (Iran). In a broader and probably more recent understanding, Fasil also means a vocal-instrumental concert, or a concert program, with such pieces.

⁷⁸On the Kashmiri concept of *maqam* as suite, and on the Muslim suite in general, see Pacholczyk (In Press: Chapter Four).

Although, in the narrower sense, a *Fasıl* might be understood as a set consisting of only two smaller musical forms, i.e. two *Beste*-s and two *Semaî*-s, its traditional standard structure is more or less fixed (Table 8).⁷⁹

Table 8 - Standard Structure of Fasil

FASIL	
Taksim	
Peşrev	
First Beste or Kâr	
Second Beste	
Ağır Semaî	
Several Şarkı-s	
Yürük Semaî	
Saz Semaîsi	

The core of the Fasil is represented by the vocal forms of Kâr, Beste, Semaî, and Şarki. 80 The outer sections, i.e. the opening Taksim and Peşrev, and the closing Saz Semaîsi (lit. "instrumental Semaî"), which envelope the vocal core of Fasil, are all

⁷⁹The shaded segments in Table 8 are the core sections of *Fasil*, i.e. two *Beste*-s (or a *Kâr* and a *Beste*) and two *Semaî*-s.

⁸⁰In the context of *Fasil*, all these vocal forms are actually vocal-instrumental, since the vocal performance of their text is accompanied by the ensemble of instruments, known as the *Fasil Heyeti*, lit. *Fasil* Ensemble (Öztuna 1990/1: 286).

instrumental forms.⁸¹ The structure of all of these sections, except the *Taksim*, is based on a four-part scheme of four *hane*-s and the real difference between them is in the *usûl*-s each of them is using. Therefore, formally, the *Fasul* represents the multiple repetition of the same four-part structure of the sections.

The picture is even simpler in the Ayin, another bigger form based on the Suite principle. Like the Fasil, the Ayin is in one makam traditionally and it has both vocal and instrumental sections. However, the number of sections is fixed in the Ayin; the sections are called Selâm-s and their number is four (Table 9). The text of the Selâm-s is generally a choice from the Mevlâna's poetic masterpiece, Mesnevi, or the gazel-s from his Divanî Kebir, written in Persian. The third Selâm is an exception, since its has a stanza written in Turkish, and as a rule performed in the Yürük Semaî usûl. In actual performance, the Ayin is introduced by Itrî's Rast Na'ti, again on Mevlâna's text. The four Selâm-s are themselves introduced by a Peşrev and ended by another Peşrev, called Son Peşrev (lit. last Peṣrev), which is itself sometimes followed by the Son Yürük Semaî. Since the Ayin proper, i.e. only the four Selâm-s, is

⁸¹ Taksim is a solo instrumental improvisatory prelude, usually in free rhythm (without usûl), performed both in the secular and Tasavvuf music. It is equivalent to the gazel, a solo vocal improvisation in secular music. Another solo vocal improvisation equivalent to taksim is the kaside, performed exclusively in the religious music; it is not infrequent that, during the zikir, the taksim and kaside are performed in succession (see also Öztuna 1990; Feldman 1993).

Peşrev is an instrumental form, usually consisting of four hane-s; each hane ends with the same instrumental ritornello, mülâzime, which has the same function as the terennüm in the Beste. Contrary to the Peşrev, all hane-s and mülâzime-s in the Saz Semaîsi are different. For more detail on Peşrev and its historical perspective, see Feldman (1992).

composed by a certain composer, the *Peşrev*-s and other addendums to *Ayin* are always written by some other composer and can be in some other related *makam*. 82

Table 9 - Structure of Ayin

A	YİN
Pe	şrev
First	Selâm
Secon	d Selâm
Third	Selâm
Fourtl	ı Selâm
Son Peşrev - S	on Yürük Semaî

Thus, it is clear that both the Fasıl and Ayin, as the two big forms in Turkish Classical and Religious/Tasavvuf Music, are based on the Suite Principle. This principle I call the Fasıl Principle since it seems to be more appropriate for Turkish music. In the following pages, I will analyze the three Teravih Namazı-s, showing that the namaz itself falls into this category of musical structuring.

⁸²A copy of the Dede Efendi's *Hüzzam Ayin-i Şerif-i*, as performed in the *Cerrahi Tekkesi*, is introduced by the Tanburi Osman Bey's *Hüzzam Peşrevi*, and ended by the Yusuf Paşa's *Segâh Son Peṣrevi* and *Son Yürük Semaî*.

The month of Ramadân in which was revealed the Qur'ân, a guidance for mankind, and clear proofs of the guidance, and the Criterion (of right and wrong). And whosoever of you is present, let him fast the month, and whosoever of you is sick or on a journey, (let him fast the same) number of other days. Allah desireth for you ease; He desireth not hardship for you; and (He desireth) that ye should complete the period, and that ye should magnify Allah for having guided you, and that peradventure ye may be thankful.

- Sūratu'l-Baqarah (K2: 185)¹

March 18, 1991

In the previous chapter, I have discussed several musical concepts, viz. Makam, Karar, Modulation-Transition, and the Beste-Şarkı and Fasıl Principles, which I found pertinent to the musical performance of namaz. In the musical analysis of three Teravih Namaz-s in the following pages, I will trace these concepts and show the way and strategies they are applied in the specific practical context.

In the liturgical description of *namaz* (Part Two), I followed the diachronic narrative line, describing Muslim ritual worship as it unfolds as ritual, from the start to its end. Here, my narrative line changes the way of treading the path, and becomes synchronic. Since the reader already knows how the *namaz* develops in time, I find it necessary to look more closely now into its specific forms, since it is these forms whose succession makes *namaz* a ritual, i.e. an event. The musical concepts from the

All English translations from the Kur'an in this dissertation are Pickthall's (Pickthall nd; Eliasii 1981).

previous chapter are the tools and means with which the protagonists of *namaz*, viz. imam, muezzins, and congregation, make these from musically possible.

The following is an analysis of the performance of *Teravih Namazı* in *Cerrahi Tekkesi*, which I recorded entirely on the video on March 18, 1991. The analysis includes the following musical forms: *Selâvat, İhlâs-ı Şerife, Kamet, Kıraat, Selâm, Tekbir* and *Tahmid, Dua-s, İlâhi, Kaside.*²

Selâvat

In the Cerrahi Tekkesi, the selâvat plays an important musical/performative role, both in the namaz and zikir. In the Teravih Namazı, in the Cerrahi Tekkesi, it appears fourteen times, each time announcing and introducing a new section, part, or segment of the namaz: twice in the Introduction, i.e. before the Sünnet Section of the Yatsı Part, ten times in the Teravih Part, once before the Vitir, and once at the end of the whole namaz, i.e. after the Aşır (Table 1).

²Not all of these forms are discussed in the analyses of each of three *Teravih Namaz*-s. *Kamet*, for example, is skipped in the analysis of the *Cerrahi Teravih Namazı*, since, for technical reasons, I did not record it completely. So the *Kaside* is skipped, since it was not performed in the *Cerrahi Tekkesi* on the occasion of my recording. These two forms are, however, discussed in the next chapter, in the analysis of the two *Teravih Namaz*-s recorded in the *Beyazıt Cami*.

Table 1 - Selâvat-s in the Cerrahi Teravih Namazı

TERAVİH NAMAZI					
Introduction Core					
Yatsı	Teravih	Vitir	Conclusion		
Opening Selâvat	10. Salâuat a	Visin Calanas	Comahi Salânat		
Cerrahi Selâvat	- 10 Selâvat-s	Vitir Selâvat	Cerrahi Selâvat		

The event of *Teravih Namazı* in *Cerrahi Tekkesi* begins with the performance of *ezan*, read in the lobby by a muezzin-dervish (see Chapter Eight, Fig. 2). The majority of the congregation and all the performers-muezzins-musicians are already in the *meydan* - congregation sitting on the floor and muezzins-musicians on their platform, waiting for the event to begin. As soon as the *ezan* is finished, the door between the *sohbet odası* and *meydan* opens, one dervish pronounces the word: "Destur!," and the *şeyh* enters the *meydan*, approaches the first congregational row in front of the *mihrab*, and sits down, surrounded by two or three sufi dignitaries. While everybody is sitting on the floor, one of the muezzins on the platform stands up and starts reading the Opening *Selâvat*, announcing the performance of the First *Sünnet Rek'at*-s (Ex. 1).



Example 1 - Opening Selâvat (First Sünnet Rek'at-s)

In the Introduction, *selâvat* opens the whole event, and serves as a recognizable aural marker. It is always performed solo by a muezzin, who thus signals the beginning of the ritual worship. All other *selâvat*-s in the *namaz* are performed chorally, by a group of muezzins or the whole congregation.

The selâvat is a small religious musical form, consisting of just one musical sentence, i.e. the melody of selâvat. Since the text of selâvat is more or less fixed and always the same, it is the melody of each selâvat that makes it musically different from others in namaz. The melody of selâvat is usually fixed. This means that the makam in which that fixed melody is brought is also known and likewise fixed, as well as the basic makam elements, such as seyir and pivotal tones. However, in the case of the Opening Selâvat, from Ex. 1, the melody is improvized, so that we cannot firmly define or state with certainty the name of the makam in which it is performed. This means that the information is insufficient, and that the makam can be defined

only tentatively, in the wider context. Since the wider context is in this particular case almost nonexistent, i.e. the Opening Selâvat stands alone, with nothing preceding it, and with a longer silence following it, during which the First Sünnet Rek'at-s are performed, we do not have enough information to positively define the makam.

However, according to Münir Beken, the pivotal and other tones of the melody, and its seyir, hint that the makam might be the Muhayyer-Kürdî. There are several elements which may corroborate this argument: The range of the melody encompasses more than an octave, giving the oportunity to the performer to fully present the whole makam scale; second, the movement of melody is descending, as required by the Muhayyer-Kürdî; third, the pitch kürdî (b') is used instead of the Muhayyer's segâh (b one-comma-flat). Nonetheless, we cannot be fully certain that the performer really intended to present this selâvat in the Muhayyer-Kürdî makam. Without a wider context, i.e. the longer development of the musical thought, this uncertainty about the makam remains.

The next selâvat, which I call the Cerrahi Selâvat, is even more intricate regarding the use of makam. The reason why I call it the Carrahi Selâvat is the fact that it is used specifically in this tarikat. To the best of my knowledge and field experience, different Turkish tarikat-s use their own specific selâvat-s, which differ from each other in their melody. These tarikat selâvat-s are simple melodies, usually consisting of only two or three tones and are used as markers which give a musical imprint to the tarikat-s' ritual performances. Hearing this marker, one immediately knows that the namaz, zikir, salutations to the şeyh, and other important ritual

performances, preceded by this *selâvat*, are performed in and by such and such *tarikat*. Here is the *Cerrahi Selâvat* (Ex. 2):



Example 2 - Cerrahi Selâvat

In this selâvat, it is impossible to state the makam, since it is based on only two tones, and could be in virtually any makam. Since this is the specifically Cerrahi selâvat, its sole purpose is to give a marker, the "Cerrahi seal," to the event of namaz, which is about to begin. The Carrahi Selâvat is performed followin the Ihlas-1 Şerife, which is itself read after the performance of the Sünnet Rek'at-s, after the Opening Selâvat. With the Cerrahi Selâvat, the introductory part of namaz ends. All dervishes join in uttering the Cerrahi Selâvat, which is delivered on the karar given by the muezzin in the cadence of İhlâs-1 Şerife. A very important tone is the prolonged tone segâh, on the last syllable, -nā, from sayyidinā, on which dervishes bow in sitting position and put their right hand on the heart. Following this, on the word Muhammad, the dervishes recline back into the normal sitting position and remove their hand from their hearts. Performed in this way, i.e. with a specific body movement, the Cerrahi Selâvat musically and ritually signifies that the the Teravih Namazı has begun. The same selâvat, with the same body movement, is repeated at

the very end of *namaz*, after the *aşır*, thus musically and ritually signifying that the *namaz* is concluded.

The selâvat which opens the Vitir Part of Teravih Namazi is usually in the Segâh makam (Ex. 3). Its modal function, as a bridge between the two parts of namaz, i.e. Teravih and Vitir Parts, will be analyzed later, in the context of modulation.



Example 3 - Vitir Selâvat in Segâh makam

All selâvat-s performed in the namaz fit into the category of either the Powers' modal nucleus (1980: 427) or Signell's tetra-/pentachord (1986: 31). This means that the selâvat rarely encompasses the full octave scale of the makam. If the makam is ascending, then the selâvat is usually confined to the lower part of the makam scale; or, if it is descending, the selâvat focuses around the upper tonic, or the tetra-/pentachord above the upper tonic.

In the *Teravih* Part, whose twenty *rek'at*-s are arranged in ten sets of two *rek'at*-s, the *selâvat* introduces each set, making altogether ten *selâvat*-s. The most important musical feature of the *Teravih* Part is that its twenty *rek'at*-s are performed in five different *makam*-s, each *makam* taking the equal ritual space of four *rek'at*-s.

Most usually, the five *makam*-s used in the *Teravih* Part are: *Rast, Uşşak, Saba, Eviç* and *Acemaşiran* (Table 2). Because the *selâvat* is performed at the beginning of every two *rek'at*-s, that means that in every set of four *rek'at*-s there will be two melodically identical *selâvat*-s, rendered in the same *makam*.

Table 2 - Five Makam-s in the Cerrahi Teravih Part

<i>TERAVİH</i> PART					
First Selâvat Second Selâvat	1st and 2nd Rek'at 3rd and 4th Rek'at	RAST MAKAM			
Third Selâvat Fourth Selâvat	5th and 6th Rek'at 7th and 8th Rek'at	Uşşak Makam			
Fifth <i>Selâvat</i> Sixth <i>Selâvat</i>	9th and 10th Rek'at 11th and 12th Rek'at	Saba Makam			
Seventh Selâvat Eighth Selâvat	13th and 14th Rek'at 15th and 16th Rek'at	Eviç Makam			
Ninth Selâvat Tenth Selâvat	17th and 18th Rek'at 19th and 20th Rek'at	ACEMAŞİRAN MAKAM			

The selâvat-s are named according to their respective makam-s: Rast, Uşşak, Saba, Eviç, and Acemaşiran Selâvat (Ex. 4). Depending on the makam, the selâvat's pivotal notes are of different modal function. Thus, in the Rast, Uşşak, Eviç, and Acemaşiran Selâvat-s, the pivotal tone, to which the melody of the selâvat is bound, is the first scalar degree of the makam, i.e. tonic. In the Saba Selâvat, however, the melody is dominant bound. In the Rast, Eviç, and Acemaşiran selâvat-s, the tonic also functions as both the entry tone and karar; in Uşşak Selâvat the entry tone is the

subtonic, while the *karar* is the tonic of the *Uşsak makam*; in *Saba Selâvat*, the entry tone is tonic, but the *karar* is dominant. Hence, we might conclude that in all *selâvat*-s, except that of *Saba*, the tonic has either a threefold or twofold function, i.e., it is: 1. the first, that is, the most stable degree of the *makam* (*Rast*, *Uşşak*, *Eviç*, *Acemaşiran Selâvat*-s); 2. the first and the last tones of the melody, i.e. entry tone and *karar* (*Rast*, *Eviç*, *Acemaşiran Selâvat*-s), and 3. the pivotal tone to which the melody recurs (*Rast*, *Uşşak*, *Eviç*, *Acemaşiran Selâvat*-s).

For the entry tone, Signell writes that it is "the tonal center around which the first musical phrase revolves," adding that "the entry tone may be either the tonic, dominant, or upper tonic" (1986: 49). Four of our five selâvat-s in Ex. 4 fit into one of these categories, because all of them, except Uşşak, start on the tonic of the given makam (Rast, Saba, Eviç, Acemaşiran).

Rast Selâvat Rast on "do" Uşşak Selâvat Uşşak on "d" Mu--ham-Saba Selâvat Saba on "d" șa1--1 i Al--la-hum--me Mu--ham--Eviç Selâvat Eviç on "a" Al---lā-hum--me şal--li ca---la---Mu--ham-----med----. Acemaşiran Selâvat șal-li ^ca--lã-

Example 4 - Five Selâvat-s from Teravih Part (Cerrahi, March 18, 1991)

On the other side, although in Ex. 4 its entry tone is the tonic (d), the Saba Selâvat centers on the dominant (f) of the Saba makam. Thus, together with the Segâh makam, Saba makam is one of the few makam-s whose dominant is not the fourth or the fifth degree of the makam scale, but rather the third degree. This might be the very reason why, occasionally, there arise some confusion regarding the Saba makam. Among our five selâvat-s, Saba Selâvat is the only one whose karar is not the tonic, but rather the dominant.

The Saba makam shares the same scale with the Çargâh makam, but differs from it in its tonic and dominant (Ex. 5).



Example 5 - Scales of the Saba and Cargâh makam-s

By comparing the scales of these two *makam*-s, it seems to be, at least theoretically, rather easy to fit the melody of the *Saba Selâvat* in either of these two scales. Here is the transposition of our *Saba Selâvat* on *d* to the theoretical *Saba Selâvat* on *a* (Ex. 6):

Saba Selâvat



Example 6 - Selâvat on the theoretical scale of Saba makam on a

The pivotal pitch c in the selâvat can be understood either as the dominant of the Saba makam, or as the tonic of the Çargah makam. And, actually, it does not become clear from this selâvat's concise and 'nuclear' melodic statement in which makam that melody is. It is obvious that it could be in either makam. This problem was pointed to me by Münir Beken, when I first discussed it with him. He agreed that the selâvat is in the Saba makam, as I was told by its Turkish performers. This makam ambivalence of the melody represents a relatively frequent issue in Turkish classical music practice, and many, even musically highly educated Turks, are not always able to recognize the makam relying only on the brief and, obviously, insufficient melodic statement. In this case, we cannot be quite certain that this selâvat is in Saba makam, unless we take a closer look at the musical procedures which precede or follow it. Selâvat introduces the set of four rek'at-s, and all aloud uttered text in these four rek'at-s will be stated in the same makam in which the

selâvat was performed, meaning that the tekbir-s, Fatiha and Zammi Suresi, which follow the selâvat, will be in the same makam as the respective selâvat itself. Even if we are still uncertain about the makam, the ilâhi which concludes the set of four rek'at-s will quite certainly give the full and unambiguous statement of the makam, showing us what the tonic and dominant tones are, the two basic makam elements. Indeed, as we shall see later, it is ilâhi which makes us certain that our selâvat was actually the Saba Selâvat, because that ilâhi fully states the Saba makam.

If we take a closer look into our five *selâvat*-s (Ex. 4) we will see that all of them, except the *Rast Selâvat*, are stated within a range of a perfect fifth. The *Rast selâvat* progresses within the interval of a third, formed between the tonic on d^b (theoretical pitch *rast* on g^l) and the third degree on *f one-comma-flat* (theoretical $seg\hat{a}h$ on b^l) of the *Rast makam*, thus using just three initial tones of the *makam* scale.³

The range of the other four *selâvat*-s is the perfect fifth. However, while the *Uṣṣak*, *Saba*, and *Acemaṣiran Selâvat*-s progress within the perfect fifth, formed between their respective tonics and the fifth degrees, the melody of *Eviç Selâvat* on a moves between the sixth degree (f below the upper tonic) and the third degree of the *makam* scale (c above the upper tonic).

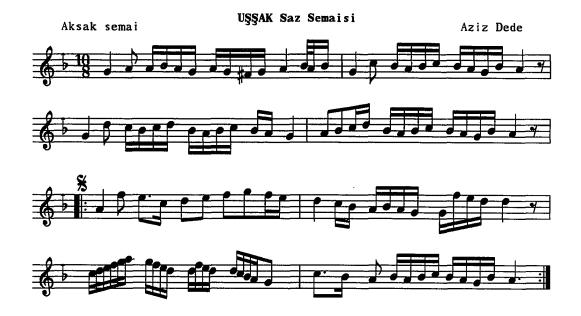
³That interval of a third is one "comma" narrower than a major third (d^b-f) or g-b=384 C). The term *comma* is misleading in many cases when applied to the Turkish *makam* scales, because the width of that comma fluctuates from tone to tone, from scale to scale. It is supposed to be 24 C, but in this case, i.e. between the tonic and the third degree of the *Rast makam*, the interval thus formed is 16-18 C narrower than the major third, which is supposed to be 402 C.

Thus it becomes obvious that our *selâvat*-s are bound to a certain tonal or scalar range which differs from *selâvat* to *selâvat*. We might conclude that, depending on the *selâvat*, certain scalar degrees of their respective *makam*-s function as pivotal tones, i.e. tonal centers:

- In the Rast Selâvat, the pivotal tones are the tonic and the third degree; the dominant does not appear at all.
- In the *Uşşak Selâvat*, the pivotal tones are the tonic (*d*) and subtonic (*c*). The melody starts on the subtonic and moves to the tonic, and then, after a quick touching of the third degree (*e one-comma-flat*), and skipping the tonic, jumps down to the subtonic again, thus stressing its pivotal function in the *Uşşak makam*. Then, the melody moves to the area around the dominant (*g*), actually remaining for a while on the third degree (*f*), from which it quickly oscilates to the dominant and the second degree. Finally the melody descends back to the tonic.

Signell gives an example of a short composition, Aziz Dede's (1835-1905)

Uşşak Saz Semaisi (Saz Semaisi in Uşşak makam and Aksak Semai usûl), and a brief analysis of its seyir (Ex. 7):



Example 7 - Melodic directions of Uşşak makam after Signell (1986: 52)

In his analysis, Signell says that,

In the composition, the first phrase (meas. 1-2) begins on the leading tone (G) of UŞŞAK and ends on the tonic. The second phrase also begins on the leading tone and ends on the tonic. The two phrases together consittute [sic] the first half of the progression, centering on the tonic and embracing the region between the tonic and the dominant. The third phrase (meas. 5-6), although starting with the tonic, immediately rises to exploit the area aroung [sic] the dominant and ends with a cadence on the dominant. It is typical of UŞŞAK to emphasize the pitch Acem (f), as seen in this phrase. The last phrase (meas. 7-8), summarizes the foregoing and cadences with the leading tone just before the finalis (Signell 1986: 51).

In our U_s sak Sel and a (Ex. 4), the melody never extends beyond the dominant a; the sixth degree a, which corresponds to the pitch a a of theoretical a a, is not even included. However, there are two other

tones, which function very prominently in Signell's example, i.e. the subtonic (Signell's "leading tone" on g), and the second degree on b, which encircle the tonic and make a typical melodic downward turn, always from b to g.

In our Ex. 4, that melodic turn occurs on the second syllable, la, of the word 'ala: the syllable la goes from the tonic on d to the second degree on e one-commaflat, and then skips the tonic and jumps to the subtonic on c, repeated again on the first syllable of the word Muhammad. In Signell's example that melodic turn functions prominently: it ends the first, second and the last phrases, and is briefly stated or recognizable elswhere in all four phrases. This was brought to my attention by Münir Beken, who emphasized the importance of the subtonic in the Ussak makam. Thus, together with the pitch acem (f) in the theoretical Ussak makam scale, if the melody moves to the upper half of the scale, the subtonic (rast on g) and the second degree (segah) on b one-comma-flat) function very prominently whenever the melody is in the area between the tonic and dominant.

The second point is that the *Uṣṣak* melodies, if not always, then very often, begin on the subtonic, a point which once again emphasizes the prominence of that pitch in the *Uṣṣak makam* melodies. This can be inferred from our *Uṣṣak Selâvat*-s, the *Cerrahi Uṣṣak İlâhi*, and Signell's example.

In the Saba Selâvat, the most prominent and pivotal tone is its dominant (third degree). The Cerrahi Saba Selâvat (Ex. 4) starts on the tonic (d) and reaches the dominant in a stepwise progression (d - e-one-coma-flat - f), after which it oscilates between the dominant and the functionally important fourth degree of the Saba

makam. This fourth degree emphasizes the dominant by its tendency to resolve its melodic tension into it. The melody then makes another characteristic turn on the syllable ham (in Muhammed), from the fourth to the fifth degree, which by its intervalic quality (minor third, 294 C) gives a special flavour and a recognizable modal color to the melody in Saba makam. After this melodic turn, the selâvat returns to dominant on which it cadences.

In contrast to the first three $sel\hat{a}vat$ -s, i.e. Rast, Ussak, and Saba, whose melodies progress in the lower half of the makam scale, i.e. roughly between the tonic and dominant, our Evic $Sel\hat{a}vat$ in Ex. 4 starts on the upper tonic (a). In theoretical Evic makam, this upper tonic is on pitch f^2 , also called the evic. According to Öztuna, Evic makam is the descending version of the Irak makam, which after progression in the upper register, i.e. around the upper tonic, descends and cadences on the lower tonic, (f^4) , also called the vrak; its dominant is foremostly on the $d\ddot{u}gah$ (pitch a) (Öztuna 1990/1: 268).

Signell gives a lengthy example of a composition in *Eviç makam*, an *Eviç Beste* (1986: 90-91), confirming the Öztuna's above statement:

A rather lengthy beste in EVIÇ (roughly comparable to SEGÂH transposed to Eviç (f#) and having a descending melodic line...) has an exposition section which traces the descending melodic line from the opening on the upper tonic Eviç (f#), to the cadence an octave below... on Irak (Signell 1986: 86).

However, in Signell's theoretical scale of the *Eviç makam*, the dominant is on the pitch *neva* (d) (1986: 87). Whatever the dominant, i.e. *neva* or *dügâh*, it is obvious that in *Eviç makam*, the sixth degree (theoretical pitch *neva*) is emphasized.

Our Evic Selâvat, Cerrahi Evic İlâhi, and Signell's example of anonimous Evic Beste (Signell 1986: 90-91), all show the same features: melody starts either on the upper tonic (theoretical eviç on f^2 #) or introduces that pitch by a leap from the dominant (theoretical neva), then progresses while emphasizing these two pitches, and descends to the lower tonic (theoretical trak on f'#), an octave bellow the upper tonic. Because the selâvat never elaborates its melody using the whole octave range, Evic Selâvat starts and cadences on the upper tonic, structurally emphasizing the dominant on the sixth degree. Having in mind its succinctness, and the strategy of economizing with musical space, it is obvious that the Eviç Selâvat focuses its musical form on these two structurally most important pitches: upper tonic and the sixth degree (theoretical evic and neva). This interval of a major third, formed between the upper tonic and the sixth degree, which is in the selâvat always stated in the down-up movement (f^{d#}-d^l-f^{d#}), becomes its marker, which obviously helps to aurally remember it as such. In Ex. 4, this melodic turn of the down-up movement, a-f-a, occurs on the syllables $-l\bar{a}$ and Mu-. Later in our analysis we shall see that the other structurally important theoretical pitches, muhayyer (a) above the evic, dügâh (an octave bellow muhayyer), and tiz çargâh (c above eviç) and çargâh (octave bellow tiz çargâh), become functionally prominent and to some extent pivotal.

In Acemaşiran Selâvat (Ex. 4), the most prominent tones are its upper tonic on a (theoretical acem on f^2), on which the selâvat melody starts, then the third degree above it, $c^{I\#}$ (muhayyer on a^2), and the upper dominant, e^I (tiz çargâh on c^3). The most important interval which immediately tells us that the selâvat is in Acemaşiran

makam is the upward major third, from a to $c^{1\#}$ (acem to muhayyer), performed on the syllables -me and sal-. Although this third is not always the major third, but can be closer to the minor or nutral third, it is this upward leap of a third that gives the instant aural impression that the makam in which the selâvat is, is Acemaşiran. In the second half of this selâvat's melody, all possible doubts about the makam are removed by the very statement of the next prominent interval, this time the minor third, from $c^{1\#}$ to e^1 (muhayyer to tiz çargâh), on the syllable ham. Not only are the two intervals of a third, first major and then minor, stated, but by doing this the most prominent tones of the Acemaşiran makam are emphasized: the tonic on a, and the dominant on e^1 . The other feature of the Acemaşiran makam, i.e. its descending progression (Öztuna 1990/1: 22-24; Signell 1986: 177), will be discussed later, in analysis of Acemaşiran İlâhi.

İhlâs-ı Şerife

After the congregation has finished the performance of the First Sünnet Rek'at-s, one muezzin reads the İhlâs-ı Şerife. As a liturgical textual form, İhlâs-ı Şerife has a four-part structure, which could be schematically represented as:

where a stands for Auzu, b for Besmele, A for the text of the İhlâs Sura itself (K112: 1-4), and B for the Saffat ayets (K37: 180-182). Simplified, the same scheme might be represented as follows,

a	b A (x3)	В
	i	

showing that the **bA** segment (*Besmele* and the sura) is repeated three times during the performance of *İhlâs-ı Şerife*, and appended by the *Saffat* ayets.

Musically, however, *İnlas-ı Şerife* assumes a different form and structure (Ex. 8). The three statements of the sura and the appended *Saffat* ayets musically make four distinguishable segments of the *İnlâs-ı Şerife* as a musical form in the *namaz*. These segments seem to be structured in the way the *hane-s* are structured in the formal organization of Turkish music pieces. Looked in this way, the formal organization of the *İnlâs-ı Şerife* would have the following scheme:

. i			
1 1	Ι Δ	R	
_ A		ע	
•			

Each letter represents a hane, a segment of the musical form of İhlâs-ı Şerife.

Textually, the first A hane consists of Auzu-Besmele and the İhlâs Suresi; the second A hane and the third B hane consist of the Besmele and İhlâs Suresi each; and the final A hane, of the Saffat ayets. Musically, the three hane-s marked with the capital

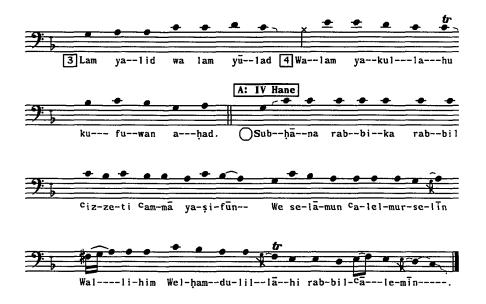
letter **A** are either identical or closely related in the melodic material, *seyir*, and modal procedure, *makam*. The *hane* marked as **B** is the contrasting section of the piece, with melodic material and *makam* procedure.

The *İhlâs-ı Serife*, in Ex. 8, seems to be in the *Ussak makam* although the presence of the *Muhayyer* is strongly felt and corroborated in the cadences. The first two musical renditions of the text of the sura are musically identical, with only the slight melodic changes. Auzu starts on the subtonic, g, and, on the fourth syllable, -bil, proceeds to the tonic, a, remaining on the tonic till the last syllable, making only a slight tonal inflection on the penultimate syllable, ra, again on the subtonic. The Besmele starts on the tonic only to make a leap of a minor third to the third degree, c. on which it will remain for the most part of the sentence, making return to the tonic via the second degree, b one-comma-flat, on the last three syllables, -ra-hī-mī. The Besmele in the second A hane does not end on tonic, but rather remains on the second degree, on which the first syllable of the first ayet, Oul, begins. In the first A hane, the first ayet ends on the tonic, while in the second A hane, the same ayet ends on the second degree, approached from the tonic (a-had: a to b one-comma-flat). The second ayet, Allahu samad, and the third, Lam yalid wa lam yulad, in the first two A hane-s, oscillate between the dominant on d and the tonic on a. However, the fourth ayet, Wa lam ya kullahu kufuwan ahad, moves the melodic progression to the tetrachord bellow the tonic, cadencing on e, the fifth scalar degree, which is the dominant of the Muhayyer makam. The melody touches and emphasizes the two prominent tones of

the *Muhayyer*, b one-comma-flat and $f^{\#}$, ondulating between them. In Ex. 8, I have tentatively marked this cadence as the *Muhayyer cadence*.

The third statement of the sura, in the third hane marked as B, now moves back to the upper range of the Ussak makam scale. Because the second A hane has ended with a cadence on the low pitch e, i.e. the dominant of Muhayyer, a leap of a minor seventh from this e up to d^l , the latter being the dominant of the Ussak, sounds like a striking change of register. The melodic progression in the Besmele of the contrasting third hane rests for the most part on this d^{l} , thus emphasizing the dominant of *Uşşak*, making, on the syllable $m\tilde{a}$, a turn to e^{l} above it, then sliding down to c^{l} , below it, and back to the comfortable dominant on d^{l} . After this, the seyir of the Besmele cadences on the tonic, a, reaching it by way of a downward glissando movement. The melody of the following first ayet also emphasizes the dominant d^{l} , reaching it through the intermediary of c^{I} . In the second ayet of the third **B** hane, attention is moved back, but only temporarily, to the tonic. In the next ayet, the dominant is reinstated. The atention is again focused on the dominant and, in the fourth ayet, on the pitch above it, e^{I} . However, as soon as this upper limit is reached, the melody moves back, in a stepwise progression, towards the tonic of Uşşak, on which it cadences.

Ihlas-i Şerife Uşşak / Muhayyer A: I Hane ku---fu---wan a----ḥao. [*Muhayyer cadence] a----had. hu--wa1---lā---hu a--ḥad 2 A1----lā--huṣ---ṣa---ma---d



Example 8 - Cerrahi İhlâs-ı Şerife

The fourth A hane, with Saffat ayets, has almost the melody as the first two A hane-s. Owing to the different text, the literal reiteration of the melody is here impossible, but the same tonal material and seyir from the first two hane-s are nevertheless present. However, the melody of the last Saffat ayet, Wa'l-hamdulillahi rabbi'l-calamin, makes a remarkable stepwise downward movement from the third degree, c¹, above the tonic of Uşşak, to the c octave below. Here, the seyir again introduces the pivotal pitch ft from the Muhayyer, temporarily emphasizing this makam's lower dominant on e and, in cotrast to the Uşşak's upward movement, the downward movement. Since the final ending of the İhlâs-ı Şerife is not fully audible

on my recording, there is a perception and feeling that the performer actually ended on the lower tonic of *Usşak*, on *A*, or that he intended to do so.

Because in the *Cerrahi Tekkesi* it is the *şeyh* who concludes some of the important sections and parts of the ritual, both the *namaz* and *zikir*, it is he who ends the *İhlâs-ı Şerife* segment of the *namaz*. The *şeyh* smoothly continues the musical performance by taking over the muezzin's *karar* on *c*, and, while pronouncing the *el-Fatiha* formula, cadences on the tonic of *Uşşak*, *A*, approaching it in a stepwise movement from *c*. The whole congregation, led by the group of musically skilled dervishes, takes the *şeyh*'s *karar* and read the *Cerrahi Selâvat* (Ex. 2 above).

Performed in this way, the *İhlâs-ı Şerife* assumes a form comparable to the Turkish classical beste. The beste form consists of four hane-s, of which the first, second and fourth are identical, while the third hane is contrasting (see Chapter Nine, pp. 318-323). This contrast is achieved by modulating into a related makam, changing the register, pivotal tones and seyir. Since the relationship between the classical beste and the *İhlâs-ı Şerife* is not one-to-one, I am here proposing to view the *İhlâs-ı Şerife* as a musical form built on the beste principle, i.e. a form which the performer constructs having in mind the musical concept of beste. Melodically, each hane in our *İhlâs-ı Şerife* consists of two musical phrases, the first including the (Auzu-) Besmele and the firsty two ayets, while the second phrase comprises the remaining two ayets of the *İhlâs* sura. The first phrase cadences on the tonic of Uşşak, and the second, on the lower dominant of Muhayyer. This cadence on the dominant of Muhayyer in the first two A hane-s is a springboard for the contrasting B hane, which, after moving the

melody to the contrasting higher register and emphasizing the dominant of *Uşşak*, itself cadences on the tonic of *Uşşak*, thus resolving the tension and bringing the seyir back to the original makam of *Uşşak*, in which the final A hane concludes. The Itrî's Pençgâh Beste (Chpt. 9, Ex. 7), for example, follows the similar pathway: the first hane cadences on the neva, the dominant of Pençgâh; the second hane cadences on eviç, a minor third above neva, thus moving the melody to the higher register; the third hane, after exploring this contrasting higher register, cadences on the neva, the dominant of the original Pencgâh makam, thus preparing the terrain for the fourth hane; the last hane is the literal repetition of the first two hane-s, the only difference being that its karar is this time firmly and definitely the pitch rast, i.e. the tonic of Pencgâh.

This relation between the classical beste and the İhlâs-ı Şerife is, of course, only in principle, and that is why I am here talking about the Beste Principle. The mirror relation is out of question for several reasons: one and probably the most important among them is the text. The beste uses the classical murabba form, while the İhlâs-ı Şerife uses the text from the Kur'an, which is not in any aruz nor is it rhymed. The terennüm, another important feature of the beste, is excluded from the İhlâs-ı Şerife, as well, since the nonsensical words or exclamations are not a part of the Muslim ritual worship.

Kıraat

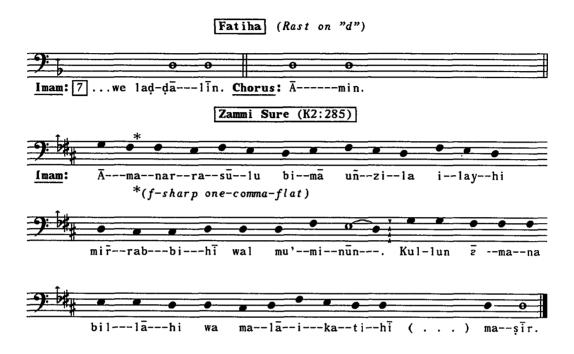
The ktraat is a form which consists of two parts. The first and indespensable part is the Fatiha sura, the second part, the Zamm-i Sure. According to the Hanefi mezheb, the reading of the Fatiha might be concluded with the silent pronunciation of the word amin, by the congregation. However, in namaz-s performed in the Cerrahi Tekkesi, this otherwise silent formula is uttered loud enough so that it cannot be called silent. All the congregation and musicians/muezzins perform it softly and in unison on the imam's karar from the Fatiha (Ex. 9).

Musically, the *kiraat* is performed in a single *makam*, and because of its brevity and liturgical function, no elaborate musical procedures are used. It is only rarely that the modulation occurs, and when it does it is introduced only passingly, as a touch to the performance. The complex *seyir* is also absent and the tonal range is mostly limited to the lower tetra-/pentachord of the *makam*, i.e. to the tonal span between its tonic and dominant.

In Ex. 9, the kiraat of the First Farz Rek'at of the Yatsi Part is performed in Rast makam on d. At the end of Fatiha, the imam cadences on the tonic of Rast, carefully and intentionally extending the duration of the two last syllables, dal-lin, from the final Fatiha's ayet. This cadencing by the imam, i.e. karar, is then taken by the congregation who utter the two-syllable word amin on the same karar and in the

⁴In the *Şii namaz*, however, the pronunciation of the *Amin* Formula after the *Fatiha* is regarded as *batil*, an action which voids the *namaz* (Burgei 1988: 56).

same way as the imam did with the dal-lin, intentionally extending, on the Rast's tonic, d, the duration of each syllable.



Example 9 - The Karar in the Fatiha, Amin, and Zammı Sure (First Yatsı Rek'at)

Before the congregation finishes the extended holding of the second syllable of amin, the imam continues with the reading of the Zamm Sure. In the above example he chose to read the penultimate ayet from the Baqarah Sura (K2:285), a famous ayet ubiquitously recognized in Turkey as the "Amanar-Rasûlu," the name which comes from the ayet's initial words. The pauses are not allowed in this exchange of karar:

⁵This is the practice in Turkey to remember and name the suras and ayets according to either their initial words or their position in a given *cüz*. The learned practice of stating the correct name of the sura and the specific number of ayet in a

the congregation takes imam's karar before he finishes the holding of the final Fatiha's syllable, $l\bar{l}n$, and in return, the imam continues with the next part of kuraat before the congregation finishes its own final syllable. The exchange is tight and compact.

The tonal range in which the imam performs the Zammi Sure is narrow, comprising a span of a diminished fifth, $c^{\#}-g$, which might not be enough for any firm establishing of a makam. However, his insistence on the specific melodic movement and motivic turns makes the piece's seyir unmistakenly that of the Rast. He does it by continuously repeating and therefore obviously stressing the motivic turn of descending stepwise movement from the third makam's degree, in this case f^{t} , to the tonic, d, approached by the intermediary of the second degree, e. This motivic turn of a descending trichord is specific for the Rast and the emphasis on this makes the makam corroborated over and over again. The fourth degree, g, appears only at the beginning of musical phrases which coincide with the sentences in the ayet: on Amanar and Kullun, where it acts as the tone whose purpose is to lead down to the pivotal third degree, f^* . The degree below the tonic, c^* , acts as a leading tone to the pivotal tonic, and it appears only occasionally, as a turn, d-c#-d, which again emphasizes the tonic. The phrases are ended with *karar*-s on extended durations, thus structurally breaking the Zammi Sure into smaller segments. The first karar occurs at the end of the first sentence, on the word mu'minun, where the duration of the syllable nun is prolonged

sura is not observed by the hafizes, imams and muezzins, who prefer the traditional naming, memorization, and organization of the Kur'an.

on the second degree, e, thus creating the suspension before the tonic is reached. This suspension is not repeated at the end of the *Zammu Sure*, where the last two syllables, $ma-s\bar{s}r$, are both rendered on the tonic of *Rast*.

In Turkish context, kiraat is the reading from the Kur'an during the performance of the rek'at-s in namaz. As such it is performed in one of the three main styles of reading the Kur'an. The three styles are widely known in Turkey as the:

- hatm
- mukahele
- aşr.

More colloquially, these styles are respectively also called the *çabuk*, *orta*, and *yavaş okuma*, i.e., the fast, medium, and slow reading. In the Arabic context in Cairo, Kristina Nelson calls these styles "the three ways of reciting the Qur'an (*turuq*)," quoting them as the *tahqīq*, *hadr*, and *tadwīr*. She writes that,

Tahqiq is a very slow recitation in which the reciter takes the longest durations, the most complete articulations... Sayx Sacid al-Sahhar adds that this is the basis of melodic reciting in general. Hadr is very quick recitation in which the reciter takes the shortest durations, as well as all options to lighten, drop, elide, or assimilate phonemes. As explained by Sayx al-Sahhar, this is how one recites to oneself, usually under the breath, and in a monotone. Tadwir is recitation of medium tempo. Again, there is a correlation with the durational options, the reciter choosing the middle range of durations (Nelson 1985: 20).

It is obvious that both in Cairo and Istanbul these three styles of Kur'anic reading are similar. Both the Turkish colloquial terms, *çabuk*, *orta*, *yavaş*, and the Egyptian learned terms, *ḥadr*, *tadwir*, *tahqiq*, relate to the speed of the performance.

The Turkish learned terms, hatm, mukabele, aṣr, all of Arabic provenience, rather relate to the purpose of the reading from the Kur'an, which itself dictates the speed. The Arabic verb خته, xatm, literally means to put the seal, conclude, as well as to complete the reading of the Kur'an. The latter sense is included in the Turkish noun hatm or hatim. Since it is the amount of straightforward text to be read which carries the emphasis, and not the aesthetic quality of its rendition, the speed is fast, thus providing the time for reading the longer sections from the Kur'an.

The purpose of *aṣr* is not to perform as many ayets but rather to emphasize the aesthetic quality of performance and the skill of the performer. Thus, as its very name suggests, the number of ayets in the *aṣr* rendition is very limited, although it is rarely the number ten. Ten is here used rather as a metaphor for the style. The reading is slow, embellished, with long pauses between the ayets or after the *waqf*-s, suggesting the spiritual reflection, aesthetic enjoyment in the beauty of text and its musical performance, and carefully combining to the highest degree the *tacvid* rules with those of Turkish music.

Mukabele is the medium speed reading. The name comes from the Arabic مقابلة, muqabalah, a facing another, confronting. Mukabele is a term which signifies the reading of the Kur'an in which several readers take consecutive turns. In the Cerrahi Tekkesi, for example, mukabele is read regularly every Thursday night, before the Yatsı Namazı, although it is sometimes replaced by the reading of the Mevlud. In

⁶Baranov gives a compound, ختم القرآن, xatmu'l-Qur'ān, translating it in Russian as "зако́нчитъ изуче́ние Кора́на," "to conclude the reading of the Qur'an" (1958: 265).

the Beyazıt Mosque, mukabele is performed during the month of Ramazan, between the Öğle and İkindi Namazı. During Ramazan, some of the best readers of the Kur'an in Istanbul frequent the most famous mosques, especially the Fatih and Beyazıt. During the Ramazan of 1991, the readers would read mukabele in the Fatih Mosque before the Öğle, and afterwards would come to the Beyazıt. They would form several groups in the interior of the mosque, circled by their small group of listeners, and simultaneously read from the Kur'an. Beyazıt's imam, İsmail Biçer, would sit in the mihrab; the famous Kâni Karaca would sit with his group of two or three hafizes in the right nave of the mosque, while my teacher, İsmail Hakkıçimen, would sit under the mahfil. Since all of them would try their best in the quality of performance, strict following the tecvid rules, and the loudness of voice, the resulting mixture of their voices echoing through the interior of the mosque, as well as the melange of different Kur'anic ayets being simultaneously read and in different makam-s, would create an interesting and really appealing aural cachophony.

Since, during *Ramazan*, the *mukabele* is read every day for a whole month, the intention of every single reader is to finish the whole Kur'an at least once during that period. Also, since every group of readers performs several pages from the Kur'an daily (ideally it would be a *cüz*, but that is rarely if ever met), readers perform their text consecutively, each reading a page or two of Kur'anic text. The amount of text

⁷At the time of my fieldwork, in some mosques, such as the Lâle Cami in Erzurum, the imam used to read alone a portion from the Kur'an daily before every Öğle Namazı. This practice of solo reading of longer sections from the Kur'an is also called *mukabele*, although it technically is not. Some other mosque throughout Turkey maintain this practice throughout the year after the Sabah Namazı.

and the pressing need to obey to the rules, requires from the performers to have this on their mind all the time, and therefore to read the text with medium speed, without letting themselves to stray into the excesses of the artistically embellished *aşr* style. But, since the competition is always present in such an atmosphere of several groups of readers in accoustically very compact space, excesses do occasionally happen.

For all practical purposes, the styles of Kur'anic reading used in the *namaz* are the *hatm* and *aşr*. The *hatm* is used in the *kıraat*, while *aşr* is reserved for the final segment of *namaz*, also called *Aşr*.

In the *Teravih Namazı*, the *kıraat*-s of the *Teravih* Part are read in a much faster speed than those in the *Yatsı* or *Vitir* Parts, or the *kıraat*-s in the other daily *farz namaz*-s. I was told that this is self-explanatory, since the *Teravih* Part has twenty *rek'at*-s, and therefore the same number of *kıraat*-s. Any slower tempo of their reading would unwantedly extend the duration of *namaz*, and become a physical burden for the congregation.

Tekbir-s and Tahmid-s

Musically, the *tekbir*-s and *tahmid*-s are delivered in the same *makam* in which the *kıraat* was performed, thus giving the *modal unity* to the *rek'at*. The *tekbir* and *tahmid* are the short textual formulae, *dua*-s, which precede and announce the bodily and textual actions/segments of the *rek'at*. Contrary to the *kıraat*-s, which can be either silent or aloud, depending on the time of *namaz*, the *tekbir*-s and *tahmid*-s are,

regardless of the time of *namaz*, always uttered aloud by the imam, and then silently repeated by the congregation.

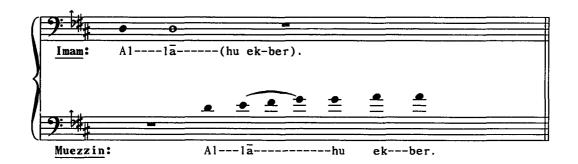
The Cuma Namazi is an exception to this since the imam's tekbir-s and tahmid-s are repeated aloud by the muezzin. Since this namaz is the most crowded ritual worship, the imam's tekbir-s and tahmid-s might not be heard by everybody, especially in the bigger mosques. Because the tekbir-s and tahmid-s are of crucial importance for the uniform congregational performance of the bodily segments of rek'at, the muezzin repeats them aloud in a high-pitched voice, so that everybody can hear them. Owing to the muezzin's amplified voice coming through the loud speakers in the mosque, the uniformity of bodily actions is thus secured.

During the month of *Ramazan*, the same technique of performing the *tekbir*-s between the imam and muezzin is also used in the *Teravih Namazı* performed in the *Cerrahi Tekkesi*.

Because the performance of a single *rek'at* consists of three different bodily positions, as well as the movements to those positions, the *tekbir* announces the act of assuming each position. However, the *tekbir*, like some other instances in the Muslim liturgy and culture in general, might have a twofold or even manifold meaning and function. Because these instances represent border-cases, their single understanding and meaning is often hard if not altogether impossible to define in a simplistic and monistic way. The cases like these are rather *polysemous*. Depending on how one looks at them they will relatively easily fit into one or another perspective of the observer. The reason why the *tekbir* can be understood as both demarcating the end of

something, and announcing the beginning of something else, may be hidden in the structure of the rek'at, in which the verbal and somatic actions constantly alternate. The somatically performed segments of the rek'at, i.e., its bodily postures, are its silent parts, during which nothing but the noise of the moving bodies and maybe the soft whispering of the believers is heard. The tekbir-s, together with the kıraat-s, are, on the other side, the only audible parts of the rek'at, which sound like a familiar refrain and aural markers. Since the performance of the somatic segments of the rek'at, i.e. kıyam, rükû, and secde, as well as the actual time spent while remaining in these positions, take several seconds, and since their congregational performance must be uniform, their actual end has to be announced by the imam. Although the imam's tekbir is uttered in order to announce the switch to another bodily position, it can be also understood as an aural marker which ends the previous bodily position. This ambivalence of the liturgical function of the tekbir becomes even more prominent after the rükû and secde, when congregation, without seeing the imam, but nevertheless on his signal, has to uniformly change the position. In these instance, tekbir really functions both as the marker of the end of previous bodily position and the signal for assuming the next one.

The *iftitah tekbiri*, which is pronounced by the imam immediately after the *niyet*, announces the *ktyam*, i.e. standing position in which the *ktraat* is read. The next *tekbir*, called the *rükû tekbiri*, which the imam utters immediately after he finishes the reading of the *ktraat*, announces the *rükû*, bowing position (Ex. 10).

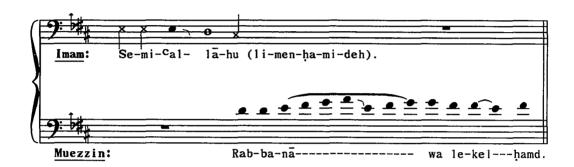


Example 10 - Rükû Tekbir

The imam reads the *Rükû Tekbir* on the same *karar*, *d*, on which he has ended the *Zammi Sure*, thus preserving the same *makam*. Before he finishes the *tekbir*, and moves into the *rükû*, the muezzin jumps in and repeats the tekbir, but an octave higher. This change of register gives an ample opportunity to the muezzin to increase the strength of his voice and thus make it sure that everybody hears it. With regard to the *İnlâs-ı Şerife*, the musically dramatic effects are realized with the muezzin's change of register in the third *hane* (see p. 350 above), which is usually done by moving the melodic progression to the area of the dominant and above. In the *tekbir* from Ex. 10, the muezzin goes from the tonic of *Rast*, *d*, to its dominant, *a*, emphasizing the two pivotal tones of *makam*. The muezzin's melodic movement to the dominant leaves the impression that the musical thought is not yet finished and that the *seyir* is to be continued.

Because the congregation cannot see the imam while in $r\ddot{u}k\hat{u}$ position, they have to wait for another aural signal to again assume the standing position. This

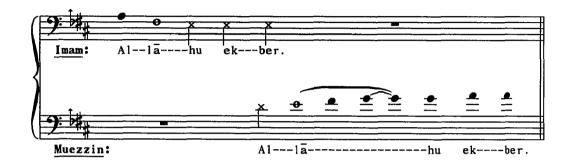
signal is given by the imam's pronunciation of the *tahmid*, which consists of the formula: "Sami^callāhū liman ḥamidah." Again, like in the previous tekbir, the muezzin jumps in, without waiting for the imam to finish his *tahmid*, and utters his response, the second *tahmid* sentence, "Rabbanā laka'l-ḥamā" (Ex. 11).



Example 11 - Tahmid

This time, the muezzin again shouts the response an octave higher, moves up to the dominant, and ends on the third degree of Rast, f* one-comma-flat. For the remaining tekbir-s which announce the two secde-s, the intermediary sitting, and the next rek'at, the imam and the muezzin keep their own separate registers, with the muezzin stressing the dominant. The muezzin's final repetition of the imam's last tekbir in the first rek'at ends on the dominant as well. Turkish muezzins and imams do this deliberately, thus musically emphasizing the upward bodily movement. After the second secde of the first rek'at, the tekbir announces the ktyam of the second rek'at. The imam, followed by the congregation, raises up to the standing position in

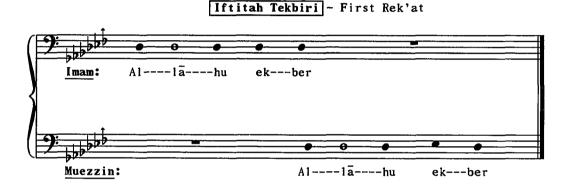
which he will read the *ktraat* of the second *rek'at*. This movement is replicated in the muezzin's emphasis on the dominant (Ex. 12).



Example 12 - The Last Tekbir in the First Rek'at

This tension between the imam's lower octave emphasis on tonic and the muezzin's upper octave insistance on the *makam*'s dominant is not always present, especially not in those segments of *namaz* where such a tension is not required. Thus, at the end of the second *rek'at*, when the congregation performs the *Ettahiyat*, the muezzin's upward melodic jump to the dominant would be inappropriate. In these instances, the muezzin remains on the tonic as well, emhasizing the imam's *karar* also on the tonic of the *makam*. The other instance of this *tonic bound* muezzin's *tekbir* response is the *İftitah Tekbiri* from the first *rek'at* of the *Teravih* Part. Here, Ex. 13, the muezzin almost literally repeats the imam's *tekbir*, remaining in the same register and on the tonic of the *Rast*. This *tekbir* the imam performs on the *karar* which he overtakes from the chorally performed Opaning *Selâvat* in *Rast makam*.

Opening Selâvat - Teravih Part Rast on "do" Chorus: Al--la--hum--me șal--li ca--la Mu----ḥam-----med



Example 13 - İftitah Tekbiri - Frist Rek'at of the Teravih Part

Dua-s

Depending on their place and function within the *namaz*, the *ibadet dua*-s are performed either silently, *hafi*, or aloud, *cehri*. The *hafi dua*-s are uttered individually by every member of congregation, including the muezzin and imam, and, to the best of my knowledge and experience, they do not bear any relevance to the music. In certain instances and on special occasions, however, some of the *hafi dua*-s the muezzin performs *cehri*, in which case the congregation listens to them, without

themselves being bound to utter them silently. In other instances, some of the *cehri dua*-s are performed by several muezzins in unison. This joining of several muezzins in the performance of certain *dua*-s adds to the richness of sound and volume, and is practiced only in the bigger and more important mosques, as well as in the *Cerrahi Tekkesi*, which have several muezzins and whose congregation is musically more appreciative.

Once musically configured, the *cehri dua*-s become the musical segments of *namaz*, i.e. the *musical dua*-s. In the outer sections of *namaz*, i.e. in Introduction and Conclusion, the carriers of music are the *dua*-s of the Text Segments, while in the Core Section, it is the *dua*-s from the *Rek'at* Segment (Table 3).

Table 3 - Standard Musical Structure of Namaz

		NAMAZ		
	Introduction	Core	Conclusion	
Opening Selâvat S e Salâvat-ı Şerife* g m e in t i İhlâs-ı Şerife*	Opening Selâvat		Estağfurullah*	
	G.10 G.:C+	Farz Rek'at-s Segment: Tekbir-s	Allahumme Entesselamu	S e gg g
	Saiavai-i Şerije*		Ala Rasulina Selavat	
	4	Kıraat -s**	Subhanallahi	m e n
		Tesbih	t	
	Kamet	Selâm	La İlaha İllallahu	s
			Aşır*	

^{*} Optional segments; neither one performed in the Akşam Namazı.

^{**} Performed only in the first two rek'at-s of cehri namaz-s.

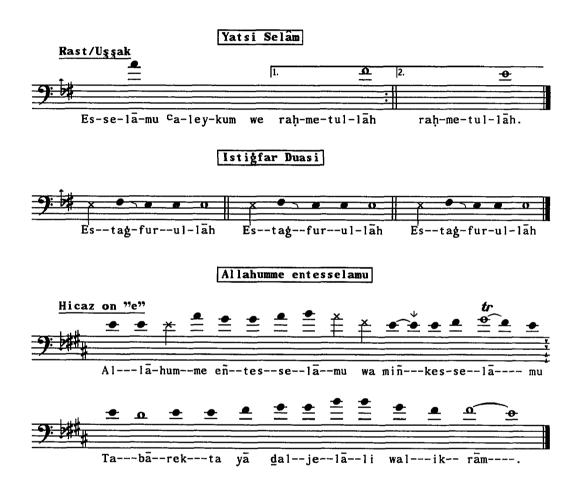
Selâm, İstiğfar Duası, Allahume Entesselamu

Uttered at the end of *Rek'at* Segments, *selam* has two functions, one of which is ritual, the other musical. Its ritual function is to conclude the *Rek'at* Segment as a part of *namaz*; musically, it represents a point in which the muezzin and/or congregation overtake the musical lead from the imam, thus exchanging the musical roles.

Since it ritually concludes the Rek'at Segment, selâm is usually given in the same makam in which the Rek'at Segment was performed. However, in the selâm which concludes the farz Rek'at Segment of daily namaz-s, the imam might decide to change the karar, and instead of cadencing on the tonic of the makam used in the Rek'at Segment, he might decide to change the makam and therefore cadence on the tonic of new makam, thus giving to the muezzin a new karar. In the conclusion of the Yatsi Part of Teravih Namazi, the imam, in the first statement of selâm (Ex. 14), starts with the dominant of Rast, a', and cadences on the third degree, f'* one-comma-flat. In the second statement of the selâm's sentence, however, the imam does not cadence on the tonic of Rast, d', as one would expect to happen; instead he rather chooses to cadence on the tone e'. By giving the new karar, the imam signals to the muezzin that he should proceed from this new karar and therefore change the makam. Although the information is insufficient, one might speculate that the imam actually signalled the switch to the Usşak.

Since at this point the group of muezzins continue with the choral unison pronouncement of the İstiğfar Duası, they emphasize this new karar on e^{l} . İstiğfar

Duasi is repeated thre times, and the new karar is firmly established, so that the next section of namaz, Allahumme Entesselamu, is safely in the new makam (Ex. 14).



Example 14 - Yatsı Selâm

Allahumme Entesselamu is performed solo by a muezzin who overtakes the karar on e^{I} from the İstiğfar Duası. In order to make the contrast and thus clearly separate the previous segments of namaz from the next one, the muezzin changes the

register by performing this *dua* an octave higher. As before, during his exchange with the imam in the performance of *tekbir*-s, the sheer switch of register gives an opportunity to the muezzin to amplify his voice and musically emphasize his role.

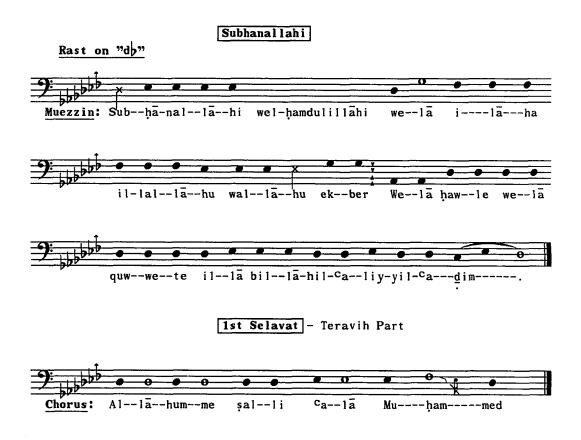
The new makam is Hicaz on e. A direct jump from the Selâm in the Rast makam on d to the Allahumme Entesselamu in the Hicaz makam on e would be abrupt and against the rules of musical progression and modulation. But, the imam's intentional cadencing on e, as well as the choral emphasis of this new karar in the İstiğfar Duası, made the change of makam, from Rast to Hicaz, smooth and well established.

Subhanallahi

In the Teravih Namazi, the Allahumme Entesselamu Duasi announces the performance of the Last Sünnet Rek'at-s of the Yatsi Part. Since this bodily segment of namaz is performed individually and therefore silently, without the leadership of the imam, it represents a break in the musical continuity of namaz. This also means that the idea of the makam unity is temporarily interrupted by this segment and that the new textual segment, Subhanallahi Duasi, could be brought in virtually any makam. However, the muezzin chooses to return to the Rast, the makam in which the next part of namaz, the Teravih, begins.

Contrary to the *Allahumme Entesselamu*, which was brought in the high register, *Subhanallahi* is in the lower register. Its function is twofold: to end the *Yatsu* Part, and serve as an aural ritual/musical bridge to the next, *Teravih* Part. Since the

high register is usually used by the muezzin to emphasize the dramatic peaks in the namaz, by using the sheer power of his voice, the function of the Subhanallahi Duasi does not require any such drama or tension; the congregation is now to be prepared for the performance of the next crucial part of Teravih Namazi, and the muezzin performs the Subhanallahi in the same register in which the First Selâvat of the Teravih Part is performed. The group of muezzins/dervishes/musicians pick up the muezzin's karar from the Subhanallahi and continue with the First Selâvat (Ex. 15).



Example 15 - Subhanallahi and the First Teravih Selâvat

Ayet and Amin Duasi

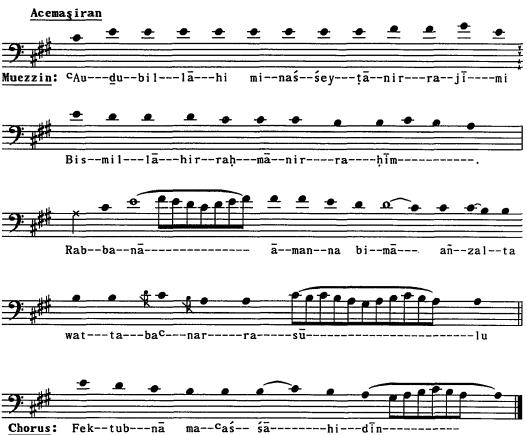
Teravih Part ends with the reading of the 53rd ayet from the third Kur'anic sura, Ali-Imran (K3:53). This ayet is prefaced by the Auzu-Besmele formula, and it consists of two sentences:

Rabbanā āmannā bimā anzalta wa't-taba'-na'r-rasūla; fak-tubnā ma'a'š-šāhidīn.

"Our Lord! We believe in that which Thou hast revealed and we follow him whom Thou hast sent. Enroll us among those who witness (to the truth)."

The way this ayet is performed is symbolic. According to the tradition and the readily available explanation among the Turkish imams, muezzins, and hafizes, one of the purposes of *Teravih Namazı* is to read the whole Kur'an through, ideally having read one *cüz* per day. Since the *Teravih* Part has twenty *rek'at*-s, and therefore twenty *kuraat*-s, a substantial part of Kur'an can be read in just one *Teravih Namazı*. In this sense, this *namaz* represents a kind of ritual celebration of the month of *Ramazan* and the Kur'an. Thus, the above quoted *Āli-ʿImrān* ayet, which ends the *Teravih* Part, is a symbolic summation of the reading of the Kur'an, expressing the Muslims' firm belief in God's revelation and their following of His *rasūl*, Muhammed. The first sentence summarizes these two firm beliefs and is read solo by a muezzin. The second ayet's sentence, expressing the shared request of the believers to be enrolled by God among those who witness the truth, is performed chorally (Ex. 16).

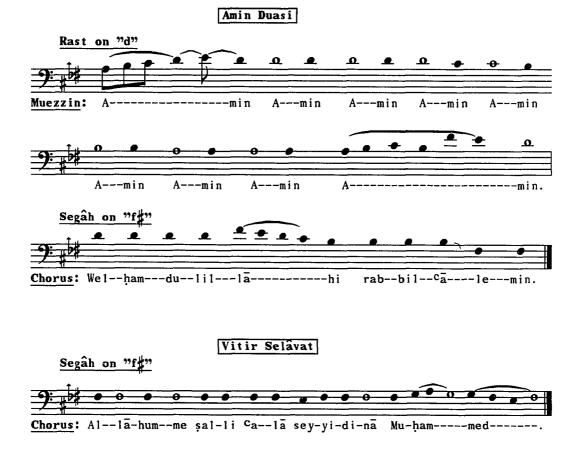
Ayet (K3:53)



Example 16 - Âli-Imran Ayet

Following this choral response, one muezzin continues with reading the *Amin Duasi* (Ex. 17). This dua consists of several repetitions of the word *amin*, which is in this case repeated nine times; this number may vary and is not fixed. It is performed

in a lamenting and very emotional tone, with descending stepwise melodic line. The makam is Rast on d, approached in a stepwise upward movement from tone a, on which the previous choral sentence of Ayet ended. In the Ayet, this a was the tonic of Acemaşiran. The muezzin who performed the Amin Duasi took that choral karar and changed its function to the lower dominant of Rast (Ex. 17).



Example 17 - Rast Amin Duasi and the Segâh Vitir Opening Selâvat

In the first two repetitions of the word *amin*, muezzin stayed on the tone d^l , thus emphasizing and establishing it as a new tonic of *Rast*. The third repetition of the word starts on the same tone, but then, on the second syllable, slides down to the subtonic, $c^{l\#}$. This melodic movement is repeated in the next repetition of the word: first syllable on $c^{l\#}$, the second on b. The muezzin then reaches the lower dominant of *Rast*, a, repeating the word *amin* on this pitch twice, and establishing it firmly as a pivotal tone of *Rast*. The final repetition of the word starts from that lower dominant, moves up in a melismatic progression to the subtonic, and then leaps to the third degree of *makam*, another pivotal tone of *Rast*. The cadencing formula is typical for *Rast* - downward stepwise movement from the third degree to the tonic: $f^{l\#}$ one-comma-flat - e^l - d^l .

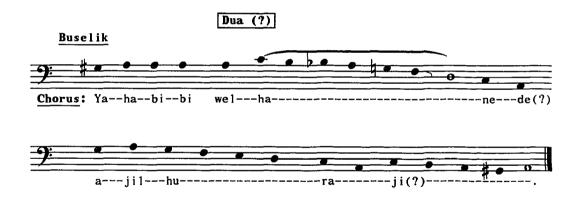
In their choral response to *Amin*, muezzins/musicians/congregation take the muezzin's karar on d^l , the tonic of *Rast*, and perform the final *Teravih* Part sentence, *Wa'l-ḥamdulillāhi rabbi'l-ʿalamī*. However, they do not stay in *Rast*, since the next part, *Vitir*, is introduced with its own *selâvat*, which is usually in the *Segâh makam*. In order to accommodate this need, muezzins/musicians have to make a quick modulation from *Rast* to *Segâh*. In the melismatic downward movement on the syllable -*lā*, from *Wa'l-ḥamdulillāh*, instead of coming back to tonic of *Rast*, d^l , they drop two degrees down, to *b*, which they emphasize by holding it on the next four syllables, -*hi rab-bi'l-ʿa-*, finally making a glissando from *b* to f^{t} one-comma-flat. Doing this, they establish the new *makam*, the *Segâh* on f^{t} one-comma-flat. Then, they smoothly proceed to the *Vitir* Opening *Selâvat*, which continues on the same *karar*.

In the Rükû Tekbir of the third Vitir rek'at, the imam announces a new makam, Buselik, by using a melodic turn specific for it (Ex. 18):



Example 18 - Buselik Melodic Turn

The new tonic of *Buselik*, on a, is emphasized in the *Vitir Selâm*, after which the *Buselik makam* is fully stated in the following choral dua (Ex. 19).8



Example 19 - Buselik Dua

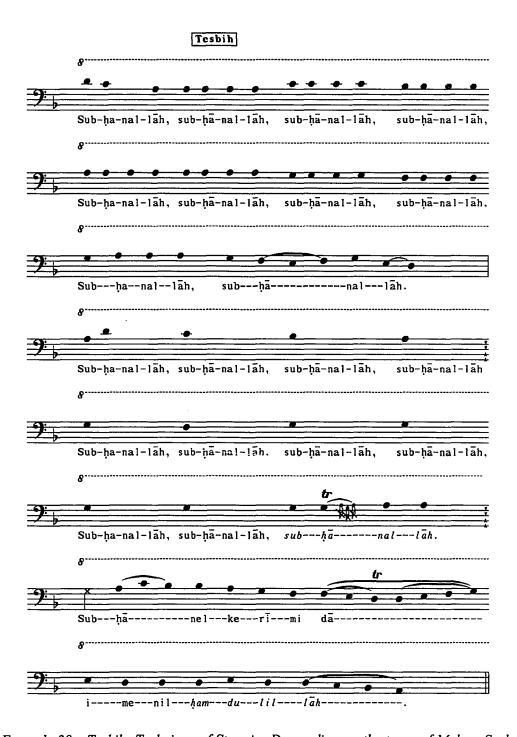
The ensuing formula, 'Alā rasūlinā ṣalawāt, is another aural marker, performed by the muezzin solo, signaling the beginning of the final part of namaz, the Tesbih. In

⁸I was not able to trace the text of this dua.

the five daily farz namaz-s, which do not have the lengthy Teravih Part, this formula connects the Allahume Entesselamu and the Subhanallahi. Since the latter, performed once before the Teravih Part, must follow the formula Ala rasulina selâvat, it is repeated again here. The register in which the muezzin performs it is the highest so far in namaz. This high register is kept for the duration of the whole Tesbih. The Ayetel Kürsî, which is introduced by the Subhanallahi, is read aloud, by a muezzin. The makam which the Subhanallahi introduces is the Muhayyer-Kürdî, which, during the Ayetel Kürsî, changes into Acem-Kürdî. The modulation from Buselik of the previous dua to Muhayyer-Kürdî of the Subhanallahi is simple. After the choral cadencing on the karar of Buselik, in the dua (Ex. 19), the muezzin performs the Ala Rasulina on the same karar, only two octaves higher. Since this karar is also the tonic of the Muhayyer-Kürdî makam, it serves as a springboard for the modulation to it from the Buselik.

The *Tesbih* proper remains in the *Acem-Kürdî makam* (Ex. 20). Muezzin performs it with the same dirge-like passion and using the same technique of stepwise descending on the scalar degrees of the *makam*, which he used in the *Amin Duasi* (Ex. 17).

⁹The reason for this high pitched register is the personal preference of the muezzin Sami.



Example 20 - Tesbih: Technique of Stepwise Descending on the tones of Makam Scale

Ayetel Kürsî ends with the word suhbanallah, with the karar on the Acem-Kürdî tonic, a. The muezzin starts the Tesbih by jumping up to the Acem-Kürdî dominant on d^2 , an octave and a half above the *karar*, thus changing the register. Then, in the second statement of the word subhanallah he moves back to the tonic, a^{l} , and in the third statement up to c^2 , the tone which also serves as another dominant of this makam. Now the muezzin repeats the word subhanallah nineteen times, each time descending to the next lower scale degree (Ex. 20). In his final statement of the word, he extends it into a sentence, Subhana'l-karimi daimani'l-hamdulillah. The last word of this sentence, al-hamdulillah, uttered on the tonic of Acem-Kürdî, is a schlagwort for the next Tesbih formula. After repeating the al-hamdulillah thirteen times in a likewise fashion, gradually descending on the scales degrees, the muezzin again extends the word into another sentence, al-hamdulillahi rabbi'l-calamina tacala šanuhu'llahu akbar. And finally, the last words of this sentence. Allahu akbar, as the ending section of Tesbih, are now repeated twenty-one times. The formula Allahu akbar finally extends into a sentence, Allahu akbar 'azam karima, which ends on the karar (the lower tonic on a) of the Acem-Kürdî makam.

The next dua, La ilaha illallahu, cadences on the same karar, followed by another dirge-like Amin Duasi in the high register. In five daily namaz-s, the La ilaha illallahu is followed by a silent section called Dua, which ends the Tesbih segment of namaz. In the Teravih Namazi, this silent Dua is read aloud by a muezzin, in which case it consists, like the Amin Duasi, of a single word amin.

In the daily namaz-s, on the other hand, the muezzin ends the silent Dua by uttering the sentence, Wa'l-ḥamdulillāhi rabbi'l-ʿālamin (Ex. 21). This sentence either concludes the whole event of namaz or, if the Aşr is to be performed, it serves as a musical and ritual introduction to Aşr. In the Teravih Namazı, this sentence is chorally performed in Acemaşiran makam on a. The imam's reading of Aşr starts on the karar of Acemşiran and then continues in Acem makam. Finally, after the Aşr is finished, the Cerrahi congregation picks up the imam's karar and concludes the whole event of Teravih Namazı with a choral reading of the Cerrahi Selâvat (Ex. 21).

Welhamdilillahi Acemaşiran on "a" Muezzin: Wel-ham--du-lil--la----hi rab-bil-ca-le-min--Aşr Acem CA---u---du-bil--la-hi-min-aś-śey-ta-nir-ra-ji---mi---Imam: Bis--mil---la---hir--raḥ---ma--nir------ḥīm----...Rab---bil Cerrahi Selâvati șal--li ^ca---lā sey-yi-di-nā Al---la-hum--me Chorus: Mu-ham-med.

Example 21 - Concluding section of the Teravih Namazı

İlâhi

İlâhi is a religious poetic-musical form traditionally performed in the *tasavvuf* context, but also in the mosques. In the *tekke-s*, *ilâhi-s* are the unavoidable part and parcel of *zikir-s* and *Mevlevî ayin*, ¹⁰ while in mosques they are performed on special occasions, such as *Teravih Namazı*. Today, *ilâhi-s* can be also heard on the radio and television and in public concerts.

In the West, the term is usually translated as hymn, which partially makes sense since *ilâhi*, like the ancient Greek or Christian hymns, is a song in praise of gods, God, or saints. The name comes from the Arabic الاهي, *ilāhī*, divine, godly, heavenly.¹¹ Hence, *ilâhi*, the divine song, i.e. the song with divine contents.

The text of an *ilâhi* is exclusively religious, and often *tasavvuf*. Different Sufi orders in Turkey might use different *ilâhi*-s. Some *ilâhi*-s are regarded as exclusively belonging to a specific *tarikat*, especially if the text mentions the name of the *tarikat*'s founder, *pir*.

Regarding *ilâhi*, Öztuna says that it is the most used form in Turkish religious music, and that it is equivalent to the secular musical form of *şarkı*, lit. song., adding

¹⁰A copy of Ismail Dede Efendi's *Hüzzam Ayin-i Şerif-i*, written in 1834 (Öztuna 1990/1: 397), which I have obtained in the *Cerrahi Tekkesi*, begins with the Tanburi Osman Bey's *Hüzzam Peşrevi*, in *Devr-i Kebir usûl*, and ends with the *Segâh İlâhi* and the *Segâh Yürük Sema'î*. In this *tekke*, the *ayin* is performed following the score.

¹¹An attribute, itself derived from the noun الة *ilāh* or الله *ilāh*, pl. آلهة *ālihah*, god, deity, as opposed to الله, Allāh, God.

that *ilâhi* could be briefly explained as the "religious *şarkı*" (1990/1: 385). Contrary to the secular text of the *şarkı*, the text of *ilâhi* is always religious but, like *şarkı*, very often in the classical poetic pattern of *murabba*, although other patterns, such as *muhammes, müseddes*, as well as *müsemmen*, are found (see Chapter Nine, pp. 321-322). However, there are also the cases where the text of *ilâhi* is not strophic, but the whole *ilâhi* consists of non-strophic succession of verses in the same *aruz*, and therefore does not conform to any of the above classical poetic patterns.

In the Turkish context, the text of an *ilâhi* is in Turkish. However, in southeastern Anatolia, Kurds perform their *ilâhi*-s in Kurdish, while in Bosnia the Muslims sing at least some of their *ilâhi*-s in Serbo-Croatian/Bosnian.¹⁴ Thus it seems that *ilâhi* as a musico-poetic religious form got written or translated into other vernacular languages, the same as happened with *mevlûd*, a poem depicting the birth of the Prophet Muhammed.¹⁵

¹²"Dinî Türk Musikisi'nde en fazla kullanılan şekil. Dindışı musikimizin şarkı formuna karşılıktır. Bu küçük formu kısaca 'dinî şarkı' diye açıklamak mümkündür" (Öztuna 1990/2: 385).

¹³Regarding the meter, it seems that the poetic lines of *ilâhi* can be composed of seven, eight, ten, eleven, fourteen, or even sixteen syllables.

¹⁴Many of the *ilâhi*-s are sung in Turkish, since many of them have been brought to Bosnia directly from Turkey.

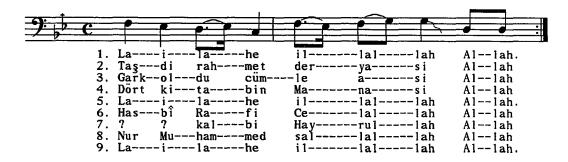
¹⁵The first Turkish *mevlûd*, entitled *Mevlid-i Şerif*, was composed probably in the early fifteenth century by Süleyman Çelebi, who died in Bursa, in 1421 (see Çelebi nd). During my fieldwork in Diyarbakır, in the summer of 1990, I have recorded sections from the *mevlûd* in Kurdish. The same summer, in Sarajevo, Bosnia, I purchased a book containing a collection of *mevlûd*-s written in Serbo-Croatian, and including Çelebi's original (Anon 1988).

In Teravih Namazı, ilâhi-s are performed only in its Teravih Part, ending each of the five sets of four rek'at-s (see Chapter 8, Table 5). Since each set is in a specific makam, it means that the set's concluding ilâhi is in the same makam as the set itself. Thus, the number of ilâhi-s is five and they are as follows: 1. Rast Îlâhi, 2. Usşak Îlâhi, 3. Saba Îlâhi, 4. Evic Îlâhi, and 5. Acemasiran Îlâhi.

ilâhi is performed usually in a faster tempo and usûl-s, rhythmic patterns. As such, it actually brings the sense of meter in the performance of namaz. All other musical parts of namaz are non-metric. In this sense ilâhi is similar to the şarkı. However, it is not necessarily, as Öztuna suggests, in the classical form of şarkı, with ABCB scheme (see Chapter Nine, pp. 322-325). The structure of ilâhi seems to be varied. There are many ilâhi-s whose formal scheme consists of several repetitions of just one section, A; or it might have two sections, AB, or else, the musical structure might look like: ABAB, ABCD, ABA, etc. The simplest form of ilâhi, with just one melodic line to a verse, repeated several times, is given in Ex. 22, the Uşşak İlâhi, performed at the end of the second set of four rek'at-s

2nd Ilâhi - Uşşak Ilâhi

Music: ? Text: Y Yunus Emre



Example 22 - İlâhi with one section (Type A)

In this example, the text of *ilâhi* consists of nine verses in heptasyllabic meter, aruz. Since the first verse, Lâ ilahe illallah, preambules the whole ilâhi and then reappears after every third verse, it has the function of a nakarat, refrain. In this sense ilâhi actually consists of the three-line stanzas and a nakarat. Schematically, it can be represented as: N S N S N, where N stands for the nakarat, and S for the three-line stanza. Here is the text:

Lâ ilahe illallah Taşdı rahmet deryası Gark-oldu cümle âsi Dört kitabın manası Lâ ilahe illallah Hasbî rafi celallah ? Kalbi hayrullah Nur Muhammed sallallah Lâ ilahe illallah

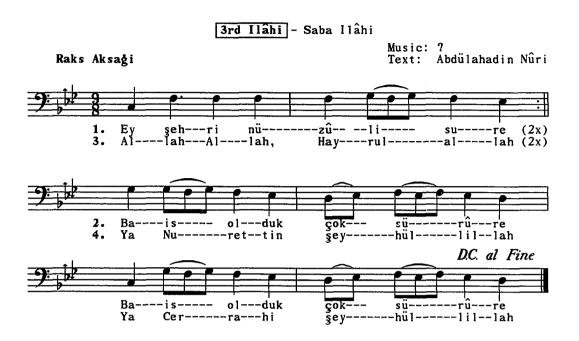
There is no god but Allah The ocean of divine grace has overflown All sinners are drrowned The meaning of the four books There is no god but Allah [Honorific to God the gratuitous] [Honorific] [Honorific to the Light of Muhammed] There is no god but Allah

In the musical performance of *ilâhi*, each verse is repeated twice on the same melody, and each one ends with a *terennüm* consisting of the word *Allah*. The melodic line, embracing the verse and the *terennüm*, is divided into two measures. The first measure starts on f, the third degree of the *Uşşak* on d, and cadences on the pivotal tone of subtonic, c. The second measure starts also on the third degree, proceeds to the dominant, g, and then cadences on the tonic, d. The musical structure is simple, and it consists of only one section: A, repeated twice for each *nakarat* and a verse.

The Third *ilâhi*, in *Saba makam*, is of the **AB** type, meaning that it has two contrasting sections. Each section consists of only two measures and is repeated twice (Ex. 23).

In this performance, the text of the Saba İlâhi consists of a four-line stanza:

Ey, şehr-i nüzûl-i sure Bais olduk çok sürüre Allah, Allah, hayrulallah Ya, Nurettin/Cerrahi şeyhülillah



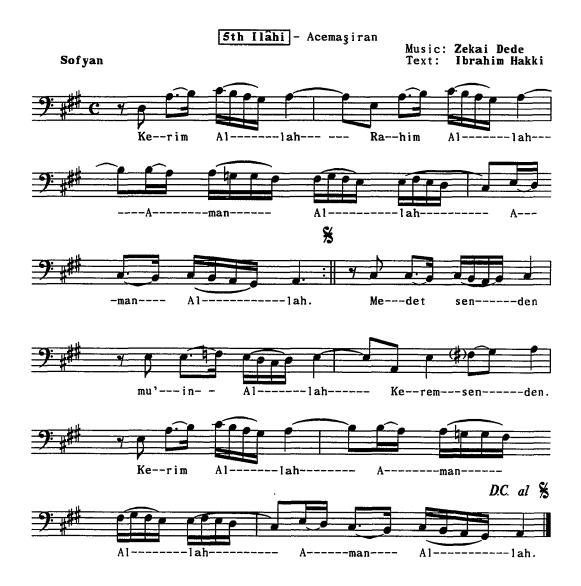
Example 23 - İlâhi with two sections (Type AB)

An *ilâhi* as a whole usually consists of several stanzas, although all of them are seldom performed. Sometimes, the text is rather improvised, as in this performance, where the last two lines of the stanza seem to have been inserted not because of the artistic and musico-poetic reasons, but because of the *tasavvuf* reasons. In these verses the name of the *Cerrahi pir*, Nurettin, is mentioned, a practice and a mannerism which give to this *ilâhi* a stamp of a truly *Cerrahi ilâhi*. In a copy of this *ilâhi*'s musical score, the first stanza looks as follows:

Ey, şehr-i nüzûl-i sure Bais olduk çok sürüre Gark eyledin bizi nûre Şehr-i Ramazan merhaba Here the rhyme structure of the stanza is of *murabba* type: *aaab* (see Chapter Nine, p. 317 above), and is kept as such throughout the remaining five stanzas of the *ilâhi*. It is obvious that, in actual performance, this classical rhyme is not observed. Since, during the *namaz*, only one stanza of *ilâhi* is performed, it seems to me that, in this instance, the strategy which the performers use is dictated by the *tasavvuf* (mentioning the *pir*'s name), and not musical reasons (observing the classical procedures).

Musically, this *ilâhi* consists of two contrasting lines, **AB**, each embracing a verse of the text. Each verse and its melodic line are repeated, **AABB**, and then the whole structure is repeated: ": **AABB**:". This is a procedure typical for the *şarkı*-s.

The third type of *ilâhi* has three sections with the ABA structure, in which the contrasting B section is enveloped with the identical A segments. However, in Ex. 24, the concluding A section of the *Acemaşiran İlâhi* is stated only once, making the structure of this *ilâhi* fourfold: AABA.



Example 24 - İlâhi with four sections (Type AABA)

Here is the tex of the Acemaşiran İlâhi, in which the A sections act as the nakarat-s (like in the Ussak İlâhi, Ex. 22):

A:	Kerim Allah, Rahim Allah, Aman Allah, Aman Allah.	Gracious Allah, Merciful Allah, Aman Allah, Aman Allah.
A:	Kerim Allah, Rahim Allah, Aman Allah, Aman Allah.	Gracious Allah, Merciful Allah, Aman Allah, Aman Allah.
В:	Medet senden,Muin Allah, Kerem senden, Kerim Allah, Aman Allah, Aman Allah. ¹⁶	The help from You, Helper Allah, The goodness from You, Gracious Allah, Aman Allah, Aman Allah.
A:	Kerim Allah, Rahim Allah, Aman Allah, Aman Allah.	Gracious Allah, Merciful Allah, Aman Allah, Aman Allah.

Musically, the first A section consists of two lines, each line having two hemistiches. Since a hemistich occupies a measure, the A section is four measures long. The B sections, on the other hand, consists of three lines, and therefore it has six measures. The final A section is sung only once.

The fourth, *Eviç İlâhi*, has multiple sections, enveloped with the repeated A section, so that its structure is: **ABCDA** (Ex. 25).

¹⁶Actually, the **B** section of the original Zekai Dede's Acemaşiran İlâhi has the following text: Kerem senden, Kerim Allah / Medet senden, Muin Allah, / Alîm Allah, Azim Allah, "The goodness from You, Gracious Allah, / The help from You, Helper Allah, / Omniscient Allah, Omnipotent Allah." However, in the actual performance, this section was "mispronounced."

4th Ilahi - Eviç Ilahi





Example 25 - İlâhi with multiple sections (Type ABCDA)

The above Eviç İlâhi has five stanzas:

Ey, aşıkı sadıklar Gel, hu diyelim, ya hu Ey, yari muvafıklar Gel, hu diyelim, ya hu Bir kerre desen ya hu Lâ ilâhe illâ hu Eyler yerin alâ hu Gel, hu diyelim, ya hu

Silesin gönül pasın Göstere tecellâsın Seyreyle temaşasın Gel, hu diyelim, ya hu

Dil mülkünü pak etsen Gel sineni çak etsen Yak nefsini hak etsen Gel, hu diyelim, ya hu

Münküre cefâlardır Uşşaka vefâlardır Seyfiye sefâlardır Gel, hu diyelim, ya hu

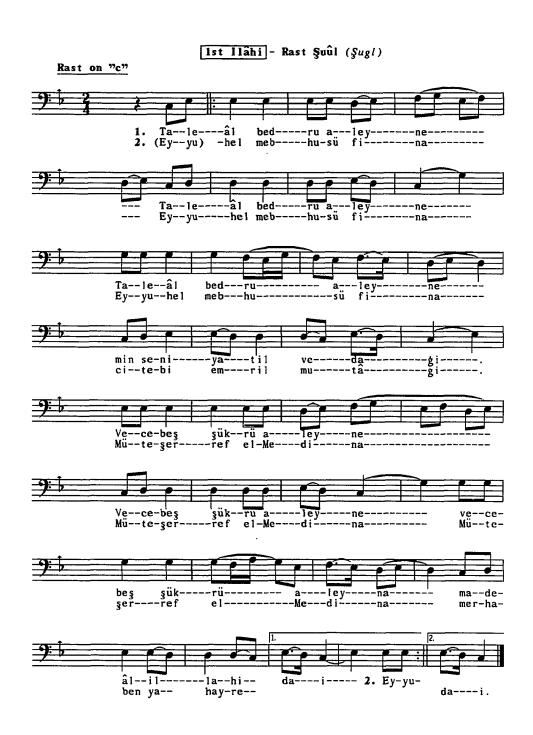
The first and last stanzas are identical, representing the section A. Other stanzas represent the contrasting sections B, C, and D.

Şugl

Sugl (شغن, Sugl, work, occupation, business)¹⁷ is a religious musical form which differs from *ilâhi* in that its text is in Arabic. Instead of performing a Rast İlâhi at the end of the first Rek'at Set, muezzins sung the Sugl (Ex. 26).¹⁸

¹⁷Depending on the writer, the *şugl* is in Turkish also written as *şuğul*, *şugul*, or *suûl*.

¹⁸Feldman also writes that "the ilahi called *şugul*, which imitates the dervish hymn of Syrian branches of the Sunni tarikats, is always in Arabic" (Feldman 1992b: 192). Without conditionally phrasing his statements (which therefore sound omniscient and uncritical), Feldman adds that the "Şuguls became popular in Turkey only after the second half of the nineteenth century" (*ibid*.).



Example 26 - Şugl

CHAPTER ELEVEN: Two *Teravih Namazı*-s in Beyazıt Mosque

March 23, 1991

Kamet

Kamet opens the performance of the namaz "proper," i.e. its Farz Rek'at-s

Segment (see Chapter Seven, Table 6). In the performance of Teravih Namazı in the

Beyazıt Mosque, which I recorded completely on video on March 23, 1991, the

muezzin began reading the kamet following the emphatic utterance of el-Fatiha by

another muezzin. This el-Fatiha was a signal to the congregation that the First Sünnet

Rek'at-s of Yatsı are over.

Kamet seems to be a freely structured musical form. Its sentences, except the last, are repeated in performance, and each of them forms a melodic line. The first sentence, Allāhu akbar, is too short to make such a line, but after being repeated four times, it nevertheless becomes one.

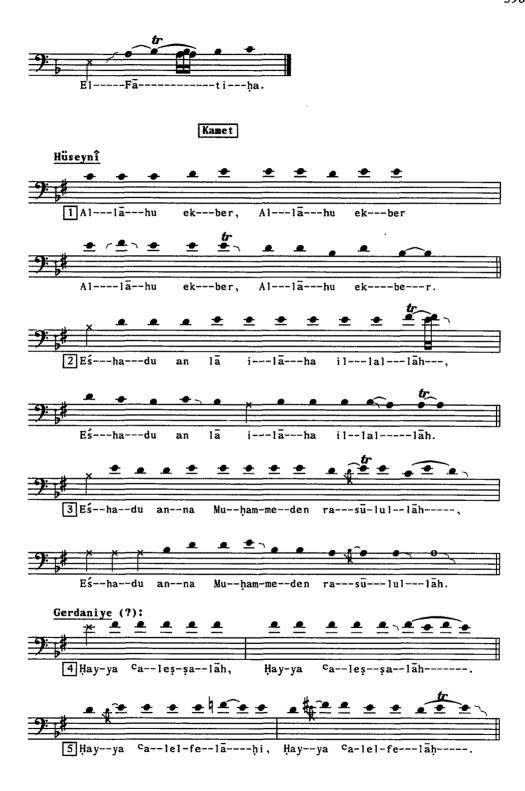
The *kamet*, in Ex. 1, oscillates between two *makam*-s: $H\ddot{u}seyn\hat{t}$ and Gerdaniye on a. Each of the first three melodic lines, marked as numbers 1-3, consists of two textually identical but musically contrasting sentences. The first musical sentence of the first melodic line ends on the dominant of $H\ddot{u}seyn\hat{t}$ (e^I in line 1); the second sentence of the second line, on the pitch immediately above (trill on f^{IH} in line 2); and the third, on the pitch bellow it (d^I in line 3). The second musical sentences of the first three melodic lines cadence either on tonic, a (lines 2 and 3, or on the pitch immediately above it (line 1). Thus structured, the first three melodic lines leave the

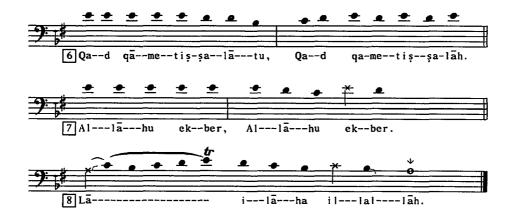
impression of a call and response technique: in each of them the first musical sentence goes to the dominant or the area around it, while the second musical sentence returns melodic movement back to tonic.

Since the text of the following sentences of *kamet*, numbers 4-7, is shorter than that of the first three sentences, their musical rendition changes. However, these shorter melodic lines are not any more structured as a call and response. They are rather simple musical statements remaining on the dominant of *makam* or in its vicinity, vividly pointing to the change of register. This musical upward shift in melodic space symbolically suggests the upward body movement. As soon as the muezzin begins uttering the fourth sentence, *Ḥayya ʿala ʾṣ-ṣalāh*, the congregations rises from the sitting position and starts lining up in parallel rows for the ritual worship.

The change of register in these middle sentences of the *kamet* is also accompanied by the change of loudness. As is customary in Turkish music, the higher range usually requires a more intensive voice. Thus, by changing the register and volume, the muezzin musically emphasizes the symbolism of the text: *Ḥayya* 'ala's-ṣalāh, "Come [hurry up] to ritual worship [namaz]."

The return to the tonic is observed in the last *kamet*'s sentence, *Lā ilāha* illallāh, which is, contrary to other sentences, uttered only once. This same technical feature of call and response caused by the interplay of dominant an tonic in *kamet*, is also typical for *ezan*.





Example 1 - Kamet

The reason why this performance of *kamet* oscillates between two *makam*-s could be looked for in the brevity of musical expression and the formal structure of text. In order to fully establish the *makam* it is also necessary that the performer follows certain rules of *makam* structuring, including the firm establishment of its tonic and dominant, pivotal tones, specific melodic progression and intervals, as well as other features required by that *makam* only. Avoidance of some of these rules or their incomplete statement often leads to ambiguity and uncertainty on the part of other musicians and the audience. This brevity of text requires that the performer be concentrated on the *makam* and carefully apply the rules of its establishment. In this particular case, it seems that either the muezzin was not skillful enough to establish the *makam*, or else, he did not fully realize the musical idea and strategy he might have conceived beforehand. He might have intended to switch from *Hüseyni* to *Gerdaniye*,

but for some reason did not do it smoothly nor assuredly. These two *makam*-s are closely related: they share the same tonic on a (theoretical dügâh), and the same scalar pitches (Ex. 2). The melodic movement of Hüseynî is upward, while that of Gerdaniye is downward; the dominant of Hüseyni is e (theoretical hüseynî), while the dominant of Gerdaniye is usually d (theoretical neva), but it can also be on g (theoretical rast), or again on e, like in the Hüseynî makam (Öztuna 1990/2: 303-304).



Example 2 - Hüseynî and Gerdaniye Makam-s

Selâvat

The number of *selâvat*-s performed in *Teravih Namazı* in the Beyazıt Mosque is eleven (Table 1), which is three *selâvat*-s less in comparison to fourteen performed in *Cerrahi Tekkesi* (Chapter Ten, Table 1). The two *Cerrahi Selâvat*-s, specific for that *tarikat* only, are not naturally performed in the non-*tasavvuf* context, as the Beyazıt Mosque is. The Opening *Selâvat*, which was used in *Cerrahi Tekkesi* to announce the performance of the First *Sünnet Rek'at*-s, is also missing here.

Table 1 - Selâvat-s in the Beyazıt Teravih Namazı

	TERAVÎH	NAMAZI	
Introduction	Core		Covidinator
Yatsı	Teravih	Vitir	CONCLUSION
-	10 Selâvat-s	Vitir Selâvat	

In comparison to the *Cerrahi Tekkesi* performance, the ten *Teravih selâvat*-s performed in Beyazıt Mosque are in a somewhat different *makam* order, *viz. Rast*, *Saba*, *Uşşak*, *Eviç*, and *Acemaşiran* (Ex. 3).

 $^{^{1}}$ In Cerrahi Teravih Namazı, Uşşak precedes the Saba makam (Chapter Ten, Table 2).

Rast Selâvat

Rast on "f"



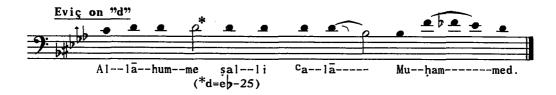
Saba Selâvat



Uşşak Selâvat



Eviç Selavat



Acemaşiran Selâvat



Example 3 - Five selâvat-s from Teravih Part (Beyazıt, March 23, 1991)

The Vitir Selâvat is, as in the Cerrahi Tekkesi, in the Segâh makam (Ex. 4):

Segah on "e "



Example 4 - Beyazıt Mosque Vitir Selâvat

Rek'at Segment

In the *Rek'at* Segment several smaller musical forms, viewed on the micro level, unite into a bigger form. Since *Rek'at* Segments are usually in a single *makam* the binding element which keeps together these micro forms is the *karar*.

In the Farz Rek'at Segment of the Yatsı Part, the imam uses the Uşşak makam. The İftitah Tekbiri, with which he opens this segment, is performed with an emphatic upward leap, usually from the dominant to the upper tonic or subtonic of makam. After a shorter silence, the imam starts reading the kıraat, moving back down to the area around the dominant.

In Ex. 1, the *karar* of *kamet* is given on the *Gerdaniye*'s tonic a and it is approached in the downward melodic movement from the *makam*'s fluctuating dominant on d or e. This muezzin's cadential formula itself should carry enough of information to make the imam aware that he might continue either in the same *makam* or switch to another related *makam*, thus making the transition and the exchange of

roles smooth and musically acceptable. The imam chose to change the *makam* by switching to the related *Uşşak*, whose lower pentachord and dominant on *neva* are shared with *Gerdaniye* (Ex. 5).



Example 5 - Uşşak Makam

The switch is announced in the *İftitah Tekbiri* (Al-lah) with an upward leap of perfect fourth, from the dominant of *Gerdaniye* on d^l up to g^l (theoretical *gerdaniye*) (Ex. 6). If the leap was from d^l to a^l , then the upper tonic of *Gerdaniye* would be reiterated and no change announced. By carefully choosing the *Gerdaniye*'s dominant on d^l , the imam actually confirms that he has observed the muezzin's *karar* and that he will now proceed without interrupting the smoothness of the musical flow. But, by choosing the leap to g^l he signals that he is about to do something different. After the *tekbir*, the imam changes the register in the first ayet of *Fatiha* by moving his melody line down to c^l (theoretical cargah), and b one-comma-flat (theoretical cargah), emphasizing these two pitches which the muezzin used only passingly in the *Gerdaniye makam* of the *kamet*. After he has established the emphasis on these two pitches throughout the first two ayets of *Fatiha*, the imam, at the end of the third ayet, uses a melodic turn typical of Ussak, which consists of a downward leap b

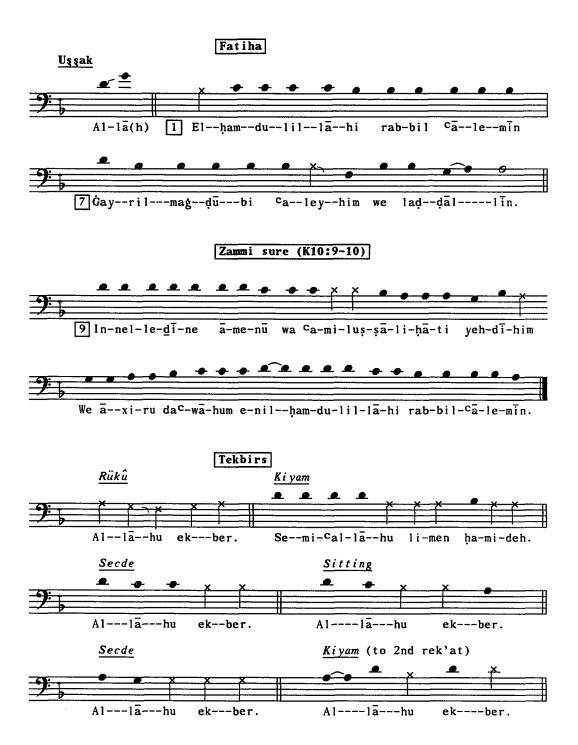
one-comma-flat - g (from the theoretical segâh to rast).² By the end of the fourth ayet, the imam has firmly established the Uşşak; and there is no doubt that this segment of namaz is in a new makam.

Now, in the Core Section of *namaz*, the musical leadership is in the hands of the imam and will remain there until the *selâm* of the *farz Rek'at* Segment of the Core Section.

The *Fatiha* part of *ktraat* ends on the tonic of *Uşşak*, a, with which the *makam* is firmly established. Now, the *Zammu sure* starts on the dominant, d^{l} , and itself ends also on the tonic, a (Ex. 6).³

²For the full transcription, see Appendix: Musical transcriptions

³Since the full transcription of the whole *Rek'at* Segment is rather lengthy, I am here giving only the beginnings and endings of the *Fatiha* and *Zammu sure*, as well as their *tekbir*-s and *tahmid*-s. Full transcription is included in the Appendix.



Example 6 - First Rek'at of Yatsı Part

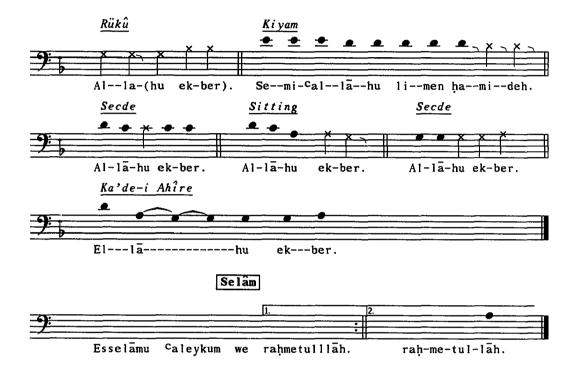
Contrary to the practice observed in the Cerrahi performance of Teravih Namazi, in the Beyazit Mosque the muezzin does not repeat the tekbir-s and tahmid-s after imam; in all *Rek'at* Segments performed congregationally under his leadership. the imam is the sole musical protagonist. In Teravih Part, rek'at-s are grouped into ten Rek'at Couplets, and each of them is introduced by the İftitah Tekbiri.⁴ All of these İftitah Tekbir-s, one at the beginning of Yatsı, ten during the Teravih, and two in the Vitir Part,⁵ are performed in the same emphatic way in upper register, with an upward leap from dominant to the area of upper tonic. The kiraat itself is performed in the lower register, always in the range between the tonic and dominant above it. The same range is preserved during the performance of other tekbir-s and tahmid-s within the rek'at-s, with range between the pitch f or g, below the tonic of Ussak, and the dominant, d^{l} (Ex. 6). The first rek'at ends with the secde tekbiri uttered on subtonic, g. The next tekbir, which announces the beginning of the second rek'at, symbolically reflects the bodily upward movement by making the upward leap from tonic to dominant. The ensuing Fatiha of the second rek'at continues with this emphasis on the dominant.

The *tekbir*-s and *tahmid*-s of the next two *rek'at*-s of *Yatsi* are performed in the similar manner, with no substantial change or variation. However, the very last *tekbir*

⁴These *tekbir*-s, which open the ten *Teravih* Couplets, I also call the *İftitah Tekbiri* because they are followed by the hand movement typical for this type of *tekbir* - raising the hands up and touching the back side of earlobes with thumbs - and the silent reading of *Subhaneke duası*.

⁵The second *İftitah Tekbiri* in the *Vitir* Part is performed after the third *rek'at kıraat*.

in the last Yatsı rek'at, which announces the Ka'de-i âhire, cadences on the tonic of Uşşak (Ex. 7).



Example 7 - Tekbir-s and Tahmid in the last Yatsı Rek'at

The symbolism of the body movement is again musically replicated by melodic movement down to the tonic. Since this is the last *tekbir*, which announces the sitting position, after which the *Rek'at* Segment is concluded, this cadence on the *karar* of *Uṣṣak* also concludes the whole *Rek'at* Segment of *Yatsi*, which might be understood as one of the bigger forms of mosque music. The *selâm*, which comes after the silent

Ettahiyat, brings nothing new musically, but simply corroborates the final cadencing on tonic.

The *Teravih Rek'at* Couplets, do not musically differ from the *Yatsı Rek'at*Segments. Their *tekbir*-s and *tahmid*-s look similar, if not identical, to the ones

presented in Exx. 6 and 7. The only difference is in the speed of musical rendering of their *kıraat*-s, which are in *Teravih* Part delivered in much faster, *hadr* style.

Thus, the *Rek'at* Segment, which is built as a chain succession of several micro musical forms, *viz. tekbir-s*, *tahmid-s*, and *kiraat-s*, stands as a bigger musical form within the *namaz*.

Selâvat-i Ümmiye

In this performance, muezzins did not use *ilâhi*-s, but instead they used the form of *Selâvat-i Ümmiye*, a special type of the *selâvat* in praise of the Prophet Muhammed:⁶

اللهمصل على سيدنامحمد النبى الامى و على الهوصحبه و سلم Allahumma şalli ʿalā sayyidinā Muḥammadini'n-nabiyyi'l-ummiyyi wa ʿalā ālihī wa sahbihī wa sallim

⁶In the Kur'an, the adjective امن, *ummī*, is used as an epithet of Muhammed, and it is twice mentioned as a compound النبى الامى, *an-nabiyyi'l-ummī* (K7: 157, 158). For more details see article "Ummiyy" in the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (SEI 1961: 604)

Regarding the *Selâvat-i Ümmiye*, Tavaslı writes that "this *selâvat* is read in the performance of *Mevlid* in social gatherings, *meclis*, between the sections of *Mevlid*;⁷ the readers of *Mevlid*, *mevlidhan-s*, and their listeners, who join in at this point, perform the *Selâvat-i Ümmiye* chorally and with *makam-s* by repeating it three times." Tavaslı also adds that "in the *Teravih Namazı-s* during *Ramazan*, the *Selâvat-i Ümmiye* is performed after the *selâm-s* [in *Teravih Part*], and in this performance the *makam-s* are used and the whole congregation joins in. All members of congregation which attend the *Teravih Namazı* know this *selâvat.*" This Tavaslı's statement is quite appropriate since the *Selâvat-i Ümmiye*, as a tune or melody, is widely known, not only in Istanbul, but across the country.

In this performance, the Selâvat-i Ümmiye is rendered after each of Rek'at Sets of Teravih Part. At the end of the fifth Rek'at Set it is repeated three times. The makam is Segâh (Ex. 8):

⁷Süleyman Çelebi's *Mevlid-i Şerif* is organized into several sections called *bahr* or *bahir*. In the copy of Çelebi's *Mevlid* in my possession, the *Selâvat-i Ümmiye* is marked to be performed after the *Mi'rac Bahri*, "*Mi'rac* Section," before the *Dua ve Münacat Bahri*, "Prayers Section" (Çelebi nd: 24).

⁸"Bu salevât-ı şerife, mevlid-i şerif okunan meclislerde, Mevlid-i şerif'in bölümleri (bahirleri) arasında, bahîr bitince mevlîdhanlar ve mevlîd dinleyen cemaatla birlikde sesle-makamla üç defa tekrar edilerek okunuyor" (Tavaslı 1990a: 309).

⁹"Bu Salevât-ı şerife, ramazanlarda teravih namazlarında selâm verildikten sonra cemaat tarafından da iştirak edilerek makamla okunuyor. Ramazanlarda camaata, (Teravih namazına) gidenler hepsi by Salevât-ı şerifeyi bilir ve okurlar" (Tavaslı 1990a: 309).







Example 8 - Selâvat-i Ümmiye in Segâh makam

This example of *Selâvat-i Ümmiye* was composed by Itrî (1683?-1712).

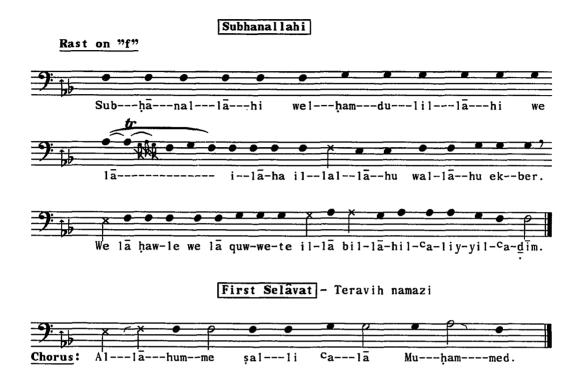
According to Tura (1983) and Öztuna (1990/1: 375-376), Itrî is also the author of another well known religious musical piece, *Bayram Tekbiri*, performed chorally in the Beyazıt Mosque during the *Bayram Namazı*. This points to the fact that at least these two musical religious forms have a known author. I also suspect that the five *Teravih selâvat-*s, performed in five different *makam-*s, are as well the composed pieces whose

¹⁰In his unpublished manuscript, *Dînî Türk Mûsıkîsi*, "Religious Turkish Music" (1983), Yalçın Tura gives the full transcriptions of these two Itrî's pieces: *Selâvat-i Ümmiyye* in *Segâh makam*, and *Bayram Tekbiri* in *Irak makam*. However, for reasons unexplainable to me, he and Öztuna (1990) use the word *salât* (in its Arabic sense), instead of the *selâvat*. Thus, in Tura's manuscript, the *Selâvat-i Ümmiye* is called the *Salât-ı Ümmîyye*, and in Öztuna's encyclopedia, the *Salât-ı Ümmiye* (Öztuna 1990/2: 257).

authors might be traced by careful investigation. The reason why I think that they are composed is the fact that their melodies are almost identical in the performances of *Teravih Namazı* both in the Beyazıt Mosque and in *Cerrahi Tekkesi*; these melodies are not improvised, but are rather fixed.

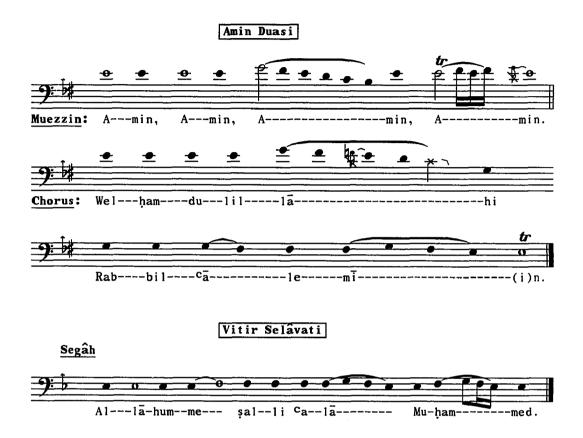
Dua-s

The resemblance between some of the musical dua-s or their parts performed in the Cerrahi Tekkesi and Beyazıt Mosque is striking. Some of these dua-s, as mentioned in the previous paragraph, have the same melody and their performances in these two places are similar. The Subhanallahi, which introduces the first, Rast Selâvat of Teravih Part (Ex. 9) is almost identical to the one performed in Cerrahi Tekkesi (see Chapter Ten, Ex. 15).



Example 9 - Rast Subhanallahi and Selâvat

The choral ending of the *Amin Duasi* in the Beyazit Mosque is also almost identical to the *Cerrahi* equivalent (see Chapter Ten, Ex. 17). In both instances, this choral ending is brought in the *Segâh makam*, having a function to make a musical bridge to the *Vitir Selâvat* (Ex. 10).

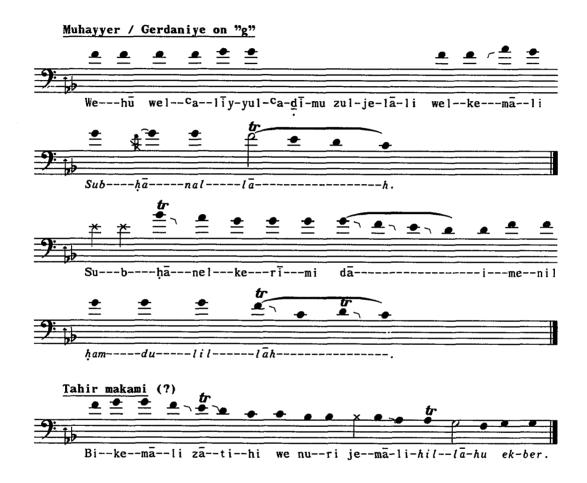


Example 10 - Amin Duası and Vitir Selâvat

After the second *Subhanallahi*, following the *Vitir* Part, muezzins in the Beyazıt Mosque chose not to perform the *Ayetel Kürsî* aloud, as was the case in *Cerrahi Tekkesi* (see Appendix).

The following *Tesbih* was performed in a standard way (Ex. 11), i.e. without the muezzin's loud repetition of final words from the *Tesbih* sentences: *Subhanallah*,

Elhamdulillah, Allahu ekber, as was the case in the Cerrahi Tekkesi performance (see Chapter Ten, Ex. 20).

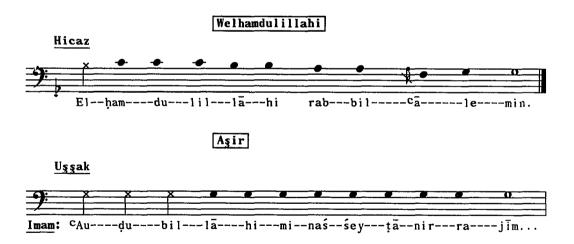


Example 11 - Tesbih

The makam in this example is not fully established, so one might speak about a mixed Muhayyer-Gerdaniye makam on g. The first two sentences of Tesbih cadence

on the dominant of *Gerdaniye*, c^I , which is reached by the downward movement from the upper tonic, g^I , and subtonic, f^I . The third sentence, which might as well be in the *Tarih makam*, closes the *Tesbih* by cadencing on the tonic, g. As soon as the congregation and imam have silently repeated the third formula of *Tesbih*, *Allahu ekber*, the same muezzin continues with reading of the final *dua* of *namaz*, *La ilaha*. He remains in the same *makam*, starting on the climactic pitch, b^{Ib} , emphasizing in the first half of the *dua* the upper tonic on g^I , and then, in the second half, moving the melody down to the area of dominant, and finally cadencing on the tonic, g.

Following the long silent *Dua*, after the *La ilaha*, the muezzin utters the *Velhamdulillahi* formula, giving to the imam the *karar* on g, who then continues the reading of the *Asr* (Ex. 12).



Example 12 - Final dua, Velhamdulillahi, and the beginning of Aşr

March 25, 1991

Selâvat-s and İlâhi-s

The second performance of *Teravih Namazı* in the Beyazıt Mosque, whose musical sections I recorded on the audio cassette on March 25, 1991, differed in several respects from the one on March 23, 1991. The Introduction and Conclusion Sections of *namaz* are more or less identical. It is in the *Teravih* Part of Core Section (see Chapter Seven, Table 9) that this *namaz* differed both from the previous one in this mosque, as well as from the *Cerrahi* performance.

In the Teravih Part, instead of the Selâvat-i Ümmiye, muezzins chose to use the ilâhi-s to conclude every Rek'at Set, as it was done in the Cerrahi performance. The order of makam-s is similar to the March 23 performance, but instead of Uşşak, the muezzins used a related Hüseynî makam. Thus the order of five makam-s is: Rast, Saba, Hüseynî, Eviç, and Acemaşiran. The other difference is that the ilâhi-s here have a function of introducing a new makam of a next Rek'at Set, instead of concluding the makam of the previous set. In this sense, the first two Teravih selâvat-s, from the first Rek'at Set, are in Rast, while the ilâhi, which concludes the set, brings a new makam, Saba, in which the next Rek'at Set is rendered. Musically, ilâhi-s in this performance offset the liturgical structure of rek'at-s, structuring the performance with different, musical logic, which is fully discussed in the next chapter.

Except of being performed at different absolute pitch, the *selâvat*-s of the *Teravih* Part are identical to those of the March 23 performance (Ex. 13).

Rast Selavat



Saba Selâvat



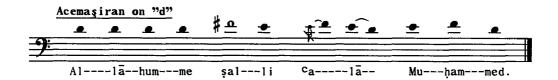
Uşşak Selâvat



Eviç Selâvat



Acemaşiran Selâvat



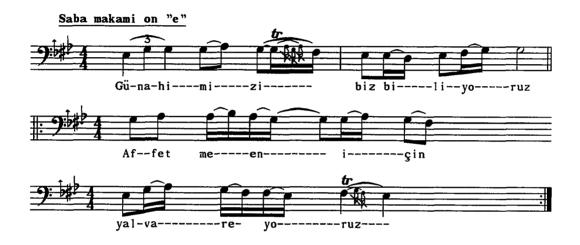
Example 13 - Five selâvat-s from Teravih Part (Beyazıt, March 25, 1991)

The minimal portion of text performed in *ilâhi*-s is two verses. İsmail

Hakkıçimen explained that "the text of *ilâhi*-s is of course much longer. But I read
only this much."

Since it is the *ilâhi* which introduces the new *makam* of the next

Rek'at Set, the first is brought in Saba makam (Ex. 14).



Example 14 - Saba İlâhi

Text:

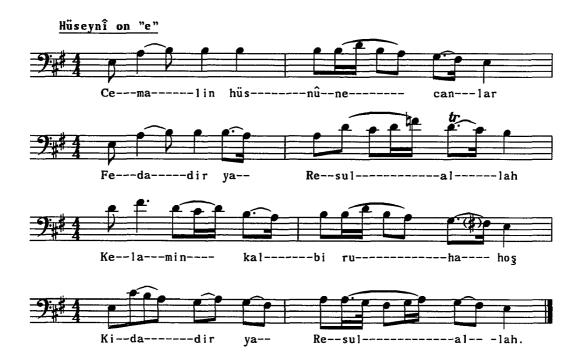
Günahımızı biz biliyoruz Affetmeni için yalvarıyoruz

We know our sins We beg for pardon

¹¹"Bunlar, tabi, bu ilâhilerin güfteleri daha uzun. Ama ben sadece burada okuduğumuz ilâhi ne ise aynı o kadar okudum. Güfteleri hepsini okumadım. Sadece o kadar okudum" (Interview with İ. Hakkıçimen, March 25, 1991).

Each of the two verses of this *ilâhi* are sung to a melodic line; the second line is repeated. Structurally, the *ilâhi* is of the AB type. The first line ends on the dominant, g, while the second cadences on the tonic, e.

The next *ilâhi*, which concludes the Second *Rek'at* Set, is in the *Hüseynî* makam (Ex. 15).



Example 15 - Hüseynî İlâhi

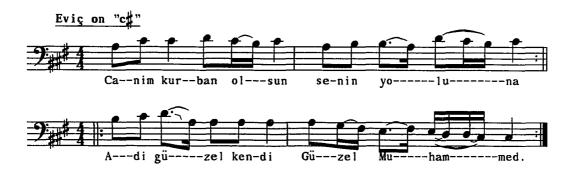
Like the previous, this *ilâhi* has also two verses:

Cemal'ın hüsnüne canlar fedadır, ya Resulallah Kelam'in kalbî ruha hoş gıdadır, ya Resulallah. Each verse ends with a *terennüm*, "ya Resulallah." The ilâhi consists of two musical lines of the AB type, each line corresponding to a verse. The first line ends on the dominant b, and the second on tonic, e. The lines are built on two two-measure phrases, whose motivic progression is melodically and rhythmically similar or identical. The first two measures of the second line act as the *miyanhane*, with the deliberate change of register and the emphasis in the area above the dominant.

In the third, Eviç İlâhi (Ex. 16), each verse has its own melodic line.

Text:

Canım kurban olsun senin yoluna Adı güzel kendi, güzel Muhammed.



Example 16 - Eviç ilâhi

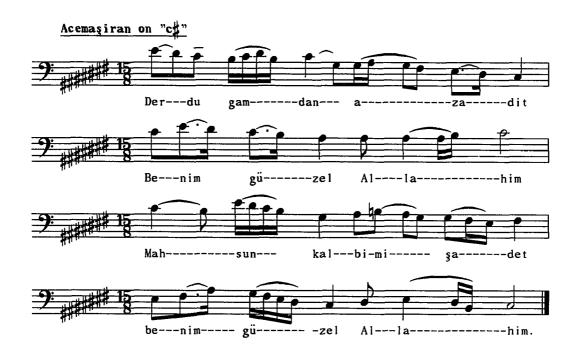
Structurally, this *ilâhi* is of the **AB** type, with both melodic lines being repeated respectively. The first line emphasizes the upper tonic, $c^{l\#}$, and the sixth degree below it, a. This melodic turn of a major third, $c^{l\#}$ -a, again emphasized at the beginning of

the second line, is typical for Evic makam. The second line cadences on the lower tonic of makam, c^* .

In the fourth, Acemaşiran İlâhi, each of the two verses ends with a terennüm, "benim güzel Allahım," "My Beautiful Allah" (Ex. 17).

Text:

Derdu gamdan azadit, benim güzel Allahım Mahsun kalbimi âadet, benim güzel Allahım.



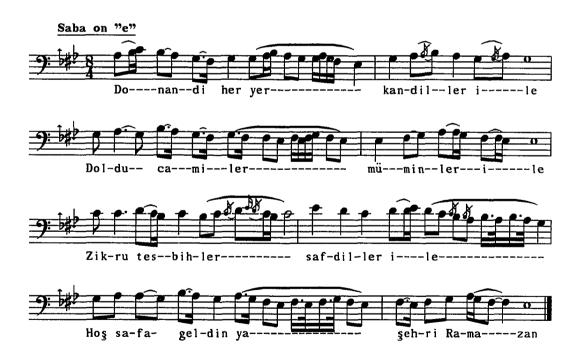
Example 17 - Acemaşiran İlâhi

Melodic turns and motivic work typical for the *Acemaşiran makam* are exemplary in this *ilâhi*:

- 1. Downward melodic movement encompassing the whole octave scale, and
- 2. Emphasis on the interval of a major third between the upper tonic, $c^{l\#}$, and the third degree above, $e^{l\#}$.

The whole *ilâhi* consists of two melodic lines, each encompassing a verse; the first line ends on the upper tonic, while the second cadences on the lower tonic.

The last *ilâhi* in the *namaz*, the muezzins performed after the last, i.e. the twentieth, *Teravih rek'at*, this time in *Saba makam* (Ex. 18).



Example 18 - Saba İlâhi (after the 20th teravih rek'at)

The text of the Saba İlâhi is as follows:

Donandı her yer kandiller ile Doldu camiler mü'minler ile Zikru tesbihler safdiller ile Hoş safa geldin, ya şehri Ramazan. All places are illuminated with *kandil*-s¹² The mosques are full of believers The *tesbih*-s are repeated by the pure-hearteds Oh, welcome, the month of *Ramazan*.

For this *ilâhi* İsmail Hakkıçimen said that its verses contain the words which are good to be mentioned in reference to *Ramazan*. And, indeed, the text is welcoming the *Ramazan*, praising the beauty of illuminated nights, mosques filled with believers, and, as in *zikir*, the repeating of *tesbih*-s by the "pure-hearteds" (*safdiller*).

Musically, this *ilâhi* is structured as a *şark*ı, **ABCB**, where each verse has its own melodic line. The third line changes the register, thus acting as *miyanhane*. The *karar* is on the tonic of *Saba makam*. *e*.

During the month of Ramazan, before the advent of electricity, these lamps would illuminate the minarets. Today, electric bulbs are used. Written with capital initial letter, Kandil, or as a compound, Kandil Geceleri, "illuminated nights," it is the generic name for the four holy nights in Islamic year: 1. Mevlid Gecesi, the night celebrating the birth of Prophet Muhammed, on the 12th of Rabicu'l-Awwal; 2. Regaib Gecesi, anniversary of the conception of Prophet, celebrated on Thursday night preceding the first Friday in the month of Rajab; 3. Mi'rac Gecesi, the night of the Prophet's miraculous journey to Heaven, celebrated in the night of the 26/27th of Rajab, and 4. Berat Gecesi, another sacred night observed on the 14th/15th of Šacban (eighth month of Islamic lunar year).

¹³"O ilâhinin metinde, tekstinde, yani güftesinde Ramazan için iyi şeyler olan sözler var" (Interview with İ. Hakkıcimer, March 25, 1991).

Kaside

Another novelty in this performance of *Teravih Namazı* was the introduction of yet another musical form in *namaz*, the *kaside* (قصيدة, *qaṣādah*, pl. قصيدة, *qaṣā'id*). This religious musical form was inserted immediately after the *Saba İlâhi*. İsmail Hakkıçimen explains it: "After the reading of an *ilâhi* [*Saba İlâhi*], I read *kaside*. However, it [*kaside*] is not read in all mosques. I read it on my own and especially, since its text, like that of [*Saba*] *ilâhi*, also welcomes the *Ramazan*." This means that in another *Teravih Namazı*, the *kaside* might not be performed at all, since it is up to the muezzin to make a decision on the spot.

The *kaside* is rendered in *Uşşak makam* and it consists of two verses performed solo, each followed by the choral refrain (Ex. 19).

Text:

Merhaba, ey sevgili mahı mubarek merhaba Merhaba, ey alemin feyzu neşatı merhaba Merhaba, ya şehri Ramazan (2x) Sen sin ol alemin nurunla münevver eyleyen Merhaba, ey baisi fahri mubahat merhaba Merhaba, ya sehri Ramazan (2x)

"Greetings to you, hey, beloved holy month, greetings
Greetings to you, hey, the world's bountiful cheerfulness, greetings
Greetings to you, oh month of Ramazan (2x)

Greetings to you, hey, the contender [?] for the Creator's glory [?], greetings
Greetings to you, oh month of *Ramazan*" (2x)

¹⁴"Ben şimdi burda bir ilâhi okuduktan kaside okudum... O her camide okunan birşey değil. Yani, özel ben kendim onu okudum ki o da ilâhinin manasında Ramazan'ı karşılıyor" (Interview with İ. Hakkıçimen, March 25, 1991).



Example 19 - Uşşak Kaside

After the *karar* of *Sabah İlâhi* on e, İsmail started *kaside* on pitch g^I , the dominant of *Saba makam*. However, by changing the pitches of his melody, he switched to the scale of Ussak, taking the same g^I as the dominant of this new *makam*. By the end of the first verse, the new makam was established and the *karar* was safely on d^I , the tonic of Ussak. The first two verses of the *kaside* are brought in the high register, free rhythm, and the increased volume of intensity. These technical elements of singing the *kaside* give to it the feeling of improvisation, similar to *taksim*, with the long-held tones on the intentionally repeated high pitch, g^I , delivered deliberately and with emphasis, leaving the impression of emphatic reading proper for eulogies. This insistence on emphatic rendition of melody is balanced by the refrain chorally sung by a group of muezzins. The refrain is melodically simple, in strict rhythm, resembling an *ilâhi*, and in the register an octave below. While the solo verses emphasize the high pitch g^I , dominant of Ussak, the choral refrain is tonic bound.

Kaside is a Turkish religious musical form which is not necessarily based on the same name classic poetic form. Öztuna writes that kaside is actually the "religious gazel," meaning that kaside is "the name given to the gazel form in [the context of] Turkish religious music. In religious or tasavvuf gazel or in some other [religious-tasavvuf] poetic form, the hafiz or zakir¹⁵ (vocal artists who perform the

¹⁵In the *tekke*, a dervish who performs the *kaside* during the *zikir* is called the *zakir*. *Hafiz* is a title given to anybody who commits the whole Kur'an to memory. Since the reading of the Kur'an requires musical skills and learning, the *hafiz* is usually a skilled performer of religious music, as well.

religious-tasavvuf pieces) performs the taksim in one makam or modulates [to other makam-s]."16

Öztuna defines the *taksim* as the "instrumental or vocal improvisatory non-metric selo," adding that "in colloquial usage, the *taksim* performed by a vocalist is known as 'gazel'." However, according to the above Öztuna's paragraph, a *kaside* is also a *taksim*. Since the musical gazel is understood as the vocal taksim of secular classical music, the *kaside* is, therefore, the vocal taksim of religious-tasavvuf music. It is obvious that technically these three musical forms, taksim, gazel, and kaside, are structured and performed in the similar way: as free, improvisatory, usually nonmetric compositions. In instrumental music, both secular and religious-tasavvuf, such a composition is always called the taksim; in secular vocal music it is gazel; and in the religious-tasavvuf vocal music, it is the kaside. Thus, the above Uşşak Kaside (Ex. 19) is an example of kaside performed in the context of Mosque Music, where only the vocal pieces are possible. In the context of the tekke, however, it is quite ordinary to find both the kaside and taksim performed during the zikir, but not in namaz: taksim-s are played solo by an instrumentalist, and kaside-s sung solo by a vocalist,

¹⁶"Kasîde: Türk dînî mûsikîsinde gazel formuna verilen addır, dînî gazel'dir. Hâfiz veyâ zâkir (dînî-tasavvufî eserler okuyan ses san'atkârı), dînî veyâ tasavvufî bir gazel'i veyâ başka formda bir şiiri, bir makamdan, geçkiler de yaparak taksîm eder" (Öztuna 1990/1: 434).

¹⁷"Türk Musikisi'nde saz veya sözle yapılan ve usulsüz olan irticâlî solo. Hânende'nin yaptığı taksîme - daha çok halk dilinde - 'gazel' denir" (Öztuna 1990/2: 370). See also Öztuna's definition of *gazel* ("Türk Musikisi'nde ses ile yapılan taksîm'e de 'gazel' denir" - "In Turkish music, the vocally performed *taksim* is also called *gazel*." (Öztuna 1990/1: 299).

zakir or hafiz. Also, it is not unusual to find the taksim-s and kaside-s successively alternating in zikir, while dervishes perform in unison the vocal drone-formulae.¹⁸

¹⁸The formulae performed during the *zikir* are many, but all of them are relatively short, consisting of a few words, such as: *La ilaha illallah*, *Allah-Allah*, *Kayyum Allah*, etc.

In the previous two chapters I have looked at the musical forms performed within the namaz on a micro level, tracing the actualization of basic musical concepts of Turkish classical music in everyday practicing of ritual worship. The purpose of this kind of narrowed down and focused analysis was to establish the self-standing segments of namaz which appear to exhibit specific musical forms. Now, that I have pinned down such forms, my intention is to look at them at the macro level and to find out how these micro forms are combined together within the global musical structure of namaz.

There are two practical tools or rather strategies which musically unite the whole event of *namaz*. They are the Modulation, *Geçiş*, and the *Karar*-s, the cadential tones of micro musical forms. The means used in three performances of *Teravih*Namazı to meet this end of musical unity of namaz are realized through the employment and application of three different strategies. In this chapter I attempt to show how these strategies have been put to work by imams and muezzins in three performances and what is/might be the underlying thread which makes these strategies conform to the rules embodied and embedded in the act of musical performance and structuring.

Karar

In the context of Mosque Music *karar* has the multiple meanings: in the jargon of muezzins, imams, dervishes, i.e. in the religious context, *karar* means the final tone, the tonic of *makam* scale, but also a cadence. The exchange of musical roles between the muezzin and imam is always carefully done through the exchange of their *karar*-s. When a muezzin, for example, states that he is giving the *karar* to the imam, "*imama karar vermek*," he implies that he has, with his musical treatment of text, established a certain makam and is passing the thusly established information to the imam for further musical elaboration. Most certainly, although not necessarily, the muezzin's *karar* would be a cadencing, an ending, on the tonic of the *makam* he was using. In the smooth continuation of musical structuring, the imam would take the muezzin's code, pregnant with musical information and encrypted in his *karar*, and proceed with his own musical structuring, keeping in mind the necessity of matching the muezzin's musical code and developing it in a way he finds musically most suitable. In this sense, *karar* is not just a single final tone, but rather an informational bridge between the two musical protagonists.

Although not all imams and muezzins are educated in musical theory and the various *makam*-s of Turkish music, the majority of them, if they are musically proficient and skillful, possess the "unconscious" practical knowledge of that theory. Whatever their knowledge, be it theoretically conscious or practically applied, the muezzins and imam will always observe this technical procedure and the importance of *karar*-s. The *karar* of the muezzin is, in most cases, the first scalar degree of the

makam in which the text was rendered. Thus, when the imam continues his reading after the muezzin, his beginning tone will either match the muezzin's karar, or the makam's dominant, or some other functionally important and pivotal tone. In this way, musical unity between the two will be preserved and maintained. This unity may also be maintained in the longer parts of namaz, by performing the text in the same makam.

Karar is of crucial musical importance in at least three points during the namaz: after the kamet, at the end of Introduction Section; after the Selâm, at the end of Core Section; and after the silent long Dua, immediately before the Asr (Table 1).

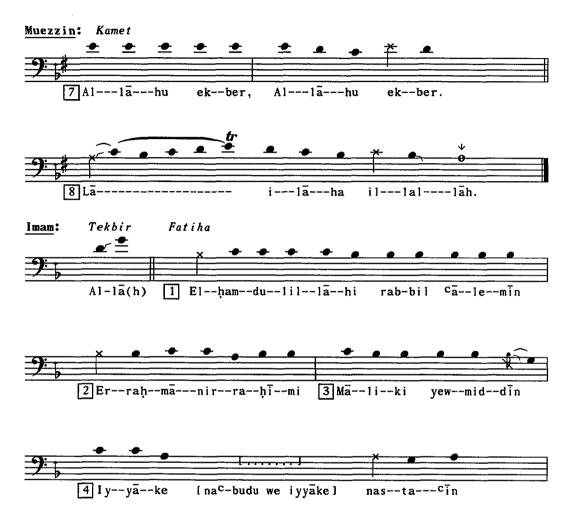
Table 1 - Musical Roles of Muezzin(s) and Imam in Namaz

NAMAZ									
Muezzin		Імам	Muezzin(s)						
S e g m e n t s	Opening <i>Selâvat</i>		Estağfurullah	S e g m e n t					
			Allahumme Entesselamu						
		Farz Rek'at-s	Ala Rasulina Selavat						
	İhlâs-ı Şerife	Segment	Subhanallahi						
			Tesbih						
			La Ìlaha Ìllallahu						
	Kamet	Selâm	Aşr°						

^{*} Performed either by imam or muezzin.

In *Teravih Namazı*, the exchanges of *karar*-s between the muezzins and imam are more frequent than in other *namaz*-s, owing to its long *Teravih* Part. In *Teravih* Part, the back-and-forth exchange of *karar*-s occurs between the second and third *rek'at*-s of every *Rek'at* Set (between the imam's *selâm*-s and muezzins' *selâvat*-s), as well as between the sets themselves (between the imam's *selâm* of the previous set and the muezzins' *ilâhi* or *Selâvat-i Ümmiye* of the following set).

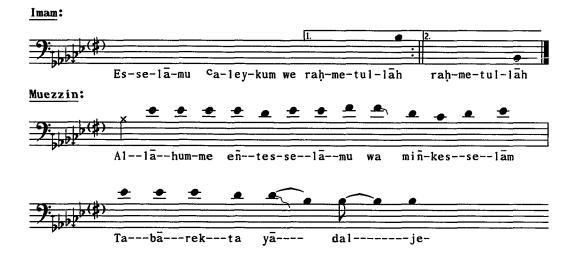
In the performance of *Teravih Namazı* in the Beyazıt Mosque, on March 23, 1991, as soon as the muezzin has finished the *kamet*, which ended on the tonic of *Gerdaniye makam*, the imam started the *Farz Rek'at*-s with the pronouncement of the *İftitah Tekbiri* (Ex. 1). To perform it, he chose a leap from d^I to g^I . Since he was about to introduce another *makam*, Ussak, for the following Rek'at Segment, he used the dominant of Gerdaniye, d^I , as the springboard from which he jumped to the pivotal tone of Ussak, the subtonic g^I . By doing this, imam İsmail Biçer fulfilled the twofold function: one of which is his mannerism, i.e. the performance of all *İftitah Tekbir*-s in high register, the other, making a smooth connection between the muezzin's *karar* in *kamet* and the ensuing *kuraat*.



Example 1 - Exchange of karar: muezzin to imam (Beyazıt, March 23, 1991)

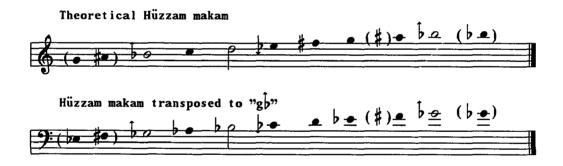
The second exchange of the *karar* and musical roles, this time from imam to muezzin(s), occurred in the *selâm* with which imam concluded the final sitting, *ka'de-i* âhire and the entire Farz Rek'at Segment. With this *selâm*, the imam gave the *karar*

to muezzin, who then continued with the Allahumme Entesselamu, overtaking the musical role from the imam throughout the remainder of namaz (Ex. 2). In Teravih Namazi, however, this would be the point of intermission in the Core Section, during which the Last Sünnet Rek'at-s are performed. It was only after the end of Vitir Part of Teravih Namazi, where the Concluding Section of namaz begins, that the muezzin reassumed his role of the main musical protagonist. The following example is from the İkindi Namazi, performed in the Beyazit Mosque, on March 7, 1991. I am including it here since it does not musically and structurally differ form the same point of exchange of karar between the Selâm and Allahumme Entesselamu in Teravih Namazi.



Example 2 - Exchange of karar: imam to muezzin (İkindi Namazı, Beyazıt, March 7, 1991)

The exchange of musical roles through the intermediary of the imam's karar in the above example is smooth and simple. The makam is Hüzzam, performed on the absolute pitch g as its tonic. Since the transcription of the melody line would be impractical on this pitch, due to the microtonal relationship between the scalar degrees of the makam, which would accordingly require a theoretical myriad of diacritical accidentals, I have transcribed the "natural" g, from the performance, as the g-one-comma-flat, i.e. as Turkish theoretical pitch dik geveşt. Thus, in my transcription, the Hüzzam makam is transposed a major third below the theoretical Hüzzam scale, whose tonic is on the pitch segâh, b-one-comma-flat (Ex. 3).



Example 3 - Hüzzam makam

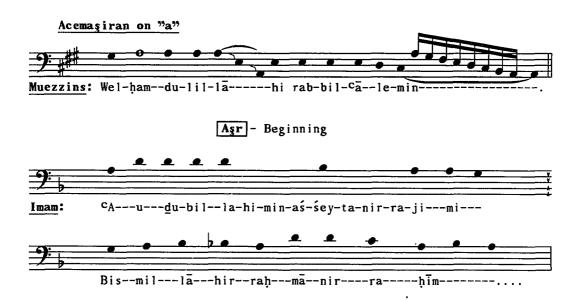
The imam's karar at the end of selâm (Ex. 2) is on the dominant of Hüzzam, B^{\flat} . In the next musical dua, Allahumme Entesselamu, the muezzin remains in the same makam, but jumps to its sixth degree, $e^{I\flat}$, thus changing the register and making

the emphasis. In the next line of dua's text, beginning with the word Tabarekta, he gradually descends back to the dominant, b^{i} , on which he ends the musical dua.

With this karar, in İkindi and other daily namaz-s, muezzin overtakes the musical leadership from imam and keeps it until the Aşr, when the imam, unless he relegates it to the muezzin, again assumes the musical leadership. In Teravih Namazı, this karar occurs between the selâm of the Vitir Part and the ensuing Allahumme Entesselamu, which is read twice in Teravih Namazı.

Thus the third point of *karar* exchange, now from muezzin(s) to imam, occurs between the closing musical *dua*, *Velhamdulillahi*, and the *Aşr*. In the next example (Ex. 4), recorded during the performance of the *Cerrahi Teravih Namazı*, the *karar* of the closing *Velhamdulillahi* is chorally delivered by a group of muezzins. The *makam* is *Acemaşiran* on *a*, a major third above its theoretical tonic on pitch *acemaşiran*, *f*. The *karar* is carefully prepared and introduced by the descending melodic progression from the upper to lower tonics, typical for this *makam*.

On the basis of these three examples of *karar* exchange in the performance of *namaz*, we can observe that the musical structure of *namaz* is built on the successive musical alternation between the muezzin(s) and imam: the Text Segments from the Introduction are performed by the muezzin(s); Core Section by imam; and the Conclusion again by muezzin(s); in *namaz*-s which conclude with *Aşr*, this musico-ritual piece is performed by either the imam or muezzin.



Example 4 - Exchange of karar: muezzins to imam (Cerrahi Teravih Namazı)

Due to this successive alternation between the muezzin and the imam, which requires from both of them the utmost musical concentration and observance of musical rules of structuring, their *karar*-s become the crucial links in the continuum of music progression in the *namaz*. This *alternation of musical roles* is sometimes dramatically emphasized. The muezzin has to know the musical skills and capabilities of the imam, and *vice versa*. It is exactly because of this that the most crucial points in musical progression of *namaz* are never alternated between the two performers unfamiliar with each other's musical skills. A vivid example of this is told by Abdülkadir Şehitoğlu, imam in the Zencirli Mosque, in Ankara's Ulus area:

Matching the *karar*-s between the muezzin and imam is important, not only because the muezzin has to be careful about the imam's musical capabilities, which implies his vocal range, but also because of the congregation. If the imam's reading makes him uncomfortable, that would affect the congregation as well, who would also feel uncomfortable. That is why the muezzin should know the capabilities of imam's voice and give him the *karar* accordingly.

I have, on numerous occasions, visited the Beyazıt Mosque, for namaz. Because I knew the muezzins there I would climb to the mahfil and perform the namaz with them. Occasionally, I would join in the performance of müezzinlik. So, I would read the Tesbih, but at the point when the La ilaha illallahu is uttered, a Beyazıt Mosque muezzin would overtake that section from me, saying "I'll do that."

At first, I couldn't understand why they wouldn't let me continue the müezzinlik till the end of namaz, and that would sometimes make me feel uncomfortable. However, it was only later that I understood the real reason for this. Since only the Beyazıt Mosque muezzins knew well the voice and musical capabilities of the imam, it became clear to me that only one of them could read the La ilaha illallahu, before the [long silent] Dua, and the Velhamdulillahi, after the Dua, thus giving the appropriate karar to the imam, who would then continue with Aşr and be able to make the geçiş [modulation, passage] smoothly (Şehitoğlu interview 1991).

Beyond its primary function of being a point of exchange of musical roles between the muezzins and imam, and *vice versa*, the *karar* has also the function of maintaining the *pitch unity* throughout the *namaz*. It seems that this maintenance of pitch is of crucial importance in the performance of *namaz*, since all three *Teravih Namazı*-s reflect this unity. Here are the *karar*-s of the musical segments performed in three *Teravih Namazı*-s (Ex. 5):



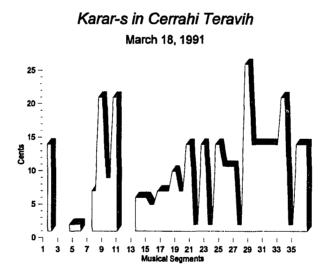
Example 5 - Karar-s in three Teravih Namaz-s

The numbers 1-36 in Ex. 5 stand for the karar-s of the following musical segments:

1.	Opening Sünnet Selâvat	15.	1st İlâhi/Sel. Ümmiye	27.	Dua/Allahumme Entess.
2-3.	[First Sünnet Rek'at-s]	16.	3rd Selâvat	28.	Ala Rasulina
4.	İhlâs-ı Şerife	17.	2nd <i>İlâhi/Sel. Ümmi</i> ye	29.	Subhanallah
5.	Cerrahi Selâvat	18.	5th <i>Selâvat</i>	30.	Ayetel Kürsî
6.	Kamet	19.	3rd <i>İlâhi/Sel. Ümmiye</i>	31.	Tesbih
7.	Farz Kıraat	20.	7th Selâvat	32.	La ilaha
8.	Yatsı Selâm	21.	4ûı İlâhi/Sel. Ümmiye	33.	Amin Duas:
9.	İstiğfar Duası	22.	9th Selâvat	34.	Velhamdulillahi
10.	Allahumme Entesselamu	23.	5th <i>Ìlâhi/Sel. Üm./Kaside</i>	35.	Aşr
11-12.	[Last Sünnet Rek'at-s]	24.	Ayet	36.	Cerrahi Selâvat
13.	Subhanallah	25.	Amin Duası		
14.	1st <i>Teravih Selâvat</i>	26.	Vitir Selâvat		

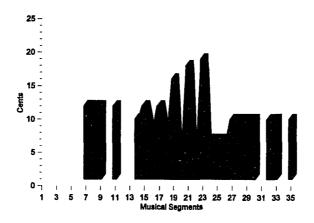
For the sake of visual enhancement and another way of representing the traditionally recorded information from Ex. 5, I have chosen to represent the same information by using the charts. In the following charts, the y-axis represents the approximate absolute pitch in Cents; the x-axis, the succession of *karar*-s of musical segments of *namaz*, in which all segments are represented as blocks of the same length, therefore not reflecting their absolute duration in performance. The minor ticks on y-axis represent the increments in pitch by 100 Cents, i.e. a half-step; the pitch

span is two octaves, tick 1 representing absolute pitch A, and tick 25, a¹. The ticks on the x-axis are in intervals of 2 and they represent the numbers of musical segments from Ex. 5. The numbers 2-3 and 11-12 on the x-axis represent the performance of the First and Last Sünnet Rek'at-s. Although they are not the musical segments, I have deliberately inserted them in the charts in order to show the places of silence in namaz in which no musical activity occurs. Other gaps in the charts show the missing, not performed, segments. Thus, the İhlâs-ı Şerife and İstiğfar Duası were not performed in Beyazıt Mosque (nos. 4 and 9), while the Ayetel Kürsî (no. 30) and the final dua, Amin Duası (no. 33), were silent.

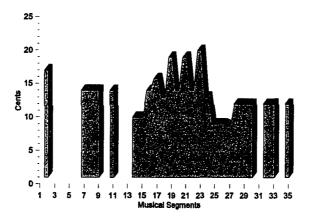


¹The concluding *Aşr*-s are missing from the Beyazıt examples, since I did not record them. Also missing is the *Kamet* from the Cerrahi example, which I did not record it in full.

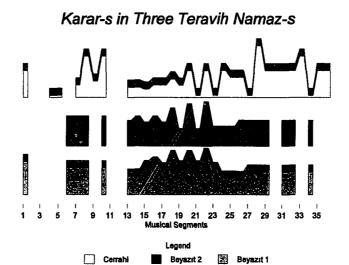
Karar-s in Beyazıt Teravih March 25, 1991



Karar-s in Beyazıt Teravih March 23, 1991



Put together in a single chart, the *karar*-s of three *Teravih Namazı*-s give the following picture:

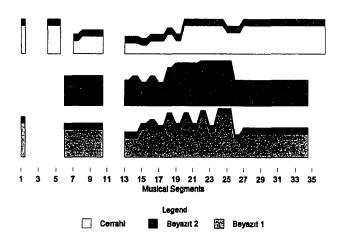


The tripartite structure of *namaz* is already visible in the above chart: the first part concludes the *Yatsi* (nos. 1-10); the middle part is the *Teravih* (nos. 13-25); and the final part is the *Vitir* and Conclusion Parts of *namaz* (nos. 26-36). However, the octave positions of *karar*-s, which do change the register but not necessarily the *makam*, are somewhat blurring the clarity of this tripartite structure, which might show itself in its full simplicity if we truncate and "level up" the octave peaks of *karar*-s. Thus, in *Cerrahi Teravih*, the *karar*-s in segments 8 and 10 (*Yatsi Selâm* and *Allahumme*) can be truncated and moved an octave down so that they would be the same as the *karar* of segment 9 (*İstiğfar Duasi*), on pitch *e*. The same can be done with the *karar* of the short and passing segment 28 (*Ala Rasulina*), on a^{1} , by moving it down to a, which is the *karar* of the remaining portion of *namaz*. The temporary

karar on e^{l} , shown in segment 33 (Amin Duasi), is actually the dominant of the Acemaşiran makam, and can be therefore truncated down to the tonic, a, as well.

In *Teravih Namazı-*s from the Beyazıt Mosque, there was no need to truncate the *karar-*s:

Truncated Karar-s in Teravih Namaz-s



In the *Cerrahi* performance, the muezzins and imam kept the same absolute pitch, a, throughout the *namaz*, making it not only the central point of performance, but also the springboard to various *makam*-s. In Beyazıt *Teravih Namazı* of March 23, that initial pitch, a, turned into a^b towards the end of *Teravih* Part (segment no. 23, the fifth rendition of *Selâvat-i Ümmiye*), and finally into g (segment no. 26, *Vitir Selâm*), a whole tone below the initial a. In Beyazıt *Teravih Namazı* of March 25, on the other hand, the initial pitch is absolute pitch g, which was maintained as such through the middle of *Teravih* Part (segment no. 16, 3rd *Selâvat*). As in the Beyazıt

Teravih Namazı of March 23, where the focal pitch a turned into g after the Vitir Selâm, in Teravih Namazı of March 25 the focal g turned at the same place into f, again a whole tone below. This feature points to the different strategies used in the Beyazıt Mosque and Cerrahi Tekkesi and will be fully discussed in the following pages on modulation. It is visually striking in the above charts that their middle sections, representing the Teravih Part of namaz, show the undulating line of karar-s and the point of turbulence in namaz, which is again caused by modulations.

Modulation, Gecki

In their performances, all three *Teravih Namazı*-s differ in the way the modulation is effected in them. We might speak here about *three different strategies* of achieving the modulation and building the overall structure of *Teravih Namazı*. What matters here is not only the choice of *makam*-s, but also that of Text Segments as micro musical forms.

In Turkish classical music modulation occurs on two levels. The first, which I call the *micro level*, is the modulation within the smaller musical forms or their sections, *hane-s*. In this sense, the modulation which occurs in the *miyanhane* of the *beste* or *şarkı*, or in the *taksim* and *gazel/kaside*, is the *micro modulation*. The second level modulation, which I call the *macro modulation*, is the achieved between the segments of larger musical forms. In the latter case, the *macro modulation* is done by the intermediary of *karar-s* whose function is to connect the segments in larger forms.² Both types of modulation are used in the performance of *namaz*. However, *while the micro modulation is a matter of muezzin's or imam's personal choice and his musical skill and taste, the macro modulation is predetermined by rule. Although the subtle personal changes might affect that rule, they never override it.*

In namaz as a large musical form, and for that matter especially in Teravih

Namazi which, together with Ayin, Mevlid, and Zikir, represents the largest musical

forms in Turkish music, it is the macro modulation which carries the momentum. As

²Discussing these two kinds of modulation, Signell refers to them as the "Modulation in Formal Structure," and the "Modulation in Larger Forms" (1986: 82, 113).

we have seen in previous discourse on *karar*, the *Teravih Namazı* has a tripartite musical structure. It is in its middle, *Teravih* Part, in which the macro modulation is performed. Since the five *Rek'at* Sets of *Teravih* Part are, according to the rule, in five different *makam*-s, it is the modulation that connects them in a meaningful whole.

In reference to this rule İsmail Hakkıçimen used two words: adet, lit. custom, habit, and usûl, lit. system, procedure, rule, adding that the rule was being observed and practiced "eski İstanbul'da, Osmanlı zamanında," "in old Istanbul of Ottoman times." This practice, however, seems to be rather flexible regarding the choice and order of makam-s. In Cerrahi Tekkesi, their order is: Rast, Uşşak, Saba, Eviç, and Acemaşiran; in the Beyazıt Mosque, the order and choice are somewhat different: Rast, Saba, Hüseynî, Eviç, and Acemaşiran. On my question whether this was the only choice and order, the Cerrahi şeyh replied that it was not and that other makam-s, although he did not specify which, may be used. Another hint I got from a Mevlevî şeyh whom I met in March of 1994, at American University in Washington, D.C., where he came with a group of dervishes to perform the Mevlevî Ayin-i. If I remember well, the şeyh said that Eviç and Acemaşiran, as the makam-s of the fourth and fifth Rek'at Sets, are fixed, whereas the other three makam-s of preceding sets can be changed.

Although I still do not have precise answer about all possibilities of makam permutations in Teravih Part, it is clear that at least in the Cerrahi Tekkesi and the Beyazıt Mosque, maybe the only two among a few places in Istanbul in which this "old" practice is still observed, the first Rek'at Set is always in Rast, and the fourth

and fifth sets in Eviç and Acemaşiran. The middle Rek'at Sets, second and third, are either in Saba, or Uşşak and Hüseynî.

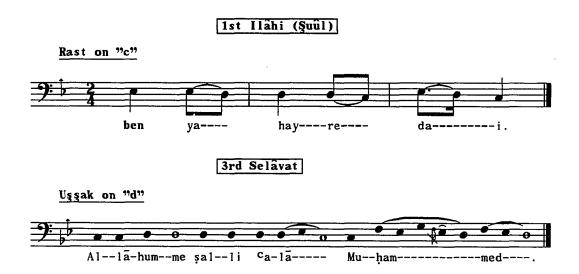
First Strategy: Cerrahi Tekkesi

The performance of Last Sünnet Rek'at-s of Yatst is ended by the muezzin's reading of the First Subhanallah, the segment which immediately precedes the Teravih Part (see Chapter Seven, Table 9). This segment introduces and establishes the first makam of that Part, Rast. The karar on which the muezzin ends the Subhanallah is then taken by other muezzins who chorally perform the First Selâvat of Teravih.

Imam maintains that karar in his İftitah Tekbiri, karaat, and First Selâm, which concludes the first Rek'at Couplet (see Chapter Eight, Table 5). The same procedure is kept throughout the second Rek'at Couplet, which begins with the muezzins' choral performance of the Second Selâvat, also in Rast. The Second Selâm concludes the first Rek'at Set on the karar of Rast makam. At this point the imam and muezzins are ready to continue with the performance of the second Rek'at Set. However, since they are performing the Teravih Part, teravih literally meaning the pauses, they interrupt the liturgical continuity of namaz with the insertion of an ilâhi or Selâvat-i Ümmiye. The imam's next İftitah Tekbiri would signal the beginning of the next Rek'at Set, in which the body is again put in motion and the liturgy of Teravih is resumed.

In the *Cerrahi Tekkesi*, the First *İlâhi* is replaced by the *Şugl*, which remains in *Rast makam*, with cadence on the *makam*'s tonic. The modulation occurs in the ensuing Third *Selâvat*, which is brought in *Uşşak makam*. The *selâvat* starts on the

same *karar*, the tonic of *Rast*, c. Since the *makam* of *selâvat* is *Uṣṣak*, on whose tonic, d, it will have to end, this pitch c undergoes a musico-semantic transformation by being reassigned a new function, that of subtonic of *Uṣṣak* (Ex. 6).

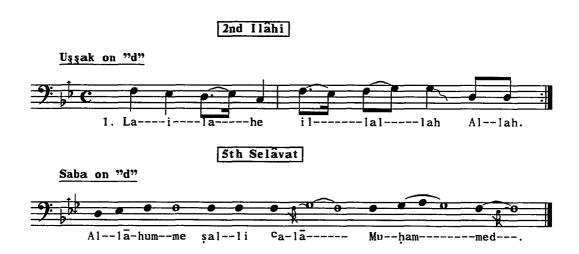


Example 6 - Modulation from Rast to Uşşak Makam

The modulation is smooth and simple. The pivotal tones of *Uşşak* are its subtonic and the second degree, both are which are also pivotal in Rast makam, as its tonic and third degree respectively. By the simple change of their function it is relatively easy to switch, i.e. to make the passage, *geçiş*, from one *makam* to the other. By the end of *selâvat*, the *Uşşak makam* is firmly established: one, by the emphasis on new tonic, *d*, and two, by means of characteristic motivic turn from the third degree, *e-one-comma-flat*, to subtonic, *c*, thus encircling and reaffirming the tonic on the word

'ala. In the remaining part of selâvat, on the word Muhammed, another pivotal tone of Uşşak, the dominant on g, is reached and the segment safely cadences on the tonic d, serving as the karar for the next Rek'at Set to be performed by the imam.

The second modulation occurs after the Second *İlâhi*, with which the musical portion of *namaz* in *Uşşak makam* concludes. Now the muezzins modulate from *Uşşak* to *Saba makam* (Ex. 7).



Example 7 - Modulation from Uşşak to Saba Makam

In this example the muezzins ended the Second *Îlâhi* on the tonic of *Uşşak*, *d*, which, according to Turkish music theory, is the same as in *Saba makam*. The first three tones on the beginning syllables of *selâvat*, "*Al-la-hum*," are rendered on the first three degrees of the *Saba makam* scale, which are shared with the scale of *Uṣṣak makam*. But, before reaching the fourth degree, the muezzins stayed on the third

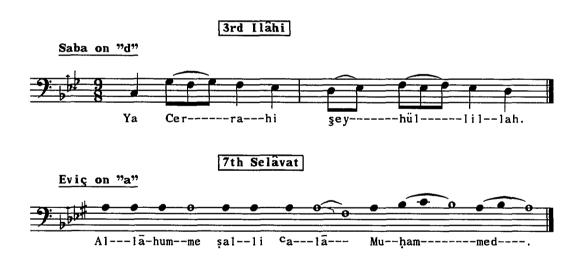
degree, the pivotal tone of Saba, its dominant, thus making the emphasis. After establishing the new center of gravity, the dominant of Saba (f), they proceeded to the next degree above it, g-four-comma-flat, a pitch which does not exist in Uşşak but is crucial in Saba makam, since it gives it the characteristic flavor and immediate aural recognition. From now on there is no doubt that the new makam is Saba and that the modulation from Uşşak was successfully performed. As it is characteristic for Saba, the melody often cadences on its third degree, the dominant, rather than on tonic.

A more intricate modulation occurs between the third and fourth *Rek'at* Sets. Here, muezzins switch from the *Saba İlâhi* to *Eviç Selâvat*, changing not only the tonic of *makam* but also the register. The melodic progression, *seyir*, of *Eviç makam* is descending; it usually starts by exploring the area around or above the upper tonic (theoretical pitch *eviç*) and then moves downward to cadence on the its *karar*, the lower tonic (theoretical pitch *trak*); the pivotal tones are the dominant, on the third degree, *dügâh*, and the sixth degree, *neva* (Ex. 8).



Example 8 - Theoretical Scales of Eviç and Saba Makam-s

Since the *karar* of *Saba İlâhi* is given on the tonic of *Saba makam* (theoretical $diig\hat{a}h$), and since the *Eviç Selâvat* starts on its own tonic (theoretical evic), this means that the muezzins should make an upward leap of a major sixth, $a-f^a$, in order to jump from the tonic of one *makam* to the tonic of another. For skilled musicians that should not represent an obstacle. However, for one reason or another, the musicians/muezzins in *Cerrahi Tekkesi*, did not succeed in doing this and they rather made an interval of a slightly augmented fifth, starting from the absolute pitch on the low d^b , which is the *karar* of *Saba İlâhi*, and jumping to absolute a, the upper tonic of *Eviç* and the beginning tone of the *Eviç Selâvat* (Ex. 9).



Example 9 - Modulation from Saba to Eviç Makam

 $^{^{3}}$ Or c'' + 26 C, in Ex. 9 transcribed as natural d.

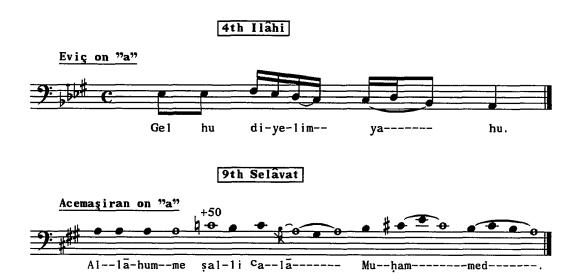
This "missintonation" might confuse the trained Turkish musicians who would expect here the leap of a major sixth. Münir Beken, for example, felt that neither was the modulation performed nor the new makam established. However, it seems that, for the performers in Cerrahi Tekkesi, both the modulation and the establishment of the new makam were successfully done. Since they are insiders and they know the overall musical scheme and the "grand plan" of their performance, the errors in intonation or missing the exact interval do not really matter much. Intonation is for them obviously negotiable. Since five selâvat-s differ among themselves only in their melodies, and not in texts, it means that their respective melodies are fixed and unchangeable. Therefore, even if the intonation and the "right" pitch are missed, everybody knows that the selâvat from Ex. 9 is in Eviç makam, since this melody, and only this, is composed in Eviç. The musical code which semantically refers to Eviç is encrypted in two specifically Eviç melodic turns: one of a major third, from upper tonic down to the pivotal sixth degree (in Ex. 9, $a^{l}-f^{l}$), the other of a minor third, from tonic up to the third degree, i.e. dominant (in Ex. 9, a^1-c^2). Both of these turns are present in this nuclear seyir of Eviç Selâvat, and they unmistakenly inform the insider-listeners about the makam.

Similar kind of "missintonation" also occurred in the modulation from the fourth to the fifth Rek'at Sets. Here the Eviç llahi cadences on its lower tonic, while the following selavat starts on the upper tonic of Acemasiran makam. The theoretical tonics of these two makam-s are a half step apart: the lower tonic of Acemasiran being acemasiran, f^i , and the upper tonic, acem, f^2 (Exx. 8 and 10).



Example 10 - Theoretical Scale of Acemaşiran Makam

Muezzins did not make any special attempt to perform this slight change in intonation, by sliding the tonic of new *makam* a half step down. After cadencing on the *karar* of *Eviç İlâhi*, *A*, they made an octave leap up, to *a*, the beginning tone of the ensuing *selâvat*, and the tonic of the new *makam*, *Acemaşiran*. However, although the melody of the new *selâvat* tells them that they are in *Acemaşiran makam*, the tonal relationships between the scalar degrees of the *makam* become clear and fully established only in the second half of the *selâvat*. Arriving at *Acemaşiran Selâvat* by using the same tonic as in *Eviç* requires some tonal reshuffling and pitch adjustment. Since the muezzins have not yet fully left the tonal and intervallic relations of one tonal system, *Eviç makam*, they show the intonational fluctuation when attempting to make a typically *Acemaşiran* jump of a major third up from tonic, *a-c¹⁸*. In *Eviç Selâvat*, this third is minor. What they arrive at is a kind of neutral third, a mid way between the typical melodic turn of *Eviç* and *Acemaşiran* (Ex. 11, syllable "*ṣal-*" in the 9th *selâvat*).



Example 11 - Modulation from Evic to Acemasiran Makam-s

After this first failed attempt to perform a jump of a major third up, the muezzins returned to tonic of *Acemaşiran makam*, and then back to the third degree, this time hitting the right pitch, $c^{I\#}$, on syllable "-ham-", then making an interval of a minor third up, from the third degree to dominant, $c^{I\#}$ - e^{I} , and back to upper tonic of *Acemaşiran*, a. The remainder of the last, fifth, *Rek'at* Set, as well as the following *Imran Ayet* and *Amin Duasi*, are all performed in *Acemaşiran makam*.

The last two macro modulations occur between the *Teravih* and *Vitir*, and the *Vitir* and concluding segments of *namaz*. After the solo reading of *İmran Ayet*, which is ended by a choral line in *Acemaşiran makam*, another muezzin continues with *Amin*

Duast, passingly switching to the Rast makam, with tonic on d^{I} . This was relatively easy to perform, since the tonic of Acemaşiran is the dominant of Rast.

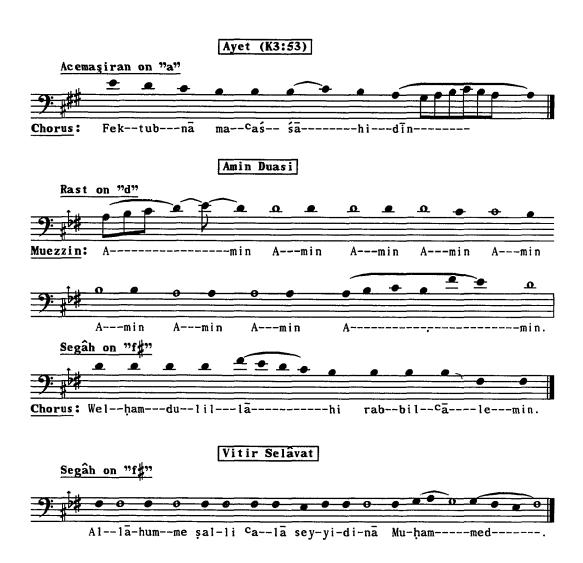
Now the *makam* has to be changed again, and this time fully established. As required by the custom, the following *Vitir Selâvat* should be performed in *Segâh makam*, which would remain the *makam* of the Text Segments in three *Vitir rek'at-s*. The tonic of *Segâh makam* (theoretical pitch *segâh*), is the pivotal third degree of *Rast makam*, suggesting that the modulation between the two *makam-s* could be done smoothly be reassigning the function of that scalar degree and reshuffling the remaining pitches (Ex. 12).



Example 12 - Theoretical Scales of Rast and Segâh Makam-s

The modulation is effectuated by a choral performance of the final sentence of Amin Duasi, "Wa'l-ḥamdulillāhi rabbi'l-ʿālamīn" (Ex. 13). The muezzins take the karar of Rast, d^l , go to its pivotal third degree, f^{l} , i.e. the upper tonic of the incoming Segâh makam, and then slide down to the fourth degree of Segâh, b, the pitch not found in Rast; from there they make a downward jump of a fourth to the lower tonic

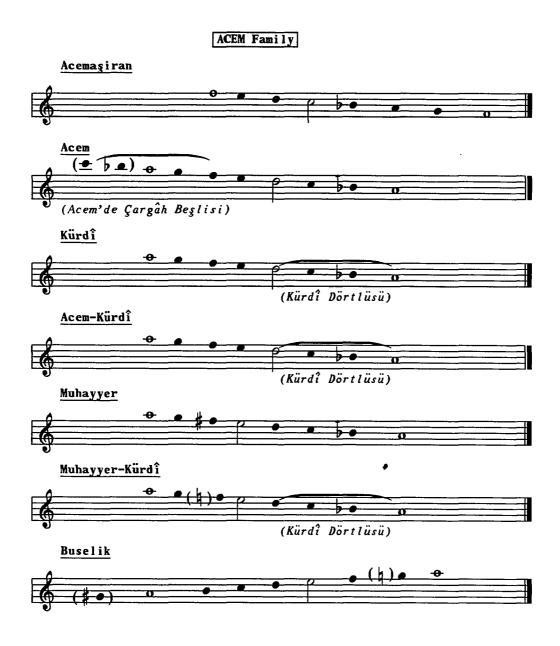
of Segâh, f. Now that the Segâh makam is fully established, the Vitir Selâvat and three Vitir Rek'at-s may be performed in that makam as required by the custom.



Example 13 - Modulation from Acemaşiran/Rast to Segâh Makam

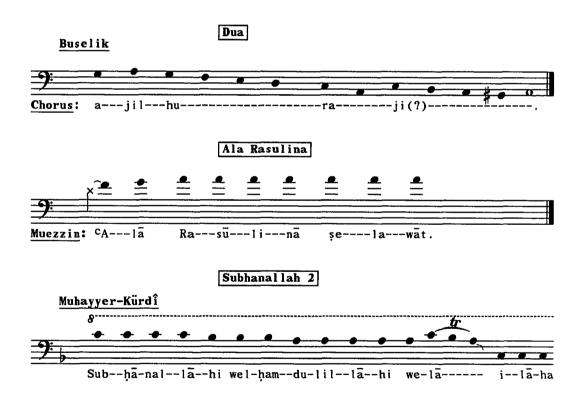
The Conclusion Section of *Teravih Namazı*, which starts after the *Vitir Selâm*, should be, according to the rule, in *Acemaşiran*, the *makam* of the last *Rek'at* Set in *Teravih* Part. In actual practice, the Conclusion is never just in *Acemaşiran makam*, but it rather oscillates between several *makam*-s closely related to *Acemaşiran*. Since they are related I am labeling them as the "*Acem* Family" *makam*-s, which includes *makam*-s such as *Acem*, *Acem-Kürdî*, *Buselik*, *Muhayyer*, or *Muhayyer-Kürdî* (Ex. 14). The final section of *Teravih Namazı* is therefore delivered in the succession of these *makam*-s. All of them share the same tonic so that the *maintenance of the same karar*, a, is easily achieved.

The modulation from Segâh to "Acem Family" makam-s is achieved via Buselik. Since the Segâh was transposed to ft, its dominant, a, was frequently used as the karar. In tekbir-s and tahmid-s of the third Vitir Rek'at, this pitch, a, became the only karar which was recurringly emphasized in the exchange of registers between imam and muezzin. In the muezzin's response to the imam's tahmid for the ktyam after rükû, the muezzin suddenly changed the scale and introduced the Buselik makam, with karar on a as its tonic. In the next response, for the intermediary sitting position between the two secde-s, the muezzin ended on the dominant of Buselik, e, and in the final two responses the full Buselik scale was firmly established, with karar given on the tonic of Buselik, a.



Example 14 - Makam-s of "Acem Family"

Buselik was kept for the duration of the next musical dua, which cadenced on the Buselik's tonic A (Ex. 15). Now, the same tone, but two octaves higher, on a^{l} , was repeated on the syllables of 'Ala Rasulina, and the new makam, Muhayyer-Kürdî, was introduced in the following segment, the second Subhanallahi. In this case the modulation is done simply by holding the karar for a longer period of time so that a jump to a related makam, which shares the same tonic, is executed without any perceptible incongruence.



Example 15 - Modulation from Buselik to Muhayyer-Kürdî Makam

Although it is rarely performed, *micro modulation* does occur sporadically, as a result of personal muezzin's/imam's choice, musical taste, and aesthetic feeling. This modulation is of the passing character only and its function is to add some "spice" to the *seyir* of a given *makam*. Such an example was passingly introduced by the imam in the *kıraat* of the fourth *Teravih Rek'at*. Being a part of the first *Rek'at* Set, this *kıraat* was read in *Rast makam*. Towards the end of *Fatiha*, the imam chose to introduce the *Nikriz makam* passingly, whose lower pentachord, *Nikriz Beşlisi*, has an interesting and aesthetically pleasing microtonal interval of augmented second, one comma narrower than the Western equivalent (Ex. 16).⁵ The conjunct upper tetrachord is either the *Rast* or *Buselik* Tetrachord: that of *Rast* with *f*[#], and of *Buselik* with *f* natural.⁶ According to theory, *Rast* and *Nikriz* share the same dominant, on *neva* (d).



Example 16 - Nikriz makam

⁴"Spice" is a term frequently used by Münir Beken to verbally describe a musical feature.

⁵According to Turkish theory, in the scale of *Nikriz makam* this interval of *artık ikili*, lit. augmented second, is between the pitches of *nim hicaz*, c*, and *dik kürdî*, *b-four-comma-flat*. Signell gives it a size of 12 commas, i.e. 271 C (1986: 23).

⁶It is important to bear in mind that the *Rast* tetrachord is the transposition of the lower tetrachord of *Rast makam* a fifth up, from g to d; and likewise, the *Buselik* tetrachoerd is the transposition of the lower tetrachord of *Buselik makam* a fourth up, from g to g.

In the following example (Ex. 17),⁷ the imam started the last ayet of the *Fatiha* on the dominant of *Rast*, but decided to reassign its function to the dominant of *Nikriz*, after which he moved down a half-step and then made the "spicy" interval of an augmented second, from which he made a glissando-like glide to tonic, g, on which he gave the *karar* to the congregation to utter its "*Amin*." Since this was only a passing modulation, the imam picked up the *Rast makam* again in the following *Zammi Sure*.



Example 17 - Passing Modulation from Rast to Nikriz Makam

Second Strategy: Beyazıt Mosque

In the Beyazit Mosque, the muezzins use a different strategy to achieve the same or similar kind of macro modulations. In *Teravih Namazi* performed on March 25, 1991, in which they used *ilâhi*-s at the points of liturgical rests between the *Rek'at* Sets of *Teravih* Part, the muezzins made their modulations between the *selâm*-s and *ilâhi*-s, rather than between *ilâhi*-s and *selâvat*-s, as was the case in the *Cerrahi Tekkesi*. This means that the new *makam* of the next *Rek'at* Set is introduced in the *ilâhi* and maintained until the second *selâm* of that set. The reasons for using this

 $^{^{7}}$ Ex. 17 is transcribed on the theoretical pitch. In actual performance, the theoretical *karar*, g^{l} , was an octave and a half below, on d.

strategy are to be found in the liturgical structure of namaz itself. Selâm is uttered after a period of silence during which the Ettahiyyat Dua-s are read. This silence takes approximately half a minute, allowing performers to aurally "forget" or disregard the makam and tonal relations present prior to the Ettahiyyat, and possibly start the next musical segment anew, making a break instead of a smooth modulation. By doing this, it is easier to control the tonal readjustments and enter into the sphere of a new makam. Yet, the imam's selâm, which is still given on the karar of the previous makam, is observed. But since the selâm is too short to bring all elements of the previous makam to the fore, it does not represent an unsurmountable obstacle for muezzins to move on to another makam. They do it by using the selâm's karar as a springboard. Once they pick it up from the imam, they change its function and reassign it as a pivotal tone of the new makam of ilâhi. This new makam is then kept in selâvat and throughout the next Rek'at Set. Since selâvat continues directly after ilâhi, without any break, it is musically demanding to make the modulation there, as muezzins in the Cerrahi Tekkesi did. To change the makam on the spot obviously requires a great precision of intonation and musical knowledge and skill. Instead of putting themselves into this rather challenging musical situation, muezzins in the Beyazıt Mosque choose to change the makam after the selâm. This strategy puts them on the safe side, allowing them to achieve a similar result with less musical effort.

İsmail Hakkıçimen explains this in the following passage:

Our [Beyazit Mosque] muezzins are not musicians and are not professional in [the area of] makam. If we, for example, read an ilâhi in Saba makam, and then start the Allahumme Salli [selâvat] in Hüseynî makam, none of my friends [fellow-muezzins] can do it, since they are not professionals.

That's why we do it here like this. But in the [Cerrahi] tekke, where the performers are acknowledged musicians, they observe the same usûl [practice] as in old Istanbul... Since the muezzins in this mosque do not know much about makam, do not know much about music, should I try to do it in a normal way, in the same way as in [Cerrahi] tekke, they wouldn't be able to sing it together in the same way - they wouldn't be able to follow me. That's why, because they cannot follow [me], I use the new style.

İsmail described his strategy as a *Yeni Sitil*, "New Style," thus emphasizing the difference between his way of modulation and that of *Cerrahi Tekkesi*, where the *Eski Sitil*, "Old Style," is used. Since in our daily conversations we spoke both in Turkish and English, sometimes even enjoying in mixing the two for the sake of better understanding and a sheer fun, İsmail added the following in English:

Because they do not know too much music, they cannot pass from this *makam* directly to the other *makam*. For that, in the beginning of these things I have to start with the same *makam* for to say *Allahumme salli* [selâvat]. Tamam mi? [Is it clear?]... The people from *tekke*, they are professional. They can pass from one [makam to] the other one truly, without problem, nothing. But this people [in Beyazıt] they are not professional. In the same moment, in the same time, they can not pass from one to the other one.

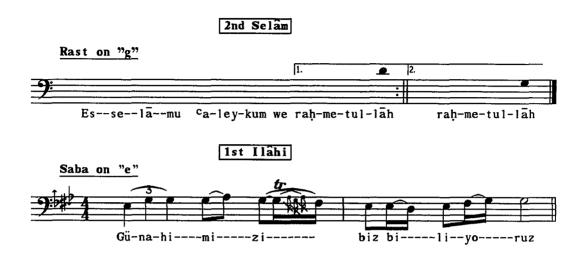
^{8&}quot;Bizim buradaki müzisyenler olmadı için, buradaki arkadaşlar makam profesyonel olmadı için. Eğer biz böyle bir mesela ilâhiyi Saba makamında okurda, Allahumme Salli'yi Hüseynî makamına başlarsak, arkadaşlar hemen birden bire yapamaz yani, ççünkü profesyonel değil. Onun için biz birda böyle yapıyoruz. Ama tekkedekiler orda musikile meşkur olduklar için, orda normal eski İstanbul'da nasılsa aynısını yapıyorlar... Çünkü bu camideki diğer arkadaşlar fazla iyi makam bilmedikleri için, fazla musiki bilmedikleri için, eğer ben normal yapmıya kalkarsam, aynı şeyi yapmak istersem, tekkedeki aynı şeyi, diğer arkadaşlarla beraber söyliyemeyiz, yani - onlar bene takib edemez. Onun için, bunlarında takib etmeler için, bu yeni sitil yapıyorum" (Interview, March 25, 1991).

İsmail's comments on the musical skills necessary for the muezzins to perform certain technical requirements in the performance of *namaz*, pertain to the imam, as well. Muezzin(s) and imam have to be "in sync" and carefully observe and follow each other's musical intentions in order to be able to build a feasible and esthetically pleasing musical structure of *namaz*. However, as he said, "not every imam knows how to follow... For example, no matter what we [muezzins] do, he [imam] does not follow any *makam*. He reads in his own way."

In the Beyazit Mosque it is the imam İsmail Biçer and the muezzin İsmail Hakkiçimen who carefully observe the rules of modulation and exchange the musical codes between each other. Other muezzins follow the muezzin İsmail. On the video recordings I made, it can be clearly seen how they lean towards him in order to pick up the intonation and karar before being able to securely continue with ilâhi or selâvat. This kind of leaning towards and waiting for the lead muezzin to establish the makam and seyir is not a practice in Cerrahi Tekkesi, where muezzins are musically sure in what they do.

In the first modulation, from Rast Selâm to Saba İlâhi, imam Biçer gives the karar on the tonic of Rast, g, which muezzins semantically change into the dominant of Saba makam (Ex. 18).

⁹"Her imam takib etmeye bilmiyor... O, mesela, biz ne yaparsak, hiç makam takib etmez. Kendi yaptını okur" (Interview with Hakkıçimen, March 25, 1991). In this quote, İsmail Hakkıçimen is relating not to İsmail Biçer, but another imam.

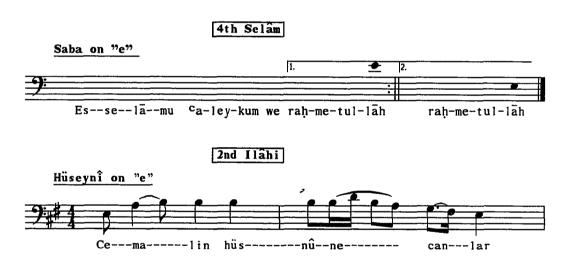


Example 18 - Modulation from Rast to Saba Makam

Since İsmail Hakkıçimen is capable of performing this semantic transformation of g, from the Rast tonic to the Saba dominant, and keep it steady, the rest of the muezzins, having the intonation fixed and maintained by him, easily tune into the new makam's tonal relations, probably relying solely on the familiar melody of ilâhi. In this sense, the ilâhi serves as a kind of the makam's blueprint. Not everybody is knowledgeable about makam-s nor is everybody capable of switching from makam to makam, but the majority of Turks memorize ilâhi-s, and, as we have seen, also the selâvat-s, as melodies and are able to sing them any time. Since every ilâhi is also known by its makam, such as "this makam ilâhi" or "that makam ilâhi," committing the melody of an ilâhi to memory also means remembering its makam. This is why it is relatively easy for muezzins to sing an ilâhi once the karar is firmly established for

them. Without the *karar*, the establishing of a new *makam*, with sometimes very different scale and tonal relations, would represent an unsurmountable obstacle.

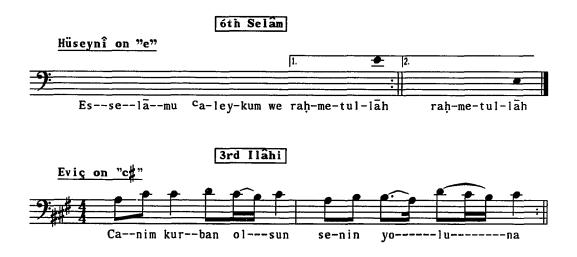
The modulation from Saba Selâm to Hüseynî İlâhi, after the second Rek'at Set, is achieved in a similar fashion: the imam gives the karar on the tonic of Saba makam, e, and İsmail Hakkıçimen uses it as tonic of Hüseynî. As soon as he successfully makes the leap to the dominant of Hüseynî and the melody of ilâhi starts rolling, other muezzins are easily being brought into the "new makam's groove" (Ex. 19).



Example 19 - Modulation from Saba to Hüseynî Makam

¹⁰I am playing here with S. Feld's term used in his article on "Getting into the Kaluli Groove" (1988).

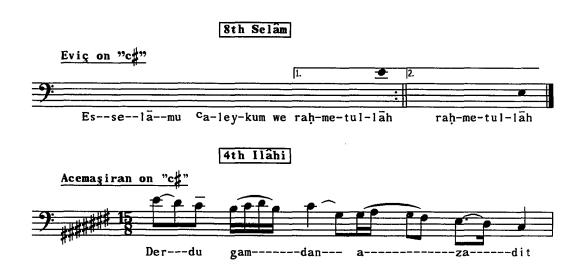
The same strategy was applied in the next modulation, from $H\ddot{u}seyn\hat{i}$ $Sel\hat{a}m$ to $Eviç\ \dot{l}l\hat{a}hi$. Taking the imam's karar on e, İsmail Hakkıçimen starts $il\hat{a}hi$ on pitch a, a pivotal tone in $Eviç\ makam$, from which he makes a typical major third leap up to the tonic on Eviç. In this case, the theoretical relation of makam-s is preserved, as well. The tonic of $H\ddot{u}seyn\hat{i}$ makam, $d\ddot{u}g\hat{a}h$, is a major sixth below the upper tonic of Eviç, (in Ex. 20, $e-c^{I\#}$).



Example 20 - Modulation from Hüseynî to Eviç Makam

As in the Cerrahi Tekkesi, the muezzins in the Beyazıt Mosque did not observe, in their modulation from Eviç to Acemaşiran makam, the theoretical tonal relation between these makam-s' tonics, which are a half-step apart. In practice, they used the

same pitch, but changed the scale and reshuffled the tonal relationships between the degrees (Ex. 21).



Example 21 - Modulation from Eviç to Acemaşiran Makam

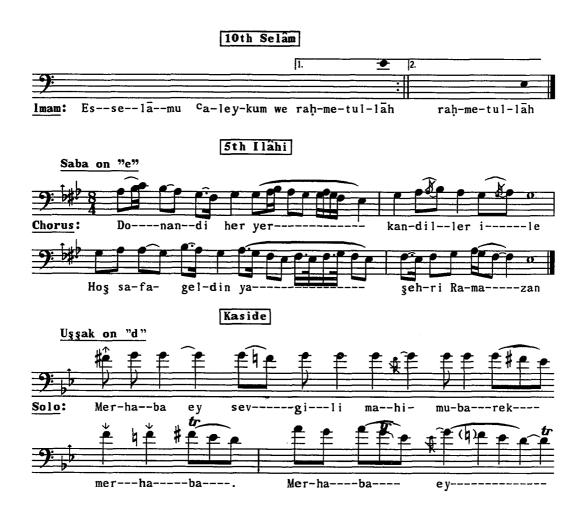
In the following Ninth $Sel\hat{a}vat$ the intonation was readjusted so that, in absolute pitch, the Acemasiran tonic on $c^{\#}$ was moved a half-step up, to d. The final Rek'at Set remained in Acemasiran makam on d until the Tenth $Sel\hat{a}m$, i.e. the last $sel\hat{a}m$ in Teravih Part. In this $sel\hat{a}m$, instead of first giving the karar on the third degree of Acemasiran, $f^{\#}$, and then on tonic, d, as he did in the Ninth $Sel\hat{a}m$, imam ended the first rendition of $sel\hat{a}m$'s sentence on e^{I} , and the second on g. This surprise effect alerted the muezzins that they are supposed to change the makam in the following $il\hat{a}hi$. They picked up the karar on g and changed its function to the dominant of $Saba\ makam$, in which they performed the Fifth $\hat{I}l\hat{a}hi$.

But this *ilâhi* was meant to be only an introduction to the *kaside*, which İsmail Hakkıçimen performed in *Uşşak makam*. In this case, for the first time during the *Teravih* Part of *namaz*, İsmail allowed a kind of modulation we have seen in *Cerrahi Tekkesi*: a direct modulation to another *makam* without a break. Here İsmail moved from *Saba* to *Uşşak* without a fear that the modulation might be unsuccessful. Since the *kaside* is a solo performance, he knew he could make such a modulation since he was not hampered by other muezzins. He took the *karar* of *ilâhi*, on the tonic of *Saba makam* on *e*, as a second degree of *Uşşak* on *d*. With this semantically transformed pitch in his mind, he jumped to *g¹*, the dominant of *Saba*, but also the dominant of *Uşşak*. He emphasized this dominant by holding it on several syllables of *kaside*, and before he moved down to the tonic of *Uşşak* on *d¹*, he adjusted the third and second degrees to make them conform to the *Uşşak* scale. With new tonic on *d* established, the muezzins did not have trouble of singing the choral line in *Uşşak makam* (Ex. 22).

After the *kaside*, which ends with the choral refrain on tonic of *Uşşak*, *d*, İsmail continued with reading the *Ayet*, whose reading he started on *d*¹ by taking the *Uşşak karar*. In our interview he said that in the *Ayet* he returns back to *Acemaşiran*, the *makam* in which the *Teravih* Part ends. Münir Beken, however, understood İsmail's reading of *Ayet* as in *Mâhur makam* on *d*. Having in mind that in theory both the *Mâhur* and *Acemaşiran makam*-s are understood as the *şed* versions, i.e. transpositions, of theoretical *Çargâh makam* (Öztuna 1990/1: 193), meaning that they are related and close *makam*-s, it is understandable that there may exist the slight

variation in the *conceptual idea* of *makam* and its *practical realization in performance*.

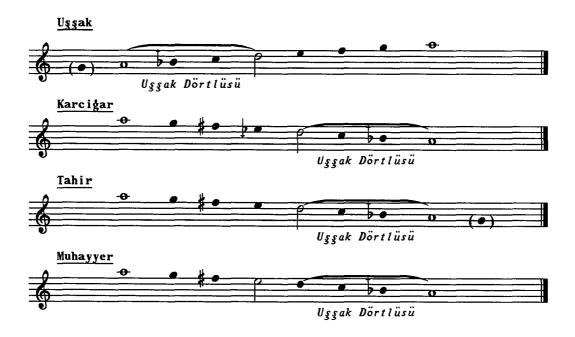
Or, put in other words, practice is never as simple and clear cut as theory is.



Example 22 - Modulation from Acemaşiran to Saba to Uşşak

During his solo performance of Amin Duasi, the muezzin changed the intonation and moved the tonic of Acemaşiran from d to $d^{\#}$. In modulation to Uşşak

Selâvat of Vitir, this d* was functionally changed from tonic of Acemaşiran to subdominant of Uşşak on f, the makam the muezzins will remain in until the end of Teravih Namazı. According to Münir Beken, the second Subhanallah is in Karcığar on f, and Tesbih in Tahir or Muhayyer on f. It might be said that all three of these makam-s belong to the "Family of Uşşak," since they all share the same lower tetrachord, so-called Uşşak Dörtlüsü (Ex. 23).

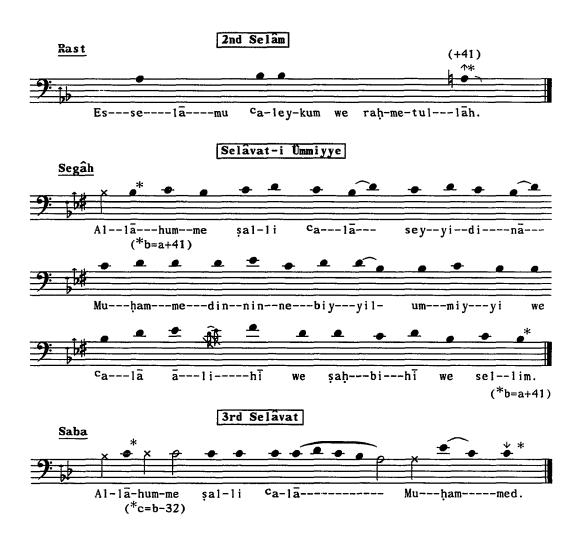


Example 23 - Makam-s of "Uşşak Family": Karcığar, Tahir, Muhayyer

Third Strategy: Beyazıt Mosque

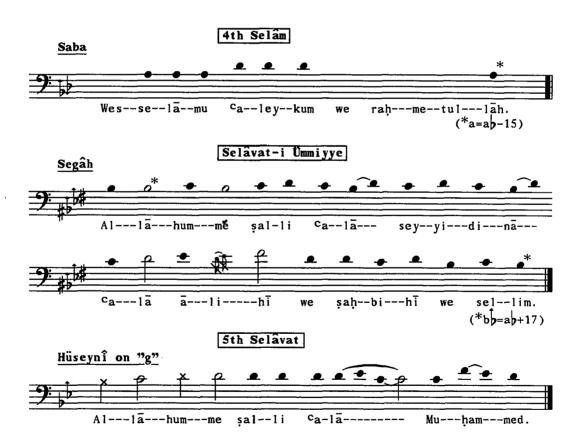
The third strategy of effectuating the modulations was used in the performance of Teravih Namazı in Beyazıt Mosque, on March 23, 1991. Instead of using ilâhi-s in places of teravih breaks, muezzins instead used the Selâvat-i Ümmiye in Segâh makam. This choice of strategy makes their modulations even more interesting and intricate. although theoretically at the verge of the dangerous and unacceptable. Since they preserved the makam pattern of Teravih Part: Rast, Saba, Hüseynî, Evic, Acemasiran, this implied that after every Rek'at Set they would have to modulate from one of these makam-s to the Segâh makam of Selâvat-i Ümmiye, and then to the makam of the next set. After the selâm of the first Rek'at Set in Rast makam, the muezzins had to modulate to Segâh Selâvat-i Ümmiye, and then, without any pause, to Saba Selâvat. which announces the next Rek'at Set (Ex. 19). Although the modulation appears to be rather smooth here, it already shows signs of great intonational instability which will accompany all further modulations in Teravih Part. At the end of the selâm in Rast makam on f, the imam gave the karar on the pitch a; this pitch, as the pivotal third degree of Rast, is also the tonic of Segâh makam. Muezzins picked it up and continued the Selâvat-i Ümmiye in Segâh makam on a (in performance, a + 41 C), which, for technical reasons, I have transcribed here as b-one-comma-flat. They functionally changed he karar of Selâvat-i Ümmiye, on the tonic of Segâh makam, to the second degree of Saba, and then modulated into that makam. To me, this seems to be the only logical way of making the stepwise modulation from Rast to Segâh, and then from Segâh to Saba. However, the measurements show that the pitches were

very unstable, pointing to the fact that this "logical way" of modulation was not that logical, or at least, did not go smoothly (Ex. 24).



Example 24 - Modulation from Rast to Segâh to Saba Makam

The instability of pitch was much more noticeable in modulation from Saba Selâm of the second Rek'at Set to the Segâh Selâvat-i Ümmiye. Here, the imam's karar, on Saba's tonic a (in performance, $a^b \pm 17$ C), was semantically transformed into tonic of Segâh Selâvat-i Ümmiye (Ex. 25; in transcription represented as theoretical tonic of Segâh makam, b-one-comma-flat). This is contrary to the previous modulation, from Segâh Selâvat-i Ümmiye to Saba Selâvat, which was achieved by transforming the function of Segâh tonic to the second degree of Saba.



Example 25 - Modulation from Saba to Segâh to Hüseynî Makam

The Hüseynî Selâvat from Ex. 25 is the same as Uşşak Selâvat, meaning that one can differentiate between them only by looking at them in the wider context. If the segment of namaz in which this selâvat appears is in Uşşak makam, then the selâvat itself is also in Uşşak, with karar on the tonic; if the context is that of the Hüseynî makam, then the selâvat is in Hüseynî, on the dominant. Theoretically this is explained by the fact that Hüseynî makam is composed of the Hüseynî Pentachord, Beşlisi, and Uşşak Tetrachord, Dörtlüsü; the tetrachord is attached to the pentachord, and the point of their junction is the dominant of Hüseynî makam (Ex. 26).

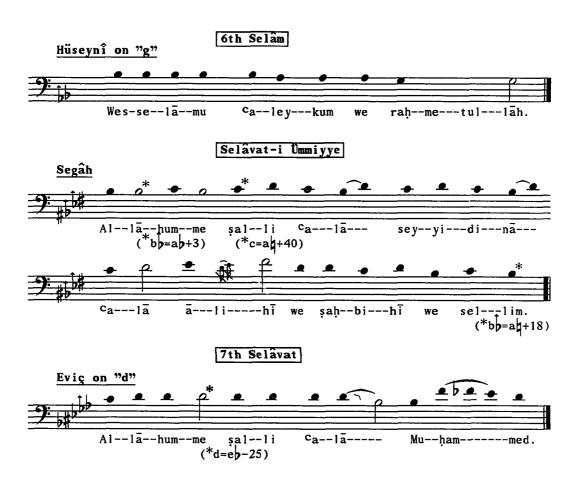


Example 26 - Hüseynî and Uşşak Makam-s

Thus, in Ex. 25, we are dealing with the *Hüseynî Selâvat*, performed with the *seyir* on *Uşşak* Tetrachord, and with *karar* on the dominant of *Hüseynî makam* scale.

In the next modulation, between the third and fourth Rek'at Sets, $Seg\hat{a}h$ $Sel\hat{a}vat$ -i $\ddot{U}mmiye$ is reached from the $H\ddot{u}seyn\hat{i}$ $Sel\hat{a}m$. After imam's karar on the tonic of $H\ddot{u}seyn\hat{i}$, g, muezzins started their $Sel\hat{a}vat$ -i $\ddot{U}mmiye$ again on an absolute pitch somewhere between a and a^b , this time moving a step up from g, in order to

establish the tonic of incoming Segâh makam.¹¹ From the karar of Selâvat-i Ümmiye, the muezzins made an upward leap amounting to an interval between the perfect fourth and diminished fifth, reaching the tonic of the new makam, Eviç on d (actual pitch was e^{b} - 25 C), in which they performed the Seventh Selâvat (Ex. 27).



Example 27 - Modulation from Hüseynî to Segâh to Eviç Makam

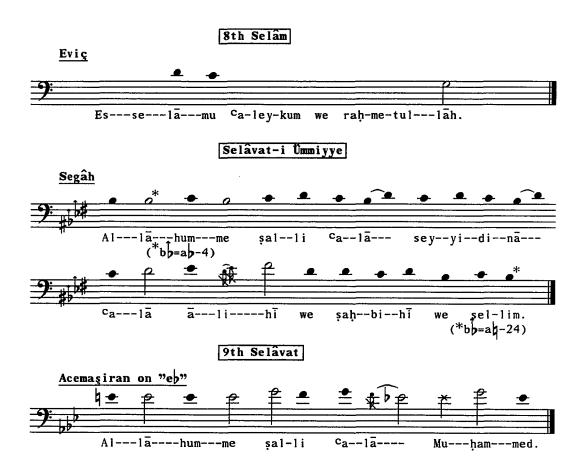
¹¹In actual performance (Ex. 27), the starting tonic of *Segâh makam*, the *b-one-comma-flat* in transcription, equales to the absolute $a^b + 3$ C, while the ending tonic, *karar*, was $a^b + 18$ C.

Eventually the tonic of Evic moved a half-step up, to e^{b} , so that in his tekbir-s the imam emphasized the dominant of Evic, g. This dominant served as his karar in the selâm concluding the fourth Rek'at Set. In modulating from Evic Selâm to Segâh Selâvat-i Ümmiye, muezzins used the same strategy as in previous modulation, moving from the dominant of Evic, g, a step up to a, making it the tonic of Segâh makam. From their karar on a they, like in previous modulation, made an upward leap, this time of a perfect fifth, intending to arrive to the tonic of Acemasiran makam. After the adjustment of tonal relations in the new makam scale, e^{i} they finally settled down on pitch e^{i} as the tonic of Acemasiran (Ex. 28).

By the end of the final teravih rek'at, the pitches in the Acemaşiran scale got raised by a half-step. Making the modulation from the last, i.e. tenth, Teravih Selâm to the final threefold performance of Selâvat-i Ümmiye, muezzins took the imam's karar on a' and reassigned it as tonic of Segâh makam.\(^{13}\) At the end of Selâvat-i Ümmiye, İsmail Hakkıçimen returned to Acemaşiran makam by simply jumping to its tonic, e, on which he started the reading of Ayet.

¹²Like in *Cerrahi Tekkesi*, where the jump of a major third from tonic up and then back had to be readjusted (Ex. 11).

¹³The same strategy they have used between the second and third *Rek'at* Set, modulating from *Saba* to *Segâh* to *Hüseynî makam* (Ex. 25).



Example 28 - Modulation from Eviç to Segâh to Acemaşiran Makam

* * *

The constant fluctuation of intonation in performing the five modulations suggests that the strategy İsmail Hakkıçimen used in the performance of *namaz* on March 23, 1991, lies in his attempt to fix the *Selâvat-i Ümmiye* on the pitch of

absolute a or in its immediate proximity, i.e. half-step up or down. By doing this, the Segâh makam would share the same tonic with Saba, while the other three makam-s, Hüseynî, Eviç, and Acemaşiran, would be transposed so that they reflect their theoretical relationship to Segâh.

Münir Beken suggested that I call this transposed $Seg\hat{a}h$ makam " $Seg\hat{a}h$ on $d\ddot{u}g\hat{a}h$," where $d\ddot{u}g\hat{a}h$, as theoretical pitch a^I , is the transposed tonic of $Seg\hat{a}h$ makam and acts as $seg\hat{a}h$ pitch, the actual tonic of $Seg\hat{a}h$ makam. In this case the $H\ddot{u}seyn\hat{i}$ would be a tone down, on g, as it actually is in the performance of Teravih Namazi, and Evic and Acemasiran would be a fifth above $d\ddot{u}g\hat{a}h$, on e or e^b . All examples showing modulations in this performance reflect this relationship between the makam-s. Even the introductory Rast makam fits in the scheme: its tonic is on f, a third below " $Seg\hat{a}h$ on $d\ddot{u}g\hat{a}h$."

However, I still cannot explain why the *Eviç* and *Acemaşiran* are not a half-step apart, as they should theoretically be. They are either on the same pitch, or else the *Acemaşiran* even tends to be a half-step above *Eviç*. The only hypothesis I might suggest is that the precise intonation in the performance of *makam*-s, not only in the Beyazıt Mosque but even in *Cerrahi Tekkesi*, where muezzins are musically educated and proficient, is not of utmost importance and that certain tonal relations may be sacrificed for the sake of musical unity of *namaz*.

CLOSING: el-Fatihah

Well, but do you not see, Cratylus, that he who follows names in the search after things, and analyzes their meanings, is in great danger of being deceived?

Plato, *Diol.*, *Cratylus* (in Sahlins 1985: 136)

Anthropologically critiquing the Procrustean opposition of "idealism" and "materialism" and all the genera and species of practical reason, in his Culture and Practical Reason Marshall Sahlins argues that a reason his book poses is "symbolic or meaningful," for "it takes as the distinctive quality of man not that he must live in a material world, circumstance he shares with all organisms, but that he does so according to a meaningful scheme of his own devising, in which capacity mankind is unique" (1976: viii). The question that inspired his book was "whether the materialist conception of history and culture, as Marx formulated it theoretically, could be transferred without friction to the comprehension of tribal societies," a ubiquitous theme of a bygone anthropology (Sahlins 1976: 1). Since it appeared to Sahlins that it could not, he looked for an answer in the Marxist vision of a socialist future, viz. "the mastery by society of society's mastery over nature," a vision he calls "the essential anthropological understanding of culture itself," and finds it "very similar to the idea Lévi-Strauss and Boas before him have entertained of the primitive past" (Sahlins 1976: 4).

While one might find this structuralist Marxist vision of Sahlin's somewhat utopian, and his insistence on culture as "systematic meaningful order of persons and things" hermeneutic and Geertzian, the basic premise expressed in his book is ideologically close to my critique of Orientalism and Western philological attitude in human sciences and ethnomusicology. Sahlin's closing argument in *Culture and Practical Reason* runs as follows:

What is finally distinctive of Western civilization is the mode of symbolic production, this very disguise in the form of a growing GNP of the process by which value is created. But such institutionalization of the symbolic process only makes it more elaborate, as well as less subject to control and more dangerous. More elaborate because it encourages all the human capacities of symbolic manipulation within a single social order, and thus generates an enormous cultural growth. More dangerous, then, because in the interest of this growth it does not hesitate to destroy any other form of humanity whose difference from us consists in having discovered not merely other codes of existence but ways of achieving an end that still eludes us: the mastery by society of society's mastery over nature" (Sahlins 1976: 220-221; italics mine).

This dissertation represents an effort in similar direction. My attempt in this discourse was/is to show that the sign and thing, cultural types and empirical tokens, structure and event, anthropology and history, theory and practice, are not antinomies and mutually exclusive dichotomies, but are rather situated in the dialectical process in which the thing that happens informs our perception about it and becomes, at the same time, informed by that perception. Things and their names, i.e. concepts we assign to the things, are in a constant flux and perpetual motion. The balance between the two is necessary if we are to avoid the Procrustean bedstead and the "terrorism" of one party rule.

By discussing the three performances of *Teravih Namazı* in Istanbul as events that occurred at a certain time at a certain place, I looked at them both synchronically, in a sense of their structure, and diachronically, in a sense of culture, society, politics, and history within which these events are made possible.

One of the basic arguments in this dissertation is that the *Teravih Namazı* as liturgy is musically performed and that it can be understood and viewed as a musical form in itself. This form, like the classical Turkish *Fasul* or *Mevlevî Ayin-i*, is based on the *suite principle*, i.e. successive ordering of several segments. While each segment represents a musical form in itself, their successive performance also makes a musical form in itself, i.e. a bigger musical form.

Both liturgically and musically, *Teravih Namazı* can be divided into three sections: Introduction, Core, and Conclusion. Each of these sections consists of several segments. In the Introduction, the musical segments are *İhlâs-ı Şerife* and *Kamet*; the Core Section consists of the *Rek'at* Segments (*kıraat-*s, *tekbir-*s, *tahmid-*s, *ilâhi-*s, *kaside-*s, musical *dua-*s); and in the Conclusion, the segments are the various musical *dua-*s based on the text of liturgical prayers.

This suite-like global structure of *Teravih Namazı* is not the only feature which relates it to the *Fasıl* of classical Turkish music. The *İhlâs-ı Şerife*, for example, might be viewed structurally as the *beste* form. Like *beste*, it consists of four sections; the third section, as the *miyanhane* of *beste*, is musically contrasting. The contrast is achieved by changing the register.

The Fasil and Ayin are traditionally performed in a single makam, such as Fasili Rast, Hüzzam Ayin-i, etc., although modulations within their constitutive segments do occur. This choice of a single makam is the unifying feature of Fasil and Ayin sections. In Teravih Namazi, which is not performed in a single makam, the same feature is achieved by the unity of pitch. During the performance of Teravih Namazi, the muezzin and imam are carefully maintaining this unity by their exchange of karar-s.

In contrast to the preceding Introduction and the following Conclusion Sections, the central *Teravih* Part of *Teravih Namazı* bring a series of modulations between the five *Rek'at* Sets, each performed in a different *makam*. By performing these modulations, the muezzins and imam follow different strategies which make these modulations either smooth or abrupt, depending on the musical skills of the performers.

This combination of musical structural features in *Teravih Namazı* points to the fact that the muezzins and imams are not only aware of the musical demands in their liturgical performance of ritual worship, but it also points to the fact that these features are those of the classical music in general. This also means that the division between the classical and religious music in Istanbul is based more on the contextual rather than the structural/conceptual reasons. All five musical concepts discussed in this dissertation, *viz. Makam, Karar*, Modulation, *Beste-Şarkı* and *Fasıl* Principles, are common both in classical and religious music.

This brings us to the arena of history and diachronic processes that occurred in Istanbul since 1453, when it became the capital of Ottoman Empire. During the Ottoman era, many court musicians were religious servants or dervishes affiliated to a multitude of dergâh-s and tekke-s in Istanbul. Musically the most prominent were the Mevlevihane-s of Galata, Yenikapı, and Kasımpaşa. The most outstanding composers and musicians came either from the Enderun Musiki Mektebi, Palace Music School, or from the mevlevihane-s, or were attached to both places simultaneously. The music they made was not necessarily divided into the secular and religious music, since such dinstinction was often unnecessary and non-existent. This points to the fact that the commonality of concepts, strategies and structural features in classical and religious Turkish music is not accidental, but rather historically grounded.

Teravih Namazı as a musico-religious form can be also viewed in the perspective of political happenings in the twentieth century Turkey. Although the trend of "modernization" and Westernization of Ottoman Empire was present since the eighteenth century (see for example Gibb and Bowen 1963), the founder of republican Turkey, Kemâl Atatürk, assumed a radical policy of thorough Westernization and distancing the newly born country and its population from everything Ottoman and Islamic. Not only that all tekke-s were closed, the tasavvuf activity banned, the seriat and caliphate abolished, but all education was put under the direct control and supervision of the state (this included both the classical music and religious education, previously conducted in the mosques and Oitoman style mekteb-s). In spite of that, the tasavvuf orders are flourishing today all over Turkey and the classical and tasavvuf

music are as alive as ever. The case of *Teravih Namazı* is an example that the tradition was not destroyed by politics and ideology and that the classical musicians, dervishes, imams, muezzins, hafizes and other sympathizers of classical and *tasavvuf* music have developed their own strategies to keep that tradition alive. Of course, the way the strategies were and are employed, manipulated and negotiated, was and always is a matter of everyday practice.

In this sense, the Turkish example of *Teravih Namazı* shows that the bond between the music and ritual worship is historically founded and structurally well established. It also proves that the Orientalist philological and hermeneutical attitudes towards Islam and music are not always nor necessarily correct. It shows that such attitudes can be dangerous because they create panoptic illusions and partial truths. What I have tried in this dissertation was to "discover not merely other codes" of practice, but also to understand and present the other "ways of achieving an end that still eludes [some of] us," hoping that the fallacies will be corrected and a dialogue established. Otherwise, nothing will change, and we will be repeating time and a time again the same answer Humpty Dumpty gave to a curious Alice:

"The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things." "The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master - that's all."

MUSICAL TRANSCRIPTIONS

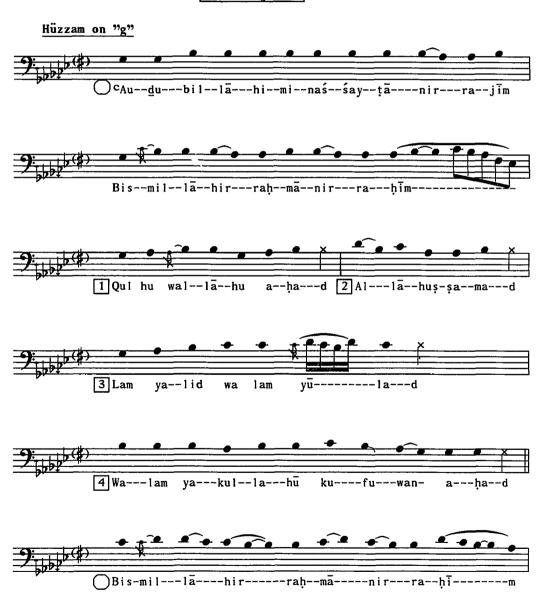
APPENDIX I

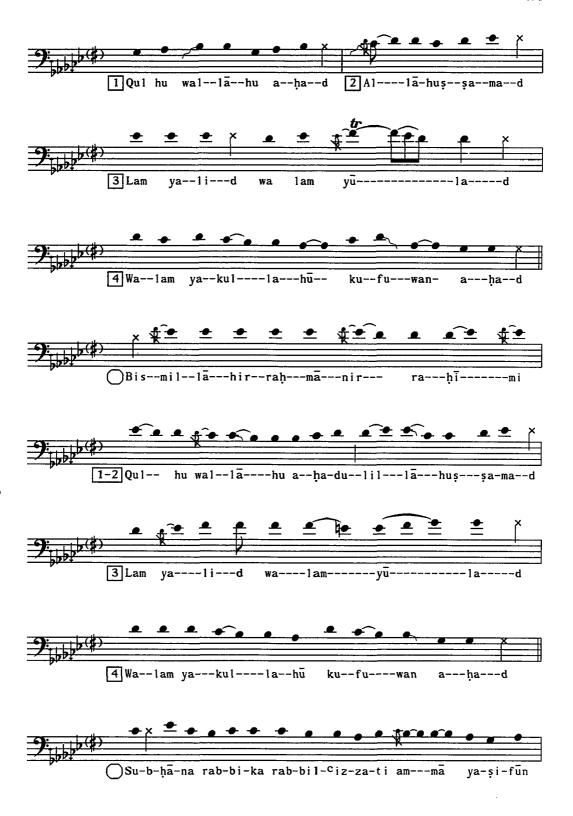
İKİNDİ NAMAZI IN BEYAZIT MOSQUE

MARCH 7, 1991

İKİNDİ NAMAZI

Ihlas-i Şerife









Kamet

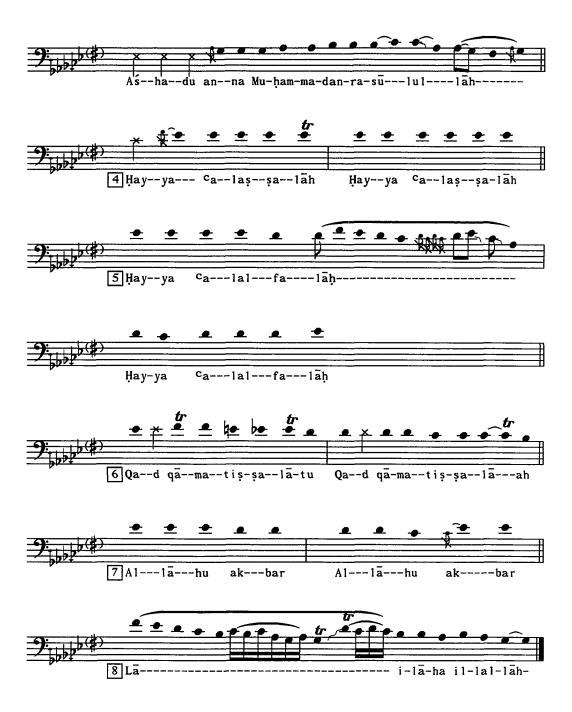




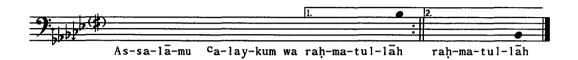








Selâm



Allahumme Entesselamu







Istigfar Duasi

Segâh on "e"





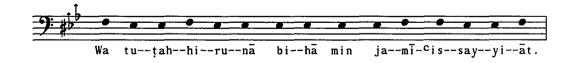
Salaten Tuncina



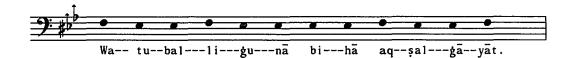




















Subhanal lah









Tesbih















Velhamdulillah



APPENDIX II

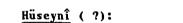
TERAVIH NAMAZI IN BEYAZIT MOSQUE
MARCH 23, 1991

TERAVİH NAMAZI

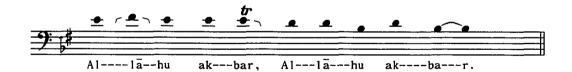
el-Fatiha



Kamet

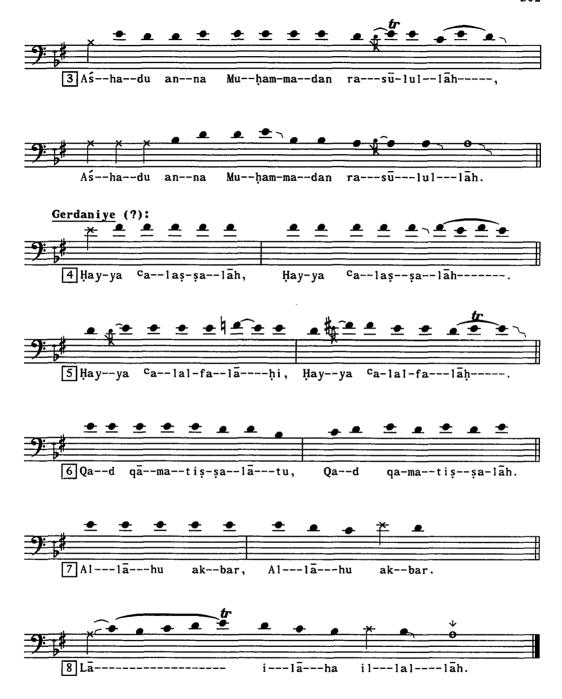


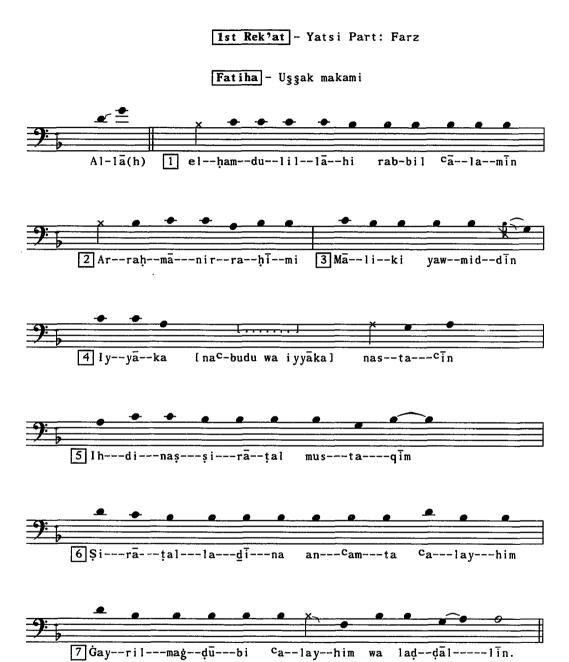








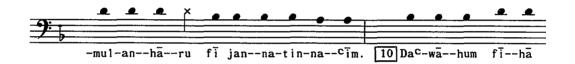




Zammi Sure (K10:9-10)

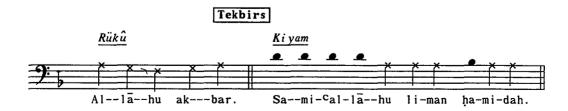


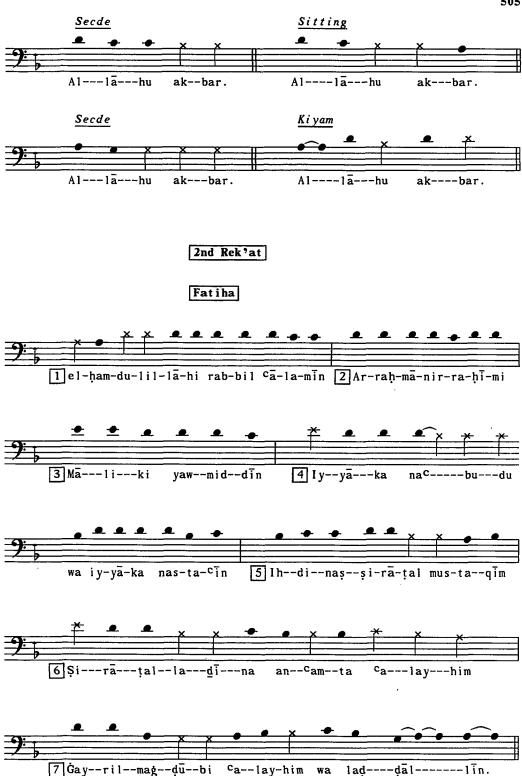












Zammi Sure (39:74-75)



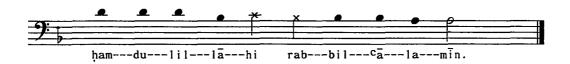


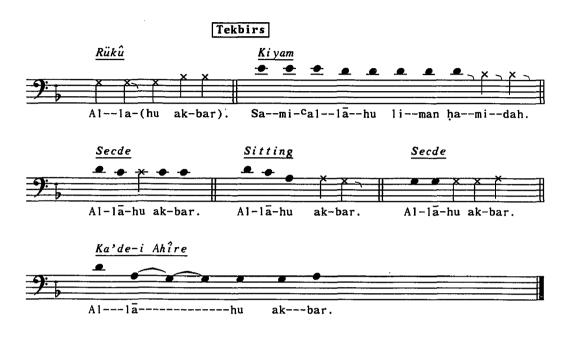


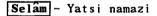


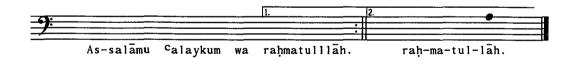












Allahumme Entesselamu



Subhanallah - Rast makami

Rast on "f"





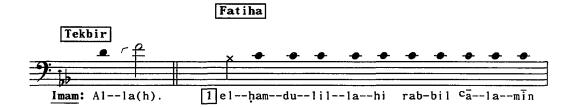


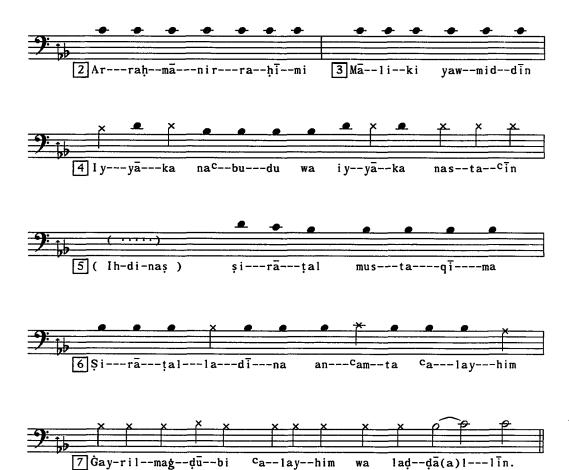
First Selâvat - Teravih namazi

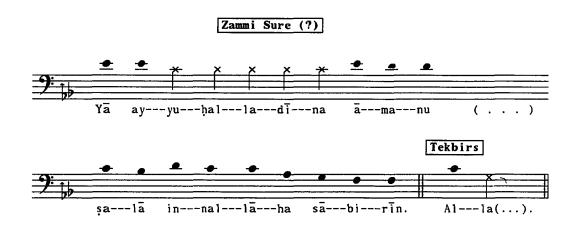
Rast on "f"



1st Rek'at - Rast makami

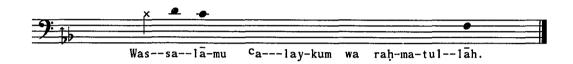






1st Selâm

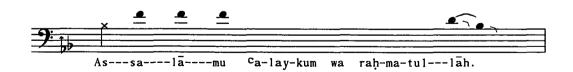




2nd Selâvat



2nd Selâm

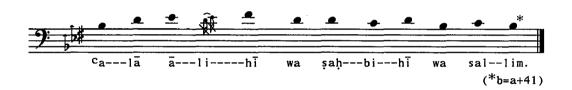




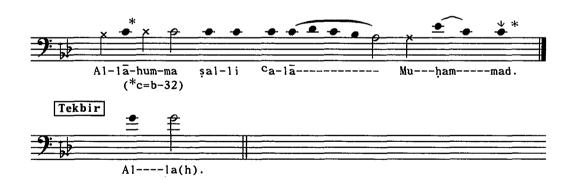
Selâvat-i Ummiye - Segâh Makami



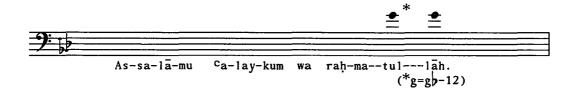


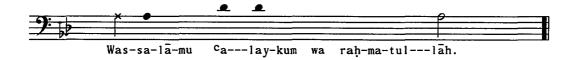


3rd Selâvat - Saba makami



3rd Selâm



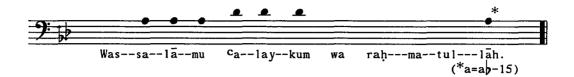


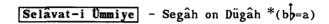
4th Selavat - Saba makami



4th Selâm













5th Selâvat - Uşşak makami



5th Selâm





6th Selavat - Uşşak makami

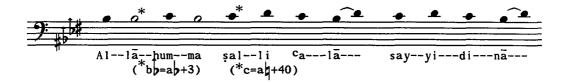


6th Selâm





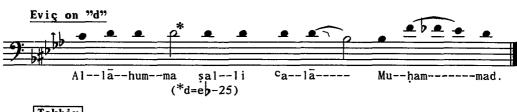
Selavat-i Ummiye - Segah on Dugah *(bp=a)





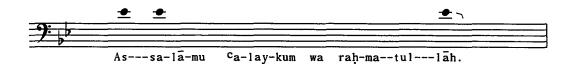


7th Selâvat - Eviç makami



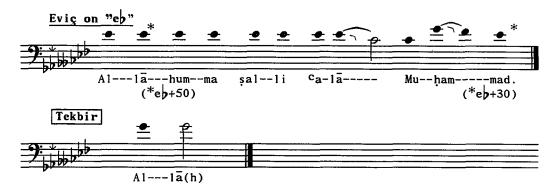


7th Selâm

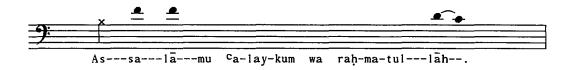


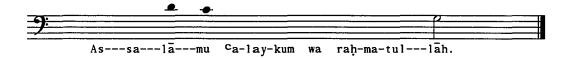


8th Selavat - Eviç makami



8th Selâm





Selâvat-i Ümmiye - Segâh on Dügâh



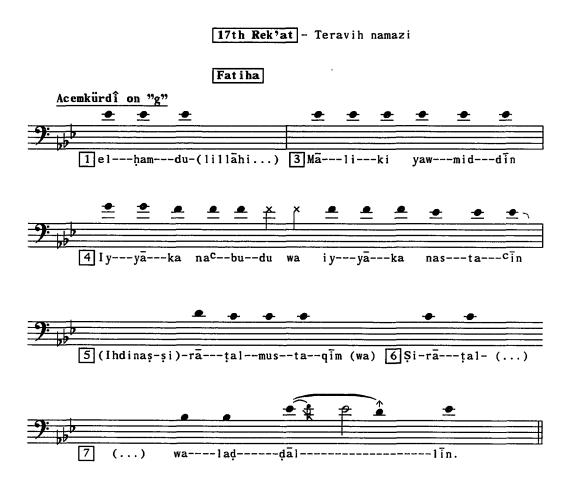


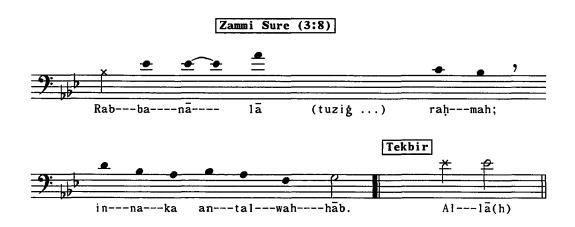


9th Selâvat - Acemaşirân

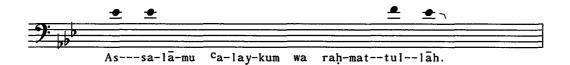








9th Selâm





10th Selavat - Acemaşiran



10th Selâm





Selavat-i Ummiye - Segah on Dügah



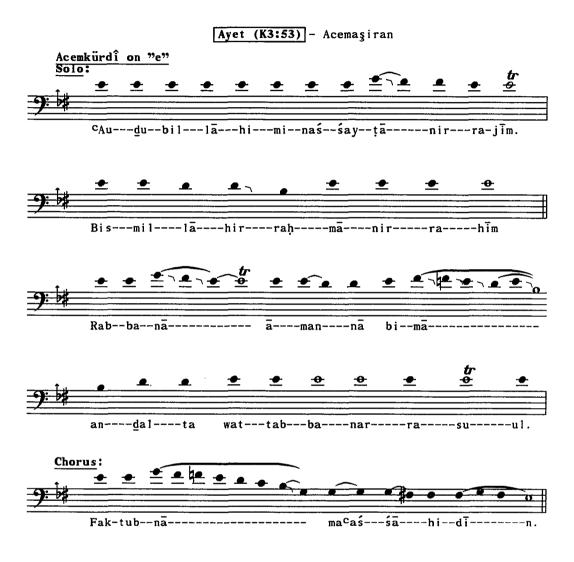












Amin Duasi





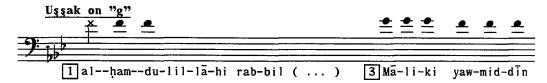


Vitir Selâvat



Vitir Namazi - 3rd Rek'at] - Uşşak

Fat i ha



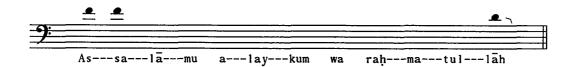


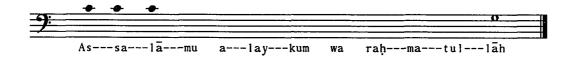
Zammi Sure





Vitir Selâm





Allahumme Entesselamu - Hicaz / Uzzal

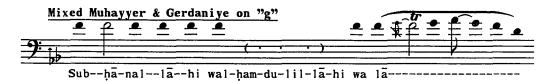




Ala Rasulina



Subhanallah - Muhayyer / Gerdaniye







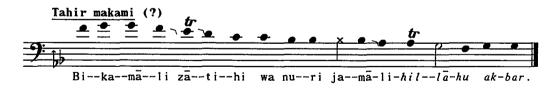
Tesbih





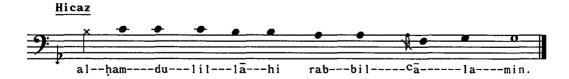






La ilaha illallah Lā i-lā-ha il-lal-lā-----hu waḥ-da-hū lā śa-rī---ka-lah La--hul--mul---ku wa la-hul-ḥam--du wa---hu--wa ca--lā kul--li śa--yin--- qa---dīr---- Sub----ḥā----na rab-----bi----yal----ca----liy----yil

Velhamdulillah



Aşir

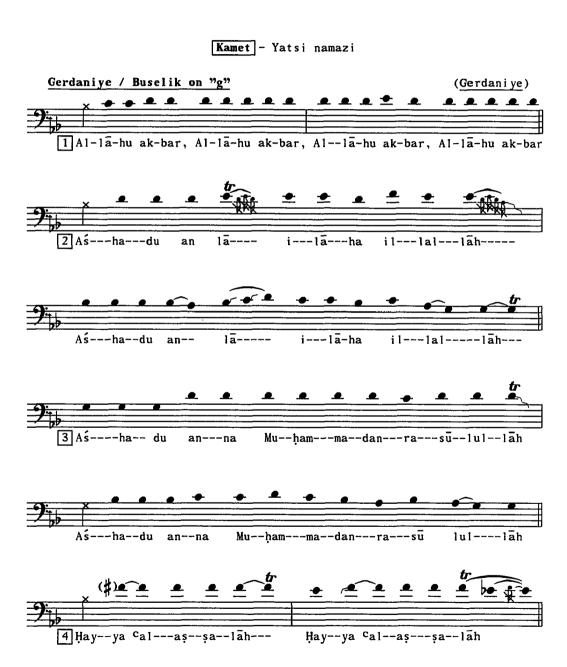
Uşşak



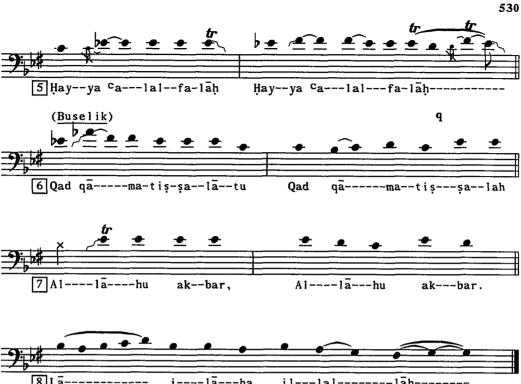
APPENDIX III

TERAVIH NAMAZ/IN BEYAZIT MOSQUE
MARCH 25, 1991

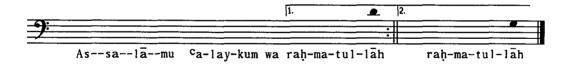
TERAVIH NAMAZI





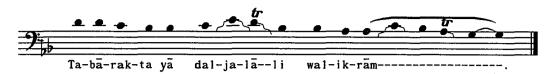


Selam - Yatsi namazi

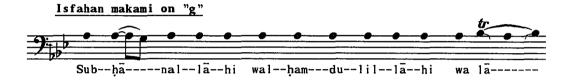


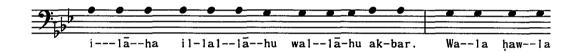
Allahume Entesselam





Subhanal lah







1st and 2nd Selâvats - Teravih namazi

Rast makami Al---la---hum---ma sal---li Ca---la Mu---ham-----mad.

1st Ilâhi







3rd and 4th Selavats - Saba Selavat



2nd Ilâhi









5th and 6th Selavats - Uşşak Selavat



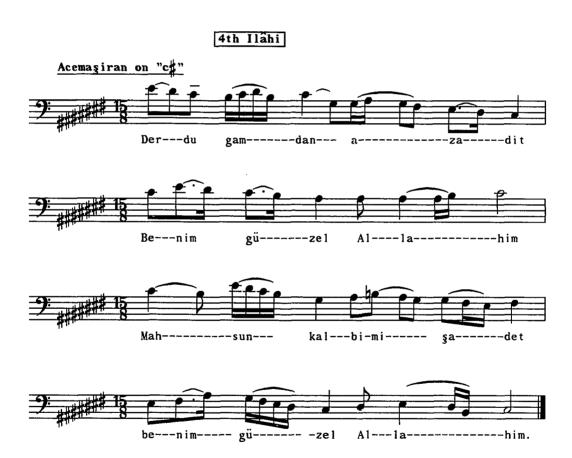
3rd Ilâhi



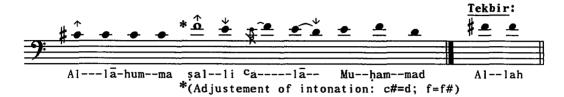


7th and 8th Selavats - Eviç Selavat

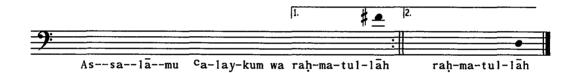




9th Selavat - Acemaşiran Selavat



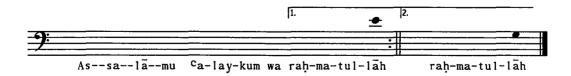
Selâm - 18th rek'at



10th Selâvat - Acemaşiran Selâvat



Selâm - 20th rek'at



Saba Ilâhi





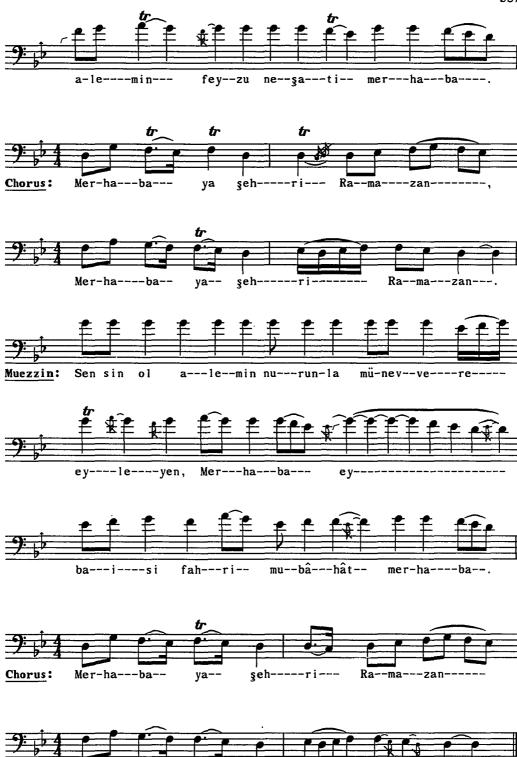




Kaside





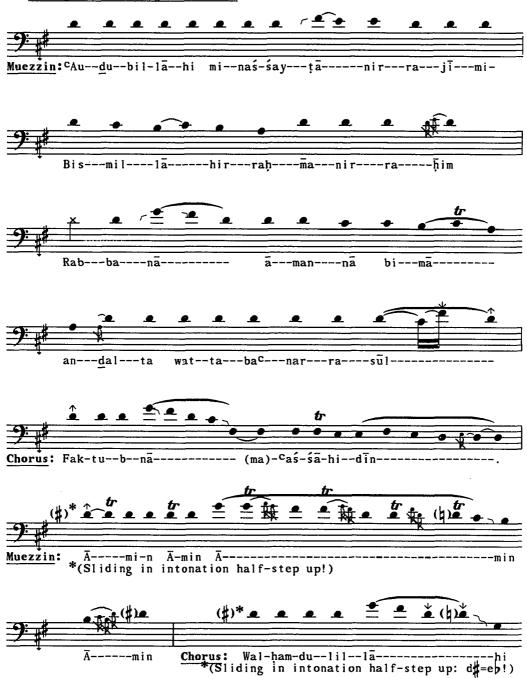


ya--

şeh----ri----

Ayet (K3:53)

Acemaşiran/Mâhur-Aşiran on "d"





Opening Selâvat - Vitir namazi



Alahumme Entesselam





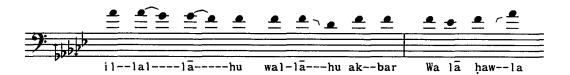




Subhanal lah





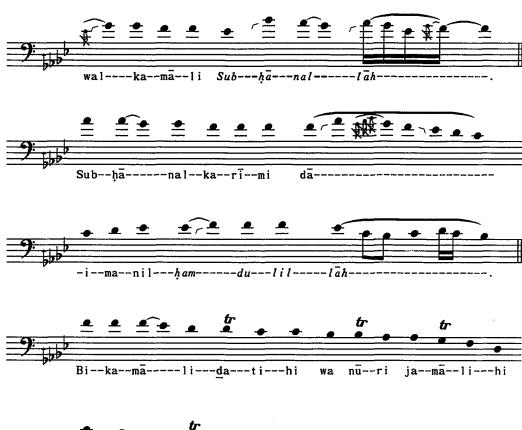




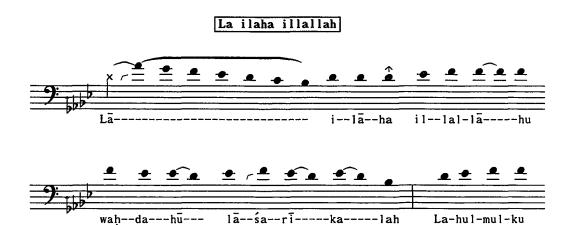


Tesbih



















APPENDIX IV

TERAVIH NAMAZI IN CERRAHI TEKKESI

MARCH 18, 1991

TERAVIH NAMAZI

Ilk Sunnet Selavat





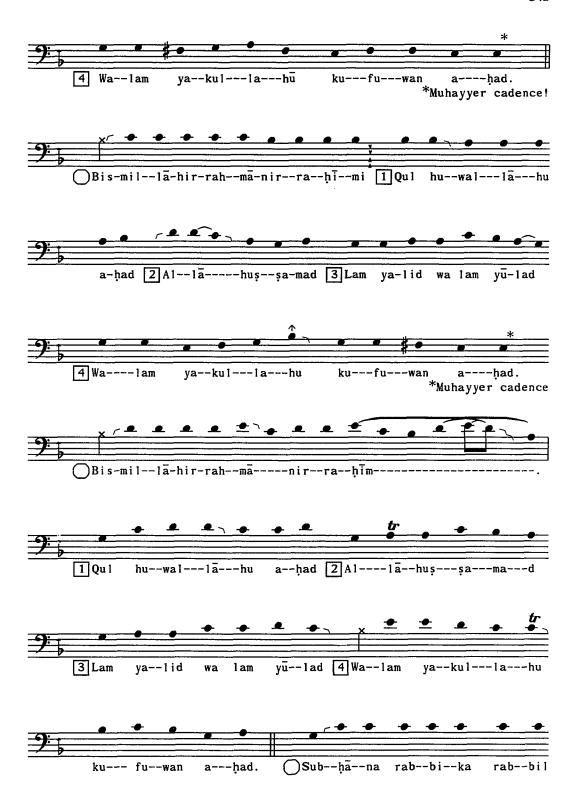
Ihlâs-i Şerife

Uşşak / Muhayyer







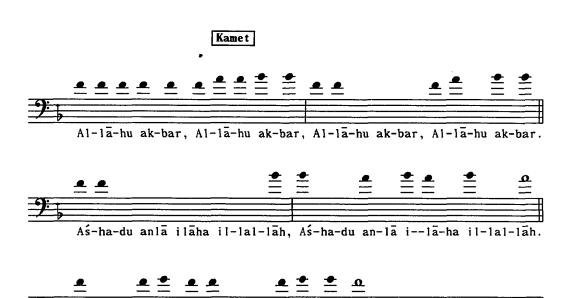






Cerrahi Selâvat



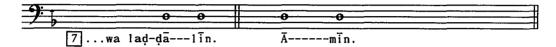


Aś-ha-du an-na Mu-ḥam-ma-dan ra-sū-lul-lāh...

1st Rek'at

Fat i ha

Imam: Chorus:



Zammi Sure (K2:285)

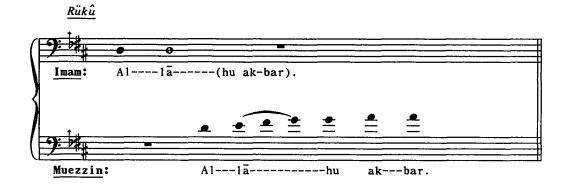




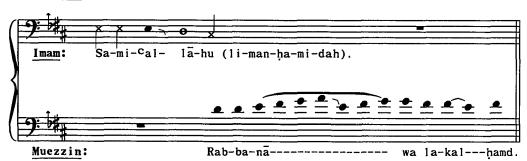




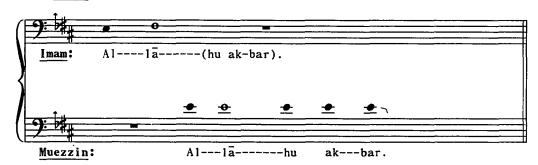
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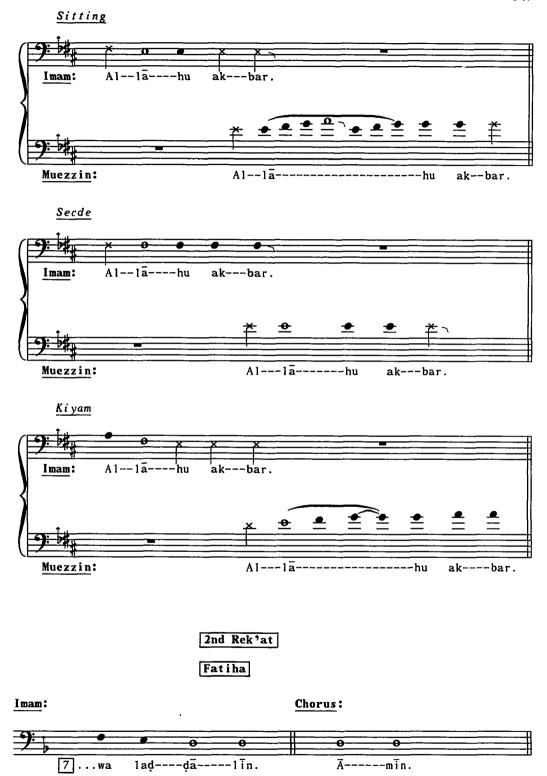




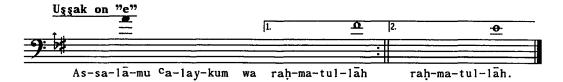


Secde





Yatsi Selâm



Istigfar Duasi



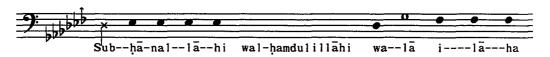
Allahumme Entesselamu





Subhanal lah

Rast on "do"







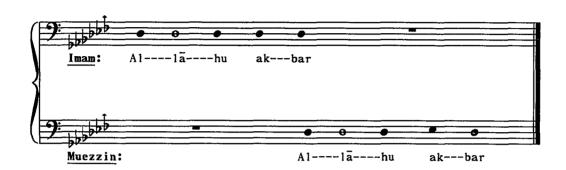
1st Selavat - Teravih Part

Rast on "db"



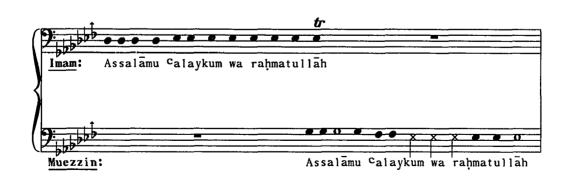
1st Teravih Rek'at

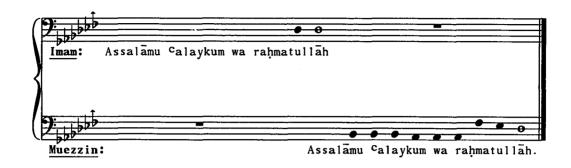
Tekbir



Fatiha Imam: Chorus: 7 ...wa-lad-dal-----lin. Fatiha A---min

1st Selâm





2nd Selâvat



4th Teravih Rek'at

Fat i ha







2nd Selâm



Şuul (Şugl) - Rast makam

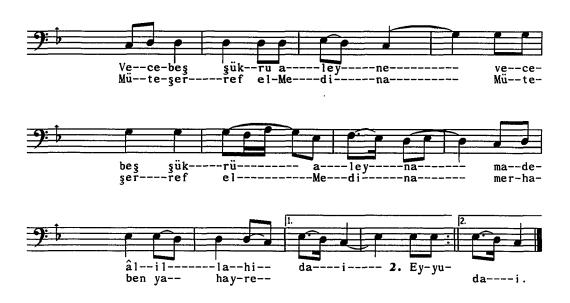






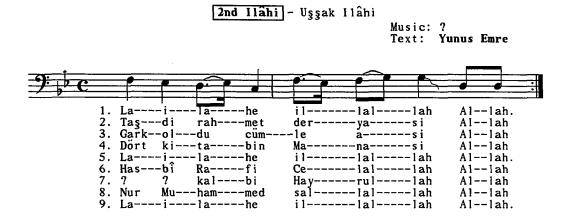






3rd & 4th Selavats - Uşşak







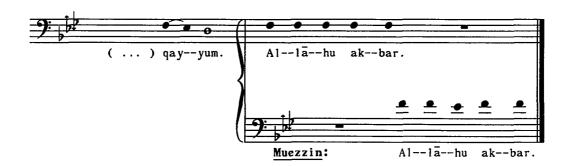
9th Teravih Rek'at - Saba



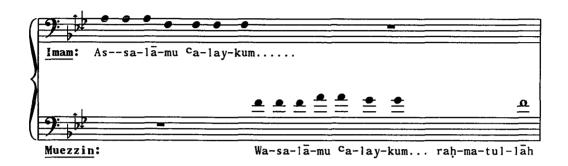


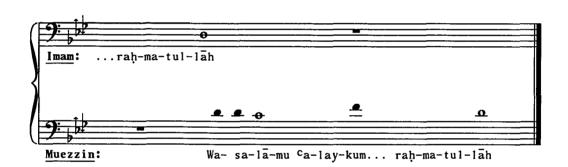
Zammi Sure (K3:1-2)





5th Selâm - Saba





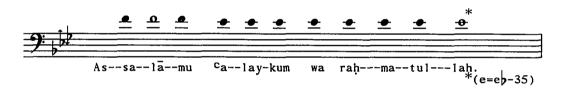
6th Selâvat - Saba



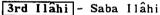
Tekbir - 11th Teravih Rek'at



6th Selâm - Saba









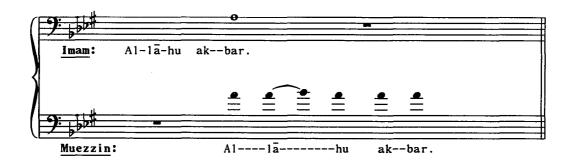


7th Selâvat - Eviç



13th Teravih Rek'at

Tekbir



Fat i ha

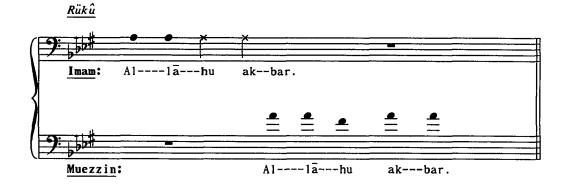


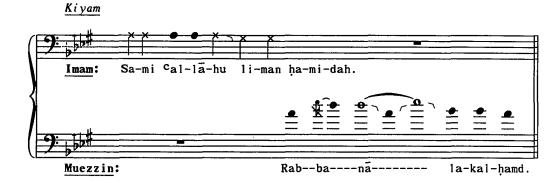


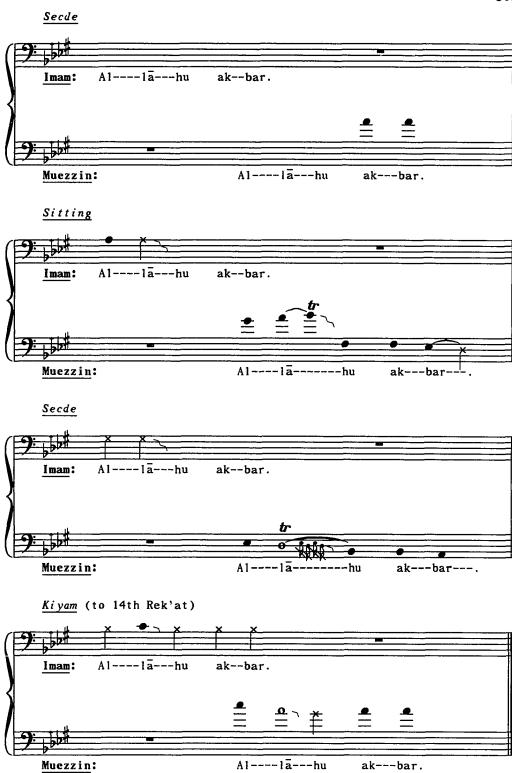




Tekbirs - 13th Teravih Rek'at

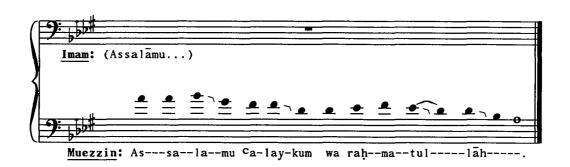






7th Selâm

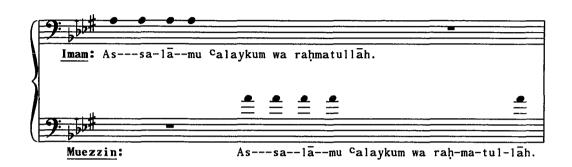


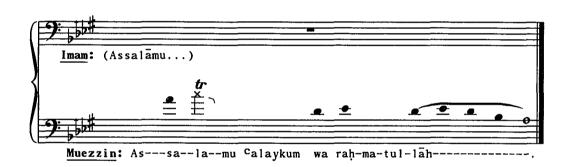


8th Selâvat - Eviç

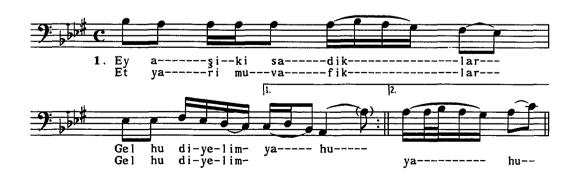


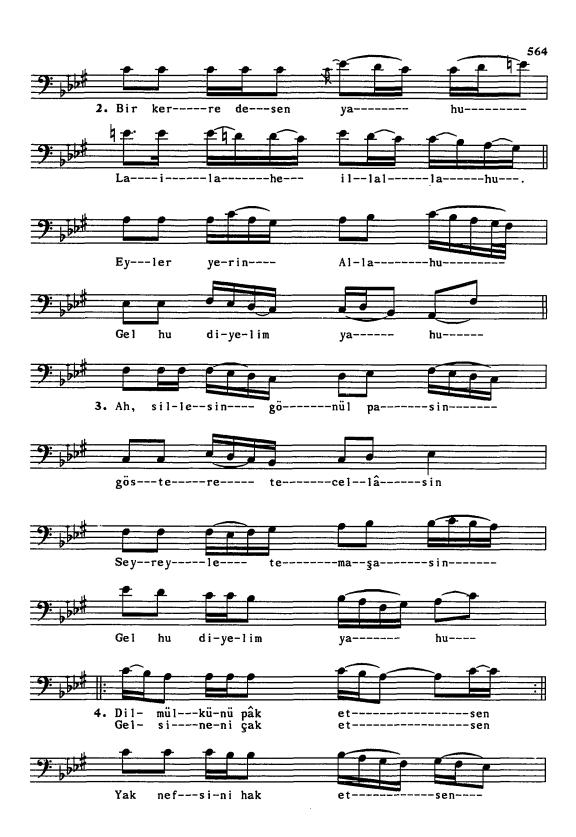
8th Selâm





4th Ilâhi - Eviç Ilâhi



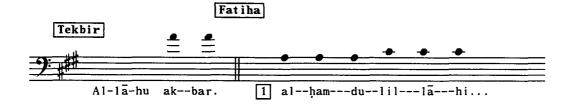




9th Selâvat - Acemaşiran



17th Teravih Rek'at

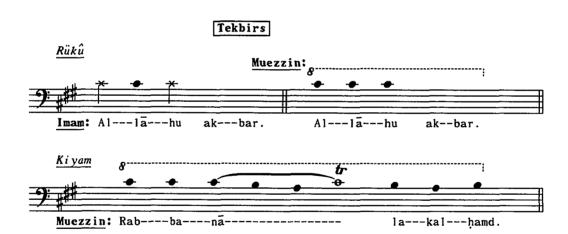


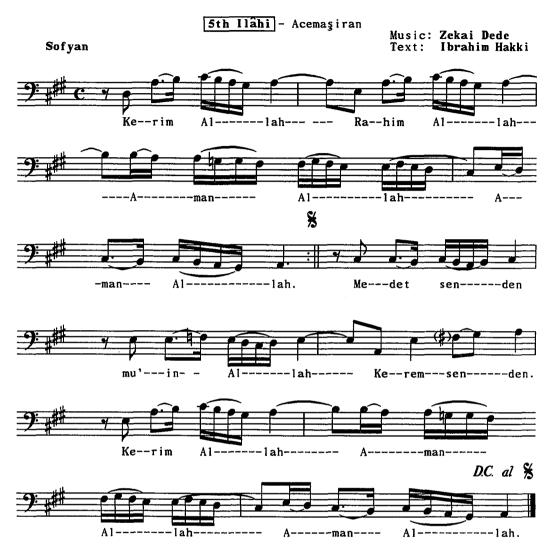


Zammi Sure (?)

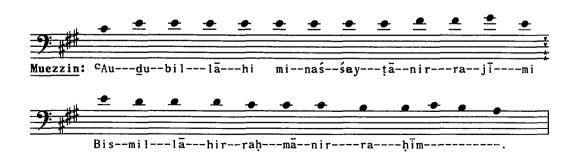




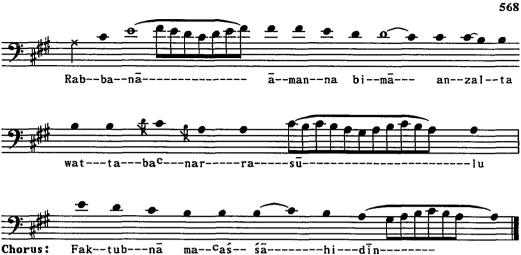




Ayet (K3:53)







Amin Duasi - Rast







Vitir Selavat - Segah



Vitir Selâm



Dua (?) - Buselik

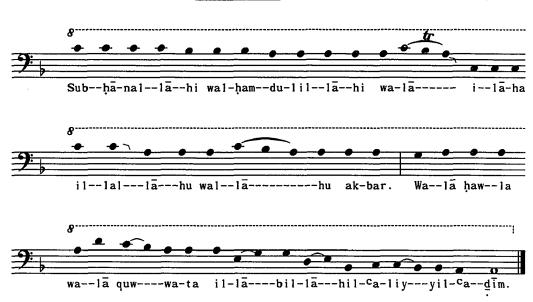




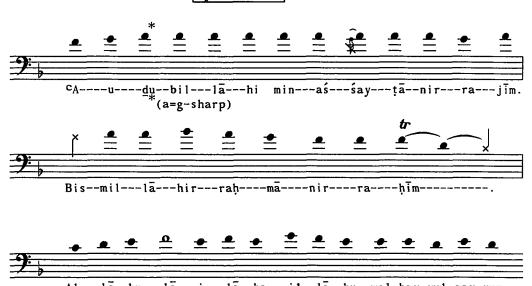
Ala Rasulina

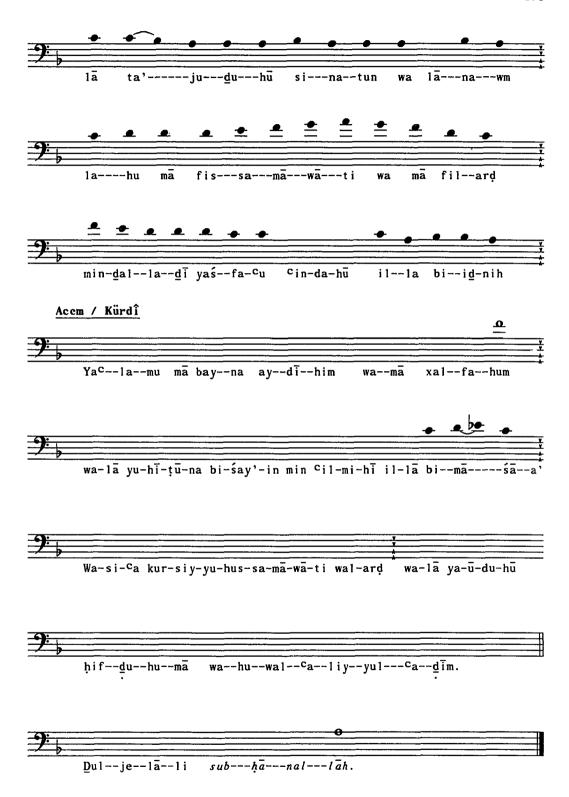


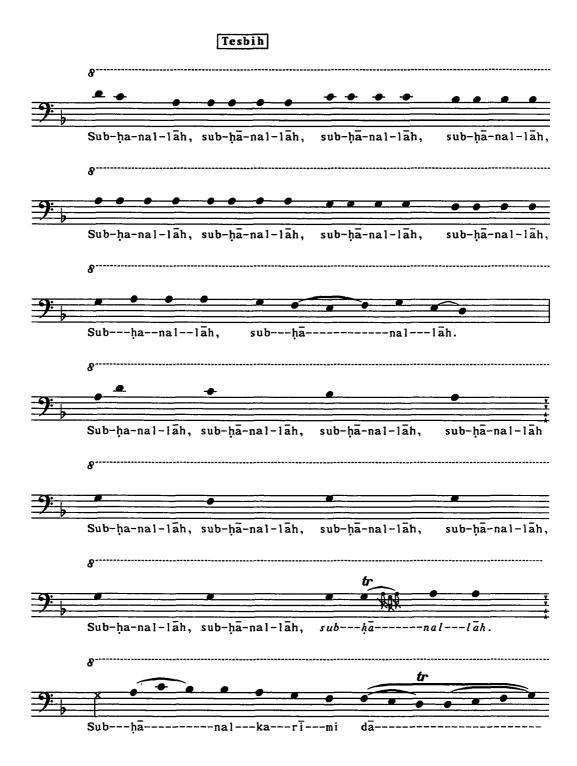
Subhanallah - Muhayyer / Kürdî



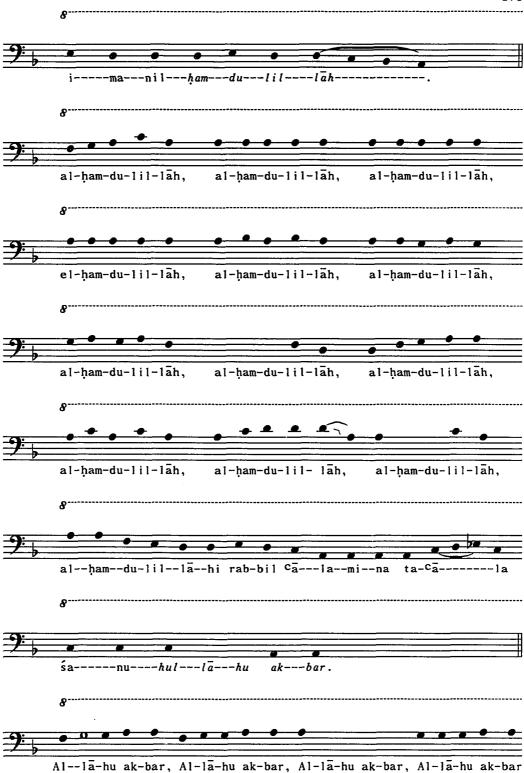
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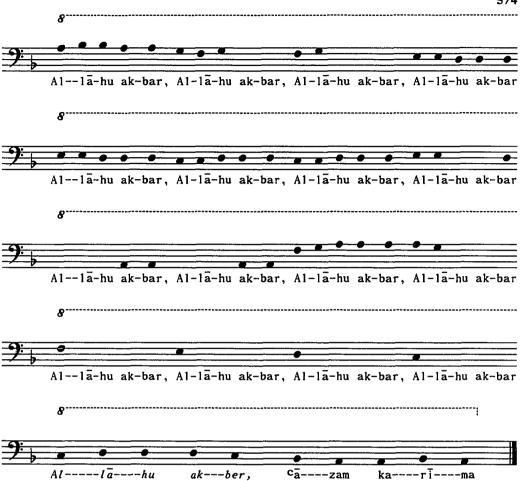




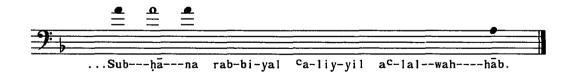


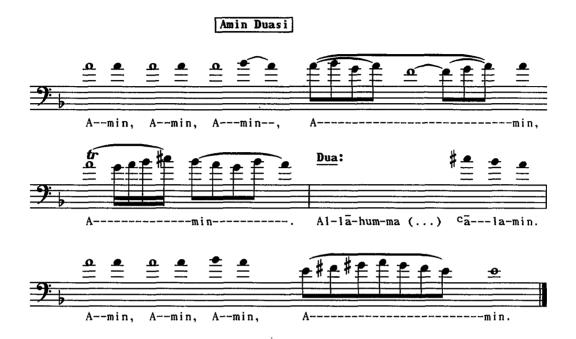






La ilaha illallah





Velhamdilillah



Aşir







Cerrahi Selâvati



MAKAM SCALES

APPENDIX V

İKİNDİ NAMAZI IN BEYAZIT MOSQUE

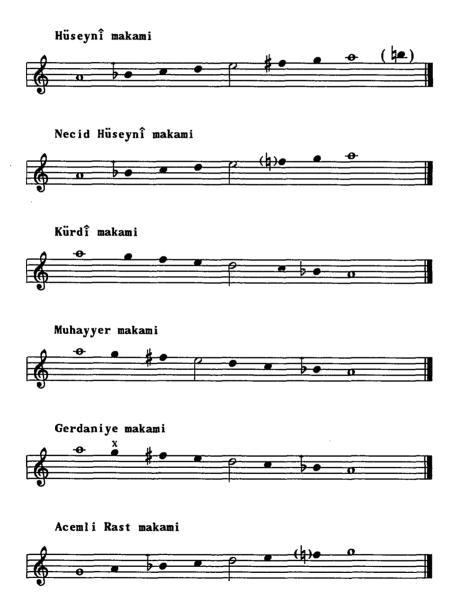
MARCH 7, 1991



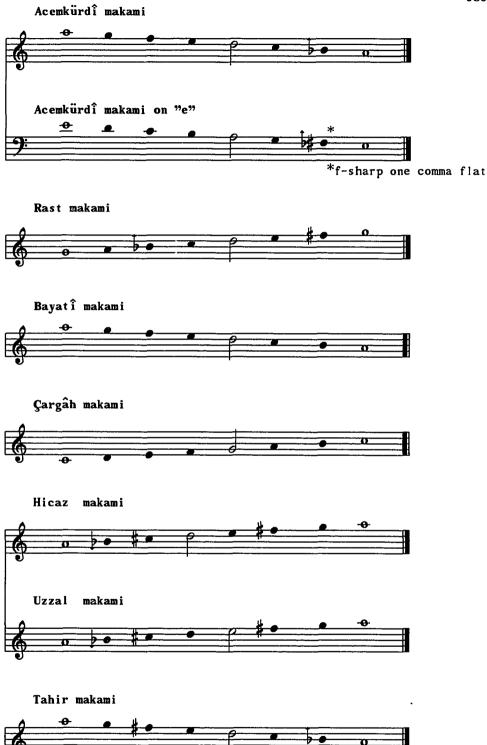


APPENDIX VI

TERAVIH NAMAZI IN BEYAZIT MOSQUE
MARCH 23, 1991



Kürdîli Hicazkâr makami (after Arel) Kürdîli Hicazkâr makami (in theory) Kürdîli Hicazkâr makami (in practice!) Uşşak on "d" (Common Spice!) ACEM Family ± be . Acem'de çargâh beşlisi Acem k ürd i Kürdî dörtlüsü +



APPENDIX VII

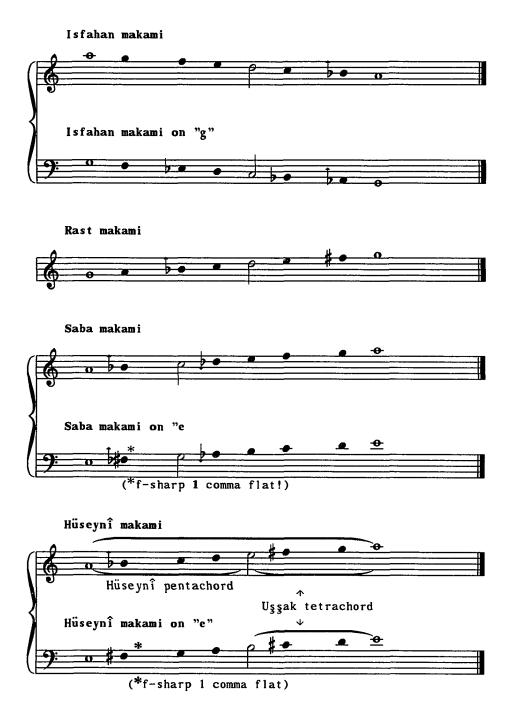
TERAVIH NAMAZ/IN BEYAZIT MOSQUE
MARCH 25, 1991

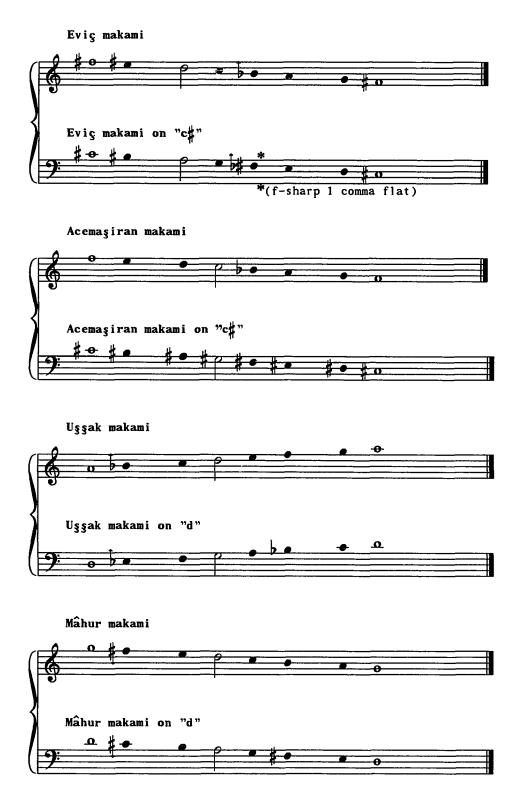


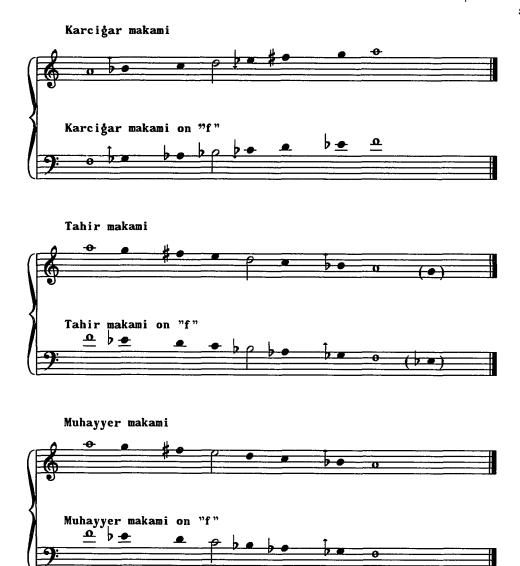
Gerdaniye-Buselik makami on "g"



Hüseynî makami on "g"



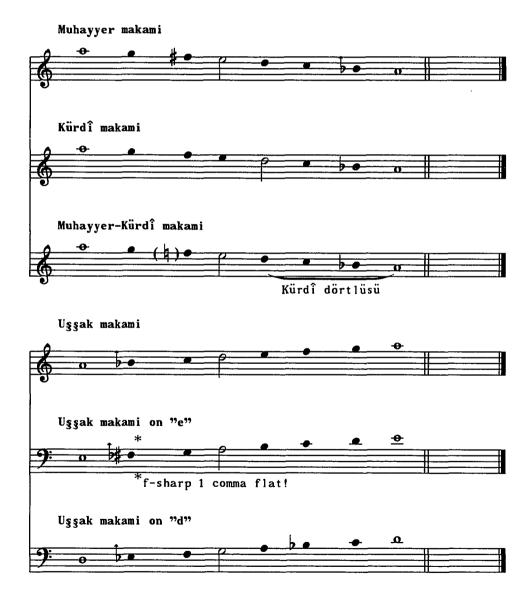


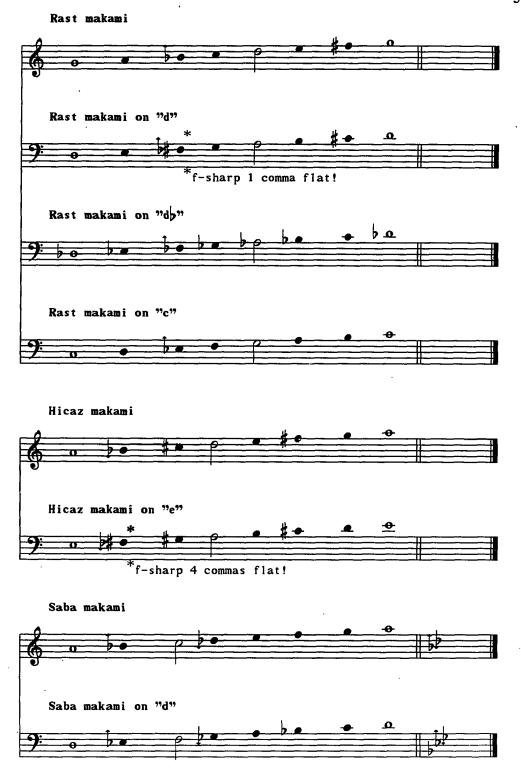


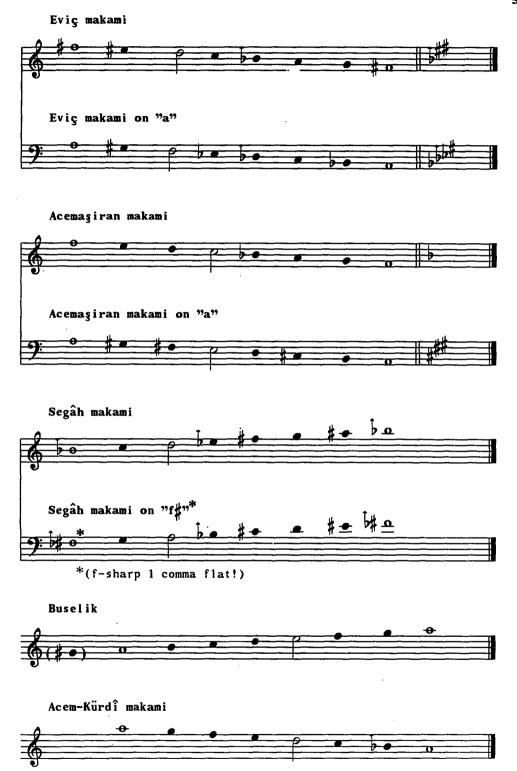
APPENDIX VIII

TERAVIH NAMAZI IN CERRAHI TEKKESI

MARCH 18, 1991







TEXT APPENDICES

1. Belief in God

The belief in God implies the acknowledgment of God's existence and oneness, as well as of God's qualities, *stfat-s*, and names, *isim-s*; it is impossible to see and comprehend the God's personality, *zat*, and essence, *mahiyet* (Dikmen 1988: 39).

The Qualities of God, Allah'in Sıfatları, are twofold (Dikmen 1988: 47-52; Kazancı 1989: 20-22). Kazancı divides them into the Essential Qualities, Zati Sıfatlar, and Inherent Qualities, Sübuti Sıfatlar. The Essential Qualities of God are: Vücud (Eternal Being), Kıdem (Pre-existence), Beka (Eternalness), Vahdaniyet (Oneness), Muhalefetün lil Havadis (Non-Resemblance to other, later created, Beings), and Kıyam Binefsihi (Self-Sufficient, Self-Standing, Self-Depending: God depends on nothing, everything depends on God).

The Inherent Qualities of God are: *Hayat* (Life Giving), *İlim* (All Knowing), Semi (All Hearing), Basar (All Seeing), İrade (All Requesting, Command Giving), Kudret (Omnipotent), Kelâm (Special and Unique Speech Quality), and Tekvin (Omni-Creator).

There are ninety-nine Beautiful Names of God, Esmâ-î Husnâ (Dikmen 1988: 64-83); the first three, Allah (God), Rahman (All-Compassionate), and Rahim (Merciful), are used the most often.¹

¹The Besmele formula is one of the most frequently uttered sentences in a pious Muslim's life; it opens all but one Kur'anic suras, virtually all Muslim texts and speeches (religious and mundane), and begins every action. The three names of God: Rahman, and رحمن Rahman, and رحمن Rahman, are included in this formula, which runs:

2. Belief in Angels

Angels are the spiritual beings created from the God's Light, and are invisible to the humans. Since the angels have been the conveyors of God's revelation to his prophets, their position is very high, and the belief in them is necessary. The four highest angels are: Cebrail, Mikâil, İsrafil, and Azrail. In Western sources they are called archangels, but Islamic sources recognize them as the *mukarrebûn*, "brought near" God.

Cebrail is known as the angel who communicated with all God's prophets and who, particularly, brought the Revelation, *vahiy*, and the Book, *Kitap*, to the Prophet Muhammed. Because of that Cebrail is also known as *Vahiy Meleği*, the Angel of Revelation. Mikâil is the angel who monitors the natural phenomena, such as weather conditions (rain, winds, etc.). İsrafil is "the trumpet blower," i.e. the angel who continuously holds the trumpet to his mouth in order to blow it at once as soon as God gives the order on the Day of Judgement. Azrail is the angel of death, whose duty is to grasp and take the soul out of the body of dying person.²

Among other important angels are:

• Hafaza or Kiramun Kâtibîn: the two angels who sit on the person's shoulders, one to the left, the other to the right, and dutifully record all his/her words and

بسم اللة الرحمن الرحيم bismillahi'r-raḥmanir-raḥīm, "In the name of Allah, the Benificent, the Merciful."

²See entries, "Mala'ika," "Djabra'il," "Mikal," "Israfil," "^cIzra'il," in SEI (1961: 318-320; 79-80; 184; 190; 378-379).

deeds. The angel to the right records the good deeds, the one to the left the bad ones.

- Hamele-i Arş: the angels who support the throne of God, Arş-ı A'zamı.
- Münker and Nekîr: the two angels who, at the grave site, ask the deceased the
 questions such as, "Who is thy Lord? What is thy Religion? Who is thy
 Prophet?", etc.

Contrary to the angels, who are created out of light, the *cin*-s' and *şeytan*-s are created from the pure fire, i.e. the smokeless flame. *Cin*-s and *şeytan*-s are also the spiritual beings and are likewise invisible (Dikmen 1988: 90; SEI 1961: 90-91, 145-146; 523-524). *Cin*-s, who resemble the *genies*, are capable of carrying out the hard work, can marry among themselves, and some of them are rebellious and infidel, while others are obedient and pious. In contrast to the *cin*-s, all *şeytan*-s, devils, are impious and rebellious. The *Şeytan* is usually understood as the head of *cin*-s. In this sense, the *cin*-s might be likewise understood as the intermediaries between the angels and devils.

3. Belief in the Books

Through the series of prophets, beginning with Adam and ending with Muhammed, God has sent the revelation to the humankind. The revelation was written on the Leaves, *Suhuf*, and in the Books, *Kitab*-s. The Leaves, whose total number was

one hundred, were all lost. Ten of these Leaves were revealed to the prophet Âdem, another fifty to Şit,³ thirty Leaves to İdris,⁴ and ten Leaves to Ibrahim (Abraham).

The Books are four: Tevrat, Incil, Zebur, and Kur'an. Tevrat (Tawrat) was revealed to Musa, Moses, and it can be roughly translated as the Pentateuch or Torah. Horowitz writes that in the Kur'an of the Medina period the Tevrat is "the name of a holy scripture revealed after the time of Ibrahim ([K]iii. 65) and Isracil (=Jacob; [K]iii. 93) and afterwards confirmed by 'Isa ([K]iii. 50; v. 46; lxi. 6)... The Tawrat also contains a prophecy of the coming of the Nabi al-ummi ([K]vii. 157) i.e. Muhammad, and in it Paradise is promised to the faithful who 'fight on the path of Allah' ([K]ix. 111)" (SEI 1961: 587).

Zebur (Ar. Zabūr) covers the Psalms of David, and was revealed to Davud, David (cf. SEI 1961: 649).

Incil (Injil), the Gospel or generally the New Testament, was revealed to İsa, Jesus. Carra de Vaux writes that the word was "derived indirectly from εὐαγγελιον [evangelion] through Ethiopian wăngēl" (SEI 1961: 168).

And finally the Kur'an, the last Divine Book, which was revealed to the last in the succession of prophets, Muhammed.

³For Şit (Šīt), i.e. the Biblical Seth, Huart writes that he was "the third son of Adam and Eve (*Gen.*, iv 25, 26 and v. 3-8)," and that "It is said that he lived at Mecca performing the rites of pilgrimage until his death; that he collected the leaves revealed to Adam and to himself (numbering fifty) and regulated his conduct to them; that he built the Ka'ba of stone and clay" (SEI 1961: 544).

⁴For Idris, Wensinck writes that it is "the name of a man who is twice mentioned in the Kur'an" (K19:56; K21:85), and that the "post-Kur'anic Muslim writers unanimously insist that Idris is the Biblical Enoch" (SEI 1961: 158).

4. Belief in the Prophets

The Turkish word for the prophet is the Farsi derived peygamber, pulsary /

The Arabic derived equivalents are resûl and nebi (rasûl, nabî). While there is a semantic difference between the resûl and nebi, the word peygamber encompasses both meanings. The word, nebi, Horowitz translates as "prophet," stating that "according to the Kur'anic idea 'prophets' had appeared only among the ahl al-kitab" (SEI 1961: 427-428). The word, resûl, Wensinck translates as "messenger, apostle," saying that "according to the Kur'an, there is a close relation between the apostle and his people (umma...). To each umma God sends only one apostle (Sura x. 47; xvi. 36; cf. xxiii. 44; xl. 5)" (SEI 1961: 469). Wensinck also states that "Muhammad in the Kur'an is called sometimes rasul, sometimes nabī. It seems that the prophets are those sent by God as preachers and nadhīr to their people, but are not the head of an umma like the rasul" (ibid.).

Turkish authors seem to be in agreement regarding this semantic difference, stating that the *resûl* is *peygamber* who brought the new religion, the Law and the Book. Accordingly, *nebi* is a *peygamber* who did not himself brought anything new, but rather followed and applied the teachings of the previous *resûl* (Dikmen 1988: 112; Kazancı 1989: 36). This also resembles the Wensinck's argument about the Christian distinction between the apostle and the prophet: "The apostle is at the same time a prophet, but the prophet is not necessarily at the same time an apostle" (SEI 1961: 469).

Muslim sources do not necessarily agree on the number of all prophets: some state the total of 124,000 prophets, others 224,000 prophets (Dikmen 1988: 113).

However, Kur'an mentions 25 prophets: 1. Âdem, 2. Îdris, 3. Nuh, 4. Hûd, 5. Salih, 6. Lût, 7. Îbrahim, 8. İsmail, 9. İshak, 10. Ya'kub, 11. Yusuf, 12. Şuayb, 13. Musa, 14. Harun, 15. Davud, 16. Süleyman, 17. Eyyub, 18. Zülkifl, 19. Yunus, 20. İlyas, 21. Elyesa, 22. Zekeriya, 23. Yahya, 24. İsa, and 25. Muhammed Mustafa.

5. Belief in the Day of Judgement

The Day of Judgement, Ahiret Günü or Kıyamet Günü (al-Qiyamah), is the time when this worldly life of all living creatures will come to an end, and a new, endless life will begin in the other world, ahiret. Accordingly, this belief implies that the worldly life is only passing, and the life in the other world is eternal (Kazancı 1989: 47).

The Day of Judgement will be announced by archangel İsrafil's blowing into his trumpet. But before the first İsrafil's blow, there will be several signs which will

⁵The names of the majority of Kur'anic prophets have with certainty been identified as the Biblical characters. The Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam (1961) gives entries for all Kur'anic prophets except Elyesa: 1. Ādam (Adam), 2. Idris (Enoch?), 3. Nuh (Noah), 4. Hud, 5. Salih, 6. Lut (Lot), 7. Ibrahim (Abraham), 8. Isma'ıl (Ishmael), 9. Ishaq (Isaac), 10. Ya'qub (Jacob), 11. Yusuf (Joseph), 12. Šu'aib, 13. Musa (Moses), 14. Harun (Aaron), 15. Dawud (David), 16. Sulayman (Solomon), 17. Aiyub (Jon), 18. Du'l-Kifl, 19. Yunus (Jonah), 20. Ilyas (Elijah), [21. Elyesa], 22. Zakariya' (Zachariah), 23. Yahya (John the Baptist), 24. 'Isa (Jesus), and 25. Muhammad. The Turkish honorific for the Prophet Muhammed is Mustafa, i.e., "the elect of God." According to the Caferi-s of Turkey, the following five prophets are considered the Ulûl'azm, the "Great Prophets": Nuh, Ibrahim, Musa, Isa, and Muhammed (Burgei 1988: 14).

announce that the Day of Judgement is coming. Kazancı (1989: 48-49) lists ten of these signs:⁶

- Smoke, *duman*, will engulf the world before the beginning of the Day of Judgement; the believers will appear sick, and the unbelievers will look like drunk.
- The Deceiver (antichrist), Deccal (الدجال ad-Dajjāl), will appear, claiming that he is God and will lead many people astray. Deccal will be destroyed by Isa (Jesus).
- The Beast of Earth, Dabbetülarz (دابة الارض dabbatu'l-ard) will appear.
- The sun will rise from the west: those who have not so far repented will not be able to repent thereafter.
- 5 Isa will descend and reestablish the faith (of Prophet Muhammed).
- Appearance of Gog and Magog, Ye'cuc and Me'cuc (باجويوروروري Yājūj wa Mājūj): two mischievous and rebellious peoples, who will, preceding the Day of Judgement, become so numerous that "they will drink all the water of the Euphrates and Tigris" and kill "the inhabitants of the earth" (SEI 1961: 637).

 Then will come the three eclipses:
- 7 Eclipse in the East.
- 8 Eclipse in the West.
- 9 Eclipse in the Arabian Peninsula.

And finally:

⁶See also article "al-Kiyāma" in SEI (Macdonald 1961: 263-266).

The fire will break out in Yemen and drive all the people to the place of gathering.

Thus, on the first blast of trumpet, all leaving creatures will die. This state will continue for some time. After that, God will order Israfil to blow his trumpet for the second time, and all the creatures will at once be revived again and brought to the place of gathering, mahser. At the mahser, the notebooks, defter-s, written by the Hafaza angels, are distributed to the people: those among them who are going to the Paradise, Cennet, are given the notebook to the right side, and those going to the Hell, Cehennem, are given the notebook to the left. Everybody is being readied for the final balancing of the account, mizan, i.e., the balancing of good and bad deeds. After the final accounting, everybody heads onto the bridge, Strat, which spans across the Hell. Those who cross the bridge successfully will end up in Cennet, Paradise, and those who do not cross it will fall into Cehennem. Hell.

6. Belief in the Eternal Preordinance and Fate

This principle encompasses the belief into *kader* (عدر *qadar*), the eternal preordinance and predestination of all things by God, in accordance with His knowledge and will. Since God is eternal, the *kader* is also eternal, and it encompasses both the past eternity and the future eternity. Therefore, *kader* means that God preordained and established the space and time of all things, good and evil, past and future.

The actual fate and the application of the *kader* is *kaza* (مضاء qada'). Thus, *kaza* pertains to the establishment of things in the present.

⁷On the concepts of *kader* and *kaza* cf. Dikmen (1988: 129). Kazancı (1989: 53), and the Macdonald's articles, "Kada'" and "Kadar," in the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (SEI 1961: 199-200).

With the exception of Vakit, all other farz conditions of namaz are fulfilled either prior to its actual performance (Hadesten Taharet, Necasetten Taharet, Setr-i Avret), or are they assumed before and kept throughout the namaz (İstikbal-î Kıble); or else, they are performed just before the beginning of namaz, thus signaling its actual start (Niyet). Because these conditions are not performed during the actual namaz, they are also called the disindaki farzlar, "outside farz-s."

The only condition which is truly temporally specified is the *vakit*, i.e. time. The strict observance of proper time for ritual worship is of utmost importance, especially for the *farz namaz*-s, since the performance of *namaz* at the prescribed time is regarded as the most rewarding, *sevab*. This is succinctly emphasized in the following *hadis* (*hadit*): "When the time for *namaz* comes, perform it immediately!" However, no matter how strictly this observance of time is prescribed, there is quite often an ample room left for a certain margin of flexibility and the practical use of strategies, where *icma'* (*ijmā'*), the mutual agreement, comes into play, and sets the rules.²

¹"Namaz vakti nerede girerse hemen kıl!" (Dikmen 1988: 273). Or according to Pedersen: "Wherever the hour of prayer overtakes thee, thou shalt perform the salat" (SEI 1961: 330).

²Apropos this argument, I would like to cite an example. Around the time of the *Ramazan Bayramu* of 1413 A.H. / 1993 C.E., I called up the embassies of several Muslim countries in Washington, D.C., in order to inquire about the exact day when this holiday was to start in respective countries. Thus, in Turkey, the former Yugoslavia, and the Maghrib, for example, the first day of *Bayram* (Šawwal 1, 1413)

The time for the performance of Sabah Namazi is set between the dawn, fecir, and the sunrise, güneş doğması. The beginning of dawn is marked by the first appearance of the morning twilight on the horizon. However, there are two kinds of dawn: the false dawn, yalancı fecir or fecr-i kâzib, and the proper dawn, gerçek fecir or fecr-i sadık. The false dawn is when in the east, at the spot of sunrise, on the horizon appears a visible streak of twilight, surrounded by the full darkness. This means that the Sabah Namazı cannot yet begin and those who are fasting during Ramazan can continue with the sahur (meal. 3 The proper dawn, however, begins when, again at the spot of sunrise, appears the full light which spreads all over the skies. At this moment the sahur is over and the time for the Sabah Namazı and the day-long fast begins.

The time for *Öğle* and therefore the *Cuma Namazı* starts immediately after the noon, zeval (زوال zawāl), i.e. after the sun reaches the zenith and starts its westward

was on March 24, 1993, while in Saudi Arabia, Gulf countries and Egypt, it was March 23, and in Pakistan, March 25, 1993. Although the beginning and end of the month of *Ramazan* and consequently the first day of *Bayram* are set after at least two members in a given Muslim community sight the moon, an official in the Embassy of Saudi Arabia told me that the dates might be deliberated on political grounds, as well. He also said that it was not unusual that Egypt and Saudi Arabia would, for purely political reasons, have their *Bayram*-s a day apart.

Thus, in the calendar for the 1413 A.H. (from July 2, 1992 to June 21, 1993 C.E.), published by the Islamic Society of Baltimore, the 1st of *Šawwal*, 1413, was scheduled for March 26, 1993, with an asterisk next to it denoting that "Eid-ul-Fitr [is] subject to sighting of the moon."

³Sahur is the meal eaten before the fast starts and it has to be finished prior to the imsak vakti (افساك imsak, abstinence), the time which marks the beginning of the daily fast, which starts with the fecr-i sadık and continues till the sunset. The meal eaten after the sunset, iftar (افطار iftar), breaks off the fast for the day.

declination. This time is called the zeval vakti. However, when the sun reaches the zenith, the shadows which objects cast on the ground are shortest and for a brief moment they appear as if motionless. This moment is called the istiva vakti (إستواء) istiwā', equality), and the likewise seemingly motionless shadow, the fey'i zeval (فقيء) fay', shadow). According to the Hanefi mezheb, the time for this ritual worship continues until the length of shadows extends twice the length of fey'i zeval; this time is called the asr-ı sani, lit. the second time. As a measure of precaution, the Öğle Namazı cannot be delayed after the asr-ı sani, nor can the next namaz, İkindi, begin before it. Therefore the time for the İkindi starts after the time of the Öğle Namazı and continues until the sunset, günes batması.

The time for the Akşam Namazı starts after the sunset and continues until the last vestige of red color disappears from the horizon. However, according to the Hanefi mezheb, the Akşam Namazı time continues till the skies become completely dark, with no trace of any light. At this point, the time for the Yatsı Namazı starts and continues until dawn. This is also the time of Vitir Namazı, which is performed after the Yatsı.

Another night ritual worship is *Teravih Namazı*, also performed after the *Yatsı*. Although it is customary that the performance of the *Teravih Namazı* precedes the *Vitir*, it is possible that the latter is performed before *Teravih*.

⁴Ar. عصر 'aṣr, time; ثانى tanī, second. Other Sünni mezheb-s consider that the time for the Öğle Namazı continues till the length of shadows extends only once the length of fey'i zeval, which is called the asr-ı evvel, lit. the first time (اول awwal. first).

The Bayram Namazı is the morning ritual worship. Its time starts about forty-five to fifty minutes after the sunrise and continues until the *istiva vakti*.

In addition to this, there are two kinds of times during which the performance of namaz is considered either as mekruh, abominable, or desirable, müstehab. The abominable time, called the kerahat vakti (كراهة karahah), is the time during which the performance of namaz is, according to the fikah books, regarded as mekruh, i.e. not categorically forbidden by God but looked upon by the ulema with horror and disgust. There are two kinds of kerahat vakti, one pertaining to the farz and nafile types of namaz, the other, only to the nafile namaz-s. The first, pertaining to all types of namaz-s, is threefold:

- Time after the sunrise until about forty-five to fifty minutes thereafter, when the sun rays dazzle the eyes;
- Time between the istiva and zeval vakti,
- Time after İkindi, which begins when the sun, while turning pale, begins to
 dazzle the eyes, and continues until the sunset.

The müstehab vakti, the desirable or recommended times for the performance of namaz are also explained in the fikth books. For the Sabah Namazı it is preferable to wait for a while until the dawn twilight unfolds and the daylight becomes brighter; this pertains to the men only and is known as isfar (اسفار isfar). It is also desirable not to perform this namaz fifteen to twenty minutes before the sunrise.

⁵On kerahat vakti in nafile namaz-s see Dikmen (1988: 281).

During the summer, it is desirable to slightly postpone the time for the performance of Öğle Namazı, because the noon is the hottest moment of the day and, according to a hadis, "the noon heat is the fire from the Hell." In other three seasons the Öğle Namazı should be performed shortly before its actual time, as the Prophet Muhammed has done it (Dikmen 1988: 282).

Regarding the *İkindi Namazı* it is desirable to postpone its performance but not beyond the point when, in the very late afternoon, the sun's brightness and color start changing.

It is desirable to always perform Akşam Namazı quickly, regardless of season. On the other side, the Yatsı Namazı should be postponed and performed after the first third, or even the first half of the night, has passed. The late performance of this ritual worship brings many tidings. After the performance of the Yatsı Namazı it is forbidden to sit aimlessly and conduct an empty talk. Only the zikir and evrad (ورد) wird, pl. أوراد awrad), the reading from the Kur'an at certain times, as well as the religious conversation can be performed. However, in the summer, when nights are short, it is desirable to perform the Yatsı Namazı at its prescribed time.

^{6&}quot;Öğle sıcağı Cehennem'den bir yalımdır" (Dikmen 1988: 282)

⁷⁴Yatsı namazının geç kılınmasına dair pek çok haberler gelmiştir" (Dikmen 1988: 283).

The time for the performance of namaz is announced with ezan (¿i) adan). Ezan belongs to the category of firm sünnet-s, sünnet-i müekkede, and, with the exception of Cenaze Namazı, it is read for the congregational performances of farz namaz-s: five daily namaz-s and the Cuma Namazı. In accordance with namaz it is read for, ezan gets in its name the same prefix as the daily namaz-s, i.e. Sabah, Öğle, İkindi, Akşam, and Yatsı Ezanı.

Ezan is performed from the minaret by the muezzin. Its purpose and function is to announce to nearby community that the time for namaz has come. As the announcement of daily ritual worships, ezan was first introduced in Medina, soon after the Prophet Muhammed's hijra in 622 C.E. According to Juynboll (SEI 1961: 16), the one 'Abd Allah b. Zaid had a dream in which he saw somebody who from the roof of the mosque called the believers to ritual worship. The second caliph 'Umar recommended that manner of announcing the ritual worship. The Prophet Muhammed accepted, made it an order, and as the reader of ezan appointed an Abyssinian slave, Bilal b. Rabah, who thus became the first muezzin (SEI 1961: 62-63).

Writing on the *chant religieux* and *ezan* in Egypt, Villoteau gives a similar story in his "De l'état actuel de l'art musical en Égypte" (1826b: 189-196), where he

¹In Western sources *ezan* is customarily translated as the English "call to prayer," French *l'appel à la prière* (Mauguin 1968), and German *der Gebetsruf* (Jäschke 1951: 74-79).

cites several passages from M. d'Obeson's *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman* (Paris, 1788; vol. 2, *Code religieux*, p. 108).²

Like kamet, the text of Sünni ezan consists of seven sentences (Table 1):

1. "Allah is Greater"

2. "I testify that there is no god but Allah"

3. "I testify that Muhammed is the Messenger of Allah"

4. "Come to namaz"

5. "Come to happiness"

6. "Allah is Greater"

עוובועווו 7 "There is no god but Allah."

The Sabah Ezani differs from the other four daily ezan-s in that it has one sentence more which is inserted between the fifth and sixth sentences of the text of ezan, and is repeated twice:

الصلاةخيرمنلنوم As-salatu xayrun mina'n-nawm "Namaz is better than sleep."³

^{2"}...pendant la nuit, l'un d'eux [les disciples de prophèt], Abdallah-ebn-zeyd-Abderiye, voit en songe un être céleste vêtu de vert; il s'ouvre à lui, sur l'objet dont s'occupaient les disciples du prophèt. Je vais vous montrer, lui dit cet esprit céleste, comment vous devez remplir ce devoir important de votre culte. Il monte alors sur le toit de la maison, et fait l'ezân à haute voix, avec les mêmes paroles dont on s'est servi depuis pour annoncer les cinq heures canoniques.

[&]quot;A son réveil, Abdallah court exposer sa vision au prophèt, qui le comble de bénédictions et autorise à l'instant *Bilal Habeschy*, un autre de ses disciples, à s'acquitter, sur le toit de son hôtel, de cet office auguste sous le titre de *moezzen*" (Villoteau 1826b: 191).

³Regarding this sentence, Juynboll states that it is "inserted between the 5th and 6th formulas [sentences], but the Hanafites pronounce it at the end" (SEI 1961: 16). In Turkey, however, all Sünni-s, both the Hanafi and Şafii, read this sentence between

Table 1 - Sentence Repetition in the Performance of Ezan

	EZAN					
Sünni	Şii	Communication	SENTENCE REPETITIONS			
		SENTENCES	Hanefî	Şafii	Caferi	
1	1	Allāhu akbar	4	4	4	
2	2	Ašhadu an lā ilāha illallāh	2	2	2	
3	3	Ašhadu anna Muhammadan rasulullah	2	2	2	
-	4	Ašhadu anna amira'l-mu'minina ^c Aliyyan waliyyullah	-	-	2	
4	5	Hayya ^c ala's-salah	2	2	2	
5	6	Hayya ^c ala'l-falah	2	2	2	
	7	Hayya ʻala xayri'l-ʻamal	-	•	2	
6	8	Allahu akbar	2	2	2	
7	9	Lā ilāha illallāh	1	1	2	

Like in *kamet*, the *Şii* add two sentences more to their *ezan* (see Chapter Eight, pp. 245-248). The *Caferi*-s of Turkey use this *ezan*, enveloping it with two *dua*-s, one at the beginning, the other at the end of *ezan*. However, these *dua*-s are not fixed and can be skipped altogether, as well:⁴

the fifth and sixth sentences, and never, as Juynboll states, at the end of ezan.

⁴Any *dua* or a Kur'anic ayet can serve the purpose of preambling the *ezan*. In one of the two examples which I recorded in Kars, *ezan* was preambled with the following *dua*:

Subhanallahi wa'l-hamdulillahi wa la ilaha illallahu wallahu akbar "Praise and thanks be to Allah. There is no god but Allah. Allah is Greater."

(Al-ḥamdulillahi'l-ladī lam yattaxid [ṣaḥibatan wa la] wala-danwwa lam yakullahu sarīkun fi'l-mulk wa lam yakullahu waliyyu'm-mina'd-dulli wa kabbirhu takbīrā) [K17:111]6

- 1. Allahu akbar
- 2. Ašhadu an la ilaha illallah
- 3. Ašhadu anna Muhammadan rasulullah
- 4. Ašhadu anna amīra'l-mu'minīna 'Aliyyan waliyyullah8
- 5. Hayya 'ala's-salah
- 6. Hayya 'ala'l-falah
- 7. Hayya 'ala xayril-'amal
- 8. Allahu akbar
- 9. La ilaha illallah

[dua]

In reference to the fourth *Şii ezan*'s sentence which mentions Ali, Cl. Huart gives the following historical context:

Ašhadu anna amīra'l-mu'minīna 'Aliyyan waliyyullah Ašhadu anna amīra'l-mu'minīna 'Aliyyan hujjatullah "I testify that Ali, the Commander of Faithful, is the Guardian of Allah" "I testify that Ali, the Commander of Faithful, is the Proof of Allah".

⁵The opening words of this ayet are somewhat changed and the two extra words, sahibatan wa la, are added to it.

⁶In this example the *Şii ezan* is preambled with the last ayet from the *Esra Suresi* (Suratu'l-Isra', K17:111):

Wa quli'l-hamdulillahi'l-ladi lam yattaxid waladanwwa lam yakullahu šarikun fi'l-mulk wa lam yakullahu waliyyu'm-mina'd-dulli wa kabbirhu takbira.

"And say: Praise be to Allah, Who hath not taken unto Himself a son, and Who hath no partner in the Sovercignty, nor hath He any protecting friend through dependence.

And magnify Him with all magnificence."

⁷At the word "Muhammad" all members of congregation silently pronounces the following dua: *Allahumme salli ala Muhammedin ve ali Muhammed*, bow in the sitting position, and rub the face usually with the right hand, although both hands might be used.

⁸Instead of literally repeating this sentence, *Caferi*-s sometimes replace in its final word, *waliyyullah*, with the word, *hujjatullah*:

The Safawids, who claimed descent from Musa al-Kazim [the seventh Šīcī Imam], made the Shīca and more particularly the doctrine of the Ithna cashariya the state religion of Persia, as it still is. After his accession Shāh Ismacīl (906/1500) gave formal orders to the preachers of Ādharbaidjan to preach the sermon in the name of the twelve imams, and to the mu'adhdhins to add the Shīca formula: 'I testify that 'Alī is the walī of God.' The troops were ordered to put to death any objector" (SEI 1961: 188).

The Caferi Şii ezan does not change regardless of namaz. However, contrary to the Sünni ezan, which is read five times daily, Caferi ezan is read only three times, announcing the Saba (Morning), Öğle (Noon) and Akşam Namazı (Evening Ritual Worship). The reason for this is that the Şii combine the Öğle and İkindi, and the Akşam and Yatsı Namazı, and perform each of these two combinations as an uninterrupted event, so that only one ezan respectively is necessary to announce thusly combined ritual worship.

In the Sünni context, the ezan which announces the Cuma Namazi is twice with an interval in between. The first Cuma ezani is performed from the minaret at the time set for the Öğle ezani. For it is read from the minaret, this ezan is called the diş ezan, lit. "outside ezan." The second Cuma Ezani muezzin reads inside the mosque in a same manner as he performs it from the minaret. This second ezan is called the iç ezan, lit. "inside ezan." According to Dikmen (1988: 295), during the Prophet's life only the inside ezan was practiced. However, starting with the time of the third caliph 'Utman (r. 23-35/644-655), the reading of both ezan-s for the Cuma Namazi became a practice.

Another exception to this rule I observed in Istanbul, in Ramazan of 1411/1991. During this month, approximately an hour before the regular Sabah ezanı is read, muezzin reads another ezanı from the minaret. Whose function is to signal the time for the sahur meal.⁹

Şafii-s also have an exception to the number of ezan-s. As I have observed it in Diyarbakır, they customarily read the Sabah ezanı twice, the first time before the dawn, and the second time at the dawn, and they consider this practice the sünnet (Özdemir 1981: 59, n. 1).

* * *

Today in Turkey, and probably in the rest of Islamic world, the special booklets and calendars are printed and distributed nationwide, in which the times for five daily *ezan*-s are listed. These times are nowadays set astronomically, rather than astrologically.

Although ezan was traditionally read by the muezzin from the minaret of the mosque, in today's Turkey muezzins do not climb any more up the narrow spiral steps of the minaret to read ezan from the circular balcony at its top. Instead, the loudspeakers are attached there, and muezzin thus reads ezan into the microphone, at the bottom of minaret, or from some other room in mosque.

⁹Meal eaten before dawn, i.e. imsak vakti, with which the daily fast begins.

In 1991, in the northeastern Turkish province of Kars, I observed that Caferi-s play the tape with pre-recorded ezan. For reasons of his own economizing with time and since he is not professionally employed as the muezzin, but acts as one in a local Caferi mosque on voluntary basis, the Caferi muezzin has recorded ezan on tape, so that it can be played whenever needed. This is now the habit in that mosque, and ezan is always played from the tape no matter whether the muezzin is going after his business or is present during the worship.

However, the Sünni-s in Kars, and to my knowledge anywhere in Turkey, always read ezan live, which is supported by the Dikmen's argument: "It is not lawful, to play ezan from the tape, because there is no live person present. It is like a kind of an echo" (1988: 297). 10

Recordings of ezan are also used in Bosnia, a former Ottoman province, whose Muslim population is Sünni and, like the majority of Turks, of Hanefi mezheb. Visiting my family in the summer of 1990, in Teslić, a town in northern central Bosnia, I observed that the muezzin in the local mosque did not even have to read ezan at all, because it was played from the tape-recorder and broadcast through the loudspeakers on top of minaret. Unfortunately, I have not checked how and where these tapes were recorded. However, this visit refreshed my childhood memory: Growing in the 1960s, I remember that I would watch the tiny figure of

¹⁰"Yalnız teyp ile ezan okumak câiz değildir. Çünkü ortada insan yoktur. Aksiseda kabilindendir."

hodža¹¹ reading ezan from the top of the nearby mosque's minaret. Then, soon afterwards, probably by the end of that decade, the hodža disappeared from the minaret. His live performance of five daily ezan-s was replaced by the recording.

¹¹Hodža is a Slavicized Turkish word, hoca (from Farsi xwaja), used in Bosnia to denote imam. In Turkish, hoca means "religious teacher," and today in Turkey it is generally used as the title of respect for any teacher or a superior.

APPENDIX D: Timetable of Some Outstanding Turkish Composers and Their Religious Affiliations

Hasan Efendi Hatib Zakiri (1545-1623)	Zakirbaşı, Hatib, Cami Musikisi composer
Şeyh Aziz Mahmut Hüdâyî (1543-1628)	The founder and the şeyh of the Celveti order; friend of Sultan Ahmet I (1603-1617); at the ceremony of the opening of Sultan Ahmet Mosque, Istanbul, Hüdâyî performed the office of imam and read the first hutbe. Married into Ottoman family; his wife, Ayşe Hanım-Sultan, was the grand daughter of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent.
Hafiz Post (1620?-1694)	Became the <i>hafiz</i> at early age; as a master, <i>üstad</i> , entered the <i>Halveti</i> order. Student of Kasımpaşalı Osman Efendi (-1665?) and teacher of Itrî.
Itrî (1638?-1712	Became a Mevlevî in Yenikapı Mevlevihane. In 1680 became the music teacher of the concubines in the Sarayı Hümayun.
Recep Çelebi (-1701)	Sufi, probably <i>Mevlevî</i> . In 1682 became the music teacher of the concubines in the <i>Sarayı Hümayun</i> (Öztuna/2: 222).

	
Osman Dede Nâyî (1652- 1730)	Became a Mevlevî at Galata Mevlevihane, where he was the neyzen, and from 1680 the neyzenbaşı. In 1698, the Konya Çelebi appointed him the şeyh of Galata Mevlevihane, at which post he remained until his death, when he was replaced by his son, Abdülbaki Sırrî Dede, who died in 1751. Sırrî Dede's daughter, Saide Hanım, married with Kütahyalı Ebubekir Dede (1705-1775), who was the şeyh of the Yenikapı Mevlevihane, but came from the Halveti family. In this way the Galata and Yenikapı Mevlevihane-s got united through the family ties. In the marriage of Saide Hanım and Ebubekir Dede, were born three sons, i.e. the great grandsons of Osman Dede, and all important musicians and successive Mevlevî şeyh-s in Yenikapı: Ali Nutkî Dede (1762-1804), Abdülbaki Nâsır Dede (1765-1821), and Abdürrahim Künhî Dede (1769-1831). The last Mevlevî şeyh in Yenikapı was from this family, Abdülbaki Dede-Efendi (1883-1935).
Ali Nutki Dede (1762-1804)	Son of Ebubekir Dede, the <i>şeyh</i> of Yenikapı <i>Mevlevihane</i> , and the great grandson of Osman Dede. Teacher of İsmail Dede-Efendi.
Tab'î (1705?-1765)	Teacher and hunkâr müezzin in Enderun; Sermüezzin during the Sultan Osman III (1754- 1757).
Küçük Mehmed Ağa (-1800)	Musahib-i şehriyar, companion, of Selim III (1789-1807), and the serhanende, chief, of the fasıl hümayun.
İsmail Dede-Efendi (1778- 1846)	Became the dede in Yenikapı Mevlevihane, 1799, under the şeyh Ali Nutkî Dede (1762-1804). Companion of Selim III (1789-1807), Mahmut II (1808-1839). During the latter's reign, became the müezzinbaşı in the Palace, and stayed on that position under Abdülmecid I (1839-1861).
Dellâlzade İsmail Efendi (1797-1869)	Hafiz; student of İsmail Dede-Efendi; müezzinbaşı in hte Palace; teacher in the Muzıkayı Hümayun.

Tamburi (Büyük) Osman Bey (1816-1885)	Studied music in the Enderun Hümayun; became ser-sazende in Enderun under Sultan Abdülaziz
Zekai Dede (1825-1897)	(1861-1876). Became the Mevlevî in Galata. Became a hafiz at the age of 13. Studied calligraphy with his father. Studied music with Eyyubi Mehmed Bey (1804-1850), the student of Ismail Dede Efendi (1778-1846). Became the Mevlevî in Yenikapı, 1868; in 1885, in Eyüb Bahâriye Mevlevihane became the kudümzenbaşı and was given a title of dede. Before 1885 he was known as Hafiz Zekai Efendi.
Haci Arif Bey (1831-1885)	Student of Eyyubi Mehmed Bey (1804-1850), and briefly of İsmail Dede-Efendi. Enrolled as the student in <i>Muzıkayı Hümayun</i> , where he studied music with Haşim Bey (1815-1868), the Palace serhanende and müezzinbaşı, and a student of Dellâlzade and İsmail Dede-Efendi.
Tamburi Ali Efendi (1836- 1890)	Hafiz; in 1862, became the Palace müezzin, and in 1867 the second imam of the sultan.
İsmail Hakkı Bey (1866- 1927)	Hunkâr müezini and serhanende in the Saray Fasıl Heyeti. Opened the music school Musiki-i Osmanî Mektebi. Taught at the Darülelhan, where he became the director of the Turkish Music Division. Bektaşi muhibi, sympathizer.
Subhi Ezgi (1869-1962)	Student of Zekai Dede (1886). Studied tanbur with Halim Efendi, the seyh of the Kozyatağı Rufai tekkesi. His mother came from the Mevlevî family.
Rauf Yekta (1871-1935)	Took lessons from Zekai Dede and Bolâhenk Nuri Bey (1834-1910), as well as from the Galata Mevlevihane şeyh, Atâullah Dede, and the Yenikapı Mevlevihane şeyh, Celâleddin Dede; became a Mevlevî sympathizer. Neyzen; learned ney in Yenikapı.
Sadettin Arel (1880-1955)	Studied <i>Mevlevî</i> music with <i>şeyh</i> Hüseyin Fahreddin Dede (1854-1911) and circled the <i>mevlevihane</i> -s until 1925.

APPENDIX E: Timetable of Ottoman Sultans and Turkish Composers

Sultans	COMPOSERS
Osman I Gazi (1281-1324) - Capital in Yenişehir	
Orhan (1324-1362) - Capital in Bursa (1326)	·
Murat I (1362-1389) - Capital in Edirne (1361)	
Beyazit I Yıldırım (1389-1402)	
Interregnum (1402-1413)	
Mehmed I (1413-1421)	
Murat II (1421-1444; 1446-1451) - Composer, poet, learnedman	In 1421 invited Abdülkadir Merâğî (1353-1435) from Herat to Bursa
Mehmed II Fatih (1444-1446; 1451-1481) - Capital in Istanbul (1453)	Merâğî's son, Abdülaziz Çelebi, dedicated the work, Nekaavatü'l-Edvâr, to Sultan Mehmed Fatih Fatih Anonimi
Beyazıt II Veli (1481-1512) - Calligrapher, poet, composer - Composed the "Peşrev-i Bâyezid," transcribed in Ali Ufki's (1610?-1685) collection, Mecmû'a-i Sâz-ü Söz	Sultan Korkut (1467-1513), Beyazıt's son
Selim I Yavuz (1512-1520) - Poet - After occupation of Tebriz, 1514, brought many musicians to Istanbul	
Süleyman I Kanunî (1520-1566) - Few music works during his reign	- Abdülalî Efendi (-1575?), the greatest composer of the 16th century - Young Hasan Efendi Hatib Zakiri (1545-1623)

Selim II (1566-1574)	- Abdülalî Efendi - Hasan Efendi Hatib Zakiri
Murat III (1574-1595) - Poet	- Abdülalî Efendi - Hasan Efendi Hatib Zakiri - İkinci Gazi Giray (1554-1608)
Mehmed III (1595-1603)	
Ahmet I (1603-1617) -Poet	- Hasan Efendi Hatib Zakiri - Hüdâyî (1543-1628)
Mustafa I (1617-1618; 1622-1623)	
Osman II (1618-1622) - Composer	
Murat IV (1623-1640) - Poet - Composer, under pseudonym "Şah- Murat"	- Ali Ufki Bey (1610?-1685) spent 18 years in Enderun as the hanende, singer/musician, where he compiled the Mecmû'a-i Saz-ü Söz, a collection of vocal and instrumental Turkish music works from the 15th to the 17th century in Western notation. Murat IV's compositions are included in this collection.
İbrahim (1640-1648)	
Mehmed IV (1648-1687)	- Hafız Post (1620?-1694) - Buhurizade Mustafa Efendi Itrî (1638?-1712) - Recep Çelebi (-1701)
Süleyman II (1687-1691)	
Ahmet II (1691-1695) - Composer	- Itrî - Recep Çelebi - Kantemiroğlu (Prince Dimitrius Cantemir, 1673-1727) was invited to Enderun by Ahmet II Osman Dede Nâyî (1652?-1730)

Mustafa II (1695-1703) - Poet, under pseudonym "İkballi" - Composer	- Itrî - Recep Çelebi - Osman Dede, probably during the Mustafa II's reign created his own alphabet notation.
Ahmet III (1703-1730) - Lâle Devri, the Reign of Tulips - Built Cerrahi Tekkesi - Cerrahi dervish (?)	- Itrî, the last years - Osman Dede - Mustafa Çavuş (-1745?) - Ebubekir Ağa (-1759) - Tab'î (1705?-1765)
Mahmut I (1730-1754) - Outstanding composer	- Mustafa Çavuş - Ebubekir Ağa - Tab'î
Osman III (1754-1757)	
Mustafa III (1757-1774)	- Ebubekir Ağa, the last years - Tab'î, the last years - Küçük Mehmed (-1800) - Sadullah Ağa (-1801?)
Abdülhamid I (1774-1789) - Composer, no works left	- Küçük Mehmed - Sadullah Ağa - Sultan Selim III (1761-1808), the son of the Sultan Mustafa III and the nephew and successor of Abdülhamid I
Selim III (1789-1807) - Outstanding composer - Mevlevî dervish (Galata)	- Küçük Mehmed - Sadullah Ağa - Selim III - İsmail Dede-Efendi (Hammamizade, Büyük Dede, 1778-1846)
Mustafa IV (1807-1808)	

Mahmut II Adlî (1808-1839) - Poet (pseudonym Adlî) - Calligrapher - Composer (tamburi, neyzen, hanende) - Mevlevî and/or Cerrahi dervish - Vak'a-i Hayriye (abolition of yeniçeri, 1826) - Established the Muzikay-ı Hümayun (1826) which included the division for Western Music and replaced the Enderun Musiki Mektebi	- İsmail Dede-Efendi - Dellalzade İsmail Efendi (1797-1869) - Tamburi Osman Bey (1816-1885)
Abdülmecid I (1839-1861) - Tanzimat, Political Reforms and Reorganization (1839) - Supporter of Western Music in the Muzikay-i Hümayun	- İsmail Dede-Efendi, the last years - Dellalzade İsmail Efendi - Tamburi Osman Bey - Zekai Dede (1825-1897) - Hacı Arif Bey (1831-1885) - Tamburi Ali Efendi (1836-1890)
Abdülaziz (1861-1876) -Composer, neyzen	
Murad V (1876)	
Abdülhamid II (1876-1909) - Piano player, studied Western Music The first Ottoman sultan who did not learn Turkish music at all, and the last protector of Turkish music	- Tamburi Osman Bey, the last years - Zekai Dede, the last years - Hacı Arif Bey, the last years - Tamburi Ali Efendi - Şevki Bey (1860-1891) - Rahmi Bey (1866-1924) - İsmail Hakkı Bey (1866-1927)
Mehmed V Reşad (1909-1918) - Mevlevî - Acquainted with the Mevlevî and Turkish Classical Music, but studied Western music and played piano - The end of the Ottoman era	- Rahmi Bey - İsmail Hakkı Bey - Tamburi Cemil Bey (1871-1916) - Subhi Ezgi (1869-1962) - Rauf Yekta (1871-1935) - Sadettin Arel (1880-1955)
Mehmed VI (1918-1922)	
Abdülmecid II (1922-1924) - The last, 37th Ottoman sultan, and the last, 101st Caliph of Islam.	

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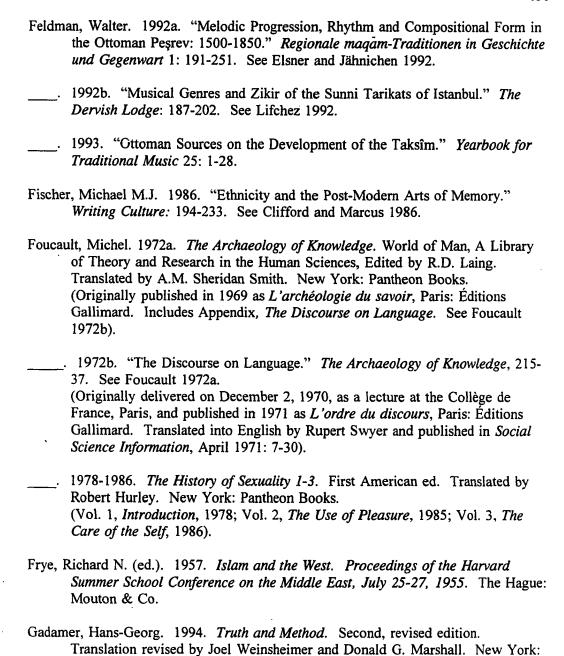
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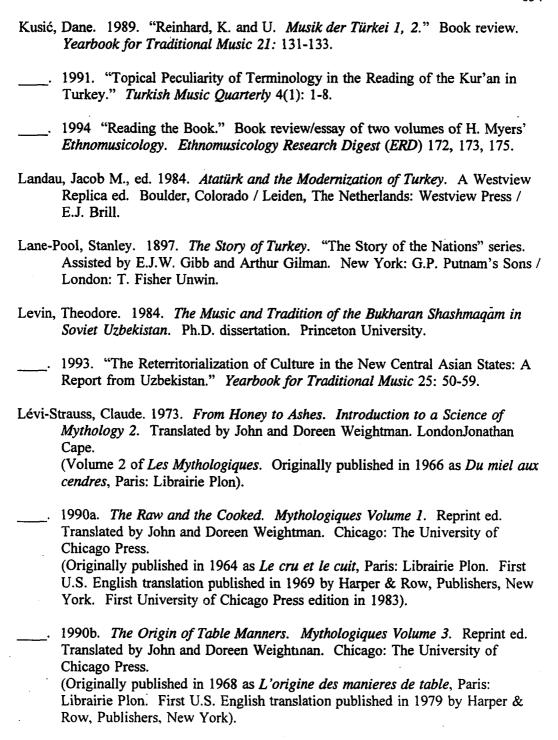
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