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THE RENAISSANCE AND THE OTTOMAN WORLD

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The Renaissance and the Ottoman World

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Chapter 7

Turning a Deaf Ear

Owen Wright

As this is the only chapter devoted to music it seems sensible to offer, rather than the detailed exploration of a specialist topic, some kind of marginal commentary draped around the more substantial and in-depth examinations of ideas and objects that constitute the core of the present volume. A brief general survey, in short, that attempts to outline, however sketchily, the trajectory of musical contacts and perceptions, to account for fluctuations in interest and comprehension, and also, incidentally, to take account of some of the ways in which music is represented visually. To be comprehensive, though, is out of the question; rather, a few representative instances will be considered, some of which, in relation to any conventional art-historical Renaissance time frame (say 1400–1600), will be impudently anachronistic. The justification for this is to be sought both in the exiguous nature of the evidence, which necessitates trawling rather more widely through time, and in the artificiality, for music, of whatever chronological slicing is standard for art.¹

Nor should we expect, despite occasional points of comparison, that Ottoman-European musical relations, whether within or beyond the temporal confines of the Renaissance, will provide a close analogy to those that obtain in the visual domain. At first blush this might seem surprising, now that we have become conditioned to see the arts as unavoidably entangled in the same social and ideological webs, and hence to pursue parallels between them in relation to patronage, status, production and reception. We are accustomed to analyses of the intellectual strands tying together artists, writers, architects and composers at particularly propitious moments.² But these imply spatial as well as temporal compression: they are generally monocultural and effectively monolingual, and in the absence of such compacted overlapping, when one should speak, rather, as in the present case, not merely of conflict but of geographical separation, cultural and linguistic barriers, and of doctrinal hostility and fear undermining the human gains of diplomacy and commerce, the expectation, or at least the hope, that we might disinter equivalent musical counterparts to the reciprocal

¹ See e.g. the article 'Renaissance' in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* for a discussion of the problems involved, following on from the initial statement that the term has 'zwar weite Verbreitung erfahren, war und ist aber sowohl inhaltlich als auch methodisch umstritten', and likewise Owens 1990.

² E.g. Schorske 1981 and Harvey 2003.

transfer of artefacts between Europe and the Ottoman world and the stylistic enrichment that flowed from them is as unreasonable as it is illusory, and this for the most obvious of reasons: music does not generate objects. It is, rather, a social activity and an experience, usually enjoyable and possibly profound, but still transient and impermanent, recuperable only from memory, so that except in the case of a score transferability is limited to what human contact allows, and it is worth emphasising that scores are highly specialised products of limited applicability. They may enable and up to a point control future realisation, but can only mediate between groups with a common cultural grounding, an insider command of their many conventions and, normally, of the style they imperfectly represent. Western notation can thus be used with varying degrees of approximation and efficiency (or inefficiency) to convey impressions of other idioms, but works much less well as a vehicle for exporting information about Western music to another culture ignorant of it, even if potentially receptive, while the partial equivalent of notation within the Ottoman and Persianate worlds during the fifteenth and later centuries, the annotated song-text, could not have served this purpose at all, for however detailed, it functions as a mnemonic aid to future realisation by someone who has already learned the piece, and could therefore never be used to communicate a repertoire to the uninitiated outsider.

How, then, between Europe and the Ottoman world, could musical communication occur? How could interest be provoked and transfers effected? Setting aside for the moment the world of ideas that can be conveyed at a distance by the written word, it is clear that direct and sympathetic human contact is required if there is to be any transmission of repertoires, styles or techniques, any real possibility of mutual appreciation and the consequent desire to borrow and absorb. Instruments could theoretically be regarded as potentially neutral, as inert exportable objects, but the impulse to acquire them can hardly have come just from an appreciation of the workmanship involved: exposure and receptivity to their use in performance is an obvious precondition. Thus whatever the degree of earlier European indebtedness to Islamic musical culture as it had evolved in al-Andalus, there can be no doubt that the enabling condition was the existence there, despite intermittent conflict, of sustained contact at the human level. The *Cantigas* miniatures, for example, can no doubt be variously read, but certainly accord with the notion of earlier musical *convivencia* surviving still at the thirteenth-century court of Alfonso el Sabio (Plate 35). Islamic decorative elements may be noted in later Spanish representations of lutes,³ and the diffusion of borrowings from Arab musical culture is clear, above

³ Matoušek 1994 notes 'oriental influences' in the design of rosettes and intarsia on a lute in a fourteenth-century altarpiece (of the castle church of St Coloma at Quaralt, now in Barcelona, Museo de Belles Artes de Catalunya). The scene in which it appears is the suitably 'oriental' one of Salome dancing before Herod.

all, from the enrichment of the range of instruments.⁴ This would be further reinforced by Crusading encounters, from the late eleventh century to the late thirteenth, with Middle Eastern military ensembles of trumpets, shawms and impressive percussion instruments. Joinville, for example, records the capture of kettledrums (*nacaires* < *naqqāra*) at the siege of Damietta in 1249,⁵ and the frightening impact of these ensembles, which Europeans were quick to imitate, is reflected in numerous Old French and Middle High German literary references.⁶ Within the established communities of the Crusader kingdoms military confrontation often yielded to more peaceful contacts with Islamic culture, resulting in the employment of a clearly Islamic visual language in the representations of court musicians flanking a ruler that are incorporated into the frontispiece of a late thirteenth-century *Histoire universelle*.⁷

If we turn now to Italy, the late fourteenth-century 'Intemperance' from the Genoese *Tractatus de septem vitiis*⁸ reverts to the Islamic military instrumentarium, but offers us an intriguing cross-cultural group serenading an evidently oriental as well as over-indulging potentate (Plate 36).

The, by now, quintessentially Western organ is here combined not only with trumpets but also with kettledrums carried by a black, presumably 'Moorish' musician playing cymbals (and to the modern eye the hierarchical layering of the pictorial arrangement is itself reminiscent of Islamic miniatures).⁹ Yet whatever the visual reading of this miniature, the very presence of the organ warns against a facile interpretation of the other instruments and their performers as indicators of morally suspect alterity. Indeed, we may assume that by the beginning of the Italian Renaissance any Arab elements that had been incorporated long before into the musical idioms of Spain (or Sicily, for that matter) and transmitted thence would have been fully integrated, and that both the instruments acquired during the Crusades and, especially, those that

⁴ For a general outline of developments in Muslim Spain see Wright 1992, and for a dispassionate assessment of the vexed question of the extent of Arab musical influence in Europe see Perkuhn 1976. Exemplary for the way in which the significance of this whole cultural encounter can be marginalised is its isolation within the first volume of *The new Oxford history of music* (Farmer 1957), while in the recent multivolume survey *The Oxford history of Western music* (Taruskin 2005) the emphasis on notated sources also allows it to be given short shrift.

⁵ Marcuse 1975, 281b–82b.

⁶ For an extensive survey of the field see Bowles 1971.

⁷ British Library MS Add. 15268, fol. 2. See Zeitler 1997.

⁸ BL Ms Add. 27695, fol. 13r.

⁹ One of the frontispieces of the six-volume 1216–1219 *kitāb al-aghānī*, for example, has a princely figure placed centrally with attendants above and musicians segregated into a band at the bottom. However, there is no reason to assume access to such material, and earlier Christian art provided abundant models for the spatial disposition of the figures in this miniature.



Figure 7.1 Piero della Francesca, *Natività*, 1470–1475, oil on poplar
 Source: London, National Gallery, NG 908. © The National Gallery, London.

had been diffused over the centuries from the Islamic cultural environment of Spain and had subsequently evolved further, such as the fiddles in Plate 38, had long lost any sense of strangeness: awareness of their ultimate origin had lapsed, and with it any possible association with Islamic culture. Hence Piero della Francesca's angels in the *Natività* can happily play rebec and lutes¹⁰ (Figure 7.1), the Arab derivation of which would have been no more perceptible than that of the pseudo Kufic inscription that some years before had decorated the

¹⁰ For Vincenzo Galilei, writing in the late sixteenth century (Galilei 2003, 367), the lute originated in decidedly non-Islamic Pannonia (= Hungary).

angel's drum in Fra Angelico's Linaiuoli Tabernacle of 1433¹¹ (Plate 37). Musical iconography, accordingly, is happily eclectic, and in Fra Angelico's even earlier *Christ Glorified in the Court of Heaven* (1423–1424) the inclusion of instruments of Arab provenance again implies no awareness of their source. They have been fully domesticated and have none of the exotic aura that may have been associated with them on their first appearance: the angelic host simply exults in the joyous possibilities of celestial concord that their inclusion allows (Plate 38).

By the time of Fra Angelico one may surmise that at the level of art music an Italian and a Middle Eastern musician would have employed the lute to rather different effect, and with correspondingly different playing techniques: the increasing emphasis on polyphony in the West meant that the two cultures were simply growing further apart, to the extent that even if the opportunity presented itself they would now probably be unable to appreciate what the other had to offer. While resident in Naples in the early 1480s, Johannes Tinctoris (d. 1511) was able to hear a Turk play a *tanbur* (a type of long-necked lute that to him resembled 'a large spoon'), and was at least interested enough to describe its tuning in his *De inventione et usu musicae*.¹² But only towards the end of this treatise does he offer a reaction to the music, one in which his insight into human motivation – they play to express homesickness – is brushed aside by the curt comment that the performance just went to show how uncouth they are (*quod solum id ad eorum ostendendam barbariem*), a pallid reflection of the standard propagandistic view at that time of the Turks as savage invaders notorious for their cruelty and blood-lust.

The complete absence of sympathetic response in this particular instance, let alone of musical exchange or transfer, may be regarded as symptomatic of a wider Western indifference at the level of high culture to the Ottoman musical other, and one reciprocated by Ottoman attitudes to European music, that appears to typify the fourteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries. The ramifications of the Ottoman impact on military music are undeniable, and there must have been numerous unrecorded contacts and exchanges at the popular level, but although the literature available to the Renaissance readership contains several brief items of information and occasionally vivid personal reactions, the intellectual community provides scant evidence of willing engagement, let alone receptivity. At the same time, paradoxically, the Middle East is musically present throughout this period, albeit in comedic distortion, at first in the form of the *moresca*, a parody dance that by the sixteenth century had become an ingredient of Italian stage interludes,¹³ and later through the emergence and increasing popularity of *turquerie*, a more generalised form of representation included in the ornate

¹¹ Or the Arab derivation of the shawm played by another angel in the Linaiuoli Tabernacle.

¹² Weinmann 1917.

¹³ See Taylor 2007, 21 for a much earlier (1393) instance, an aristocratic entertainment that ended in tragedy.

tableaux integral to lavish ceremonies patronised by court circles. Indicative here is the presence of Turkish models in a Milanese tailor's stock book of the second half of the sixteenth century,¹⁴ while Molière's inclusion of comic pseudo-Turkish elements in *Le bourgeois gentilhomme* (1670) provides just one of numerous instances of an Ottoman presence on the stage.¹⁵ But however realistic the costumes may have been, there is nothing authentically Turkish in the music that Lully provided to accompany these scenes: although a language of musical exoticism would certainly emerge, its conventions were arrived at less by direct borrowing than by developing (or distorting or even suppressing) pre-existing elements within its own resources.

Objective information on Turkish music was in any case by no means easy to find. The general inquisitiveness of the educated reading public, which revelled both in strange tales and in more sober ethnographic reports of the East, had its appetite fed by the publication of numerous accounts of pilgrimages, gradually supplemented (and supplanted) during the sixteenth century by a more factual and somewhat less biased literature produced by travellers and returning diplomats that occasionally included illustrative woodcuts and reactions to, and observations about, music, performers and instruments, and even, in one or two exceptional seventeenth-century instances, brief samples of notation. However, these were too fragmentary and selective to build up a coherent, comprehensive knowledge base, and in any case the general message of what one might term the ethnographic discourse they rely on and perpetuate was hardly enticing: one way or another the impression conveyed was normally one of Turkish musical inadequacy, or if not inadequacy then unpleasantness of sound. One of the earlier witnesses, Guillaume Postel (1510–1581), already uses in his description of a wedding procession the simple but typical formula of factual report followed by denigratory comment that will recur in later accounts. The accompaniment, he informs us, consists of several percussion, wind and string instruments (*tabourins, cimballes, bassinets, haubois, flutes, luts*), the sound of which might be pleasant (*dous*) to the Turks, but for even the coarsest of French cowherds would be an ear-splitting din.¹⁶

There are, nevertheless, exceptions. Devoid of any equivalent visual bias are the early engravings, beginning in 1502 with the depiction of shawm and drum players on horseback given by Bernhard von Breydenbach,¹⁷ and there are also

¹⁴ Saxl 1987. More specifically, in 1589, Thoinot Arbeau (repr. 1980, 82–3) mentions a ballet devised for a court masquerade by the Knights of Malta in which both men and women wore Turkish costumes.

¹⁵ A useful survey of representations of Turks on the French stage, and in French literature generally, is given in Rouillard 1938.

¹⁶ *assés pour romper la teste & les oreilles au plus gros bouvier de France* (Postel 1560, pt. 1, 11).

¹⁷ von Breydenbach repr. 1961. This and the following visual material is reproduced in Aksoy 1994, 242 et seq. By far the most thorough and detailed review of the sources, this

descriptions that are neutral or even positive in tone, for example the short but factual and informative mid sixteenth-century chapter describing various types of lute by Pierre Belon (1517–1564),¹⁸ the account supplied by the same Guillaume Postel of a professional female ensemble (singing, dancing and playing harp, frame drum and castanets),¹⁹ which is paralleled by the drawings made between 1555 and 1560 by Melchior Lorichs; and the later description of the Mevlevi ceremony by Pietro della Valle (1586–1652), which contains the comment: *la musica che fanno è galante, e degna d'esser sentita: e quei flauti, che chiamano nai ... non si può creder quanto dolce suono rendano.*²⁰

Forming part of the increasingly ample and factually accurate ethnographic material on the Ottoman Empire, such information was no doubt welcome as part of a wider visual and textual panorama within which we can also situate the references to Turkish instruments in the *Harmonie universelle* by Marin Mersenne (1588–1648),²¹ and the first brief samples of notation. The earliest, recorded by Salomon Schweigger (1551–1622) is, significantly, the outline of a military band melody,²² but interesting as its inclusion is, his text is sufficiently negative in tone to stifle any nascent interest, despite the added documentary value of the engraving of a mixed group of instrumentalists on the previous page.

On its first appearance (p. 39), this engraving (Figure 7.2) is somewhat incongruously related to a reference to a military ensemble, the sound of which is sarcastically likened to the din of coopers at work.²³ When it reappears (p. 208), its composite nature is explained, accompanied by precise comments on the instruments,

invaluable study not only surveys the general descriptive material but also includes a rich selection of iconographical illustrations together with a full collection of the notations of Turkish music made by Western observers and scholars down to the beginning of the twentieth century.

¹⁸ Belon 1553, 204–6, while elsewhere (p. 118) he described the Egyptian *rabāb al-shā'ir* ('viole').

¹⁹ Postel 1560, pt. 1, 18–19. He also gives (pt. 3, 42–3) a clear description of drum, kettledrum and cymbals.

²⁰ della Valle 1843, 47–50. This positive evaluation is nevertheless preceded by stern condemnation of their indulgence in the vice of pederasty. Another neutral, informative description of a dervish ceremony from the seventeenth century, albeit one that says little about the music, is given in de Monconys 1973.

²¹ Mersenne 1636, vol. 3, prop 18, 227–8. See Aksoy 1994, 250.

²² Schweigger 1608, facsimile 1964, 209. It is described as a *Melodey eines Feldgeschreys*. This work also contains engravings of military ensembles. The other early examples of notation appear in Kircher 1650, which contains an oddly unconvincing religious chant ('Alla alla') and Du Loir 1654 (1639–40), part of a Mevlevi *selâm*. All are reproduced in Aksoy 1994.

²³ *Das war ein sehr holdselige liebliche Musica/als wenn die Bütner Fässer oder Schäffer binden.*

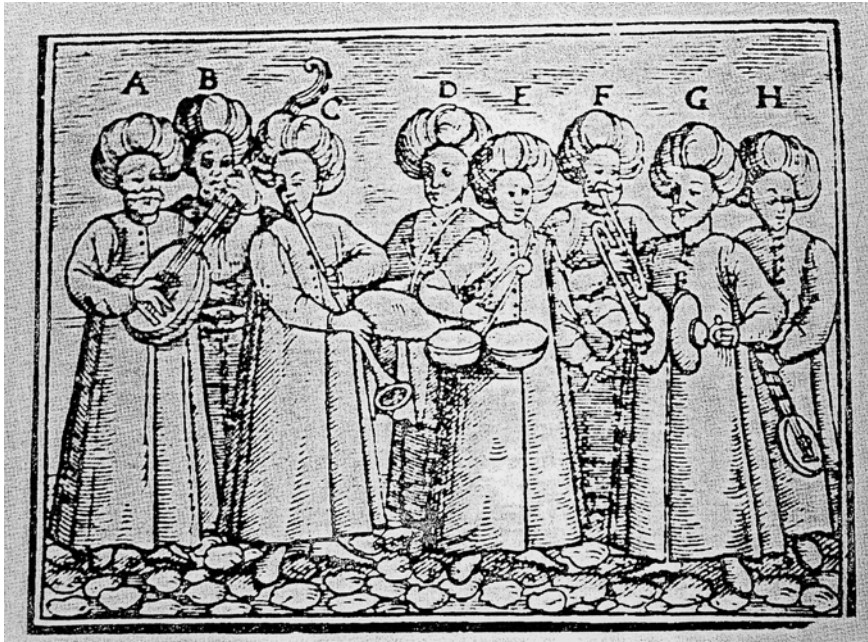


Figure 7.2 Turkish musicians – the ensemble of the governor of Belgrade

Source: Schweigger 1608, 39. Photograph by Glenn Ratcliffe.

identified by letters, but the quality of the music is again roundly dismissed as lacking in pleasing qualities: it is coarse, violent, without skill or refinement.²⁴

Later in the seventeenth century the flow of written accounts increases, but even then the musical observations made continue to provide just one more small element within a general inventory of Ottoman culture and manners, and are thus doomed to be no more than brief glimpses, and ones, it must be stressed, that still rarely convey a positive reaction. A typical representative is Jean de Thévenot (1633–1667), who introduces the reader to the *tanbur* with the comment that the performers are happy to play on it all day long, even though the music is not very pleasant.²⁵ The potentially positive impression gained by learning that some Turks with sufficient leisure were keen amateur performers is thus immediately dispelled by disparagement of the results and by the implication of a deficiency of taste. A little later, in a rather similar vein, Rycaut

²⁴ Diese Music aber/im grund davon zu reden/hat nichts lieblichs oder holdseligs in sich/ sondern ist gar ungestüm unnd feindisch ... es ist in summa kein Verstand oder Geschicklichkeit darinnen zu finden.

²⁵ Thevenot 1664, 65: ils en iouèrent tout un iour sans s'ennuyer, quoy que la melodie n'en soit pas fort agreable.

(or Rycault) (1628–1700), gives a brief description of a Mevlevi ceremony, and refers to the importance of the *ney*. But he conveys a far less positive impression than Pietro della Valle, for apart from mentioning cost he offers nothing beyond the back-handed compliment that ‘It hath a doleful melancholy sound; but their constant exercise and application thereunto makes it as Musical as can be imagined in such an Instrument’.²⁶ But all this is still quite positive when compared with Praetorius and Febure. The former blames Islam in the severest terms for post-classical musical impoverishment,²⁷ while the latter is as scathing as the title of the relevant chapter (Article XI) would suggest: *Dell’ignoranza de’ Turchi circa l’arti e scienze*. There follows the pointed (if absurd) remark that there are no performers of cultivated instruments such as spinet and lute, and the Turks are dismissed, essentially, as uncouth yokels: they have only *alcuni sonatori d’istrumenti rustici, come di zampogna, piva, fistula, e tamburino* (p. 64). There is more in the same bilious vein in his lengthier *Teatro della Turchia*, which almost suggests that their major merit is actually an appreciation of Western music²⁸ (Perrault, cited below, more convincingly suggests quite the contrary), and when he actually manages to go beyond the rustic instruments his tone is just as disparaging, pouring ridicule upon the exaggerated vocal responses to performances on the *tanbur*²⁹ and, again, on the uncouthness of those who are so enthusiastic about such inharmonious sounds: *a quel suono, e rumore concorrono tutti, lasciando i giuochi ed ogn’altro esercizio, per godere di quel disonante concerto, che ascoltano con grandissimo gusto, & applauso*.³⁰

²⁶ Rycault 1682, 263–4. Another brief description is given by Febure (1674, 21).

²⁷ Praetorius 1618, repr. 1884, 98: *Seider dem aber der Machomet daselbst sein Zelt aufgeschlagen, hat sich die Musik so gar verloren, dass man auch fast nichts mehr davon weiß: Ja man ist deren so gram und entgegen worden, dass nach Art und Natur der wilden Leut, mehr auf ein Satyrisch Pfeifflein und Päcklein, als auf ein recht geschaffene Musica gehalten wird.*

²⁸ Febure 1683, 213: *Godono però molto di sentire la dilettevole diversità de’ nostri concerti, & ammirano l’armonia de’ nostri strumenti musicali*. He then adds a fascinating anecdote: *Obbligarono, tre anni sono, certi Religiosi franchi di portare alla Città d’Adrianopoli i loro organi, per toccarli in occasione d’un matrimonio, che si fece all’hora, della figliuola del Gran Signore con il Cuc Ogli*. Organs, of which more below, are almost a favourite theme (even if, or perhaps partly because, they are complex mechanical devices and sometimes particularly cumbersome objects) of regal diplomatic showmanship, although in the present case we are dealing with small portable examples. Credence is added to this somewhat surprising account when we learn from a tenth-century Byzantine text (Marcuse 1975, p. 608) of the ‘custom of conducting a bride of noble birth to the bridegroom’s house accompanied by the music of portable organs’.

²⁹ *E un divertimento de’ piu curiosi, e ridicoli l’udirli gridare a tutta voce, come spiritati, quando toccano un certo strumento a due corde, chiamato da essi tamburo.*

³⁰ Yet further such negative judgements are offered in his *L’etat present de la Turquie*, 1675, for which see Obelkevich 1977. This article provides a most valuable assemblage of textual material, but it is difficult to assent to the implication that Turkish music was quite often to be heard in Paris. It is much more likely that genuine Turkish sounds were

Apart from its obvious disincentive to curiosity, such material has evident limitations with regard to the quality and extent of the information it transmits. Very little is said about the manner of performance, still less about the nature of the repertoire, and above all, as it is inescapably silent it can convey nothing of the music itself. It is, then, hardly surprising that no one appears to have been sufficiently enthused to seek out performers to learn from or otherwise attempt to gain some familiarity with Ottoman practice. Yet European curiosity concerning Ottoman music is assumed by Giovanni Battista Donado, a contemporary of Rycaut and Febure, to whom we owe the first serious attempt at notating Turkish secular melodies. Included as an appendix to his pioneering study of Turkish literature,³¹ they consist of transcriptions of three songs, but as before this positive contribution is undermined by being presented (as shown in Figure 7.3) together with a clear signal of cultural deficiency: a second, empty stave, a void deliberately embodying the absence of that most fundamental element of art-music, a bass line.³²

The logic of this was to be carried through soon after by Chabert, who does indeed domesticate his notation of a Mevlevi piece by adding a bass accompaniment (see Figure 7.4).

Technically bland, its reassuring effect may be compared to the addition of gilt Corinthian capitals above the whirling dervishes dramatically portrayed in an impressive double-page depiction of a Mevlevi *mukabele* in the same volume³³ (Plate 39).

only to be heard, if ever, on the rarest and most exceptional occasions: we are dealing, rather, with the gradual creation, adjustment and reproduction of topoi constituting an imaginary soundscape. A striking contrast to the general hostility within which information about Ottoman instruments is framed is provided by the slightly later but wholly neutral account of the Persian instrumentarium in Kaempfer 1712.

³¹ Donado 1688. The publisher's preface mentions respectfully earlier French descriptions of religion, ceremonies, dress, etc., but complains of the complete lack of any previous study of literature. As evidence of literary activity Donado gives a bibliographical survey of materials found in a variety of fields, followed by a heterogeneous selection of translated texts. Poetry comes at the end, and there is a brief discussion of songs, in which it is suggested that words are set to the music, rather than the reverse. He is particularly struck by the lack of notation, a theme taken up by later observers. A few poems and translations are followed by two fold-out pages with his own notations. For originals and transcriptions see Aksoy 1994, 289–94 (and also *Turkish Music Quarterly*, 4/3, 1991, 10–12).

³² *Avvertirò pur anco il Lettore, che se nella Musica non vi si vede il Basso, questo accade, per lasciar le Canzoni Turchesche nell'aria appunto, che stanno, & lo praticano I Turchi ; poiche loro nella Musica non hanno il Basso.*

³³ de Ferriol 1715. The preface mentions M. de Ferriol (French ambassador at Istanbul 1699–1711), who commissioned the collection (as is clear from a second title page, which adds ... *tirées sur les Tableaux peints d'après Nature en 1707. et 1708. par les ordres de M. de Ferriol ... et gravées en 1712. et 1713. par les soins de M. le Hay*).

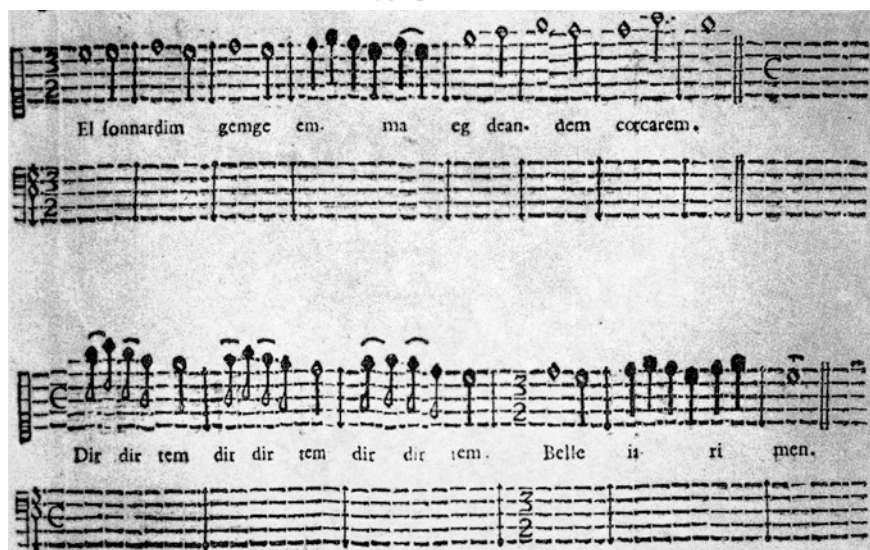


Figure 7.3 Notation of a Turkish song

Source: Donado 1688, final fold-out pages. Photograph by Glenn Ratcliffe.

European assessments of the deficiencies of Turkish music were matched by general Ottoman indifference to, or disdain for, European music. It is clear that each culture had a self-sufficient and constantly renewed repertoire, and possessed in addition a body of authoritative texts that not only provided theoretical backing to practice but also discussed more abstract concerns. Neither experienced a sense of inadequacy, and certainly no pressing need to learn from the other; if it overheard something, it usually judged it wanting, and certainly lacked sufficient stimulus to seek out and appropriate what might be on offer. Significant on the Ottoman side, for example, is the exclusion of any European musical ingredient from the policy of cultural pluralism pursued by Mehmed II after the conquest of Constantinople: no Italian musician was invited to entertain the sultan while Gentile Bellini was sketching his portrait.

This mutual indifference is equally apparent on the intellectual level, if not more so. In contrast to, say, medicine, where there was a renewed concern during the Renaissance with improving texts that had previously been translated from Arabic, music inherited no such theoretical corpus, for despite one or two minor and marginal borrowings the earlier European indebtedness to Arab scholarship, so marked in other domains, had never extended to music: there was no call upon the major texts of al-Kindi, al-Farabi and Ibn Sina, presumably because of the partial mediation of Greek theory already provided by Boethius and included

Air sur lequel tournent les Derviches de Perse.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation. At the top, the title is written in cursive: "Air sur lequel tournent les Derviches de Perse." Below the title, the music is arranged in two systems. The first system consists of two staves (treble and bass clef) in 6/4 time, marked "Loure". The second system also consists of two staves (treble and bass clef) in 3/4 time, marked "Gur". The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings. A watermark "www.britishlibrary.org" is visible in the bottom left corner of the page.

Figure 7.4 Notation of a Mevlevi melody, with bass line added by Chabert
 Source: de Ferriol, 1715. Copyright of the British Library.

in the *quadrivium*.³⁴ In consequence, there was no pre-existing body of translated material for Renaissance scholars to react to.³⁵ Nor, despite the creation of university chairs in music and in oriental languages,³⁶ was there to be any later awakening of interest in the theoretical legacy of the Islamic world, for by this time original Greek sources were becoming available. Islamic theorists, on the other hand, were no longer directly concerned with these: the Greek legacy had already been partially, and for their purposes sufficiently, assimilated by their Abbasid predecessors, especially al-Farabi, from whom they were content to select what they occasionally needed as background or supplement to their accounts of contemporary systems. As a result, the two theoretical traditions evolved independently, despite the presence of a substratum of common elements and concerns, particularly regarding the ethical and cosmological domains and the overriding concept of harmony. But harmony was being played out horizontally in Middle Eastern monody, according to subtle modal rules, and vertically in Europe, where theorists such as Zarlino (1517–1590) considered that it had reached its apogee in the mid sixteenth-century vocal polyphony of Willaert.³⁷

For the Islamic world, then, the novel Western concept of harmony was irrelevant, and it is hardly surprising to find no trace of an awareness of European theoretical discourse. What we do encounter, after an apparent lull in theoretical writing activity following the *kitāb al-shifā'* of Ibn Sina (d. 1037) and the *kitāb al-kāfi* of his pupil Ibn Zayla (d. 1048), is the production from the mid-thirteenth century on of a series of texts, beginning with the influential *kitāb al-adwār* of Safi al-Din al-Urmawi (d. 1294),³⁸ that combine the mathematical analysis of intervallic relationships with a sophisticated categorisation of rhythmic and, especially, modal structures. This series culminates in the work of an older contemporary of Fra Angelico, al-Maraghi (d. 1435) who, despite spending the latter part of his long life in Samarkand and Herat, where opportunities to hear European music would have approached zero, did at least manage to note, in his catalogue of instruments, the existence of the portative organ that, travelling by quite different routes, would later reach Moghul India and appear in a miniature of Plato charming animals to sleep.³⁹ But although al-Maraghi's work was at least

³⁴ Material on music was only transmitted when a section in an encyclopaedic or survey work was devoted to it, as in al-Farabi's *iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* (see Farmer 1934).

³⁵ There is, accordingly, no mention of music in Burnett 1999.

³⁶ At Bologna: the chair of music was instituted in 1450 (but not immediately filled), that in oriental languages in 1464.

³⁷ Zarlino 1558, 1–2.

³⁸ ed. al-Rajab 1986; facsimile in Publications of the Institute for the history of Arabic-Islamic science, series C, 29, Frankfurt 1986; tr. in D'Erlanger 1938, 185–565.

³⁹ British Library Ms. Or. 12208, fol. 298a. Published in Woodfield 1990.

partially known to the Ottomans,⁴⁰ it failed to penetrate further westwards, and the various fifteenth-century Anatolian texts in Turkish, which have a rather different theoretical emphasis, with cosmological themes once again coming to the fore,⁴¹ likewise failed to catch the European eye. When the fifteenth-century scholar Giorgio Valla (1447–1500) ventures forth to the Levant, it is specifically to search for Greek material:⁴² the idea that there might be another textual tradition of musical theory worthy of exploration never surfaces.

What is implicit here becomes quite explicit in the dismissive remarks of the early sixteenth-century theorist Salomon de Caus. After an exposition of a fundamentally Greek-derived theory of intervals (parallels for much of which are to be found in early Arabic texts), he ends the first part of his *Institution harmonique*⁴³ with a brief fill-up section (quite literally: 'Pour remplir ceste Page') that mentions other cultures, principally China, and includes a comment on Turkish music, possibly reflecting someone's unappreciative reaction to the sound of the *mehter*, the Janissary military band, that entirely disregards the possibility of a parallel theoretical discourse. It speaks of a lack of consonance – except by accident – and the pleasure taken in mere din,⁴⁴ providing in effect a slightly more technical and less brutal echo of Postel. But setting the derogatory tone aside, the lack of interest this betrays was, no doubt, only to be expected, given the general bias of humanist scholarship towards a creative re-appropriation of the classical world. It is true that there is a reference to a Middle Eastern tradition in the oration in praise of music by Beroaldo (1453–1505), professor of rhetoric at Bologna: but it is that of Biblical antiquity, and he otherwise predictably invokes only classical sources.⁴⁵

Paradoxically, however, one might have expected this very bias to provoke investigative curiosity into contemporary phenomena in the Middle East, for one area of argument in Renaissance discussions of the great emotional power of music stressed in classical Greek sources concerned the extent to which it

⁴⁰ A copy of his *maqāṣid al-alḥān* (Leyden Or. 270–71) is dedicated to Sultan Murad II. Although there is some uncertainty about identities (see Fallahzadeh 2005, 179–81, 187–8) it appears that a son and grandson of al-Maraghi moved to the Ottoman court, and there produced further, derivative treatises. But whatever influence these may have had appears to have been short-lived. As composer, however, al-Maraghi is still held in high esteem, and has long been considered the founding father of the Ottoman tradition, linking it therefore to the Persianate cultural world in general and in particular to fifteenth-century Timurid Herat.

⁴¹ See e.g. Seydī 2004.

⁴² On his musical writings see Bellini 1988 and Palisca 1985.

⁴³ Caus 1614.

⁴⁴ *En Turquie il y a aussi plusieurs sortes d'instruments, avec lesquels ils iouent le plus souvent avec confusion, sans user de consonnantes, sinon de celles qui viennent accidentellement, & se contentent seulement d'ouir un grand bruit confus.*

⁴⁵ Beroaldo 1500.

had either been mediated by subtleties of intonation that only pure monody allowed, or implied the use of harmony as currently understood. But it is not until considerably later, in the second half of the seventeenth century, that we encounter any awareness that a parallel for the former might be sought in Ottoman practice.⁴⁶ As Perrault (1628–1703) puts it, in the mouth of a participant in an interesting debate, the music of the Ancients was monodic, as is the music of the whole world still today, except for part (an interesting restriction) of Europe, and multi-part music is as yet still unknown even in Constantinople.⁴⁷ There is an incredulous reaction to this, and the discussion then ranges wider, evincing curiosity, unprejudiced observation, but still mutual incomprehension:

L'ABBÉ. *Vous connoissez Mr. Petis de la Croix ... Il vous dira que s'étant trouvé à Constantinople lorsque nostre amy Mr. de Guillerague y étoit en Ambassade, il fut pleinement convaincu, non sans étonnement, de ce que je viens de vous dire. Mr. de Guillerague avoit des Laquais & des Valets de chambre qui jouoient tres-bien du Violon, & qui composoient une bande complete. Lorsqu'ils jouoient quelques-unes de ces belles Ouvertures d'Opera, qui nous ont charmez tant de fois, les Turcs ne pouvoient les souffrir, traittant de charivary le meslange des parties auquel ils ne sont pas accoutumez.*⁴⁸

Despite this antipathy, the Turks were still able to appreciate the proficiency of the performers, while for his part Perrault's protagonist recognised the greater refinement of the single melodic line characteristic of the music of the 'Orientals' (Persians and Indians⁴⁹ as well as Ottomans) and the Ancients, and also lavished praise on the technical skill and power of memory of a Persian instrumentalist he had heard.⁵⁰ One might have expected such open-minded responses to echo earlier seventeenth-century testimonies and thereby contribute to the elaboration of a theme adumbrated already in the sixteenth

⁴⁶ Perrault 1688, 258–74 (although a premonition, not followed up, it seems, is found in Belon's *Observations* of a century before: *Qui voudroit esclaircir quelque chose de la musique des instruments anciens, auroit meilleur argument de l'experience de ceux qu'on voit en Grece & Turquie, que de ce que nous en trouvons par escript*).

⁴⁷ *Il est constant que la Musique des Anciens ne consistoit que dans un chant seul, & qu'elle n'a jamais connu ce que c'est qu'une basse, qu'une taille & qu'une haute contre ... La Musique des Anciens est encore aujourd'huy la Musique de toute la Terre, à la reserve d'une partie de l'Europe. Cela est si vray qu'à Constantinople mesme ils ne connoissent point encore la Musique à plusieurs parties.*

⁴⁸ For further extracts from this dialogue see Obelkevich 1977.

⁴⁹ Obelkevich interprets *au Mogol* as referring to the Mongols; but presumably it is the Mogul Emperor who is intended.

⁵⁰ Even though it would be misleading to see a parallel in terms of underlying ideologies, it is interesting nevertheless to note here the similarity with the emergence of *vergleichende Musikwissenschaft*, pursuing a historicism that sought analogies to what was presumed to be the Western past in current phenomena in other cultures, viewed implicitly as static and non-progressive.

century by Vicentino (1511–1575/6)⁵¹ and realised through the shift, associated particularly with Monteverdi and the rise of opera, towards monody and the need to express more directly the emotional content of the text.⁵² But in the event Perrault's was a lone voice, and knowledge of the practice he mentions was virtually non-existent. All European musicians had to rely on up to that point was the limited information supplied by the reports of travellers, not normally as well informed as Perrault, who offered, as we have seen, some comments of substance but few that are at all sympathetic:⁵³ with only the occasional exception Western reactions to Turkish music (dance is a somewhat different matter) tended to be unenthusiastic at best, decidedly hostile at worst.

Turkish reactions to Western music, Perrault apart, are poorly documented. Ambassadors to Venice were generally lodged in the Giudecca, but had ample opportunities to mix socially, and one, as a result, is reported to have hosted, around 1570, a concert of harpsichord and violin.⁵⁴ However, the fact that it was noted at all suggests that it was an exceptional occurrence, and certainly nothing seems to have flowed from it. If, around 1600, an Ottoman emissary had been able to venture inside St Mark's, he might have encountered a polychoral (*cori spezzati*) setting by Giovanni Gabrieli, and been mightily puzzled: the antiphonal style and polyphonic texture would have been quite alien, the rhythm unclear, while if he could have picked out a melodic line he might have found it uncouth and bare. In short, he would have encountered nothing worth emulating, and it is entirely understandable that no Venetian musician should have been invited to Istanbul. In any case, inquisitiveness about European music could have been satisfied locally, among the diplomatic and mercantile communities in Pera and Galata, and if a reference surfaces to a European musician (or, more precisely, a musician of European origin), it is one who has mastered the Ottoman idiom.⁵⁵ The one Turkish traveller with something positive to report is the ever-curious if not always wholly reliable Evliya Çelebi, who was struck by the vast size and sound of the organ of the Stephansdom in Vienna, and even if his reactions have more to do with technology than music he does also comment favourably on the choir of *castrati*.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Another Willeart student, Nicola Vicentino, introduces a shift of balance to express better the passions of the words (Vicentino 1555).

⁵² See Galilei 2003.

⁵³ In addition to Aksoy 1994 a useful and perceptive general survey is provided in Cavallini 1986.

⁵⁴ Pedani 1994.

⁵⁵ There is e.g. a seventeenth-century reference to a composer called Firenk Mustafa (see Feldman 1996, 67–8). A number of Greek composers also contributed to the Ottoman tradition, but the circumstances here are quite different, as they were essentially native to the idiom.

⁵⁶ Evliya equates the Western major mode, quite reasonably, with the *makam rehavi*. Particularly fascinating, and odd enough to verge on the plausible, is his description

The reception of European ambassadors to the Porte involved a different kind of sound, that of the ceremonial band, loud, raucous and designed to impress: they do not appear to have relished the experience. But as European sovereigns jostled to seek Ottoman alliances, they too could enable their diplomatic envoys to call upon musical instruments as ancillary tools to create an effect. Fittingly, the beginning of the lengthy alliance between France and the Ottomans was singled out in later historical accounts for the first such episode, dated to 1543, when French musicians were said to have been sent by François I to perform for Süleyman the Magnificent. This proved, however, to be a diplomatic miscalculation, for we are told that the sultan, fearing potentially deleterious effects on his subjects, sent the unfortunate musicians packing. Although this story, with its most unconvincing pedigree, is clearly apocryphal,⁵⁷ there is, on the other hand, no doubt that in 1599 Elizabeth I sent an organ to Mehmed III. But, as is made clear by the vivid account of its transport and delivery written by its builder, Dallam,⁵⁸ this was less a musical instrument – although it was certainly playable, and performed on by him for the sultan – than a complex piece of clockwork machinery, to be understood culturally in the first instance within the context of the Ottoman taste for ornate clocks that the Habsburgs were required to satisfy,⁵⁹ and in a broader historical perspective as another in the long line of stunning mechanical and often sound-producing devices used for diplomatic effect that had been begun long before by the Byzantines and Arabs. Although Mehmed III himself was suitably impressed by this elaborate gift, whatever musical potential it had was secondary, and whether or not it soon broke down it certainly did not survive him for long, being destroyed by his successor, Ahmed I.⁶⁰

We are thus no nearer to any deeper mutual understanding of idiom, still less to any productive exchange. If Islamic artefacts could be appreciated and

of the bellows mechanism, which consisted of *castrati* choirboys swarming up ladders to jump onto a wooden platform that then compressed the inflated bellows beneath to power the organ—*tavâşî gulâmlar nerdübânlardan enüp körüklerin tahtalarına binüp körükler ile aşığı bile enerken körüklerden bir gûne rih-ı sarsar zâhir olur* (Evliya Çelebi 2003, 104; see also Kreutel 1957, 111–14).

⁵⁷ There appears to be no contemporary reference that might substantiate it, and the circumstantial evidence speaks strongly against it. It first surfaces in Praetorius 1618, repr. 1884, 98. In the nineteenth century it becomes contaminated with another, equally obviously fabricated story in which Süleyman's reaction is now positive, so much so that he asks his own musicians to imitate the rhythm of a particular piece, thus leading to the invention of the rhythmic cycle *frençin* (see Rauf Yekta Bey 1922, 3044, and Reinhard 1984, 209, both of whom give credence to this later twist).

⁵⁸ Recounted in Mayes 1956.

⁵⁹ See Rogers 1993.

⁶⁰ For a vivid and instructive description of the manner in which it was disposed of, and of the motivation, see the Prologue in MacLean 2004. For the possible connections between these various episodes see Wright 2011.

Ottoman rugs, fabrics and metalwork acquired and their designs imitated and assimilated, responses to literature and music, in stark contrast, remain muted or absent, and part of the reason is to be sought in the very proximity and power of the Ottoman state: it could not be reduced and assimilated to the category of the barbarous and alien typified by the various cultures of the Americas that were gradually being explored, presented and theorised.⁶¹ But these, crucially, belonged to the conquered, which partly explains the difference in the tone of Torquemada's account of the facility with which the subject peoples were able to master aspects of Western culture, music included.⁶² The indigenous population was considered potentially malleable not just theologically but also culturally,⁶³ thus providing a sharp contrast with the obduracy of the Ottomans, who continued to present an immediate and pressing problem, a religious challenge and a military threat, unmitigated, as far as music was concerned, by the material advantages that commerce could bring. It is thus hardly surprising to find, in contrast to the multifarious traces left by the musical contacts and influences that mark both the earlier period of Muslim ascendancy in Spain and, more obviously, the later period of European domination, both that their musical culture is generally considered inferior and that what is taken from them derives above all from the domain of violent conflict: the sounds that percolate are those inescapable on the battlefield, so that the instruments that impress and are urgently sought after are those of the Janissary band, made up of shawms, trumpets and assorted percussion.⁶⁴ A group of three dramatically if improbably flared shawms, with drum, appears at the beginning of the sixteenth century in Carpaccio's *St. George Baptising*, and although the particular source for these is unknown,⁶⁵ representations of the Janissary band appear later, as has been noted above, in sixteenth-century woodcuts, while texts contain descriptions of the main percussion types. As for the instruments themselves, some were obtained as battlefield trophies, others as diplomatic gifts, but however acquired they were to have a profound influence. As with the similar process of acquisition and imitation of Islamic military instruments – percussion in particular – that

⁶¹ See Taylor 2007.

⁶² Torquemada 1615, a work largely relying on sixteenth-century sources. Relevant extracts are given in Harrison 1973.

⁶³ But there was also a recognition that the process might be arduous and that the demonic was not easily overcome: see Tomlinson 1999, repr. in Tomlinson 2007, 197–230 (see 201–4).

⁶⁴ There is no record of European battlefield sounds having any such impact. One may note, however, a pleasant if barely credible story reported by Jean d'Auton (1466–1528) of besieged Turks (during the unsuccessful attack on Mytilene in 1501) listening appreciatively to French musicians performing songs and motets at night under the walls (see Cazaux 2002, 39).

⁶⁵ See Raby 1982, 73 and 76. Ivanoff 1994 suggests, though, that they may be shawms of Dalmatian origin that Carpaccio could have observed.

had occurred earlier during the Crusades,⁶⁶ the Janissary *mehter* was to exert, from the fifteenth century on, a decisive impact on the constitution of European military bands and the kinds of sound they produced. Particularly important was the kettledrum: in 1542 Henry VIII asked for kettledrums to be sent from Vienna, to be played ‘in the Hungarian manner’ – a clear indication of the route through which Ottoman influence was spreading⁶⁷ – and other European nations also began to use them: even the mnemonic syllables used to define sequences of drum strokes may have been transmitted along with them.⁶⁸ Other percussion instruments incorporated into the military band include bass drum, cymbals and Jangling Johnny, and the increasing importance of oboes no doubt reflects the central role in the *mehter* of the *zurna*. Eventually, Jan III Sobieski of Poland (1629–1696) was to be granted a complete *mehter* ensemble by the sultan, other European rulers sought to follow and, as is well known, the eventual infiltration of this particular military soundworld into the realm of European art music was to result in the late eighteenth-century Turkish march style of the Viennese classical school.

More difficult to trace, because undocumented, is the wide area of social contact that includes conflict and capture but goes beyond it to encompass the more peaceful interactions of traders and sailors. We can only guess at the extent of exchange, but must certainly allow for the possibility that material as diverse as lullabies, dance melodies and sea shanties could travel between cultures.⁶⁹ Moreover, musicians are notoriously mobile, and therefore likely conduits for the diffusion of exotic features, although here, too, evidence is disappointingly elusive. One potentially promising case would seem to be that of Giorgio de Modon, alias Zorzi Trombetta,⁷⁰ a fifteenth-century trumpeter who eventually became head of the civic ensemble of Venice, for as well as being a professional musician he was a seafaring man, and thus perfectly positioned to

⁶⁶ See Farmer 1941 and 1949, both repr. in 1997 (679–86 and 693–9 respectively).

⁶⁷ Ibid. See also Farmer 1946, repr. in 1997, 687–92.

⁶⁸ The case for this has been argued in Neubauer 2008. In particular, this draws attention to, and provides an explanation for, the resemblances between the representations of rhythmic groupings given by Thoinot Arbeau in the first part of his *Orchésographie* (fn. 10), which is devoted to military music, and the earlier Islamic formulations, which are most fully expounded by al-Farabi.

⁶⁹ A tantalising hint of such possibilities is provided by Guillaume Joseph Grelot (1680, 226), who describes an impromptu intercultural exchange thus: *Un autre de la bande voyant que nous estions assez pour former une petite dance en rond, commença à entonner une chanson Turque ... & nous mettre en train par la nouveauté de sa chanson; mais après que chacun eût dit la sienne, qui en Turc, qui en Arabe, ils m'obligerent aussi d'en dire une en François; à quoy ayant satisfait, ils se prirent tous à rire si fort de ce qu'ils ne pouvoient répéter ma chanson, comme je répétois la leur, qu'ils aimèrent mieux quitter la dance, & achever la garde au-tour d'un qui prit son taboura, & qui chantoit dessus un air nouveau, que de suivre le mien, & répéter des paroles qu'ils n'entendoient pas.*

⁷⁰ See Strohm and Blackburn 2001, 117–18.

come into contact with practitioners of other traditions and transmit something of what he had heard. But the records he kept suggest that he did nothing of the sort: although he certainly travelled the eastern Adriatic, he was employed entertaining well-to-do Venetians along the coast, and the songs he notated are French, and were clearly not learned in port taverns.

Nevertheless, for all that the documentary record is lacking, it is hardly to be doubted that occasional contacts took place, and it is generally assumed that at least one instrument, the *colascione*, known principally in South Italy and Sicily, was a sixteenth-century borrowing, despite Tinctoris's scorn for Turkish *tanbur* players, of a similar form of Turkish long-necked lute, and where the Turks were a more permanent presence, in the Balkans, such borrowing naturally occurred with greater frequency.⁷¹

Two centuries after Zorzi Trombetta we encounter a much better documented European musician who this time does acquire a mastery of an Ottoman musical idiom, Wojciech Bobowski (1610?–1675). A captive who converted to Islam and is generally known by the name Ali Ufki, he became a member of the Ottoman court ensemble, performing on *santur*, and as he was familiar with notation from his earlier Western musical training he began to record items from both the instrumental and the vocal repertoires.

Figure 7.5, from a manuscript now in the Bibliothèque Nationale,⁷² shows a sample of one of his earlier efforts, with a transliteration of the text and, below, the Arabic script version of the original Ottoman Turkish verse in another hand.⁷³ A second collection, now in the British Library, is much fuller, much more assured. But the point here, rather than to comment on the undoubted importance of this material for the history of Ottoman music, is to note that these manuscripts remained personal documents without repercussions: the second was acquired by John Covel (1638–1722) and was destined after its arrival in London to become part of the Sloane collection and gather dust on library shelves.⁷⁴ To speak of contact in the case of Ali Ufki would thus be a misnomer, and of transfer there is no trace: originating in one musical culture, he was simply ingested by another.⁷⁵

⁷¹ It is interesting to note that Schweigger's material derives from a visit to Belgrade. However, the effects of the Turkish presence in the Balkans lie outside the concerns of the present chapter.

⁷² Ms. Türk 292.

⁷³ A routine bacchic piece beginning *sāqiyā son bāde-ye ḥamrā'i bir nūş edelim* ('Wine pourer, let us just carouse with the last of the red wine').

⁷⁴ British Library Ms. Sloane 3114. See Behar 1991 and Behar 2005, 17–55. The British Library ms. has been published in a rather poor facsimile (Elçin 1976) and in a modern transcription (in Cevher 2003).

⁷⁵ A curious reflection of this enculturation appears in his ascriptions of the melodies of the psalms he translated to Ottoman *makams* (see Behar 1990 and Haug 2010).

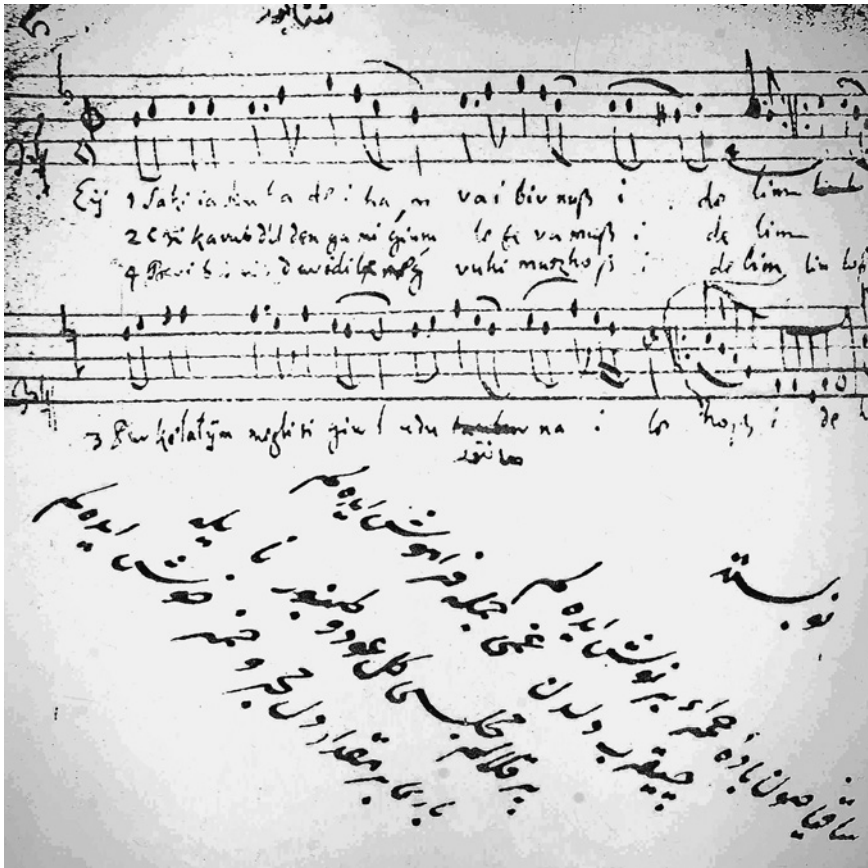


Figure 7.5 Notation of a song from an untitled collection made by Ali Ufki
Source: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms Turc 292. Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

The description of musical activities he includes in his account of the social structure of the Palace, and especially the strict eyes-down etiquette required when the musicians performed in the harem,⁷⁶ was doubtless an exotic element of incidental interest to European readers. But it did not lead them towards any of his own compositions, which are in Ottoman idiom: they were never transmitted to European musicians, and his collections mediated nothing, despite being contemporary with an increasingly common Turkish musical presence on the Italian stage. Representations such as that in Figure 7.6 perpetuated a stereotype

⁷⁶ *Saray-i enderun*. The publication of the original Italian version within Magni 1679 was preceded by a German translation that appeared two years earlier.



Figure 7.6 Burlesque Turks dancing

Source: Lambranzi 1716. Photograph by Glenn Ratcliffe.

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that emerged out of the post-Renaissance evolution of opera, or, to be more specific, the elaborately costumed and choreographed balletic interludes that formed a prominent feature of lavish seventeenth-century productions.

In these, whatever musical codes may have been called upon to signify Turkishness failed to include any direct imitation of elements of Turkish art-music,⁷⁷ and the *alla turca* style as it developed during the eighteenth century conveyed deficiency by the exaggerations and imbalances resulting from a deliberately reductive selection within the range of indigenous resources.⁷⁸ But it could equally be said that crucial to this strategic choice, whatever its ideological import, was lack of access to the original, and at this negative point the gap between musical and visual representations narrows somewhat. For Venice, at least, Raby speaks tellingly of 'the continuing limitations of the Ottoman *exempla* accessible to artists',⁷⁹ thereby resulting in the reduction of representation to types, or to marking identity by the inclusion of elements of a conventional dress code. But perhaps even more telling is the parallel with literature: European writers deployed a particular set of tropes to set the Turk apart, all the while being unable or unwilling to scale the language barrier sufficiently to gain better purchase on their subject. They thus remained profoundly ignorant of Ottoman poetry and the way the *gazel* encapsulated a view of the world and the emotions not fundamentally alien to that found in the Renaissance and mannerist lyric,⁸⁰ while their musical counterparts remained just as unaware of the subtle and complex world of melodic modes and rhythmic cycles that Ottoman composers used for the songs that would be performed in the palace settings typified in Plate 40. European composers contented themselves with incorporating partial and distant impressions or imaginations of the *mehter* sound to develop a parallel set of imaginary representations, bellicose or burlesque. They remained as essentially oblivious, and deaf, to Ottoman art music as Ottoman composers were to European.

⁷⁷ As Cavallini 1986 puts it: *questo tipo di produzione operistica si limita a parodiare il fracasso delle bande giannizzere, evocando sonorità orientali che hanno legami blandi* (or, one might add, none at all) *con le arie turche*.

⁷⁸ On the later development of these conventions see Meyer 1973–1974. As this makes clear, the particular language of musical exoticism involved was one that developed its own conventions, and failed to seek out genuine Turkish material even when more accurate representations began to make themselves available.

⁷⁹ Raby 1982, 83.

⁸⁰ See Andrews and Kalpaklı 2005.



Plate 35 Muslim and Christian musicians playing the same instrument.
Cantigas de Santa Maria for Alfonso X, Spain, thirteenth century.
Madrid, Biblioteca Real, San Lorenzo del Escorial, MS T.I.1.
Courtesy of the Biblioteca Real, San Lorenzo del Escorial.



Plate 36 *Intemperance*, Anon. *Tractatus de septem vitiis*, Genoa, late fourteenth century. London, British Library, Ms Add. 27695, fol. 13r. Copyright of the British Library.

Wright



Plate 37 Fra Angelico (Guido di Pietro), detail of 'Angel beating a drum', from the Linaiuoli Tabernacle, 1433. Florence, Museo di San Marco. Copyright of the Polo Museale della città di Firenze.



Plate 38 Fra Angelico (Guido di Pietro), detail from *Christ Glorified in the Court of Heaven*, 1423–4. London, National Gallery, NG 663.1. © The National Gallery, London.



Plate 39 Depiction of the ending of the dance during a Mevlevi *mukabele* (*Les Dervichs dans leur Temple de Péra, achevant de tourner*), de Ferriol, 1715. Copyright of the British Library.



Plate 40 Detail of musicians from the painting of the circumcison festival of Bayezid and Cihangir, Arifi, *Süleymanname*, Ottoman, 965 AH / 1558 AD. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, H. 1517, fol. 412r. After Atıl 1986, 181, cat. 40.