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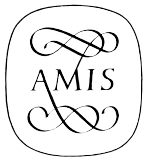

Mehter: Western Perceptions and Imitations*

Harrison Powley

The image of the Turk represented to Europeans from the fourteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries was that of a fierce, heathen infidel. Indeed, the very name of "Turk" brought fear and horror especially to those westerners living on the borders of the Ottoman Empire. Most dreaded of all the Turkish warriors were the Janissaries because of their fanatical and cruel attacks on the Christian population. To the average westerner, however, all Turks were the same. Travelers made no real distinctions about who were the elite troops (Janissaries) or the regular soldiers, and as a result, the terms "Turk" and "Janissary" were synonymous to the average European. Therefore, in searching the early European travel accounts concerning Turkey, the problem of isolating any distinctive influence of the Janissaries as an organization on Turkish military music is manifest. Additionally, late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century European perceptions of the instruments of Turkish military music and Turkish musical elements directly influenced European instruments and culture not only of the time but also of the modern percussion section.

Janissary is a corruption of the Turkish *yeniçeri*, signifying the "new troops." In a footnote to Pietro delle Valle's *Travels in Persia*, John Pinkerton, editor of *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World* writes, "This word [Janissary] is constantly written thus; it should be *Yeni cheri*, as pronounced in Turkey, the meaning a new soldier. The Germans not having in their language the sound of *ch*, substitute an *s*, and pronounce it *Yeniseri* or *sari*, spelling it with a J, sounded by them a Y with us. Retaining the German spelling, the word is consequently but improperly pronounced by us [as] Janissary."[1]

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1. Pietro delle Valle, *Travels in Persia*, In *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World*, ed. John Pinkerton (London: 1811), 11:90. See also Ralf Martin Jäger, "Janitscharenmusik," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Sachteil*, 2nd ed., 17 Zvols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1996), cols. 1316–29 and Michael Pirker, "Janissary Music [Turkish Music]," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., 29 vols. (London: Macmillan, 2001), 12:801–3 for excellent summaries and bibliographies.

As an elite corps, the Janissaries were created during the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Orkhan (1326–1359). They were originally young male prisoners, who, after several years of working at menial tasks and learning Turkish, were brought back to the sultan's court as his loyal slaves, the *yeniçeri* or new troops. In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the Turks began to levy tribute upon conquered peoples in the Balkan region. Part of the forced tribute (later known as *devshirme*) consisted of Christian boys to fill the ranks of the Janissaries. Christian parents often viewed this system of slavery or the levying of Christian boys as tribute as a privilege, since it provided a means for their children to rise to power and influence in the Ottoman government. The Ruling Institution of the sultan excluded freeborn Muslims, thus preventing family dynasties. Consequently, the court slaves (converted Christians), including the Janissaries, ruled the empire. The system worked well, especially during the reign of a strong sultan, e.g., Suleiman I (1520–1566), but it broke down during the seventeenth century when freeborn Muslim Turks entered the state service. Nepotism flourished as the vitality of the empire languished from the concessions of weak sultans more interested in the *harem* than the battlefield.

Janissary corps also became so inbred that even the sultan feared their unity of purpose and military power. The corps revolted frequently under the pretext of claiming an accession gift that, on their enthronement, the sultans used to distribute to their troops. Symbolic of their revolt was the over turning of the large bronze cauldron (*kazan*) around which they assembled not only for meals but also to take council. The "kettles" became symbols of military pride and their loss in battle was a disgrace. Legend records that they beat on them as drums with wooden spoons.[2]

2. Symbolic of a revolt was the overturning of the great bronze cauldron (*kazan*) around which they assembled not only for meals but also to take counsel. It is hard to say exactly when these "kettles" began to play such an important part in the history of the corps. They came by degrees to be symbolic of military pride, and their loss in battle was considered a disgrace. Alexander Hidden, an early twentieth-century writer on Turkey of varying reliability, says, "they were used as drums, beating on them with wooden spoons thus giving rise to the word kettledrum." (Alexander W. Hidden, *The Ottoman Dynasty* [New York: Nicholas Hidden, 1912], 14). For more on the cauldron and spoon reference, see Rob Cook, *Rebates*, no. 23 Summer 2002. Avedis Zildjian's father Kerope I was the cauldron maker to the sultan (Avedis' famous formula for the mixture of metals used in cymbal making was discovered about 1623). It would seem that the instrument derived from this family of cauldron makers.

"Janissary music" is a western designation for Turkish military music or *mehter* that focuses emphasis on the military organization of the Janissaries and its music. Contemporaries called the late eighteenth-century imitation of this musical style "Turkish music." Current scholarly studies prefer Turkish military music or *mehter* to Janissary music.[3] The vast majority of early travelers were not trained musicians; consequently, they usually mention music with other events. These literary references to *mehter* are not always as specific as would be ideal, but by careful selection, an accurate reconstruction of *mehter* though western eyes can be attempted.

The earliest references in European literature to *mehter* appear in accounts of the crusaders confronting Muslim armies. Western observers have described *mehter* with varying degrees of accurateness since the Crusades in the twelfth century. Typically, the Turkish musicians played continually before and throughout the battle while gathered in front of their leaders' standard to give more confidence to their own soldiers and to frighten the Christians. Geoffrey de Vinsauf furnishes the following emblematic vivid descriptions of *mehter*:

> [1188 CE]. The Turkish army appears around on every side with trumpets, drums, and horrid clang, ready to attack.
>
> [1191 CE] In front came certain of their [Turkish] admirals, as it was their duty, with clarions and trumpets; some had horns, others pipes and timbrels, gongs, cymbals, and other instruments, producing a horrible noise and clamour. The earth vibrated from the loud and discordant sounds, so that the crash of thunder could not be heard amidst the tumultous noise of horns and trumpets. They did this to excite their spirit and courage, for the more violent the clamour became, the more bold were they for the fray.[4]

3. In Turkish, *mehter* is the old name for the military band that played during war or peace in the Ottoman Empire the music is called *mehter* music. *Mehterhane* is the place at the palace where the *mehter* musicians performed. In the western literature the military band is often referred to, with variations, as *tablhane* or *nakkarehane* and later as *mehterhane*. Oransay lists five main types of instruments as comprising the *mehter*: *zurn* (oboe or shawm), *boru* (trumpet), *zil* (cymbals), *davul* (drum), and *kös* (large brass kettledrum). He writes that Turkish military music was "performed outdoors for festive processions and military campaigns, for sporting events and enjoyment, and for state acts and signals." Gültekin Oransay, *Die traditionelle türkische Kunstmusik* (Ankara: Küg Veröffentlichung, 1965), 6.

4. Geoffrey de Vinsauf, "Itinerary of Richard I and Others to the Holy Land," in *Chronicles of the Crusades* (London: H. G. Bohn, 1848), 97, 234–35.

A miniature in a 1237 manuscript depicts two long trumpets and a pair of mounted kettledrums along with battle flags and standards (fig. 1).[5] In another example, in his *Life of Saint Louis,* Jean de Joinville describes meeting the armies of the Sultan of Cairo at the Egyptian coastal city of Damietta in the spring of 1248: "It was a sight to enchant the eye, for the sultan's arms were all of gold, and where the sun caught them they shone resplendent. The din this army made with its kettledrums and Saracen horns was terrifying to hear."[6] The persistent conflicts between the Ottoman Empire and western Europeans led to the adoption of several military percussion instruments, especially the large Turkish-style kettledrums (*kös*) and cymbals (*zil*), into western military music. Large kettledrums were the prerogatives of the Ottoman sultan's elite military or Janissary guard. In battle, capturing the Turkish kettledrums was a source of pride. By the early fifteenth century, western nobles were entitled to employ military kettledrums and trumpets. Even cities could obtain this right.

The year 1289 is the traditional date given for an organized *mehter* when the first *mehter* (evidently made up of only doubled-headed drums [*davul*] and kettledrums [*nakkara*]) was sent as a present to Osman Ghazi.[7] Accounts of *mehter* are often sketchy and inaccurate because most of the writers were not musicians nor were they schooled in the cultures they were describing. The early accounts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, are not colored by the eighteenth-century European imitations of *mehter.*

Accounts of the siege of Constantinople in 1453 are numerous. One found in several Russian chronicles, written by an anonymous Greek, reports that when the Emperor Constantine ordered all the bells of the city rung as an alarm to the citizens of the oncoming Turkish attack, the Turks answered with the sound of the horns, trumpets, and many kettledrums.[8]

During the sixteenth century, European travelers visited the Ottoman Empire, then at the height of its power, some of whom describe *mehter.*

5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS arabe 5847, fol. 19r reprinted by Gunther Joppig, "Alla turca: Orientalismen in der europäischen Kunstmusik vom 17. bis 19. Jahrhundert," in *Europa und der Orient, 800–1900,* ed. Gereon Sievernich and Hendrik Budde (Berlin: Bertelsmann Lexikon Verlag, 1989), 297.

6. Jean, sire de Joinville and Geoffroi de Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusades,* trans. M. R. B. Shaw (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963), 201.

7. Karl Signall, "Mozart and the Mehter." *Consort,* no. 24 (1967): 310–22.

8. Maxim Braun and Alfons Maria Schneider, *Bericht über die Eroberung Konstantinopels* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1943), 8–9.

FIGURE 1. *Makamen of Hariri*, 1237 C. E. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, MS Arabe 5847, fol. 19r. Mounted Turkish military musicians. 2 *boru*, 1 *nakkara*. Reproduced with permission. See color photo p. 204.

Many were not musicians or even scholars but noblemen and ambassadors in the service of kings. Sometimes these travelers reported what they saw and heard; often they reported what they thought their court wanted to hear. They seldom fully understood the various cultures that they visited. Their statements, however, not colored by European imitations of *mehter,* are, therefore, more accurate than those of the late eighteenth century that scholars have usually quoted in the nineteenth-century encyclopedias and histories of music.

An early such account mentioning the size of the Turkish military band is found in *Libri tre belle cose de Turchi* (1534), attributed to the Italian, Benedetto Ramberto. This source, a list of pay rates for Ottoman army personnel during Suleiman's reign, is important because he describes a *mehter* of 200 mounted and walking trumpeters and drummers led by the bearer of the sultan's standard.

> A *Mihter-bashi,* or chief of trumpeters and drummers. He has thirty [aspers] per day, and under him two hundred *Mihters,* part of them on foot and part on horseback with three to five aspers per day.
>
> An *Emir Alem Agha,* who carries the standard of the Signor [Sultan]. He has two hundred aspers a day, and is captain of all the musicians.[9]

Although this source is not specific regarding actual instruments, it does refer to brass and percussion, the size of the ensemble, the existence of mounted and musicians on foot, and the important statement that the bearer of the sultan's standard was in charge of the musicians.

The mid sixteenth-century French voyager, Nicholas Nicholay, while not specifically mentioning the military music of the Turks, relates that some tribute boys, *azamoglans,* played instruments as personal slaves of the sultan:

> The finest of these Azamoglans are kept prettily apparelled [*sic*], according to their fashion and, although they have no skill in the art of music, they do nevertheless, give themselves to play on divers instruments, and most commonly; going in the streets, they do sound upon a thing very like unto a cittern, which they call tambora to which sound they accord their voices, with

9. Benedetto Ramberto, quoted in Albert Howe Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913), 252.

> such ill-favoured and unpleasant harmony, that it were bad enough to make a goat dance.[10]

The tambora (*tambur*) referred to is most likely the two-stringed Turkish *pandore*.[11] Nicholay recorded his impressions of music very unlike the late Renaissance polyphony of his native France. Moreover, since the Turkish Empire in the sixteenth century was a vital force in European politics, we would expect a strong criticism of *mehter* from Nicholay.

In 1553, Pierre Belon gives a complete account of a *mehter* comprising two types of drums (pairs of kettledrums made of brass [*nakkara*] and a large drum [*davul*]) and oboes (*zurna*). He may be the first to describe the manner of playing the *davul*: the right hand, holding a curved stick, plays accented beats while the left, holding "une vergette deliée" (a thin switch or bundle of rods), plays more rapidly. On the large drum, the right hand plays the accented beats with a heavy stick, while the left, using a brush or switch, strikes the unaccented beats. The difference of accent resulting from the two types of sticks gives the music its rhythmical pulse. He also mentions the oboe (*zurna*) and small kettledrums (*nakkara*)—cylindrical, single headed, and made of brass—which were played in pairs, the two drums being unequal in size. This account by Belon furnishes much eyewitness information (fig. 2):

> I saw [the Turks] evening and morning playing on the drums and making a marvelous song with the oboes. They have two types of drums, small ones, carried on horseback covered only at one end [*nakkara*]. The others [*davul*] are larger, with [drum] heads on both ends. They, however, do not beat them with short [drum] sticks nor carry them slung from the neck as we do. [The drums] rest on the ground and they beat them by striking both ends, right and left. In the right hand they hold a curved stick, snubbed like a ball [on one end], striking the right drumhead. In the left hand, they hold a small, frayed switch that they beat more often than the right hand. The small pair of drums [*nakkara*] is quite easy to carry on horseback. The bowls are of brass, and one is always smaller than the other is. To play them the drummer must crouch on the ground, or set them on something.

10. Nicholas Nicolay, "The Navigations, Peregrinations and Voyages made into Turkey (ca. 1552)," trans. T. Washington, in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, ed., Thomas Osborne (London: Thomas Osborne, 1745), 1:597.

11. Ewily Çheleb, *Turkish Instruments of Music in the Seventeenth Century (Siyahat nama)*, trans. and ed. with notes by Henry George Farmer (Glasgow: Civic Press, 1937), 35 and Filippo Bonanni, *The Showcase of Musical Instruments*. 152 Plates from the *Gabinetto Armonico*, ed. Frank Harrison and Joan Rimmer (New York: Dover, 1964), no. 49.

FIGURE 2. *Sur-name-i Vehbi* by Abdülcelil (Levni) ca. 1720 C. E. Istanbul, Library of the Topkapi Seraglio Museum, III. A. 3593, fol. 171b. *Mehter* on horseback. 8 *zurna*, 5 *nakkara*. Permission applied for.

> The Arabs taught the Turks to play the oboes with the drums, a very good custom in war or peace. They require every sanjak [a district] to have oboe [*zurna*] players and drummers, especially if there are castles to protect. The oboes are short, with wide bells, and have a very glaring sound. They can quite easily carry them on horseback and perform well with the two types of drums.[12]

This passage details the use of mounted bands and drums. Since the passage does not describe a battle scene, this may account for the omission of brass instruments. Belon describes the oboes, piercing in sound, playing with the drums. Whether or not Turkish instruments have their origins from Arabian influences deserves further investigation but is beyond the scope of this study.

The letters of Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq (1522–1592), Habsburg emperor Ferdinand I's ambassador to Suleiman in 1554, make for interesting reading.[13] Although well educated and a traveled courtier, he neglects to mention music but deals primarily with social and political customs. The letters, however, provide valuable background on the reign of Suleiman I and the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century. Inexplicably, Busbecq fails to mention an episode that took place a short time before his arrival in Constantinople. Michael Praetorius records the incident:

12. "Je les oyais soir et matin sonnant les tambourins, et faisant une merveilleuse mélodie, accordant ensemble avec les hautebois. Ils ont deux sortes de tambourins, dont y en a des petits, qui se peuvent porter à cheval, et qui ne sont enfoncés que d'un bout. Les autres sont plus grands, enfoncés par les deux bouts; mais ils n'usent pas de courts bâtons à les battre comme nous faisons: et aussi ne les portent pendus au col, ains en les battant sont appuyés contre terre, et en les battant frappent les deux bouts à dextre et à senestre. Car de la main dextre ils tiennent un bâton courbe comme camus en façon de billard, frappant le fond du tambourin à dextre, et en l'autre main senestre tiennent une vergette déliée qui redouble plus souvent que la main dextre.

Le tambourin qui est double est moult facile à porter à cheval, dont le fût est d'airain, et il y en a tousjours un plus petit que l'autre; et faut que le tambourisseur soit courbé contre terre en les battant, ou bien qu'il les ait appuyés quelque part. . . . Les Arabes ont appris les Turcs à sonner des hautbois avec les tambourins, qui est moult bonne manière tant en temps de querre que la paix. Il n'y a sangiac qui ne soit tenu d'avoir des joueurs de tels hautbois, et aussi de tambourins, et principalment là où il y a châteaux à garder. Les hautbois sont courts, mais larges par bas, et font bruit moult éclatant. Ils se peuvent facilement porter à cheval, et accorder avec les deux espèces de tambourins." *Voyage au Levant: Les observations de Pierre Belon du Mans de plusieurs, singularités et choses mémorables, trouvées en Grèce, Turquie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie, et autres pay éstranges (1553)*, ed. Alexandra Merle (Paris: Chandeigne, 2001), 463.

13. Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselinde de Busbecq*, trans. Edward Seymour Forster (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), 8–9.

> Francis I of France sent a special gift to the Turkish butcher Suleiman at the start of his tyrannical reign [1520]. It was a large and costly musical instrument [an organ], and with it he sent enough men to carry it, and a number of selected performers—skilled players all of them. The Turks thought it altogether marvellous, and the Turkish king himself found its music very pleasant and agreeable. Soon afterwards, however, the people began to flock keenly—too keenly, as he thought—to Constantinople, in order to hear the delightful foreign music; they began to develop a remarkable affection for the new art; and the Turkish king became afraid that his people on this account would lay aside their degraded barbarism and become civilized—soft and effeminate, as he alleged—so he had the magnificent instrument smashed and burnt, and sent the musicians back to the French king.[14]

Praetorius also describes the Turkish rituals of circumcision for both Turkish children and converted Muslims. Military instruments played the music for these ceremonies because the ordinances required public parades held outdoors. The noisy, military music of the Turks was the music by which Europeans judged all "Turkish music." Praetorius was not impressed and described it as wretched (*lumpen*) (fig. 3):

> When the children of the Turkish king or of some other eminent person are to be circumcised, a procession is arranged as follows.
>
> First of all, two Turks ride in front, one with a military drum and the other with a shawm; then come some splendidly-arrayed knights, followed by two more musicians like the first. Behind them is led an ox with gilded horns, decked with scented herbs; this is followed by a large company of knights. Then come more musicians and another ox, as before, followed by some eminent nobles and knights. Behind them comes a full-dress company of janizaries on foot, among whom is the nobleman's son who is to be circumcised. A large band of musicians brings up the rear, playing drums and shawms, and follows right to the church.
>
> When a Christian has decided to become a Muslim, and to be circumcised, he is mounted on a fine horse and led through the whole town to the sound of shawms and drums. Even today, this wretched music is highly esteemed by the Turks, whereas our music is despised as worthless.[15]

Other seventeenth-century chronicles expand understanding of the Turkish military band, such as the writings of Ewliya Çhelebi (1611–ca. 1669), particularly valuable since Çhelebi was a musician. He describes or mentions some seventy-six instruments known in Turkey in the seventeenth century. Henry George Farmer, translator and commentator, notes that

14. Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum II: De organographia [1619]*, trans., and ed. David Z. Crookes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 6.

15. Ibid.

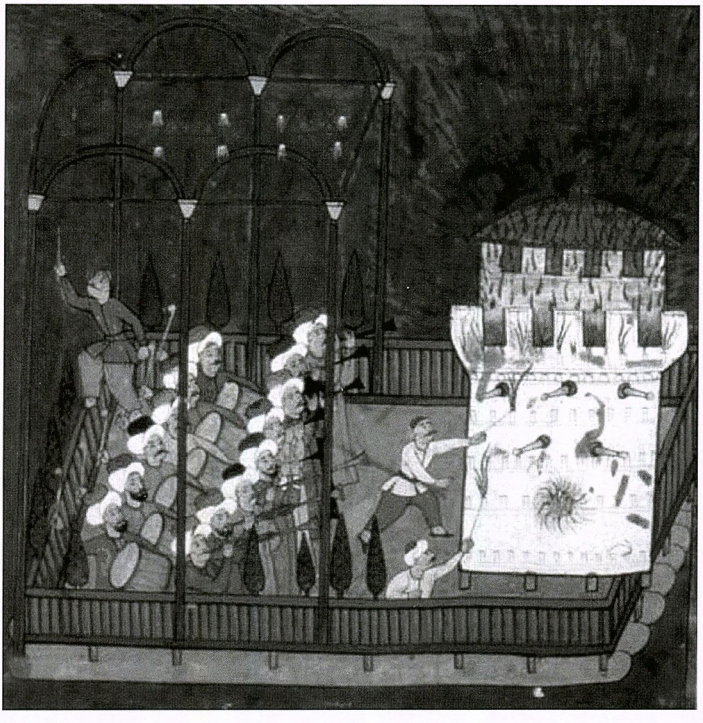

FIGURE 3. *Sur-name-I Vehbi*, by Abdülcelil (Levni) ca. 1720 C. E. Istanbul, Library of the Topkapi Seraglio Museum, III. A. 3593, fol. 113a (detail). Standing *mehter* performing the circumcision ceremony of the son of Sultan Ahmed III (1673–1730), detail. 3 *boru*, 5 *zurna*, 6 *duval*. Permission applied for. See color photo p. 205.

here we have not only the most exhaustive list of Turkish instruments of music that has come down to us, but a complete census of both makers and players based directly upon the *Awsaf-i Kustantiniya* ("Praises of Constantinople"), a description of the city made in the year 1638 by order of the sultan which includes an account of every building in the city.[16]

16. Çheleb, 6.

Unfortunately, he does not give the exact instrumentation of a military band. From a reference to the prohibition of music by the Prophet Mohammed (d. 632) and the subsequent lifting of the ban on certain instruments for the sultan's own use, one can presume they were also used in warfare since all the sultans through Suleiman I personally led their armies into battle.[17] Of the instruments allowed, the earliest travelers have already described the *zurna, boru,* and *tabl* as part of the military band. The *ney, rabab,* and *tef* are instruments more appropriate to art music. Çhelebi provides an accurate standard by which they may measure the European accounts. Alexander Pallis, in his condensation of Çhelebi's *Siyahat nama* misleads the reader by his translation of *zurna* as fife.[18] The *zurna* was neither a fife nor a flute but an oboe-like instrument with a hard double reed.

The importance of music at public functions in Constantinople is seen in a reference to the official use of the Turkish military band. Çhelebi's description of a great procession held in 1638 attests to a rich musical tradition. He, however, may exaggerate the size of the musical organization beyond the limits of possibility:

> The five hundred trumpeters raise such a din that Venus begins to dance and the skies resound. . . . All these players of the drum [*davul*], kettledrum [*nakkara*], and rattle [*çalpara*] march past together, beating their different kinds of drums in a rhythmic unison.[19]

The exact position of the Turkish military band at the sultan's court is clarified by the defense that was argued before the sultan by the musician's guild. In their dispute with the guild of architects, the chief of the musicians retorted:

> And we are most necessary to the Emperor's magnificence, pomp and majesty, for wheresoever [he] goes we accompany Him with drums and fifes [i.e., *zurna*], inspiring the hosts of Islam with courage by the noise of our kettledrums. Should the Emperor happen to have a fit of melancholy, it is we who cheer him by the skill of our musical performances. . . . We are a gay,

17. "During the Prophet's lifetime music was forbidden, but permission was granted to kings to use the *zurna* (oboe), *boru* (clarion), *tabl* (drum), *tef* (tambourine), *qudum* (kettledrum), *ney* (flute), and *rabab* (viol)." Ibid., 12.

18. Alexander Pallis, *In the Days of the Janissaries* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1951), 183.

19. Ibid., 181. The rattle *chaghana,* often confused with the horsetail standard of the sultan, was a staff from which bells and small cymbals were hung, corrupted in the nineteenth century in English to "Jingling Johnnie," the conductor's baton still used in modern marching bands.

> jolly set of fellows, whereas the guilds over which the Chief Architect has authority are composed of Armenian, Greek and Albanian infidels. Therefore, may it please Your Gracious Majesty not to grant them precedence over us Musicians, to our humiliation, but to consider that wheresoever the Prophet's standard goes, the Turkish drum follows close behind.[20]

The English reported their observations in all parts of the world in many volumes of travel accounts. Because of the prosperity enjoyed by the British Empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, several merchants and ambassadors provide descriptions of Turkey and its military music. Henry Blount's *A Voyage into the Levant* (1634) furnishes an early insight to the way the Turks created their melodies. He describes the cymbals (*zil*) used by the military band. Blount calls them "brass dishes." Additionally, he infers the approximate size and instrumentation of a mounted Turkish military band: "then the *basha* [local ruler] takes horse, before whom ride a dozen or more, who, with ugly drums, brass dishes, and wind instruments, noise along most part of the journey."[21]

John Covel (1638–1722), traveler and chaplain to the English embassy in Constantinople, gives another view of Turkish musical life during the seventeenth century. Since Covel's diary was not published until 1893, his reference to *mehter* has been excluded from the nineteenth-century histories,[22] and even in the twentieth century, his observations were generally unknown. A contemporary reference to Corel by Sir George Wheeler states: "Dr. Covel, then chaplain to his Majesty's ambassador there, amongst many curiosities shewed us some Turkish songs set to musick; which he told us were, bothe for sense and music, very good: but past our understanding."[23] Unfortunately, he does not include the songs in his diary. Covel, however, does describe *mehter* very precisely (fig. 4).

> 1st, there are trumpets, which come in onely now and then to squeel out a loud note or two, but never play a whole tune. 2nd, pipers—their pipe is much the same as our treble shaurne [shawm] or Hooboy; these play continually without any pause. 3rd, great drums [*davul*] but not bract [metal-plated] as oures, nor corded at the bottom; they beat them at both ends, the top with the right hand with a great stick at ever long or leading note, the

20. Ibid., 182.

21. Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant, 1634*. Vol. 15: *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World, etc.*, ed. John Pinkerton (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, 1811), 227.

22. John Covel, "Diary" (1670–1679), in *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, ed. James Theodore Bent (London: Hakluyt Society, 1893).

23. Ibid., quoted by Bent, xxvii.

FIGURE 4. *Sur-name-i Vehbi* by Abdülcelil (Levni) ca. 1720 C. E. Istanbul, Library of the Topkapi Seraglio Museum, III. A. 3593, fol. 172a. *Mehter* on horses and camels. 8 *davul*, 6 *zil*, 6 *boru*, 3 *kös*. Permission applied for.

> bottom with a little [stick] in their left hand at every small or passing note; these have their pauses often.. 4thly, little kettle or dish drums [*nakkara*] (for they have both) dissonant one to the other, for they are in paires; these rest sometime likewise. 5^{thly}, they have 2 brasse platters about foot wide, which they hang loose in their hands, and clatter them one against the other.
>
> I am very inclinable to believe all this Musick old, and mention'd in Scripture. These last either [*sic*] were the cymbals mention'd in Chron 15, 1.9.[24]

This account of the military music is revealing in at least two particulars. First, the Turkish trumpet was not a melodic instrument. Thus, *mehter* did not feature fanfare or bugle call elements. Later writers also emphasize this and usually state that *mehter* sounded in unison or octaves. The second point is that Covel, a scholar, identified the cymbals by name. Blount calls them only "brass dishes." During the sixteenth century they seem to have been forgotten in Europe, although there is no reason to suppose that the Turkish armies did not continue to use them. Many later accounts refer to them only by their Turkish name *zil*.

In Europe, the practical knowledge of the cymbals had been lost. The classical and biblical references were all that remained. Mersenne, one of the earliest to describe European percussion instruments, uses the term cymbal to represent a triangle.[25] He also understood, however, the ancient usage of the cymbal, i.e., a metal disc. Yet, it seems during the early part of the seventeenth century the word cymbal meant triangle.

James Grassineau's *Musical Dictionary* (London, 1740), the English translation of Sebastian Brossard's *Dictionnaire de musique* (1703), defines several types of cymbals, including the triangular type described by Mersenne:

> Cymbal—a musical instrument among the ancients. . . . The *cymbal* was of brass like our kettle-drum, and as some think in their form, though smaller and its use different. . . .
>
> In effect, the ancient Cymbals appear to have been very different from our Kettle-drums in form and use; to their exterior cavity, was fastened a handle. . . .
>
> They were struck one against another in a cadence, and made a very acute sound. Their invention is attributed to *Cybele,* whence they were used in

24. Ibid., 211–12.

25. Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* [1635], trans. Roger E. Chapman (The Hague: Martinus Nyhoff, 1957), 547–48.

> feasts and sacrifices; setting aside these occasions, they were seldom used but by dissolute and effeminate people.
>
> The Jews had their *Cymbals,* or at least such instruments as the *Greek* and *Latin* translators render *Cymbals,* but as to their matter, form, etc. the critics are still in the dark.
>
> The modern Cymbal is a paultry instrument, chiefly in use among vagrants and gypsies; it consists of a steel wire in a triangular form, whereon are passed five ring, which are touched and shifted along the triangle with an iron rod, held in the left hand, but it is supported in the right hand by a ring to give it freer motion.[26]

The terminological confusion of the cymbal as a triangle is odd, although it most likely has no bearing on the question of how the triangle, never a Turkish instrument, became so firmly established in the European version of "Turkish music."

In support of Covel's observations, a courtier from the court of Louis XIV, Laurent d'Arvieux, mentions the cymbals and supplements understanding of the function of the trumpet. About a march of the sultan, which he probably heard in Constantinople, he writes:

> This march was performed by fifteen drums, fifteen oboes, fifteen trumpets, three pairs of kettledrums and as many cymbals. They splendidly mounted all these instrumentalists. Except the trumpets all played continually, and [per]formed a concert [that was] equally warlike and tuneful.[27]

This source indicates the exact instrumentation of a mounted Turkish military band, comprising fifty-one musicians. Covel also describes a mounted military band of thirty-four performers that he saw on a parade in Adrianople on 10 June 1675: "After the Testerdor [Lord Treasurer] rode [by], his musick [passed by:] 12 pipes [*zurna*], as many drums [*davul*], 6 trumpets [*boru*], four cymbalists [*zil*], all on horseback."[28] Ralf Martin Jäger's unpublished paper, "The Embassy of Kara Mehmed Pasha

26. James Grassineau, *A Musical Dictionary* (London: J. Wilcox, 1740), 49–50. For a similar definition see Johann Gottfried Walter, *Musikalisches Lexikon oder musikalische Bibliothek* (Leipzig: W. Deer, 1732), 197.

27. "Cette marche etoit fermée par quinze Tambours, quinze Hautbois, quinze Trompettes, trois pairesde Timballes, et autant de Cimballes. Tous ces. joueurs d'Instrumens etoient parfaitement bien montés; excepté les Trompettes, tous les autres jouoient sans interruption, et formoient unconcert egalement guerrier et melodieux." Laurent d'Arvieux, *Mémoires du chevalier d'Arvieux* (ca. 1670), ed. J. B. Labat (Paris: C. J. B. Delespine, 1735), 4: 548–49.

28. Covel, 238.

to Vienna in the Year 1665," documents the entry procession on 8 June 1665 by the Turkish ambassador and his *mehter* into the Habsburg capital accompanied by imperial trumpeters and kettle drummers from three perspectives: imperial archival documents, Çhelebi's travel account, and the Turkish ambassador's report to Constantinople.[29] The entry procession is unique because of the political tensions between the two empires (fig. 5).

Battle accounts of the siege of Vienna in 1683 do not provide significant new information concerning *mehter.* The account by an Italian, Jeremias Cacavelos, is typical of the European battlefield chronicles. That the Turkish Empire no longer influenced the politics of Eastern Europe nor brought fear to the defenders is evident in the manner and style of this report:

> [The Janissaries] captured the new ravelin [fortification] . . . immediately raising above it 13 colours, playing their pipes, dancing, and as usual making great demonstrations of joy. . . . The rest continued their attack on the curtain; from which they were subsequently beaten off not without a little loss, and they no longer continued to beat their drums and to rejoice on the ravelin, for those within, made a good mine, and on their immediately setting fire to it, it blew all the Janissaries and their colours into the air, together with their pipes so that not one escaped.[30]

Giovanni Battista Donado, writing in Venice in 1668, includes a brief discussion of Turkish military and art music in his *Della letteratura de' Turchi:*

> Truly their general and ordinary music suffers from noisiness, since the Turkish nation is warlike, and since the Pashas are obliged to maintain at their courts and in their service some thirty-six instruments, these consisting mostly of military instruments, as drums and kettledrums, trumpets, shawms,

29. Jäger, "The Embassy of Kara Mehmed Pasha to Vienna in the Year 1665: The Music of the *Mehterhane* at the Turkish Legations and its Meaning" (unpublished paper, Münster, 2009).

30. Jeremias Cacavelos, *The Siege of Vienna by the Turks in 1683,* trans. F. H. Marshal (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925), 83 (first published in 1683). Paul Rycaut, *History of the Turks beginning with the Year 1679* (London, 1700), 107, cites what appears to be the identical incident: "Siege of Vienna, July, 1683. On the 26th the Turks designing to make a furious Assault, caused all their warlike Musick, such as Flutes, Cymbals, and brass Trumpets, which gave a shrill Sound, to play with their highest Notes, to encourage their Soldiers to make the onset; but just as they were beginning, the Besieged gave Fire to a Mine, which made many of the *Turks* to take capers and frisks in the Air, according to the Measures of their Musick."

FIGURE 5. *Sur-name-i Vehbi* by Abdülcelil (Levni) ca. 1720 C. E. Istanbul, Library of the Topkapi Seraglio Museum, III. A. 3593, fol. 116a. Standing and sitting *mehter* performing for a wrestling match. 7 *zurna*, 4 *nakkara*, 5 *davul*, 4 *boru*. Permission applied for.

> flutes, but with these a few pipes, little fifes of several sorts, very delicate, various stringed instruments, among these some of metal and one the same as our psaltery.[31]

The inclusion of the flute as a military instrument may be Donado describing two different sized *zurna.* He omits cymbals from his list; perhaps the band he heard had none. He also explains the Turkish practice of learning the melodies by rote because he has seen no written music.[32] Appended to his discussion of "Turkish music" are several melodies that he, evidently, wrote down from memory. They are not Turkish military tunes but art songs.

During the eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire declined politically and culturally. The splendor of the East no longer impressed the later European travelers, who instead wrote of the decadence and ostentatious court of the sultan. The following accounts of the Turkish military band reflect this change of perspective that aided the adoption of certain elements of the "Turkish" style into European military bands. One of the earliest of these works is by an Italian, Count Luigi Ferdinand Marsigli. His volumes are among the most reliable of their type because he had been a prisoner of war for several years, giving him unusual opportunities to observe and appreciate the Turkish military establishment. Marsigli's *Stato militare dell'imperio ottomano,* written about the same time as Donado's book but not published until 1732, gives a comprehensive account of the Turkish military. His inventory of instruments used in the mounted band is generally assumed by later sources to be authoritative. Chapter 15 of Book 2, "On Military Musical Instruments," a late seventeenth-century catalogue, describes these instruments:

> The Turks employ in their army wind and percussion sounds by the following various and diverse types of instruments, which with one exception serve more often for ceremonial pomp than for military use. I represent these in Table XVIII [fig. 6].
>
> Of percussion, they have two types of DRUMS, and an instrument consisting of two metal plates.

31. "Veramente le musiche loro universali, e ordinarie, risentono dello strepitoso, essendo che la Turca Natione è fatta con la guerra, e che alli Bassa resta ingionto l'obligo di tener nella loro Corte, e per il suo servitio almeno trenta sei instrumenti, e consistendo questi nel maggior numero militari, come Tamburi, e Timpani, Trombe, piffari, f'lauti; tutavia vi uniscono. anco alcune Fistule, piccioli Pifferi di più sorti, delicati assai, varij strumenti da corde, trà quali di metallo e anco lo stesso Salterio." Giovanni Battista Donado, *Della letteratura de' Turchi* (Venice: Andrea Poletti, 1688), 131.

32. Ibid., 132–33.

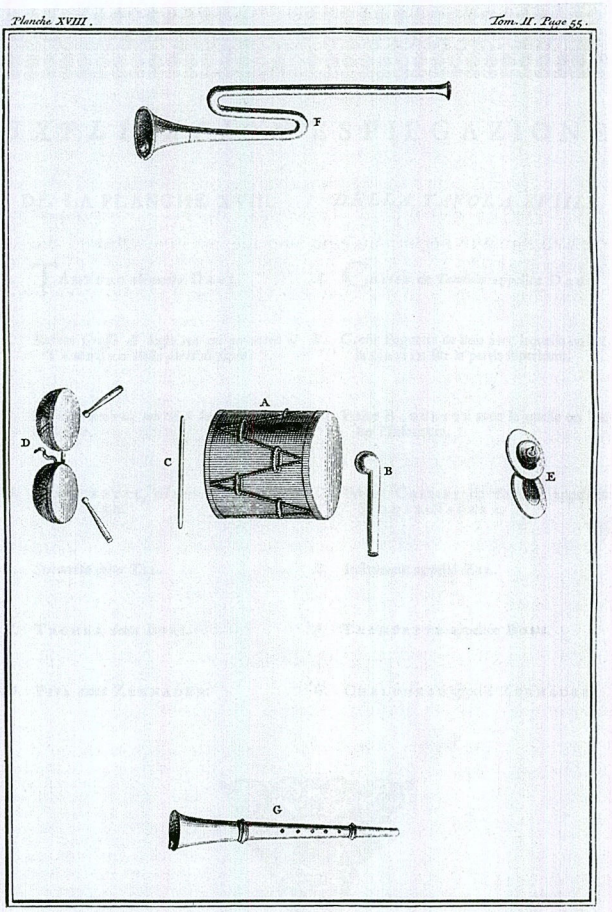

FIGURE 6. Marsigli, *Stato militare dell'imperio Ottomano.* Pl. XVIII, 2:55. *Mehter* instruments: A. Drum called *davul;* B. Large beater for the top head of the *davul*; C. Small beater for the bottom head of the *davul*; D. Small drums called *sardar-nakkara*; E. Instrument called *zil* [cymbals]; F. Trumpets called *boru*; G. Reed pipe called *zurna.*

Of winds, they have a curled metal TRUMPET and a wooden shawm.

The larger drum, called *DAVUL*, is three feet tall, and the drummers carry it on horseback with a shoulder strap covered in red fabric. A boxwood club in the shape shown strikes the upper side. A thin stick strikes on the lower, the drummer giving in alternation and together strokes on the one and the other and with the art of pleasing gravity. It is the only one that serves also as large DRUMS when the Turkish army goes to meet its enemies, playing and shouting *JEGDER-ALLA*—that is, "God is good."

The two LITTLE DRUMS are a mark of honor for the Pasha's family and serve as a signal to begin marching, and they go very well with the musical concert call *SARDAR NAKKARA*. Pashas of two tails have two players of these LITTLE DRUMS, who hold them on either side of the saddle and beat them as we do.

There enters into this concert the instrument called *ZIL* made of two concave plates of thin metal, resonant, which at the convex peak has two small leather loops into which two or they can insert three fingers of each hand, and with these they can be comfortably struck together, creating in the concert an excellent silvery effect. The Pashas of three tails have two players of these.

Wind instruments are of two types and different materials. The very long metal TRUMPET, like ours, as shown in the diagram, which has the name *BORU* is played on horseback. The Pasha of three tails has seven of them.

The SHAWM is of wood with five finger holes, in the form shown in the diagram, with the name of *ZURNADER*, and its players are on horseback. A Pasha of three tails has five of them [(fig. 7)].

This whole concert together would be tiresome to the ear were it not eased by the grace of the great DRUM [*DAVUL*], with which it can create a pleasing concert.[33]

33. Capitolo XV / Degl' Instrumenti Musici Militari / I Turchi praticano nè loro Esserciti suoni da Fiato, e da Percosse nelle varie, e diverse susseguenti forme di stromenti, che alla riserva di uno, servono piu tosto per il piu volte esclamato fasto, che per uso Militare, i quali esprimo nella Tavola XVIII.

Da Percossa anno due sorti di TAMBURI, come un Istromento composto di due piati di metallo.

Da fiato anno una TROMBA di metallo ritorta, ed una Piva di legno.

In TAMBURO Maggiore chiamato DAUL è alto trè piedi, che i Tamburini portano Cavalcando con armacollo coperto di panno rosso. Nella parte superiore si percuote da un Bastone di legno di busso fatto della forma, ch' è segnata e nell' inferiore da una sottil bacchetta, dando il Tamburino alternativi ed uniti colpi dell' una, e dell' altra percossa, e con arte per gravità dilettevole, e ch' è l'unico, che serve oltro che TAMBURI Grandi, essendo l'Armata Turca avanti dè Nemici caminano, sonando, e gridando JEGDER-ALLA, cioè Dio buono.

I due TAMBURETTI sono marca d'onore, e che servano apperlo la Famiglia dè Passà per segno di dover marchiare, e che molto bene entrano nel concerto della

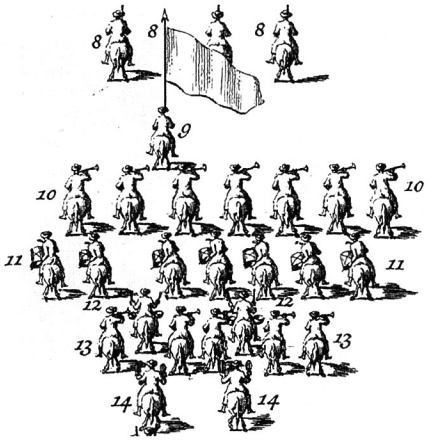

FIGURE 7. Marsigli, *Stato militare dell'imperio Ottomano.* Detail from pl. XXXIII, 2:208. Mounted *mehter.* No. 8, Pasha's three banners; no. 9, Pasha's grand banner; no. 10, seven *zurna* players; no. 11, seven *davul* players; no. 12, two *nakkara* players; no. 13, five *boru* players; and no. 14, two cymbal [*zil*] players.

Musica col nome di SARDAR NAGARA. I Passà di due code anno due Tambalisti di questi piccoli TIMBALI, che tengono ad ambe lè parti della sella, e che battono come noi.

Entra in questo concerto l'Istromento detti ZIL fatto da due concavi Piatti di metallo sottile, sonoro, che nella sommità convessa esteriore ha due aneletti di cuoio per introdurvi due, o tre dita di ciascuna mano, e con tal commodo percuoterli assiemi, facendo nel concerto un ottimo effetto argentino, ed I Passà da tre code anno due di questi Battitori.

Gl'Istromenti da Fiato sono di due maniere, e materie differenti. La TROMBA assai lunga di metallo, come lè nostre, come mostra il disegno, che ha il nome di BORI è sonata a Cavallo, avendone à Passà da tre code sette.

Di legno è la PIVA con cinque buchi da tasteggiare, della forma, ch'è in desegno, col nome di ZURNADER, e i sonatori sono pure a Cavallo; un Passà di tre code ne ha cinque.

Tutto questo concerto assieme auvrebbe dello fastidioso all' orecchio, se non fosse corretto dalla grazia del TAMBURO Grande, col quale viene a formarsi un grato concerto. Luigi Ferdinand Marsigli, *Stato militare dell' imperio ottomano* (*L'Etat militaire de l'empire ottoman*), 2 vols. (The Hague: D. Gosse & J. Neaulme, 1752), 2:54. Marsigli's plate XVIII, fig. xx, shows the five instruments described above. This plate is reproduced in Farmer's translation of Çheleb, 47.

The Englishman, Aaron Hill, expresses the typical European notion of *mehter* during the early eighteenth century. His only mention of *mehter* is highly unfavorable:

> Drums they use in martial expeditions and delight extremely in their warlike thunder; kettle-drums they beat with skill and pleasure, but they understand no tunes nor boast the noble theory of musick, but play a wild, extravagant, and artless fancy.[34]

This account is, of course, in error, for the Turks did have an organized military band based on centuries of development. It does portray, however, the attitude that the Turkish music was inferior.

Another English traveler, Thomas Shaw (ca. 1692–1751), compared Turkish music with the Moorish music of North Africa. He cites a "certain mournful and melancholy turn, which runs through all their compositions that he attributes to their close contact with Greek culture."[35] His inventory of Turkish instruments is correct, including a more detailed description of the cymbals:

> For here (as in some of the eastern ceremonies of old [as in Dan. Iii. 5. Where we have mentioned the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer and all kinds of music, ed.]) are instruments without numbers; flutes, hautboys, and trumpets, drums, and kettle-drums, besides a number and variety of cymbals, or hollow plates of brass, which being beat, at certain intervals, one against another, thereby send a shrill and jarring, but martial sound.[36]

In 1747, some fifteen years after Marsigli's book had been published, Jean-Antoine Guer described another Turkish military band:

> The *Tabulchana* [*mehter*] of a vizier consists of nine drums; nine *zurnzems*, or players of the *zurna*, loud instruments similar to fifes, seven trumpets [*boru*], four cymbal players who carry the cymbal [*zil*], a type of copper disks that they strike one against the other rendering a piercing and clear sound; three *Tougs* or banners with tails, a green *Alem*, a banner properly named, and two other very large banners.[37]

34. Aaron Hill, *A Full and Just Account of the Present State of the Ottoman in all its Branches with the Government and Policy, Religion, Customs, and Way of Living of the Turks* (London: J Mayo, 1709), 42.

35. Thomas Shaw, "Travels or Observations relating to Barbary" in Pinkerton, 15:644.

36. Ibid.

37. "Le Tabulchana d'un Visir consiste en neuf tambours; neuf Zurnezems, ou joueurs de *Zurnazer*, sorte d'instrument semblable au fifre; sept trompettes, quatre Zillerans qui portent le Zill, espéce de bassins de cuivre, qui frappés l'un contre l'autre

The instrumentation of this band is similar to the ones listed by Marsigli and Covel with one marked difference. Guer makes a point of mentioning the *tughs* in a way that suggests they were part of the band. Marsigli pictured such standards in the forefront of his mounted band, and illustrated them (including the different types) in another section.[38] He made no apparent connection between the standards and the band performers. Guer's is an early account that connects the Turkish standard with *mehter*. His description of Turkish military instruments and music is informative:

> The Turks, like other soldiers, have in their armies trumpets, fifes, oboes, clarions, the zil, and drums. These military instruments are all attached to the banner guard and not the cavalry as they are among us.
>
> Their trumpets and clarions are nearly like ours, but their drums are different, and they have several kinds. Some consist of two small disks with handles attached on the outside struck one against the other and yield a piercing and brilliant sound. [Guer here mistakenly describes cymbals.] The others are two brass kettles [*nakkara* or *kös*?], hung from the saddle-bow, one being smaller than the other, that create a type of harmony, similar to Moorish and German cavalry drums. Finally, are great drums [*davul*] without snares, beaten on both sides, the right hand with a heavy curved stick beats on the front, the left with a small and slender switch doubling the beats on the back. The Turks play so well together that two or three hundred sound as if in unison.
>
> Oboes [*zurna*] instead of fifes accompany the [drum] cadence. These oboes are shorter than ours, and larger bells, making their sound more shrill and penetrating.
>
> This military band [*mehter*] follows all the movements of the army, and is stationed during the battle at the Visir's side. It does not stop playing until the battle is over, thus sustaining the morale of the troops. If the Janissaries should no longer hear it, they would assume that the battle was lost and would possibly take flight.[39]

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rendent un son perçant & clair; trois *Tougs* ou étendarts à queue, un *Alem* verd, étandart proprement dit; & deux autres étendarts très-larges." Jean-Antoine Guer, *Moeurs et usages des Turks, leur religion, leur gouvernement civil, militaire et politique, avec un abregé de l'Histoire Ottomane*, vol. 2 (Paris: Coustelier, 1747), 2:256.

38. Marsigli, 2:53, 108.

39. "Les Turcs, comme les autres Militaires, ont dans leurs armées des trompettes, des fifres, des hautbois, des clairons, le zill & des tambours; ces Instrumens guerriers dépendent tous du Garde-étendart, & non pas de l'écurie, comme parmi nous.

Leurs trompettes & clairons sont presque semblables aux nôtres; mais leurs tambours sont différens, & ils en ont de plusieurs sortes. Les uns sont composés de deux

The obvious internal contradictions of this passage include the misclassification of the cymbals and the description of "trumpets and clarions" as "almost like ours." The use of two different words probably reflects the use of two kinds of trumpet: the *nafir* with straight tube and the *boru* with folded tube.[40] The observation that musicians tune the kettledrums to different pitches agrees with Covel's account. Guer implies a unison style of playing, in which several hundred musicians perform. Unfortunately, he does not explain further.

With special reference to the rank of the Pasha and the size of the military band, the Danish traveler, Carsten Niebuhr, in 1772, presents another accurate description of the instruments, though by this late date "Turkish" elements were already being used in European music.

> The military music of the Turks is beginning to be known in Europe. That which is to be heard through the East, however, affords nothing but an unpleasant, jarring noise, and would be entirely unworthy of notice, did it not serve to mark distinctions of rank. A Pasha of three tails is preceded by a greater variety of musical instruments, playing martial music, than a nobleman of inferior rank dares to use, so that a person's employment may be known by the music that goes before him. The principal instruments used in those martial concerts are a sort of trumpet, exceedingly noisy, called in Egypt Surma [probably the *boru*]; the Tabbel, or great Turkish tabour [*davul*], which is held horizontally, and struck upon both sides; a hautboy of acute sound and another that sounds not unlike our bassoon [*kaba zurna*]. Lastly, they have plates of sonorous metal [*zil*] that they strike one against.[41]

---

petits boucliers garnis d'anses en-dehors, qui frappés l'un contre l'autre rendent un son aigu & éclatant. D'autres sont deux chaudrons aussi d'airain, pendus à l'arçon de la selle, & dont l'un est plus petit que l'autre, pour former une espéce d'accord; ils sont en tout semblables aux attabales des Maures, & aux tambourins des Reîtres. Quelques-uns enfin sont faits de grosses caisses de tambour, sans timbre ni cordes, parce qu'on en bat des deux côtes, par-devant, de la main droite, avec un bâton fort & recourbé, & par-derriére, de la gauche, avec une baguette fine & déliée qui double les coups. Les Turcs sçavent si bien s'accompagner, quand ils les battent de compagnie, qu'on diroit que deux ou trois cens ne forment qu'un son.

Au lieu de fifres, ils sont accompagnés de hautbois qui s'accordant à leur cadence; ces hautbois sont plus courts que les nôtres, & plus larges par la patte, ce qui rend leur son plus aigu & plus perçant.

Cette musique guerriére qui suit tous les mouvemens de l'armée, se tient pendant le combat a côté du Visir, & ne cesse de jouer tant qu'il dure, pour soutenir l'ardeur des troupes. Si les Janissaires ne l'entendoient plus, ils augureroient mal du succès de la bataille, & prendroient peut-être la fuite." Guer, 2:257–58.

40. Çheleb, 29–30, 47.

41. Carsten Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia and Other Countries in the East*, trans. Robert Heron (Edinburgh: R. Morison & Son, 1792), 1:136–37.

The final source to be considered before the discussion of "Turkish music" is Giambatista Toderini's *Letteratura turchesca* (1787). His description of the instrumentation of the Turkish military band is comprehensive:

1. *Zurna,* in shape and sound it resembles the oboe.
2. *Kaba zurna,* the same, only larger and with a baritone range.
3. *Boru,* a sort of small brass trumpet.
4. *Zil,* a Moorish instrument. Two round plates with a small semispherical cavity in the middle. On the convex side there are two handles to hold on to and to strike one plate against the other.
5. *Davul,* a drum a bit larger than the usual ones with a wooden body. It is played on one side with a large beater and on the other with a small rod, following the tempo of the music.
6. *Nakkara* (*Tombelek* or *Naara*), a type of very small wooden kettledrum, the diameter scarcely larger than half a foot.
7. *Kös,* large copper timpani, usually placed on camels."[42]

Even Toderini, like so many earlier writers, does not translate the Turkish *zil* as cymbal, but instead calls it a "Moorish instrument." The sound of the music described by Toderini is unlike Covel's detailed account. Toderini states that "all play in unison; some in high octaves, others in low; this is the nature of Turkish music."[43]

From the preceding literary references, the instrumentation of *mehter* includes the oboe (*zurna),* the large drum (*davul*), the trumpet (*boru*), the cymbals (*zil*), and the kettledrum (*nakkara* or *kös*). Though no instruments were mentioned in each source by name, the continuity pro-

42. "Metter Hanè, Stromenti Musici Militari. 1. Zurnà, nella forma, a nella voce s'approssima all' Oboè. 2. Kabà zurnà, lo stesso più grande, e di voce baritona. 3. Borù, spezie di trombetta d'ottone. 4. Zil, stromento Moresco. Due rotonde lamine d'ottone con piccola cavità emisferica nel mezzo. Dalla parte convessa sonovi due maniche afferrarle, e percuotere l'una lamina contro dell' altra. 5. Daul, Tamburo alquanto più grande, che gli ordinarj non sono, con cassa di legno. Suonasi da una parte con grosso battente, dall'altra con piccola verga, sequendo il tempo dell sonata. 6. Tombelek, o Naarà, specie di piccoli timpanetti di legno; il diametro è poco maggiore di mezzo piede. 7. Kios, grandi Timballi di rame, che sogliosi mettere sopra cammelli." Giambatista Toderini, *Letteratura Turchesca* (Venice: Giacomo Storti, 1787). The French edition of Toderini's essay, *De la littérature des Turcs,* trans. l'Abbé de Cournand (Paris: Poinçot, 1789), 1:233–34 contains an example of Turkish art music which had been previously printed in 1715 as part of an early collection of engravings of Turkish life made by the French ambassador to Turkey from 1707 to 1708, Charles Marquis de Ferriol, *Explication de cent estampes qui représentent différentes nations du Levant* (Paris: Jacques Collombat, 1715). Cournand transcribed the *Concerto turco,* not military in style, into the European tonal system.

43. "Tutti suonano all'unisono: alcuni fanno le ottave alte, ed altri le ottave basse, essendo questa l'indole della Musica Turca." Ibid., 234.

vides an accurate measure of the instrumentation. The variations that appeared were either obvious errors or differences regarding the size and range of an instrument. During the period examined, approximately 600 years, slight changes of instrumentation no doubt occurred, but the basic core of these instruments, i.e., drums and shawms, remained surprisingly consistent.

The Turkish crescent, however, the instrument most universally associated in the west with *mehter*, is mentioned only twice. There is nothing distinctively Turkish about the crescent. Sachs asserts that it evolved from the Central Asian shaman's staff and that they often suspended jingles and bells from it to drive away evil spirits.[44] Farmer writes that the Saracens used an instrument called the *jaghana,* and that it was "reintroduced into Europe by the Turks in the 17th century."[45] Elsewhere, he refers to the Saracen *jalajil* (bells), and implies that the two instruments were the same.[46] Çhelebi refers to a *chaghana,* saying only that it originated in Persia and was "popular in Eastern Turkey."[47] It is doubtful that the Turkish crescent originated in the Ottoman Empire; nevertheless, Europeans thought it did. They adopted it into their military bands as part of their "Turkish music."

Political influence of the Ottoman Empire diminished after the second unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1683. During the eighteenth century, the image of the Turk changed for Europeans. No longer a political and military threat, the Turks became symbols of the exotic East and the Enlightenment. Some authors have described a veritable "Turkomania" sweeping from the East, through Poland and Russia, across Austria and Prussia, to France, Italy, and finally to England. Turkish candy, coffee, and costumes were much in vogue, especially in Vienna. "Turkish music" (inferring the European imitation of the *mehter*) invaded opera houses and European military bands. Yet, even as early as 1670 at the court of Louis XIV, the exotic Turkish elements in the Mamamouchi scene of Molière's *Le bourgois gentilhomme* (incidental music by Lully) confirm a sophisticated knowledge of the Turkish culture by both poet and musician. Paul Nettl accurately describes the spirit of this rococo age:

44. Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York: Norton, 1947), 437.
45. Henry George Farmer, *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence* (London: Harold Reeves, 1930), 18.
46. Idem, *Military Music* (London: Chanticleer Press, 1950), 10.
47. Çheleb, 10.

> In Vienna the word "Turk" frightened little children. Persons dressed as Turks sold exotic wares. From the seventeenth century onward, principally after the second siege of Vienna by the Turks in 1687 [*sic*], there was in Vienna a real Turkomania. There was a Turkencafé, Turkish candies were sold, and Turkish instruments were introduced into military music. The Turk was for a long time a popular figure at masked balls and *Wirtschaften,* the ball entertainments of the Baroque era.[48]

The "Turkish music" craze that spread across Europe during the eighteenth century had immediate effects on military music and eventually on all types of European music. Its path can be traced irregularly from the East, spreading through Poland and Russia, fascinating Austria and Prussia, sweeping across France and down to Italy, and finally reaching England.[49] In German-speaking countries, the addition of Turkish percussion instruments to the existing military bands was known as the *Janitscharenmusik.* However, this title "Janissary music" which is a translation of the German, has had wide use and recognition; the term "Turkish music" is preferred for the European imitations.

Accounts of the adoption of certain elements of the *mehter* into European music found in encyclopedias and histories of military music appear to be based on the pioneering work of Henry George Farmer. Yet, he seems to draw heavily on the first major study of military music, Kastner's *Manuel général de musique militaire* (Paris, 1848). Kastner's discussion of the adoption of Turkish musical elements in the eighteenth century[50] derives from an article in Hiller's 1770 music periodical *Musikalische Nachrichten und Annerkungen.*[51] This account of music in Russia by Jacob von Stählin is a document that refers specifically to European imitations of the *mehter.* Von Stählin says that he had heard a genuine Turkish military band given to Augustus II [reigned as king of

48. Paul Nettl, "Die Entführung aus dem Serail," *The Mozart Handbook,* ed. Louis Biancolli (New York: Universal Library, Grossett & Dunlap, 1962), 203. Though perhaps urban legend, many notions about the crescent are still current in Vienna, including the thought that the croissant is a Viennese invention related to the crescent design on Ottoman flags.

49. For a discussion with copious illustrations of "Turkish music" and *mehter* at various European courts during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Edmund A. Bowles, "The Impact of Turkish Military Bands on European Court Festivals in the 17th and 18th Centuries," *Early Music* 34 (2006): 533–60.

50. Georges Kastner, *Manuel général de musique militaire à l'usage des armées françaises* (Paris: Didot frêres, 1848), 129–30.

51. Jacob von Stählin, "Nachricht von der Musick in Rußland," *Musikalische Nachrichten und Anmerkungen* (30 April to 23 May 1770), 135–232.

Poland 1697–1733] and the imitation of "Turkish music" at the Russian court of Empress Anna [reigned 1730–40] at the "occasion of the Turkish peace celebration of 1739." From this neglected description of Turkish music in Russia, we can examine early manifestations of European imitations of *mehter*. The section dealing with "Turkish music," provides an accurate description of the instrumentation of "Turkish music" and of its use at the Russian court:

> Finally, I must also not forget the Turkish music in Russia. Already at the court of Empress Anna [reigned 1730–1740], on the occasion of the Turkish peace celebration of 1739, a fair imitation of Turkish [military] music was introduced by an ensemble of German court musicians under the direction of this concertmaster Hübner and was used as an alternative [source of] enjoyment by the table music [salon music]. It was, however, always too melodious and regular or Turkish enough.
>
> The really savage Turkish music was brought forth under Empress Elizabeth [reigned, 1741–1762] by a chamber musician of her court and good violinist, Schnurpfeil, who had been with the imperial Russian embassy at the Porte [sultan's court], [and who brought it] with him from Constantinople, where he had correctly copied and notated it after the true original Janissary music. Afterwards, by order of the court, he organized a complete ensemble of Turkish music with twelve to fifteen well-practiced musicians. Two of them, or occasionally three or four, played a special type of small Turkish shawm that gave a very rustling tone, and one or two played a larger [type] that also screamed loud enough. One played on a shrill transverse fife, one beat a pair of small kettledrums, and another played the bass, as it were, on a monstrous drum, on which he struck the upper head with a large stick and the lower head with a twig cluster, in steady alternations of both sticks. Another two beat two vibrating plates that had a hollow cavity in the middle, and a third [player beat] two larger ones against each other in an ascending and descending line, and two performed on steel triangles—suspended from a ring—that they beat with an iron rod, through which the dancing rings of steel on the base of the triangle produced a multiplicity of sounds. They play all the pieces of this Turkish music from beginning to end in unison on the instruments just described all in the same tone [at a time] and at the octave without the least [addition of a] second, alto, or bass part.
>
> Although this barbaric music sounds oriental and foreign to European ears, nevertheless it makes such a wonderful effect that it delights one to a certain extent as an alternation in contrast to the regular music. It awakens the interest of all listeners, even that of professional musicians who find it difficult enough when they encounter the bizarre melody arranged with so many unexpected turns and unusual untoward descents, without the slightest observation of major and minor thirds in the hard and soft tones or in truth the Turkish manner, and try to notate it.

That this copy of Turkish music is modeled after the original very accurately and exactly, and comes very close to it, I can testify from my own experience since I formerly encamped at the large camp at Muhlberg next to the headquarters, where a genuine Turkish military band of Moors and Arabs, which King Augustus II [reigned as King of Poland, 1697–1733] had obtained from Constantinople, marched to parade every morning and caused one's ears to ring excessively with its incomprehensible music.

This Turkish music band at the Russian imperial court remained as a bizarre novelty only for a while, and as a diversion. From there, however, they transformed it into the well-practiced music ensembles or the so-called oboes of the imperial regimental guard, which from time to time cultivate the practice of this foreign music with the instruments described above, and sometimes for table music for their highest ranking officers, or otherwise when they want the pleasure of satisfying themselves with Turkish musical noise.[52]

52. "Endlich muß ich auch der türkischen Musik inRußland nicht vergessen. Schon am Hofe der Kaiserin Anna, bey Gelegenheit des türkischen Friedenfestes 1739, ist zwar eine ziemliche Nachahmung der türkischen Musik durch ein Chor deutscher Hof-Musicanten, unter der Direction des oben erwähnten Concertmeisters Hübners, aufgekommen, und zur abwechselnden Lust bey der Tafel-Musik gebraucht worden. Es war aber noch immer zu melodiös, und nicht genung irregulär oder türkisch.

Die eigentliche wilde türkische Musik brachte erst, unter der Kaiserin Elizabeth, ein Kammer-Musicus ihres Hofes, und guter Violinist, Schnurpfeil, der mit der Russisch-kaiserl. Gesandtschafft ander Pforte gewesen war, mit sich aus Constantinopel, allwo er sie, nach dem wahren Original der Janitscharen-Musik, richtig copirt und in Noten gesetzt hatte. Darnach richtete er auf des Hofes Befehl ein vollständiges Chor türkischer Musik mit 12 biß 15 wohlgeübten Musicanten ein. Zween davon, bisweilen auch 3 oder 4, spielten eine besondere Art kleiner türkischen Schalmeyen, die einen sehr girrenden Ton geben, und einer oder zween eine größere, die auch stark genung schrie. Einer bließ auf einem durchdringenden Queer-Pfeifgen, einer schlug ein paar kleine Paucken, und ein anderer gleichsam den Baß auf einer ungeheuern Trommel, die er auf dem Oberfell mit einem großen Schlegel, auf dem Unterfell aber mit einem Ruthen-Büschel in beständiger Abwechslung der beyden Schläge, ruhrte. Andere zween schlugen zwey von dünnem Messing gemachte Schwirr-Platten, die in der Mitten eine Schüssel-Vertiefung hatten, und ein dritter zwo größere, in auf-und absteigender Linie, beständig an einander, und zween führten an einem Ring schwebende Triangel von stählernen Stähen, die sie mit einem eisernen Stäbgen schlugen, wodurch die an der Basis des Triangels tanzende Ringe von Stahl einen vervieifältigten Klang gaben.—Alle Stücke dieser türkischen Musik werden auf den jetzterwähnten Instrumenten unisono, in einerley Ton, und in der Octav, ohne dem geringsten Secondo, Alto oder Baß in einerleyer weggespielt.

So orientalisch und fremd diese ziemlich barbarische Musik in Europaischen Ohren klingt, so wunderliche Wirkung thut sie doch, daß sie als eine der regulairen Musik entgegen gesetzte Abwechselung gewisser maßen ergötzt, und die Aufinerksamkeit aller Zuhörer, ja selbst der Musikverständigsten, erweckt, die genug zu thun finden, wenn sie die bizarre und mit so viel unerwarteten Wendungen und widrigen Abfallen, ohne die geringste Beobachtung der Terz-Major oder Minor, (des harten

Probably, the Russian adaptations of Turkish music blended the sounds of the *mehter* with traditional Turkish art music instruments (e.g., small bell trees and tambourines) to make a more palatable sound for indoor entertainments; von Stählin's article supplies the basic information upon which Kastner,[53] Kappey,[54] and Farmer[55] base their assumptions. Kastner refers to the article only in a footnote that does not accurately represent or identify von Stählin's account.

Whether or not the Polish King, Augustus II, possessed a genuine Turkish band is not known, except from von Stählin's article, but K. L. von Pöllnitz also describes a Turkish *fête*, with dancers, that Augustus gave for a mistress.[56] Although he has not mentioned *mehter*, von Pöllnitz infers the use of Turkish musical elements at the *fête*. An officer in the Russian army, Christoph Herman Manstein, mentions the Turkish peace celebration of 1739. That he did not mention the "Turkish music" might suggest that the performance of it as described by von Stählin took place for a select audience. The statement by Farmer that the Empress Anna in 1725 "sent a musician to the Turkish capital to form one of these bands" is in error because Anna did not come to the throne until 1730;[57] Kastner ascribes this project to Elizabeth. The musician to whom they

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oder weichen Tons) eingerichtete Melodie oder eigentlich türkische Weise fallen, und in Noten setzen sollen.

Das übrigens diese Copie türkischer Musik sehr treulich und genau nach dem Original gerathen sey, und demselben sehr gleich komme, kann ich aus eigener Erfahrung bezeugen, da ich ehemahls im großen Campement bey Mühlberg zunächst dem Hauptquartier im Lager gestanden, allwo ein wahres türkisches Musicanten-Chor von Mohren und Arabern, so der König August II. aus Constantinopel erhalten hatte, alle Morgen zur Parade aufzog, und mir mit seiner unbegreiflichen Musik die Ohren voll genung gesauset hat.

Das vorerwähnte türkische Musik-Chor am Russisch-Kaiserl Hofe hat, als eine bizarre Neuigkeit, nur eine Weile lang, und gleichsam nur zum Spaß, Bestand behalten, Von dar aber ist es an die trefflich geübten Musik-Chöre oder sogenannte Hautboisten der Kaiserlichen Garde-Regimenter übergegangen, die sich von Zeit zu Zeit auch in dieser fremden Musik mit allen vorerzählten Instrumenten zu üben, und manchmal zur Tafel-Musik ihrer vornehmsten Officiere, oder wenn sie sich sonst lustig machen wollen, türkisch-musikalischen Lerm genug damit zu machen pflegen." Ibid., 205–6.

53. Kastner, 129–30.

54. Jacob A. Kappey, *Military Music: A History of Wind-Instrumental Bands* (London: Boosey & Co., 1894), 82.

55. Henry George Farmer, "Oriental Influences on Occidental Military Music," *Islamic Culture* 15 (1941): 239.

56. K. L. Pöllnitz, *La Saxe galante* (Amsterdam: Aux dépens de la compagnie, 1734), 188–89.

57. Farmer, "Oriental Influences," 239.

refer is, evidently, the violinist Schnurpfeil who von Stählin states had been a member of the Russian legation in Constantinople.[58]

Farmer states, without reference to a specific source, that Baron Franz von Trenck made his triumphal entry into Vienna in 1741 to the sound of a Turkish band, and that in the same year "Turkish music" appeared in the bands of the Uhlans of the French Marshal de Saxe (one of the many natural children of Augustus II).[59] Saxe's *Mes rêveries,* written in 1732, describes only a uniform and a commissary based on those of the Turks.[60] As for military music, he is quite firm on the necessity of a strong beat to keep the soldiers marching in time without fatigue but does not mention "Turkish music." He writes, "All tunes played on the drum or fife will do."[61] No doubt, his band of 1741 did include Turkish elements, though in 1732 no mention was made of them.

The other most often quoted eighteenth-century source dealing with "Turkish music" is C. F. D. Schubart's *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik derTonkunst* (written before 1783). Schubart's anecdote concerning the introduction of "Turkish music" in Berlin is well known. At a concert of "Turkish music" in his honor, the Turkish ambassador, Achmet Effendi, when asked how he liked it, shook his head and said, "it is not Turkish."[62] Schubart adds that since then Frederick the Great had a real Turkish band. He also mentions, "in Vienna an excellent band of Turkish musicians, which the great Gluck has used in his operas, entertains the Emperor."[63]

Schubart implies that he has heard authentic Turkish military music when he compares it with the "Turkish music," which since the 1740s had been a part of European music:

> Turkish music, introduced in various regiments in Germany forty years ago, has also engendered the study of Turkish musical instruments. The character of this music is so martial that it elevates even cowardly souls. Nevertheless, whoever has had the chance to hear the Janissaries themselves playing, whose bands are generally eighty to a hundred men strong, must smile sym-

58. Stählin, 250.

59. Ibid.

60. Maurice Marshal de Saxe, "My Reveries," trans. and ed. Thomas R. Phillips in *Roots of Strategy* (Harrisburg, Penn.: Military Service Pub., Co., 1940), 195–98.

61. Ibid., 204.

62. "Als man dem türkischen Gesandten in Berlin, Achmet Effendi zu Ehren, ein türkisches Concert aufführte, schuttelte er unwillig den Kopf, and sagte: Ist nicht türkisch!" C. F. D. Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Vienna: J. V. Degan, 1806), 331.

63. "Auch zu Wien unterhält der Kaiser ein treffliches Chor türkischer Musikanten, die der grosse, Gluck bereits in den Opern gebraucht hat." Ibid.

pathetically at the mimicries by which "Turkish music" is mostly disfigured in our society.[64]

Schubart's reference to the Janissaries concerning the *mehter* of the late eighteenth century confirms the strong connection between the Janissary military force and their music. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Janissary organization was powerful in Turkey. Since it virtually controlled the Turkish army, we would expect Europeans to associate the Janissaries with Turkish military music. Schubart maintains that the Turkish bands used a shawm made of tin, a crooked horn (similar to the nineteenth-century bass horn), a tambourine, cymbals, a "Glockenspeise," and small and large drums.[65] The *zurna,* which the Turks used, was most often constructed from wood, not tin—"aus Blech verfertigen." This metal instrument may have been the *ney* or flute. The crooked horn is probably of the *boru* class. The mention of triangles, which were not Turkish instruments, by Schubart and von Stählin, probably suggests that the band Schubart described was not a Turkish military band but perhaps a European imitation. Although he mentions he heard a performance of the Janissaries themselves, he may be referring to European performers using some Turkish instruments. The "Glockenspeise" may be a crude form of the Turkish crescent. Schubart implies that it was sometimes used with or in place of the cymbals, or that it was a type of cymbal.[66] Since not all of the instruments listed by Schubart are Turkish, he, as von Stählin, was probably describing a European imitation of *mehter.*

Franz Joseph Sulzer wrote another account of the European parody of *mehter* in 1781. Sulzer is the only writer to describe both European imitations of "Turkish music" and genuine *mehter* and to explain the actual performance of military music in detail. Although Sulzer's account concerns the Balkan region, it provides a perceptive discussion of "Turkish music" found in the eighteenth century:

64. "Die türkische Musik welche seit vierzig Jahren auch in Deutschland bey verschiedenen Regimentern eingeführet wurde, hat auch das Studium der musikalischen Instrumente der Türken veranlaßt. Der Carackter dieser Musik ist so kriegerisch, daß er auch feigen Seelen den Busen hebt. Wer aber das Glück gehabt hat, die Janitscharen selber musiciren zu hören, deren Musikchöre gemeiniglich achtzig bis hundert Personen stark sind; der muß mitleidig über die Nachäffungen lächeln, womit man unter uns meist die türkische Musik verunstaltet." Ibid., 330.

65. Ibid., 331.

66. "und aus zwey Becken von feinsten Bronce oder Glockenspiese die tactmäßig an einander geschlagen werden." Ibid.

Above all, I must inform the reader with the Turkish instruments and request him to distinguish well between Turkish chamber music from the so-called *Tambulchana* (not *Tubulchana,* as some have written), [and] in Wallachian *Kindia,* i.e., the military or Janissary music. Additionally, one must beware of taking this kind Janissary music, which has been introduced for some time in most army regiments of the Holy Roman Empire, and for which new German works appear regularly, for authentic Turkish military music. The difference between the two is infinitely large. Not even our German-Turkish military music can boast the same instruments, not even the same style. Imitating it with European meters and German ears is useless.

I willingly confess that a German-Turkish work arranged for a piccolo, two horns, a few bassoons, a few oboes or violins, and the prominent roll on the normal [military] drum that makes a moderate noise along with occasional beats on the bass drum and the clashing of the cymbals, tambourine, and bells, is far more bearable to my ears than a loud shrieking of twenty large Turkish drums, as many shawms, and nine or ten out-of-tune trumpets that in diverse keys or scales play a fanfare that, to our ears, harmonizes neither with the rest of the music nor in meter or melody. This is the brief but accurate description of the Wallachian *Kindia,* or princely evening-music, as a pseudo-Turkish *Tambulchana,* also called *mehter* by the Turks and Greeks.

Nevertheless, since all these censures perhaps apply more to the performers than to the music, I want to explain how I imagine this music if they played it well.

I have already said that only nine to ten bass drums (in Turkish *Daul,* in Wallachian *Toba*), the same number of *Surnas* (a kind of shawm, the first often plays a solo, or a recitative, while the others sustain a single tone in octaves), six to nine trumpets, or so-called *Borussen,* four *Dairee* or tambourines, and the plates, or brass cymbals (Sill) are the chief instruments of the Turkish military band. Moreover, if I have mentioned a drum playing out-of-tune, then we must know that a pair of small kettledrums that have a very muffled but piercing sound replace this. They call these *Sadee Nagarre,* and are not rolled on but beaten with measured metrical blows.

When the solo of which I have just spoken is finished, the metrical section begins with all the remaining of the instruments except the trumpets. These enter at a specified moment with a fanfare that can be successful if the trumpets play a single tone or enter the full ensemble, resonating in a harmonic accompaniment. This exposed fanfare, like the solo, is repeated with the shawms several times until the whole work concludes with a shout from the surrounding soldiers, who cry out a long life and a happy reign for the emperor and prince.[67]

67. "Vor allem muß ich also den Leser mit den türkischen Instrumenten bekannt machen, and ihn ersuchen, die türkische Kammermusik von der sogenannten *Tam-*

Sulzer's accurate descriptions of both "Turkish music" and *mehter* provide the most concise answers to the questions asked in this study. With the summary of *mehter* presented, the résumé of how *mehter* sounded provides the most perceptive observations. In addition, the similarities

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bulchana (nicht *Tublchana*, wie einige geschrieben haben) auf walchisch *Kindia*, d.i. der Feld—oder Janitscharenmusik wohl unterscheiden; ja man hüte sich sogar, diejenige Janitscharenmusik, die man bey den meisten Regimentern der römisch-kaiserlichen Armee seit einiger Zeit eingeführet hat, and wozu täglich neue Stücke aus teutschen Federn zum Vorschein, für ächte türkische Feldmusik zu halten. Der Unterschied zwischen beyden ist unendlich groß. Nicht einmal kann unsere teutsch-türkische Feldmusik derselben Instrumente sich rühmen, um wieviel weniger ebendesselben Geschmackes, den man mit europäischen Taktarten, and mit dem teutschen Ohre nachzuahnen sich vergebens bemühen wird.

Ich gestehe es Berne, daß ein, mit einem Flaschonetchen, zweyen Waldhornen, einigen Fagotten, and etlichen Hoboen, oder Violinen wohl harmonirendes teutsch-türkisches Stück, das gemäßigte Geräusch des mit sparsamen Schlägen der grossen Trommel und das Klappern der Teller and des Glockensiebes meinem Gehöre weit erträglicher machet, als ein lärmendes Katzengeschrey von zwanzig grossen türkischen Trommeln, eben so viel Schallmeyen, und 9 bis 10 falsch gestimmten Trompeten, welche aus verechiedenen Tönen, Oktavengattungen einen Tusch dazu blasen, der mit der Hauptmusik nach unserm Gehöre weder im Takte, noch in dem Gesange harmoniret: denn dieses, ist die kurze, aber wahrhafte Beschreibung der walachischen *Kindia*, oder fürstlichen. Abendmusik, als einer nachgeahmten türkischen *Tambulchana*, welche bey den Türken und Griechen auch Megderhanee genennet wird.

Allein, da alle diese Ausstellungen vielleicht mehr den Spielleuten, als der Musik selbst zur Last fallen, so will ich es sagen, wie ich mir diese Musik in Gedanken vorgestellet habe, wenn sie gut aufgeführet würde.

Ich habe schon gesagt, daß nur neun bis zehn grosse Trommeln (auf türkisch *Da-ul*, auf walachisch *Toba*) bald eben so viele *Sürna* (eine Art von Schallmeyen, wovon die erste manchesmal ein Solo, oder vielmehr ein Recitativ bläst, während dem die übrigen in der Oktav eintönig aushalten) sechs bis neun Trompeten, oder sogenannte *Borussen*, vier *Dairée* oder Schellensiebe, and die Teller, oder meßingene Becken (*Sill*) die Hauptinstrumeinte der türkischen Feldmusik ausmachen. Und wenn ich von einer verstimmten Wirbeltrommel Erwähnung gethan, so ist zu wissen, daß diese durch ein paar kleine Pauken von einem sehr dumpfen, aber durchdringenden Klange ersetzet wird, welches sie Sadee-Nagarrá nennen, worauf aber kein Wirbel, sondern nach dem Maaß des Taktes abgemessene Streiche geschlagen werden.

So bald das Solo, von dem ich so eben gesprochen habe, vorbey ist, geht das taktmaßige Stück mit allen übrigen Instrumenten, ausser den Trompeten, an; diese aber fallen auf einen gewissen Zeitpunkt mit einem Tusch, der gar nicht übel angebracht ist, wenn die Trompeten auf einen Ton gestimmet sind, oder einklingend in harmonischer Begleitung geblasen würden, in die volle Musik ein. Dieser ausgesetzte Tusch wird, so wie das Solo, mit den Schallmeyen einigemal wiederholet, bis sich die ganze Musik mit einem Geschrey der umstehenden Tschauschen endiget, welche dem Kaiser and dem Fürsten langes Leben, and beglückte Regierung zurufen." Franz Joseph Sulzer, *Geschichte des transalpinischen Daciens, das ist: der Walachey, Moldau, und Bessarabiens*, 3 vols. (Vienna: Rudolph Graffer, 1781), 2:431–33.

between Covel's and Sulzer's accounts are revealing and prove that *mehter* did not change appreciably over the centuries.

The description of "Turkish music" closely corresponds to the one given by von Stählin in every detail except the omission of the triangle and the addition of tambourines. Çhelebi or any of the travelers who discussed *mehter* did not mention the triangle. It was shown above that in Europe during the seventeenth century, writers sometimes knew the triangle as cymbal. Geiringer places the triangle's first appearance in Europe before 1300;[68] Sachs dates it from the fifteenth century in a trapezoid form similar to the shape of a medieval stirrup.[69] He places its first military use in Europe in the middle of the eighteenth century under Elizabeth of Russia.[70]

The triangle of the eighteenth century was a closed triangle with three to five metal rings suspended on the base.[71] Its jangling sound was no doubt very similar to that of *chaghana.* The use of the triangle in the Russian court and elsewhere may have been a practical substitution for the sound of the *chaghana.* Evidently, these rattles were not available for the early performances of "Turkish music." European instruments such as piccolos, bassoons, or clarinets were not part of the *mehter* but were, rather, European substitutions for Turkish instruments.[72]

68. Karl Geiringer, *Musical Instruments* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1945), 60.

69. Curt Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (Norton, 1940), 436–37.

70. Sachs, *Real-Lexikon der Musikinstrumente* (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1915), 392.

71. Anthony Baines, *European and American Musical Instruments* (New York: Viking Press, 1966), pl. 824.

72. Die Instrumente zu dieser Musik bestehen in Schalmeien, welche die Türken meisten teils um den Ton schärfen, aus Blech verfertigen, aus krummen Hörnen, die im Ton fast an unsere Baßhörner grenzen, aus einem großen und einem kleinen Triangel, aus dem sogenannten Tambourin, wo das Schütteln der Schellen, die bei den Türken von Silber sind, große Wirkung tut, und aus zwei Becken vom feinsten bronze, oder Glockenspiels (recte Glockenspeise), die taktmäßig aneinandergeschlagen werden, endlich aus zwei Trommeln, wovon die kleinere immer wirbelt und flutet, die große aber gedämpft und unten mit einer Rute gestäupt wird. . . . Die Deutschen haben diese Musik mit Fagotten verstärkt, wodurch die Wirkung noch um ein Großes vermehrt wird. Auch Trompetenstöße lassen sich dazwischen gut anbringen." Schubart, 331. "Die Militarmusik ist entweder die gewöhnliche Feldmusik, oder die türkische Musik. Die Feldmusik, oder sogenannte Harmonie, welche man auch Bande nennt, besteht aus zwei Waldhörnern, zween Fagoten, and zwei Oboen: Diese Instrumente kommen auch bei der türkische Musik vor, wozu aber noch zwei Klarinette, eine Trompete, ein Triangel, eine Oktavflöte und eine sehr große Trommel, eine gewöhnliche Trommel und ein paar Cinellen gehören. Beim Aufziehen der Burgwache und der Hauptwache hört man die Feldmusik. Die türkische Musik wird in den Sommermonaten Abends bei schönem Wetter vor den Kasernen, bisweilen auch vor der

To westerners, the most interesting aspect of "Turkish music" is the imitation and further development of the *chaghana* by western military musicians. They combined the jangling sound of the *chaghana* with the Turkish standard, *tugh.* Each western country adopted a variation of this hybrid in both name and form. In England, people knew it as the "Turkish crescent" or Jingling Johnnie; in France, the *Chapeau Chinois* or *Pavillon Chinois;* in Germany, the *Schellenbaum;* in Russia, the *Gashiglar* or *Lozhky.* Many different designs were created, resulting in few identical instruments. Most of the crescents had in common one feature: a large number of bells, stars, and jingles. Few, if any, examples of Turkish crescents made before the early nineteenth century exist, and all extant instruments may be of European origin.

Although "Turkish music" and other exoticisms were most popular in European art music during the eighteenth century, French operatic works beginning with Lully (1633–1687) display many imported charms. Turkish scenes are also found in operas by Campra (1670–1774) and Rameau (1683–1764). Gluck's *Le cadi dupé* (1761) and *La rencontre imprévue* (1764) are typical of a popular genre of exotic operas emerging in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Haydn explored the Turkish setting in his *L'incontro improvviso* (1775), using cymbals, triangle, and tambourine. Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (1782) is still in the repertory of major opera companies throughout the world, and both his Violin Concerto in A Major, K. 219, and Piano Sonata in A Major, K. 331, exhibit elements of the Turkish style. Beethoven effectively uses "Turkish music" in the incidental music to *Die Ruinen von Athen,* op. 113, *Wellingtons Sieg,* op. 91, and in the last movement of Symphony No. 9, op. 125, though the use of "Turkish music" in battle symphonies was very popular several decades before Beethoven's work. Compositions by Georg Druschetzky (1745–1819) and Franz Christoph Neubauer (ca. 1760–95), for example, date from the 1780s and 1790s. Also very fashionable were works by Muzio Clementi (1752–1832) and Daniel Steibelt (1756–1823) for piano solo with added percussion instruments.[73] So well did the fad catch on that many continental pianos built in the early nineteenth

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Hauptwache gegeben, Das sämmtl. Offizierskorps erhält das zur türkishen Musik gehörige Personale." Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld, *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien unbd Prag,* ed. Otto Biba, fasc. ed. (Munich: Emil Katzbichler, 1976), 98–99.

73. For a brief discussion see Farmer, "Percussion and Petticoats," *Music and Letters* 31(1950): 343–45.

FIGURE 8. Pandean Pipes at Vauxhall, London, ca. 1805, author's private collection. Photo by the author.

century were fitted with attachments to make realistic battle sounds, the so-called Janissary stops.[74] Composers and listeners generally thought of percussion instruments as the hallmark of "Turkish music" during the second half of the eighteenth century. During the first decade of the nineteenth century, performances of "Turkish music" at Vauxhall by the Pandean minstrels were popular in London (fig. 8), and by the first quarter of the nineteenth century, these instruments (cymbals, triangle, tambourine, and bass drum) were generally accepted in the western orchestra as the *batterie turque*.[75]

74. See Rosamond E. M. Harding's chapter on "Turkish Music," in *The Pianoforte* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935) for useful information and an insightful induction on Janissary stops found on nineteenth-century pianos. Jeremy Montagu, *Timpani and Percussion* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 105–7 also mentions this and suggests that Mozart's *Rondo alla turca* and Schubert's *Marche militaire* might be played using these effects.

75. For a survey of "Turkish music" in European music of the early nineteenth century see Jäger, "Janitscharenmusik: Orientalisches Rhythmusinstrumentarium in europäischen Musikfuntionen," in *Michaelsteiner Konferenzberichte, vol. 75, Perkussionstrumente in der Kunstmusik vom 16. bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts, XXV Wissenshaftliche Arbeitstagung und 28. Musikinstrumentenbau-Symposium Michaelstein, 4. bis 7. Oktoker 2007* (Michaelstein: Stiftung Kloster Michaelstein, 2010), 489–509.

The acceptance and use of *mehter* elements resulted, in European music, in the inclusion of the so-called *batterie turque*, entailing the cymbals, triangle, tambourine, and bass drum. The crescent itself was not appropriated, though small bells would occasionally appear in the music. It is this percussion group that was adopted as the hallmark of "Turkish music" in the middle of the eighteenth century, and by the first quarter of the nineteenth century, it was generally accepted in the western orchestra. The modern percussion section, which now includes many times the original number of Turkish instruments, is clearly the direct descendent of eighteenth-century "Turkish music."